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ENGENDERING INTERACTION:
INUIT-EUROPEAN CONTACT IN FROBISHER BAY, BAFFIN ISLAND

By

Lynda Gullason

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Anthropology
McGill University
Montreal, Québec

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to identify the mosaic, rather than the monolithic, nature of culture contact by integrating historical and archaeological sources relating to the concept of gender roles, as they influence response within a contact situation. Specifically, I examine how the Inuit gender system structured artifact patterning in Inuit-European contact situations through the investigation of three Inuit sites in Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. These date from the 16th, 19th and early 20th centuries and represent a variety of seasonal occupations and dwelling forms.

The ethnographic data suggest that Inuit gender relations were egalitarian and complementary. On this basis I hypothesize that European goods and materials were used equally by men and women. Within each gendered set of tasks, European goods and materials were differently used, according to empirically functional criteria such as the nature of the tasks.

Opportunities for and responses to European contact differed depending on the types of tasks in which Inuit women and men engaged and the social roles they played. Seasonality of occupation bears upon the archaeological visibility of gender activities.

Sixteenth-century Elizabethan contact did not alter Nugumiut gender roles, tasks, authority or status but served primarily as a source of raw material, namely wood and iron.

Based on the analysis of slotted tools I suggest a refinement to take account of the overlap in blade thickness that occurs for metal and slate, and which depends on the function of the tool. I conclude that there was much *more* metal use by Thule Inuit than previously believed. However, during Elizabethan contact and shortly afterwards there was actually *less* metal use by the Nugumiut than in the prehistoric era.

Little archaeological evidence was recovered for 19th-century commercial whaling contact, (suggesting geographic marginality to European influence), or for 19th century Inuit occupation in the area. This is partly because of immigration to Cumberland Sound and because of subsequent structural remodelling of the dwellings by later occupants.

By the early 20th century, the archaeological record showed not only equal use of European material across gender but a near-ubiquitous distribution across most activity classes, even though commercial trapping never replaced traditional subsistence pursuits but only supplemented them.

RESUMÉ

Cette thèse tente d'identifier l'aspect mosaique plutôt que l'aspect monolithique du phénomène du rapprochement des cultures en intégrant les sources historiques et archéologiques qui traitent du concept des rôles des sexes. L'examen de ces rôles est important puisqu'ils exercent une influence sur les réactions des hommes et des femmes dans une situation de contact culturel.

Plus précisément, en partant de recherches archéologiques sur trois sites inuit dans la baie de Frobisher sur la Terre de Baffin, j'examine comment le système inuit des rôles des sexes a structuré l'utilisation et la répartition spatiale d'artefacts au moment du contact entre les Inuit et les Européens. Ces sites datent du 16ième, 19ième et du début du 20ième siècles et témoignent de diverses périodes d'occupation saisonnière et de divers types de structures d'habitation.

Les données ethnographiques suggèrent que la relation entre les sexes chez les Inuit était de nature égalitaire et complémentaire. C'est en partant de ces principes que je formule l'hypothèse suivante: les objets de traite européens furent utilisés également par les hommes et les femmes. Les objets et le matériel de traite européens furent utilisés différemment à l'intérieur de chaque ensemble de tâches basées sur le sexe, selon des critères fonctionnels empiriques liés, en partie, à la nature de ces tâches.

L'ouverture et les réactions au contact avec les Européens furent déterminées par le type de tâches effectuées par les hommes et les femmes inuit et par leurs rôles sociaux.. La saisonalité de l'occupation a un effet sur la visibilité des témoins, dans le contexte d'une fouille archéologique, liés aux activités basées sur le sexe.

Le contact avec les Européens élisabéthains du 16ième siècle n'a pas modifié les rôles des sexes chez les Nugumiut, ni les tâches, ni l'autorité, ni le statut basés sur le sexe mais a principalement fournit une source de matières premières, plus spécifiquement le bois et le fer. Je propose une précision à la technique d'analyse d'outils à fente qui rend compte du chevauchement des mesures d'épaisseur des lames de métal et d'ardoise qui, elle, est déterminée par la fonction de l'outil. Je conclus que les Thuléens ont fait l'usage du métal d'une façon beaucoup plus importante qu'il était convenu d'y croire dans le passé. Par contre, pendant et peu après la période de contact élisabéthain, les Nugumiut ont utilisé moins de métal que pendant l'ère préhistorique.

Peu d'indices archéologiques liés à l'industrie baleinière du 19ième siècle furent recueillis (ce qui suggère que nous sommes en région limitrophe de l'influence européenne) et, il en va ainsi pour l'occupation Inuit du 19ième siècle. Ceci est dû en partie à la migration vers Cumberland Sound et aux modifications apportées aux structures d'habitation par les habitants subséquents de la région.

Au début du 20ième siècle, les données archéologiques témoignent non seulement d'une utilisation équitable du matériel européen par les sexes mais bien de l'omniprésence de ces biens à travers la plupart des classes d'activités même si la trappe commerciale, qui est certes venue compléter ces activités, n'a jamais entièrement remplacée les activités traditionnelles de subsistance.

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I had the good fortune to research and write this dissertation while I was an associate at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC). Not only was I able to have 'a space of my own', access to essential tools of operation and communication but I had key comparative artifact collections directly across the hall and the foremost Arctic archaeologists just doors away.

I am grateful to Donald Clark, former chief of the Archaeological Survey of Canada, for his invitation to become a research associate at the museum, but especially for his unhesitating acceptance of my three-week old office

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Impressively Separate and Distinct

> "The first fundamental division within the [Inuit] social life is that which is a result of sex" (Birket-Smith 1929:257), certain activities being performed by one sex, the other being wholey (*sic*) or in part excluded from their practise. While we commonly think of this divergence as relating to the economic sphere, these differences are carried over into every phase of life of the group, so that we find *the men and the women in the same locality to be living very different lives*. (emphasis added) (Giffin 1930:vii)

> How might our views of patterns of adaptation, change and stability in the past be altered by a consideration of gender? (Spector 1983:77)

The notion of separate and distinct experience within a society and the potential for identifying it archaeologically lies at the core of this research on intercultural interaction. In few other cultures is the distinction more sharply drawn than among the Inuit who have traditionally organized their world according to a binary strategy of practical rules and implicit assumptions and oppositions regarding, among other things, the domain of gender. This cultural ordering extends to interaction with others. The following dissertation examines the role which gender plays in material culture patterning within a contact situation.

Archaeological research has traditionally been concerned with understanding culture contact as a culture-wide

phenomenon. However, contact affects various aspects of a culture differently. And within a society, differences exist among its members in terms of perceptions *of*, opportunities *for* and responses *to* contact. To date there has been little systematic study of the way in which European contact actually affected Inuit women's and men's material and social lives.

More than a decade ago, van der Leeuw (1983) urged archaeologists to reject their traditional 'atomistic' view of contact boundaries as two areas or units separated by a line or zone and, in the spirit of David Clarke (1968), suggested instead that we recognize that there are different boundary zones for different spheres of activity and different types of goods. As a response to his challenge, this research details intersocietal contact and interaction as mosaic rather than homogenic in nature, based on the concept of gender roles determining response within a contact situation.

The most influential impetus for an archaeology of gender was Conkey and Spector's (1984) challenge to engender the past. At the time of their publication, there was virtually no systematic work on the topic (Conkey and Spector 1984:2), despite Spector's (1983:77) recognition that our established views of patterns of adaptation, change and stability in the past may need to be reformulated by a consideration of gender and of the role played by gender behaviour in shaping response.

Since the early 1980s engendering archaeology has been attempted at three different levels: 1.) exposing gender bias in archaeological practise and archaeological language; 2.) remedial research to increase the visibility of women in the past and identify their participation; and 3.) what Wylie (1991:31) has termed, "broader reconceptualizations of existing subject fields", to reevaluate underlying assumptions about gender (Conkey and Gero 1991; Sørensen 1988; Spector and Whelan 1989). These authors call for more representative views of the past than provided by traditional androcentric scholarship and recent efforts have challenged the structure of archaeological practise in fundamental ways (Conkey with Williams 1991).

Conceived primarily within the post-processualist paradigm, the approach has served to emphasize the importance of a self-critical perspective and, in the process, has exposed our own deeply-held gender biases. As with post-processualism in general, gender archaeology emphasizes the importance of: 1.) social relations in governing actions over "the functionalist, adaptational models of the past which . . . appear to limit archaeology to the analysis of technology, economy and the effects of physical and biological processes" (Engelstad 1991:502); 2.) alternative or multiple histories; 3.) the interplay of past and present in constructing (rather than reconstructing, recapturing or representing) the past; and 4.) contextual analysis (i.e., examining an archaeological culture comprehensively in order to understand

the significance of select aspects of it (Dobres 1988; Gero 1985; Moore 1991; Nelson 1990; Seifert 1991; Wright 1991; Wylie 1992).

Specifically in this study, I consider the impact of Inuit-European contact on the development of Frobisher Bay Inuit (known as the Nugumiut[1]) through the archaeological and archival investigation of a series of Inuit sites representing different phases of contact history. This region is well suited to culture contact studies because after the early, isolated contact episode with the Elizabethan expeditions of Martin Frobisher of 1576-1578, no historically or archaeologically documented contact was experienced by these Inuit until the advent of whaling in the mid-19th century.

The research is interdisciplinary in nature. Ethnographic evidence is used to model the historic Inuit gender system, including the ideological realms of gender autonomy and control. This model is next used to structure three hypotheses concerning: (1) gender-related labour organization and material culture; (2) social relations, particularly access to European resources and (3) symbolic associations of gender and raw material. I test these hypotheses with archaeological data on Inuit-European contact from three historic period Inuit sites.

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[1] The Nugumiut are the historic population of Inuit who inhabited Frobisher Bay, Cyrus Field Bay and Cornelius Grinnell bay (Boas 1964).

While gender is a universal factor in the organization of cultural relations, it is not uniformly expressed cross-culturally nor uniformly structured across a single culture. Therefore, to infer gender behaviour from archaeological remains, it is necessary to refer to some form of ethnographic data (e.g. ethnoarchaeology or ethnohistory) in order to determine initially the *nature* of the patterned differences in female and male behaviour and then to determine what the associated material culture would be, who used it and in what contexts. This application of middle range theory allows us to create arguments to show why certain archaeological artifacts reflect gender behaviour.

Although this research does not represent an argument for structuralism as a high-level theory, structuralism is a useful method of inquiry for Inuit research given the extensive literature, including both European textual and Native oral historical accounts, on Inuit binary oppositions (for a brief list, see Fienup-Riordan 1990; Guemple 1986; Mauss 1979; McGhee 1977; Saladin d'Anglure 1992). Cultural items, activities and perhaps even ideological realms, such as those discussed by McGhee (1977), can be identified as either male or female. Arctic material culture analysis, for example, has traditionally been organized in terms of men's and women's tool kits as a consequence of ethnographic observations by Boas and others of emic organization. However, while certain aspects of the gender system are highly structured, others are not. The concept of Inuit

binary structuralism (in which all manifestations of a culture are organized in terms of binary pairs of terms or concepts according to an unconscious [oppositional] logic) is a working assumption; not all Inuit gender behaviour neatly bifurcates into an opposition of male and female behaviour and binary structuralism may have relevance only for some aspects of Inuit culture. There are, for example, some interesting ambiguities like shamanism, which often directly conflates gender roles with transexual behaviour. Consequently, much of the material culture represents gender-neutral assemblages, in which there is a significant overlap of material culture between sexes.

Nevertheless, Arctic archaeology offers an excellent case for engendering intercultural interaction given the wealth of ethnographic evidence concerning Inuit ideology and behaviour related to gender; their binary system of cultural organization, including a principal opposition between male and female; a labour organization which is strongly oriented along gender lines (Ackerman 1990; Bodenhorn 1990; Giffen 1930; Guemple 1986; Jolles and Kaningok 1991); material dimensions to these gender relations (especially their good preservation which allows ethnographic observations to be tracked into the past); relative isolation from continuous European influence (this isolation renders contact episodes distinct typologically and chronologically); and previously excavated samples from precontact contexts. Engendering Inuit-European culture contact helps inform us about the

structure of the Inuit gender system in relation to various cultural subsystems and in so doing addresses the importance of social relations in governing actions.

After introducing the research problem and background of the study in this chapter, Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical approach, including key features of Inuit culture which serve to frame hypotheses about the gendered use of European goods and raw materials as they relate to the nature of tasks, to status, to interaction opportunities with Europeans and to ideologically-determined gender domains. In Chapter 3, I evaluate the ethnographic sources, both the European textual evidence and that from the Inuit oral histories, for their reliability, authority and completeness. Chapter 4 presents a discussion of the Inuit gender system derived from ethnographic sources, with particular reference to seasonality and organizational aspects of labour and technology. Ethnohistoric evidence for Inuit-European contact in Frobisher Bay, most notably gendered interaction behaviour for each of the three contact periods: Elizabethan, fur trade and whaling, is presented in Chapter 5. The archaeological data from excavations at three historic period Inuit sites are presented and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 and a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence for gender-associated material culture change and maintenance is made. The final chapter reviews the relevance of my findings for the specific impact of European contact on the Inuit of Frobisher Bay in terms of gender roles and

discusses the methodological and theoretical contributions of the research to Thule archaeology, culture contact studies and gender archaeology.

Background to the Study

Environmental Setting

Baffin Island is located in the eastern Canadian Arctic, separated from the Quebec mainland by Hudson Strait to the south (Figures 1, 2) and Greenland, across Davis Strait, to the east. On April 1, 1999 the island, formerly part of the Northwest Territories, became incorporated into the newly-formed territory, Nunavut. Discussions of the physiography, climate, vegetation and fauna have been well-summarized by Stenton (1983a, 1989) and by Henshaw (1995); their zooarchaeological research deals much more directly with environmental aspects and only a brief review is presented here.

Frobisher Bay lies in southeast Baffin Island and runs northwest-southeast for a length of 240 km (Figures 2, 3). At the head, where the present-day town of Iqaluit is located, it is 25 km across; it widens to 80 km at the mouth. Meta Incognita Peninsula, with its steep, rocky cliffs forms the southwest shore; Hall Peninsula forms the northeast shore. At the tip of Hall Peninsula lies the small inlet, Cyrus Field Bay. Hall Peninsula rises steeply from the shore

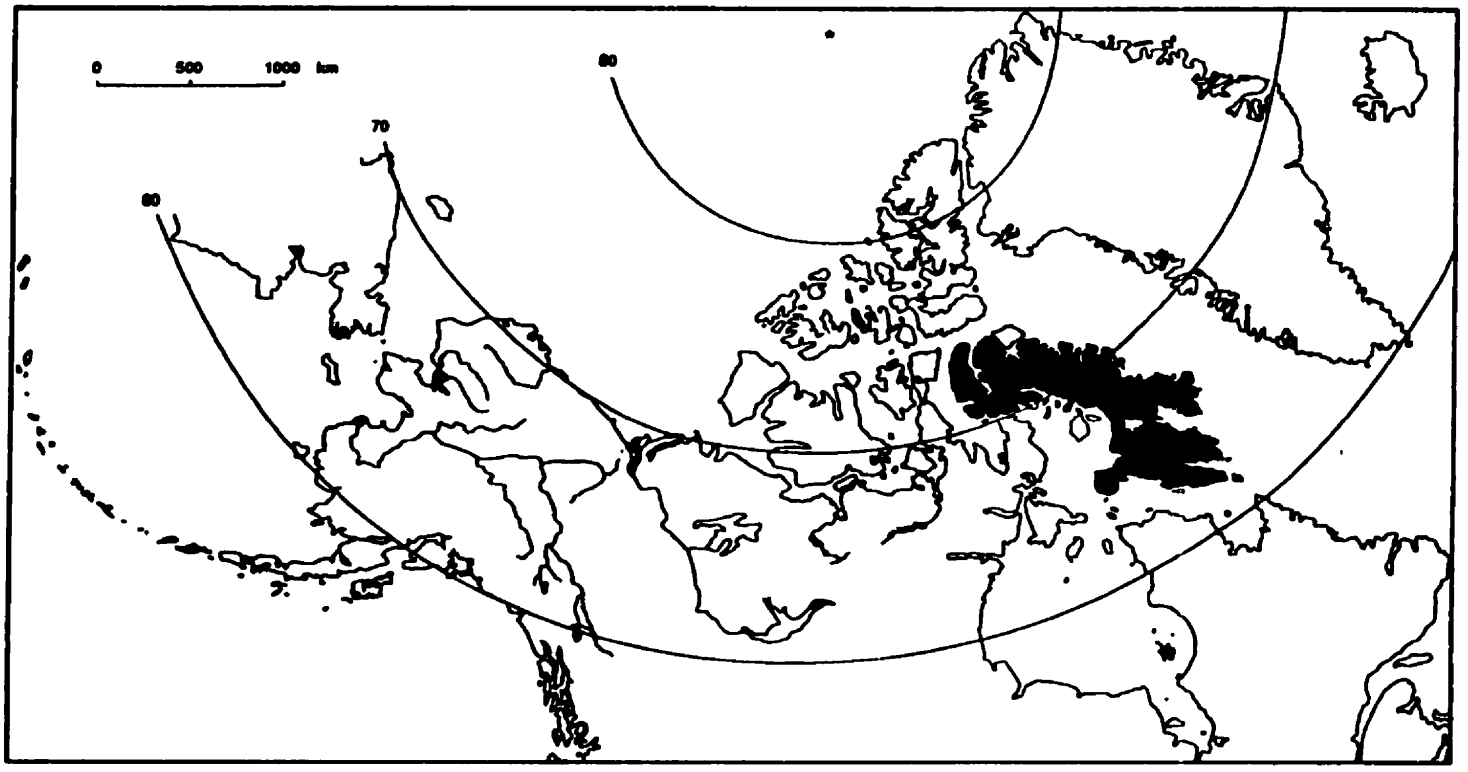

Figure 1. Map of the Canadian Arctic showing the location of Baffin Island (in black)

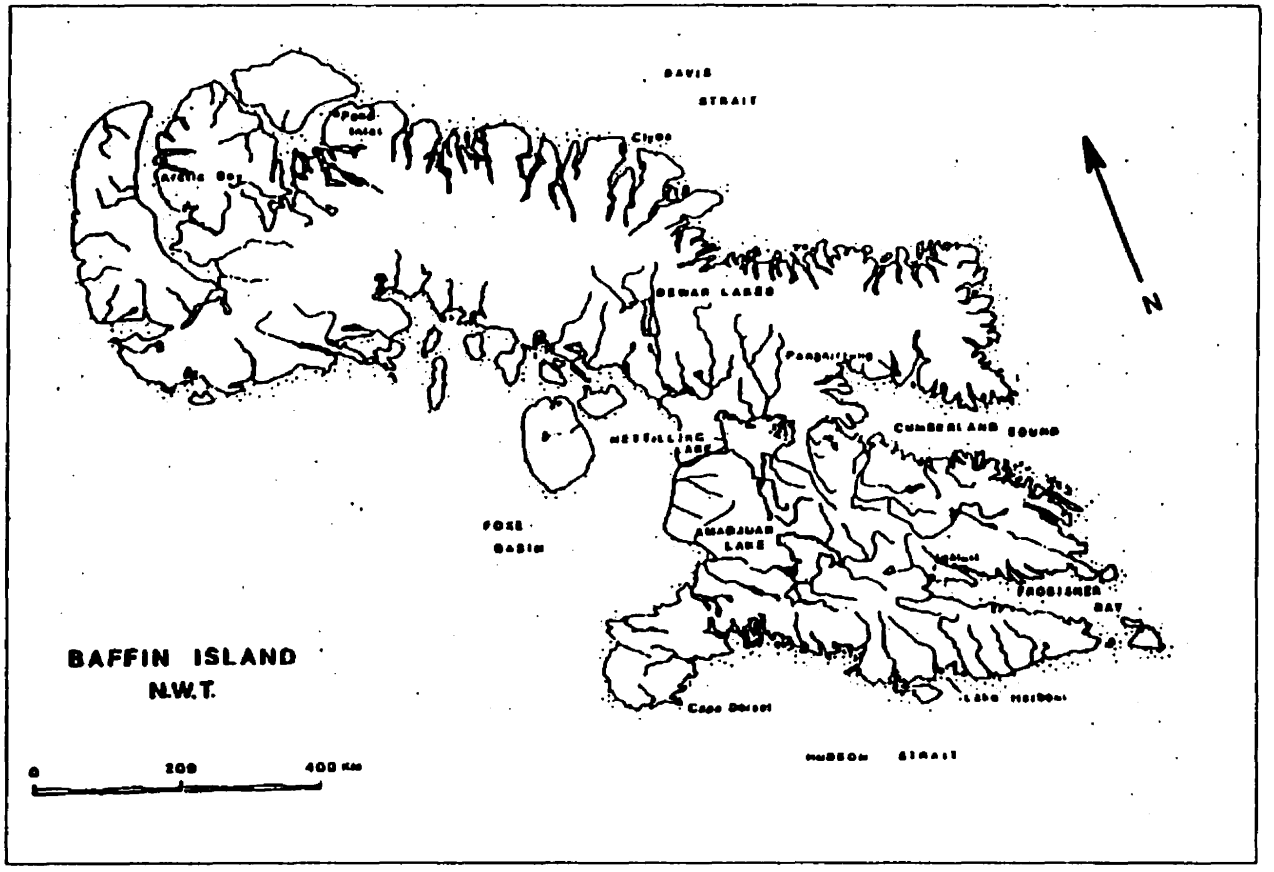

Figure 2. Map of Baffin Island (Stenton 1989:89)

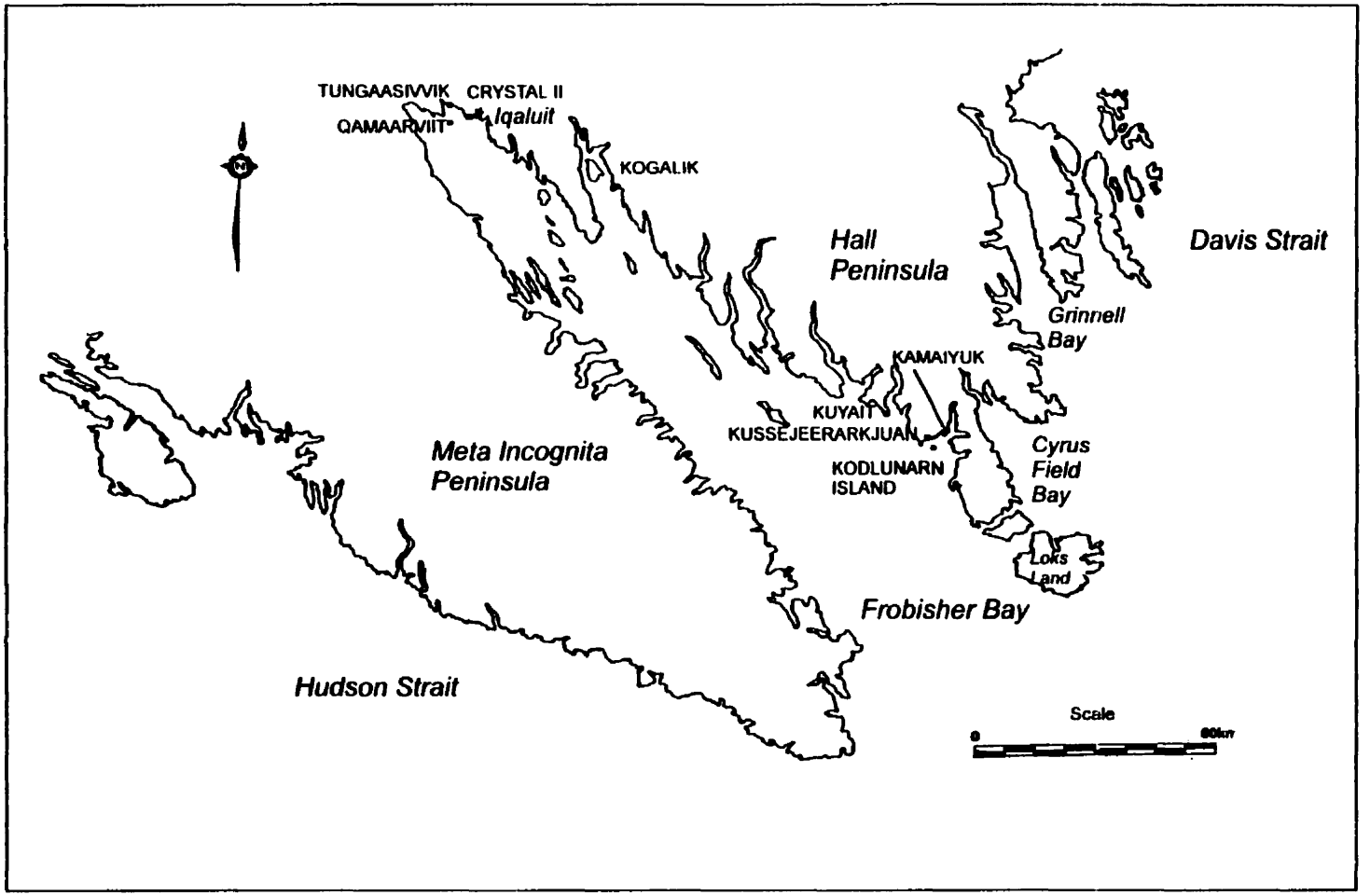

Figure 3. Map of Frobisher Bay

to elevations of 60-300 m and, unlike the southwest shore, is deeply transected by a series of fjords and bays. The interior is much less rugged. Inland, the topography is characterized by low, rolling tundra and small lakes and ponds (Stenton 1983a:28). Two large lakes, Amadjuak and Nettiling, in the south-central part of the island traditionally attracted people from both Frobisher Bay and Cumberland Sound, farther north. For the Frobisher Bay Nugumiut, Amadjuak Lake was an important hunting ground and a setting for trade and interaction with the Hudson Strait communities (Boas *in* Stenton 1989:103)

One of the most significant features of the bay for human occupation is the high tidal range, with a mean high tide of 7.8 m (maximum 12.3 m) at the head of the bay and a mean high tide of 4.5 m (maximum 8.0 m) in the outer bay (Hogarth 1993:82). This fluctuation has consequences for archaeological sites, which regularly suffer from coastal submersion and erosion (Fitzhugh 1993a). While sites located at the head have been preserved by geological uplift from glacial melting and retreat, in the outer bay, the land reached its maximum emergence ca. 1500-2500 years ago and rising sea levels along with high tidal amplitudes are eroding sites, particularly the earlier ones (Fitzhugh 1990:9-10; 1993b:133-134; Miller et al. 1980 *in* Henshaw 1995:38).

In common with the Arctic generally, the Frobisher Bay climate is markedly, but predictively, seasonal (Stenton

1989:2). Winters are cold (January average -32° C to -28° C); summers are cool and wet, with occasional rain, fog and wind (July average 5° C - 8° C) (Stenton 1983a:31; 1989:91).

A significant climatological feature which affects human movement is the extent and breakup of the sea ice. In Frobisher Bay the *sina*, or floe edge, lies about 120 km from the head of the bay, which restricts the availability of some marine mammals for inhabitants of the inner bay (Jacobs and Stenton 1985:59). The ice from the shore edge to the floe edge is called the 'fast ice' and is important as a reliable ring seal breathing hole hunting platform and for winter travel as a route to reach the species that congregate in the open water at its seaward edge (Stenton 1983a:29-30). The sea-ice breaks up in mid-July and forms again in mid-October to mid-November. While the unstable pack ice provides a habitat for harp seal and walrus, summer winds can push this ice around continuously, making navigation difficult.

In the recent past, climatic conditions have cycled from a warm period in the 15th-early 16th century (although elsewhere in western North America and Europe evidence suggests a cold episode), followed by a sharp cooling in the late 16th century, and two prolonged cold periods in the late 17th century and the early 19th century, interspersed with warming spells during the 18th century and late 19th-early 20th centuries (Williams and Bradley 1985:766). Apparently, these climatic fluctuations, on the order of 1°-2° C, were not large enough to cause a significant change in either

vegetation, according to pollen evidence, or cultural adaptation, but *did* result in shifts in emphases in resource-use patterns (Jacobs and Stenton 1985). The importance of climatic changes lies in their effects upon the density and distribution of animal populations. Cooler temperatures result in greater ice cover, which leads to an increase in ringed seal and a decrease in open water species, such as walrus and whale (Stenton 1983a:94). Cooler, drier climates can lead to a decline in caribou (Jacobs and Stenton 1985:64). (See Henshaw [1995:254-304] for a recent paleoclimatic reconstruction of Frobisher Bay.)

Frobisher Bay is part of the low Arctic tundra biotic zone. Vegetation consists of a mosaic of dwarf shrubs, sedges, mosses, grasses, lichens and heaths which decrease in relative abundance and diversity towards the interior (Jacobs and Stenton 1985:60; Stenton 1983a:28; 1989:90). Local wood sources are restricted to dwarf shrubs: willow, birch and heath plants, and to driftwood (Laeyendecker 1993:201). While dietary use of Arctic flora is poorly understood, a variety of plants are edible, including lichens, mosses, fungi, sorrel, knotweed and berries, including bilberry, crowberry, bearberry, and cranberry, which were very important nutritionally (Porsild 1951 *in* Stenton 1983a:43-44). However, the real importance of plants to Inuit lies in their use as fuel, bedding, and, in the case of driftwood, as material for tools and weapon manufacture (Stenton 1983a:43-44).

Far more central to Inuit subsistence economy in the bay are faunal resources. Available animal species include maritime species, such as bowhead, narwhal, beluga, polar bear, walrus and a variety of seal (ringed, harp, harbour, and bearded). Intertidal species, namely shellfish such as mussels, clams and cockles, are available but, historically, were probably used only as emergency food. Char is caught in the bay as well as in inland lakes. Terrestrial species include caribou, wolf, arctic fox and arctic hare. The area provides nesting for birds such as gulls, loons, geese, ducks and ptarmigan and their eggs, particularly those of the eider duck, have always been seasonally an important alternative food source (Stenton 1983a:43). (See Figure 4 for the seasonal availability of these resources [Henshaw 1995:45].)

Traditionally, ringed seal and caribou were the mainstays of Nugumiut subsistence. Ring seal skins were used for clothing, tents, mats, lines and harnesses, various receptacles and kayak covers and their fat was rendered into lamp oil (Soper 1928:40). Bearded seal skins were particularly desired for boot soles, heavy lines and harnesses and kayak and umiak covers (Soper 1928:46). Caribou were not only an important meat source but were procured for their skins for clothing and for their bones and antlers for tool manufacture. Other terrestrial game played a relatively minor role in the Nugumiut economy (Henshaw 1995:251).

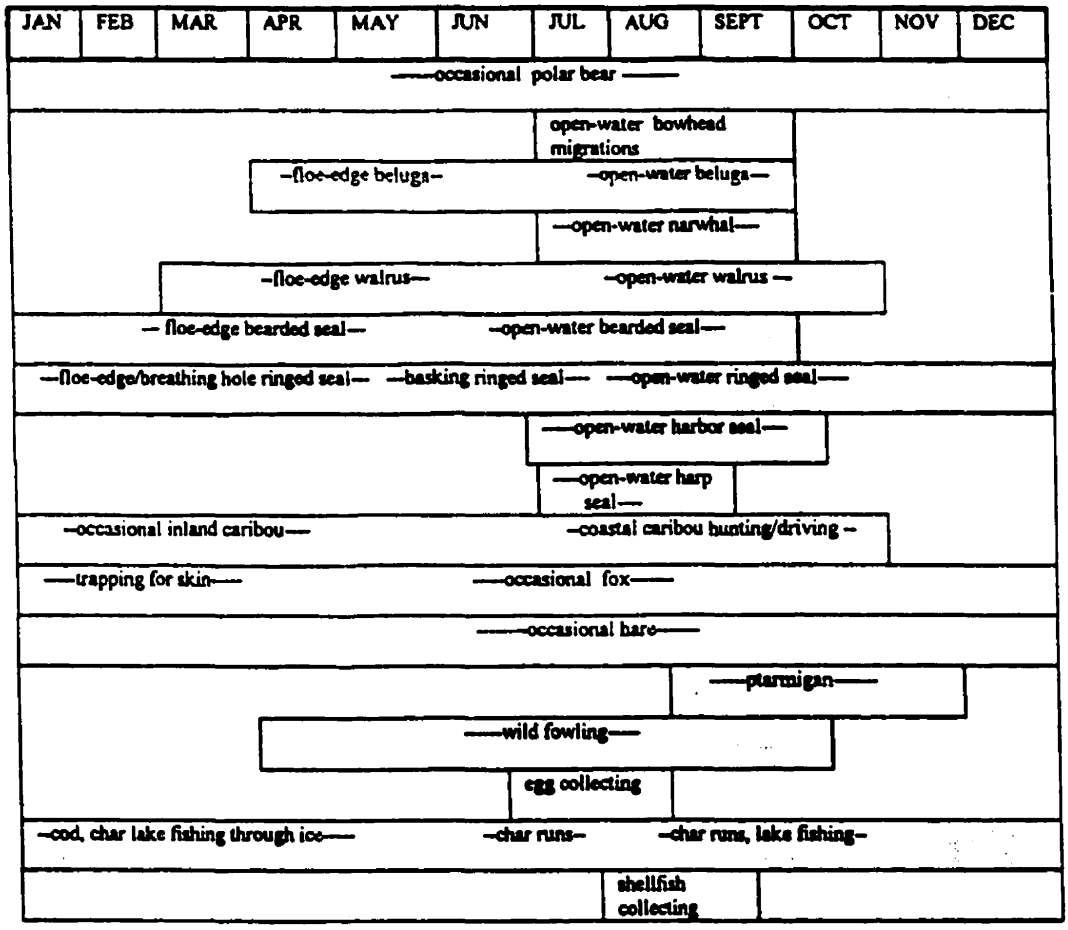

Figure 4. Seasonal Availability of Resources in Frobisher Bay, Cyrus Field Bay and Cornelius Grinnell Bay (Henshaw 1995:45).

Occupational History

Initial Occupation: Pre-Dorset and Dorset

Foxe Basin and Hudson Bay became deglaciated around 6500 years B.P. and by 5000-4000 years B.P. the first of a series of eastward migrations of Alaskan peoples occurred (Maxwell 1985:37). In less than 500 years, their descendents had spread as far east as Greenland. This earliest eastern Arctic culture, the Pre-Dorset (4000-3300 years B.P.), is characterized by a relatively greater reliance on terrestrial species (caribou and muskox) and a greater preponderance of terrestrially-adapted technology (snow knives, sled runners, stone cooking vessels and ice creepers) (Jacobs et al. 1990:732) than the Dorset culture which succeeded it. Gradual, in situ development from the Pre-Dorset to the Dorset culture (which dates 2800-900 years B.P.) was paralleled by a shift in subsistence focus to marine mammals and ice-hunting techniques (Jacobs 1985:720; Odess 1996:16).

Although people have occupied the islands and the northeast shore of outer Frobisher Bay for the last 4000 years (the southwest shore remained largely uninhabited), there is a scarcity of Pre-Dorset and early Dorset sites in Frobisher Bay due to submersion and coastal erosion. The oldest site in the entire bay, Shaymark (KkDn-2) dates only from 3675 +/- 144 years B.P. (Jacobs and Stenton 1985:65) and it is located in the upper bay where uplift continued much longer and erosion has had a much reduced effect on

prehistoric sites. Evidence exists for significant occupation of the bay in middle to late Dorset times, however. Crystal II (KkDn-1), a Classic Thule site with a late Dorset component, was the first Dorset occupation to be identified in the area (Collins 1950).

Thule Occupation

About A.D. 1000, a second migration, this one from northwest Alaska, spread across the eastern Arctic. This new population of communal whale hunters, the Thule, were the biological and cultural antecedents of present-day Inuit. Thule people were major users, although not producers, of iron, and the search for meteoritic iron may have been a contributing factor in the eastward migration (meteoritic deposits are located in Cape York, northwestern Greenland) (Maxwell 1985:283; McCartney 1991:30).

The Thule replaced the Dorset fairly rapidly in most areas, although pockets of Dorset persistence occurred after A.D. 1200 in the high Arctic and in the eastern Arctic. The mechanisms of this replacement, whether the Thule displaced or assimilated the Dorset or, indeed, had contact at all, remains one of the more intriguing and unresolved issues in Arctic archaeology (Jacobs 1985; Park 1993).

In outer Frobisher Bay, where the Dorset culture continued until relatively recently, the problem of the Dorset-Thule transition is magnified by the nature of the sites. The steep, rocky character of the terrain meant that successive populations resettled the same few level spots

(Maxwell 1985:241), generally these were places in which Dorset-period middens resulted in the development of sod, an essential component of Thule structures. It is not uncommon to recover more Dorset artifacts in Thule house fills than Thule artifacts because of this reuse. For example, a Thule sod house at the Shaymark site contained several hundred Dorset artifacts and only two Thule items (Maxwell 1985:241).

Thule culture was first described by Therkel Matthiassen (1927) who excavated Naujan, a whalebone sod house village, which became the type site for this culture. Although whale hunting is considered a key feature of Thule Arctic adaptation, perhaps developing as a response to increasing availability of this prey during the warming period of the 10th-14th centuries, the relative importance of this species has varied with time and place (Jacobs 1985:720; Jacobs et al. 1990:733). The true hallmark of Thule adaptation is its flexibility. Thule subsistence can be terrestrially or marine-dominated, and a marine focus could represent whale, seal or walrus hunting. Thule sites in inner Frobisher bay contain little evidence of whaling but suggest a strong focus on inland caribou hunting (Jacobs and Stenton 1985:70).

Classic Thule (including Early Thule) culture (A.D. 900-1200/1400) initially expanded and flourished in the eastern arctic during a period of climatic warming. Cooling temperatures (interrupted by some brief warming periods), leading ultimately to the Little Ice Age, may have had a role in transforming this whale-hunting culture into the Developed

or Modified Thule (A.D. 1250-1600), whose major feature was regionally-specific adaptation (Maxwell 1985). (The chronological overlap between Classic and Modified Thule, derived from radiocarbon and artifact stylistic differences, illustrates the lack of concensus among archaeologists in dating or defining these periods [Park 1994:33]). In Frobisher Bay, the temperature decline may have increased the extent of fast ice, the habitat for ringed seal. Classic and Developed Thule sites tend to be restricted to the upper bay region (e.g. Qammaarviik, formerly Peale Point [KkDo-1], Tungaasiviik, formerly Peterhead Inlet [KkDo-3] and Kogalik [KjDk-1]); however, prehistoric Thule components have been found beneath 19th century houses at Kuyait and on the outer coast (Fitzhugh 1993a).

Sometime during the Little Ice Age, winter sod house village sites seem to disappear from the archaeological record, although their construction and use may have continued into the early 20th century for archaeological surveys of Sumner Island, near Kuyait, revealed several, small, single-lobed structures which contained early 20th century refuse (Fitzhugh 1991). (Summer tent rings are found throughout the coast and farther inland and can be differentiated temporally, sometimes from the presence of historic or prehistoric surface materials and sometimes based on structural evidence. For example, Thule tent rings are more massively constructed, while 20th century tent rings tend to be more rectilinear in shape and framed with wood.)

The absence of sod house structures may be due either to: 1) qarmatization, 2) replacement with snowhouses or 3) movement out of the area. Qarmat (winterized tents, plural of 'qarmaq'), qarmatized sodhouses (semisubterranean houses rebuilt as one-room qarmat) and sodhouses were the predominant 19th century house forms. The archaeological evidence for snowhouses, however, is slight (for example, snow knives). With the change in architectural form for winter dwellings came a change in winter settlement pattern from coastal basecamps to snow houses built on sea ice. However, on-shore winter dwellings continued as a seasonal option to the latter (Sabo and Jacobs 1980).

Historic Inuit

The transition from Thule culture to historical Inuit culture is generally marked by archaeological, documentary or oral historical evidence for European contact. In Frobisher Bay, the historic Inuit period ostensibly begins in 1576 with explorer Martin Frobisher's first voyage (although, as this study shows, the impact was negligible) and continues to the mid-20th century, when the establishment of the American air force base at Iqaluit and Inuit resettlement from outpost camps to the town heralds the Recent or Modern Period.

After Martin Frobisher's exploratory visits in 1576-1578, no documentary evidence of Inuit-European contact in Frobisher Bay exists until Charles Francis Hall's account in 1860-1861. According to Hall (1970), the mid-19th century Frobisher Bay population, numbering about 80, was established

in four snowhouse villages near the floe edge in the lower part of Frobisher Bay and Cornelius Grinnell Bay.

Several historical Nugumiut sites as well as more recent 20th century sites were located in surveys of outer Frobisher Bay, which suggests an expansion of Nugumiut settlement in the outer bay region about the time of the Frobisher voyages (Fitzhugh 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993a). Outpost camps in use from 1925-1955 include Ward Inlet, Cormack Bay, Waddell Bay, Roger Cove, Hamlen Bay, Newton Fiord and Wiswell Inlet (Kemp 1976). Two outpost camps are still occupied, in fact: Tungait (Gold Cove) and Kuyait and members from both of these camps, but especially from Kuyait, have worked with the Meta Incognita Project for several years.

A Brief History of Thule Research in Frobisher Bay

Several Thule sites were first recorded in the upper bay during paleoenvironmental field research conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s and the resulting archaeological investigations have centred in this area. Perhaps because of the nature of the research which generated the archaeological site database and the interdisciplinary collaborations which followed, culture-climate interaction has been a dominant explanatory tool in the analysis of local Thule cultural development. Contemporaneous climatic conditions, the associated effects on faunal resources and the flexibility of Thule regional settlement patterns as well as issues of

chronology, as opposed to gender or social/contact issues have characterized Thule archaeology within Frobisher Bay and, indeed, throughout the Arctic (Jacobs 1985; Jacobs and Stenton 1985; Sabo and Jacobs 1980; Stenton 1983a, 1987). As with arctic hunter-gatherer studies generally, research attention in Frobisher Bay has tended to focus on winter/coastal/maritime sites due, in part, to the primacy traditionally accorded to whaling as the key feature of Thule culture (Stenton 1983a:3).

Henry Collins (1950) conducted the earliest archaeological investigations of Thule culture in the bay, coincidentally, at the earliest known Thule site in the area. The Crystal II site (KkDn-1) is a Classic Thule occupation (A.D. 1000-1200) built on a Late Dorset midden.

Recent research in the bay has focused, in part, on the apparent historical period abandonment of the upper bay following a pattern of year-round settlement which was established at least as early as the Developed Thule period (Stenton 1983a:172). Initially, resettlement to the outer coast was thought to be climatically triggered, with colder temperatures directing Thule population movements to the increasingly distant floe edge and open water (Jacobs 1985). European contact was assigned a subordinate role as an explanation for the move. Alternatively, Fitzhugh (1993a:20) has suggested that Thule occupation of the outer coast was sporadic summer behaviour of permanent dwellers of the inner bay. Driftwood trade and use, enhanced by outer coast

trading with Europeans and access to European wood as wreckage may have been an impetus for the summer migration (Fitzhugh 1993a:20).

It is difficult to assess the lower bay occupation intensity because structural rebuilding episodes so effectively mask earlier occupations (Fitzhugh 1993b). Furthermore, lack of Thule period middens and summer camps gives the appearance of an increase in size and number of houses beginning in the early historical period (Fitzhugh 1993b). However, recent surveys in the outer bay which indicate an early Thule *winter* presence in this area, coupled with evidence of a large historic Inuit village in Newell Sound in the mid-bay region, will have an important impact on interpretations of Inuit adaptation settlement patterns (Fitzhugh 1993a).

During the past 15 years, archaeological work has been carried out at three Thule winter sites: Qamaarviit (KkDo-1), previously known as Peale Point, and Tungaasiviik (KkDo-3), formerly the Peterhead Inlet site, both at the head of the bay, and Kogalik (KjDk-1), ninety kilometres down the northeast coast, at Ward Inlet (Jacobs 1982; Jacobs and Stenton 1985; Stenton 1981, 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1987, 1990a, 1991b, 1992, 1994, Stenton and Rigby 1995). The sod house occupations at all three sites date to the Developed Thule period (A.D. 1200/1250-1600) and several contain Frobisher contact materials. Age estimates, however, were derived, instead, from harpoon head seriations. While

Classic Thule components were encountered in some of the houses, intact Classic Thule sites, other than Crystal II, have not been found in the area.

Neither Kogalik nor Qamaarviit were mentioned in Hall's discussions of historical Inuit settlements and both sites may have been temporarily abandoned in the 19th century (Jacobs 1982). However, historical Inuit tent rings and qarmat and evidence of remodelling of some of the sod houses at Tungaasiviik and Kogalik suggest a substantial reoccupation in the recent historic past. The single tent ring tested at Tungaasiviik dates to the mid-20th century.

Qamaarviit's location, in the inner bay, far from the floe edge, contradicts certain aspects of the conventional model of Thule winter settlement. Assessing site selection in economic terms became a major research objective of the project (Stenton 1987). Doug Stenton's (1983a, 1987) zooarchaeological analysis documents a regional variation to the traditional Thule whale hunting subsistence model, with a reliance on local (i.e. upper bay) species such as caribou and ringed seal rather than on the open water species more prevalent in the outer bay area (e.g. walrus, beluga and bearded seal).

Within the last 10 years, the role of summer/inland/ terrestrial adaptations has begun to be incorporated into models of Thule cultural development with Doug Stenton's (Jacobs et al. 1990; Stenton 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, 1993) research in the large lakes

area of southeast Baffin Island. Stenton (1989:333) distinguished "two patterns of land use . . . each related to a different level of resource [essentially caribou] availability". "Long-term regional declines in caribou populations" altered the human settlement pattern from a "distribution of summer/fall camps in coastal upland areas to ones in the interior lake region" (Stenton 1989:333). The possible impact of European contact on traditional patterns of land use, and modification to caribou hunting strategies, as a consequence of new technology (for example, guns) largely remains to be addressed.

More recently, Christine Hennebury (pers. comm. January 1999) has been researching gendered space in Thule houses using collections from Frobisher Bay and Labrador for her Master's thesis.

The Meta Incognita Project

The Meta Incognita Project (M.I.P.) takes its title from the peninsula named by explorer Martin Frobisher as 'unknown boundaries'. Organized in 1990 by Canadian, American and British scholars, the project was designed to document the history, archaeology and (originally) oral history of Frobisher Bay, especially the voyages and mining activities of Elizabethan explorer Martin Frobisher (1576-1578), their impact on 16th century Inuit culture and subsequent European-Inuit interaction.

The project originated from initiatives of the Smithsonian Institution which holds the archives and collections of Charles Francis Hall, a 19th century explorer who brought the Frobisher site to the attention to the Victorian world. The initial catalyst was an anomalously early radiocarbon date on an iron object collected by Hall from the Elizabethan base camp on Kodlunarn Island which suggested possible Norse involvement. The 1981 Smithsonian field program was conducted to verify Hall's conclusions about the Frobisher identity of the Kodlunarn Island site and involved some limited test excavation, mapping, photography and sample collecting (Fitzhugh 1981; Fitzhugh and Olin 1993). That investigation was preceded by the 1927 Rawson-MacMillan expedition (Strong *in* Fitzhugh 1993d:21-22) and by one nearly fifty years later, led by Walter Kenyon (1975), which were the first to confirm Hall's identification but provided no new scientific details from their surface collecting and digging activities.

At present, a committee, composed of representatives from Canadian government agencies, including the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Canada Parks Service, Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and Inuit Heritage Trust, coordinates research and ensures communication of results. In 1991, the M.I.P. committee sponsored a workshop to facilitate information exchange among the researchers (M.I.P. 1991) and, in 1993, a progress report on the 1991 field work and the analytical work supporting it (Alsford 1993), as well

as a volume detailing the sum of the multidisciplinary work to date (Fitzhugh and Olin 1993), were published. In 1997, a second symposium, sponsored by the MIP, was held to enable the various researchers to exchange information. The results of the archival research are now being published, with plans for the publication of the archaeological results to follow at a future date.

The research program cross-cuts several disciplines: historical and Inuit archaeology, history, Native oral history, paleoclimatic reconstruction, geology, metallurgy, archaeometry and zooarchaeology. William Fitzhugh (Smithsonian Institution) initiated the research collaboration, coordinated the historical Inuit investigations and, specifically, conducted several seasons of survey (1981, 1990-1993) to locate and identify prehistoric and historic sites in outer Frobisher Bay. Anne Henshaw (Harvard University), William Fitzhugh and I conducted excavations at three of the historical Inuit sites identified. Anne Henshaw's (1995) dissertation on subsistence-settlement evidence of culture contact and culture-climate interaction during the Little Ice Age provides a regional perspective on Inuit-European interaction. Réginald Auger (Laval University) is investigating Frobisher's basecamp at Kodlunarn Island and his work and that of Donald Hogarth (University of Ottawa) on Elizabethan mining, metallurgy and exploration will provide baseline data on the nature of Elizabethan goods and

materials that were potentially available to the Inuit (Hogarth et al. 1994). A British archival team (ARTAF), led by Sir Ian Gourley, is researching documentary and cartographic sources of information pertaining to the Frobisher voyages.

Unfortunately, oral history investigations of the changing relations between Inuit and Europeans, an important perspective for a multi-disciplinary study of interaction, were anticipated but have not yet been undertaken (e.g. Rowley 1993a,b). Inuit accounts of European contact during Frobisher's times and the later 19th century would have been helpful in interpreting patterns of behaviour associated with the archaeological sites.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> How can we use the occurrence or non-occurrence of things like . . . [ulus and harpoons] to reconstruct history unless we are confident of the significance of these things in the society in question? (Ramsden 1990:94)

Research Model

Ethnocentric assumptions about the significance of gendered differences within another culture seldom work because basic presumptions about what it means to hunt, or be married, or about how persons are gendered remain unexamined (Bodenhorn 1990:57). The degree of gender role duality, for example, can vary cross-culturally from slight dichotomization to extreme polarity (Cucchiari 1981:33). Several aspects of Inuit culture have profound implications for modeling culture contact in terms of gender. Men and women's subsistence (and other) responsibilities, their roles and relative status and their symbolic representations are fundamental to understanding the variation in access and response to European contact. In this section, these key features are reviewed for the purpose of developing hypotheses about Inuit gender and gender interaction to be tested using documentary and archaeological evidence specific to Baffin Island Inuit. Ideological and behavioural

correlates of gender roles relevant to these Inuit are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Division of Labour

Within Inuit culture, work is a profoundly important marker of gender. Work is both what people do and who they are as categories of beings (Guemple 1986:14). There is a considerable historical precedent for the gendered categorization of activities, especially for activities requiring a high degree of expertise such as women's clothing production skills and men's tool-making tasks, which, based on continuities with the archaeological record, extends back to precontact Thule culture as well.

Historically, Inuit women converted raw materials into consumer goods (Ackerman 1990; Jolles and Kaningok 1991). They prepared hides and made clothing, boots and boat covers. They also prepared food (including butchering) for immediate and future consumption; gathered fuel, bedding, greens and berries; controlled the processing, storing and distribution of subsistence and other resources; maintained their homes; tended lamps; and cared for children (Ackerman 1990; Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Guemple 1986; Jolles and Kaningok 1991; McElroy 1979).

Inuit men hunted land and sea animals; flensed and butchered game; constructed snowhouses and collected water (Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Guemple 1986; Jolles and

Kaningok 1991; McElroy 1979). They also made, cleaned and repaired their own tools and equipment (such as snow knives, fish hooks, fish spears, harpoons, ice chisels, sleds, boats, tent poles) and those of their wives (for example, ulus, scrapers, needlecases, combs, pots, lamps) (Briggs 1974:274; Guemple 1986; Scheitlin 1980). Traditionally, men worked hard materials such as bone, ivory, antler, baleen, stone, metal and wood, materials which are more commonly encountered in archaeological contexts than the hides exclusive to women's tasks (Scheitlin 1980).

Ethnographic sources are ambiguous about some activities such as bird hunting and fishing (both genders may have undertaken both tasks using different tools); egg and shellfish collecting; feeding and caring for sled dogs; constructing and repairing dog harnesses, and building sodhouses.

Gender Role Complementarity

Inuit gender roles are not hierarchically defined, nor do they relate to independence and self-containment, rather they are interdependent and complementary (Ackerman 1990; Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Guemple 1986; Jolles and Kaningok 1991). Men procure; women process; both produce. The spousal unit is an essential element of the family and the partners are two halves of an economic whole, with each performing work and producing food *for* the other (Ackerman

1990; Guemple 1986; Mauss 1979). While "each sex claims to be incapable of performing the other's tasks . . . they see the work of the other as indispensable" (Briggs 1974:275). This role complementarity is evident in both the criteria of marriageability and in the form of marriage gifts (Guemple 1986:14). Men must demonstrate proficiency in hunting and tool-making, women in sewing and child-rearing. At marriage, women give their husbands sets of homemade clothing while men bestow sets of women's tools.

Nowhere is this gendered interdependence more pronounced than in subsistence hunting. This is not contradicted by the strong physical isolation between sexes in hunting behaviour, especially whaling (e.g. the ritual isolation of the whaler's wife). Hunting encompasses a whole set of activities, technologies and symbols, beyond mere catching and slaughtering of animals for dietary purposes (Bodenhorn 1990:55; Jolles and Kaningok 1991). It involves attracting, killing, butchering, transforming animals into food and clothing (the design of which, in turn, attracts game) and following proper rituals (Bodenhorn 1990:64). To the Inuit, women's ideological role is critical to successful hunting (Bodenhorn 1990; Fienup-Riordan 1990). They perform religious rituals to honour and attract animals and maintain proper relations between people and animals (Jolles and Kaningok 1991). Iñupiat, in fact, designate women as 'hunters', albeit in a special sense, for it is to them that the animals come, and their skills of sewing, butchering and

meat-sharing are considered as hunting skills within that society, while Baffin Island Inuit claim that a man is the hunter his wife makes him (Bodenhorn 1990; Briggs 1974; Fienup-Riordan 1990). Even the rhythm of each gender's work is dependent on the pace of the other's: men cannot hunt or move camp until women finish sewing caribou skin clothing; women are kept busy preparing skins if their partners' hunting is successful (Briggs 1974).

Gender Status

Determining gender status within an egalitarian society entails resolving whether egalitarianism extends *across* sexual boundaries as well as within them (Begler 1978). It involves identifying how each gender derives authority and status and which aspects of social relations have the greatest influence upon gender ideology (Gero 1992; Ortner and Whitehead 1981).

In traditional anthropological literature, the term 'egalitarian' referred to relations among adult *males;* within egalitarian societies young and/or female individuals were assumed to have less status than old and/or male members (Begler 1978). Women tended to achieve their status in terms of their relations to men (Ortner and Whitehead 1981), or at least were seen to by anthropologists. The phrase itself, 'status of women' invited an implicit comparison with a uniformly high male standard, and arguments for a universal

female subordination, common to the gender anthropology of the 1970s and 1980s, were framed in terms of arguments of exclusion rather than collaboration or complementarity (Berndt 1970). Part of the problem was that Western anthropologists applied their own definition of status - restrictions in terms of control over production and participation in public or political activities (Begler 1978) - to others. The conflict between the perspectives of the observer and the observed led to conflicting accounts of female status in the ethnographic literature (e.g. compare Bodenhorn 1990 and Guemple 1986 with Friedl 1983 and Stevenson 1984). Because we expected men to have universally higher status, it was assumed that, in general, food production was the single most important criterion for establishing status; that men produced food; and, when women's greater caloric input in some societies was realized, that men produced the more *prestigious* food (meat rather than plants; animal as opposed to fish or shellfish; large mammal versus small mammal).

According to these guidelines, Inuit males should have had the highest status of men of any culture, since they 'contributed' virtually all the food. But there are flaws in this argument, namely, the belief that within Inuit society, the sole essential requirement generating status was food procurement. Both Inuit men's and Inuit women's work had high economic value (Ackerman 1990) and the skills of both were essential to survival (Briggs 1974). While men

physically secured the game, it was the hunter's wife, according to Inuit, who brought the animal to the hunter as well as processed the food for consumption. Her spiritual importance was paramount, as attested to by both the many taboos on her behaviour and the mythological conceptualizations of the relationship of the principal female deity of sea animals. Furthermore, food was not the sole requirement of Arctic survival. Protection from the cold was of equal importance, and within this cultural sphere, women had the principal role of providing very well sewn clothing.

Classifying the Inuit gender system as egalitarian or hierarchical was confounded by yet another facet of the ethnocentric perspective of early ethnographers who viewed women as dependent. Consequently, most Inuit ethnographies raise the specter of female manipulation by men (*wife*-sharing or female infanticide, for example), but neglect to elaborate the emic viewpoint of *spousal* exchange as often initiated by women and motivated as much by labour requirements as by sexual desire or, in the case of female infanticide, by the fact that living female children were as loved and well-regarded as male offspring (Briggs 1974).

One can look at ideology to see how idealized gender relations work. Contrary to the model of Inuit male superiority, for example, Briggs (1974) considers the possibility that Inuit women may have unconsciously been considered more important (i.e. more powerful) than Inuit men

in view of the fact that the principal deities were female, that taboos on women were more stringent than those on men and that, while male infants were believed to have the ability to metamorphose into females at birth, the reverse never happens. Certainly, female ritual activities performed in conjunction with subsistence suggest that their ceremonial roles are, at least, highly valued (Jolles and Kaningok 1991).

Studies of decision-making and the distribution of power, authority and autonomy within various Inuit cultural spheres demonstrate that both genders contributed economically and shared religious roles (for example, performance as shamans); that men appeared to dominate political life, although there are large gaps in our knowledge; that men made decisions about hunting and travelling; and that women made domestic decisions (Ackerman 1990; Briggs 1974). As Briggs (1974:288) notes, however, "differential prestige does not necessarily follow from the existence of different spheres of decision-making". Leacock (1978:247, 249), for example, has argued that the basic premise of egalitarian hunter-gatherer societies concentrates on the concept of autonomy, rather than absolute 'equality' so that people hold the decision-making power over the activities for which they are responsible. Nevertheless, I do agree that hunter-gatherers are not by nature universally egalitarian, as Leacock's critics (e.g. Van Kirk 1987) believe she does. Assuming social equality based on women's

essential economic role must be demonstrated, not simply assumed (Van Kirk 1987:379). The egalitarian character of Inuit culture appears to cross gender lines and should, theoretically, extend to equal access to materials and goods, including (rare) European resources.

Inuit Binary Worldview

The gendered roles and activities described above are just two aspects of a series of dualisms which exemplify traditional Inuit ideology and from which was derived practical rules of life.

Marcel Mauss (1979), writing in 1906, made one of the first attempts to understand and synthesize Inuit systems of symbols and meanings. Exploring seasonal variations in social relations, Mauss (1979:61) concluded that the "concept of summer and the concept of winter are like two poles around which revolves the system of Inuit ideas", with "the opposition between these two fundamental classes so deeply [felt] that to mix them in anyway is forbidden". Even the way in which *people* "are classified bears the imprint of this fundamental opposition between the two groups" (Mauss 1979:61).

Both ideologically and behaviourally, aspects of the Inuit world can be interpreted according to a principal dichotomy between summer and winter and another between land and sea (Mauss 1979; McGhee 1977). These oppositions express

themselves as a set of practical rules maintaining the separation of land and sea mammals, but extend more generally to a series of implicit assumptions and oppositions regarding the domains of gender, settlement, group interaction, technology and raw materials, where land is to sea, as summer is to winter, as men are to women, as antler is to ivory, as dispersion is to nucleation, and as familial is to communal (Mauss 1979; McGhee 1977). It is relevant at this point to introduce Bernard Saladin-d'Anglure's (1992) argument for the occasional presence of a 'third sex' in Inuit culture. Within families of same-sex siblings, the younger sibling sometimes is given the social identity (i.e. gender) of the opposite sex and learns the skills and roles of that sex in order to maintain balance and symmetry within the family. However, the sanctity of the dual gender system is maintained and, at least in this case, the concept of Maussian polarity is still relevant.

McGhee (1977) examined the prehistoric antecedents of this oppositional logic using a combination of historical Inuit mythology and Thule material culture to explain the differential use of two materials, ivory and antler. Studying prehistoric Thule artifact collections, McGhee found that ivory and antler were associated with certain artifacts regardless of functional criteria, such as availability, workability, or suitability. An implement's effectiveness, in other words, "was determined by factors which operated from beyond the material world" (Bailey *in* Hammell 1983:18).

Ivory was used for women's sewing tools, combs, ornaments, pendants, bird and bird-women figures, sea mammal hunting and bird hunting and tools for winter living. Antler was used for caribou hunting lances and arrowheads. The organizing principle was related to the labour of men and women but was, in some manner, more than a symmetrical duality of tasks.

Turning to evidence of historical Inuit mythology, custom and ritual, McGhee constructed a version of the prehistoric Thule symbolic system which included ideological domains of gender control and authority. From such sources, we find that, while women undertook such practical tasks as skin processing and clothing production, they were also responsible for attracting sea mammals to the hunter and maintaining relations between animals and people. Raw material use paralleled this ideology. Ivory was used not simply for female tasks but also for those aspects of Inuit life which women controlled. McGhee (1977:147) suggests that this set of oppositions "existed in the Thule mind and was expressed in Thule technology to a greater extent than in the technology of their historical descendants". Yet this proposition remains to be empirically tested with contact period artifacts, both for evidence of the continuity of differential raw material use and for evidence of the implications of the introduction of a largely foreign material, metal. This is one of the objectives of this study.

Sørensen (1992:39) has asked some very important questions about the point at which gender becomes relevant within an artifact's life history and about how objects gain their meaning and symbolic association and whether they are all similar in that sense. As McGhee (1977) has shown, the very materials from which some things are made may be affected by gender associations. Certainly, their manufacture, use (both primary and secondary) and final deposition can also be imbued with such associations (Sørensen 1992:46).

Culture Contact: Engendering Opportunities and Responses

According to McElroy (1979:49), gender-role identity was a critical variable in the degree as well as the types of intercultural interaction in the eastern Arctic. Historically, Inuit men and women had different opportunities for and responses to change generally, and to European contact specifically, as a consequence of the kinds of tasks they engaged in, their roles, the ideological spheres of their authority and their status relative to each other.

Traditional models of gender hierarchies and intercultural interaction have been grounded on assumptions that: (1) only hunters, who have the monopoly on food production, participate in an internal system of exchange and (2) because of this, hunters control exchange with other groups (Friedl 1983:199). "The male monopoly on hunting

unites men in a system of exchange and gives them power" (Friedl 1983:199). However, from the Inuit gender model presented above, we know that interactive processes are not so simple. Both because of the complementary nature of Inuit gender roles, the egalitarian nature of the society and the fact that both women and men undertook tasks valued by Europeans, each gender would have had opportunities for European contact which may have extended to equal access to European materials and goods.

Discussion

The foregoing sections have described the key aspects of the Inuit gender system: labour organization, gender roles and status, and ideological domains, and provided a generalized framework with which to formulate hypotheses about gender and material culture and contact with others.

Given the interdependent and complementary nature of gender roles and the tendency to egalitarian status among Inuit women and men (which is discussed more fully in Chapter 4), their access to European materials and goods should be equivalent. (Alternatively, if female roles tended to dependence on males, with Inuit males being relatively independent, *and* if gender status tended towards a hierarchical structure, with men in a superordinate position, a situation of relatively greater access to European goods for Inuit men would prevail.) Furthermore, given the

structured division of both labour and ideological domains assigned to Inuit men and women, coupled with the features described above, access to European goods should be equivalent but qualitatively different; in other words relating to functionality of the foreign trait within Inuit culture. This leads to the following set of hypotheses.

Hypotheses

Given a gender system which is egalitarian and complementary, the following primary hypotheses concerning intercultural interaction should hold. Alternatively, should a hierarchical structure characterize the Inuit gender system, the null (i.e. alternative) hypotheses will prevail.

Hypothesis 1

European goods and raw materials will be utilized equally for items used by men and those used by women.

Alternative Hypothesis 1'

European goods and raw materials will *not* be utilized equally for items used by each gender.

This differential access may result from 1a) an inherent gender hierarchy (i.e. differential status) or from 1b) differential opportunities for European contact, in terms of personal access by men and women:

Alternative Hypothesis 1a'

Higher status for one gender will be reflected in:

a) greater use of European materials or goods

b) a higher ratio of ready-made imports compared to locally produced items from European materials

c) larger tool size

d) less evidence of tool reuse

e) less evidence of tool reworking

f) less evidence of tool maintenance (because items were replaced more easily)

Alternative Hypothesis 1b'

Differential opportunities for European contact, such as personal access, will be evidenced only through ethnographic documentation of Inuit gender roles, European alliances, involvement in European labour and European evaluation of Inuit gender skills.

Hypothesis 2

Within each gendered set of activities, European items or materials will not be uniformly adopted.

Differential use of European material culture will depend on empirically functional criteria such as the nature of the tasks themselves or the relative superiority of aboriginal items versus their European counterparts.

Alternative Hypothesis 2'

European items or materials will be uniformly adopted within each gendered set of activities.

Hypothesis 3

The introduction of European metal will cross-cut the ideologically-determined gender domains of technology and material described by McGhee (1977).

Alternative Hypothesis 3'

The introduction of European metal will be associated with the ideologically-determined domain of technology and material of one gender but not the other.

Generating Archaeological Inference

Archaeological interpretations of gender systems must begin, not with the archaeological data, but with a systemic look at how gender relations work within a society (Gero 1992:16). This approach, involving both ethnographic and ethnohistorical data, produces hypotheses about the behaviour which created the archaeological pattern. At the same time, it positively constrains the universe of possibilities for archaeological interpretation. Thus, if we know that a society was sedentary and ranked and that archaeological preservation of a related occupation site is excellent, then interdwelling differences in faunal remains are not likely

attributable to seasonal occupation variation or taphonomic preservation, but more probably to ethnic or status differentiation.

However, analogies are, by definition, incomplete. Ambiguities within them can be tested by generating material implications that can be identified in the archaeological context (Stahl 1993). If, for example, the ethnographic record is silent about gender dietary differences, trace element analysis may yield answers. More importantly, points of *divergence* can inform on how the prehistoric past differed from the ethnographic period used to develop the analogues (Stahl 1993). Two principal concerns with the use of analogy in archaeological research relate to how we select analogies and how we apply them to archaeological contexts (Stahl 1993:235-236).

One form of analogical reasoning which has undergone substantial review and criticism is the direct historical approach, primarily for its uncritical assumption of uniformitarianism. This analogical approach involves the demonstration of cultural and geographical continuity in order to extend an ethnographical baseline progressively backwards in time. Identifying as many points of similarity as possible, particularly with respect to material culture, justifies the extrapolation of associated components of behaviour and beliefs (Trigger 1989:391). One pitfall lies in the easy equation of ubiquity with antiquity (i.e. anything widespread must be long-lived), when, instead,

common features may be due to more recent phenomena such as a homogeneous response to European contact (Stahl 1993:248). For example, the designation of large, open boats as 'women's boats' was a 19th-century phenomenon and was not a term common to the early contact or precontact periods. Another problem concerns conflating descriptions drawn from disparate temporal contexts. This is overcome by making analogies temporally-specific (Stahl 1993:249). For example, although subsistence hunting was generally undertaken by Inuit men, women shared in this task to some degree during the late 19th-early 20th centuries, when men were participating in commercial whaling and fox trapping.

For the present study of Inuit gender and European contact, the archaeological and ethnographic evidence are contemporaneous for the later (19th - early 20th century) sites and problems of establishing continuity are alleviated. Securing an acceptable analogue for precontact Thule society in Frobisher Bay is more problematic.

The Nugumiut of Frobisher Bay are the biological and cultural descendants of the prehistoric Thule who lived in the area. Nevertheless, a mechanical application of the direct historical approach solely on the basis of geographical and/or cultural continuity is not credible given the very real possibility of transformation due to European interaction. A potential source of analogy is the historical North Alaskan whaling culture (see, for example, McCartney [1991] and Grier and Savelle [1994]). However, while the

North Alaskan Iñupiat are analogous to *Classic* Thule culture (A.D. 900-1200/1400), the shared focusing on communal whaling, social ranking, food surplus storage, permanent winter houses, communal ceremonial houses (*'karigi'* or *'kashgee'*) and elaborate technology, decoration and ornamentation was abandoned in Frobisher Bay sometime during the *Developed* Thule period (A.D.1250-1600).

The solution is to combine the selection criteria of two analogical approaches: the assumption of cultural continuity of the direct historical approach *with* explicit evidence for continuity of selected aspects or 'boundary conditions', regardless of their presumed historical relation (Ascher *in* Stahl 1993:236). If certain boundary conditions, such as subsistence resources and requirements, ecological setting and technological adaptation, are similar enough, they warrant the analogical use of historical Inuit culture to interpret selective aspects pertaining to these conditions in the prehistoric material record. For example, climatic continuity suggests persistence of the same clothing requirements. Technological persistence in raw material use, bone, stone and skin, suggests continuity in labour organization. It is only as a consequence of newly introduced activities and/or materials that relations might shift.

Consequently, for this study, ethnographic evidence which specifically relates to the eastern Canadian Arctic initially is used to determine the nature of the patterned

differences in female and male behaviour and then to determine what the associated material culture would be, who used it and in what contexts.

Method

Key features of a generalized Inuit gender system derived from current anthropological models have been identified and a series of hypotheses linking gender to intercultural interaction have been developed. Testing the hypotheses begins with an evaluation of the ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources specific to the eastern Canadian Arctic to determine how the perspectives, motivations and biases of the authors potentially affected both the collection and the presentation of data. These sources provide the basis for describing the Inuit gender system, particularly its following aspects: (1) the division of labour, (including gender tasks and associated material culture; distinctions between artifact producer and artifact user; and seasonal variations in gendered production and use of material culture); (2) gender social organization and the relation to access to European goods; and (3) symbolic associations of gender and raw material types.

An ethnographic description of each of the Inuit-European contact periods follows, which details the material culture exchanged (and retained); the prestige trade goods acquired; the means by which Inuit obtained European goods;

and the effect of access to European goods on traditional Inuit activities.

Documentary records and comparative analyses of assemblages from 'host sites', such as Frobisher's basecamp, define the range of *available* European goods or services. In this way, aspects of the 'Other's' culture which were accepted are understood within the context of those aspects which were actively rejected. But because the documentary records represent only the available goods or the acquired goods and "not entirely how those goods were used according to 'culturally dictated plans'" (Deetz *in* Pyszczyk 1989:243), I then direct attention to archaeological evidence for interaction.

Artifact assemblages from three historic Inuit sites are classified according to function or activity, gender, ethnicity and raw material, following which gender differences in consumption patterns in each of three periods are identified. Comparing the nature of European goods and raw materials used in men's and women's tools serves to test Hypotheses 1 and 2.

One problem lies with the slight material evidence of the 16th-century contact. This is partly a factor of the high value placed by Inuit on one type of exotic material, metal, which was both heavily curated and easily corroded. As Morrison (1987:6) notes, its archaeological frequency "bears little relation to its frequency in actual use". For this reason, I compare complete slate and metal tools to each

other by frequency of use and range of tools made, as Morrison (1987) suggests, and to proxy evidence for these materials. A low proportion of knife blades found intact in handles compared to other lines of evidence, such as tool handles exhibiting iron rust in and around blade slots and holes, thin blade slots and quantities of metal fragments suggest that metal use was more common than the recovery of archaeological metal specimens would suggest (McCartney 1991:30).

Given the seasonally-variable nature of the settlement types in this study: winter semi-subterranean houses and transition-season qarmat, I also consider the archaeological evidence for seasonal variability in gender behaviour, although there is some evidence that qarmat and snowhouses were both used as winter dwellings late into the 19th century (Park 1988:165). That the two genders are more polarized under certain economic or environmental conditions than others has a bearing on any interpretations of Inuit-European contact which involve variation in contact type and contact period across seasonally-variable behaviour.

Finally, to test the third hypothesis, which concerns symbolic gender associations, I present data on artifact and raw material associations for the 16th century and 19th/20th century contact periods and compare these to McGhee's (1977) interpretation of pre-contact Thule assemblages.

CHAPTER 3

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION

> To be enchanted stands at one end of the spectrum; to be informed at the other. (MacLaren [1991:35] on exploration/travel literature)

> . . . first contacts between Native North Americans and Europeans involved explorers but also their respective imaginations and their publishers. (MacLaren 1991:43)

Evaluating and interpreting documentary evidence is a critically difficult but essential first step in the task of anthropological model-making (Bodenhorn 1990:66). Before mining exploration and travel literature for information on the Inuit gender system and European contact (the topics of the next two chapters), their documentary value, that is their reliability, validity, authority and completeness, must be explicitly assessed (Hamilton 1990-1991:4).

> Minimally this should involve consideration of who the author was, who was the intended audience, for what purpose was the document produced, the time interval between the event's occurrence and its final recording, whether the record was transcribed or edited, and what biases and perspectives the author (and editor) brought to the document (Hamilton 1990-1991:4).

To this list of essential aspects of ethnography to consider, Tooker (1991:4-7) would add the following features: the amount of ethnographic detail, the character of writing style (e.g., extensive versus sparse), the foci of the accounts, their internal consistency and congruence with what is

already known of the culture itself and the authors' scholarly care regarding their treatment of the data they recorded, whether they note the source of each item of information and whether it was actually observed or hearsay.

There is a tendency to accord the published version of a narrative uncritical authority when, in fact, most documents went through stages of writing: field notes/log book, journal/report, and draft manuscripts before the final publishable text was produced, each with its own variations in content, structure and style (MacLaren 1991:25-26,28). MacLaren (1991:27) recommends that critical analysis be conducted "book by book, traveller by traveller, rather than synthetically across the genre". I strongly agree. Nevertheless, this level of critical analysis far exceeds the scope of the present study and the following summary will have to suffice for the present.

16th/Early 17th-Century Accounts

The Frobisher voyages are unique amongst 16th/early-17th century expeditions for the voluminous documentary record they left behind: twelve reports by nine different authors (see Table 1), as well as related State Papers and audited expenses. Most of the narratives are first person accounts of the expedition and they are generally consistent with each other with respect to details on gender and on European contact. The exception is authored by Michael Lok (Collinson

1867; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938), the project's principal financier, who produced a secondhand report of the first voyage, presumably based on accounts given by Frobisher and the other participants. His chief aim appears to be justification of Frobisher's actions regarding a purported kidnapping event involving five sailors who went ashore and were never seen again (further details are on p.127).

Table 1. 16th/Early 17th Century Accounts of Eastern Arctic Explorations

Frobisher Bay		
1576	1577	1578
George Best Christopher Hall Michael Lok	George Best Dionyse Settle	George Best Christopher Hall Thomas Ellis Edward Fenton Edward Sellman Thomas Wiars anonymous
West Greenland/ Cumberland Sound		West Greenland/ Hudson Strait
1585-1587		1612-1616
John Davis		William Baffin

George Best (Kenyon 1975; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938) wrote the only contemporary account of all three voyages. Hogarth (Hogarth et al. 1994:3) notes that his is the least reliable account of the first and third voyages. His report of the first voyage is restricted to a brief summary and it

is probable that Best was not even present on the voyage (Hogarth et al. 1994:3). A third account of the initial voyage, by Christopher Hall (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938), ship's pilot, is primarily a navigation log, but includes a short Inuktitut vocabulary.

The first printed account on record of any of the Frobisher voyages was produced by Dionyse Settle (1577; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938) and went through editions in French, Latin, and German as well as English (Hogarth et al. 1994:3). Although he describes himself as a servant of the Earl of Cumberland, and is listed as a soldier in the second voyage (the subject of his narrative), Stefansson and McCaskill (1938:273) portray him as positioned somewhat higher socially, a gentleman voyager, impelled by "sheer curiosity and interest in travel".

Aside from Best's journal, the third and last voyage is described by Edward Fenton (Kenyon 1980-1), one of Frobisher's captains, and by Christopher Hall (Harley manuscript 167/142 *in* Hogarth et al. 1994:5,8) primarily in the form of navigation logs; by Edward Sellman (Collinson 1867; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938), a notary sent by Lok to report on the expedition; by Thomas Ellis (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938), sailor, who prefaces his account with a long apologia for attempting a narrative in the company of much more educated men; and by two others. Ellis' account also includes poems in praise of Frobisher. The remaining descriptions of the last voyage include a short (two-three

page) account of the return voyage by Thomas Wiars (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938) and an anonymous account (Harley manuscript 167/41 *in* Hogarth et al. 1994:5) of which only two pages remain after damage by fire.

A manuscript, *The Doynges of Captayne Furbisher*, written in 1579 for Michael Lok and with marginal notes by Lok exists as a copy in the State Papers (Hogarth et al. 1994:8). A four page version of this, entitled *Abuses of Captayne Furbisher*, in Stefansson and McCaskill (1938:208-212), is a harsh condemnation of Frobisher accusing him of bad mineral assays and poor provisioning.

Three audited accounts which contain a wealth of detail about the itemized expenses of the Frobisher enterprise have been transcribed in McDermott's (1984) analysis of the account books of Michael Lok.

Two other accounts that have provided details on 16th-early 17th century Inuit social life and European contact should be mentioned here: John Davis' (Markham 1880) 1585-1587 explorations of west Greenland and Cumberland Sound and William Baffin's (1881) 1612-1616 account of the west coast of Greenland and Hudson Strait.

Accounts of the Frobisher voyages were written shortly after the events occurred; in fact, most were completed before the onset of the next voyage. As such, they suffer less from the lapses and lack of detail commonly associated with reminiscence-type accounts, such as oral histories or autobiographies. The editions available today date to the

19th and early 20th centuries; however, earlier publications exist. Earlier versions of these texts, field notes or draft manuscripts, for example, have not survived. Walter Kenyon (1975:xii) reprinted Best's narratives in modern English, in the process "paring away some of the more heroic features of Best's formal declamations". The most complete reference is Stefansson and McCaskill (1938); it contains reprints of every known source that pertains directly to the Frobisher voyages.

These narratives not only served to document the expeditions but also were tales of exploration and adventure, reaffirmations of Christian superiority and sovereignty, paeans to the glory of England and her seamen, and, not secondarily, boosts to Frobisher's, and the authors' own images. Lok was particularly concerned with providing an account of a captive Inuit "to satisfy the world" about him (Collinson 1867:87). The texts were, in effect, an Elizabethan example of self-promotion, as well as how-to manuals on the logistics and execution of an exploratory expedition. They included pointers on cosmology, geography, navigation, foreign trade and interethnic relations (Collinson 1867). They would have been read by expedition patrons and backers, colleagues and other members of Elizabethan society. And, although, Frobisher himself was said to be illiterate (McFee 1928:275), he too would have availed himself of the contents, if only to ensure his flattering portrayal.

The journals focused on both geographic and cartographic description as well as mining and settlement opportunities: estimates of tonnage mined, provisions buried for future use, and dwelling construction (as an experiment in arctic survival). For, by the second voyage, Frobisher was specifically commanded to search for ore deposits and discontinue his quest for the Northwest passage (Kenyon 1975:41).

The authors describe the nature and conditions of the inhabitants they encountered. The ship's master "was lead into their houses and there saw their manner of food and life, which is very strange and beastly, as hereafter shall be shewed" (Collinson 1867:83). Their appearance, clothing, weapons, houses, use of iron, dogs and trade practises were all detailed. One of the narrators, Settle (1577), provides an honest assessment of his knowledge, acknowledging his lack of perfect understanding of Inuit hunting methods, 'yet', and their religion. Unfortunately, with regards to gender organization, the documents generally contain little ethnographic detail. Undifferentiated use of the term 'men' makes it difficult to know whether the references are to males or to both men and women.

The biases and ethnocentric perspectives brought to the narratives are fairly obvious and easily circumvented: the Christian/heathen dichotomy; the gulf of distrust between the known and the unknown. Many of the documents, for example, touch on the belief that Inuit were cannibals "since they eat

any form of meat" (Settle 1577:55). The Elizabethans were very superstitious and they believed that Inuit harboured witches. One old woman's shoe was pulled off by the mariners to see if she was a cloven-hoofed devil (Settle 1577:35).

What remains are accounts which are generally consonant with anthropological knowledge (although Settle did find it difficult to believe that these people overwintered in Frobisher Bay and did not return to a warmer climate). What native customs the Elizabethans experienced, they interpreted objectively and soundly, despite the language barrier, "even things complicated and remote from their past experience" (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:128).

19th and Early 20th-Century Accounts

Firsthand narratives of maritime exploratory expeditions make up the bulk of the 19th-century accounts of central and eastern Canadian arctic life: George Lyon (1824,1825), William Parry (1858) and John Ross (1835). There are two exceptions. Margaret Penny, wife of whaler William Penny, overwintered in Cumberland Sound in 1857-58. Her diary is the only extant record by a whaler's wife in the eastern Canadian Arctic at a time when the presence of European or American women was very rare. Her journal is edited by whaling historian Gillies Ross (1997), whose notes supplement her observations by providing background information on the whaling industry. The other is the journal left by Charles

Francis Hall (1970:xxi; Nourse 1879), a self-educated, intuitive adventurer who participated in the life of the Frobisher Bay Inuit and that of the inhabitants of the central Arctic over a span of several years while attempting to obtain information on a contemporary maritime mission, the lost Franklin expedition.

The Lyon and Parry reports are unique amongst the 19th-century literature because they offer two perspectives of the same contact experience. Lyon's (1824:vi,vii) focuses on social aspects, on Inuit character and includes "many of those minute and peculiar traits which are requisite for displaying the character of a strange people", while omitting "a few details of natural history and of scientific observation". Parry's published narrative has been rewritten from an official record.

True ethnographies - scholarly, careful, observant accounts with a distinct material culture focus - first make their appearance in the late 19th and early 20th-century (Bilby 1923; Boas 1901, 1907, 1964, 1984b; Birket-Smith 1929; Kumlien 1879; Matthiassen 1928; Turner 1979). Franz Boas, in particular, was interested in cross-cultural connections, materially and mythologically; in Thule-historical Inuit cultural decline; and in settlement pattern transitions. Bernard Hantsch (Neatby 1977) was a 20th-century counterpart to Hall: the personification of monumental obsession. Hantsch sought to explore the west coast of Baffin Island and died in the attempt. Edmund Peck (1922) provides one of the

rare missionary perspectives of the period, but unfortunately one which contains little ethnographic detail. Another missionary and writer was Julian Bilby, who spent twelve years in the Arctic. Bilby's (1923:34-35) purpose was to depict traditional Inuit life 'uninfluenced' by European contact. It is not clear whether his very general account of Baffin Island Inuit culture incorporates previous ethnographic work by others as well as his own observations. Fraser and Rannie's (1972) volume is a biographical justification of the life and times of whaling and trading station master, Osbert Clare Forsyth-Grant, by a family member.

Except for Fraser and Rannie (1972), Peck (1922) and Soper (1981) most of the accounts were written up shortly after the events occurred. Margaret Penny kept a daily journal (Ross 1997). Hall's (1970) volume on Frobisher Bay was published two years after the voyage, but was based on extensive field notes, some of which were written up as narrative while he lived in Frobisher Bay. Hantsch's journal is a blend of both styles. The first half of the text is written as narrative; the second, due to time constraints and illness was published posthumously as daily field notes.

Several of the writers spoke some form of Inuktitut and lived for varying periods of up to several years in close contact with the Inuit. They had ample opportunity to interact and make observations and conveyed a genuine admiration for the people amongst whom they lived. Parry

(1858), for example, attributes the very occasional poor behaviour and low moral character he encountered among Inuit to their association with Europeans and the latter's vices. Hall (1970) was an enthusiastic participant in nearly every aspect of the Inuit life. However, the long duration of these Arctic sojourns sometimes resulted in only scanty sketches of the later years, particularly those features and events which were repetitious of earlier accounts. As early as the 1830s, Ross (1835:1) felt compelled not to dwell on "manners or customs or arts and inventions", subjects to which he could "add little to what is already well known".

Many of the documents were written as works of narrative and adventure, rather than for argument and discussion (Hall 1970:1), in the words of Lyon (1824:29): "to amuse [their] own fire-side circle". There is a tendency to ignore obvious adoptions of European goods and to focus on unexpected uses. The accounts frequently detail individual transactions and note evidence of previous contact and often, but not always, differentiate traditional behaviour from that which is newly acquired. Frequently material culture analyses are limited to purely traditional and 'blended' artifacts, without any discussion of aboriginal use of European-manufactured goods. Because their motive was largely to entertain: to recount their authors' perils, courage, firmness and ingenuity, details considered uninteresting or 'unsavory' would be omitted regarding, for example, family life, sickness or burial (Parry 1858:iv; Peck 1922).

Many of the authors were collectors and took a scientific interest in their surroundings. For example, Hall describes the seasonal round of Frobisher Bay Inuit. Both Lyon (1824) and Boas (1964) identify what they observed directly and reference others' observations, while Boas discusses the discrepancies. Much of Boas' information, it should be noted, comes secondhand from observations made by George Comer, whaling captain, James Mutch, whaling station master, and Edmund Peck, Anglican missionary.

Instances of European bias and ethnocentrism are obvious and fairly uniform. Most Euro-American writers of this period deplored the Inuit lack of rationing; many felt the same about shamans and ritual prohibitions, although they recognized that they knew little about these matters. Hall was an exception; he was very receptive to Inuit curing techniques and was consequently permitted more access than usual to this aspect of Inuit culture.

To these writers the Inuit were, by turns, 'children of the north', 'natural Christians', or 'happy savages'. However, this perception sometimes led to inherent contradictions in their observations. For example, Hantsch (Neatby 1977:26) writes that the Inuit are of a lower rank of humans, yet wonderful people. Most of the chroniclers appreciated the inherent good character of the Inuit and attribute lapses to the negative influence of Europeans and to the temptations provided by their goods. Nevertheless

they were at times puzzled by the behaviour exhibited by the Inuit:

> Superior as our arts, contrivances and materials must unquestionably have appeared to them, and as eager as they were to profit by this superiority yet, contradictory as it may seem, they certainly looked upon us in many respects with profound contempt (Parry 1858:224-225).

Those who lived among the Inuit, such as Hall and Hantsch, found a growing intimacy in adjusting to their hosts' rhythms and style of life. Yet while Hantsch travelled and lived with the Inuit "sharing their food and wearing the same clothing, he did not attempt to emulate them" (Neatby 1977:xi). Neither he nor Hall forgot their principal role: as expedition organizers and leaders. Hall's editor attributed Hall's maintenance of authority to his 'self-control' and accommodation to Inuit cultural prohibitions, excusing the accommodations only because they reflected the explorer's admirable single-minded focus on a worthy objective (Nourse 1879:433-434).

Nevertheless, the amount of ethnographic detail in most of these accounts is impressive. Gender roles are frequently explicitly detailed. Some of the observers, at times, interacted more closely with Inuit women than with Inuit men, because their busy scientific schedules and lack of interest in hunting kept them in camp and absent from food harvesting expeditions. The result was a greater than normal opportunity to observe Inuit women's daily routines.

The writers admit to an imperfect grasp of the language to explain their lack of knowledge in certain areas, for example, in tracing the source of 'superstitions'. Yet, it appears that the Europeans learned more of the Inuit language than the latter learned of theirs. The Inuit "never learned any English beyond personal names" (Parry 1858:224). Some writers, like Hall (Nourse (1879), recorded a number of corrected judgments once their proficiency improved. Others, like Parry (1858:10-11), recognized the inconsistency in testimony which could occur between individuals and even with the same individual at different times of the year. Each person, for example, formed their own idea of a distance between places according to the season of the year and the seasonally appropriate mode of travel.

While Hall (Nourse 1879:594) enjoyed his opportunity to learn from an elder "one so filled with the traditions of her people" and Hantsch (Neatby 1977:151) learned "bit by bit so many of the native practises which at first seemed unintelligible", at other times native knowledge was discredited. Hantsch (Neatby 1977:163) suggested that scientists and travellers "record and transmit to posterity what these people themselves are incapable of imparting" for the Inuit are:

> . . . simple men who neither thought nor were in any degree capable of thinking of transmitting to posterity any record of their existence, who lived and passed on, leaving us of today in ignorance of their history (Neatby 1977:163).

Privileging of European knowledge occurs in other accounts as well. At one point, Parry (1858:223) mentions an Inuk woman who was especially bright and if only born elsewhere, would probably have been a very clever person!

Hudson's Bay Company Accounts

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post managers for the Frobisher Bay district kept a number of records of fur trade life, including day books, tariff and expenditure books and general and customer accounts. Cecil Bradbury, the manager from 1920 to 1925, drew a "rough map of the bay from Tigeraukju to Seeaukto" (HBCA B.411/a/1 May 6 1921 p.40). Crompton spent a day developing photographs (HBCA B.411/a/5 January 27 1935 p.47). Unfortunately, only the day books have survived. These six accounts cover 15 years of a 20 year span: 1920-23, 1923-25, 1926-29, 1933-34, 1934-35 and 1938-39. The final account ends with Nichols arriving to replace Cormack and his plans to "run short-wave radio and experiment with electric lighting" (HBCA B.411/a/6 July 31 1939 p. 67).

These accounts were hand-written by various employees, and, at one point, the entries were typewritten. The style varies as well, from concise to the point of uninformative to several paragraphs devoted to a single incident. The pattern of the second journal, for example, is one week per page in a set format. First comes a line about the weather, followed

by another about activities, and then details about building (i.e. finishing foundations), but not about trading. The too-abbreviated style caught the attention of someone; marginal notes for March 24, 1926 read: "Too scrappy. Looks as if it could be written up like this a month or so ahead of time v/v" (HBCA B.411/a/3 March 24 1926 p.9a). The occasional week or two is skipped, usually late April to mid-May. On one occasion, a bad cold prevented the daily recording of events; on another occasion a week's worth of notes are repeated on the following pages by a different hand. Possibly one of the writers had left the post for a period to undertake travel of some sort.

The accounts describe the weather, detail the tasks of the employees (both Euro-Canadian and Inuit), carefully note arrivals and departures, camp conditions, travel to camps and other posts, and hunting and trapping outcomes. What they omit are details about the transactions. While post manager Bell provides a weekly summary of the trade for 1927-28, more typically the daily accounts only occasionally mention Inuit commodities and more rarely still, European goods. Initially, the accounts referred to trading or supplying rations to Natives; by the late 1920s they were "attending customers".

In these accounts, approximately 134 Inuit are identified by name; perhaps six are female. Identifying the Nugumiut who came to trade is difficult for several reasons. Names are not gender-specific. Furthermore, one person may

be known by several names, depending on their relationship to the people addressing them. New babies are always named after the most recently deceased member of the community. The same name is often spelled in several variations or applies to more than one person. Sometimes individuals with the same name are differentiated by a letter, 'A' or 'B'. However, in the case of the name 'Godileak', three men were so named: two worked for the opposition camp, two died during this period, and two were referred to as Godiliak 'A'! Occasionally, male kin alliances are identified or their hunting abilities, as the HBC perceived them, are described.

Some place names are used in these accounts. Post locations, for example, are identified by Inuktitut names. While camps are sometimes identified by name, their locations are seldom specified. Other camps are identified by the camp boss' name, again without geographic specification.

Unfortunately, no surviving documents for Cape Haven exist except for some HBC correspondence relating to negotiations to purchase the post which lists buildings, storage and returns for one year (HBCA A.102/2074).

Missionary Accounts

Unpublished missionary accounts relating to the activities of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in southeast Baffin Island consist of correspondence with the organization and journals. The documents which I consulted

primarily describe the mission work at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound and serve to contextualize the final years of the whaler-trader period in that region and, therefore, a full review of these sources is beyond the scope of the present study. However, it should be note that the missionaries frequently journeyed to Frobisher Bay and to the whaler-trader station known as Signia. Over a 17-year period, at least seven journeys were made to Signia to convert the Nugamiut. An account of one of these trips survives (ACC M70-1 Series B vol.6 Fleming Journal 1911).

Oral Histories

Oral histories of the eastern Arctic (e.g., Aksaarjuuk 1987; Eber 1971, 1989; ICI 1986; Okalik 1990; Pitseolak and Eber 1993; Stories from Pangnirtung 1976) provide a very different sort of perspective on the past. They are a combination of direct experience and things heard, or learned, some of which date to the time of early whaling contact or before. They represent an insider's view of a culture offered to its present-day members, often through the filter of variable memory, revisions and an outsider's language and editorial input. Ethnographic data are selectively shared with an audience familiar with the cultural context. However, by the time many of these histories were recorded, a lifetime had passed and details had become lost or forgotten.

The style of these narratives is frequently anecdotal, occasionally repetitious and often lacking in chronological signposts; they also involve alternate categorizations of time. For example, Morantz, citing Vincent (1981 *in* Morantz 1984:175 and 1976 in Morantz in press:9), notes that while the notion that "change begins with the coming of the Europeans and is framed in terms of the trade in metal goods, often guns" is implicit in Western ethnohistoric categorizations of time, for some Native [Indian] groups more meaningful indicators of time dimensions reflect a different view of the contact: the period of only Indians (i.e. no white men), only game (no flour) or only skins (no cloth). "In a contact history whose categorization is used?" asks Morantz (in press:9).

Separate events may be conflated into one and time can be telescoped or collapsed, presenting a history which is less chronologically accurate than reflective of the events and their relative importance within the culture. While the narrators, or informants, frequently decline to discuss what they do not have a specialist's knowledge of, in other cases, it is unclear whether events were experienced firsthand, to someone known to the informant, or to some ancestral being in the distant past. There is the additional problem of synthesizing the broader social experience through the lens of an individual's experience.

Hall (1970) was the first Euro-American to recognize the importance of this historical form. Many of the details

available about the Frobisher voyages come from his careful recording and cross-checking of events by means of detailed questionnaires to several informants (Rowley 1993b). But ethnographers responded variably to oral histories. Hantsch, (Neatby 1977:216), for example, did not trust Inuit recollections about past history and at a certain point in his journal, stopped recording oral reports of historically-authenticated material relating to European contact.

New oral history investigations of the contact between the Nugumiut and the Europeans, an anticipated research focus of the MIP, have not yet been undertaken (but see Rowley 1993b for her paper on Inuit accounts of the Frobisher voyages). The oral historical component of the present study, therefore, is based on reference to the larger eastern arctic region and not to Frobisher Bay itself.

Summary

Unfortunately, the sources of ethnographic evidence, European texts and Inuit oral histories, offer views of the various contact periods which are both unequal and irregular. The earliest written references are primarily expedition logs describing relatively short-term encounters. The later European accounts record a longer, more intense interaction with considerably more ethnographic and material culture emphasis. Most of the evidence of the Inuit gender system

comes from these sources. The 20th century Nugumiut oral history research has yet to be undertaken.

These written sources are more helpful for some aspects of Inuit culture than others. They reveal, for example, much more about artifact use than artifact production, more about aspects of the organization of gender-related tasks than ideological associations of gender and material use. Contradictions abound, particularly in the realm of social relations between the genders. And common to most of the accounts is the writers' internal (i.e., unconscious) debate concerning the issue of universal female subjugation. Were these women that they met exalted or enslaved compared with Victorian ideals?

The problem with combining two historical forms, Inuit oral history and European texts, lies in the inherent differences in the structures which carry meaning, their sense of significant categorization, the merging of supernatural and rational worlds and their symbolic encoding of cultural perspectives (Morantz 1996:343).

Although Morantz (in press) is sceptical about the possibility of ever creating a single history which combines both documentary and oral sources that does justice to both cultural traditions, and recommends producing different, independent accounts that is, several histories, I attempt to merge all three sources, the historical, the oral historical (such as it is) and the archaeological in this investigation of Inuit-European culture contact.

CHAPTER 4

THE INUIT GENDER SYSTEM

> The Inuit do not occupy themselves with theoretical speculations as to the equal rights of the sexes, but arrange themselves in practice (Birket-Smith 1929:257).

Introduction

Artifacts move from one behavioural context to another on the basis of the organizational characteristics of, among other things, a gendered division of labour (Boismier 1991:189). In this way, their patterns of association with other artifacts vary in response to their changing roles (Boismier 1991:189).

This chapter provides information on how the Inuit gender system contributes to pattern formation in the archaeological record. Three major aspects of the system are introduced: 1.) labour organization, including gender tasks and related artifacts, manufacture/use distinctions; and seasonality; 2.) social relations between the genders and 3.) gender and raw material associations. One outcome of this research is to counter the prevailing notion of men as the dominant tool users in most hunter-gatherer groups (Boismier 1991:189).

Ethnographic data on Inuit gender and material culture have been summarized in two tables, one of which associates gender and material culture *manufacture* (Table 2), the other,

gender and material culture *use* (Table 3). The tables were initially derived from versions found in Boismier (1991), Scheitlin (1980) and Park (1989), omitting items such as Boismier's West Athapaskan masks and mesh gauges not found in the eastern Arctic, and augmenting their entries with ethnographic information pertaining to the central/eastern Arctic. Although the sources frequently do not identify the specific users of an artifact by gender, several discuss Inuit material culture in depth. Gender affiliation of material culture is based on inferences from general descriptions of men and women's work and property rights associated with artifacts (Scheitlin 1980:33). Artifacts are organized by major activities. Occasionally an artifact has a secondary use which is indicated on the table by this symbol: "-2". The artifact presentation includes the following categories of information: gender of manufacturer, season of manufacture, location of manufacture, gender of user, season of use, and location of use. A verifiable gender association is denoted by 'X'; '?' is a probable association. Gender categories include: male, female, both, children, unknown. Because many items were used by either or both genders or their gender affiliation is unknown, I follow Scheitlin (1980) in assigning artifacts to a specific gender, if they were used by one gender more than 75 per cent of the time. Categorizing children's play-related artifacts presents difficulties due to the lack of differentiation in male and female play in the early years of childhood (Weyer

in Scheitlin 1980:40). Wherever possible this category has been subdivided by gender: either (M) or (F). Season and location of artifact production and use has been organized as follows: 'tent', refers to summer dwellings; 'qarmaq', transitional season structures (further distinguished as spring (S) or fall (F) when possible); snowhouse/sod houses, winter season occupations; and a last, general category, 'outdoors'. The symbol 'P' stands for purchased, rather than locally manufactured goods. European material culture, appearing as italicized entries in the tables, is not consistently reported. Instead, a more complete version is presented for each contact period from references specifically relating to Frobisher Bay in the following chapter on the history of contact. Cultural/geographic affiliations are coded, as are documentary references. A bracketed reference code refers to a conflicting information source.

The tables present a synchronic picture of gender associations and material culture during the ethnographic period. Diachronic shifts in gender associations are discussed in the following text.

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING											
Harpoon Head	X									1&2,4,2&7	3,7,5
End Blade	X									5,4,2&7	1,7,5
Harpoon Shaft	X									4,2&7	7,5
Foreshaft	X									5,4,2&7	1,7,5
Socket Piece	X									4,2&7	7,5
Finger Rest	X									4,2&7	7,5
Harpoon Tension Piece	X									4,2&7	7,5
Lance Head	X							X	X	5,4,9	1,7,4
Dart Head	?									5	1
Throwing Board	?									-	-
Seal Leister	?									-	-
Ice Pick	?									5	1
Wound Plug/Pin	?									-	-
Incision Needle	?									5	1
Bladder Float Toggle	?									5	1
Float Mouthpiece	?									5	1
Bladder Float Plug	?									-	-
Bladder Mending Disk	?									-	-
Drag Line Handle	?									5	1
Line Clasp or Stopper	?									5	1
Toggles/Buckles (line)	?									5	1
Seal Hook-iron	X									6,2	17,18
Seal Scratcher	?									5	1
Seal Indicator	?									-	-
Seal Indicator-E. Needle	?									-	-
Sealing Stool	?									-	-
Hammer/Club	?									-	-

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Umiak-2			X					X	X	6,2&7,9,3	6,5,4,13
Kayak-2			X					X	X	6,2,4,2&7,9,3	6,16,7,5,4,1,13
Paddle-2	X							X	X	6,9	12,4
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING											
Arrowhead	X							X	X	5,9	15,4
Arrowshaft	?									-	-
Bow	X							X	X	9	4
Bow brace	?									-	-
Sinew Twister	?									7	19
Quiver		X								6	8
Lance Head	X							X	X	5,4,9	1,7,4
Snare/Trap					?					-	-
Snare Peg	X							X	X	9	4
Gun Cap Pouch		X								6	17
Telescope/Binoculars					P					6	17
BIRD HUNTING											
Bird Dart	?									5	1
Dart Shaft Butt Piece	?									-	-
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)	X							X	X	9	4
Sling Handle	?									-	-
Bolas Ball	?									5	1
Gull Hook	?									-	-
Bird Noose					?					-	-
FISHING											
Tools	?									-	-

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Leister Prong	?									5	1
Fish Spear	X						X(S)			6,2&7,5	12,5,1
Fish Hook			X					X		6,2&7,5	8,5,1
Fish Nets/Traps	X									2&7	5
Fish Lure	?									5	1
Fish Stringing Needle	?									5	1
Ice Pick	?									5	1
Scoop (ice)	?									-	-
Mats-2		?								-	-
Fishing Line		X								6	8
TRANSPORTATION											
Dog Harness			X							6,2&7	8,5
Trace Buckle	?									5	1
Toggle	?									5	1
Sled Runner	X							X	X	4,2&7,9,5,6	7,5,4,1,17
Sled Shoe	X									5,6	1,17
Sled Crossbar	X							X	X	4,2&7,9,6	7,5,4,17
Whip Shank	?									5	1
Umiak			X					X	X	6,3,9,2&7	6,13,4,5
Kayak			X					X	X	6,2,3,4,9,2&7	6,16,13,7,4,5
Oar	?									-	-
Paddle	X							X	X	6,9	12,4
Travel Lamp	?									-	-
Travel Pot	?									-	-
Thongs	X									5	1

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
HOUSE BUILDING											
Snow Knife	X									4,2&7,5	7,5,1
Snow Shovel	?									-	-
Probe	?									5	1
Mattock Head	?									-	-
Pick-digger Head	?									-	-
E. Saw					P			X		2	18
Tent		X					X(S)			6,8,2,3	6,14,11,9
Tent Pole	X									2&7	5
MANUFACTURING											
Awl-2	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Engraving Tool	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Drill Bit	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Bow Drill Mouthpiece	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Drill Shaft	?									-	-
Marline Spike	?									-	-
Adze Head	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Maul	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Wedge	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Pick	?									5	1
Shaft Straightener	?									5	1
Flint Flaker	?									5	1
Whetstone/Abrader	?									5	1
Hammerstone	?									5	1
Timber Pegs	?									-	-
Baleen Shave	?									5	1
File					P					-	-

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Side-bladed Knife	X									5	1
E. Knife					P					-	-
E. Saw	?									6	12
SKIN PREPARATION							X(F) (S)				
Ulu	X							X	X	1&2,4,2&7,5,9	3,1,7,5,15,4
E. Ulu	?									5	1
Beamer	?									5	1
Scraper	X							X	X	5,9	15,4,1
Scapula (blunt) Scraper	?									5	1
Split Antler Scraper	?									5	1
Composite Scraper	X									4,5	7,1
Knife to Remove Water	?									-	-
Tin Scraper to " "					?					-	-
Kamik Stretcher	?									5	1
Skin Stretcher					?					-	-
Skin Stretching Stakes					?					-	-
Tanning Vessel	?									7	17
Whetstone	X									3	9,3
SEWING											
Ulu	X									4,5,2+7,9	3,1,7,5,15,4
E. Ulu	?									4,5,2+7,9	3,1,7,5,15,4
Needle	?									4,5	2,1
Needle-metal	?									4,5	2,1
E. Needle					P					6	6
Needle Case	X									5	15,1
Needle Case Toggle	?									5	1

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Sealskin Cushion		X								6	17
Thimble		?								-	-
Thimble Holder	?									-	-
E. Thimble					P					7	17
Awl	X							X	X	9,5	4,1
Sinew Thread		X								6	6
Sewing Bag		X								6	12,17
FOOD PREPARATION											
Bowl	X							X		9	4
Wood Tray	?									-	-
Baleen Pot		X								6	8
Cup		X								6	6
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack	?									5	1
Marrow Spatula	?									5	1
Spoon	X							X		9,5	4,1
Meat Fork	?									-	-
Stone Vessel	X									4,(6),5	2,(8),7,15,1
Stone Vessel-repair			X							6	12
Tea Kettle					P					-	-
Scoop (ice)	?									-	-
Axe	?									5	1
Flensing Knife	X									5	1
Side-bladed Knife	X									5	1
Ulu	X							X	X	4,5,2&7,9	3,1,7,5,15,4
E. Ulu	?									5	1

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE											
Lamp	X									4,(6),5	2,(8),7,15,1
Wick Trimmer	?									-	-
Drying Rack					?					-	-
Wooden Box	?									-	-
Fire Drill	X							X	X	9	4
Whetstone	?									5	1
Cutting Board	X							X	X	9	4
Skin Bag/Vessel		X								6	6
Oil-catching Skin Basket		?								-	-
Sucking Tube	?									5	1
Mats		?								-	-
Blubber Pounder	?									5	1
Urine Scraper	?									-	-
Birdskin Cloth		?								-	-
Feather Broom		X								6	6
CLOTHING/PROTECTION											
Parka		X					X(F)			6,7,5	6,10,1
Beaded Parka		X					X(F)	X		6,7,5,7	6,13,10,1,21
Trousers/Shorts		X					X(F)			6,7,5	6,10,1
Boot		X					X(F)			6,7,5	6,10,1
Ice Shoes		X								7	17
Birdskin Slipper		X								3	18
Mitten		X					X(F)			6,2,7,5	6,16,10,1
Button/Buckle					?					-	-
Snow Goggles	?									5	1
Snow Beaters	?									5	1

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Snow Shoes	?									2	18
ORNAMENTS/AMULETS											
Brow Band	?									5	1
Perforated Tooth	?									5	1
Misc. Pendant					?					-	-
Amulet	?									-	-
Comb	X									5	15,1
Hair Pin	?									-	-
Bead					P					-	-
Misc. Carving					?					-	-
Bead Figurine					?					-	-
Rings					P					-	-
Bracelets					P					-	-
Earrings					P					-	-
Watchcase Ornament					P					-	-
Ivory		X								6	8
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL											
Drum	X							X	X	9	4
Bull Roarer					?					-	-
Shaman's Doll			X					?	X	6	17
BURIAL GOODS											
Weapons	?									-	-
Gun					P					6	17
Ammunition					P					6	17
Kayak	X									6	17,20

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Sewing Materials		X			P					6,2	20,18
Pot	?									-	-
Lamp	X									6	20
Knives	?									5	1
Enamelled Cup					P					-	-
Iron Spoon					P					-	-
Fork					P					2	18
Tin Pot					P					2	18
Meat Tub					P					2	18
Comb					P					2	18
Cloth					P					2	18
Shirt					P					6	17
Gloves					P					6	17
Photograph					P					2	18
Newspaper					P					2	18
Toys	X									6	20
Doll	?									-	-
Toy Ulu	?									5	1
Beads					P					6	8
Pencil					P					-	-
Pipe					P					6	18
Safety Pin					P					-	-
Match					P					-	-
MINIATURES/TOYS											
Toys	X						X		X	6,9	8,4,12
Figurine/Doll	X									6	12
Toy Harpoon Head	?									5	1

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Toy Lance			X							6	12
Toy Arrowhead			X							6	12
Toy Bow			X							6	12
Toy Throwing Board	?									-	-
Toy Sled	X							X		6	6
Toy Shovel	?									-	-
Toy Bucket	?									-	-
Toy Ball					?					-	-
Toy Drum Rim	?									-	-
Toy Boat			X							6	12
Toy Paddle	?									-	-
Toy Animal	?									-	-
Top	?									-	-
Seal Radius Ajagak	?									5	1
Seal Humerus Ajagak	?									5	1
Model Lamp-broken	X									4,5	2,1
Model Stone Vessel-broken	X									4,5	2,1
ADULT RECREATION											
Games	X							X	X	9	4
Gaming Piece	?									-	-
Bird Figures	?									-	-
String Game		?								-	-
Skip Rope		?								-	-
Inuit Tennis					?					-	-
Inuit Football		?								6	17
Violin	?									6	17
Pipe Smoking					P					-	-

Table 2. Material Culture Manufacture

(key is on p. 87)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Tobacco					P					6	17
Tobacco Pouch		X								6	17

Key:

x	verified association
?	probable association
-2	secondary use
italics	European origin
(6)	conflicting reference
P	purchased

Culture/Geographic Areas:

1. Frobisher Bay
2. Cumberland Sound
3. Baffin Island
4. Baffin Island-Hudson Bay
5. Northwest Hudson Bay
6. Igloolik, Hudson Strait-Foxe Basin
7. Central Inuit
8. Eastern Arctic
9. Ingalik-Athapaskan

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12. Parry 1858
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14. ICI 1986
15. Scheitlin 1980
16. Stories from Pangnirtung 1976
17. Turner 1979
18. Kumlien 1879
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20. Fleming 1956

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING											
Harpoon Head	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
End Blade	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Harpoon Shaft	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Foreshaft	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Socket Piece	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Finger Rest	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Harpoon Tension Piece	X						?	?	?	6	24
Lance Head	X						?	?	?	6,5,3	24,3,28
Dart Head	X						?	?	?	6	24
Throwing Board	X						?	?	?	7	26
Seal Leister	X						?	?	?	7,4	26,30
Ice Pick	X						?	?	?	6	24
Wound Plug/Pin	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,13
Incision Needle	X						X	?	X	4	17
Bladder Float Toggle	?						?	?	?	-	-
Float Mouthpiece	X						?	?	?	6,4	24,30
Bladder Float Plug	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,26
Bladder Mending Disk	?						?	?	?	-	-
Drag Line Handle	?						?	?	?	-	-
Line Clasp or Stopper	X						?	?	?	6	24
Toggles/Buckles (line)	X						?	?	?	6	24
Seal Hook-iron	X						?	?	?	7,3,4	26,28,30
Seal Scratcher	X						?	?	?	6	24
Seal Indicator	X						?	?	?	6,7	24,13
Seal Indicator-E. Needle	X						?	?	X(SP)	8	18
Sealing Stool	X						?	?	?	6	24
Hammer/Club	X						?	?	?	6	24

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Umiak-2	X								X(S)	6	24,14
Kayak-2	X								X(W) (S)	12,6	6,24,14
Paddle-2	X								X	12,6	6,24
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING											
Arrowhead	X			X(M)		?			X(W)	6,12,7,3	24,6,13,9,26,28
Arrowshaft	X					?			?	6,7,3	24,26,28
Bow	X			X(M)		X			X(W)	6,12,7	24,6,13,9,26
Bow brace	?					?			?	-	-
Sinew Twister	?								?	7	29
Quiver	X					?			?	6,7	24,26
Lance Head	X					?			X	6,12,5,7	24,6,3,21,26
Snare/Trap	X					?				6,(8),5,7	24,(18),11,26,(27)
Snare Peg	X					?			X	12	6
Gun Cap Pouch	X								X	7	26
Telescope/Binoculars	X								X	7	26
BIRD HUNTING											
Bird Dart	X					?	?(S)		?	6,11,4	24,15,30
Dart Shaft Butt Piece	?					?	?(S)		?	-	-
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)	X					?	?(S)		X	12,6	6,24
Sling Handle					?	?	?(S)		?	-	-
Bolas Ball					X	?	?(S)		?	6	24
Gull Hook					X	?	?(S)		?	6	24
Bird Noose			X	X		?	?(S)		X(SP)	7	9,13
FISHING											
Tools	X						?(S)		?	11	15

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Leister Prong	X					?(S)			?	6	24
Fish Spear Barb	X					?(S)			?	6,3	24,28
Fish Hook			X			X(S)			?	6,7,3	24,21,28
Fish Nets/Traps	X					?(S)			?	6	24
Fish Lure	X					?(S)			?	6,3	24,28
Fish Stringing Needle			X			?(S)			?	6	24
Ice Pick-2		X				?(S)			?	4	17
Scoop (ice)			X			?(S)			?	6	24
Mats-2			X			?(S)			?	6	24
Fishing Line			X							-	-
TRANSPORTATION											
Dog Harness	X									-	-
Trace Buckle	X					?		?	?	6	24
Toggle	X					?		?	?	6	24
Sled Runner	X					?		?	?	6,(12),3	24,(6),28
Sled Shoe	X							?	?	6,3	24,28
Sled Crossbar	X							?	?	(12),6,3	(6),24,28
Thongs			?							-	-
Whip Shank	X					X(S)		?	?	6,4	24,17
Umiak			X	X					X(S)	6,7,2,3	24,13,10,14,26,28
Kayak	X								X	12,6,(11),3	6,24,(1),14,28
Oar		X							?	6	24
Paddle	X								X	12,6	6,24
Travel Lamp	X					X(F)				4	17
Travel Pot	X					X(F)				4	17

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
HOUSE BUILDING											
Snow Knife	X						?	?		6,7,3	24,26,28
E. Saw	X							X		3,4	28,30
E. Knife-2	X							X		4	30
Snow Shovel			X				?	?		6	24
Probe	X						?	?		6,7	24,13
Mattock Head					X		?(F)			6	24
Pick-digger Head					X		?(F)			6	24
Tent			X			X				-	-
Tent Pole			X			X				-	-
MANUFACTURING											
Awl-2	X					X		X	X	12	6
Engraving Tool	X							X	X	12,9	6,20
Drill Bit	X							X	X	12,6,5	6,24,3
Bow Drill Mouthpiece	X							X	X	12,6,9	6,24,20
Drill Shaft	X							X		6,9	24,20
Marline Spike	X							X		9	20
Adze Head	X							X	X	12,6,9	6,24,20
Maul	X							X	X	12,9	6,20
Wedge	X							X	X	12,(6),9	6,(24),20
Pick	X							X		9	20
Shaft Straightener	X							X		6,9	24,20
Flint Flaker	X							?		6	24
Whetstone/Abrader	X							?		(6),1&3	(24),5
Hammerstone	X							?		6	24
Timber Pegs	X							?		6	24
Baleen Shave					X			?		6	24

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
File	X							?		5	3
Side-bladed Knife	X							X		9	20
E. Knife	X							X		7	21
E. Saw	X									-	-
SKIN PREPARATION											
Ulu		X				X	X(F)(S)	X	X	12,6,9,5,14,7	6,24,20,3,2,17,5,26
E. Ulu		X					X(S)			7,4	21,17,5
Beamer		X					X(S)	X		9,4	20,17,5
Scraper		X					X(S)	X		6,12,4,7,3	14,6,17,5,26,28
Scapula (blunt) Scraper		X					X(S)	X		(6),9,7,4	(24),20,21,17,5
Split Antler Scraper			X				X(S)			6,4,7	24,17,5,26
Composite Scraper		X					X(S)			6,4	24,17,5
Knife to Remove Water		X					X(S)			6,4	24,17,5
Tin Scraper to " "		X					X(S)			4,7,3	17,5,26,28
Kamik Stretcher		X					X(S)			6,4	24,17,5
Skin Stretcher		X					X(S)			6,4	14,17,5
Skin Stretching Stakes		X		X(F)			X(S)			4	17,5
Tanning Vessel		X					X(S)			7	26
Whetstone		X					X(S)			4	17,5
SEWING											
Ulu		X				X	X	X	X	7	26
E. Ulu		X				?	?	?	?	7	26
Needle		X				X	?	X		6,9,5,1,4	24,20,3,14,25,30
E. Needle		X				X	?	?		7,3,4	21,26,28,30
Needle Case		X				?	?	X		6,9,7	24,20,21,26
Needle Case Toggle		X				?	?	X		9	20

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Sealskin Cushion		X				?	?	X		7	26
Thimble		X				?	?	X		6,9,7,3	24,20,14,21,26,28
Thimble Holder		X				?	?	X		6,9	24,20
E. Thimble		X				?	?	?		7	26
Awl		X				?	?	X		6,9	24,20
Sinew Thread		X				?	?	?		7	21
Sewing Bag		X				?	?	?		7	21,26
FOOD PREPARATION											
Bowl			X			X		X	X	12,7	6,21,26
Wood Tray		X						X		7	21,26
Baleen Pot		X				?	?	?		-	-
Cup			X			?	?	X		6,7,(5),3	24,21,(3),26,28
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack		X				?	?	X		6,7	24,21
Marrow Spatula		X				?	?	X		(6),7	(24),21
Spoon			X			X	?	X	X	12,6,(7),3	6,24,(21),28
Meat Fork		X				?	?			(6),7,3	(24),16,28
Stone Vessel		X				?	?	X		6,7	24,21,26
Tea Kettle / Tin Pot		X				?	?	?		6,4	2,30
Scoop (ice)		X					?	?		6	24
Axe			X			?	?	?		6	2
Flensing Knife	X					?	?	X	X(S)	9,6,7,3&8	20,14,7
Side-bladed Knife	X					?	?	X		9	(20)
Ulu		X				X	X	X	X	12,6,9,5	6,24,20,3
E. Ulu		X								7,3	21,28
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE											
Wick Trimmer		X					?	?		6	24

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Lamp		X					?	X		6,7,5,1&3	24,21,26,2,11,5
Drying Rack		X					?	X		6,7,1,3	24,21,26,12,13,19
Wooden Box			?				?	?		-	-
Fire Drill			X			X	?	X	X	12,6,7	6,24,13
Whetstone		X				?	?	?		4	17
Iron Pyrites		X				?	?	?		7	13,29
Cutting Board		X				X	?	X		12	6
Skin Bag/Vessel		X				?		X		7,4	21,26,30
Oil-catching Skin Basket		X						X		7	21
Sucking Tube			X			?	?	?		6	24
Mats			X			?	?	?		6	24
Blubber Pounder		X					?	X		10,3,4	22,19,30
Urine Scraper		?					?	X		6	2
Birdskin Cloth			X				?			5,7	4,26
Feather Broom		X								4	30
CLOTHING/PROTECTION											
Parka			X			?	?	?		6	24
Beaded Parka		X				?	?	?		7	8,26
Trousers/Shorts			X			?	?	?		6	24
Boot			X			?	?	?		6	24
Ice Shoes	?									7	26
Birdskin Slipper			X			?	?	?		3	28
Mitten			X			?	?	?		6	24
Button/Buckle			X			?	?	?		6	24
Snow Goggles	X						X		X	6,7,3	24,16,28
Snow Beaters			X				?	?		6	24
Snow Shoes					X				X	3	28

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
ORNAMENTS/AMULETS											
Brow Band		X				X	X	X		6,7,1,8	14,2,16,12,18
Perforated Tooth	X					?	?	?		7	13
Misc. Pendant					?	?	?	?		-	-
Amulet			X	X		?	?	?		7	13,26,27
Comb		X				?	?	?	X(S)	6,7	24,21,14
Hair Pin		X				?	?	?		6	24
Bead		X				?	?	X		6,7,8,4	24,13,23,8,(18),16,30
Misc. Carving					X	?	?	?		6	24
Bead Figurine					?	?	?	?		-	-
Rings		X				?	?	?		6,7,1	2,16,12
Bracelets		X		X		?	?	?		7	16
Earrings			X			?	?	?		6,7	2,16
Watchcase Ornament		X				?	?	?		6	2
Coins		X				?	?	?		4	30
Spoon Bowls		X				?	?	?		4	30
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL											
Drum	X							?		6	24
Bull Roarer					X			?		6	24
Shaman's Doll			X					?	X	7	26
BURIAL GOODS											
Weapons	X								X	7,3,4	13,27,28,30
Gun	X								X	7	26
Ammunition	X								X	7	26
Kayak	X								X	7	26,27
Sled	X								X	4	30

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Sewing Materials		X							X	7,3,4	27,28,30
Pot		X		X(F)					X	7	13,16,27
Lamp		X								7	27
Knives			X						X	7,3,4	13,26,27,28,30
Enamelled Cup			X(F)						X	7,13,4	16,26,28,30
Iron Spoon				X(F)					X	7,3	16,28
Fork					X				X	3	28
Tin Pot					X				X	3	28
Meat Tub					X				X	3	28
Comb					X				X	3	28
Cloth					X				X	3	28
Shirt	X								X	7	26
Gloves	X								X	7	26
Photograph					X				X	3	28
Newspaper					X				X	3	28
Toys				X					X	7	27
Doll			X	X(F)					X	7,4	16,30
Toy Ulu				X(F)					X	7	16
Beads		X		X(F)					X	7	13,16
Pencil				X(F)					X	7	16
Pipe	X									7	28
Safety Pin				X(F)					X	7	16
Match				X(F)					X	7	16
MINIATURES/TOYS											
Toys				X						7,12	13,6,21
Figurine/Doll				X		?	?	?		6,1&3,4,7	24,5,17,21,13,30
Toy Harpoon Head				?		?	?	?		-	-

Table 3. Material Culture Use
(key is on p.98)

ACTIVITIES	GENDER					SEASONAL DWELLINGS				CULT/GEOG	REFERENCE
Artifacts	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown	Tent	Qarmaq	Snowhouse	Outside	AREA	
Toy Lance				X		?	?	?		7	21
Toy Arrowhead				X		?	?	?		1&3,7,4	5,21,30
Toy Bow				X		?	?	?		1&3,7,4	5,21,30
Toy Throwing Board				X		?	?	?		-	-
Toy Sled				X				?	X	1&3,7,4	5,9,30
Toy Shovel				?				?		-	-
Toy Bucket				?		?	?	?		-	-
Toy Ball				?		?	?	?		-	-
Toy Drum Rim				?		?	?	?		-	-
Toy Boat				X		?				1&3	5
Toy Paddle				?		?				-	-
Toy Animal				X		?	?	?		1	12
Top				?		?	?	?		-	-
Seal Bone Ajagak			?	X		?	?	?		7	26,27
ADULT RECREATION											
Games			?							-	-
Gaming Piece			X			X		X	X(S)	12,6,7	6,24,14,26
Bird Figure			X			X		X	X	12,6,(7)	6,24,(26)
String Game		X				X				1,7	12,27
Skip Rope		X		X		?				7	21
Inuit Tennis		X				?				7	9
Inuit Football			X	X					X	7	26
Violin		X								7	26
Smoking Pipe			X	X			X(S)			4,7,6	17,16,2
Tobacco			X			?	?	?	?	7	26
Tobacco Pouch			X			?	?	?	?	7	26

Key:

x	verified association
?	probable association
-2	secondary use
italics	European origin
(18)	conflicting reference

Culture/Geographic Areas:

1. Frobisher Bay
2. Cyrus Field Bay
3. Cumberland Sound
4. Baffin Island
5. Baffin Island-Hudson Bay
6. Northwest Hudson Bay
7. Igloolik, Hudson Strait-Foxe Basin
8. Central Inuit
9. Devon Island
10. Eastern Arctic
11. Greenland
12. Ingalik-Athapaskan

References:

1. Baffin 1881
2. Birket-Smith 1929
3. Boas 1901
4. Boas 1907
5. Boas 1964
6. Boismier 1991
7. Briggs 1974
8. Driscoll 1983
9. Eber 1971
10. Fraser and Rannie 1972
11. Guemple 1986
12. Hall 1970
13. Lyon 1824
14. Lyon 1825
15. Markham 1880
16. Matthiassen 1928
17. Neatby 1977
18. Nourse 1879
19. Okalik 1990
20. Park 1989
21. Parry 1858
22. ICI 1986
23. Ross 1835
24. Scheitlin 1980
25. Settle 1577
26. Turner 1879
27. Fleming 1956
28. Kumlien 1879
29. McGhee 1984
30. Bilby 1923

Inuit Labour Organization

Gender Tasks and Associated Material Culture - Manufacture/Use Distinctions

> There is an inherited distribution of labour between [Inuit] men and women which leaves all work in hard materials such as metal, wood and bone, as well as the making of thongs, to the lot of men, whereas the women have to undertake the preparation of skins and sewing (Birket-Smith 1929:235).

Birket-Smith (1929:235) continued by observing that this distribution was an exclusively practical one and it was not contrary to taboo if "one sex heads into the sphere of the other". Note, however, that it is *gendered* spheres about which he is writing. While exceptions occurred, for example, Lyon (1824) noted that Inuit women made baleen pots and ivory ornaments and occasionally hunted game; these were clearly rare occurrences. Although other ethnographers are not as concisely explicit as Birket-Smith (1929) regarding gender and material associations, they reach the same conclusion.

In this discussion of the Inuit division of labour, artifact production and artifact use have been differentiated, since the producer and the user were frequently not the same gender. Both Inuit men and women manufactured some articles which were used exclusively by the other, with males producing, cleaning and repairing the majority of all tools and women making all clothing (Boismier 1991; Briggs 1974; Scheitlin 1980). Thus, depending on the

stage of use in which it is found, the same artifact could be associated with men or with women. An artifact production stage would be indicated by an association of debris fragments, parts, blanks, preforms and manufacturing tools (Boismier 1991:205). An artifact use stage might include an association of items relating to the pursuit of a single task, or set of related tasks.

Sometimes both genders could be involved in a single stage of an item's uselife. For example, Parry (1858) observed that stone cooking pots were repaired by both men and women: women used sinew thread, men used metal rivets. In addition, men and women were both responsible for constructing boats; men made the frames and women sewed the skin covers. However, according to Inuit, women were known as the boat-makers and their contribution was considered the more important (Eber 1971; Pitseolak and Eber 1993; Stories from Pangnirtung 1976), perhaps because frames did not have to be replaced as often as covers did.

To note that women 'produced the clothing' is vastly to underestimate the scope of their contribution to material culture manufacture. Women were never done with sewing (Eber 1971). They "seemed perpetually busy" (Neatby 1977:236). A particularly active time was the autumn season of skin processing. Hall (Nourse 1879:100) records that Tookoolito spent thirty 15-hour days on caribou skins, producing bedding and outfits for seven people. In fact, while men made more classes of things for both their own and their wives' use, a

single category of women's manufacturing - clothing - encompassed not only many items but constant demand for their repair and replacement. There may have been some specialization among Inuit women who undertook this activity. Turner (1979:42) mentions that certain women specialized in boot-making to the extent that they made all the boots for a community, while "in return" other women manufactured the other garments.

Men manufactured most of the items used in undertaking the following activities (see Table 2 and Table 4): sea mammal hunting, land mammal hunting (and probably bird hunting and fishing), transportation, house construction (although women sewed the summer tents and qarmaq roofs), manufacturing, skin preparation and food preparation, as well as making ornaments/amulets, burial goods and children's toys. In fact, men produced the items needed for 12 of the 17 activities identified in Inuit culture in Table 4 below. The androcentric bias of traditional artifact analysis is partly understandable given this skewed ratio. Artifact production, however, is only half of the picture.

A rather different perspective results from consideration of artifact use by major activity class (see Table 4). Men were the principal users of artifacts related to four activities: sea mammal hunting, land mammal hunting, transportation and manufacture. Women used five categories of items: tools for skin preparation, for sewing, for cooking, and for household maintenance and ornaments. (The

use of amulets, however, was universal.) Children played with toys. All other artifact classes were used by all members of a group.

Table 4. Artifact Manufacture and Use Associations in Seventeen Major Activity Classes

	Male	Female	Both	Unknown/All	Child
Manufacture	12	1	3	1	-
Use	4	5	2	5	1

Hunting and hunting-related artifacts were traditionally the domain of men, but, while sea and land mammal hunting were predominantly male activities, bird hunting and fishing associations were less clearcut (Table 3). Moreover, the gender associations of the latter tasks were not static. While many authors mention women hunting, they always pointed to it as unusual (i.e., prior to marriage or childbirth or after being widowed if without a provider) (Scheitlin 1980:34). In early 20th century literature, however, there are increasingly frequent references to women ice-hole sealing, shooting fox and hunting caribou (Aksaarjuuk 1987; Eber 1989; Kumlien 1879; Stories from Pangnirtung 1976).

> The women . . . when their husbands were out whaling had to hunt for food themselves. They had their husbands' dogs and some harpoons and spears. They didn't have any men to look after them except the old men and boys, and they were either too old or too young to hunt; so the women hunted for food. The women caught a lot of seals too . . . (ICI 1976:50).

Fishing also appears to have changed gender affiliation through time. The earliest accounts refer to men or boys fishing (Lyon 1824; Birket-Smith 1929); the 20th century references to women or both women and men (Eber 1971; Guemple 1986; ICI 1986). Therefore, in 20th century contexts, women, as well as men, would be *using* ice-hole sealing and fishing equipment, although, as the above quote implies, such items were still classified as *men's* equipment.

Manufacturing tools were used exclusively by men, as were most items related to transportation (Table 3). However, numerous references to both women and men serving as guides and/or cartographers to Europeans imply that both genders were sufficiently familiar with their environment to travel independently. Traditionally, women moved camp; men drove the dogsleds. All aspects of dog care: training, feeding, discipline, harnessing, breaking trail (and carrying pups) were handled by women.

Artifacts associated with house construction are gender-neutral (Table 3). Women pitched the tents and men built the snowhouses, although women more often repaired the snowhouses and built snowshelters for dogs. Snow shovels would have been used by both men and women and women occasionally may have used snow knives. Which gender was responsible for constructing the traditional winter sodhouses is not known.

Many activities were exclusively or primarily the domain of women: skin preparation, sewing, the use of ornaments, household maintenance and food preparation (Table 3).

However, both women and men used food vessels and utensils and some food preparation items were exclusively used by men such as flensing knives and side-bladed knives. Women also gathered fuel and kelp, thawed water and cut blubber. Both women and men picked berries and butchered game; which gender undertook the latter task depended on the location of the activities (Birket-Smith 1929:139).

Certainly in times of stress the pattern of labour organization was flexible: "A man may do any kind of women's work and a woman, any kind of man's work if a sufficiently urgent situation demands it" (Giffen 1930:20). Occasionally this flexibility was related to a gender imbalance among children. For example, an eldest daughter could accompany a father on hunting trips to help and to trap for fox *because* there were no available sons of the right age (Okalik 1990). More commonly, however, children under twelve years of age were gender-neutral. Beyond this age, they helped their parents at gender-related tasks and married soon after (Boas 1964). Pitseolak's reminiscences about the lack of teenagers in past times alludes to this pattern of early marriage and gendered responsibility (Eber 1971).

Changes to artifact production resulting from the introduction of European goods appear to be restricted to the replacement of metal for stone or bone as the source material for traditional tool forms such as needles, ulu blades, whetstones, sled shoes, harpoons, lances and knives (Boas 1907; 1964; Birket-Smith 1929). Both traditional and

imported materials were still within the domain of men's manufacturing tasks, however.

One of the longstanding issues in the Thule/historic Inuit debate is the identification of the source for the material culture degeneration observed for this transition (McGhee 1972; 1976; 1980). Within the realm of bone, antler and ivory tool production, McGhee has reported a decline in craftsmanship, degree of standardization and amount of decoration, as well as a process of simplification and a decrease in the range of artifacts, especially those associated with marine hunting (e.g., harpoon heads) and manufacture. This decline does not appear to have been related to a decline in the functional importance of the bone industry, nor was it supplanted by a functionally-superior industry until historic times (McGhee 1980:48). McGhee (1976:218) suggests that it may have resulted from a loss of interest in various fields of "technological art" on the part of the Inuit, noting that variations in the level of artistic productivity occurred throughout the entire sequence of human occupation in the Arctic. To Birket-Smith (1929:234), 20th century Inuit rarely aimed higher than making an implement useful; finish was a matter of no account. Matthiassen (1928:103) wrote that they "are very poor craftsmen; what they make is mostly badly and carelessly finished, without much thought of beauty of form and decoration". A closer reading of these texts and related observations reveals that

these value judgements are gender-specific, not monolithic condemnations.

It is of the *male* arts, about which Parry (1858:226) writes that "the ingenuity lies in the principle, not the execution" and that despite the number and quality of the knives they possessed, their work was remarkably coarse and clumsy. It is the work of *women* which is the exception (Matthiassen 1928:103). The women "sewed with exquisite neatness" (Parry 1858). "In some of the few arts practised by the women there is much more dexterity displayed, especially sewing" (Parry 1858:226). Women have brought the art of preparing skins "to no inconsiderable degree of perfection" (Parry 1858:229). "Simple as all these processes [i.e. skin preparation] may appear, they have to be learned, and demand skill and diligence if they are to be well done"; women are "perfect masters of this craft" (Neatby 1977:134). Interestingly, the bone and ivory items which did tend to be decorated during the Thule and later historic Inuit culture were items used by women, such as combs, belt toggles and sewing tools in contrast to the hunting equipment and men's manufacturing tools of earlier periods (McGhee 1976:208).

The Inuit material culture 'degeneration' observed during this transition period refers primarily to articles produced by men, items of metal, stone or bone, items which are the most commonly recovered archaeologically. Understanding the cultural decline issue as a gender issue may initiate resolution of the debate, although it also has

to engage the notion of religion and decline in spiritual associations of 'beautiful tools' for the animal spirits.

Seasonality

Given the seasonally-variable nature of Inuit settlement patterns (winter sod- or snowhouses, transition-season qarmat and summer tents) and related subsistence pursuits, what ethnographic evidence exists for seasonality in gender behaviour? Are women's and men's activities more polarized under certain economic or environmental conditions than under other ones? If so, there are implications for archaeological interpretations of intercultural interaction that involve variation in contact type and period across seasonally-variable behaviour. During winter, for example, women's work is generally conducted within the house; men spend long days outdoors in pursuit of game. A female presence should be more visible archaeologically in investigations of winter dwellings, at least in terms of artifact use if not manufacture and repair. Conversely, during the rest of the year, much less use of dwellings is made by occupants generally, with women working outside preparing skins, sewing and even cooking on outdoor hearths in the summer months. Material evidence for any activity will be correspondingly slighter in summer than at other times of the year, both because tents, for example, were occupied for shorter periods

(two or three months maximum) and because fewer activities were conducted within them.

Reconstructed seasonality schedules routinely ignore or delete women's activities despite the fact that they could influence the timing of settlement movements, the choice of site location and the commencement of other activities. For example, although the most important fall activity was completing the preparation of caribou skin clothing to allow walrus hunting to begin, this activity does not appear in the summary seasonality tables provided by Stenton (1983).

Tables 2 and 3 present evidence for seasonal variability in gender behaviour for both artifact manufacture and artifact use and are further summarized in Table 5. The information on artifact production comes primarily from 'sketches' appearing in 19th century travel narratives and early 20th century ethnographies. Unfortunately, these sketches are static descriptions, lacking any reference to seasonality. Unlike the analysis of artifact use, even predicting the scheduling of production tasks by extrapolation from the available data is difficult. Some tasks, such as clothing repair, were on-going: "Nothing [i.e. no piece of clothing] is allowed to go one day without repair" (Hall 1970:170).

Of the 17 manufacturing activities identified in Table 2, only three are seasonally-specific: the production of summer skin tents during the spring and the manufacture of clothing in the fall, by women, and winter-time tool-making

by men (see Table 5). According to Boismier (1991), winter was the time for making land mammal hunting gear, boats, sleds, several manufacturing tools and women's items, such as ulus, scrapers, awls, bowls and spoons.

Table 5. Summary of Seasonal Variability in Gender Manufacturing Activities.

	SPRING	SUMMER	FALL	WINTER
WOMEN	tents	-	clothing	-
MEN	-	-	-	hunting gear (land) boats manufacturing tools some women's tools

While two of the artifact classes, clothing and tools, were used year-round, their period of production is archaeologically identifiable by the presence of related production debris: skin scraps in the former case, raw material debitage and tool preforms with the latter.

Inuit artifact use was more definably seasonal (see Table 6). Nevertheless several activities were conducted year round. For women, these included sewing, food preparation, household maintenance and the wearing of ornaments. For men, sea mammal hunting (although less frequently in summer) and kayak travel were practised year

Table 6. Summary of Seasonal Variability in Gender Use Activities

	SPRING	SUMMER	FALL	WINTER
WOMEN	sewing	----------	----------	----------
	food preparation	---------[o]--------	----------	----------
	household maintenance	----------	----------	----------
	ornaments	----------	----------	----------
	[o] skin preparation	----------	skin preparation	
MEN	[o] sea mammal hunting	. . . . .	----------	----------
	[o] transportation-kayaks	----------	----------	
			[o] transportation-sleds	----------
		[o] land mammal hunting	. . . . .	
	[o] housebuilding-snowknives			[o] housebuilding-snowknives
	[o] protection-snow goggles			
				tool manufacture

Table 6. continued

	SPRING	SUMMER	FALL	WINTER
UNKNOWN /BOTH	[o] bird hunting	----------		
	[o] fishing	----------	----------	----------
	clothing protection-snowbeaters		----------	----------
		[o] transportation-umiaks		
			[o] housebuilding-mattocks, picks	
				religious/ ceremonial
		. . . . .		adult recreation
	amulets	----------	----------	----------
CHILDREN	toys	----------	----------	----------
	sewing doll clothes	----------	----------	----------
	mending clothes	----------	----------	----------

Key
------ activity practised throughout season
. . . activity less commonly practised in season
[o] primarily outdoor use

round. Burial goods which were every-day items (i.e. not special purpose) represented another class of artifacts used throughout the year. However, they would not be archaeologically recovered from sea-ice (i.e. winter) burials or from land-based interments in snow or ice, which would be quickly scattered or scavenged by animals.

Seasonally-specific women's activities included summer umiak travel and skin preparation, especially in the spring and fall. Hantsch (Neatby 1977:133) notes that skin processing accelerated in the spring with the increasing availability of time and work space.

Men's tasks were, on the whole, more seasonally-variable. Land mammal hunting, primarily caribou, was a summer activity. As discussed above, tool manufacture occurred primarily in the winter but was probably a year-round activity, when required, as well. Snowhouse construction, using snow knives, was undertaken during the spring and winter months. The use of snow goggles was a springtime protective measure and sled travel was common in the fall and winter months. Another significant difference between gender-related seasonal artifact use is that mentioned previously: the majority of the men's activities take place outdoors and, except for tool manufacturing, would be less well represented in dwellings characteristic of any seasons, although the items used for undertaking these activities would be stored inside the dwellings.

Other activities were also seasonally related, but were not associated with a single gender: spring and summer bird hunting; summer fishing; winter sodhouse construction using mattocks and picks during the fall; winter time religious/ceremonial festivities and adult games. Clothing protection in the form of snow beaters, designed to remove the snow from garments, were in use in all but the summer months.

In general, women's task schedules were relatively constant throughout the year compared to Inuit men's. Although some activities, such as skin preparation, peaked noticeably in transition seasons, most of Inuit women's work was not seasonally-related. As Hantsch (Neatby 1977:236) put it, they were "continually busy". Artifacts related to their pursuits should be fairly uniformly distributed across all seasonally-related dwelling types. Men's activities were not only conducted more frequently outside the dwelling, and thus were less visible in archaeological investigations, but certain male tasks were undertaken at only select times of the year.

Social Relations

Accounts relating to social relations between the genders are conflicting and often reveal more about their authors than the subjects. Several write of the 'absolute' or 'natural' authority of the Inuit husband (e.g., Fleming

1956:99; Parry 1858:215,224; Neatby 1977:100), but at the same time of women as the 'real authority' (Fleming 1956:99). "I myself remained once more with the weaker sex . . . ; the women are a most significant element in Eskimo life and one does well to keep on good terms with them" (Neatby 1977:139).

Nevertheless, some aspects of Inuit social relations between the genders have been established. Within the society, each gender accrued status independently. A woman's prestige derived from her skill as a clothing producer; a man's from his hunting endeavors (Bilby 1923; Driscoll 1983; Eber 1971; Lyon 1824; Neatby 1977; Parry 1858). Because neither gender accumulated wealth or held property, aside from owning individual tools (although Lyon (1824) observed that a wealthy man owned both a kayak and a sled), European measurements of relative status, how prestige or wealth was acquired, are difficult to apply. A man might build a larger snowhouse, for example, simply because the present one was too small for the meat he currently had on hand (Neatby 1977).

But how do the two genders compare to each other in terms of status? It is not enough to say that each gender's status is derived separately. According to Ackerman (1990:210), gender equality refers to "equal access or different but balanced access of both sexes to power, authority and to autonomy . . . ". Ross' (1835:34) description of one couple that "as *they* were the most successful, *they* were never in want . . ." (emphasis added)

supports this definition. Bilby (1923:102-103) describes a "happy sort of sex equality among these people, . . . a mutually agreeable division of equally essential labours [which] cause the men and women to live more on a common footing than they seem to do among many other uncivilized folk".

Those who do presume a relatively lower status for Inuit women point to the greater number and range of taboos controlling their behaviour. However, within the realm of subsistence pursuits, there are more taboos for sea hunting than land hunting because the former activity is more dangerous. Perhaps the same rationale influenced the gender system: Inuit women operated under more taboos because the powers they control were more dangerous (Briggs 1974)?

Leadership is one aspect of social relations which can address the issue of relative status between the genders. However, it too suffers from conflicting assessments. Some sources claim that members of each gender had authority within their own sphere (a woman, for example, had *her* storeroom) (Briggs 1974; Lyon 1824; Neatby 1977). Others mention that camp leadership was shared by a 'head' couple (Billson 1990); or that the best hunter was the leader (Pitseolak and Eber 1993; Ross 1835); or that some settlements were run more by women (Eber 1989; Fleming 1956; ICI 1986; Nourse 1879). (This may have changed since the precontact period for Hall (1970) mentions that in the old times there were chiefs.) At the same time, no person had

authority over others. Age or talents engendered respect but not influence (Hall 1970; Ross 1835). Individual households often moved their camps independently of others in a village (Hall 1970). The most capable people were generally the most prosperous. Conversely, there were always inferior individuals who were less capable, and thus held a lower personal status (Neatby 1977).

'Big Man' theories of contact (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980), developed to explain Inuit-European interaction around the whaling centres of Alaska and Labrador, in which power accrued to the middleman (or men) who had access to European material culture, are not suitable as explanatory frameworks for the historic Nugumiut situations. The Nugumiut culture lacked several key features which characterized the Alaskan and Labrador contact, such as concentration of wealth, a whaling hierarchy, surpluses and exclusive male-outsider contact.

The prevalence of polygyny is cited as another example of a hierarchy of social relations between the genders. Indeed, the best hunters often had more than one spouse, since they were the ones best able to maintain them, but the same was true for women (Fleming 1956; Pitseolak and Eber 1993; Ross 1835). Boas (1901) identifies three different geographical regions in which polyandry was practised. Nevertheless, within marriage, spouses tended to "carry out their respective duties with the utmost independence nor do they . . . instruct or influence" one and other, although

some consultation occurred and there was undoubtedly some physical superiority and consequent subjection occurring (Neatby 1977:226; Parry 1858).

Spouse exchange and female infanticide are two additionally cited gauges of Inuit gender relations. As with other aspects of Inuit social life, it is difficult to ascertain the Inuit perspective from the accounts of the Victorian males who wrote about the cultures. For example, many of the Euro-American sources emphasize wife exchange as a male prerogative, but this observation may arise from a patriarchal perspective of 'wife as chattel'. Others report that it was a contractual relationship undertaken with the full knowledge and agreement of all four participants, or that both partners were unfaithful or that, in the men's absence, the women were wanton and uncontrolled (Bilby 1923; Briggs 1974; Hall 1970; Lyon 1824; Parry 1858). "No one minded - unless people were sneaky about it" (Pitseolak and Eber 1993:27). On long journeys, for example, when women routinely broke trail to lead the dogs, a pregnant woman stayed behind while a non-pregnant woman took her place (Parry 1858). Spouse exchange was a means of creating alliances within a community. If a husband died, the male exchange partner became responsible for his children (Nourse 1879).

I located two references to female infanticide (Kumlien 1879:15-16; Nourse 1879:408) but, in general, this practise appears to have been rare during the 19th century. According

to Neatby (1977:146), infanticide only occurred if the mother was unmarried or ill or the child was deformed. While male babies were desired, female children were not treated less kindly (Hall 1970). On the contrary, the documents consistently corroborate each other in regards to the Inuit's genuine love of children. Child adoption was another common source of alliance-building.

Another barometer of social relations within egalitarian societies relates to food sharing. Within Inuit culture, food appears to have been distributed equally (Lyon 1824; Nourse 1879), with men often, although not always, eating first but with edible delicacies reserved for women and children (Kumlien 1879; Lyon 1824; Ross 1835). However, Lyon (1824:301-302) records one instance of an old man who "had invariably a share of whatever provision was taken from the shores along the beach as well as of animals which were killed in the daily excursions", although everyone from the village could come in and eat anyway. And Neatby (1977:171) writes that:

> on the next day each made good to . . . [the man] to whom the seal belonged, the pieces they had eaten or retained for cooking as was the regular custom with the Eskimo, provided that one has adequate means of making restitution.

According to Briggs (1974), eating separately is not necessarily related to status. This pattern may have developed because Inuit women who remained inside had the

opportunity to eat throughout the day, while hunters tended to eat nothing until they returned home.

One means by which archaeologists have suggested defining Inuit social relations is through the differential use of space, specifically the maintenance of separate men's houses, or kashgees. These structures, prevalent among the whaling communities of the western Arctic, were the loci not only of men's workshop activities, but of both male-only and community-wide ceremonies and festivities. The presence of separate men's houses has often been generalized as an Arctic-wide phenomenon of Thule culture. It is not. None of the references pertaining to the eastern and central Canadian Arctic identified separate structures restricted to men's use.

Ceremonial houses in the eastern Arctic were the locus for several social and ceremonial activities: feasts, competitive games, songs, dances and shamanistic performances; and both men and women participated in at least some of the kashim activities (Bilby 1923:217; Taylor 1990:53,57). The structures, constructed of stone or sod walls with skin roofs, have been reported in southern Baffin Island and appear to have been associated with summer activities (Bilby 1923 *in* Taylor 1990:53). We found one at Sharko in Frobisher Bay (Fitzhugh 1993:113).

While Hall (Nourse 1879), Fleming (1956:132) Lyon (1824) and Hantsch (Neatby 1977; Pitseolak and Eber (1993) all routinely document feasting behaviour, particularly during

the winter, a time of resource stress, both men and women participated in these events, although they sometimes feasted separately (Taylor 1990:56). Nourse (1879:80) describes one occasion when men and women ate in separate snowhouses linked by a common passage. However, once again, contradictions exist. On one occasion, Hall (Nourse 1879:80) makes a point of noting that all the women were present "as this was an unusual feast".

Such festivities were initiated by successful hunters, but also by old women or by a couple jointly, who would invite the whole community to have a meal together in the open air or tent (Neatby 1977). The seal was first consecrated and the woman sent around gifts of seal blubber for all the lamps as well as meat and blubber for later consumption (Hall 1970:181). By the early 19th century, however, this practise had fallen into disuse. Lyon mentions only a single sighting of a:

> stone circle set entirely aside for assemblies when a whale was killed, or any great and joyous occasion, in which the happy savages met to sing and dance. I consider this a piece of Inuit antiquity. (1824:448)

One additional potential facet of power and authority differentials between the genders lies in the religious realm. In Inuit culture, shamans "cured the sick, drove away evil spirits, procured game, influenced the weather, exposed hidden transgressions . . ." (Oosten 1986:120). However, both women and men commonly served as shamans in Inuit

culture. Moreover, the prestige of such individuals was equivocal. (This seems to be regardless of whether pre-Christian or post-Christian periods are considered). While some sources (e.g. Bilby 1923; Hall 1970; Okalik 1990) claim a high status for shamans, others suggest that shamanistic abilities did not increase an individual's status, which came instead from their skills as sewers or as hunters (Oosten 1986). The very nature of Inuit shamanism was ambiguous. As a mediator, the shaman transcended "structural contrasts between life and death, land and sea, male and female and should not be marked in terms of one particular category" (Oosten 1986:115).

How did the *form* of Inuit gender relations impact on intergroup contact? The ethnographic data for the central and eastern Canadian Arctic demonstrates Inuit gender relations to be more or less egalitarian, or near enough to suggest little difference in modelling contact with Europeans (see Chapter 2). Saving the specifics of Inuit-European contact for discussion in the next chapter, we are left with very little direct evidence of contact protocol from the documentary sources. Briggs (1974:276) provides the most explicit evidence: men tend to meet newcomers, women only if they know them, "otherwise they go home again, make tea, and wait to be visited". And Baffin (1881:14) describes his initial contact with two Inuit "being aged men and rulers of the rest", implying that the prerequisites for intercultural interaction are (advanced) age, (male) gender and (high)

rank. Indeed, there was greater opportunity for men to have contact with others, since they were the ones who operated in the boundary zones, while women, especially during the winter, were traditionally more home-centred.

Other sources (e.g Parry 1858) describe access to European contact as, in part, determined by personal opportunities, such as ownership of goods. Children owned toys, and sometimes puppies; women owned clothing and ornaments; men usually owned weapons, sleds and boats. But in at least three instances, Parry (1858:178) mentions that it was a woman who owned a sled or a dog or a boat, and who had to be consulted regarding the purchase of these items. In his description of the Koksoakmiut of Ungava in northern Quebec, Turner (1979:45) discusses female-female trade in moccasins and sealskin boots between Inuit and Naskapi Indians.

Symbolic Associations of Gender and Raw Material

In Chapter 2, I introduced McGhee's (1977) construction of the Thule Inuit symbolic system as it related to gender and material. Regrettably, the ethnographic sources from which the present chapter was drawn offer little further elaboration of Inuit gender and raw material associations. Archaeological evidence for continuities in raw material use as they relate to ideological domains of gender control and

authority from historic contexts, however, are discussed in Chapter 7.

Only one ethnographic source makes general reference to Inuit gender and material associations and this is in the context of manufacturing:

> There is an inherited distribution of labour between men and women which leaves all work in hard materials such as *metal, wood* and *bone,* as well as the making of thongs, to the lot of men, whereas the women have to undertake the preparation of *skins and sewing.* (Birket-Smith 1929:235,emphasis added)

(In a later table presenting the division of labour by gender, Birket-Smith (1929:258) lists working in *stone,* metal and bone as one of the tasks performed by men). Even this division was not immutable, for as Lyon (1824:318) suggests, women sometimes made household items such as stone lamps and stone and baleen pots.

One important issue which arose from McGhee's symbolic materials analysis concerned the implications of the introduction of European metal into the Inuit symbolic system. The ethnographic evidence suggests that metal cross-cut the ideologically-determined gender domains of technology and materials (i.e. supporting the third hypothesis developed in the model presented in Chapter 2). While Inuit men manufactured all items made of metal (see Table 2), these articles, primarily manufacturing tools (male), knives

(female and male); needles (female); and ornaments (female) were used by and associated with *both* genders (see Table 3).

Ethnographic evidence supporting metal use is both sparse and contradictory. Taboos existed against metal use while Inuit were engaged in white-whale hunting or seal hunting or processing the carcasses (Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982:70; Nelson 1983:145; Weyer 1932:370), musk-ox hunting (Birket-Smith 1929:237; Weyer 1932:371), or caribou hunting with traditional implements such as bows and arrows (Weyer 1932:371). Furthermore, metal could not be worked (i.e. filed) until the sea ice formed (Nourse 1879:64); nor could it be used to crack marrow bones during walrus hunting season (Nourse 1879:155). In some instances the material appeared to lie within the female domain, for example, Boas (1907:549) recounts that a female shaman "would throw a piece of iron into the rear part of the house, and soon it would become a needle" and Weyer (1932:371) records that if a metal projectile point needed sharpening a woman must do it. However, the real association seemed to be not one of gender but one of the new (metal) with that which was unusual or dangerous (Birket-Smith 1929:237). European-source iron was too new (i.e. too dangerous) to use in spiritually-controlled activities such as whale or musk-ox hunting because of spiritual contamination of sea mammal souls by iron. Its power was more easily controlled in domestic tasks of manufacturing tools, butchering game, preparing food and sewing clothing, labours undertaken by *both* men and women.

With the specifics of the Inuit gender system now set forth: the gendered tasks and associated material culture, the seasonal component to labour organization, the non-hierarchical nature of social relations, and the suggestive evidence for the association of iron with domestic tasks rather than with spiritually-controlled extractive activities, I turn to the ethnohistoric evidence of European contact with the Nugumiut of Frobisher Bay.

CHAPTER 5

INUIT-EUROPEAN CONTACT IN FROBISHER BAY - THE ETHNOHISTORIC EVIDENCE

> The Innuits [sic] have an impression that the kodlunas (white people) possess plenty; that is, plenty of iron, wood, beads, knives, needles, &c . . . . And the word kodlunas, in fact, signifies not only "white people," but the people who always have plenty. (Hall 1970:520)

Introduction

This chapter details the local sequence of Inuit-European contact (see Table 7) from the ethnohistoric evidence by providing a general overview of each contact period (16th-century Elizabethan, 19th-century whaling and early 20th-century fur trade), including the various means by which Inuit obtained European goods (for example, gift-giving or wage labour); a description of the material culture exchanged (and maintained); and a discussion of the effect of access to European goods on traditional activities. Determining the means of acquisition aids in determining the degree and nature of the impact of the new material culture.

Particular emphasis is given to gender behaviour as it relates to interaction to determine, first, if differential adaptation to European contact occurred for Inuit women and men and, second, if it came about as a result of differential access to resources or, instead, was task-related. Did Inuit men and women, for example, trade their labour for European

goods for their spouses? What was the degree of continuity and congruence of traditional Inuit role definitions and their related tasks, spheres of authority and positions of status (McElroy 1979:49)? In addition, this reading of the historical literature offers a perspective of first contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples which is in opposition to the usual perception of initial contact as the crux of change, the great rupture between the (static) past and the tumultuous present. In fact, the evidence presented here for all three periods of contact suggests that until the early 20th century, the Nugumiut economic autonomy, deriving from their continued, direct access to the means of production (Henshaw 1995:60) was a mainstay of the culture.

Table 7. Contact Chronology in Southeast Baffin Island

Frobisher Bay	Cumberland Sound	
1576 - 1578	1585 - 1587	Elizabethan exploration
-	1846 - 1857	Ship-Based Whaling
	1857 - late 1870s	Shore-Based Whaling
1860s - 1911 (Cape Haven)	1880- c.1900	Marginal Whaling and Sealskin Trade
1911 - 1928? STC at Signia	c.1900 - 1919	Independent Trader Era (General Trade)
1914/20 - 1940	1920 - 1940	HBC Fox Trade

The Frobisher Voyages - 16th-Century Contact

General Description

In 1576, the Elizabethan explorer (and pirate), Martin Frobisher, left England with three ships and a crew of 36 men to search for the Northwest passage to Asia. Only one ship reached Frobisher Bay. Frobisher spent two weeks exploring the bay, mainly along the south shore (Hogarth et al. 1994:30). A sample of ore collected during that expedition (reported to be high-grade gold after several assay attempts) generated two subsequent expeditions whose mandate was to search for and mine further ore deposits and abandon geographic exploration.

The second expedition, in 1577, consisted of three ships and 145 men. Further explorations were made of the south shore with mining and loading occurring off Kodlunarn Island on the north shore. In total, 158 tons of ore were collected. No further westward exploration took place beyond the Countess of Warwick Sound (Hogarth et al. 1994:34-35).

For the third voyage, 15 ships and 397 men were sent. It remains the largest Arctic expedition ever undertaken (Kenyon 1975:14). Plans included the establishment of a mining colony of 100 men. Three vessels were to be left, as well as food and supplies for 18 months (Kenyon 1975:14). Lumber and mortar were brought to construct a timber and stone dwelling. Unfortunately, storms and bad sea ice

conditions caused damage and loss of a significant portion of the provisions and dwelling timber on the outbound voyage. Instead of leaving a colony, Frobisher had a smaller house built to test its survival under arctic conditions. He planned to return for a fourth season in 1579; however, circumstances did not permit this.

Although the accounts of these expeditions describe the first documented direct contact between Inuit and Europeans in Arctic Canada, the narratives contain suggestive evidence for earlier interaction. Stefansson and McCaskill (1938) find Inuit reaction to the Elizabethans revealing in this respect. First contacts with strangers are often marked by fear or ignorance, rather than the familiarity shown by the Baffin Islanders. More concrete evidence of previous(?) early contact between Inuit and Europeans comes from a box of nails, "wellcut boards of fir" and an iron trivet found in a Greenlandic tent (Kenyon 1975:80; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:lxiii-lxiv), and a sled of sawn fir, spruce and oak boards found north of Cumberland Sound by the John Davis expedition of a decade later (Markham 1880:12). Within Frobisher Bay itself, the inhabitants' metal-tipped tools demonstrate the ubiquity (but not the source) of this material prior to Elizabethan contact. While most arrows were headed with stone or bone, "they have some iron, whereof they make arrowheads, knives and other instruments, to work their boats, bows and arrows and darts withall" (Kenyon 1975:115; Settle 1577:54). They traded with other people for

"bars of iron, iron dart heads, square needles and certain copper buttons which they wear upon their foreheads as ornaments" (Kenyon 1975:116).

The Englishmen met the Inuit on several occasions and the initial encounters were positive. Sometimes the Inuit came on board to trade, as many as 19 people on one occasion (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:153); once or twice the visitors performed stunts on the ships' rigging. After several courteous meetings, trust was established on both sides. The Elizabethans regarded the Inuit as subtle and quick-witted, readily understanding the Elizabethans' attempts at sign language and clearly communicating in return (Kenyon 1975:114). The Inuit spent time explaining the names and functions of many items of their culture; they demonstrated dog sledding, for example (Kenyon 1975:56). However, relations irretrievably broke down later in 1576 after five men and a ship's boat were sent ashore and never heard from again. Presumably they were kidnapped and killed by the Inuit. Local oral history records that a group of kabloonat (white people) were abandoned by Frobisher and lived among the Inuit and later built a boat at Kodlunarn Island and left (Hall 1970:247). Without a boat, the Europeans lacked a means of getting to shore to search for the missing men. In revenge, an Inuk was captured and brought back to England (Cheshire et al. 1980). Several skirmishes followed, including one in which Martin Frobisher was wounded.

During the second year, relations deteriorated further:

> Hauing this knowledge, both of their fiercenesse and crueltie, and perceiuing that fayre meanes, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed ourselyes, contrairie to our inclinations, something to be cruel, returned to their tentes, and made a spoyle of the same. (Settle 1577:36)

The Inuit, in turn, tried to lure the Europeans on shore, apparently to kidnap them for ransom (Settle 1577:41). Although Inuit claimed that three of the five European men were still alive (Settle 1577:39), Frobisher's crew found torn European clothing and suspected foul play (Fitzhugh and Laeyendecker 1993:12). The conflict culminated in the Bloody Point battle in 1577 in which several Inuit were killed and a young woman and child were taken hostage. The three captives survived for only a short time in England (Cheshire et al. 1980; Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:237; Sturtevant and Quinn 1987). Inuit raised a sunken pinnace from Countess of Warwick Sound in the second or third year, but appear not to have disturbed the 1577 cache on Kodlunarn Island (Kenyon 1980-1:186-188).

Interaction in the third year was marked by deliberate avoidance on the part of the Inuit and there was very little direct contact. Sometimes several Inuit boats would appear to attack European miners but their crews were apparently scared off by the sight of the large European ships (Kenyon 1975:106): " . . . so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene" (Stefansson and McCaskill

1938:42). Although they cached supplies on Kodlunarn Island, the English seamen never returned.

Means of Obtaining Elizabethan Goods

European goods were obtained by various methods. Unfortunately, there was no report of association with gender. Incidents of direct and indirect trading and gift-giving (items left in abandoned kayaks or tents or on open ground, for example) are all recorded, albeit infrequently, in the Elizabethan accounts. Sometimes the European gifts were exchanged among the Inuit themselves: the kidnapped Inuk "gave his friends such toys and trifles as he had received from us" (Kenyon 1975:63-64). One Inuk was taken on as a pilot and for his labour was given "many trifling things" (Collinson 1867:83). This is the single documented instance of exchanging labour (male) for goods during this period of Inuit-European contact.

During their final season, Frobisher had a little house of masonry and wood built and in it left many things "to allure those brutish and uncivil people to courtesy" (Kenyon 1975:107). Anticipating their own return, the English buried timber, barrels of provisions and other things within the Kodlunarn Island mine, or ship's trench. More Elizabethan goods were made available through simple abandonment. By the end of the third season, many of their supplies were broken and abandoned: "the men's shoes and clothes were in tatters,

the bottoms torn out of the baskets, [and] all their tools broken" (Kenyon 1975:69).

Both the 16th-century and later 19th-century explorers noted signs of Inuit scavenging of Frobisher sites: blooms removed to Newland Island and to Lookout Island in Cyrus Field Bay; a piece of a hogshead barrel and of the pinnace's mast at Willows Island; and bricks and coal to Newland Island, used as playthings and crayons (Hall 1970:111,244,246,248; Kenyon 1980-1:186,188). However, the Inuit selectively chose certain items among the European materials, for according to Fenton's observations regarding a visit to Kodlunarn Island during the third expedition, "all things remained at [as] we left them in so much as we found diverse osmonds[1] which we left uncovered in their places untouched by the people" (Kenyon 1980-1:185).

Inuit esteem for iron in any form was well known and theft, another method of acquisition, was common. Anchors were stolen, cables were cut, and boats were released from the ships. Sometimes destruction was involved, as in the case of a pinnace which was partly torn up for the iron in the boards. Theft was not one-sided, however. In three instances, the Elizabethans, finding an Inuit camp deserted, availed themselves of dogs, clothing and trifles "more to be wondred [sic] at for their strangenesse [sic] than for any

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[1] Swedish term for small, highly refined lumps of iron from which tools were forged (Fitzhugh and Olin 1993:255).

other commoditie needful to our use" (Settle 1577:36) leaving items in return, for a dog, only once.

Material Culture Exchanged

Documentary evidence for Inuit-Elizabethan material culture exchange comes primarily from ship lading lists and general accounts of the Frobisher expeditions. Unfortunately, the lading lists have been organized according to suppliers (essentially materials, such as 'ironmongers' ware' or 'haberdasher's ware'), making it difficult to distinguish trade goods and mariners' supplies (McDermott 1984:89). Furthermore, since the Elizabethans did not intend immediate large-scale commerce, they brought very little with them in the way of trade goods. As McDermott (1984:89) explains, "so diverse were the various items of manufacture, so individually negligible in quantity". Yet equating small quantities to personal use by the sailors and large quantities to commodities is inaccurate in this case. Tracking quantities received by Inuit is also difficult. Neither specific amounts nor quantifiable adjectives such as 'a few' or 'many' were used. In one case, leftover merchandise from the first voyage is identified on a list of goods included in the second voyage, but information of this type is rare.

What Frobisher *did* bring was a small sample of English and European manufactured wares "to allow the Chinese [the

people whom they hoped to encounter] to indicate exactly which of the European goods they desired" (McDermott 1984:88).

> The nature of the merchandise offers an insight into the range of manufactured goods available in England during the period, and also into what was thought to be the most saleable merchandise in export terms (McDermott 1984:89)

Broadcloth samples, for instance, include gold cloth, velveteens, taffetas, satins, silk ribbons, sarsnets, chamblets, buckrams, calicos, linens, sayes and kerseys (McDermott 1984:89). Frobisher also brought items to show the Chinese which sorts of things were sought by the English: pearls, gold and silver rings, sapphires and (counterfeit) diamonds, rubies and emeralds (McDermott 1984:90)!

Table 8 lists merchandise brought on the Frobisher expeditions and whether Inuit women or men would have been the probable Inuit recipients (based on the tables developed in Chapter 4). However, it is not known for certain that these items were actually traded. Trade items likely to have been used by Inuit women include jewelry: bangles, necklaces and beads; small tools: scissors, pins, points (i.e. needles); cloth; buttons (for decorating clothing) and various metal vessels. Given the relative scarcity of local metal sources and the preponderance of adequate materials for making containers, however, these last items may have served, instead, as raw material sources for Inuit articles. Inuit men would have used tools such as hammers, files, and

Table 8. List of Trade/Exchange Merchandise Carried by the Frobisher Voyages

Merchandise		Probable Gender Affiliation of Inuit Recipients
looking glasses		?
combs		?
purses		?
points		female
pins		female
bangles		female
necklaces		female
glass beads		female
ironmonger's ware*		
	bells	?
	sackeringe(?) bells	?
	horse bells	?
	cow bells	?
	grooved bells	?
	small tools	?
	ladies(small) shears	female
	small pincers	?
	nails	?
	hammers	male
	files	male
	knives	?
	paring knives	?
	whetstones	both
	hanging locks	?
	brass weighing balances	?
	dog harness	-
	dog collars	-
cloth		female
haberdashery ware*		
	spectacles	?
	paper pins	female
	brass buttons	female
	tin whistles	?
	straw hats	?
	threads	female
	scissors	female
	needles	female
	small knives	?
	gloves	?

Merchandise		Probable Gender Affiliation for Inuit Recipients
	laces	female
	bells	?
pewter vessels		female
brass kettles		female
copper plates		female
metals		
	lead	male
	iron	male
	pewter	male
	tin	male

*in addition to those items already listed

GLOSSARY (after OED)
looking glass, mirror
pin, fastener, e.g. for cloth or clothing
point, a tagged lace or cord of twisted yarn, silk or leather to lace up clothing; a needle (?)
haberdashery ware, small wares, notably men's furnishings
laces, string or cord used for fastening clothes; ornamental braid for trimming men's coats

From McDermott (1984: 89, 90, 172, 215, 216, 218, 219, 337)

whetstones and, as a source of raw material, metal bars. The other items, such as as bells, mirrors and knives, could have been used by either gender.

Table 9 presents the documentary evidence for Inuit-Elizabethan commodities exchange organized according to the form, or method, of acquisition: trade, gift-giving, employment, scavenging, theft and abduction. Individual transactions are identified (as grouped items), as is the gender of the Inuit participants, when possible. In most cases, Elizabethan goods were received through gift-giving and scavenging. However, in general, the same items were received regardless of the form of acquisition.

The single largest instance of gifting occurred when the mariners took their final leave:

> This daye the masons finished a house whiche Captaine Fenton caused to be made of lyme and stone upon the Countesse of Warwickes Ilande [Kodlunarn Island], to the ende we mighte prove against the nexte yeare, whether the snow coulde overwhelm it, the frosts breake uppe, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure those brutish and uncivill people to courtesie, againste other times of our comming, we lefte therein dyvers of our countrie toyes, as bells, and knives, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessarie use, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men a horsebacke, lookinglasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an oven, and breade left baked therein, for them to see and taste. (Collinson 1867:272)

On only one occasion, were Elizabethan goods received in exchange for labour. In 1576, as noted earlier, an Inuk was hired to pilot or guide the ship (Collinson 1867:83).

Table 9. 16th-Century Inuit and European Commodities

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items	Reference
TRADE	knives	?	birds	7:40
	other trifles	?	skins	
'exchange'	bells	all	sealskin	4:40
	looking glasses	all	bearskin	
	other toys	all		
'exchange'	pins	male	2 bow cases	4:51
	points	male	lesser	
	other trifles	male	things	
*	knives	?	birds	4:89
	bells	?	fish	
	looking glasses	?	bearskins	
GIFT-GIVING	looking glass	?	bladder	4:67
	toys	male	-	4:64
	trifles	male		
	trifles	male	-	1:83
	haberdash trifles	male	-	1:83
	thredden point (needle)	?	-	7:153
	bell	male	-	7:153
	knife	male		
**	pins	all	-	4:107
	points	all		7:44
	laces	all		
	looking glasses	all		
	combs	all		
	knives	all		
	bells	all		
	pictures	all		
	whistles	all		
	pipes	all		
	trifles/fancies /toys	all		

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items	Reference
	-	male	coat tail	4:52
	looking glasses points toys		-	4:59
EMPLOYMENT	trifling things	male		1:83
SCAVENGING	blooms hogshead barrel ship mast part (pinnace)		-	5:186,188
	bricks coal wood (timber/lumber) blooms heavy iron anvil flint		-	2:111,244 246,248, 258,326, 328,343, 391,395, 397,398, 451,458
	surplus provisions in barrels (meal, peas, grist)		-	4:107 5:197
	20,000 bricks & 2000 tiles			3
THEFT	knives bells (looking) glasses		1 dog	6:32-33
	-		clothing	4:114
ABDUCTION	canvas doublet shirt girdle 3 shoes		-	4:58
	wood boat			4:40

* in Hudson Strait
** gifts left in house constructed on Kodlunarn Island

GLOSSARY (after OED)
looking glass, mirror
pin, fastener, e.g. for cloth or clothing
point, a tagged lace or cord of twisted yarn, silk or leather to lace up clothing; a needle (?)
haberdash trifles, small wares, notably men's furnishings
laces, string or cord used for fastening clothes; ornamental braid for trimming men's coats

References:
1. Collinson 1867
2. Hall 1970
3. Harley Manuscript 715
4. Kenyon 1975
5. Kenyon 1980-1
6. Settle 1577
7. Stefansson and McCaskill 1938

Elizabethan sailors stole various items from Inuit camps at various times, at least once leaving articles in their place. In 1577, Frobisher's men found several pieces of Elizabethan clothing, presumably belonging to the five abducted seamen, at an Inuit settlement in Yorke Sound (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:67).

Both the contemporaneous accounts and Hall's (1970) later observations describe Inuit scavenging of items and materials which the Elizabethans had either abandoned or stored for their possible return.

> We buried the timber of our pretended forte, with manye barrels of meale, pease, griste, and sundrie other good things, which was the provision of those whych should inhabite, if occasion served. . . . here we also sowed pease, corne, and other graine, to prove the fruitfulnesse of the soil against the nexte yeare. (Collinson 1867:272)

Rowley (1993:34) has listed the number of Inuit observations of Frobisher relics at different places within Frobisher Bay and Cyrus Field Bay in Hall's (1970) 1864 account. Iron was the most frequently sighted material (32 times), followed by tile and coal (14 times each), and wood (three times). Nevertheless, iron was rare enough, even for the Elizabethans, that their blacksmith had to make nails from broken tools (Kenyon 1975:103). Wood is only rarely mentioned in the Hall account. Informants remember learning that a long time ago a great deal of wood was left on Kodlunarn Island. "Apparently, all useable wood had long since been taken by the Inuit" (Rowley 1993:34).

Inuit "riches" were "their sayde tentes and boates made of skinnes of red Deare and seal skinnes: also Dogges with other trifles . . ." (Settle 1577:36). However, the few instances of exchange suggest that the trade was minimal. Skins and food were the most frequently exchanged Inuit articles but on occasion dogs, bow cases, a large bladder and clothing were also received (or taken). In each of the six encounters in which the gender of the Inuit party is identified, it is male. The men received pins, points[2], a bell and a knife, as well as the ubiquitous 'trifles'. In another encounter, bells, mirrors and 'other toys' were generally distributed amongst a group of Inuit.

Table 10 illustrates the popularity of metal trade goods. Of the ten items identified in Inuit-Elizabethan transactions, at least half are metal: bells, pins, points (needles), knives and leaden images of men on horseback. In addition, metal was obtained more frequently than other commodities (17 versus 10 times). As common among early economic encounters in general, the European goods received were a combination of strictly utilitarian 'goods': (e.g.

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2 References to 'points' in the lading lists are to endtags on clothing laces, for the gentlemen participants on the expedition. References to 'points' in the journal accounts are probably to needles (or awls?) (e.g. 'thredden point'; 'pins and points'). A third 16th-century definition of the word, to refer to a pointed weapon, such as a dagger or sword is not suggested as the items appears with articles of haberdashery. The term was never used in the 20th century archaeological sense of a 'projectile point', a synonym for 'arrowhead'.

pins, points, knives, combs and clothing laces or cords) and 'trifles', as the Elizabethans categorized them (bells, mirrors, pictures, whistles and pipes). The Inuit were said to be delighted with anything that was bright or made a sound (Settle 1577:54).

Table 10. Summary List of Elizabethan Commodities Received by Inuit

'Goods'	#of Exchanges	'Trifles'	#of Exchanges
pins	**2x**	**bells**	**5x**
points	**4x**	mirrors	6x
knives	**5x**	**pictures** (in lead)	**1x**
combs	1x	whistles	1x
laces	1x	pipes	1x
		toys	4x
		haberdash trifles	1x
		trifles	6x

metal items in **boldface**

Several trade goods were listed in the exchequer accounts (McDermott 1984) but not identified in the journal records of exchange: jewelry (bangles, necklaces, glass beads), ironmongery ware, cloth, threads, metal (vessel) ware.

Additional Elizabethan items would have been available to the Inuit in the form of miner's tools, armaments and

expedition supplies (charcoal, ceramics, etc.). Table 11 (Hogarth et al. 1994:41) itemizes and quantifies the mining equipment and armaments purchased for the expedition. Many of these items would have been integrated into Thule material culture according to their original use (baskets, pickaxes, wedges, arrows and pikes, for example) and all would have supplied ample material for reworking into traditional Inuit items.

Ship lading lists and general expedition accounts provide only a sample of the universe of Elizabethan material culture available to the Inuit (Figure 5). Artifacts recovered from Frobisher's basecamp on Kodlunarn Island provide another source of items potentially available to the Inuit (Table 12). None of the items recovered from excavations of Kodlunarn Island (Table 12) was trade goods. Yet all of these items: tile, brick, ceramics, glass, coal, flint, iron and wood would have been available to the Inuit after Elizabethan abandonment of the area.

Elizabethan items found at the Inuit sites investigated, primarily the 16th-century site of Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5), supply the third source of information about accessible Elizabethan material culture. These Elizabethan artifacts and their impact on Thule culture will be discussed in the following chapters. Each of these three sources must be examined individually since, as Figure 5 illustrates, only a few items would occur in all three contexts.

Table 11. Mining Tools and Armaments for the 100-Man Colony

Fenton's Journal (PL 2133, ff.9-11)		Lok's Accounts (HL, HM 715, ff. 9-11)	
		Miner's tools	
baskets	400	baskets	800
shovels	120	shovels	120
spades	36	spades	36
crowbars	30	crowbars of 30 lb	22
mattocks	100	mattocks	100
pickaxes	30	pickaxes, 8 lb heads	30
helves for pickaxes	300	*	
sledges of 24 lb	12	sledges of 20 lb	10
sledges of 8 lb	12	sledges of 10 lb	10
wedges	100	wedges of 0.6, 5 and 8 lb	101
		Armaments	
corn-powder	2400 lb	corn-powder	2400 lb
match	1000 lb	match	900 lb
rammers and heads	24	rammers and heads	24
calivers	60	calivers	28
longbows	60	longbows	60
arrows for longbows	4320	arrows for longbows	4320
crossbows	6	crossbows and arrows	**
bowstrings	720	bowstrings	1440
black bills	50	black bills	40
pikes, long	50	pikes, long and short	68
targets	50	targets	60
jacks	80	*	
lead	1000 lb	lead (sheet, sounding, fishing)	507 lb

* item not listed
** quantity not specified; bought for £5 total.

GLOSSARY (after OED). *Black bill*, weapon with concave blade, spike at back, spear head, and black handle; *caliver*, light musket or harquebus with 2/3-inch bore; *corn-powder*, granulated gunpowder; *jack*, coat of mail; *match*, fuse for fire arms; *mattock*, digging implement, with a steel head, having on one side an adze and on the other a pick; *pickaxe*, single-tined pick; *rammer*, ramrod for a caliver; *target*, light round shield or buckler

From Hogarth et al. 1994:41

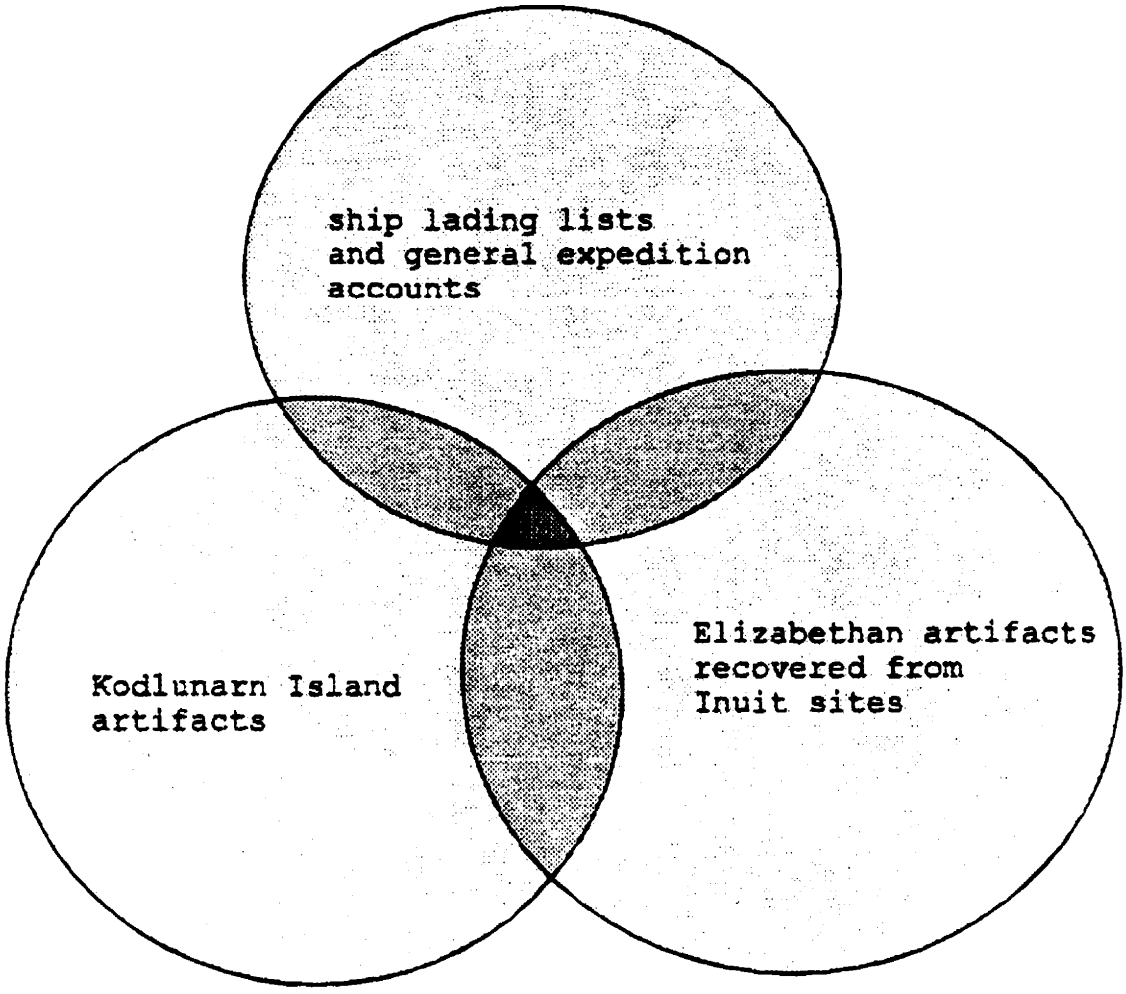

Figure 5. Sources Indicating the Elizabethan Material Culture Available to Inuit

Table 12. List of Elizabethan Material Culture Recovered from Excavations of Frobisher's Basecamp (Kodlunarn Island, KeDe-1)

(stove and roof) tile fragments
glazed (stove) tile fragments

pottery (vase?) fragments, earthenware jar knob/handle
porcelain fragments
glass fragments, bottle glass fragments

cupel and crucible fragments
muffle
refractory ceramics
scories
scorifier
stirrer

basketry
blooms
iron arrowhead
musket ball
tool

brick fragments
coal fragments
charcoal
flint stones, flint strike-a-lights
iron, iron oxide
lead
metal
slag, coke

cork
wood
cord (hair)
lime cement

bread (ship's biscuit)
peas

From Auger (n.d.); Collinson (1867:366-374); Hall (1970:391,398,495-496,506); Stefansson and McCaskill (1938:247)

Prestige Trade Goods

Very little explicit information is available concerning prestige items exchanged. While the Elizabethans hoped to obtain gold, silver and jewels (and brought samples to show their preferences), they did not find these items among the Inuit (although they noted copper ornaments). Neither were traditionally coveted prestige goods, such as ivory and fox pelts, secured or even noted by the 16th-century mariners.

It is similarly difficult to identify prestige items amongst the Elizabethan trade goods. A single reference to Inuit appreciation for bells exists (Settle 1577:54), but overall there was a balanced acquisition of utilitarian and non-utilitarian goods. Mirrors and bells were exchanged as frequently as points (i.e. needles) and knives (Table 11). In addition, most of the Elizabethan items were received as gifts, the largest single sample, indirectly so, deposited in the house built on Kodlunarn Island. Thus Inuit had little part in choosing amongst the goods available. The other major source of these items, Inuit scavenging of Elizabethan sites, also suggests little potential for Inuit choice.

It is important to remember that there are different sorts of prestige goods: utilitarian ones which ease work (e.g. metal knives) and exotic luxuries of no particular practical use but which serve as rank signifiers (e.g. jewelry) (Smith 1987). My impression is that for the 16th-century Thule Inuit, European-derived valued goods belonged

to the first category, and primarily consisted of two valued and rare items, iron and wood, both of which were available prior to European contact but not in large quantities. The quantities made available by the expedition and their proximity to the outer Frobisher Bay community are what suggests their preeminent position as desirable goods, or, in this case, materials. Nevertheless, this perception is not equivocally substantiated by the documentary record. As mentioned previously, while iron was noted 32 times in Hall's accounts of Inuit scavenging of Elizabethan material, wood retrieval was much more rarely observed, undoubtedly because iron was much more scarce to the Inuit.

No evidence concerning differential access to these materials is provided in the documentary accounts of the contact, making it difficult to comment on the more particular case of Inuit gender status in reference to differential access. While Inuit men were identified exclusively in encounters with the Elizabethans, the items they received could have been used by either gender (e.g. bells, mirrors, knives). Indeed, some items, such as points (needles) which we know they obtained, and fine dress cloth and jewelry, which they may have had, may have been used exclusively by Inuit women. Although we can assign probable gender affiliation to certain items on the merchandise lists (Table 9): for women, jewelry and metal vessels; for men, hammers, files and metal bars, we do not know from the general accounts whether they received them. More often than

not, trade goods are simply referred to as 'trifles' or 'toys'.

Effect of Elizabethan Contact on 16th-Century Inuit Culture

The written accounts suggest that contact with the Elizabethans had little significant, long-term effect on Inuit culture. There is, for example, no evidence to suggest that Inuit moved to outer Frobisher Bay to increase interaction opportunities (Fitzhugh 1985a:38). Instead, escalating apprehension of the Europeans appears to have developed, with the Inuit maintaining an increasing distance between the two groups. Unlike later contact periods, 16th-century interaction did not involve European employment of Inuit (except in a single case), provoking no conflicts in scheduling seasonal or other subsistence pursuits. Furthermore, since the Europeans were not interested in Inuit commodities per se, there was no pressure to change, or intensify, their subsistence strategies.

Where the impact of the Elizabethan expeditions centred was as a source of raw materials (wood, iron, coal, brick, tile), and in this way they altered not only 16th-century Inuit culture but that of later Inuit as well. Prior to Frobisher's contact, Inuit had gone to the outer coast to collect driftwood (Fitzhugh 1993a) "to plank and strengthen their boats, and to make spears, bows and arrows, and other things they need" (Kenyon 1975:117). Well into the 19th

century, Inuit visited Kodlunarn Island and other outer bay Frobisher sites to hunt for materials, including wood, to make tools, grindstones, metal polishers and pigments (Hall 1865b *in* Fitzhugh 1993d:19). Inuit women were still using tile and bricks from the Elizabethan expedition to polish brass ornaments when Hall (1970) visited in the 1860s. Rowley (1993b:34) notes that fragments of brick and tile, "fairly rare[3] commodities", were widely traded in the 19th century: "Ebierbing told Hall that many of his Cumberland Sound acquaintances had pieces of the tile". In addition, coal deposits were used for cooking fuel and flints were collected for use as strike-a-lights (Hall 1970; Rowley 1993b:34).

None of these items, however - brick, tile, coal or flint - would have had the impact that the caches of abandoned wood and iron had. Despite the importance of iron, however, certain iron objects, notably blooms, were neither consistently collected nor exploited as a source of metal, either because they were not recognized as such or because the Inuit did not have the technology to extract the metal (Ehrenreich and Wayman 1993:146). In fact, some Elizabethan items were valued more for their social or ideological character than for their utilitarian value. In one case, an English anvil was integrated into Inuit culture as a prop in

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[3] I would argue for their ubiquity given the 20,000 bricks and 2000 tiles brought on one voyage (Don Hogarth, pers. comm.)

telling stories of the kodlunat, for feats of strength and as a seat:

> and was finally tumbled into the sea because of a belief it was adversely affecting hunting - - an ultimate demonstration of its profound impact on, and perceived importance to the society. (Ehrenreich and Wayman 1993:146)

The monument erected by Frobisher at Newton's Fiord (Wiswell Inlet) is another example of the Elizabethan impact on Inuit worldview. In the mid-19th century, Inuit were still visiting the monument to ensure success in hunting. They presented it with gifts of caribou meat, bows and arrows, beads and other goods in the belief that: "he who gave much to the monument would kill much game" (Hall 1970:497; Rowley 1993:36).

Aspects of Inuit Gender and Elizabethan Contact

The Elizabethans provided very few details about Inuit gender as it concerned interaction with themselves. Certainly, they met both women and men on several occasions. Settle (1577) described the appearance of women in detail, including the placement of their tattoos. The two adult Inuit captives would have proved good sources of information, for the length of time they survived; unfortunately, not much appears to have been written about them (Cheshire et al. 1980; Sturtevant and Quinn 1987).

The English either met single men, small groups of men or mixed groups of men and women. In every case where the gender of the Inuit participant was identified, it was male[4]. Yet some of the trade goods were obviously destined for women: jewelry, pins and points, for example.

The majority of the Elizabethan goods would have been acquired by scavenging. Supplies of wood and metal would have been used by Inuit men for manufacturing; but the final products may have been used by either gender. Inuit women used Frobisher tile and bricks to polish ornaments and would have been the primary users of coal and flint for fire-making. (Thule Inuit traditionally used ground slate tools; it is unlikely that English flint, which seems to occur only in one centimeter-sized lumps and was therefore too small to be chipped, was used.)

Commercial Whaling - 19th Century Contact

> The whalers were the start of change. (Eber 1989:xvii)

General Description

Commercial whaling made "'the first serious inroads into native culture, population numbers and distribution' . . .

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[4] Although this was not always the case. During William Baffin's early 17th-century exploration of the North Atlantic, Greenlandic women met and traded with the foreigners (Markham 1881:141).

[and] created a milieu that facilitated the later entry of traders and missionaries" (Bird 1967 *in* Ross 1975:21). The 19th century was the era of commercial whaling in the Arctic. In just twenty years, for example, 1300 ships caught and processed 13,000 whales in Davis Strait for their baleen and oil (Ross 1981:Table 1 *in* Stevenson 1993:84). By the mid-19th century, these commercial ventures centred at Cumberland Sound, Frobisher Bay remained peripheral to the activities, although the Nugumiut did migrate to Cumberland Sound at times to crew for the whaling vessels (Boas 1964). Unfortunately, accounts by the Cumberland Sound whalers themselves have not survived (Ross 1979), although contemporary descriptions by ethnographers and others, including one captain's wife, have (e.g. Boas 1964, 1984a,b; Hall 1970; Kumlien 1879; Ross 1997). Oral histories have also been collected from this period, most notably those published in Dorothy Eber's (1989) book, *When the Whalers Were Up North*. Many of her informants, however, were children at the time the commercial whaling was in decline.

After Frobisher's departure in 1578, nearly 300 years were to pass before face-to-face contact began to occur regularly in Frobisher Bay. In the interim, European activities in adjacent areas, however, would have affected the Nugumiut. There is evidence of some 17th-century Dutch whaling activity in Davis Strait, which may have introduced Dutch goods and materials into the Inuit exchange system. For example, a shore station, to boil fat, is marked on a

1626 map of Cumberland Sound (Schilder 1984), and a brief reference is made to bartering for skins near Hudson Strait in 1624 (de Jong 1978). However, Dutch use of the region was never extensive. In the 18th century, while ship-based whaling continued in Davis Strait, Dutch trade and colonization centred in Greenland.

During the same period, the HBC ships, traveling to supply trading posts located in Hudson Bay, began bartering with Hudson Strait inhabitants. Traditionally, scholars (e.g. Ross 1975, 1979) have considered the encounters as brief, casual meetings involving, at most, only a few Inuit and therefore having little impact. Their conclusions are, however, perhaps influenced by erroneous extrapolation back from the mid-19th century when there was little European activity in this area (Barr 1994:239). Because the contact was so unpredictable, the argument went, Inuit were not motivated to collect a surplus of skins to trade and therefore systematic trade and employment could not develop (Ross 1979:251). Most of the trade goods were given as gifts, in fact, either to ensure good treatment in the unfortunate event of a shipwreck (Cooke 1973) or perhaps in anticipation of closer trade relations in the future.

In a recent article, Barr (1994) argues that both parties were highly motivated to trade, that the interaction involved much more than occasional chance encounters and that a steady flow of trade goods was reaching the Inuit of south Baffin Island a century before the practise of over-wintering

by whaling parties occurred. Captains were encouraged to build up the trade by being offered commissions of 25 per cent and at least one interpreter was hired to facilitate the commerce (Barr 1994:237). A wide range of items was bartered, principally tools and hunting weapons. Comparing the volume of trade goods with the probable number of Inuit involved suggests that they were serving as middlemen in an intergroup exchange covering Baffin Island, the Central Arctic and Ungava (Barr 1994:236). For example, Barr (1994:241) estimates that only 80-90 Inuit had contact with the ships, yet more than 8000 needles were traded during a twenty year period. Given the Inuit mobility described in the 19th and early 20th-century accounts, which described them ranging south to Lake Harbour and north to Cumberland Sound, undoubtedly some of these items reached Frobisher Bay.

In 1840, Cumberland Sound was rediscovered by Captain William Penny. For the thirty years which followed, several hundred Scottish and American vessels arrived there to hunt bowhead whale. Inuit from Davis Strait and Frobisher Bay immigrated to the area in the late 1840s (Stevenson 1993:86). "Systematic contact tended to develop and persist in regions where native settlement, whales, and adequate ship harbours were found together" (Ross 1981:43).

Initially, commercial whaling was ship-based; overwintering first occurred in 1851-1852 (see Table 13). Permanent shore stations were established in 1857. During the period that followed, 1857 to late 1870s, whaler-Inuit

contact contracted into specific regions (Ross 1979:252). Contact in these areas was regular, intense and enduring, and culture change occurred most rapidly among Inuit at these whaling centers, both harbours and stations, although whaling stations had less influence on Inuit social and intellectual culture than whaling ships, since they had fewer Europeans and a more restricted range of social activities (Ross 1979:248, 282; 1981:44). Elsewhere on the coast, fewer itinerant whaling vessels plied the waters and contact was irregular and discontinuous, with a concomitant decline in frequency of contact and pace of culture change (Ross 1979).

Table 13. Chronology of Commercial Whaling in Cumberland Sound

Date	Period	Economic Activity
1846 - 1857 (1851-52)	Ship-based Whaling (first overwintering)	Bowhead Whales
1857-late 1870s	Shore-based Whaling	Bowhead Whales
1880 -c. 1900	Marginal Whaling and Sealskin Trade (Diversification)	Sealskins, Seal Blubber, Whales, Walrus
c.1900 - 1919	Independent Trader Era (General Trade)	Fur, Seal Oil, Blubber, Ivory, some Bowhead Whales, Beluga

These regional disparities in culture contact, somewhat offset by Inuit mobility, are perceived as contact zones by

Ross (1979). The zonal concept of contact involves areas of direct contact, discontinuous contact, indirect contact and no contact. Cumberland Sound, a centre of commercial whaling interaction, was a zone in which direct European contact took place. Nineteenth-century Frobisher Bay was a zone of both discontinuous and indirect contact. Interaction was discontinuous with regards to Cape Haven shore station closures and indirect with reference to the Cumberland Sound whaling centre and Nugumiut resettlement to that region. Consequently, most of the Inuit from Cumberland Sound were directly involved in the commercial whaling, as were the Nugumiut of Frobisher Bay, who moved to Cumberland Sound or were involved in the Cape Haven enterprise. Other Nugumiut were less involved. As a result, the effects of whaling contact varied between these groups, although this would be difficult to discern archaeologically at contemporaneous sites in Frobisher Bay as a result of the population shifts that occurred between the two regions.

Intensive whaling came to an end in the late 1870s in Cumberland Sound. It was followed by a period of economic diversification in which whaling came to be of secondary importance and was superseded by the walrus and sealskin trade. Whaling station managers sent sledges from settlement to settlement to collect the game harvested (Boas 1964, 1984a). "As the industry declined, stations became mainly collection depots and trading posts, with Eskimos doing most of the hunting" (Fraser and Rannie 1972:61). By the 1880s,

Scottish whalers had abandoned their practice of wintering over and contact opportunities significantly decreased (Ross 1981:47).

The period of marginal whaling and sealskin trade evolved so gradually into a pattern of general trading that it is difficult to demarcate the boundary between these two periods (Table 13). The whalers became independent whaler-traders seeking furs, skins, blubber, seal oil, ivory, beluga up and down the coast and, when they could be obtained, whales (Eber 1989:70; White 1977). During this period, Europeans also undertook other activities in the area. Anglican missionaries based themselves in Cumberland Sound from 1895 until 1906, when they moved their mission to Lake Harbour (Stevenson 1993:106). At Lake Harbour, mica was mined from 1900-1910, and at Cumberland Sound graphite was mined briefly in 1926 (Goldring 1986).

Because 'free traders' themselves took no risks, had no stake in the country, and offered no relief to the Inuit in times of need, but arrived seasonally to trade and tended to profit from the peoples' destitution, they received little respect from their contemporaries, the missionaries (Fleming 1956; White 1975, 1977). The 'free traders' were often unable to supply their stations regularly; their industry was a marginal one at best, with very variable profits (White 1977). In 1921, the HBC bought out its competitors in Cumberland Sound.

Although Cumberland Sound was the hub of commercial whaling activities on Baffin Island, a satellite station was established in the 1860s, just north of Frobisher Bay, in Cyrus Field Bay (see Table 14). Referred to as Cape Haven, "the pregnant place"[5], in the secondary accounts of its incarnation as a whaling station, it was also known as 'Signia'[6], particularly later on when it was used as a fur trade post. The station was initially owned by American interests and was "the main wintering base for American vessels involved in the Hudson Bay whale fishery as it was free of ice earlier in the year than other stations" (Stevenson 1984:28). At one time there were fifty semi-subterranean houses in Cyrus Field Bay (Fraser and Rannie 1972). It changed hands several times, eventually becoming an independent trading station in 1911. (As evidence for culture contact comes primarily from the later 'trade post' stage, Signia (or Cape Haven) will be discussed more fully in the descriptions of the early 20th-century fur trade which follows). Population estimates for the Inuit living at this station range from a low of 72 (Boas 1964:17) to a high of 120 (Low 1906:134), with Inuit coming from Frobisher Bay, Cumberland Sound and even Hudson Strait to work for the

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5 " a whaler's rendezvous of long-standing with the Eskimo women of the little encampment" (Copland pers. comm. *in* Fraser and Rannie 1972:43).

6 Various spellings include Singia, Singiak, Singyiak, Singiah, Signaia, Signuia, Singaijak, Singiyah, Singiak, Signayah.

whalers (Eber 1989:136). Twenty men crewed four whaleboats; however, few whales were ever taken and the station never paid for itself (Low 1906:12).

Table 14. Signia Post (Cape Haven) Chronology of Ownership

Date	Company
early 1860s-1887	Williams and Haven Co. - also Captain Spicer, New England and other American whalers
1887-1911	Potter and Wrightington
1894-1896	Captain Clisby and Captain Jenson
by 1898-?	(station closed)
1903-1905	Captain Jackson
1906/7-1911	Forsyth-Grant
1911-1928?	Sabellum Trading Company
1925	(last date post is resupplied)
1928-1939	Used as an outpost camp
1930	Buildings still standing; Nannaruc (Grant's spouse) still living at post with her Inuk spouse, 'Mr. White'
1939	Station begins to be dismantled by Nugumiut for timber

From Eber 1989; Fraser and Rannie 1972; Low 1906; Mayes 1978; Stevenson 1984; Wakeham 1898.

During the whaling era, the annual round comprised three distinct periods. The whaling season itself ran from May to July, the period of open water. Walrus and seal were hunted as well as whales during this season (Low 1906). During the warm weather, women prepared skins by cleaning and salting and processing blubber into casks (Boas 1964:467-468). In

July, the crews were paid off and people moved inland for the summer to hunt caribou (Boas 1964:468). They returned in September and the trading season extended throughout the winter until March (Boas 1964:467).

Means of Obtaining 19th-Century Whalers' Goods

> The sledges of the stations are sent from one settlement to another to exchange tobacco, matches, coffee, bread, &c. . . . those natives who require useful articles . . . go to Quqerten [Kekerten] to supply their wants (emphasis added). (Boas 1964:467)

By the 19th century, the principal means of obtaining European goods was through employment in the whaling industry. Whole families were engaged by whaling ships for the season which ran from May to July. They were provisioned by the whalers and supplied with boats and necessary equipment, regardless of the number of whales caught (Kumlien 1879; Stevenson 1993). Productivity was rewarded, instead, by bonuses (Stevenson 1993:117).

In the later trader-whaling period, at the turn of the century, communities would be partitioned with several families going off to mine mica, while others hunted caribou for a supply of skins for winter clothing and still others, often numbering a hundred men, women and children, came on board as whale crew (Fleming 1934:37):

> each family was paid off as a family, the captain giving them such things as he felt they were in need of, and not always giving due consideration to the quantity of fur a particular hunter brought in

> . . . [giving] any balance that might be due to him . . . to his dependents and poorer relations (Fleming 1934:37).

Participation in commercial whaling by Inuit men reaffirmed their roles as whalers and hunters. They comprised the whaling crews, hired to steer and row boats, and harpooners (see Table 15). They processed whale carcasses, and hunted walrus, seal and caribou to provision ships' crews. They also served as guides on overland expeditions. Inuit women worked as guides, and piloted and crewed boats as well. However, their primary role was as seamstresses, outfitting Europeans with Inuit clothing, mending sails and preparing skins (Table 15). From the perspective of an exploration leader, "their sewing skills, exceed[ed] the skill and utility of their husbands as hunters"(Stefansson 1921 *in* Scheitlin 1980:38).

A second significant method of obtaining European goods in the 19th century (practised also by the Europeans themselves) was scavenging of shipwrecks, refuse areas associated with overwintering ships and abandoned stations. Access to European goods in this case was primarily in the form of raw materials (particularly iron and wood) for manufacturing traditional Inuit items (Eber 1989). Tin cans, for example, were collected and reused as lamps. (As a consequence, one would expect contemporaneous Inuit sites to contain more evidence for material reuse of this nature than

Table 15. Inuit Employment in 19th-Century Whaling Industry By Gender

	Male	Female	Unidentified Gender
sewing		√	
chewing hides		√	
preparing skins		√	
skinning ducks		√	
mending boat sails		√	
washing clothes		√	
piloting	√	√	
whaleboat crew:	√		
boat steering	√	√	
rowing		√	
harpooner	√		
flensing whales	√		
cutting up blubber		√	
rendering blubber			√
hunting walrus	√		
sealing			√(prob. male)
caribou hunting			√(prob. male)
meat provisioning			√(prob. male)
guiding	√	√	
dogsled driving	√		
map making	√		
mica mining			√
hauling water			√
keeping house for whalers		√	
scrubbing cabin floors			√(prob. female)
gathering driftwood (fuel)	√		

From Eber 1989; Fleming 1934, 1956; Hall 1970; Mayes 1978; Ross 1979, 1981, 1997; Stevenson 1984.

later contact sites, whose occupants had greater access to European items they desired. However, in our study too little evidence of 19th-century contact was recovered to assess relative reuse of European materials.) Shipwrecks were an important source of material for making sleds, kayaks and tent pegs, among other items, and a salvageable wreck could alter exchange patterns considerably (Savelle 1985):

> Because it was a wooden ship, it was useful for so many things. Inuit used up all the wood. They used up a whole ship (Eber 1989:74).

In Frobisher Bay, the dearth of whaling activity and consequent shipwrecks meant that most of the scavenged material came from other regions, such as Cumberland Sound, and that scavenging in Frobisher Bay took place primarily at abandoned sites. Hall (1970) mentions a single shipwreck for Frobisher Bay. European materials in a summer campsite originated from the 'Traveler', a ship lost three years previously in Beare Sound,30 miles away (Hall 1970:231). However, wood from wrecks must have been common in Loks Land and been available from there. Evidence of Inuit occupation at the Cape True whale depot suggests scavenging (Hall 1970:289). While Hall (1970:84) observed their 'remarkable' honesty: equipment "left here since the previous fall, and yet as safe as on board the ship!":

> [a]round 1939 they realized the whalers were not coming back, and they began to take the lumber from the cabins. The Inuit used it for tent frames and for the floors of the tents. (Eber 1989:166)

Other means by which European goods were incorporated into Inuit culture included gift-giving, but this practise appears to have been much less common than during 16th-century interaction. Hall (1970) occasionally mentions the giving of gifts, to women primarily, in return for taking in ill sailors, or to girlfriends or sexual partners. Sexual alliances, both short and long term, were a significant form of contact between Inuit women and the whalers, allowing Inuit women additional access to goods. This form of contact is discussed in more detail at the end of the section.

Material Culture Exchanged

Hudson's Bay Company Ship Trade in Hudson Strait

It is more than likely that the Frobisher Bay Inuit had access to European goods originating from the ship-based trade in Hudson Strait a century or two before they became involved in the commercial whaling industry in Cumberland Sound. The huge quantities of goods passing through relatively few hands (possibly 80-90 inhabitants) suggests that the 17th and 18th-century ship-based trade was but the first link in an extensive exchange network involving a large portion of Baffin Island (Barr 1994).

Table 16 summarizes information found in Barr (1994: Table 1) on the merchandise from this trade during a twenty-year period in the mid-18th century and includes, as well,

Table 16. List of Merchandise from Hudson's Bay Company Ship Trade, 1738-1757

Merchandise	Quantity	Probable Gender Affiliation of Inuit Recipients
Awl Blades	1206	Both
Bayonets	135	Male
Beads (lb.)	510	Female
Buttons, metal	2886	Female
horn	288	Female
Chisels,	848	Male
ice	124	Male
Combs, horn	326	Female
ivory	68	Female
Files	1427	Male
Fish hooks	4916	?
Fork blades	24	Female
Formers[1.]	23	Male
Gimblets	2426	Male
Hammers	400	Male
Hatchets	1547	?
Hats	36	?
Harpoons	928	Male
Hoops, iron[2.]		Male
Jew's harps	391	?
Kettles	40	Female
Knives,	2583	Both
clasp	288	Both
Dutch	881	Both
Lances, whaling	706	Male
Looking glasses	671	?
Needles, glovers'	8194	Female
Pots, pint tin	630	Female
Rasps	5	Male
Razors	12	?
Rings, brass	1746	Female
Bath metal[3.]	311	Female
stone	115	Female
Saws, small	1371	Male
large	12	Male
Spoons, alchemy[4.]	1646	Female
Scissors	580	Female
Staves (handles)	1188	Both
Steels, fire	59	Both
Sword blades	496	Male
Tobacco, tongues	174	?
Tools, old	1	?

1. Type of chisel
2. Old barrel hoops: unspecified numbers traded every year, 1738-1752
3. Alloy rings
4. Alloy spoons

From Barr (1994:Table 1)

the probable gender association of the users. Barr's table is a detailed list of the merchandise sent, not of the actual transactions; hence quantities traded may have been somewhat less than those shipped.

The most common items, all totaling over 500, were divided nearly equally between female- and male-related items, based on the gender classification I developed in Chapter 4. There were five categories of female-related items, buttons, needles, pots, rings and spoons. The six male-related items, included chisels, files, gimblets, harpoons, saws and whaling lances. This balance between male and female items counters the stereotype of the early trade as essentially utilitarian and predominantly related to men's activities. It is revealing that the 8000+ needles were the premier commodity, by several thousand. Guns and ammunition were noticeably absent in this period (Barr 1994:241; Cooke 1973:212).

An even more extreme case is reported by Cooke (1973:211-212) in which a single exchange of skins, baleen and oil in northwest Hudson Bay yielded over 300 items in nineteen classes. Ten of these classes were items used by women; only three were used by men. Among the most popular items were buttons and rings, but many of the commodities involved in this early trade were of an ornamental nature: mirrors, beads, mouth harps, ivory combs, hats.

In contrast, early (17th-18th century) Inuit-European contact research in central Labrador has emphasized the

preponderance of locally-worked European iron over items of a more ornamental nature (Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980).

In return, Inuit brought baleen, sealskins, ivory, oil (seal and whale) and furs (fox and bear) to trade (Barr 1994; Cooke 1973; Robson 1752; Ross 1975). "After bone, oil and furs had been bartered, the Eskimos 'next offered articles of curiosity, such as portions of their own clothing, spears, darts, and harpoons, besides various little trifles carved in wood and bone' (Finlayson 1840:58)". They also offered kayaks, dogs, toys, umiak sails, paddles and other items (Ross 1975:27). Unfortunately, we have no archaeological, or other, information concerning the role of these European goods in Inuit culture.

Commercial Whaling Trade

By the mid-19th century, many Frobisher Bay Inuit were employed in the commercial whaling industry and obtained goods through barter or service. Table 17 provides a partial list of Inuit and European commodities from this period, as well as the gender of their Inuit recipients. Note that the parenthetical gender associations are probable, based on the Inuit gender system developed in the previous chapter. The table is, however, at best, a generalized account of some of the items which were traded, given as gifts, scavenged, provisioned or received as wages in southeast Baffin Island. Trade goods were not itemized according to individual transactions, as they were for the 16th century (Table 9),

Table 17. Documented 19th-Century Inuit and European Commodities

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Gender- Inuit Recipients	Inuit Items
TRADE	ammunition	(male)	skins,
	percussion caps	(male)/female	seal
	powder	(male)/female	bear
	lead (shot?)	(male)/female	caribou
	guns	male	ground squirrel
	boat	male	seals
	tobacco	?	meat
	pipes	?	caribou tongue
	matches	?	blubber
	biscuits	male	walrus
	coffee	(female/all)	seal
	bread	(female/all)	baleen
	knives	female	ivory
	pots	(female)	jackets
	lamps	(female)	birdskin[1]
	brass kettle	female	leather strip
	beads	female	stone lamp
	thimble pendant	female	puppies[2]
	boxes	(?)	willow branches[2]
	trinkets	?	house[3]
	iron - to make projectile points[4]	(male)	
	needle[4]	(female)	
GIFT-GIVING	beads	female	skins,
	spoons	female	seal
	coins	female	caribou
	trinkets[5]	female	tongues
	needles	female	partridges
	handkerchief	female	ducks
	umbrella[6]	female	char
	bible[6]	female	berries
	percussion caps[5]	female/male/ child	
	powder[7]	male/child	
	shot[7]	male/child	
	pistol (toy?)	child	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	tobacco	male/child	
	matches	male	
	knives	male	
	medicine	male	
	flour	male	
	dress cloth	male/child	
	wool shirt	male	
	weapons[7.]	male	
	guns[7.]	male	
	edged tools[7.]	male	
	culinary utensils[7.]	male	
	clothing[7.]	male	
	hats	?	
	musical instruments	?	
	games	?	
EMPLOYMENT	whaleboat[8.]	male	
	gun	male	
	ammunition	male	
	pipe	(male)	
	tobacco	male	
	clothing	male	
	pants	(male)	
	shirt	(male)	
	shoes	?	
	material	female	
	small tools	male	
	jacknives	?	
	cooking utensils	male (for female)	
	pots	female	
	kettles	female	
	harmonica	?	
	provisions	for all	
	soap	female	
PROVISIONING	bread/biscuit	female for all	walrus hide
	coffee	female for all	meat
	syrup/molasses	female for all	blubber
	tobacco	female for all	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	leftover whale meat[9]		
left behind in container	candies		
	biscuits		
	marmalade		
	butter		
	pork		
	beef		
SCAVENGING	ship's blocks	(male)	
	iron hoops	(male)	
	meat cans	(female)	
	wood	(male)	
	boards	(male)	
	oak bucket	(female)	
	table	(female)	
	cookstove	(female)	
	oil casks	?	
	rope	?	
	ice-gear	?	
	coffee pot frag.	(female)	
	dishes	(female)	
	flag	?	
UNKNOWN[10].	files	male	
	iron harpoon points[11].	(male)	
	guns	(male)	
	'metal' [12]	(male/female)	
	'sawblades' [13].	(female)	
	'Scottish whale harpoons' [14].	(male)	
	pipe	male	
	brass hair ornaments with beads	female	
	pewter plate	female	
	mirror	female	
	cups	female	
	finger rings	female	
	4 ga. tin can	female	
	beads	female	
contents of recent graves	tin cups	(female)	
	tin pots	(female)	
	knives	?	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	fork	(female)	
	spoon	(female)	
	comb	(female)	
	cloth	(female)	
	needles	(female)	
	thread	(female)	
	thimble	(female)	
	photograph	?	
	newspaper	?	
	meat tub	(female)	
	brass button pendent	male	
	military coat	male	
	calico curtain	female	
	crinoline[6.]	female	
	bonnet[6.]	female	

() Probable gender affiliation

1. Walrus hide thong was a very important material used for line by the whalers.
2. From children
3. Wooden house given to Inuit by whalers, subsequently traded to other whalers for a boat, a rifle and biscuits
4. Sekoselar Inuit were very eager to trade for any iron (Hall 1970:256)
5. Given to a widow to enable her to trade with her people for necessities
6. The recipient was Tookoolito, Hall's informant, interpreter and friend.
7. Gifts to an Inuk who travelled to England
8. For the boat leader or for catching a whale
9. An aboriginal food item, which in this case originates with European commercial whaling
10. In the possession of various Inuit although precise method of acquisition not known
11. Manufactured from bent nail
12. To manufacture harpoon heads, arrowheads and ulus
13. To manufacture ulus
14. to manufacture seal harpoon

From Boas 1901; 1964, 1984a; Eber 1989; Fleming 1934, 1956; Goldring 1986; Hall 1970; Kumlien 1879; Low 1906; Parry 1858 v.1; Pitsualak 1976; Ross 1975, 1979, 1981, 1997; Stevenson 1984.

primarily because documentation of the 19th-century whaling commerce was provided almost exclusively by explorers and ethnographers; almost none survives from the Scottish and American whalers themselves. Those who chronicled the trade often wrote in generalities: 'The Inuit have the use of . . . ', frequently without reference to the gender or the method of acquisition. Quantities are rarely identified.

It is generally assumed (e.g. Goldring 1986 and others) that the initial Inuit interest, or re-interest, in the case of the 19th-century interaction, was in labour-saving tools made available through European contact. However, this premise is wrong. As we have seen both from the 16th-century contact and from Table 17, from the earliest recorded interaction, 'trinkets', ornaments and 'trifles' were always exchanged.

The principal change from the 18th-century ship-based trade in Hudson Strait was the inclusion of guns and ammunition in the commodities list made available in the whaling era. Access to firearms was one of the main new benefits to Inuit of the 19th-century trade, although of less use once the ammunition supplies were used up (Eber 1989). By 1860, most Inuit men could use guns and hunters hired by the Europeans either owned one or were in the process of obtaining one (Stevenson 1993:94). All other goods were priced in proportion to rifles and gramophones (Goldring 1986), and included tobacco, metal goods and ornaments. In trade transactions where the gender of the Inuit participant

was identified, it was female, even for forms of ammunition, which they probably purchased for their husbands (Table 17). The women also traded for knives, kettles, beads and pendants.

In return, the Inuit offered skins, meat, blubber, baleen, ivory, garments and, occasionally, domestic goods (e.g. a stone lamp), the latter probably for the souvenir trade. Even children traded small puppies and willow branches (Parry 1858 v.1). Nineteenth-century whaling commerce, at least, involved little change in, although perhaps an intensification of, traditional lifeways. Europeans used rendered blubber for whale-oil lights and lubricants (Eber 1989:29). Baleen was used to manufacture a variety of items: springs, carriage wheels, whips, corset stays and fishing rods. Whaler-traders collected mica at the turn of the century for stove doors and electrical storage batteries (Eber 1989:85).

While receiving gifts from the Europeans was nearly the sole means, aside from scavenging, of obtaining trade goods in 16th-century Frobisher Bay, this was not so during the whaling era. Generally, the recorded incidents of gift-giving involved presents given by the explorer, Hall, to his Inuit companions and friends. Thus, although these items relate to 19th-century contact, they are not necessarily indicative of gift-giving within the context of the commercial whaling industry. The gifts were usually small, non-utilitarian items, presented individually, to both women

and men. In one case, Hall (1970:290) provided a widow with several trinkets and a box of 100 percussion caps: "[t]his latter present caused her to weep for joy. . . . with them she could trade among her people for any conveniences she wanted". Tookoolito, Hall's friend and informant, gave him presents which were a mixture of Inuit and European goods, including crocheted lace mats, European and Inuit style underwear and sealskin socks (Hall 1970:504).

While trade and gift-giving were two methods of obtaining European goods, the principal source was through employment in the whaling industry. Unfortunately, little specific information has been published regarding wages. Whaleboat captains, or men who caught a whale, received a boat but for the most part, Inuit employees were paid in guns, ammunition, tobacco and small tools. Indeed, payment for service is only mentioned for men, as whaleboat crew. Some of the articles, such as cooking utensils, however, would have been for the use of their wives.

The whalers also provisioned the families who worked for them. Whalers supplied Inuit women who regularly came to the station for rations on Saturday, '*sivataaqvik*' or 'biscuit-day' (Harper 1972 *in* Mayes 1978:92). In addition, the whalers left food behind each season for the people prior to their departure (Eber 1989:104). Provisioning was a two-way practise. Inuit were hired to supply the whalers with food and whole families were regularly sent sealing or caribou hunting. "A ship's crew could consume more than 10 tons of

caribou meat and wear out a few 100 pairs of skin mittens and boots in a winter" (Ross 1981:42). This serves to introduce another aspect of interaction between Inuit and Europeans in the 19th century: women's labour. Inuit women routinely outfitted whaling crews and exploratory expeditions with parkas, boots, mittens and sleeping bags of robes; no information regarding their payment could be located, however. Outfitting European crews involved a considerable expenditure of labour on the part of Inuit women. For example, Hall (Nourse 1879:100) mentions that Tookoolito spent thirty 15-hour days processing caribou skins to produce bedding and clothing for seven people.

In the mid-19th century, scavenging European shipwrecks or abandoned shore stations remained an important source of raw materials, namely, wood and iron to be worked by Inuit men. A hallmark of this period was the reuse of European items to conform to Inuit traditional culture. Barrel hoops or wooden planks were used to make sled runners. Discarded knives, saws or even nails provided the raw material for harpoon, lance and ulu blade production (Boas 1964). Meat cans served as lamps and pots, replacing ground stone versions, and can fragments were modified to scrape skins (Kumlien 1879:20,40). Large English pennies and spoon bowls (with the handles cut off) decorated women's jackets. Metal thimbles were reused for the same purpose. Eber (1989:99) notes a storyteller's gleeful derision of a woman who traded

many siksiit skins for a thimble without a tip: "She must be have been really crazy . . . ", the story-teller concluded.

The historic documents identify several other items in the possession of various Inuit, although the precise method of acquisition is not known (Table 17). The contents of Inuit graves increases the range of European goods we know to have been incorporated into Inuit culture. Among the grave goods, were a photograph and a newspaper. The Inuit had access to other European goods, as well, for example, the gramophones and accordions associated with the plays, concerts and games of shipboard life (Eber 1989). Whaler-Inuit contact in the eastern Arctic was not plagued by the excessive alcohol use that characterized contact in the western Arctic (Low 1906:27). Some trade goods had no Inuit equivalent (sewing machines, nails, screws, screwdrivers, bolts, saws, hatchets, telescopes, timepieces, compasses, beads and pipes) and these items augmented traditional Inuit culture (Ross 1975:87).

Prestige Trade Goods

Prehistorically, and indeed well into the 16th century, metal was a rare enough material that it was a highly-sought item. By the mid-19th century, however, iron, in any form, did not retain a position of pre-eminent prestige. During the whaling era, there are no longer accounts of stealing iron as there were in the earlier chronicles. Instead, iron

was readily available through trade and labour and, as a raw material, by scavenging. The only exceptions to mass availability were to inhabitants of areas marginal to trade, such as the Sekoselar Inuit from the north shore of Hudson Strait, who could only obtain iron occasionally from Inuit who lived on the coast. According to Hall (1970:256), these people were very willing to trade anything for iron. A skin jacket, for example, was secured for a small piece of iron to make a spear head, while a dressed skin was given for a single needle (Hall 1970:256).

For Inuit men, 19th-century prestige goods acquired from the Europeans were of a labour-saving character: whaleboats and guns. Whaleboats replaced umiaks and kayaks in areas where these traditional watercraft were used and augmented Inuit material culture in regions were there was no prior use of umiaks. In the latter locations, they increased summer mobility and hunting efficiency (Ross 1975). It is unclear how widely used whaleboats were. Usually, they were given to whale crew leaders, or to men who had caught a whale, which implies that they were scarce commodities; however, Kumlien (1879:18) notes that, by 1877, there were many whaleboats around Cumberland Sound.

A more widely acknowledged and available class of prestige goods was firearms. According to Hall (1970:290), "[a]nything in the way of ammunition is thought more of by the Innuits (sic) than almost any other articles that could be named". Ammunition appears conspicuously on the lists of

goods obtained by all the forms of acquisition: gifts, trade, employment. Kumlien (1879:19) records that "they will hunt for a ball that has missed its mark for half a day [but] they do not hesitate to fire at any useless creature that comes in their way".

> . . . they had to be very careful not to waste ammunition (Ammunition at that time was very expensive and hunters often owned only two or three shells). When these were fired, they would save the metal cartridges (the cases) and would retrieve the bullets to melt down and use again . . . (Arnaujaq 1986:12).

Women's Ornaments

> some of the more fashionable women wear very handsome jackets of young sealskin . . . worked and decorated with ornamental work of various kinds, beads, coins, bowls, and shanks of pewter spoons, old brace buckles, and any other similar trinkets that the wearer has been fortunate enough to pick up (Wakeham 1898:72).

There is a body of suggestive evidence (e.g Lyon 1824; Matthiassen 1928; Parry 1858) which indicates that Inuit women's personal ornaments were uncommon prior to European contact and that contact served to increase the use of personal adornment as status markers for women. Matthiassen (1928:196) argued that "in this respect, European culture has given rise to a rich development". This cultural efflorescence pertained only to one gender, however.

Beadwork was the most important form of decoration, reaching "its most elaborate and highly conventionalized form

in the woman's parka" (Driscoll 1984:42) (see Figure 6). Women also used beads in earrings and in their hair: "many of the ladies were ornamented in the height of fashion among the arctic aristocracy. The brightly glittering head-bands, and the pendants of variegated beads which hung from either side of their hair, . . . made the assembly look quite theatre-like" (Hall 1970:430). When worn in quantity, beads were considered a sign of prestige and wealth (Driscoll 1984:40; Eber 1989). One Nugumiut woman's coat was elaborately decorated with 80 strings of 40 beads each as well as spoons, lead shot, coins and a huge brass bell (Hall 1970:530). Matthiassen (1928:177) observes that "a completely bead-embroidered dress is very valuable, there are scarcely more than ten in the whole tribe". Their value for the Inuit is illustrated in Lyon's (1824:128) recollection of a woman and her child carefully searching an abandoned trading site for beads. Beads were increasingly available at the end of the 19th century and beadwork as a highly graphic and innovative form of artistic expression emerged (Driscoll 1983:158).

The decorations included English pennies, pewter spoons, bullets, leadshot, tobacco container tags, buttons, rings and tiny cast metal weights as well as seedbeads (Driscoll 1980, 1983, 1984; Eber 1973). Iron weights edged the front and back flaps; coins decorated the tail of the coat; pewter spoon bowls were attached to the front flaps; and tags from tobacco cans were tied to the end of each bead string (Driscoll 1984; Hall 1970).

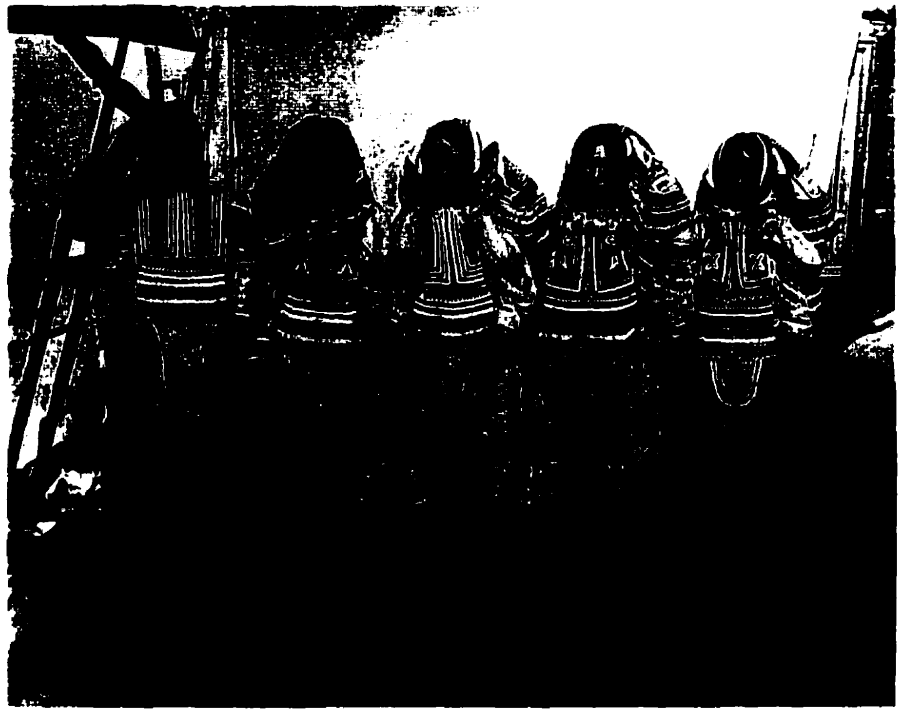

Figure 6. Women in Beaded Amautiqs, Cape Fullerton, N.W.T. The second woman from the right is Shoofly Comer. Photograph taken by A.P. Low, 1903-4. National Archives of Canada (PA 53606).

Distinct regional styles of beadwork developed. In Baffin Island, Labrador and Arctic Quebec, long strands of beads created simple horizontal colour bands with an emphasis on jingling elements, while women's parkas in the Central Arctic were more patterned (Driscoll 1980, 1984). In northwest Hudson Bay, where beads were introduced later, whaling era motifs were common: tea kettles, high-topped shoes, ships' compasses, ribbons and bows, floral designs, narrative scenes, playing card symbols (Driscoll 1980, 1983).

Beads were often one of the first trade goods acquired, obtained through trade, gift-giving or scavenging. Little girls acquired their first beads from carrying other people's babies in their parkas (Eber 1973:37). Pennies were harder to obtain and were never received for babysitting services; they were purchased by adult women from other women (Eber 1973:38). Interestingly, the women differentiated coin gender: 'lady pennies' (e.g. Queen Victoria pennies) made more noise than 'men pennies' because of their lesser metal content (Eber 1973:39). Spoon bowl decorations were still popular in 1913 but disappeared from use before penny or bead decoration (Eber 1973). In the 1970s, penny collections were still stored in treasure boxes and were inherited from relatives or bought from other women (Eber 1973:39).

One question which arises is whether women's personal ornamentation reflected the status of their husbands or of themselves. About the life of a women married to an Inuk whaling mate, Eber (1989:5) writes that "[b]efore she became

his wife she was really poor; afterwards - covered in beads." "In the early 20th century, the trade value of beads was such that '[o]nly the wives of the best hunters owned fully beaded parkas'" (Piunngittuq pers. comm *in* Driscoll 1983:161). Did their prestige derive solely from their relationships to important men, or because their marriages were partnerships between equally prominent individuals?

Traditionally, female tattooing was an ornament of indispensable importance (Parry 1858 v.2:177). Beaded patterns paralleled traditional tattoo patterns until into the 20th century (Driscoll 1984:43). This relation suggests that beadwork may have had some magico-religious functions (Driscoll 1984:44). For example, vertebral motifs reveal women's primary role in the spiritual activities surrounding the hunt (Driscoll 1984:45). Trade ornaments also supplanted amulets (often worn for sons) which were "not simply ornamental but made spiritual protection portable" (Driscoll 1980:17, 1984). "[R]eports in the ethnographic literature suggest that articles associated with qablunat, especially their personal property, were sometimes regarded as powerful sources of magic" (Driscoll 1983:156).

Effect of Commercial Whaling on 19th-Century Inuit Culture

> Together we went on a hill to watch the movements of the Innuit (sic) *Miner*, who, with a gun, was sealing. We saw him working his way almost imperceptibly along in his kia [kayak] . . . . As Miner approached, he kept up a loud, peculiar

> noise, a mixture of Innuit (sic) singing and bellowing, which seemed to work as a *charm* upon the seal. (Hall 1970:229)

Dorothy Eber (1989:xvii) was correct; commercial whaling *was* the start of change for Inuit but as the above quote emphasizes, the whaling era was also a time of synthesis and recombination of cultural elements, both traditional and new. The impact of this interaction is identifiable within Inuit material culture. While European items were freely incorporated, particularly in the early whaling period, they were primarily used in the manufacture of traditional aboriginal articles. Two of the earliest European items accepted, for example, were files and hatchets.

Later on in the whaling era, European goods included in the material culture of the Inuit were used for the specific purposes for which they were manufactured. Before this happened, a range of adaptations occurred as well as various experimentations with elements of European technology. Items, including lamps, pots, knives, scrapers, needles and harpoon and arrow points, were initially made entirely from traditional materials (stone, bone, antler or ivory) or, in the case of some bladed tools, with metal edges on bone blades. By at least the 1870s, articles such as knives were fashioned from saw or knife blades or from tin cans and then eventually traded whole, or in the case of weapons, replaced completely by new technology. This resulted in changes in form as well. Knife blades became larger with the increasing availability of metal and ulu blades changed from broad slate

pieces which fitted directly into slotted bone handles to T-shaped tanged handles (Boas 1907:431-432). This change in form, but not in function, is typical of early contact situations.

Kumlien's (1879) contemporaneous descriptions of Inuit men's tools are interesting because they include the raw material of each tool, allowing us to understand on the process of decision-making involved in determining which male-associated tools were replaced by the 1870s and which continued to be used unchanged. While no comparable list exists for women's tools, other sources suggest that some gendered tools such as ulus, and men's knives, needles and projectile points were replaced by European alternatives in equal measure. European goods "increased the efficiency of routine operations, brought about the decline of traditional methods of manufacture, and created a dependence on the whalers" (Ross 1975:87). (Although 'adaptation to' is a more correct term than 'dependence'; Inuit could have continued to make traditional things and in some cases did; for example, ulus and lamps).

Generally, women's tools were a mixture of old and new: slate and metal ulus, skin thimbles, steel needles, pointed bone skewers (Boas 1964; Kumlien 1879; Mayes 1978). However, when considering the impact of contact, one must remember that the ulu, a single item, is actually the equivalent of several in the European repertoire: a knife, a hatchet, a scraper, a pair of scissors; it is used to remove blubber,

split skins, cut meat and when sewing (Hall 1970; Kumlien 1879:26).

Inuit men used a combination of traditional and foreign articles during this period. There were no better replacements for sealskin floats and harpoons, though the latter now had iron points (Stevenson 1993). Ivory fish lures were attached to lines carrying iron fish hooks (Kumlien 1879:38). Traditional seal pullers were used with seal hooks modified by contact. Snowhouses were constructed with saws and bone or ivory snow knives (Kumlien 1879:32).

Contact with commercial whalers may have also "effected a perfect revolution in the trade between the Eskimo tribes", as Boas (1964:468) suggests. However, we have very little information about alterations to exchange networks, except for trade in wood. Both Davis Strait and Cumberland Sound were traditionally destitute of wood (Boas 1964). Some of the trade was in the hands of the Nugumiut, who either crossed Hudson Strait to procure wood from northern Labrador or collected at Tudjaqdjuaq (Resolution Island) and took it north (Boas 1964:469; M'Donald 1841). With access to wood sources from the whalers in Cumberland Sound, however, this exchange pattern would have been reversed by the 19th century.

Without question, the most significant 19th-century trade good to affect Inuit culture was the gun. By the end of the century, firearms were thoroughly integrated into Inuit culture particularly for land mammal hunting (Goldring

1986:264), although their impact was regionally variable. While supplies may have been fairly stable in the whaling epicentre of Cumberland Sound, they were undoubtedly less so in Frobisher Bay; yet the only archaeological evidence we recovered of bows and arrows were among children's toys.

The gun offered increased hunting capability, increased security and increased winter mobility (Ross 1975:106). With firearms, caribou could be killed year-round (a more difficult undertaking with bow and arrow technology), providing an alternate source of meat during the winter and spring. Yet their use also may have significantly reduced wildlife resources (Boas 1964; Ross 1975; Stevenson 1993). In several places, they extended sea hunting over the entire region (Damas 1988). Firearms made some types of traditional weaponry, such as bows and arrows, obsolete:

> [they] are found around the settlements, broken and out of repair; the arrows, of different kinds, lying about unused, or doing service as some other tool. (Kumlien 1879:34)

They also altered the method of hunting from cooperative communal efforts to a more individual-based strategy. Cooperative caribou hunting techniques, such as driving and intercepting, declined in importance (Ross 1975:102). However, those who lacked guns ('the really poor people'), or those who lived on the north shore of Hudson Strait during this time, still drove caribou into lakes and rivers and caught them with kayaks and harpoons. This was an efficient means of hunting, especially when animals were present in

large numbers. They also went hunting with people who had guns and shared the meat with these people (Hall 1970; Kumlien 1879; Pitsualak 1993:35).

The introduction of firearms did not have the same overwhelming effect on all subsistence pursuits, however. Harpoons were still widely used alone to catch sea mammals or were used in tandem with guns (for example, during breathing hole sealing) (Henshaw 1995:88). Seals were shot with firearms and retrieved with harpoons, particularly in summer when their low fat reserves made them prone to sinking (Boas 1964 *in* Ross 1975:105). Stevenson (1993:133-134) errs when he claims that the impact of firearms on the two subsistence practises was the same: a change from communal to individual hunting effort.

Inuit encountered problems using guns. Frequently the guns did not work; but, more compelling, gun use committed Inuit to repeated trade to secure ammunition, increasing their dependence on the Europeans (Hall 1970; Mayes 1978; Ross 1975:97).

> . . . there is no doubt that a withdrawal of the whalers would lead to great hardship and many deaths . . . if the Government did not in some manner take their place and supply the Inuit with the necessary guns and ammunition (Low 1906:271).

The other important trade item which impacted Inuit lifeways was the European whaleboat. Both whaleboats and firearms were not introduced until the 19th-century whaling trade. Whaleboats replaced two types of traditional

watercraft, umiaks and kayaks, although not in identical fashion. Large skin umiaks, which were used to transport camps to new sites, and were rowed by women, steered by a man and contained children, dogs and gear, were replaced first. By the 1870s, umiaks were rare in Cumberland Sound (Kumlien 1879). Kayak and whaleboat use overlapped initially when the former was used by seal hunters at *sina* (floe-edge) and on open water (Stevenson 1993). However, kayaks were given up by the turn of the century. With the introduction of the whaleboat, summer hunting and summer mobility were increased (Kumlien 1879; Ross 1975).

Both women's and men's manufacturing activities would have been affected by the use of whaleboats. To make the average umiak required "fifteen skins of bearded seal and several years' accumulation of driftwood" (Kumlien 1879:43). Nevertheless, traditional practises were still followed; when the whaleboat planking wore out, the boats were recovered in sealskin (Low 1906:156).

The types of vessels used by Inuit, before and during the whaling period, are highly relevant to understanding their seasonal distribution, their economic activities, the size of their hunting territories and their mobility (Mayes 1978; Ross 1975:87). In east Greenland, the change from kayak to boat made it necessary to develop different hunting techniques (Nooter 1980). Whaleboats, for example, extended open water hunting of seals into fall and spring seasons, leaving less time for subsistence hunting (Low 1906;

Stevenson 1993:130). The failure to hunt traditional game deprived families of skins for tents and clothing and caches of food for winter (Eber 1989; Harper 1981). However, traditional life continued during the floe-edge and breathing hole sealing season (December to April) and during the late summer caribou hunt (Goldring 1986).

One of the most serious impacts of the Arctic commercial whale hunt was on Inuit mortality from introduced diseases. "[E]ven the whalemen remark an astonishing diminution in their number at the present day, as compared with 20 years ago" (Kumlien 1879:12). 'Consumption' or 'lung diseases' were particularly prevalent among the women (Kumlien 1879:16). Hall (1970) concurs. Changes in diet, clothing and shelter undermined health (Ross 1981:45). However, the whalers' presence alleviated the threat of starvation and provided some degree of medical security (Eber 1989; Ross 1981).

Commercial whaling contact resulted not only in a population decline among Inuit but in a population redistribution as well, confounding attempts to measure net population change (Goldring 1986:258). The Nugumiut of Frobisher Bay experienced two immigration episodes to Cumberland Sound to seek employment: in 1840, prior to the establishment of Cape Haven, and in 1898, after the station was abandoned (Boas 1964; Mayes 1978; Stevenson 1993:86; Wakeham 1898), perhaps accounting for the paucity of 19th-century Inuit archaeological sites located during our

investigations of outer Frobisher Bay. Some of this also could be explained by the use of winter snowhouses rather than sodhouses. Furthermore, some large sites surveyed, at Beare Sound and at Lok's Land, for example, were not tested (William Fitzhugh pers. comm. 1997). During the period of economic diversification in the late 19th-early 20th century, Inuit returned to their former settlements throughout Cumberland Sound (Stevenson 1993:98), and in Frobisher Bay.

In general, the whalers' contact with the Inuit increased the Inuit's survival capacity, but at the cost of independence as a result of their reliance on outside sources of manufactured articles (Ross 1981; Mayes 1978; Wakeham 1898). Jenness (*in* Mayes 1978:28) wrote that whaling caused eastern Inuit culture to 'buckle' due to changes in implements, clothing, hunting equipment and methods. Kumlien (1879) believed the Cumberland Sound Inuit to be worse off after the whalers arrived. Citing their dependence on the whalers for inferior food and clothing, and their consequent decline in hunting ability and health due to communicable disease, their less careful dwelling construction and excess of temporary shelters, Kumlien (1879:14) states that:

> The Cumberland Eskimo of to-day, with his breech-loading rifle, steel knives, cotton jacket, and all the various trinkets he succeeds in procuring from the ship, is worse clad, lives poorer, and gets less to eat than did his forefathers, who had never seen or heard of a white man.

However, reliance on trade goods may have been greater in Cumberland Sound with its superior trade opportunities (Mayes

1978). Nevertheless, they did not give up their close ties to the land and hunting remained the centre of their existence (Mayes 1978). Nor was the new technology ever forced on the Inuit; they always had a choice (Stevenson 1993).

With respect to ideological aspects of Inuit culture, while many rites and ceremonies continued, although less often in front of Europeans, others changed in form during this era (Kumlien 1879:43). For example, before contact, articles such as kayaks, bows and arrows and spears were all commonly placed in graves, but in the 19th century, articles no longer remained interred for very long, but could be taken out and used by relatives after a suitable lapse of time (Kumlien 1879:44).

Aspects of Inuit Gender and Whaling Contact

Inuit women's roles generally continued along a traditional trajectory after European contact and, indeed, their status may "have been enhanced by their role as mediators in alliances and by the value of their exclusive skills in preparing skin and clothing for Europeans" (McElroy 1979:54).

From the very earliest 18th and 19th-century interactions, Inuit women were directly engaged in exchanging goods, labour and companionship for the material culture of the European and American whalers. It is clear that, in some

cases, this went against the practise of the Europeans, who attempted to trade with men for a sledge and a dog only to be told that both items were owned by women and to conduct trade directly with them (Parry 1858 v.1:178).

Inuit women traded skins as well as finished clothing directly to the whalers. It is unfortunate that the whalers' account books for the Cumberland Sound fishery have not survived (Ross 1979), although the diary of one captain's wife, Margaret Penny, who overwintered in Cumberland Sound in 1857-1858, has (Ross 1997). Most references to women and trade come, instead, from Parry's (1858) and Lyon's (1824) accounts of the Central Arctic from forty years previously. I assume that the same sort of open behaviour continued. Lyon (1824:188,122) records that a woman and children traveled some distance to obtain flour and that husbands and wives consulted each other while trading. " . . . the Ladies [appear] even more skillful (sic) in making good bargains than their husbands" (Finlayson 1840 *in* Ross 1975:27).

Single women appear to have been treated with special consideration by some 19th-century Europeans. Extra supplies were provided for widowed mothers (Hall 1970:290), for example, and a divorced woman received a knife with a promise to provide her husband with an axe as soon as she remarried (Lyon 1824:202).

Inuit men and women appear to have traded their labour for goods for their spouses. "Ugarng gave me an excellent pair of native boots, made by one of his wives, and, in

return, I presented her with some brass rings, which the women greatly prize for doing up the hair" (Hall 1970:94). Women occasionally obtained ammunition, probably for their husbands.

People's status tended to increase through their association with the whalers, regardless of their gender. One female interpreter "found herself rising into a degree of consequence which, but for us, she could never have attained (Parry 1858 v. 1:307).

Tookoolito, one half of Hall's team of interpreters, guides and companions, was another such woman. Prior to meeting Hall, she and her husband, Ebierbing, had lived in England for a two-year period. When Hall met her, Tookoolito already had a great deal of influence over her community (and over Hall, himself). She taught the other women how to knit and was a role model for women in the matter of European hairstyles, hygiene and dress (Hall 1970:136).

One means by which Inuit women had unique access to European culture was through liaisons with the whalers. This was especially prevalent during the winter when Native settlements coalesced near the ships and crews were idle (Ross 1975:121). These relationships were more informal than the marriages 'a` la façon du pays'[7] of the fur trade era in southern Canada, which resulted in the creation of the Metis nation, as described by Van Kirk (1980). They were

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[7] 'In the custom of the country', that is, without the presence of clergy.

commonplace and accepted and secured a woman's position in her own community later on. "[E]very Eskimo woman, married or single, young or old, had a great ambition to be companion to a white man . . . " (Fleming 1956:61). Some scholars reduce this relationship simply to an exchange between men, the loan of a wife for an article of trade, but women themselves were eager to instigate the practise and Inuit men never objected (Fleming 1956; Lyon 1824). During these times, Inuit whaling mates sometimes had two or three wives and one of these, or another close relative, would often became a favourite companion of the captain (Eber 1989:28). She would live on board ship with him and when the ship departed would receive many valuable gifts (Fleming 1956:153). She would go back to her Inuit husband when the whaler left. One outcome of these liaisons was a generation of biracial children who were raised as Inuit. Many of the boys became assistants to the whalers and later to the traders.

Although some relationships lasted decades and some Euro-American husbands adopted Inuit lifeways (Hall 1970; Wakeham 1898), most were short-term alliances. Nevertheless, the longevity of some of these Inuit-European unions is seldom acknowledged by the academic community; only Gillies Ross identifies an Inuk woman, Shoofly Comer, by the surname of her Euro-American spouse. The most famous woman of the whaling period, she came from Southhampton Island. She married twice to Inuit men, but her spouse for many years was

Captain George Comer, an American whaler who also collected ethnographic and archaeological samples and undertook research for Franz Boas. He continued to send clothes and other items to her long after he had retired to the south (Eber 1989).

Shoofly was regarded as one of the leaders of her people. Father Fafard (1984), an Oblate missionary described her Inuk husband 'He-man,'[8] as her inferior on several levels. Clearly, her position did not derive from her husband's. Shoofly was in charge of organizing trading in terms of bartering services (Eber 1989). She was the first in her community to use a sewing machine and made summer clothes in return for beadwork. She also started up a sewing school to pass on traditional techniques, especially those relating to boot-making (Fafard 1984). Shoofly retained her prestigious standing until her death; many Inuit both from her community and others visited and tended her during her final illness. Shoofly Comer is not unique; unfortunately, the names and lives of such influential women are rarely preserved in the written history. Yet, their authority was substantial and wide-ranging. One woman, Nannaruc, who lived at Cape Haven during the independent trader period which followed, and who

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8 Also known as 'real-man' or 'Scotch Tom', Angotenivik was Captain Murray's assistant (Copland 1985). Her son (by Comer?) was very well respected, and was honoured as an outstanding member of his community. His name was John Ell, after John L. Sullivan, the famous boxer (Copland 1985). Shoofly's grandson, Ben Ell, is presently an Iqaluit elder and member of the town council.

will be described below, appears to have been another such woman.

Fur Trading - Early 20th-Century Contact

General Description

The independent trader-whaler era of the early 20th century gradually gave way to the fur trapping period of 1920-1940. During this period, arctic fox fur reached the height of its popularity in southern and European markets and trade posts were established in the Arctic primarily to provide this commodity, although skins of seal and whale as well as walrus and sea mammal oil also were secured. By the late 1920s, 87 HBC and 130 other posts in the NWT set the pattern of subsequent Arctic settlement, with most Canadian Inuit living within travelling distance of a trading post (Dawson 1995; Canada 1971 *in* Mayes 1978:33). Trading post openings and closings were important chronological markers for the Inuit, used for dating other events in their lifetimes.

While similarities existed between the fur trade and commercial whaling, in that both sought wildlife products through Native labour, certain trends which were initiated in the whaling period were halted or reversed when whaling ended. For example, the fur trade inverted trends toward population centralization, sedentary life, fairly regular

employment and frequent culture contact with large numbers of Europeans (Ross 1981). Not until the 1960s would Inuit leave small camps around the bay to live in large communities with schools, nursing stations and other amenities (Eber 1989). With the development of the fur trade, Inuit could trade year-round, since HBC personnel were permanently present. However, their sphere of interaction now consisted of only one to three European males.

Another difference was a change in focus in the type of products sought, from aboriginal staples, such as caribou skins, sea mammal skins and oil, to fox skins, which were not traditionally used by the Inuit. Although fox trapping was never undertaken to the exclusion of subsistence hunting, it resulted in nuclear families becoming the primary economic unit at the expense of the overall community (Mayes 1978:44). This individualization of economic endeavour was further strengthened by increasing reliance on the gun (Mayes 1978:44). During the HBC trading era, Inuit dependence on the outside world and its goods increased greatly (Mayes 1978:50,53).

Fur Trade Post Chronology

Cape Haven

Cape Haven operated as a whaling shore station from the 1860s to 1911. Its value lay in its location, which was both

ice-free earlier in the season[9] than other establishments and supported plenty of game: walrus, bear, fox and caribou as well as char (Fraser and Rannie 1972; PAM HBCA A.102/2074 1922-28). The company also may have operated two substations, or 'outside houses', at Beare Sound and at the mouth of the Anderson chain (PAM HBCA A.102/2074 1922-28). Fraser and Rannie (1972) refer to a substation called 'Topjuack', or 'Big Tent' possibly one of these two locations.

During the last few years of its operation as a shore station, from 1906-1911, Cape Haven was run by Osbert Forsyth-Grant. An account of his tenure at the station and subsequent death in a shipwreck is recounted in Fraser and Rannie (1972). The station consisted of three buildings: a dwelling, a produce shed and a trade good storehouse, with several snow houses constructed around the buildings. During Grant's incumbency, at least 42 Inuit lived there (Fraser and Rannie 1972).

In 1911, the Sabellum Trading Company (STC) purchased the station and operated a post there until about 1928. During this time, the post was known by its Inuktitut name of Signia. No company records for this period have survived. Instead, information about the STC activities in Frobisher Bay come from the HBC accounts.

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[9] However, William Fitzhugh and the crew of the Smithsonian research vessel, *Pitsialak*, did not find this to be the case in the 1990, 1991 or 1992 field seasons.

The STC staffed the establishment with native traders who were supplied yearly by the company's vessels (Usher 1971) (see Table 18). The benefits of this practise lay in the strength of commitment it created through alliance building. For the HBC managers, endeavoring to add to their roster of trappers, this created a problem: " . . . the natives, most of them being related to the Eskimo trader, it will take some time to get them to hunt for the Company" (HBCA B.411/a/1 February 3, 1921 p.28).

Although the last time the post was resupplied was in 1925, people continued to live at the site for many years. In 1927, Millward (1930) noted four tents with 25 Inuit settled there. People still lived in the vicinity of the station in the 1930s. To this day, it remains a good area for hunting walrus year-round. Eventually, the station became a source of scrap material: "Repaired oil-shed door and fixed on an old lock picked up at Singiak during the walrus hunt" (HBCA B.411/a/6 September 2 1938 p.5).

For several years, commencing in 1922, the HBC attempted to buy out the opposition without success. However, Signia never provided serious competition for the HBC, particularly after 1925. Even by 1922, stocks were small at this post, and only loyalty to James Mutch, the trader, kept people coming to Signia (HBCA B.411/a/1 February 12 1922 p.91). The HBC accounts make frequent reference to trading trips to Signia both to lure hunters to join the company and to trade

Table 18. Chronology of Fur Trade Posts in Southeast Baffin Island

HBC POSTS:

South Coast			
Cape Dorset	1913-present		
Amadjuak	1921-1934		
Lake Harbour	1911-present		
Frobisher Bay	#1	1914-1915	south shore between Griffin Bay and Ney Harbour = *'Tessiaukju'?*
	#2	1915-20	Fletcher Island = or *'Tessiaukju'?*
	#3	1920-21	Waddell Bay = *'Tigaktok'?*
	#4	1921-48	Cormack Bay (in Ward Inlet) = *'Ikalooaukjueet'*
		(1940-44)	post closed
	#5	1949-c.80	Apex (near Iqaluit)
	#6	1958	Iqaluit
Cumberland Sound			
Kekerton	ca. 1857-?		whaling station
	1915?-1923		Robert Kinnes & Co.
	1923-1925?		
Pangnirtung (= Netchelik Post)	1921-present		
Oshualak (= Oohu-Arlo Station)	1918-1923		Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate
	1923-1933?		
Sirmilling Bay (= Kingua Fjord)	ca.1921?-1925?		
Livingston Fjord (= Kangertukjuk Fjord; Karneetookjuak)	1924-1925		

SABELLUM TRADING COMPANY:

Frobisher Bay/Cyrus Field Bay	
Signia	1860-1911 whaling station/ indep. trader
	1911?-1928 (formerly Cape Haven)
Mingutuk	1911?-1928 (two locations?)
Cumberland Sound	
Cape Mercy	1911?-1927?
Blacklead Island	ca. 1860-1915 whaling station
(=Umanaqjuaq)	1922?-1936

OTHER COMPANIES/INDEPENDENT TRADERS:

Cyrus Field Bay	
French Head	1901-1902

Sources: Copland 1985; Goldring 1986; HBCA B.411/a/1-6, HBCA search file; Henshaw 1995:75; White 1975; Usher 1971.

their accumulated skins. They kept track of the opposition returns, which were habitually low (e.g. "They have 3 hunters here + at present have 6 foxes between them. Tried to get hold of these foxes but nothing doing so far.") (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 12 1925 p.71). Descriptions of the suffering of these Inuit due to hunger occur throughout the journals. In 1928, there were reports of eight people dead at Signia between March and April (HBCA B.411/a/3 April 7 1928 p.55). In the same year, the opposition natives traded with the HBC; their post was out of food and had only a few 'nick nacks' left in stock (HBCA B.411/a/3 April 15 1928 p.55b).

> Attanevik the trader from Singia has always been friendly towards the Company, and says that he will now trade his fur at this post, as he does not expect the Sabellum Company will send out their schooner again. (HBCA B.411/a/3 October 1, 1928 p.88)

Later, "Attanevik, the ex trader [sic] from the Sabellum Coy. is now sporting an HBC badge on his cap" (HBCA B.411/a/3 October 2 1928 p.88).

The STC opened a satellite station in about 1923 at Mingutuk[10], managed by an Inuk named Godileak (HBCA B.411/a/1 January 27 1923 p.141). After this date in the records, it becomes difficult to determine which station, Mingutuk or Signia, the term 'opposition' refers to. Moreover, there may

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10 Various spellings include Mingootook, Mingetuk

actually have been two locations for Mingutuk: "They have built a new house farther this way, + have left the old house as it was" (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 10 1925 p.70). The Mingutuk of 1927 included a frame building with a stone house attached, three tents, five whaleboats and a population of 28 Inuit (Millward 1930).

While the HBC accounts routinely identified the opposition hunters by name, the opposition trade goods did not fair as well, except a brief mention of "ten tins of biscuits which the husky trader (Godileak) is keeping for himself" (HBCA B.411/a/1 February 12 1922 p.91).

The Mingutuk station experienced the same fate as that of Signia. By 1925, the Mingutuk hunters were badly off: "The opposition here is really not worth bothering about this winter, as they have no stock whatever + their natives are starving" (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 10 1925 p.70). According to the HBC records in 1928, the Mingutuk natives were not in the habit of storing their food for future use (HBCA B.411/a/3 December 31 1928 p.104). By that same year, these Inuit were trading for food, or in one case, working for the HBC, at Cormack Bay, and Mingutuk station had practically no trade goods left (HBCA B.411/a/3 March 17 1928 p.53b).

> The five hunters from Mingetook will trade at this post in the future . . . I don't think they will be much of an acquisition to the Company for the first few years until they get used to the Company's way of doing business, which is entirely different from what they have been used too. The Sabellum Company used to have all their natives stationed on the post, and used to issue to them an ample weekly

> ration . . . . Therefore it is only reasonable that these natives hunted as little as possible, and when they did hunt it was more as a pasttime than as a means of livelihood. It is a great wonder that the Sabellum Company lasted for so many years, as they must have been losing money yearly since the Company established in Frobisher Bay" (HBCA B.411/a/3 October 9 1928 p.89-90).

Hudson's Bay Company

The sequence of HBC posts in Frobisher Bay is less transparent than that of the STC (see Table 18). The first Frobisher Bay HBC post was originally an outpost of Lake Harbour, built as competition for a Mr. Jobson of London (Anne Morton, HBCA pers. comm.). No day books have survived from the 1914-20 period and no account books exist for any period. Copland (1985) refers to three post locations prior to the Cormack Bay locale; Usher (1971) to only two, entirely different, locations, the second of which is known to be incorrect. According to Copland (1985), the first HBC post was a prefabricated hut erected on the south shore of Frobisher Bay between Griffin Bay and Ney Harbour in 1914-1915 and moved to Fletcher Island in 1915. References to going to Tessiuakju "on the other side of the Bay" "to bring the small house" most likely refer to the removal of a post building from one of these two earlier locations (HBCA B.411/1/1 December 14, 1921 p.80; May 10-11, 1921 p.41).

In 1920-21, the HBC post was located in Waddell Bay, possibly the 'Tigaktok' mentioned in the HBC accounts. In 1921 the buildings were moved to Cormack Bay ('Ikaalooaukjueet') in Ward Inlet and remained at that site

until 1948, when the company moved to its final location (as a trading post), Apex, a small community near Iqaluit.

Post Operations

During this period (c.1920-1940) in Frobisher Bay, it was the trader who was the most important agent of contact, certainly with regards to manufactured material culture. Although missionaries and members of the police force passed through Frobisher Bay on annual visits, they did not control the trade good inventory which was available. (These latter contact agents are briefly discussed at the end of this section).

Each station was run by one to three Europeans who hired one to three Inuit men to assist them each season. According to Fleming (1956), these relationships were marked by cooperation and mutual respect. The HBC day books corroborate this. Certainly the Frobisher Bay managers respected their long-term employee, Teegoodlegak, who was with the company for twenty years. He is first identified as an employee in the 1920 journal, initially occupying a bedroom, eventually a wooden house of his own: (HBCA B.411/a/2 September 23 1924 p.54; HBCA B.411/a/3 August 12 1928 p.77). In 1934-35, he assisted with the actual transactions:

> Teegoodlegak is really a great help when trading + talking to the people. I usually revise anything I have to say with him, + then if I make a mistake while speaking to the people he explains it properly (HBCA B.411/a/5 December 6 1934 p.35).

Part of the post managers' routine involved visits to the camps to check on the people's well-being, especially if they had not been heard from for a while. Trading occurred throughout the winter on an individual basis. At some posts, 'rest houses', or small buildings, were set aside for the use of Inuit who came to trade; Christmas celebrations sometimes took place in them (Copland 1985:137). One man, or a group from a camp, with or without their families, would make several visits to the post during the course of the year. In later years, children came to trade their families' fur (HBCA B.411/a/5 February 20 1935 p.53).

Approximately 134 individuals were identified in the HBC records for a 15-year period from 1920-1939. All but six names, which possibly represent females, were adult male hunters. The actual Nugumiut population, including women and children, was therefore greater, although during this time many deaths occurred and the influx of new names in the second half of the journal records suggests that either two generations of hunters or immigrant hunters are represented (see Figure 7). A census, taken in 1929 has not survived (HBCA B.411/a/3 March 19 1929 p.115).

At Christmas, every camp arrived at the post. "Although the natives are not now given any celebration at Xmas time, as in former years' they like to visit the post at this time where they can meet, and talk with friends . . . " (HBCA

Figure 7. Frobisher Bay Inuit, Early 20th Century (Fleming 1932:149f).

B.411/a/4 December 25 1933 p.13). In the spring, the people returned once again, the women to clean and pack the fur. The season ended in June when the skins were baled and the staff prepared to leave for Lake Harbour. During the summer, most Inuit (including the post servant) went inland to hunt caribou.

The HBC daily books make apparent that the region of interaction for the Frobisher Bay post was not restricted to the bay itself. The accounts regularly detail visits made to and from Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour (usually a five day journey), and less often, Pangnirtung, by post managers or district heads, RCMP cruise patrols, missionaries and Inuit attached to these posts. Lake Harbour, for example, was a popular destination for bride-finding journeys. That Inuit from these other settlements were the only men *not* identified by name, illustrates how well the fur traders knew the very widespread community.

In 1922, an interpreter, John Edmunds, and his wife came from Lake Harbour (HBCA B.411/a/1 February 5,10 1922 p.89,90). Mrs. Edmunds would have been the first non-Native woman encountered by the local Nugumiut since Captain William Penny's wife lived in Cumberland Sound more than sixty years earlier.

The Frobisher Bay post managers travelled by sled with the annual accounts and furs to Lake Harbour. Eventually Inuit workers were entrusted with the journey to bring mail from Lake Harbour and furs and mail from Frobisher Bay (HBCA

B.411/a/4 January 16 1934 p.17; HBCA B.411/a/6 April 20 1939 p.51). The Nugumuit themselves regularly moved up to Cumberland Sound to hunt and trap and, in 1928, two Inuit from Lake Harbour came to hunt in the area, one coming to work for the Lake Harbour post, the other to begin working for the Frobisher Bay enterprise, inciting the HBC manager to complain of overcrowded conditions for trapping (HBCA B.411/a/3 April 26, 28 1928 p.57,58).

Trapping

According to Treude (1975) and Mayes (1978:45), fox and other fur trapping was initially an auxiliary occupation "entered into strictly to obtain necessities, but . . . as game populations were depleted by the use of the rifle, trapping increased". However, amongst the Nugumiut, the HBC archival data suggest that trapping retained its supplementary position throughout the white fox era, 1920-1940. Henshaw's (1995) zooarchaeological analysis supports this. While much effort was expended on putting as many Inuit hunters as possible under contract to trap foxes, considerable space in the day books is devoted to lamenting the poor fox returns at both the HBC post and at the opposition: " . . . about half the men here [at Signia] have not caught a fox this winter" (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 5 1924 p.26). In the month-end summary for November 1924, the lack of fox signs was "enough to break a fellow's spirit" (HBCA B.411/a/2 November 30 p.61).

One of the reasons for the lack of full-time involvement in fox trapping was that the fur trade was not a static industry (Mayes 1978). The high prices fox fur fetched, at least in the 1920s, meant that only a few pelts were needed (Treude 1975:53). Furthermore, fox had a low non-trade value to the Inuit and was not a traditional food. In addition to a substantial variation in demand for furs, the species itself suffered from resource depletion. The population cycle of the arctic fox is severely episodic. For example, 1925 was a poor year for furs; at Mingutuk ten hunters had caught only six foxes among them, the people were very hungry (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 10 1925 p.70). The year 1927 was an average fur year (Millward 1930), but the following one was very poor. A fox fur high occurred in 1933-34, when 32 foxes were traded in a single day: "There is no previous year on record when the hunt has risen so quick from the lowest point in the cycle to the present height" (HBCA B.411/a/4 February 28 1934 p.25). In 1938-39, the cycle crashed again: "[f]oxes are a thing of the past . . . there is little or no fox signs except in Cyrus Field Bay vicinity" (HBCA B.411/a/6 March 31 1939 p.46).

According to some (e.g. Mayes 1978), fox trapping required such specialization and reliance on one species that the traditional balance between culture and environment was put into acute jeopardy. Alterations "in the seasonal cycle of economic and social activity . . . [were] a direct consequence of the need to capture foxes, the only item the

traders would accept in exchange for increasingly necessary western goods" (Jenness 1964, Canada 1953 *in* Mayes 1978:43). However, the Nugumiut never devoted their attention exclusively to fur trapping. Not only did the Frobisher Bay post managers accept all kinds of Inuit commodities including sealskin and seal oil in trade, but there remained a need for seal, walrus and caribou skins for Inuit dress, bedding, boats or tents and for their food, a fact which the traders knew and respected (Mayes 1978). The HBC records corroborate this in their characterization of the Cumberland Sound Inuit as good sealers and whalers but poor trappers (Stevenson 1993:112). "This predisposition . . . was not the result of the influence of the whalers, but to the maritime traditions of the Cumberland Sound Inuit [and of the Nugumiut], which were continually being reinforced by Inuit leaders" (Stevenson 1993:112).

The trapping season ran from mid-November to the end of March. Initially, the fox trappers included the European post personnel. By 1927, however, these employees were forbidden to put out traps after the passage of laws intended to preserve arctic wildlife for Inuit (Crowe 1974:114; HBCA B.411/a/3 November 12 1927 p.41).

The trapping routine, involved laying the traps, checking them every few days, and moving the traplines as needed, sometimes quite a distance, based on wide-ranging news reports. One trapper who neglected his traps "for almost 3 weeks . . . got two foxes . . . and 2 feet as well

as the foxes i.e. two of the foxes ate themselves out of the traps" (HBCA B.411/a/5 December 22 1934 p.39). Foxes could also be lost through theft of the traps' contents by other animals. Teegoodlegak, the post employee, had his own trapline, which was given to his replacement, when Teegoodlegak took a leave of absence from the post (HBCA B.411/a/3 November 15 1927 p.42). The Nugumiut trapped primarily along the coast; however, occasionally inland journeys were made to Amadjuak Lake to trap in that area for a part of the winter.

Missionary and Police Presence

Missionization

Missionization coincided with the fur trade era, with missions tending to become established in the same locations as, although later than, the trading posts (Mayes 1978). The sequence of missions and the movements of their staff present a rather confusing picture of activity in the early 20th century (see Table 19). The initial visit of missionaries to southeast Baffin Island was in 1857 by the Moravians to Cumberland Sound. Their failure to establish a mission was attributable partly to the small native population present, and partly to the clergy's dependence on the whaling industry and the difficulty in supplying a mission and maintaining communication, particularly if the whalers were to leave the area (Harper 1981:47).

Table 19. Partial Chronology of Mission Openings and Staffing in Southeast Baffin Island

Mission	Date	Staff
Blacklead Island	1894-1896	Edmund Peck and J.C. Parker
	1896-1897	Edmund Peck and Charles Sampson
	1897-1898	Edmund Peck, Charles Sampson and Julian Bilby
	1898-1899	Charles Sampson and Julian Bilby
	1900	Charles Sampson
	1901-1906	Edmund Peck, Julian Bilby and Edgar Greenshield
	1907-1908	Julian Bilby
	1909-1911	Edgar Greenshield
Lake Harbour	1909	Archibald Fleming, Julian Bilby and Edmund Peck
	1911	Archibald Fleming
	1934-1935	Revs. Turner and Nelson
	1938-1939	Rev. Nelson
Kekerten	1911-13	Edgar Greenshield
Iqaluit	1957 (Anglican) 1960 (Catholic)	

For the whole of the early missionary period, in fact, the nature of missionary-Inuit contact derived, to a degree, from the rather tenuous relationship the missionaries had with the whalers (Henshaw 1995:91). The whaling station owners transported the missionaries as well as their provisions and fuel to and from Cumberland Sound free of charge (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Peck to Higgins March 20 1894). The

missionaries were expected not to conduct business with the whalers' competition and to "abstain from any action which has even the appearance of trading . . . " with the Inuit (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Baring-Gould and Baylis to Greenshield June 14 1901). For their part, the missionaries were concerned that the whalers were taking advantage of Inuit and introducing them to the less positive aspects of European culture.

The first mission actually established on Baffin Island was at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound in 1894. Reverends Edmund Peck and J.C. Parker of England's Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) initially ran the establishment. Peck had ministered to Inuit in northern Quebec in the 1870s and probably spoke Inuktitut quite well.

In 1909, the Lake Harbour mission opened with the Reverends Fleming, Bilby and Peck in charge. They remained for the next ten years. According to the HBC accounts for Frobisher Bay, this mission was staffed by Reverends Turner and Nelson in the 1930s. A mission at Kekerten was run by Reverend Greenshield from 1911 to 1913.

Frobisher Bay did not have a permanent mission of its own until 1957, when the Anglicans established themselves in Iqaluit, to be followed three years later by the Catholics. However, this does not mean that the Nugumiut did not have contact with Christianity. Cape Haven inhabitants and other Nugumiut moved up to Cumberland Sound to work and had contact with the Anglican clergy. In 1897-1898, for example, the

Nugumiut overwintered at Blacklead Island after the station manager, Captain Clisby, died in a drowning accident (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Peck to Baring-Gould September 15 1897).

The missionaries, in turn, made at least seven journeys to Cape Haven and/or Frobisher Bay in the 17-year period between 1895 and 1911 (see Table 20); only Fleming's (ACC M70-1 Series B vol.6 Fleming Journal 1911) account survives. The travel generally took place in spring or summer. Grant, the station manager, at the Inuit's behest, encouraged missionaries, 'teachers', from Cumberland Sound to hold services and instruct the Nugumiut, who numbered over a hundred. Fleming (ACC M70-1 Series B vol.6 Fleming Journal 1911, 1932, 1956) visited the Cape Haven natives from Lake Harbour in 1911, providing the only extant account of Grant and his companion, Nannuruc. In the 1930s, tours of duty continued. "Turner had a service in Teegoodlegak's house for the Natives who were here" (HBCA B.411/a/5 April 28 1935 p.65). Reverend Nelson from Lake Harbour "was very welcome here" (HBCA B.411/a/5 January 28 1935 p.48; HBCA B.411/a/6 April 30 1939 p.54). Thus, although there were only two missions established in Baffin Island in the early part of the 20th century, the missionaries' influence extended well beyond these points of contact (Henshaw 1995:92).

While definite opposition to the missionaries may have existed elsewhere, the clergy were apparently welcomed in Frobisher Bay. Nugumiut were entertained by the books, maps, music, games and refreshments served by the missionaries

(Fleming 1932; Neatby 1977). The missionaries taught hymns, scriptures, syllabic writing, and some English; assisted during periods of food shortages, including providing ammunition and gun powder; and provided care for the sick (Lewis 1904; Fleming 1956).

Table 20. Partial Chronology of Missionary Journeys to Cape Haven and/or Frobisher Bay

	Months	Personnel
1895	July - September	J.C. Parker
1898	June - August	Charles Sampson
1899	April	Julian Bilby
1900	June - September	Charles Sampson
1902	early spring	Edmund Peck
1903	?June - July?	Edgar Greenshield
1911	February - April	Archibald Fleming

In Cumberland Sound, the missionaries invited individual families over in rotation in order to get to know the men who had been away hunting during the day (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Bilby Journal 1898-99 September 1898). They held men's social evenings for the same purpose, providing board games, reading material and musical instruments for entertainment (NAC MG30 D123 Greenshield Journal 1908-11:78). Children attended school in high numbers. At the year end, a children's Christmas feast was held which included cakes and puddings and prizes for memorization, attendance and cleanliness (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Peck Journal 1895-1896 December 27 1895).

Because their base of operation was outside of Frobisher Bay and because they were not actively involved in an economic relationship with the Inuit, the missionaries' presence in Baffin Island had little effect on the material culture or lifeways of the Nugumiut people. This contrasts with their impact on the Labrador Inuit, among whom they were a very dominant force in economic, social and religious life (Williamson 1964). The exception is, of course, their effect on Inuit religion, through their suppression of aboriginal dances, songs, myths and festivals. Missionary accounts of Cumberland Sound indicate a gradual decline in the importance of the autumn 'Sedna Feast' and other shamanistic practises, except in secret "by the older people, . . . the younger don't believe in it or don't wish to do it" (NAC CMS MG17 B2 Bilby Journal 1898-1899 October 1898). It is not possible to assess the impact of Christianity in Frobisher Bay, since the only extant documents, the HBC accounts, provide only anecdotal evidence concerning marriage ceremonies and Christian services. Damas (1968 *in* Mayes 1978:38), referring to the Hudson Bay area, has questioned " . . . just how deeply Christian concepts penetrated their view of the world". In 1911, Fleming (ACC M70-1 Series B vol.6 Fleming Journal 1911:65) identified eleven individuals, including several from Frobisher Bay, who were (previously?) shamans. Police reports from a decade later suggest that the Inuit were very Christian, particularly the women (Millward 1930:49); the men were more influenced by the shamans, who

resisted Christianity (Peck 1922 *in* Stevenson 1993:103-104). Eventually, the Inuit became Christianized to the degree that they would not even make the rounds of their fox traps on a Sunday (Fleming 1956:224) nor trade. "This is the first time I have known them to be so religiously inclined" (HBCA B.411/a/3 May 6 1928 p.60).

Peter Pitseolak (1993:40, 43), a Baffin Island historian born 'during the first religious time' (at the turn of the century), considered that the people were "so mixed up they overdid their religion", throwing away "all their good clothing and anything they had - rifles, and beads", even food, because Reverend Peck detested possessiveness.

The missionaries' most significant impact was the introduction, by Edmund Peck, of syllabic literacy, originally developed by Reverend James Evans for use with the Cree Indians of Norway House, Manitoba (Henshaw 1995:94). The Inuit were extremely interested in learning to read and write. On Baffin Island, they learned rapidly, initially from missionaries and then from other Inuit. Literacy was an important means of Christianizing the Inuit, not only because the Inuit came in to the settlements to trade only infrequently but as a hallmark of Protestantism, true conversion could not happen without understanding. Missionaries had to proselytize when the Inuit were in settlements or else visit their camps (Canada 1934, Marsh 1967 *in* Mayes 1978:37).

Inuit catechists, male and female, were also important factors in the process of making the Inuit both literate and Christian (Peck 1922). After World War 1, European missionaries no longer served in Cumberland Sound. The HBC accounts mention one hunter, Kilobak, who was a preacher "which is saying enough for his character, he is a very good sort, not mixing religion and business together like some more of his enlightened brethern (sic)" (HBCA B.411/a/3 May 16 1928 p.61). Another, Nowdlak[11], travelled around to camps giving services (HBCA B.411/a/1 January 8 1921 p.24). "[The Inuit] held a service in the evening - David Naodlac being the preacher" (HBCA B.411/a/5 September 23 1934 p.16; HBCA B.411/a/6 December 24 1938 p.27).

According to Mayes (1978:39-40), the educational focus of the missionaries evolved into the providing by the clergy of two services ordinarily supplied by government, formal education and health care. Peck, for example, was very concerned about the physical suffering of Inuit and insisted that missionaries spend a year at medical college (Fleming 1956:319).

In sum, missionary activity on Baffin Island, while supplementing provisions for Inuit economic needs, tended to promote a self-sufficient lifeway "because their activities were composed primarily of outreach, not centralization" (Henshaw 1995:95).

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11 Although this may be two different men, Nowdlak in 1921 and David Naodlak in 1938

RCMP

This was also the era of the RCMP, who arrived after the traders and the missionaries. Like the missionaries, the RCMP travelled extensively during the 1920s and 1930s from established posts, in their case, Lake Harbour and Pangnirtung, to outlying Inuit communities, such as Frobisher Bay. A permanent police post was located in Pangnirtung in 1923, and the force made periodic cruises of the entire southeast Baffin region to report conditions, ensure fair treatment at the hands of the HBC, issue relief provisions and medical supplies when necessary and discourage Inuit settlement in Pangnirtung and dependency on European material culture, such as cloth apparel (McElroy 1979; Stevenson 1993). It was probably not until the 1940s that a permanent police post was established in Frobisher Bay (Philip Goldring pers. comm. *in* Henshaw 1995:105).

According to Mayes (1978:32), the three groups, the traders, the police and the missionaries, functioned as one to facilitate the economic and social engagement of the Inuit and the outside world. In truth, however, neither the police nor the missionaries had an effect on the economy and very little, if any, on Inuit social life. The police generally felt that Inuit should be protected and encouraged to pursue their traditional livelihood and not be assimilated into Canadian mainstream society.

Means of Obtaining Fur Trade Goods

By the early 20th century, the means by which Inuit obtained European goods had changed once again. Scavenging, gift-giving and provisioning were now secondary to trading, fox trapping and employment at posts as methods of accessing foreign goods.

Throughout the transitional stage of the trader-whalers and the period of established fur trading which followed, Inuit continued to trade a variety of traditional land products, such as sealskins, bearskins and duck eggs. Sometimes the traders traveled to the camps to buy skins (Pitseolak 1993). "When the [supply] ship came, the chief of each camp would always be the first to trade . . . " (Pitseolak 1993:77). However, very little information exists concerning how much was traded and what was received in return.

The hallmark of this period was commercial fox trapping. For the first time (except during the commercial whaling period in regions where communal whaling was not an aboriginal practise), Inuit were involved in non-traditional labour in order to receive trade goods. Fox trapping was primarily the domain of men, although there are occasional references to widows trapping or young girls checking traplines (HBCA B.411/a/5 November 20,23 1934 p.31). Unfortunately, the sole source of information, the daily

record books, contain very little information about this activity.

With the establishment of the trading posts came employment of Inuit men as assistants, or 'servants', to the post manager. At the Frobisher Bay post, with brief exceptions, Teegoodlegak held this position for 18 years. Throughout the years, other Inuit men, some of whom were replacements for Teegoodlegak during a season's absence to go hunting, also worked for the post.

The most significant alteration to Inuit gender roles during this era appears to be the skinning, cleaning, drying and stretching of skins, which had formerly been done by Inuit women but was now undertaken by Inuit men working as hired hands, as well as by the post managers (Table 21). However, it is unclear precisely what the men's role was, whether they were supervising women or doing the work themselves. Some of the accounts refer to men cleaning skins, others to the post assistants helping women to do the work. The following comment: "The natives are attempting to carry out the instructions re the cleaning of sealskins, and some very fine skins are being brought in, however there is still much room for improvement" (HBC B.411/a/3 October Trade 1928 p.94) suggests that the reference is to male participants, as female performance levels were uniformly high and greatly valued by Europeans. However, another reference to rewashing skins in emulsion, which had been

Table 21. Inuit Employment in the Early 20th-Century Fur Trade Industry

	Male	Female	Unknown/Both
loading/unloading cargo			√
moving coal/lumber			√
cleaning up around post			√
laying house foundations			√
house building/carpentry	√		
repairing tools	√		
making drying frames[1].	√		
" grindstone stand	√		
" molasses barrel frame	√		
making sled crossbars	√		
filing down komatiq runners	√		
making oomiak	√		
fixing boat engine	√		
making cutter for mincer	√		
making barrel bungs	√		
" coal hopper	√		
" picture frames[2].	√		
" bread box	√		
" netting needles	√		
attaching handles to hammers/axes	√		
making bags	√		
" dog whips	√		
" drying pegs			√
" dinghy sail	√		
" saddle bags	√		
" dog traces	√		
"/repairing oars	√		
"/ " handbarrows	√		
"/ " propellers	√		
" trout net	√		
looking out for ship	√		

	Male	Female	Unknown/Both
breaking trail[3].	√		
guiding expedition[3].	√		
transporting mail	√		
collecting furs on trip	√		
piloting boats	√		
housework		√	
cleaning fat scaffold		√	
scrubbing floor/walls		√	
cooking		√	
repairing sealskin boots[3].		√	
making/repairing clothing[3].		√	
hauling/thawing skins		√	
skinning seals	√		
cleaning skins			√
drying skins	√		
stretching skins	√		
cutting up fat			√
boiling fat			√
barrelling fat		√	
preparing oil barrels	√		
cleaning/overhauling traps	√		
cleaning eiderdown			√
sorting skin boots	√		
sorting sealskins	√		
packing eiderdown	√		
packing outfit (furs?)		√	
hunting[3].	√		
fishing			√
language training		√	
collecting/preparing specimens[3].			√

1. for fox, hare, wolf
2. for tourist trade?
3. explorers

From Aksaarjuuk 1987; Arnaujak 1986; Fleming 1956; HBCA B.411/a/1-5; McElroy 1979; Neatby 1977; Soper 1981

previously washed by natives with ordinary soap, suggests that the techniques used to prepare skins were now generally unsatisfactory (HBCA B.411/a/3 March 21 1929 p.61). Copland clarifies the situation:

> In a good fur year . . . a high proportion of the skins we bought were in a frozen state. The trappers did not have time to dry and stretch them and at the same time keep the traps going. So I employed Okagheak who was excellent at this work. He could clean, stretch and put on the drying boards one hundred skins a day and keep this pace up. (1985:94)

It is clear that by the early 20th century *within the trading post environs*, this traditional female task was no longer gender or culturally specific. This may have been because preparing fox skins was not traditionally women's work and was viewed by Inuit as part of the foreign fur trade or because women lacked time since they were still producing most of the time-consuming skin clothing.

In addition to preparing and baling skins, post servants also made and repaired Inuit and European items such as tools, drying frames, sleds, dog harness and traces, propellers and fish nets (Table 21). By the mid-1920s, they were repairing boat engines (HBCA B. 411/a/2 October 5 1925 p.91). They piloted boats, served as expedition guides and eventually collected furs at settlements and transported mail. References to Bell and Teegoodlegak making picture frames suggests that Inuit men also may have been involved in producing goods for the tourist trade (HBCA B.411/a/3 May 8 1929 p.123).

As noted previously, women were very rarely mentioned in the accounts except to note their term of employment every spring (April to June) to clean and stretch skins, generally under the supervision of an Inuk employee. The women, wives of the post employees or other family members, were reimbursed directly, rather than via their male relatives. References to sorting and packing skin boots and mittens indicate that women also manufactured these items for trade, although there is no other mention of this work in the daily journal (HBCA B.411/a/3 June 18,30, July 12 1927 p. 30b,31,32). Other labour undertaken by women at the post includes housework (for example, scrubbing out rooms), cooking, barrelling fat, cleaning the fat scaffold and packing furs.

During this same period Euro-American explorers hired Inuit women to repair clothing and to help in the collection and preservation of mammal and bird specimens (Neatby 1977:236). Although both women and men undertook this latter task, women were frequently considered superior in its execution.

Both women and men routinely cleaned up around the post (typically on Saturdays) and loaded cargo. Women and men cleaned eiderdown and fished for the post as well. They both cut, boiled and barreled seal and walrus fat.

This was also the period when store-bought foods, albeit expensive to stock, become regular additions to the Inuit diet. Although European food was acquired by other methods

(trade, gifts and wages), provisioning also warrants an individual classification as a method of acquisition. People would be given provisions while preparing to go whaling, hunting caribou for clothing or floe-edge hunting (Etuangat 1986; Soper 1981). Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine how important these foods were in the daily diet of the Inuit. According to Copland (1985), writing about the HBC trade in the 1920s and 1930s, Inuit did not buy any food, although they were encouraged to do so; Dewy Soper (1981), writing principally of Cumberland Sound, also considers the consumption of store food to have been moderate. However, the Frobisher Bay post manager writes that "the natives to day, are forever trying to exchange their food for ours" (HBCA B.411/a/3 July 16 1928 p.71). Saturday was the day on which rations were traditionally issued to: 'labourers', 'women', and 'servants' wives', leading one to believe that provisions were supplied to any family who routinely traded with the post.

By the early 20th century, European items were seldom obtained as gifts. One exception was the game of 'throwing-catching' which took place when the supply ship arrived at Cape Dorset. Dried fruit, candies, socks, tobacco and other items were tossed from the roof of a building by the HBC staff and caught by the people below (Pitseolak 1993:84). People always came to Cape Dorset at ship time, when "if people wanted nails they could take as many as they wanted" (Pitseolak 1993:86). At Christmas time at Frobisher Bay

Post, 'odds and ends', including tobacco, were given out before a dance or religious service was held. However, by 1933 the tradition had pretty well stopped (HBCA B.411/a/4 December 25 1933 p.13).

While scavenging, or recycling, was not as critical a means of obtaining European goods in the 20th century as it was in Frobisher's time, it will always represent a major source of materials in the north[12]. The wreck of the 'Nascopie' in 1947 at Cape Dorset, for example, provided lumber to build houses and make sleds (Pitseolak 1993). Not all abandoned items were put to use by the Inuit, however. Books left at the abandoned Blacklead Island mission in Cumberland Sound were still untouched decades later (Soper 1981).

Material Culture Exchanged

Information on early 20th-century material culture exchange is restricted, as it was in the commercial whaling era, with few details available concerning individual exchanges. Within the HBC daily accounts, the only existing documents, there is virtually no mention of trade goods, except for occasional references to repacking supplies or to

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12 Wood, for instance, is in perpetual short supply. In 1990, archaeological crew members intending to sleep on shore found themselves with a tent which lacked a centre pole. One individual remembered seeing a *single* piece of driftwood during the day-long coastal survey and hiked for an hour in the semi-dark to retrieve it.

the cost of a rifle. A customer's ledger and a dry goods inventory were both written; however, neither document has survived (HBCA B.411/a/3 April 26 1929 p.121).

Table 22 contains a partial list of Inuit and Euro-American commodities in circulation at the time as well as the user's gender. While Inuit men are most commonly identified in trade transactions, several items were clearly intended for women. To Copland (1985:68), Inuit "had little idea of values. Their needs were simple: rifles, ammunition, knives, pots and then the same order over and over again". According to Low (1906:152), writing generally of Hudson Bay and southeast Baffin Island, the first purchase was always tobacco, then ammunition, then tools; clothing, needles, kettles, knives and files followed.

Inuit men acquired whaleboats, rifles and ammunition, telescopes, tools such as files, saws (now indispensable for building snow houses), drills and even supplies of metal and wood to manufacture tools (Table 22). Women traded for kettles, pots, scissors, needles and cloth. Sealskin tents, considered women's property, were replaced by canvas shelters (which were cooler in warm weather) or the two materials were combined in inner and outer layers, respectively (HBCA B.411/a/6 October 16 1938 p.14-15).

"The trade is mostly in staple articles, as they have not the fur to buy nick nacks (sic)" (HBCA B.411/a/3 January Summary 1928 p.49). " . . . unfortunate[ly] . . . they do not always have the means of buying desirable and necessary

Table 22. Early 20th-Century Inuit and European Commodities

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
TRADE	ammunition	(male)	skins,
	cartridges	male	fox
	gunpowder	(male)	bear
	lead	(male)	hare
	shot	(male)	seal
	primers	(male)	walrus
	rifle	(male)	beluga
	2nd hand army stock	(male)	wolf
	fox traps	(male)	ermine
	whaling boat	male	meat,
	salmon flat	male	walrus
	telescopes	male	salmon
	field glasses	(male)	trout
	tobacco	both	caribou
	matches	?	blubber
	provisions,	(female/all)	oil,
	biscuits	(female/all)	seal
	tea	(female/all)	whale
	coffee	(female/all)	baleen
	flour	(female/all)	ivory
	salt	(female/all)	eiderdown
	baking powder	(female/all)	sled dogs[1].
	shortening	(female/all)	mica
	sugar	(female/all)	garnet crystals
	molasses	(female/all)	son[2].
	dried fruit	(female/all)	
	beans	(female/all)	
	candies	(female/all)	
	knives	?	
	tools	?	
	files	(male)	
	saw	male	
	plane	male	
	drill	male	
	iron bars - to make seal spears	(male)	
	wood-for harpoon/ spear handles		
	kettles	female	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	tea strainer	(female)	
	pots	(female)	
	scissors	(female)	
	needles	(female)	
	fancy combs	(male)	
	clocks	?	
	watches	male	
	musical instruments	?	
	canvas tent	female	
	cloth	female	
	towels	(female)	
	blankets	(female)	
	clothing	?	
	suspenders	male	
	sled dogs[1]	(male)	
GIFT-GIVING	cloth	female	
	thread	female	
	needles	female	
	buttons	female	
	dishcloth	female	
	provisions,	(female/all)	
	biscuits	(female/all)	
	bacon	(female/all)	
	tea	(female/all)	
	shirt	both	
	tobacco	both	
	pocket knives	male	
	long underwear	male	
	dolls	child	
	whistles	child	
	tops	child	
	sled dogs	?	
EMPLOYMENT	ammunition	(male)	
	gunpowder	(male)	
	tobacco	both	
	clothing	both	
	alarm clocks	?	
	provisions,	(female/all)	
	biscuits	(female/all)	
	coffee	(female/all)	
	molasses	(female/all)	
	flour	(female/all)	
	jam	(female/all)	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	meat[3]	(female/all)	
PROVISIONS	biscuits	(female/all)	
	tea	(female/all)	
	coffee	(female/all)	
	flour	(female/all)	
	baking powder	(female/all)	
	sugar	(female/all)	
	molasses	(female/all)	
	milk	(female/all)	
	canned goods	(female/all)	
	pork	all	
	medicine	male/child	
	ammunition	(male)	
	cartridges	(male)	
	caps	(male)	
	lead	(male)	
	primus stove	(female)	
	kerosene	(female)	
	matches	?	
	tools	?	
	clothing	(both)	
	firewood	male	
SCAVENGING	wood	(both)	driftwood
	barrels	(both)	
	tin cans	(male)	
	old bullets	male	
UNKNOWN[4]	kettle	(female)	
	pots	(female)	
	needles	(female)	
	thimbles	female	
	thread	female	
	sewing machine	female	
	tin scraper	female	
	tin water buckets	female	
	bucket for oven	(female)	
	metal box for cooking pot	female	
	tin cans	(female)	
	iron whetstone or knife	female	
	barrel hoops for drying racks	(female)	
	guns	male	

Method of Acquisition	European Items	Inuit Gender	Inuit Items
	ammunition	male	
	shot	(male)	
	steel traps	(male)	
	whale boats	(male)	
	power boats	(male)	
	freighter canoe/ outboard motor	(male)	
	kayak/boat equipment	male	
	telescope	male	
	cloth screen to stalk seal	male	
	strong needle	male	
	ice tester	male	
	iron nail for arrow point	(male)	
	saw	male	
	knife	both	
	tin can as glue pot	(male)	
	record player	male	
	accordion	female	
	violin	?	
	music box	?	
	clocks	?	
	coal oil	?	
	reading glasses	both	
	cloth tent	both	
	blankets	(female)	
	sail cloth	?	
	cloth	female	
	clothing,		
	kerchief	female	
	shawl	(female)	
	dress	female	
	woollen cap	male	
	cloth gloves	male	
	sweater	male	
	lounge suit	male	
	jacket	both	
	underwear	both	
	shirts	both	
	coats	?	
	vests	?	
	stockings	?	
	underjacket	?	

() Probable gender affiliation

1. traded bi-directionally, as needed
2. exchanged for a whaleboat
3. traders kept the skins and blubber, women received the meat
4. in the possession of various Inuit, although precise method of acquisition not known

From Aksaarjuk 1987; Arnaujaq 1986; Copland 1985; Eber 1971, 1983; Etuangat 1986; Fleming 1932, 1956; Fraser and Rannie 1972; Harper 1972 *in* Mayes 1978; Low 1906; Millward 1930; HBCA, PAM, A.102/2074; HBCA B.411/a/1, 3-6; Katsualik 1986; Low 1906; Mayes 1978; Neatby 1977; Pitsualak 1976; Pitseolak 1993; Soper 1981; White 1975.

tools: there are either too few available at the trading-station or none at all." (Neatby 1977:71). Hantsch's observation is confirmed by several reports of depleted supplies at the STC posts at Signia and Mingutuk. Nevertheless, non-staples such as tobacco, alarm clocks and musical instruments were also popular trade goods. The alarm clocks were valued not as timepieces but as items of interior decor. Fleming (1932; 1956) explains that they were hung inside tin cans to enhance the ticking sound (see Figure 8).

In return for these items, the traders accepted furs of all kinds, primarily white and blue fox, but also ermine, hare, bear and seal, as well as blubber, oil and, on occasion, meat (Table 22). Caribou meat and skin were traded less frequently than other commodities since the Inuit still relied on these products to meet their own food and clothing requirements.

Occasionally, small items were given out at Christmas time. Women might receive cloth, thread, needles or buttons and children might get toys, but gradually even that practise ended.

Some goods, such as provisions, clothing, tobacco and pipes and clocks, were received as wages earned by assisting the post manager (men) or cleaning skins (women). Men purchased boats and rifles; women purchased pots, kettles and cloth, essentially practical items.

During this period, European food items were regular components of the Inuit diet. These new food items have been

Figure 8. Photographic documentation, such as this interior shot of a snow house in Fleming (1932:129f) showing the variety of aboriginal and European items associated with a women's cooking area, is an important source of information on European material culture use by Inuit.

classified as female-associated in Table 22 since they were prepared by women, although they were for general consumption. Periods of starvation still occurred in the 1920s and, at those times, traders would supply walrus meat to the camps most in need. Non-food items were also acquired as provisions, including ammunition, portable stoves, fuel and matches.

Scavenging was a far less common means of acquiring European goods than in previous periods. Nevertheless, available European wood supplies were always put to use, as was driftwood. As late as 1911, shipwrecked Inuit used barrel wood to make bows and arrows (which by this time had gone out of use) to kill game to provide food and clothing (Fraser and Rannie 1972:165). With the increasing availability of canned goods, the tin containers provided a new source of metal for the production of many items, such as ovens, pots, scrapers, buckets. However, there were geographical differences. People in more remote settlements still used stone vessels (Low 1906). The post journals recorded that Teegoodlegak made a propeller out of a steel oil barrel head (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 7 1928 p.75). During the first World War, whaling stations were supplied only sporadically: "There were no bullets, but they searched for tin cans and out of these they got the material for bullets." (Eber 1989:18). They also reused old bullets, cut out from killed game, when they could (Fraser and Rannie 1972:52-54):

> Another Eskimo brought me some bullets he had made out of iron pyrites . . . which he had found in the rocks . . . . He had made these bullets the year the whaler *Snowdrop* had been wrecked because he could not get lead (Fleming 1956:152).

Sometimes items were loaned to or borrowed from Inuit. Several seal nets were acquired by Inuit this way, with the catch to be divided on an equal basis (HBCA B.411/a/5 October 6 1932 p.21). On one occasion, a trader, lacking a shotgun, complained that "if I cannot buy, or borrow an old gun from the natives, we will have to do without partridges . . . " (HBCA B.411/a/4 November 2 1933 p.3).

Several items used by Inuit in the early part of this century were identified from descriptions which make no reference to method of acquisition (Table 22). Thus we learn that some men acquired power boats or freighter canoes with outboard motors and with them, the technology to run and repair the vessels. And that sailcloth or hemp cord was preferred to walrus thongs as strapping material because dogs would not chew it (Neatby 1977:72). The first record player, or 'singable', owned by an Inuk was acquired in 1912. Some women used portable sewing machines in Lake Harbour (Copland 1985), initially introduced in the late whaling period, although not in Cumberland Sound (Neatby 1977).

However, not all new items proved superior. The HBC post manager thought that a meat chopper would grind fat more quickly than having it rendered by the sun, but it took longer (HBCA B.411/a/3 June 3 1926 p 29a). Similarly, metal

sled runners proved to be poor substitutes for bone and ivory ones. With them, more friction built up in cold weather conditions when the snow was fine and gritty so people still "muddied runners [i.e., added a mud layer] for speed and smoothness" (HBCA B.411/a/1 February 4 1921 p.28; Low 1906:146-147).

Several more examples of European clothing used by Inuit are identified in this manner, such as coats, vests and stockings. For women these include kerchiefs, shawls and dresses and for men, woolen caps, lounge suits, cloth gloves and sweaters. Long underwear was preferred to traditional fur layers because of the relative ease in picking out lice (Neatby 1977:166). Cloth garments were especially appreciated in the summer when Inuit clothing was too warm and heavy, hampering movement and causing exhaustion (Neatby 1977:212). According to Hantsch (Neatby 1977:134), European clothing was more easily adopted by *older* Inuit, as the young utterly despised them. His statement provides the only evidence for age-related differences in response to contact that I could find.

In summary, while 19th-century whaling contact is signalled by the adoption of jewelry and beaded decoration on women's clothing in the material culture realm, early 20th-century European contact is characterized by the use of cloth garments, telescopes, motor boats, store food and the use of tin cans as a material for manufacturing other items.

During this period, Inuit men continued to manufacture traditional items such as sleds, dog harnesses, netting needles, stone lamps (for travelling), trout and seal nets, skin-drying pegs and tool holders ('handles'?) (HBCA B.411/a/1). They also made European items for the post: a coal shovel, dust pans, and a whaleboat boom and jib, and as well were conducting general boat repairs by 1920 (HBCA B.411/a/1).

Prestige Trade Goods

The price of fox pelts and the degree of individual involvement in their trapping determined, to a large extent, the pattern of prestige goods acquisition. In the early 1920s with fox plentiful and commanding very high prices on the international market, people lived well, "no one was poor" and luxuries such as tea, tobacco and cloth could be obtained (Pitseolak 1993:115). Rifles sold for one or two foxes, or their equivalent value in sealskins: "The natives here in the Bay think the rifles must be made of sealskins" (HBCA B.411/a/1 January 28 1922 p.87) so effortless was it to acquire them. Many of the more prosperous Inuit were replacing sealskin tents with canvas varieties, which were superior in terms of weight, ease of set-up and interior temperature (Soper 1981:103). Tobacco was popular among most men and some of the older women: "In many instances, tobacco is sought ahead of any other commodity" (Soper 1981:104).

Perhaps because of the nature of the activity, men were more involved than women in commercial fox trapping and it is their prestige goods which are identified in the daily accounts of the HBC. For some of these items, namely firearms and whaleboats, there is a continuation of trends first begun in the whaling era (see Table 23). The more well-to-do were acquiring boats with engines (Soper 1981:105). Godileak, the Inuk manager of Signia, had two boats of his own (HBCA, PAM, A.102/2074 December 24 1921). However, watercraft were not available to everyone. The HBC manager expressed concern about the small number of vessels, five, owned by the Inuit attached to the post (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 27 1928 p.80). Although skin boats began to disappear during the whaler-trader period in the opening years of the 20th century, a surprising number of references to skin boats and particularly to seal-hunting in kayaks, can be found in the HBC records for the white fox era.

Table 23. 19th and Early-20th Century Prestige Trade Goods

	Female	Male
19th Century	beads other parka decorations (e.g. coins, spoon bowls)	guns whaleboats
20th Century	cloth? sewing machines store-bought food	guns whaleboats telescopes

By the latter half of the 1920s, the fox cycle was at a low point and the Inuit were so poor that they could "hardly catch enough to purchase the necessities of life let alone a whaleboat" (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 27 1928 p.80). To catch enough to purchase a whaleboat involved moving away from the post for the winter and trapping elsewhere (HBCA B.411/a/3 September 11 1928 p.84). By the mid-1930s, a lost or damaged boat was still a major misfortune because it was tied to the value of fox which at that time, was quite low (HBCA B.411/a/6 October 29 1938 p.17). Whaleboats were still rare enough that their loss engendered severe problems: "as this was the only boat at the camp they were unable to walrus hunt during the fall with the result that they are now very hard up . . . " (HBCA B.411/a/4 December 10 1933 p.9).

Among male prestige items acquired from the Europeans during this time, one item stands out as representative of the era: the telescope.

> The telescope belongs to the regular equipment of the good Eskimo hunter, who keeps it in a leather case. It marks the possessor as belonging to the well-to-do class of a people usually so poor, and is an object of ambition, not so easily fulfilled, for the growing youth (Neatby 1977:79).

The instrument had no traditional equivalent and therefore was an addition to the Inuit culture, particularly useful for summer caribou hunting (Neatby 1977).

For women, cloth was increasingly desired, although, typically, European fashions were not much in vogue during the trader-whaler period (Neatby 1977:42,212):

> . . . in general our people still fully stick to their native clothing of fur, and the longer they are absent from the station the less disposed they become to the use of certain fashions (Neatby 1977:42).

Certainly, neither cloth nor clothing ever attained the level of status, reached by beads the century previously. Interestingly, with the establishment of the HBC fur trade, there is virtually no mention of women's ornaments. The historic documents suggest that the efflorescence of beaded clothing and jewelry was restricted to the commercial whaling era and the period of itinerant whaler-trading which immediately followed (as illustrated in the lavishly decorated women's parkas from contemporary photographs).

Effects of Commercial Fur Trapping on Early 20th-Century Inuit Culture

The initial effect of the HBC presence in Frobisher Bay on Nugumiut settlement distribution was a population shift from Cumberland Sound and Cyrus Field Bay to Frobisher Bay, a reverse of the shift that earlier had taken place to accommodate the whaling period. However, the larger impact of the commercial fur trapping endeavour may have been to disperse winter settlement widely to facilitate fox trapping over as large a territory as possible (Mayes 1978; Treude 1975). Nevertheless, much of the trapping seems to have remained coastal (HBCA B.411/a/1 October 30 1922 p.132; HBCA

B.411/a/2 January 22 1925 p.68): "Signs would seem to indicate that foxes are to be found on the points of the land and more than likely it will be a good shoring hunt" (HBCA B.411/a/6 November 30 1938 p.23). Furthermore, Inuit camps consisting of a few related families, remained the norm. Some people did move inland, however, to trap during the winter (around Amadjuak Lake, for example) (HBCA B.411/a/3 September 11 1928 p.84); still, this was limited by the resources available to them, the meat, fat and dog-food which could be transported inland (HBCA B.411/a/4 December 1 1933 p.8).

In fact, resource depletion was a recurring problem during this period. Several times accounts refer to an ever-growing scarcity of caribou (corroborated by Stenton's [1989:122] independent compilation of historic data), the need to hunt at greater distances from the post, as well as the need to hunt inland and the chronic lack of skins for clothing. According to the Nugumiut, the change occurred when Cape Dorset Inuit started wintering at Nettilling Lake causing alterations to the caribou migration route (HBCA B.411/a/6 September 4 1938 p.5), but the decline was more likely due to the use of guns and a regular supply of ammunition:

> . . . hundreds of deer are being killed yearly for their skins only. The majority of the natives have to travel hundreds of miles before seeing deer, therefore it is quite obvious that they are not able to make use of all the meat procured (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 26 1928 p.79).

> Nowdlak's crowd only got twelve between them [for six families] . . . which is altogether to [sic] small an amount for the requirements" (HBCA B.411/a/3 September 6 1928 p.83).
>
> . . . as very few deerskins were secured, most of the hunters will have to retain their best skins for clothing. Sealskin is a poor substitute for deerskins but is probably much better than white man's clothing (Jackets, duffle-coats, etc). With the scarcity of deer during the past few years, I have noticed that nearly all the natives use dogskins for socks, mitts and boot-legs during the winter (HBCA B.411/a/6 September 30 1938 p.10).

Contrary to published sources (e.g. Mayes 1978), which claim that Inuit were encouraged to neglect caribou and seal hunting in order to trap, the HBC archives suggest a continuation of the traditional aboriginal subsistence cycle during the white fox era, despite an involvement in commercial trapping (HBCA B.411/a/3 July 16 1928 p.71):

> [A] key factor that enabled Nugumiut to sustain the economic autonomy was their ability to move in and out of a variety of economic modes of integration by maintaining direct access to the means of production and through extended family group labour" (Henshaw 1995:60).

For one thing, the HBC purchased sealskins and oil; for another, sealskins may have been the preferred trading item because seals were already being procured for their meat and blubber (Henshaw 1995:102-103) (see Figure 9). "In Frobisher Bay, the sealskin trade rivaled that of the fox skin trade, although fox skins demanded a much higher price" (Damas 1988 *in* Henshaw 1995:103). Furthermore, the absence by Inuit employees to hunt caribou was included in the yearly routine.

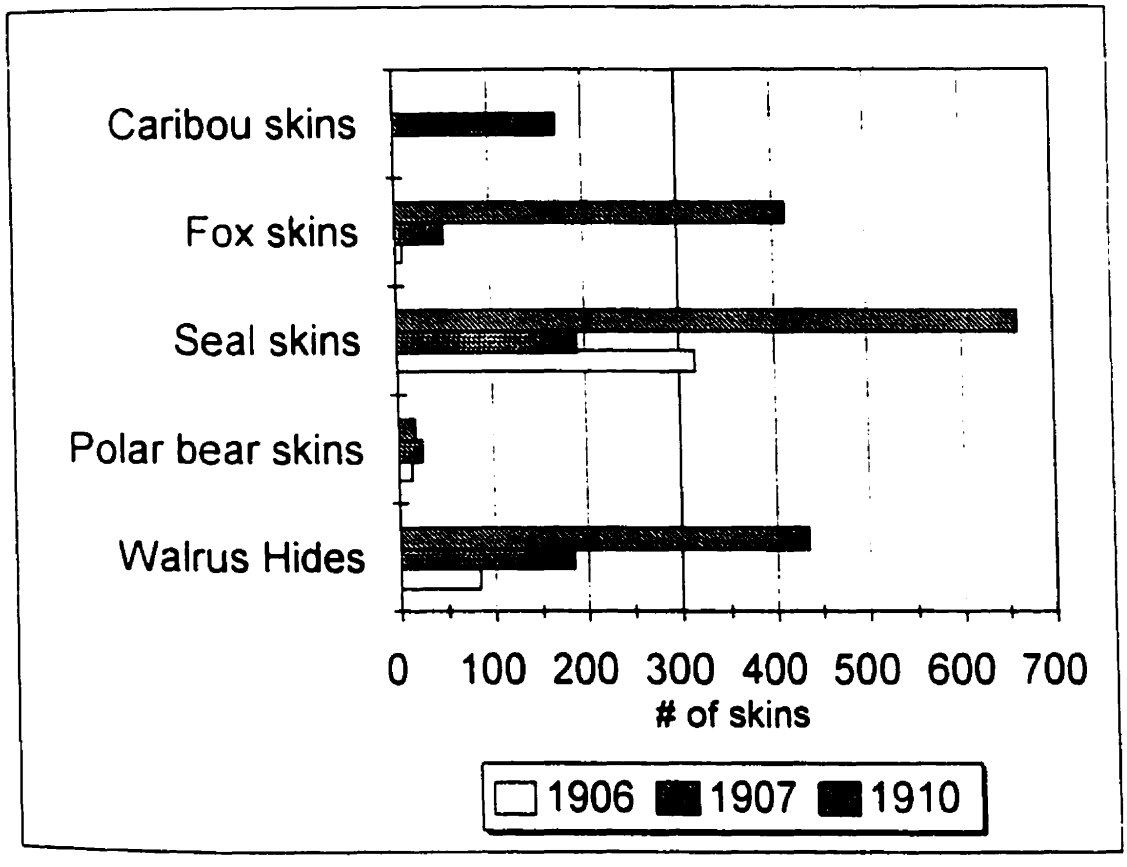

Figure 9. Skins Traded at Signia During Grant's Tenure based on Data from Fraser and Rannie (1972:78, 88, 139) (Henshaw 1995:103)

The large gatherings which formerly took place in late winter now occurred in late summer at ship time and to a lesser extent at the time of trading trips and at Christmas (Mayes 1978). Activities also changed from a focus on games, stories and feasts to trading and church services, as well as traditional visits (Mayes 1978). Fleming makes an interesting observation about changing attitudes to possessions during this period in his description of burial practises:

> Owing to the scarcity of all materials in the Arctic, the custom had developed of replacing the actual implements after three days by models, the idea being that the spirit of the departed would require only the spirit of the implements in the realms beyond. (1956:121)

Duck and goose hunting and egg collecting still took place in May and June. The Nugumiut routinely went inland to hunt caribou in the summer for periods up to four to seven weeks (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 26 1928 p.79), not only outfitted by the post, but equipped with their moral support: "I sincerely hope that their efforts will result in success, as a man's hunting abilities during the winter depends to a great extent on the quality of his deerskin clothing" (HBCA B.411/a/3 August 10 1928 p.77). Prestige remained associated with traditional hunting, rather than trapping success: "The four men between them got 7 deer + so there are great rejoicings going on at the old man's [Teegoodlegak] house (and not a little here) " (HBCA B.411/a/5 May 7 1935 p.67).

Nugumiut (including the post employees and the traders who sometimes accompanied them), also continued seal hunting, which was still necessary for lamp oil, boots and food, even if it precluded successful trapping. The Signia people, for example, hunted thirty miles beyond Signia, in an area which was good for seals, but poor for foxes (HBCA B.411/a/3 March 29 1929 p.117):

> The majority of the natives have now [September 30] left for their winter hunting grounds, and we do not expect to see them again until after the trapping season has opened (HBCA B.411/a/3 September 30 1928 p.87).

Some traditional hunting weapons remained in use. Walrus and seals were often harpooned and seals were shot at breathing holes and retrieved with harpoons (Katsualik 1986; Munn 1922; Neatby 1977). During the whaler-trader era, 'real Inuit' (Hantsch's description) hunted caribou with bows and arrows "because of [their] pride in doing so and also to teach . . . [others] in case there was no ammunition" (Neatby 1977; Pitseolak 1993:35), although by this time the technique was clearly secondary to firearm use. However, new subsistence technology was also introduced. Lake trout were speared, but they were also caught in trout nets laid under lake ice in the fall (HBCA B.411/a/6 October 8 1938 p.13). Seal nets were also used successfully by the Nugumiut (HBCA B.411/a/1 August 29 1921 p.60).

Several entries in the HBC day books suggest that the principal determinant in the subsistence effort and

population movement of the early 20th-century Nugumiut was not commercial trapping, but the vagaries of the weather and the consequences on the availability of game. Weather conditions have *always* been a critical element in Inuit survival or demise and this continued to hold true for the 1920s to 1940s. Stormy weather, high winds and unexpected ice conditions all made hunting difficult, whether it was floe-edge sealing or trapping: " . . . the ice has not yet made, consequently the natives cannot go far to trap" (HBCA B.411/a/2 November 30 1925 p.96).

Weather conditions and their influence on game movements and hunting success were also the impetus for camp moves to the floe edge (sometimes quite a distance) to acquire fat and seal meat, or further up the Bay:

> [Nowdlak] says that this is the worst year he has ever known for scarcity of country food at his camp, and he wants to change his hunting grounds in the coming outfit (HBCA B.411/a/4 April 14 1934 p.33).

According to Millward (1930:95), people who lived some distance away from the trading posts tended to be better supplied with food (they lived almost entirely on sea mammals), than those living around the posts, but, in truth, all camps periodically suffered from starvation, regardless of their location relative to the post. In fact, the Company routinely alleviated starvation by both supplying European food and transporting country food (HBCA B.411/a/6 August 3 1928 p.3). The staff recognized and empathized with the

precariousness of Inuit lifeways and regularly issued relief. On one occasion, they gave the Waddell Bay camp over 1700 pounds of meat (HBCA B.411/a/6 February 17 1939 p.38); on another, the manager, himself, went walrus hunting and distributed the meat to the Nugumiut who cached it (HBCA B.411/a/6 August 3 1938 p.3). And in February 1934, the RCMP and the HBC manager distributed *buffalo meat* to two camps (HBCA B.411/a/4 February 21 1934 p.23).

One of the causes of Inuit starvation was the loss of their sled dogs to disease and starvation: most "have less than three dogs each" (HBCA B.411/a/6 April 9 1939 p.48). With their dogs dying, the people could neither hunt nor trap but were "pretty near starvation, in fact some of them are confined to their beds" (HBCA B.411/a/2 February 28 1925 p.73).

To some degree, trapping alleviated starvation. Poor floe edge hunting conditions, for example, did not always preclude trapping: "[a]lthough hard up they have caught quite a few foxes - the proceeds from which will help them considerably" (HBCA B.411/a/4 December 10 1933 p.9). But a good fox year, such as 1933-34, could still mean the Inuit experienced a lack of lamp oil, fat and dog food (HBCA B.411/a/4 December 5 1933 p.8).

Most camps regularly cached fat and meat for themselves and their dogs and in preparation for the trapping season. However, some who were encouraged to dry their meat, thought

it beneath their dignity to do so (HBCA B.411/a/3 June 30 1928 p.68).

> Previously the dogs feed which were supplied the Post, have been bought from the Natives, consequently every seal the natives could spare was brought into the Post, and traded for White man's food, not only putting the natives short of food but spoiling them.
>
> The above have been the system I presume at this Post for years consequently the natives to day, are forever trying to exchange their food for ours. During the past spring no sealmeat have been bought from the natives whatsoever, and they have been all told to dry their meat for the cold winter months. If we can get the Natives to be independent of the White man's food, it will prove more satisfactory for their own health and welfare, as Flour, etc. don't agree with the Huskie's system (HBCA B.411/a/3 July 16 1928 p.71).

Aspects of Inuit Gender and Fur Trade Contact

It is surprisingly difficult to comprehend Inuit gender roles and status in the most recent contact period, that of the fur trade, particularly from the HBC accounts. However, there is some evidence to suggest that traditional gender roles shifted somewhat. More so than even the 16th-century observers, these 20th-century chroniclers wrote of Inuit society almost as if it were a single-gender society, a male one. The daily post journals mention women extremely rarely. Once in a while, a male, *always* identified by name, except for complete strangers, arrives 'with wife and Company' or 'with family', thus assuring us that the female portion of the Inuit population did, indeed, persist. It is only in the

mid-1930s that six women are identified by name; the others remain anonymous.

Occasionally, when male post servants left the post for some reason, usually for a season of hunting, the accounts described women of the post cleaning and stretching skins and performing other tasks, or hiring someone's wife to do them. In a sense, women were further removed from the 20th-century process of fur trapping than they were with commercial whaling the century previously. Nugumiut women generally were not actively engaged in the trapping and now hired men or their European bosses often processed the skins. Their special role in processing skins was not as exclusive as it once was.

During this time, women's sewing skills were still very highly valued and recognized by Europeans for their application to both traditional skins and cloth, although rarely is direct acknowledgment made of them, even in remarks concerning a man's hunting ability in winter depending to a great extent on the quality of his caribou skin clothing (HBCA B.411/a/3 1920-24 August 10 1928 p.77; Neatby 1977; Soper 1981). It is not known whether Nugumiut women used portable sewing machines as they did in Lake Harbour at the time. Such items, along with cloth clothing and store-bought food, resulted in tremendous changes to Inuit women's labour at this time.

Many of the patterns of interaction begun during the whaling era continued into the trading period. Inuit men who

served as post employees had prolonged contact with the post managers, in one case for a period of nearly twenty years. Men were exposed to new technologies, for example, engine repair.

While some women were hired seasonally by the fur traders, the interaction does not appear to have been very intense. Furthermore, status does not appear to be as directly associated with European contact as it had been during the commercial whaling era. Both genders had equal access to material culture and traded for items for their spouse as well as themselves. However, women appear to have been less directly engaged in exchanging goods, such as skins, clothing or meat, labour or companionship.

Nevertheless, liaisons between the free traders, and even the missionaries, and Inuit women did take place (Copland 1985; Fraser and Rannie 1972; White 1975). These liaisons strengthened the role of Inuit women as mediators of material and political transactions (McElroy 1979:52). According to Matthiassen (1979 *in* McElroy 1979:53) it was customary "for young women who worked as cooks and maids to provide sexual favours to [Europeans] in return for patronage of their male relations". During one scavenging episode, one man took a larger share of ammunition and tobacco than the others because he was the wife-sharing partner of the white boss for the captain of the ship: "He thought he could do whatever he wanted because he had shared a woman with a white man" (Pitseolak 1993:82). One woman who had shared her life

with two men, George Cleveland and Keedluk, had afterwards fallen on hard times:

> With no prospect of a similar arrangement in sight, Tooteecheak resigned herself to accepting any position that Keedluk could find, rather than go back to a life for which she and her family were no longer suited. They had led a comfortable existence, with the old whaler providing food and shelter for them. (Copland 1985:54)

Although the majority of relationships were short-term, some of them were long lasting and the progeny gave rise to some of the most prestigious family groups in Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung (McElroy 1979:53). Several of the offspring worked for the traders, including a woman who ran a small satellite post for the Sabellum Trading Company (Soper 1981).

One of these women was Nannurak, or Nanuruk, who was married to an Inuk and lived with O.C. Forsyth-Grant, the free trader who operated Cape Haven during the 1910s (Eber 1989). The missionary, Fleming (1956), met her then. Years later, other Euro-Canadians made her acquaintance; she was living with her Inuk spouse, 'Mr. White' but "still very much the boss", strong-willed, dominant and capable (Copland pers. comm *in* Fraser and Rannie 1972:65):

> She still retained the authority which women who had lived with whaling masters usually had amongst their own people. Her Inuit husband was completely under her domination. (Copland 1985:121)

These close relations were not always considered favourably, however. Hantsch (Neatby 1977:100) stated that the Europeans chanced losing the respect of Inuit if they

indulged in love affairs and that such men took advantage of Inuit women's 'submissive, easy-going' natures. When the HBC built Lake Harbour post in 1911, they arranged that their men would stay on ships without shore leave for this reason (Fleming 1956).

Documentary records and comparative analysis of assemblages from 'host sites', such as Frobisher's basecamp, define the range of *available* European goods or services (Figure 5). In this way, aspects of the other's culture which were accepted can be understood within the context of those aspects which were actively rejected. But because the documentary records represent only the available goods or the acquired goods and "not entirely how those goods were used according to 'culturally dictated plans'" (Deetz 1968 *in* Pyszczyk 1989:243), attention is now directed to the archaeological evidence for interaction.

CHAPTER 6

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS

Introduction

Field Narrative

Five seasons (1990-1994) of fieldwork have been conducted on the Meta Incognita Project. The first three seasons focused on regional site surveys and testing and excavation of historic Inuit sites. In 1993, research was conducted on Dorset culture archaeology and at the Frobisher site of Kodlunarn Island. The latter site was also the focus of research in 1994. This thesis concerns material culture evidence bearing on Inuit-European contact from the 1990-1992 field seasons.

The goals of the 1990-1992 field seasons were to identify and test Inuit sites dating from the period of the Frobisher voyages to the present, with emphasis on sites dating to the 16th-19th centuries. (For a more complete account, particularly of the archaeological survey and Dorset site excavations, see Fitzhugh 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1993e.)

1990 Site Survey

In August 1990, a month-long preliminary archaeological survey was conducted in outer Frobisher Bay, including

Countess of Warwick Sound, and in Cyrus Field Bay from the research vessel, *Pitsiulak*. Given the rugged character of the landscape, where opportunities to land small airplanes are few and helicopter time is very costly, a research vessel with sleeping and cooking facilities provided a most efficient base for conducting site surveys and for communicating between field parties and the research centre at Iqaluit during this and subsequent years.

In total, 46 sites were located in 1990, including historic Inuit villages, three of which became the focus of the subsequent field investigations. Survey work in these areas, as well as on the southwest coast, continued in 1991 and 1992, although not as intensively, bringing the total number of archaeological sites located by the M.I.P. to more than one hundred.

Most sites were situated along the present shoreline, and many were actively eroding at the time of investigation. In addition, evidence of reoccupation was ubiquitous; Dorset materials were *always* recovered from later occupations. This served to limit the evidence for pre-contact Thule occupations, since later peoples often reused existing houses, rebuilding and reconfiguring them in the process. The sites located included semi-subterranean winter villages, spring-fall qarmat (i.e. 'winterized tents'), summer tent rings, as well as caches, and, occasionally, burials, caribou drives, or kayak stands. Test excavations were conducted at

several house structures and at other promising locations to determine the age and extent of Thule and Dorset deposits.

One of the sites, Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5), appears to be one of the first aboriginal sites in Canada to be identified and described by Europeans. In 1577, George Best, Frobisher's lieutenant, recorded his impressions of the historic Inuit village (Stefansson and McGaskell 1938:64-65). Frobisher period European material culture recovered from the erosion zone at the front of the houses suggested that Kamaiyuk was occupied during or shortly after the Frobisher expeditions (Fitzhugh 1993e:100).

Test excavations at the second and third sites, Kuyait (KfDf-2) and Kussejeerarkjuan (KeDe-7), indicated mid-nineteenth and early twentieth-century occupations, with the recovery of rifle shells, clay pipe fragments, trade beads, ceramic fragments, and tin cans.

During the next two seasons, I co-directed field projects designed to sample and excavate several structures in each of these sites to determine their sequence of occupation, which, from previous tests, we expected should represent (and, in fact, did represent) pre-contact Thule, Frobisher and late historic periods. Our excavation plan aimed at acquiring a representative range of time periods, house forms and seasons of occupation relating to the contact period.

1991 Field Excavations

The 1991 field season extended from July 4 to September 10. On July 9, the crew flew to Tungait (Gold Cove) airstrip and outpost camp and were transported by the Pishuktie family by boat to Kuyait. The site included qarmat and semi-subterranean houses. Some of the houses looked older and were possibly pre-contact, suggesting opportunities for diachronic and seasonal contact research. What made Kuyait our choice as first site was its location on the mainland, close enough to the airstrip to be reached by only a short boat ride through the spring ice, its supply of fresh water and its proximity to 'Kuyait City', the Pishuktie outpost camp. In the Arctic, logistical criteria can be as important as archaeological ones for site selection.

Working from July 10 to July 31, a crew of ten individuals mapped the site and excavated three features, two winter houses and one qarmat, and tested other structures.

On August 2, the *Pitsiulak* transported us to the second site, Kamaiyuk. This was the only site in Countess of Warwick Sound which fit Best's description and had yielded evidence of 16th-century contact in the form of stove tile, English flint and wrought iron during sampling of its eroded surfaces in 1990.

During this month, four crew members left to conduct site surveys in the *Pitsiulak*. The remaining crew excavated 1.5 winter houses (House 2 and the north half of House 1). Although the Cyrus Field Bay boat survey was impeded by the

heavy pack ice, the weather, being generally warm and dry, was otherwise accommodating for archaeological excavation

At end of the season, three of us flew to Cyrus Field Bay to evaluate the archaeological potential of the whaling site of Cape Haven. The difficulty of access, the ever-present polar bears, and the lack of a convenient fresh water supply, among other considerations, were sufficient for us to exclude it as a site to investigate during our project.

The final days of the 1991 season were spent in Iqaluit packing and processing equipment, copying field notes, photographing collections, preparing the vessel for overwintering and presenting the results of the summer's work to town elders and the media.

1992 Field Excavations

The final field season, June 16 to September 5, spanned Arctic spring, summer and autumn. When the initial crew of seven flew to Kuyait on June 23, there was still 20 per cent snow cover on the land, a statistic which meant little to me until I witnessed the solidly-frozen inner bay and large amounts of shore ice at the mouth of the bay. The interval of open water that year was very short. The pack ice did not break up until near the end of July; three weeks later, it had returned and begun to move into the bay, becoming a serious hazard to boat travel. Nevertheless, the weather for the 1992 season remained conducive to excavation.

The Pishuktie family transported the field gear from Tungait airstrip to Kuyait by snowmobile and speedboat, a huge endeavour, and we began excavation. On July 10, five additional team members arrived, for a total crew of twelve. House 5, a semi-subterranean dwelling, and House 11, a qarmat, were excavated.

On July 23, the entire crew were transported to the second site, Kamaiyuk, by helicopter, since boat travel was still impossible. A crew of 9-12 people completed the House 1 excavations begun last year, and excavated Houses 3 and 4. Three crew members departed to conduct surveys and excavate a Dorset site. During this time a television film crew for the program *Archaeology* arrived to film an episode on the Frobisher voyages and contacts with the Inuit, entitled "Quest for Gold".

Our third site move was undertaken August 10th in the *Pitsiulak*. From August 12th to 27th we excavated three qarmat and tent rings at Kussejeerarkjuan (misidentified as Paksakha in the 1990 field report), a site which lies a short distance north of Kodlunarn Island on the mainland. As well as providing the opportunity for comparative investigation of seasonality and settlement, this site afforded the opportunity to determine effects of contact during the intense 19th-20th century whaling and trading period.

On August 31st, the crew travelled back to Iqaluit by boat to clean and stow gear, package collections and make public presentations, departing Iqaluit by September 5th.

Excavation Methods

Excavation grids of 2 m by 2 m units were established for each house and were tied into site survey baselines and datum stakes. Surface maps for each structure were drawn prior to excavation. Unit level record forms were kept for each unit and plan views were drawn for each level.

Levels were determined by architectural strata within houses and excavated by trowel. Generally Level 1 referred to sod; Level 2 represented either bedding peat, wall peat and/or recent peat (all were distinguished on provenience information); Level 3 referred to the black organic matrix found on the living floor and entrance passage; and Level 4 was a Dorset component consisting of black sandy peat. However, this system was not used precisely as described throughout a single site. For example, in House 1 at Kamaiyuk, 'Level 3' refers to both platform and living floor pavement, while 'Level 3 upper and lower' refers to the entrance matrix and the pavement lying below it. Letter designations, i.e. L2A, L3B, refer to different occupation/paving episodes counting from the most recent occupation.

Given the low artifact densities, soil matrix was screened through quarter-inch (6.0 mm) mesh, except for the sod layer which was scraped over by trowel (sixteenth-inch [1.5 mm] mesh was used for concentrations of seed beads, etc.). Fortunately, we had no problems with standing water

and only occasionally encountered permafrost in the lower levels of some tunnels, which we waited to thaw before continuing excavations. At the base of each level, plan views were drawn of structural features, soil matrices, artifact distributions and faunal concentrations. Three dimensional provenience was taken on all artifacts found in situ. Vertical depths were measured using a triangle datum which was measured in with the transit and horizontal measurements were taken south and west of each house or unit.

After locating the artifacts on house unit and level floor plans, they were field catalogued. Thule and historic artifacts were bagged separately from Dorset artifacts for post-field analysis. Separate catalogue forms were kept for samples and photographs.

Faunal remains were lot-bagged by feature and natural layer within individual quadrants of the 2 m by 2 m units. Whalebone architectural elements were mapped and photographed but were not collected. Other organic samples, such as baleen, wood and blubber were also recovered by feature. One to two kilogram soil samples were collected from each natural layer and from major cultural features, such as hearth deposits, for microbone recovery and botanical and entomological studies. Soils were described using Munsell codes. Wet sieving was attempted in the field but the high percentage of organics, composed of woody, herbaceous and rooty materials, prevented effective screening.

Archaeological testing was conducted outside houses in order to identify associated activity areas, primarily middens.

Black and white prints, both regular and large format, and colour slides, were taken of the sites, the houses prior to and during excavation (plan view), and their features. Polaroid photos of unit levels were taken by the excavators and inserted into the excavation forms. Each unit was photographed using a bipod stationed at a set distance above the unit prior to excavation and at the base of the latest excavation. Two sets of black and white prints and colour slides were taken of each feature for each occupation level, so that a complete photographic record could be supplied to both Henshaw and Gullason.

After house excavations were completed, a plan view of each structure was drafted using the unit level record forms and on-site measurements. Contour profile maps were drawn of the major structural features within the houses and a detailed map was made of each site with the aid of a transit.

Site Formation Processes and Gendered Space

One of the difficulties in comparing the 16th, 19th and early 20th-century contact periods in Frobisher Bay is that both the sites themselves, in terms of their season of use, dwelling type, refuse disposal pattern and erosion effects, varied considerably for the sodhouse occupations compared to the qarmaq occupations. These site formation processes

somewhat limit archaeological inferences both generally and with specific reference to activity-area analysis and gender studies.

Thule and historic Inuit semi-subterranean sod winter houses in the eastern Canadian Arctic generally conform to an architectural pattern which includes a one-, two-, or three-lobed configuration (each lobe occupied by an individual family), with walls constructed of sod and stone, a roof made of whalebone rafters covered with sod and a flagstone floor. An entrance tunnel leads to a living floor containing hearth and storage features and raised sleeping platforms lie above the living area.

At the winter village sites of Kuyait and Kamaiyuk, this generalized pattern is complicated by successive reoccupations of the individual structures. However, these occupations can be differentiated by separate paving episodes which represent 'sealed' contexts.

Because the sod houses were reoccupied over several seasons, they were routinely swept out and useable material was curated for future use. Refuse was thrown on to the midden adjacent to the entrance passage. This resulted in relatively little material being found within the houses. Artifact quantity declines progressively from the most recent to the earliest deposits. This successive reoccupation makes it difficult to trace earlier occupations in their entirety because of the disturbance further excavation would cause to the occupations above them (some of which were kept intact

for possible interpretive/historical potential). However, at Kamaiyuk, entranceways and middens have been eroded by winter ice and wave action which has resulted in the loss of a significant amount of the material culture associated with these houses.

Other post depositional processes include both cultural and natural factors. During the abandonment stage of the winter sodhouses, whalebone roof supports were routinely removed for the construction of later houses or as sled runners, or more recently as carving materials. Natural site formation processes at Kuyait include animal turbation (i.e. lemming tunnels) in all three of the excavated sodhouses, as well as solifluction and frost boil activity which has destroyed one house. At Kamaiyuk, there are abundant indications of post-occupational deposition, including etymological evidence of large amounts of seaweed tangle being naturally deposited within the structures by wind or storm (David Smith pers. comm. to Anne Henshaw April 24 1992).

Qarmat (plural of qarmaq) were occupied in the spring or fall. These structures first occur in the historic period, with the abandonment of winter sod houses for snow houses. Essentially winterized tents with slightly built-up walls and shallow entrance passages, they were single family dwellings, occupied for a single season. Generally, remodelling did not occur and refuse was deposited where it was used. In

contrast to the sodhouses, the qarmat we excavated were commonly packed with artifacts.

Sometime during the historical period, some of the sodhouses underwent a process of *qarmatization*. They were made smaller by blocking off and filling in rooms and tunnels, apparently to serve as single family dwellings in the spring or fall. House 5 at Kuyait appears to have been reused as qarmat. In other instances, a dwelling might undergo secondary modification when, for example, interior walls were built after original construction for use as a single lobe winter dwelling. Entrance tunnels were usually left in place. This occurred in House 2 at Kamaiyuk. The 'downsizing' would have conserved the need for lamp oil for fuel and heat. The closed rooms would represent sealed occupation deposits which must be matched with the appropriate pavement episodes in the rest of the house.

In summary, the architectural sequence occurring in outer Frobisher Bay is as follows. Sixteenth-century Inuit occupation is represented by sodhouse sites. Contemporaneous warmer season tent-ring occupations were either not located in the area or were simply not identified during our surveys. While several tent rings were found during our surveys, it is difficult to determine typologically which are early and which are late. Sodhouse construction disappears sometime during the 19th century, when we find only qarmat, summer tent rings or qarmatized sod houses. Evidence for 19th-century winter occupations is generally unavailable for a

different reason: by this period, Inuit generally wintered in snow houses built on sea ice.

Artifactually, there are also some notable differences between the winter sodhouses and the warmer weather qarmat. Despite being one-half to one-third the size of the sod houses, the qarmat tended to have three times as many artifacts. Many of the artifacts were small items which were dropped or lost and tamped into the floor. This is understandable, given that the dwellings usually had dirt floors with only occasional paving stones to fill in low areas. As well as small items that were discarded or lost in situ, larger articles, such as ceramic plates, cutlery and, in one instance, a heavy mallet, were left behind. Larger items are not usually abandoned at sites that were either occupied for a long period of time or routinely reused. The *de facto* nature of the material culture refuse supports the idea that qarmat were single-use dwellings.

In contrast, deposits in the sodhouses were characterized by an abundance of cut and worked wood, bone and baleen fragments and several tools, ample evidence of tool manufacture and repair. Evidence for winter occupation also predominated: dog trace buckles, sled runners, a snow knife, an ice pick, harpoons and soapstone lamp fragments. However, what is most noteworthy is the relative lack of artifacts compared to the qarmat assemblages, for the aforementioned reasons.

Before we can compare 16th and 19th/early 20th-century European contact, we have to recognize that we are not dealing with equivalent situations. Inuit sodhouse sites appear to be formed by very different processes than qarmat. Unlike the qarmat, the sodhouses were reused (and in the process remodelled), were subject to very different sorts of refuse disposal behaviour and suffered from the erosional effects of ice and waves.

Inferring gender behaviour from distributional studies of artifacts from Thule Inuit sites, particularly the sodhouse sites, presents its own set of difficulties, which suggests that spatial analysis may not be an appropriate approach. The first problem concerns distinguishing use from reuse (i.e. occupation episodes), although that is possible once various formation processes have been identified. The second problem is that many activities were undertaken in these houses by various people in a very circumscribed space, making it difficult to identify discrete activity areas. Reynolds (1995:144) has also come to this conclusion in her recent study of Iñupiat site formation processes in northern Alaska. A related issue concerns evidence for Stevenson's (1984) argument regarding 'relative *status* as reflected by relative use of space by women and men'. Given the multiple use of the interiors of these residences, many activities must have taken place in overlapping areas (Scheitlin 1980). In Scheitlin's (1980) study of the spatial relation of artifacts within prehistoric Thule winter houses, he found

the distribution of gendered artifacts to be much broader than anticipated. "The dichotomy in male and female use of space that was expected to occur with Thule houses did not occur"; Scheitlin (1980:96, 102) concluded that "the small space defining the house dictated that the space within it not be extensively subdivided". Therefore, applying an ethnographic model of gender-related activities and artifacts to the archaeological record (using the *ad hoc* argument of 'identification by association' to engender unknown artifacts because of proximity to gendered items) is a misleading exercise.

Chang's (1988) research on the archaeological significance of Alaskan Iñupiat food processing supports this concern. Her ethnoarchaeological study suggests that a spatial partition between men's and women's activities does not necessarily result from a gendered division of labour. In other words, tool kits may have a *functional integrity* without *necessarily having a spatial or depositional integrity;* which is dependent on the nature of the activity performed, the abandonment behaviour and the biasing effects of natural site formation processes (Newell 1987:140). Secondly, women's winter activities were primarily undertaken inside the house, while men's hunting activities occurred outside or offsite, so the winter villages are systematically unrepresentative in their biased reflection of a female presence.

Unambiguous signatures linking gender behaviour to spatially observable criteria are lacking in Thule and historic Inuit sites in the eastern Arctic. For this reason, the changing frequency of Inuit and European artifacts and their related functions is the preferred method of investigating gender and contact archaeologically in the Thule tradition.

Kamaiyuk

Site Description

Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5) is located on a small, rocky peninsula below a high hill at the southwest entrance of Napoleon Bay, 3 km northeast of Kodlunarn Island (see Figure 10). It lies near a polynya (an area of open water surrounded by ice) with year-round access to seal and walrus (Henshaw 1995:152). Kamaiyuk is the only large Inuit sod house village site in Countess of Warwick Sound. It existed at the time of Frobisher's visit and its physical setting suggests that it is likely the site described by Frobisher's captain, George Best, in 1577:

> Upon the maine land over against the Countesses Iland we discovered, and behelde to our great marvell, the poore caves and houses of those countrie people, which serve them (as it shoulde seeme) for their winter dwellings, & are made two fadome under grounde, in compasse rounde, lyke to an Oven, being joyned fast one by another having

> houles like to a Foxe or Conny berrie. . . . They undertrench these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hills above them, may slide awaye without their anoiaunce: & are seated commonly in the foot of a hil, to shelter them from the colde winds, having their dore and entrance ever open towards the South . . . . From the ground upward they builde with whale bones, for lacke of timber, whiche bending one over another, are handsomly compacted in the toppe togither, & are covered over with Seales skinnes, whiche in stead of tiles, fenceth them from the rayne. In eache house they have only one roome, having the one halfe of the floure raysed with broad stones a fote higher than [the] other, whereon strawing Mosse, they make their nests to sleepe in. (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:64-65, spelling altered slightly for comprehension)

The site consists of twelve features, including four semi-subterranean sod winter houses lying on a rocky point, and the remains of two other small, single-room structures, all located at present-day sea level and for this reason partly destroyed by marine erosion (Figures 11, 12 and 13). Other features include five more recent-looking tent rings and a cache.

Evidence of earlier occupations, however, is apparent where shoreline erosion has exposed Thule and Dorset period middens which extend southward to the point (Figure 13). The entrance passages and parts of the front walls of the four houses have been destroyed by erosion. Human disturbance, in the form of amateur excavations and whale/walrus bone scavenging for commercial carving purposes, most notably in House 3, also was observed.

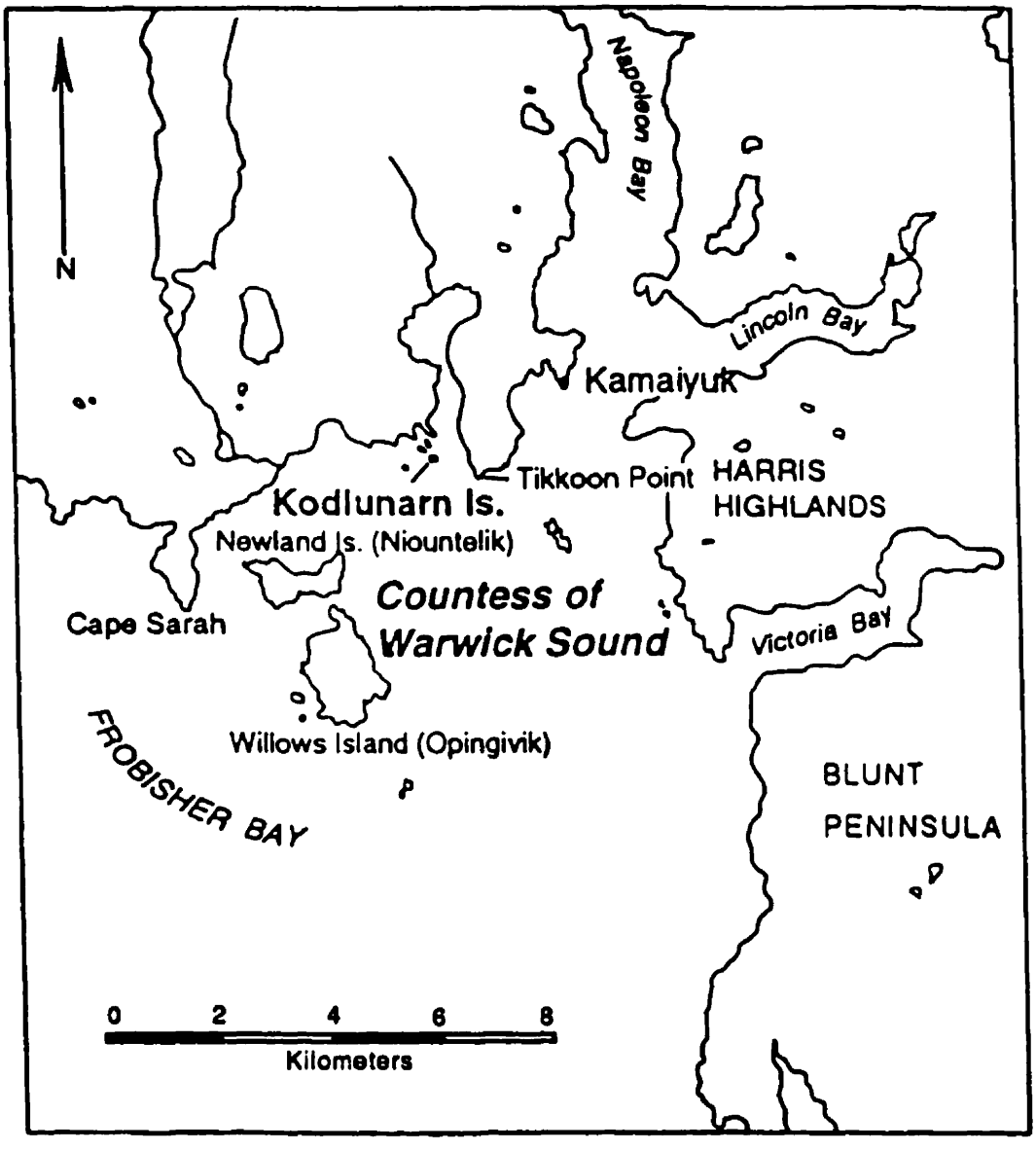

Figure 10. Map of Countess of Warwick Sound (Fitzhugh and Olin 1993).

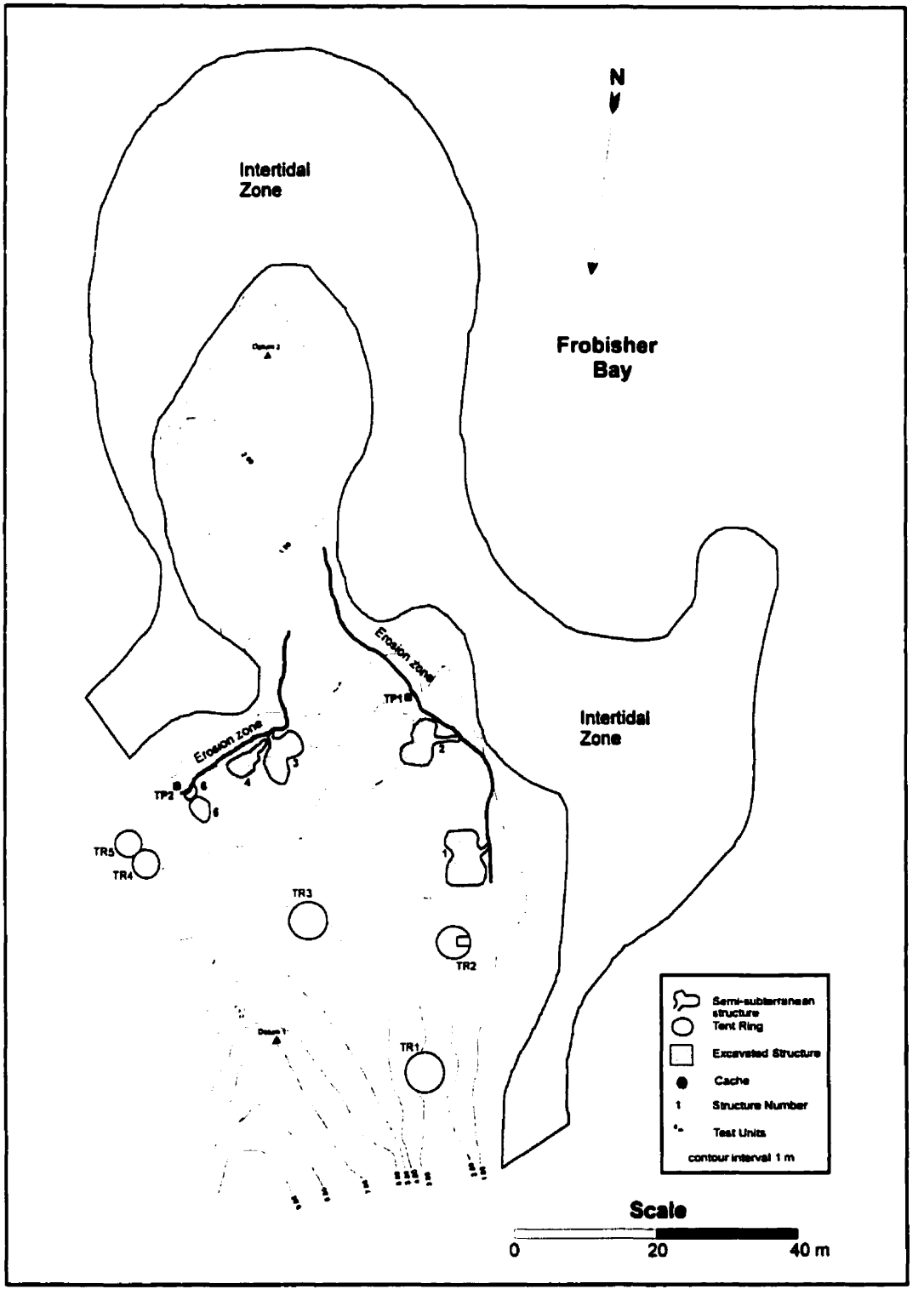

Figure 11. Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5) Site Map

Figure 12. View of Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5), facing southwest. Tikkoon Point lies at right of photo.

Figure 13. Kamaiyuk Erosion Zone, facing south. House 1 in foreground, House 2 at top centre.

All four major dwellings were excavated and the remnant of House 5 was tested. In addition, test pits were excavated to locate Dorset material culture deposits (reported in Odess 1993).

Dorset artifacts were recovered not only in the middens which lay beneath all four houses, but from wall and roof sods within the Thule houses. It appears that Thule and later Neoeskimo groups utilized Dorset sod-house sites, both as a source of sod and as foundations for their own dwellings (Gullason et al. 1993:191). Pre-contact Thule sites formerly existed at Kamaiyuk, but structures dating to this period seem to have been so extensively remodelled for use by later occupants as to be unrecognizable (Gullason et al. 1993:192). Boas recorded this practice:

> At the present time they [Inuit] do not build houses, but cover the walls of an old hut with a new roof whenever they take possession of it. There is not need of any new buildings, as the Eskimo always locate in the old settlements and the old buildings are quite sufficient to satisfy all their wants. (1964:547)

Site Chronology

> Considering the apparent frequency of Inuit reuse of older house ruins in the historic period . . . , it is remarkable how few Thule houses have been interpreted as having more than one cultural component. (Morrison 1989:62)

> Problems occur when a site represents poorly delineated or unrecognized multiple occupations, where assemblage integrity is assumed rather than present. (Morrison 1989:62)

Although Morrison's comments are particularly relevant for the discussion of house reoccupation at Kuyait, it is also an appropriate consideration for interpreting Kamaiyuk. Initial analysis of the radiocarbon results and the artifacts suggests that this small cluster of houses was occupied nearly contemporaneously. Frobisher contact materials appearing in both the wall sods and the floor deposits suggest that the houses which we excavated were constructed in or from the foundations of houses observed by Best. Thus the question to resolve became: do these houses post-date the Frobisher voyages by only a generation or so, or do they represent a more recent occupation whose members scavenged from Kodlunarn Island for a couple of hundred years prior to the advent of commercial whaling? The absence of large quantities of Frobisher materials, and of specifically identifiable Frobisher trade goods (for example, beads, bells and whistles), suggested scavenging rather than face-to-face contact.

Some evidence exists as to the sequence of construction which helps to resolve this question. House 4 appears to have been occupied before House 3 was constructed. Not only does the outer wall of the latter structure overlie the entrance passage of House 4, but House 3 contains a more intact platform pavement, as well as more structural whalebone in and around it. Park (1997) has identified the relative completeness of platform pavements as a good

indicator of construction chronology (i.e., more recent structures contain more complete platforms), while the relative quantity of structural whalebone is a secondary indicator of occupation sequence. Unfortunately, the indigenous artifact assemblage does not shed any light on the sequence, aside from two wood spoon fragments (KfDe-5:3021 and 2619), which crossmend from the lower entrance pavement of House 4 and the partition wall of House 3, respectively. The unhelpful nature of the Thule assemblage for constructing chronologies stems in part from the interest of Thule archaeologists in earlier sites. Sites with 'late' artifact styles are not dated as often and are therefore underrepresented (Park 1994:44).

The European artifact assemblage, notably the glass bead sequence, proved more informative (see Table 24). Six of seven glass beads come from Houses 1 and 4, radiocarbon dated to the 16th and 17th centuries. All these beads date to (or before) the Frobisher period and up to 125 years later. Furthermore, three beads of the same type (identified as "early blue", IIa40, 1560-1700s), have slightly dished in ends, a characteristic of beads dating to the earlier part of the date range.

The seventh bead comes from the upper level of House 3 sleeping platform. Since we have not crossmatched the living floor and the sleeping platform occupation levels, we do not know whether this bead, which was in use from at least 1775

(and perhaps earlier) to 1850, is dating Occupation 1, 2 or 3.

Table 24. Kamaiyuk Glass Bead Chronology

House	Cat. No.	Feature	Date
1	1381	platform	1500-1800
1	1211	platform	1560-1700s
3	2900	platform	<1775*-1850
4	2276	upper platform	1560-1700s
4	3262	upper platform	1550-1840
4	3274	lower platform	1500-1800
4	3068	lower entrance	1560-1700s

* This bead may date somewhat earlier, although 1775 is the earliest context for which it has been found to date (Karlis Karklins Parks Canada pers. comm. May 1997).

The radiocarbon evidence demonstrates that distinguishing one-generation post-Frobisher contact from an occupation a couple of hundred years more recent is too simple for addressing the complex occupational chronology which actually existed. Eleven radiocarbon dates (two for House 1; three for House 2; five for House 3 and one for House 4) were run on both wood[1] and terrestrial plant

[1] The spruce represents driftwood, which in some arctic regions provides erroneously early dates for site occupation since a tree could die years before ocean currents deposit it on a beach and it is used. However, Eggertson and Laeyendecker (1995; Laeyendecker pers. comm. August 1997)

materials from Kamaiyuk (see Table 25). These dates were evaluated against independent evidence, such as glass bead chronologies and production dates for other diagnostic European artifacts. The presence of Frobisher tile, for example, allowed us to correct for the pre-1576 radiocarbon date range given for an occupation level. In addition, the same component has been dated using different materials in order to compare the results (Morrison 1989:61). Three dates from House 2 on birch, on heather and on spruce and two from House 3 on heather and on crowberry-willow mix were derived this way. The dates provided, especially from the House 3 sample, are remarkably consistent.

Three of these dates were discarded, including one very small oak sample (Beta 63445) from House 3 which required an extended count, resulting in age ranges, A.D. 1515-1591 and 1621-1955, which are so large that they fail to resolve the chronology of the site. A second radiocarbon sample (Beta 63446) from House 3, derived from a possibly contaminated mixture of heather, soil, moss and willow, produced a 14th century date, which was too early given the Frobisher materials found with it. A third date, from the entrance of House 1, derived from driftwood (Beta 71712), was also too early, again because of the Frobisher tile found on the bedrock of the entrance passage.

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have demonstrated that, in outer Frobisher Bay, the lag time between driftwood deposit and use is only 20 years or so.

Table 25. Radiocarbon Dates from Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

Structure Lab.#	Field Sample # Provenience	C14 Years BP Sample Material	Calibrated Age, Two Sigma
House 1			
Beta-52276	15N/6W-2 platform, L3	380 +/- 80 BP charcoal (spruce)	AD 1410-1666 AD 1951-1952
Beta-71712	11N/10W-11 entrance, L3	600 +/- 60 BP spruce	AD 1280-1430
House 2 -	Occupation 2		
Beta-52272	2S/0W-10 & 12 south lobe, platform, L2A	450 +/- 60 BP birch	AD 1402-1525 AD 1558-1631
Beta-52274	2S/2W-5 east lobe, floor, L3	390 +/- 70 BP heather	AD 1414-1657
Beta-52273	4S/4W-6 south lobe, L2	230 +/- 60 BP spruce	AD 1515-1591 AD 1621-1822 AD 1833-1882 AD 1912-1954
House 3			
Beta-52275 Occupation 3?	test pit north lobe, floor	270 +/- 60 BP heather	AD 1476-1686 AD 1738-1810 AD 1929-1954
Beta-63443 Occupation 2	9S/3W-3 north lobe, floor, L3A	70 +/- 50 BP poplar/willow	AD 1680-1754 AD 1804-1937 AD 1954-1955*
Beta-63444 Occupation 3	9S/5W-13 north lobe, platform,L2B	300 +/- 70 BP crowberry/willow	AD 1446-1683 AD 1744-1807 AD 1933-1954
Beta-63445	11S/3W-23 south lobe, floor, L3B	170 +/- 90 BP oak	AD 1515-1591 AD 1621-1955*
Beta-63446	13S/3W-13 south lobe, hearth box, L2/3	510 +/- 50 BP heather/soil/moss /willow	AD 1320-1341 AD 1392-1467
House 4			
Beta-71831	0S/2W-8 north lobe, platform, L2B	260 +/- 70 BP oak	AD 1471-1702 AD 1718-1819 AD 1857-1861 AD 1917-1954

The remaining eight samples date five components within the four houses (Figure 14; Table 26). Houses 1 and 4, as well as the earliest level of House 2 were occupied just after the Frobisher contact, according to radiocarbon dates and the glass bead chronology. Because Frobisher material was found in the walls of these houses, we know that they were reconstructed from earlier dwellings dating to, or at least closer to, the time of the Frobisher voyages.

Table 26. Kamaiyuk Site Chronology

16th-17th C.	18th C.	19th C.
House 1		
House 2 occup. 2	House 2 occup. 1	
(House 3 occup. 3*)	House 3 occup. 3	
	(House 3 occup. 2)	House 3 occup. 2
House 4		

( ) possibly occupied during this time period
* If H.3 Occupation 3 is 16th-17th century, it was still occupied after H.4 was abandoned.

Radiometric evidence from House 3 suggests that Occupation 3 occurred either in the 16th-17th centuries or in the 18th century. If this occupation does date to the former period, it had to have been after House 4 was abandoned, based on the superposition evidence. For this reason, the *'best'* date range for this occupation is the 18th century. Unfortunately, independent support for the age of the

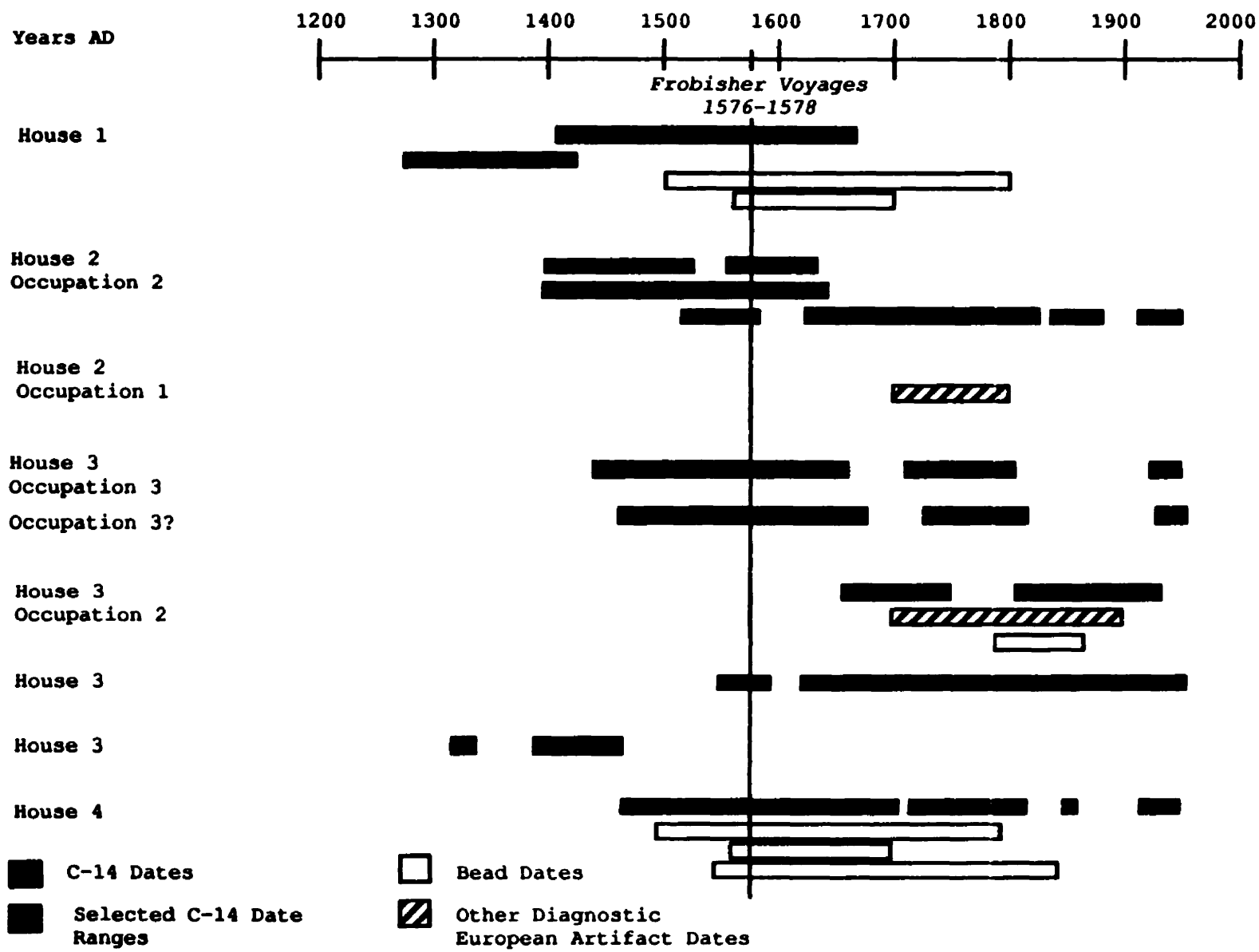

Figure 14. Kamaiyuk House Dates

occupation level, in the form of temporally sensitive European artifacts, was not recovered.

Sometime in the 18th century, House 2 was reoccupied for a second time, based on the recovery of an 18th century pistol-grip utensil handle.

House 3 was occupied at least once again, in the 19th century (Occupation 2). A late period bead dating from at least 1775-1850, and a piece of fine, black-glazed redware from the same time period from House 3 confirm the date of occupation. Yet, as with House 3 Occupation 3, the radiometric evidence is ambiguous. However, by considering all the sources of chronological evidence, the associations between the houses become clear. For example, based on glass bead production dates, we know that House 4 was occupied in the 16th or 17th century. According to the superposition evidence, House 3 Occupation 3 was built *after* House 4. Therefore, we can reject the 16th-17th century radiometric date for this occupation in favour of the later 18th century date (see Figure 14). For the same reason, we can reject the *earlier* date segment (18th century) for House 3 Occupation 2 in favour of the later segment (19th century), since Occupation 2 was built on top of Occupation 3. Both the bead and the ceramic data support this conclusion.

These houses were occupied in the early historic period, although they do not appear to document an active period of Elizabethan contact. The duration of site occupation appears to have been two to three winters, based on floor repavement

episodes, provided repaving occured with every reoccupation. Despite the chronologically uniform nature of the material culture recovered, the occupation sequence was probably sporadic, rather than sequential: once after the Frobisher voyages, probably late in the late 16th or early 17th century and again in the 18th century and perhaps in the 19th century as well, prior to commercial whaling.

The fact that such a small, apparently internally consistent site as Kamaiyuk yielded such a richly complex occupational history, should serve as a forceful warning to archaeologists intent on demonstrating intrasite behavioural relations, often in much larger sites where the burden of proof expands exponentially, without first firmly establishing contemporaniety within a site.

House Descriptions

House 1 - Communal House Problem

In 1990, House 1 was tentatively identified as a Labrador-style communal house, a large, rectangular dwelling with a continuous sleeping platform along the rear wall housing several families. The appearance of this architectural form in Labrador and in Greenland (i.e., "long house") at the time of the Little Ice Age, circa 1550-1850, and initial European contact and its absence in the intermediate area of Baffin Island represents a long-standing issue in historical Inuit archaeology relating to the nature

of contact among these adjacent areas and with early Europeans (Gulløv 1985; Jordan 1978; Jordan and Kaplan 1980; Petersen 1974/75; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1976).

In order to address the issue of communal house development, House 1 was selected for excavation in 1991 and 1992. It was expected that the house would contain material culture of a post-Frobisher, pre-whaling contact occupation, a period which was commensurate with communal houses found elsewhere. Excavations revealed that it was simply an elongated form of the east Baffin Island two-lobed house, in which the builders had made use of local topographic features, namely a bedrock ledge which served as the rear wall of one lobe as well as pre-existing foundation walls of an earlier (Dorset?) structure east of the south lobe. A stone pile with a roof support pillar separating the north and south ends of the sleeping platform was uncovered.

Nevertheless, the Baffin Island house forms are certainly 'communal'. The major point of divergence from Greenland and Labrador constructions simply may result from a lack of access to large wooden beams needed to span entire houses in Baffin Island. Whether differing social roles or organization are associated with these architectural alternatives is not clear (Fitzhugh 1992a:24).

House 1 is 8 m by 6 m in size (see Figure 15). Only a short, 2 m long, remnant of the entrance passage, oriented northeast/southwest, remains. As with the other houses, marine erosion had destroyed most of it and any associated

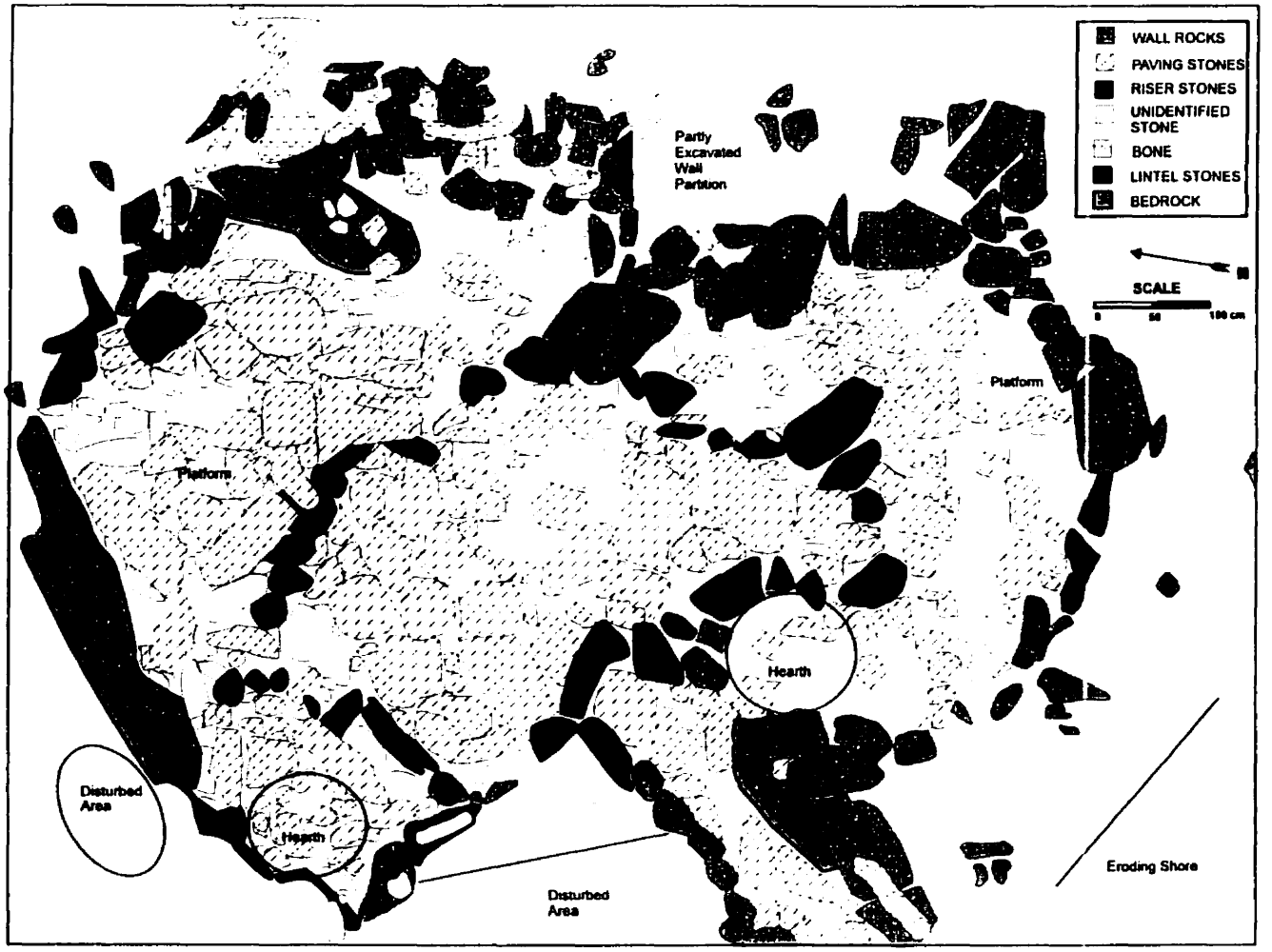

Figure 15. Kamaiyuk House 1 Floor Plan

midden. Some pot-hunting on the north side of the entrance passage wall had occurred prior to 1990. Prior to the 1991-1992 excavations, a small collection was made from the erosion zone, but no other preliminary archaeological testing was undertaken. This house was not excavated to sterile soil in the north end, especially in the hearth and platform areas, nor were floor pavements removed (although they were lifted to ascertain that there were no earlier pavement levels), in order to preserve the structure for possible exhibition. After excavations were completed, the house was lined with plastic where pavement stones did not cover the platform and backfilled.

Constructional Sequence

The north end of the house consisted of a large, exposed bedrock face (approximately 1 meter high) which served as the north house wall. The living floor was flagged and a raised sleeping platform stretched along the north, east and south sides which was fully flagged in the north and south ends and partly flagged along the front portion of the east side of the house. A large hearth pile was located in the northwest corner of the house built into the high ledge outcrop that formed the north wall; another was located just east of the entrance passage in the south lobe. The partition wall between the two lobes was well defined by *in situ* wall rocks and the platform pavement did not appear to continue under the wall stones, which suggests that the present structure began its career as a two-lobed house. The east end of the

entrance passage nearest the living floor was well-defined, but most of the outer portion of the passage and parts of the front wall had been destroyed by marine erosion. The single paving level in the passage had been overlaid by a natural sand layer washed on top.

There is no obvious qarmatization of this structure, but at some point the entrance passage had been deliberately filled in. It may have been used as a cache/trash pit area after the house was abandoned.

Occupation Length

In common with the other dwellings, fauna and artifacts found in the wall sods are evidence that the excavated house was only the most recent of many. The most numerous artifacts, in fact, were Dorset, with the majority coming from old wall sods. In addition, a Dorset component was found beneath the south lobe pavement, but was not excavated. Frobisher material found between pavement stones, in wall sods, and upon the bedrock of the entrance passage indicate that the most recent reconstruction post-dates the Frobisher voyages. Frobisher tile fragments were recovered from the eroding west wall in 1990, leading us to believe that this was the site of George Best's description. In general, however, the house was very lightly occupied.

Sterile deposits were generally encountered where tested below L3A floor pavement, aside from the occasional paving stone used to level the subsurface prior to laying the present floor. For this reason and the fact that there is no

evidence of reconstruction, the house was considered as a single occupation. Other evidence bears this out. The radiocarbon and Elizabethan artifactual evidence suggests an occupation dated 1576-1660. (The other date retrieved from this house is anomalously early and was rejected, because of the recovery of associated Frobisher tile.)

However, structural evidence for an earlier house on the site was observed. A higher paving level was uncovered in the northeast corner of the platform containing Frobisher tile and flint as well as structural whalebone in situ. The east wall of House 1, persisting as medium-sized cobbles with an infill matrix, lacking major facing stones, appears to have been built from a pre-existing older house (extending eastward?) and dating closer to the time of George Best's visit. It is not known how this earliest structure was oriented. Unfortunately, we did not have time to extend our excavation of House 1 eastwards beyond the wall perimeter into the swale behind the house. This area, which lacks any surface evidence, would bear future investigation.

Relation to Other Houses

Aside from the small but secure evidence for an earlier structure, there is no evidence of superposition to suggest the relationship of House 1 to the other houses, nor any indication of construction sequence. Only the tightly bracketed radiocarbon and glass bead dates confirm the contemporaneous occupation of Houses 1 and 4 and House 2 Occupation 1 in the 16th-17th centuries. Platform pavements,

complete in the north lobe, were less so in the south, suggesting that House 1 may have been scavenged for later (18th-century) occupations of House 2 and House 3 (see Table 25).

House 2

House 2 is a bilobed structure, measuring 7 m by 4 m with a paved floor and partially paved raised sleeping platforms (Figure 16). The entrance passage faces west and extends for 4.5 m. A large pile of stones surmounted by a stone pillar erected at the intersection of the two rooms once supported the roof. Fat-encrusted hearth piles lay adjacent to each platform.

This house was not tested prior to excavation, but collections were made from the erosion zone. Once excavation was complete, the entire house was backfilled.

Constructional Sequence

Our excavations revealed two structural phases. Originally, the house had two lobes with a common living floor. Sometime later the south lobe was walled off and was used as a faunal refuse area. During our excavation, the inner wall was removed to determine the extent of the sleeping platform in the south lobe. Two paving levels had been laid in this sleeping platform: the upper, consisting of a few paving stones, which appears to have been scavenged for another, later platform construction, and, 15 cm lower, a second heavily paved surface. An earlier partial paving on

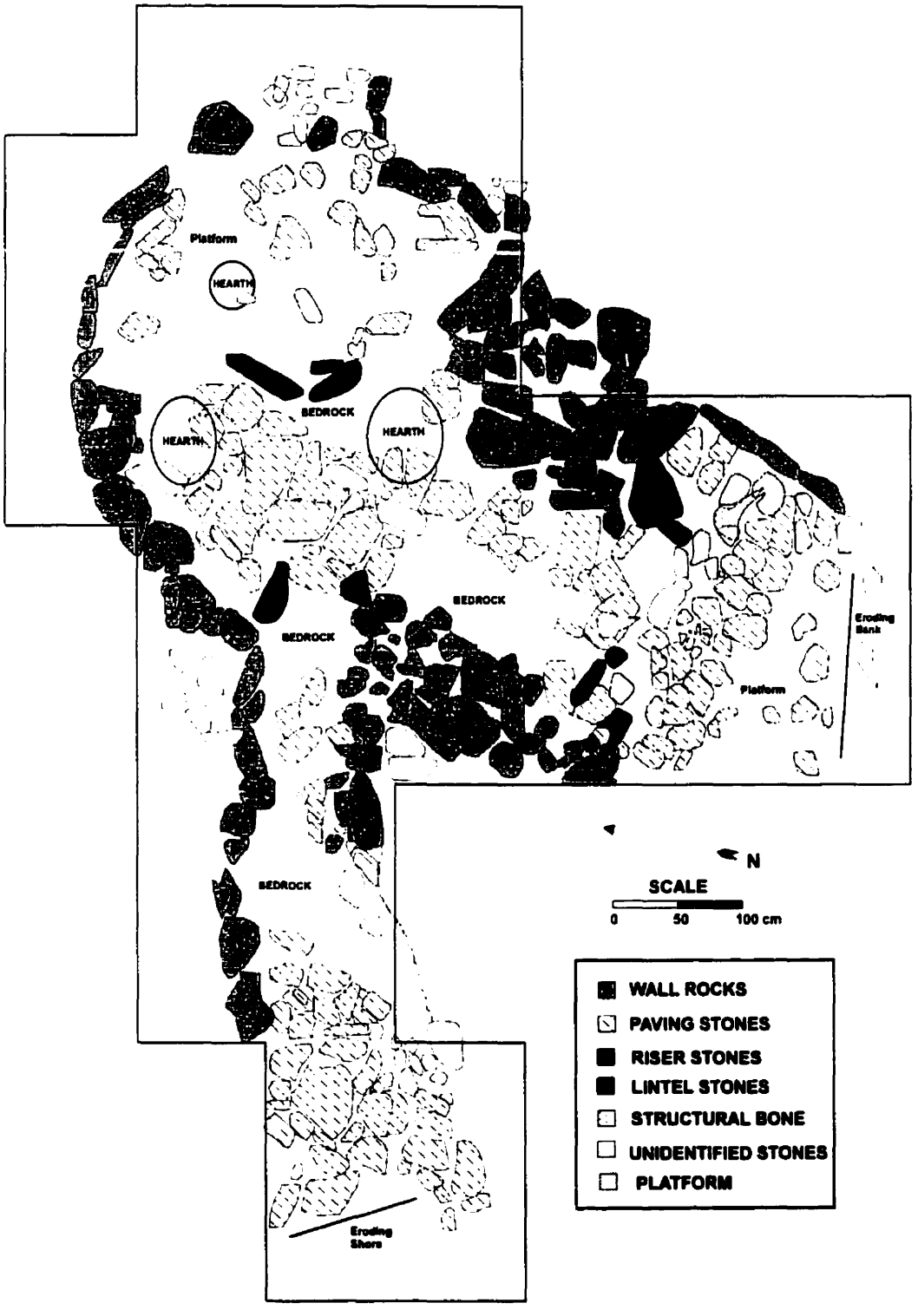

Figure 16. Kamaiyuk House 2 Floor Plan

the east platform appears to represent a Thule occupation overlying a Dorset structure. The pavement level was not, however, followed into the walls, as it would have necessitated dismantling the existing Thule structure.

The east wall appears quite different from the rest of the house. While the other walls are definitely constructed of rocks overlaid by sod, the east wall consists mainly of sod/peat blocks.

The entrance passage floor was bedrock with a few, flat paving stones set in to level it. The passage turned south after leaving the house and exited via a gully, a construction strategy designed to take advantage of the added depth of the gully to keep cold air out of the dwelling. The lack of rocks or any indication of wall structure suggests that the passage had snow walls. Two upright stones near east wall may represent lintels for a second threshold, extending into the living area, built *after* the south lobe was closed off. Since sea levels have been rising, people were commonly reusing structures that were 'too close' to the sea edge, in effect compromising to make use of old house foundations rather than build anew up the beach.

The living area was fairly disturbed and contained evidence of pre-Dorset, Dorset and Frobisher period occupations. Pothunting activity was evident in the northern corner of the living floor. In addition, it was difficult to distinguish roof fall from pavement fill; therefore the artifacts were considered as a single assemblage. Dorset

materials were found in the walls, the floor pavement, and in abundance in the lower levels of the east sleeping platform, which may have represented an intact Dorset pavement. Elizabethan materials were found both in wall deposits and in floor pavements presumed to represent the latest occupation. This house also yielded non-ceramic artifacts of early European origin, including a small sterling silver knife blade and an oak 'pistol-grip' utensil handle.

Occupation Length

The three radiocarbon samples all date the earliest occupation (Occupation 2). Two are from the upper pavement of the south lobe; one is from the lower pavement of the east lobe. Thus, these samples are dating repaving episodes of the same occupation in different times. The upper platform level of the east lobe has not been dated. It may date to the 18th century, the period from which the pistol grip handle came.

The latest occupation of this structure, dating the final architectural phase, was well after the Frobisher voyages, 18th century in fact, while the earlier occupation postdated Elizabethan contact by only a generation or two. The Frobisher artifacts were acquired from scavenging Kodlunarn Island rather than from direct contact or trade.

Relation to Other Houses

Unfortunately, we have no evidence of superposition or artifact refitting to help determine the sequence of house construction. The earliest occupation of House 2 was

contemporaneous with House 1 and House 4. With the subsequent closure of the south lobe, House 2 was occupied in the 18th century as a single-room dwelling contemporaneous with the second occupation of House 3.

House 3

Rationale for Excavation

House 3 excavations were primarily salvage-directed as a result of evidence of previous scavenging and wave erosional damage. The amateur digging, which occurred sometime between the 1990 and 1991 seasons, had greatly disturbed large areas of both lobes. For this reason, it was not possible to separate artifacts and bone from unit 13S/5W by cultural features. Amateurs had dug into the living area floor of the north lobe, took apart the cache box, and removed the flat frontal/platform slabs along the north and east benches, making it difficult to define the platform/living area interface. Marine erosion has removed the outside of the southwest house wall and most of the entrance passage, oriented north-south, of which 3 m remained. In fact, the west wall of the passage could not be identified except by its floor pavement. The limits of the east wall were defined by border rocks.

In 1991, a test excavation, 1 m by 2 m, was made in House 3 to clean up a portion of the north sleeping platform damaged by recent looting. It revealed Frobisher period artifacts in the occupation level (floor) rather than just in

the walls, suggesting that House 3 dated to, or close to, the Frobisher contact period.

The house, 7.5 m by 3.5 m in size, was originally constructed as a bilobate structure at the time of Frobisher contact or shortly thereafter and remained so throughout most of its occupation (Figure 17). Occupation 1 (L3A') may represent a temporary occupation of the south lobe. The major occupation episode appears to have been Occupation 3 (L3B). Frobisher tile was found in situ throughout all the pavement sequences. Whalebone was abundant. The few Dorset artifacts, mainly from beneath the south lobe and the partition wall fill, possibly represent a Dorset midden. There is no evidence for a Dorset structure, which may have been present but was removed in preparation for house construction.

Occupation Sequence

Occupation 1 (L3A') - The most recent occupation is represented by a partial repavement of the south lobe. This is a rough, chunk pavement situated immediately on top of L3A and may indicate a quick repaving episode during the L3A occupation. No platform pavement was found associated with this level. Wall fall across the south end of the north lobe possibly may be from an interior wall, which was constructed to close off the north lobe during a temporary occupation of the south lobe as a single-lobed structure. However, if so, it was a very low wall and may not have been high enough to be a functional internal wall separating the north and south

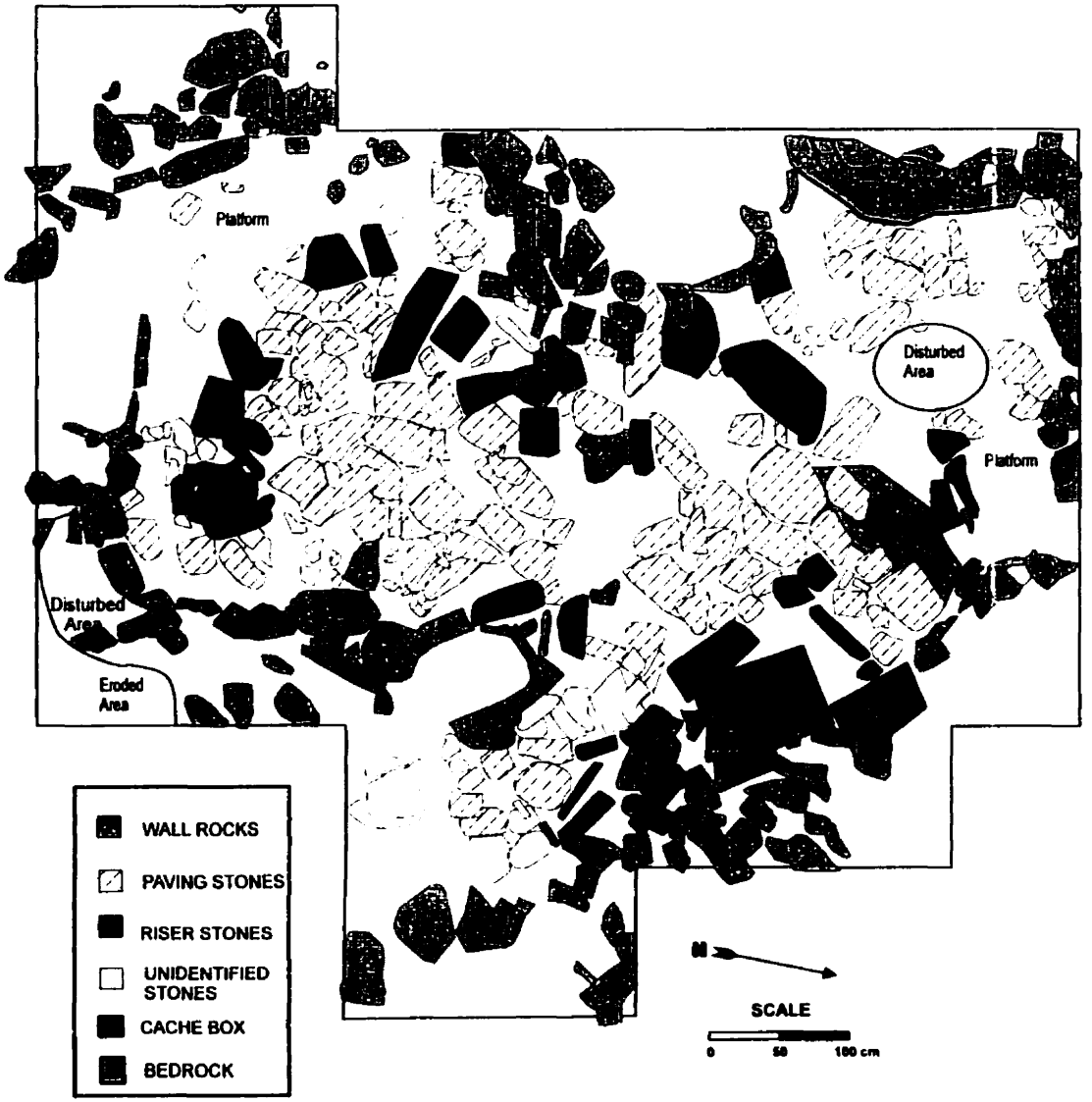

Figure 17. Kamaiyuk House 3 Floor Plan

lobes. Alternatively, perhaps the rocks were used to construct a storage cache from the north and south lobes for later occupants of the site, perhaps the users of the summer tent rings. Whalebone at the base represents fallen roof timbers and underlies some L3A paving stones.

Occupation 2 (L3A) - During this occupation both the north and south lobes, separated by a V-shaped partition wall, were used. The pavement was fairly continuous across the living area, although more poorly constructed than the L3B pavement. Frobisher roof and stove tiles were found in situ on the L3A floor. The platforms were covered by a discontinuous, patchy pavement and appear to rise only slightly from the floor, and at least in the south lobe, were not well-paved. Cache boxes, with multiple paving, constructed during the earlier L3B occupation, appear to have been used during the L3A occupation as well. Hearth areas associated with L3A were found in the south lobe, east of the cache boxes, and on the platform near the partition wall. A large amount of structural whale bone was encountered in the fill deposit above this pavement level, especially on the south lobe platform and living area.

Although, most of the entrance passage to the structure had disappeared through erosion, some construction details remain. Facing stones exposed through excavation suggest the entrance trended north-south. The entire east wall of the entry appeared to have been hastily constructed for Occupation 2 (L3A). Open spaces in the wall boulders to the

north suggest that an earlier tunnel may have been oriented more west to east.

Wave action has deposited coarse sand in various levels of the passageway. However, sand fill in the entrance (L3A3 and L3B) also may have been deliberately deposited to provide improved drainage from the house floor and entranceway. This was necessary because there was little slope to the entry floor and the site is close to sea level in high tides and storms. In fact, it seems likely that winter and fall storm drainage may have been a serious threat to the occupants here and could have prompted site abandonment.

During the L3A occupation, the passage was only roughly paved; no upright lintel supports were uncovered, although wall retainer uprights were found in the door area of the house. Beneath this pavement was a line of small upright stones which may represent a channel to drain water from the house, such as was described by George Best during his visit in 1578 (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:64-65).

Occupation 3 (L3B) - This was the major surviving occupation of the structure. Very little restructuring had taken place between Occupation 2 and 3 (L3A and L3B). In L3B, the living area was very well paved, with the slabs fitting together tightly and extending across the entire area. In some places, the slabs were piled four deep with little or no deposit between them. This pavement, in the south lobe, is capped by a 10-15 cm midden deposit.

Four cache boxes were constructed during this period: one in the south lobe (#1); two along the west side of the north lobe platform (#2 and #3), and one along the east side of the north lobe (#4). Hearth areas were located around the cache box #4 extending right to the north wall, along the apex of the partition wall in the living area, and in the south lobe. Several bird wings heavily matted with oil were found in the hearth areas, possibly used as sweeps.

The entrance passage was well-constructed on the south side, three courses of rocks high, but less well-constructed of small stones on the north side. A riser stone delineated the living area-entrance juncture. No cold trap or formal lintel support could be identified in Occupation 3 (L3B), as in Occupation 2 (L3A). Frobisher tile was recovered from the north lobe platform and living floor and entrance passage.

Occupation 4? (L3C) - Beneath the finely paved L3B level, lay a bedrock floor in the north lobe which was filled in the low areas with small, irregular pavement and topped with thick hearth deposits. This 'patchy' pavement continued throughout the south lobe, but no bedrock was apparent. Level L3C does not appear to be temporally distinct from Level L3B and the stones uncovered may just represent filler stones for L3B or have served as a pre-pavement level. Structurally, the house retained the same form. The living floor pavement did not extend under the partition wall, thus the structure was originally built as a two-room house. Frobisher tile was recovered from this lower pavement.

House 4

House 4 is the smallest house, 4 m by 3.5 m, a single-lobe structure with a small alcove on the west side (see Figure 18). Chronologically, single-lobe dwellings predate or are coeval with multi-lobe structures.

Although this house was not tested in 1990, we were hopeful that its size and lack of obvious historical material indicated an early occupation, contemporaneous with the Frobisher voyages. Thus, it had priority over House 3 in the 1992 excavation season; however, we eventually had time to excavate both houses.

The outer wall was very well defined with large flat stones overlaid with blocks of sod. The entrance passage ran approximately 3 m north-south. Because of erosional damage along the south end and constructional disturbance from House 3, the configuration of the entrance passage is difficult to estimate. It appears that the bend in the entrance passage along the west wall was probably the result of wall construction and wall fall from House 3. Pothunting damage was noted along the east platform which dated from between the 1990 and 1991 seasons.

Constructional Sequence

Two paving episodes were evident in the passage. At the head of the entrance passage, the threshold area consists of two upright facing stones on the east and west side and at the base of the lintel stone, a riser stone which indicates the beginning of the living area.

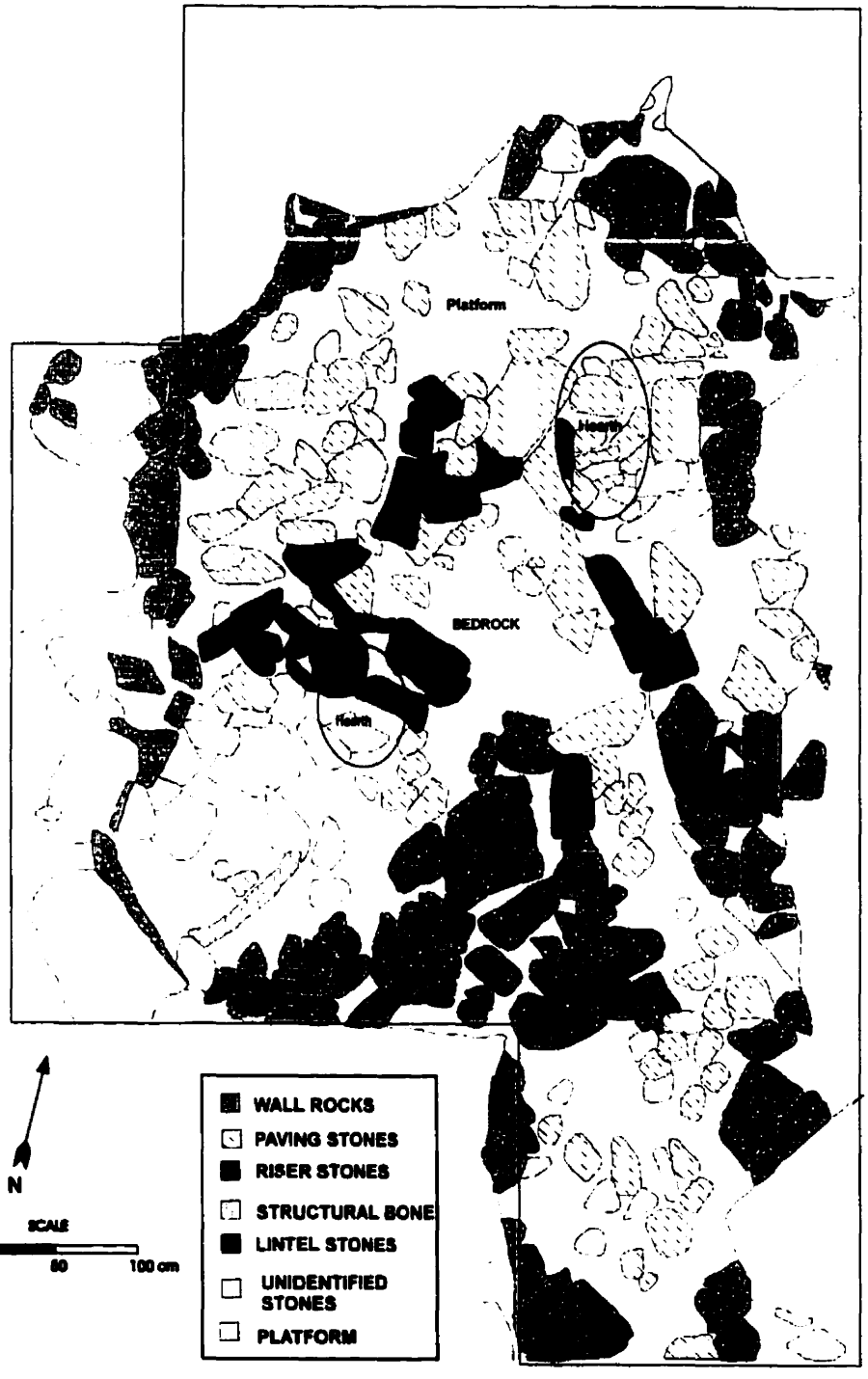

Figure 18. Kamaiyuk House 4 Floor Plan

Two paving episodes in the living area are separated by 5-10 cm of fill. The floor of both the passage and the living area is largely bedrock; pavement stones were only used occasionally to level uneven areas. Lamp stands or hearth areas occur, immediately west of the lintel area and at the east end of the platform. Architectural whalebone, in poor condition, was found throughout the house, although in lesser amounts than in House 3. Three platform areas, west, north and filling the alcove, were defined in the structure, giving a nearly C-shaped form to the sleeping area.

Two levels of bedding/paving were uncovered on the north platform. The upper level consisted of sporadic pavement (perhaps the missing stones were reused to pave other houses?), while the lower consisted of continuous pavement. These two pavements lay 25 cm apart, and do not appear to represent distinct occupational sequences.

Given the abundance of bone, the alcove appears to have been most recently used as a dumping ground for the last occupation of the house, walled off from the rest of the house. During original construction, the area may have been used as a cooking space. Conversely, the configuration could represent a two-lobed structure with a V-shaped partition between the (very small) west and the north platforms, with a hearth in the (west) alcove and on the north platform.

Occupation Length

House 4 represents a single occupation dating to one time period. Although paving levels represent different

years of occupation, it is doubtful whether decades of time passed between occupation episodes, based on material culture evidence.

Frobisher tile and Dorset lithics were found throughout the house. A concentration of Dorset lithic material was recovered from the lower platform pavement and in the wall area. Dorset midden material was encountered in the west wall of the entranceway and in situ in the tunnel.

Frobisher material found in both pavement levels of the entrance as well as in situ in the platform pavement, suggests a post-Frobisher date, although, in general, very little cultural material was recovered. Radiometric and glass bead evidence indicate that this house was contemporaneous with House 1 and the lower level of House 2 (16th-17th century).

Relation to Other Houses

House 4 appears to have been constructed prior to House 3, perhaps using stones from the House 5 perimeter. The northeast wall of House 3 seems to have been constructed over the House 4 entrance passage, but it is difficult to determine if wall rock in the entrance passage of House 4 originated from the House 3 walls or from the House 4 entrance. In addition, two spoon fragments (KfDe-5:3021 and KfDe-5:2619) from the lower entrance pavement of house 4 and the partition wall of House 3 crossmend, suggesting that the latter was constructed from rockfill from the entrance of House 4.

Houses 5 and 6

Portions of two lobes, possibly representing separate, single-lobed houses, are all that remain of Houses 5 and 6, lying just northeast of House 4.

A 50 cm by 50 cm test unit excavated in House 6, uncovered a few flat slabs and baleen and Dorset material immediately below them. Although Thule artifacts or historic material were not found in the soil above the slabs, the structure seems likely to be Neoeskimo, built into a Dorset house or midden. The Dorset level is about 40 cm thick.

'Assemblage Formation Processes'

In order to compare archaeological assemblages, and ultimately interpret systemic behaviour, particularly in reference to gender behaviour, the '*assemblage formation processes*' must be evaluated.

Excavation of the four houses at Kamaiyuk produced 2018 artifacts related to the Thule Inuit occupation and their contact with Europeans. (Paleo-Inuit material from the mid to late Dorset period from this and other sites, entailing research which is beyond the scope of my study, is currently being analyzed by Daniel Odess [1993, 1996] and has been separately catalogued.)

What follows is an explanation of how the Kamaiyuk artifact total was derived[2]. All the material culture, save two artifacts, comes from inside Houses 1 to 4; house middens have not survived. Thus, the Kamaiyuk assemblage is less representative than collections made from sites where both house interiors and middens (which traditionally contain the richest material culture deposits) have been excavated. In addition, each artifact from Kamaiyuk was given a unique catalogue number, although identical items, such as soapstone vessel or lamp fragments, were often stored together. Archaeological assemblages are not always catalogued this way; instead artifacts may be lot bagged (i.e. one number represents several like pieces). If one is relying solely on catalogue numbers, the Kamaiyuk assemblage appears inflated in comparison. To ensure that the same things are being compared, the *number of specimens*, rather than the catalogue numbers must be used. This can involve going back to a comparative collection and physically counting items lot-bagged under one number in order to quantify the material accurately.

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2 Total catalogued items for the 1991 and 1992 excavations (2125) - unused catalogue numbers (105) - artifacts from non-house provenience (2) = 2018. In addition, 50 entries were lot-catalogued by Réginald Auger from the 1990 surface collection made from disturbed areas of Houses 1-5 to total at least 58 additional items. The number of specimens was not provided for all entries. Seven of the entries were Thule or Frobisher artifacts and are listed in Appendix A. The remainder probably relate to Dorset occupations.

Several Thule assemblages are the result of non-intensive testing, consisting, for example, of small units excavated in a few structures at a site. Others, like Kamaiyuk, are the result of near-total excavation of the extant winter houses. The levels of interpretation are correspondingly different. Thus, distinguishing collection methods must precede any comparisons of intersite assemblages.

Collection strategies are moulded to some extent by experience. Coming as I do from a regional background in plains/parkland/boreal forest archaeology, where very little cultural material survives, particularly that which is organic in nature, I tend towards an inclusive collection strategy. I have, for example, catalogued 1251 clay stove tile fragments from Kamaiyuk. Hundreds of fragments of these tiles, brought by the Frobisher expedition, are extremely small, less than 1/2 cm^2 in size and many may have frost-spalled off a single tile *in situ*. Given the relative wealth of material recoverable on Thule sites, another archaeologist might not have collected every tile fragment or assigned separate numbers to each piece.

The Kamaiyuk assemblage includes culturally modified wood, (i.e. pieces which show evidence such as cut marks or drill holes, but are not finished objects or preforms), as well as culturally modified bone, antler and ivory. My inclusion of these items in the artifact catalogue has two effects: 1) it increases the total number of artifacts for

Kamaiyuk, compared to other Thule sites where these items have not been collected and 2) it leads, in turn, to a relative under-representation of finished tools when considering assemblage percentages, lending an appearance of cultural degeneration[3] in the eastern Arctic in the more recent past, where this artifact class has tended to be collected, compared with Classic Thule sites in the central Arctic, where it has not. In addition, the entire collection including artifacts, faunal remains, and samples (wood, charcoal, soil, etc.) was divided between three specialists working in three different cities. Undoubtedly, some bone modified beyond butchery activities ended up in the zooarchaeological collection, while wood samples, exhibiting cultural modification cuts of any sort can probably be found in the general sample collection. I hope we have kept such misclassifications to a minimum.

Furthermore, between these two categories, modified wood and modified fauna, a discrepancy in classification strategy exists. At most archaeological sites, culturally modified wood will always be over-represented relative to culturally modified faunal remains, because the latter, which merely exhibit cutmarks, are categorized as zooarchaeological samples, while 'cut' wood can only ever be classified as artifactual material. In order to 'qualify' as artifacts,

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[3] However, the fact remains that the workmanship of tools produced in 19th century Cumberland Sound, for example, is not as fine as that produced during the Classic Thule period (10th-12th centuries).

bone fragments must exhibit cultural modification *beyond* evidence for butchering or skinning, such as drilling or sawing, for example.

Occasional mistakes in identification and interpretation are inevitable. Many pieces, such as wick trimmers, for example, were reworked from other objects. I have attempted to determine the final function of each item and, when possible, the original function. In addition, unexpectedly few scapula scrapers were found in the Kamaiyuk assemblage compared to Qamaarviit. These items may have been present in the faunal collection and not been recognized as artifacts (Anne Henshaw pers. comm. May 1997).

Potential errors have been ameliorated by consulting with staff at the Archaeological Survey of Canada in the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC), at Parks Canada, Archaeology Division, and with Bill Fitzhugh, Smithsonian Institution, and by comparing my material to other ethnographic descriptions and to catalogued collections and archaeological reports relating to the central and eastern Canadian Arctic housed at the museum. Ethnographic sources include Boas (1888, 1901, 1907) and Matthiassen (1927:76), although the latter considered *his* consultations with Inuit about artifact identification disappointing: "in most cases, when I myself was in doubt, they could not even guess; in others, when I was clear as to the use of the object, I often received astonishing answers".

Collections from the eastern Arctic included: various sites in Cumberland Sound (Schledermann 1975); Labrador: Saglek Bay (Schledermann 1971); Frobisher Bay: Crystal II (Collins 1950) and Qamaarviit (Stenton 1983, 1987); the central Arctic: Debliquy (Taylor and McGhee 1981), Brooman Point (McGhee 1984), Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979), M-1 at Resolute (Collins 1951, 1952) and Clachan, Nuvuk, and Beulah (Morrison 1983); northwest Hudson Bay: Silumiuit (McCartney 1977); and Greenland: Thule District (Holtved 1944). I have referenced these sources in the site catalogue, notably the ethnographic sources, for some of the less common items.

Some of these sources still exist only as preliminary reports, although many years have passed since the sites were excavated. Crystal II, the Classic/Developed Thule site at the head of Frobisher Bay is, unfortunately, among these. The assemblage from Qamaarviit, the only other early historic (pre-whaling) contact site in the bay, has never been interpreted, aside from a seriation study of the harpoon heads. Nevertheless, these two sites are referred to in greater detail during discussion of slate and metal use in tool handles in Chapter 7.

For some of the collections, artifact catalogues, prepared prior to the analyses, were left uncorrected, making them occasionally unreliable as sources of identification. Furthermore, discrepancies can exist between these and the final reports. In addition, descriptions and illustrations

of artifacts often lack catalogue numbers, making it difficult to locate specific items in the collection. Despite these caveats, however, the Thule artifact collections from the CMC were a critically important asset for my analyses.

Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage - A Preamble

Table 27 is a two-part presentation of the artifacts recovered from Kamaiyuk Houses 1 to 4 according to activities and to gender association, as these have been described in Chapter 4. In this table, the artifact totals are duplicated: they appear once as a sum of the houses and again in the appropriate gender column. Items in the Inuit material culture repertoire that were *not* recovered archaeologically, retain an 'X' under the appropriate gender assignment. Artifacts and totals which appear in parentheses refer to items which were used in multiple activities or are not identified to a specific activity (e.g. lance/flensing knife blades). These items are included only once in totals, in either the principal activity with which they are associated or, if they are equally associated with more than one activity, in an arbitrarily selected one. Their representation in the other activity is noted by the phrase "see . . . activity" and their totals appear in < >, but are not counted in the activity set totals. In this way, each artifact is only counted once, although items in parentheses or < > *appear* more than once. Artifacts which appear in

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING	10(1)	7(3)	15(5)	7(2)	39(11)					
Harpoon Head	1	2	3	2	8	8				
" " - *iron blade*			1		1	1				
[Endblade harpoon/sm. knife]	(7)	(2)	(6)	(3)	(18)	(18)				
[" " " - iron]	(1)				(1)	(1)				
[Unid. Endblade]		(1)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(4)				
Harpoon Shaft						X				
Foreshaft	see Ice Pick/Fixed . .			<1>	<1>	<1>				
Socket Piece						X				
Finger Rest						X				
Harpoon Tension Piece						X				
Lance Head - iron blade			(1)		(1)	(1)				
(Lance/Flensing Knife Blade)	(1)	(1)			(2)	(2)				
[" Shaft/" " Handle]			(1)		(1)	(1)				
Dart Head						X				
Ice Pick/Fixed Harpoon Foreshaft				(1)	(1)	(1)				
Wound Plug						X				
Incision Needle						X				
Bladder Float Toggle						?				
Float Mouthpiece						X				
Bladder Float Plug		1	1		2	2				
Bladder Mending Disk						?				
Drag Line Handle						?				
Line Clasp or Stopper						X				
Toggles/Buckles (line)						X				
Seal Scratcher						X				
Seal Indicator						X				

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Seal Indicator-E. Needle						X				
Sealing Stool						X				
Hammer/Club						X				
Umiak-2						X				
Kayak-2 [Harpoon Rest]		<1>			<1>	<1>				
Paddle-2						X				
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING	0	1	3	1	5					
Arrowhead		1	1		2	2			X(M)	
Arrowshaft			2		2	2				
Bow [End]				1	1	1			X(M)	
Bow Brace						?				
Quiver						X				
(Lance Head - iron blade)		<1>			<1>	<1>				
(Lance/Flensing Knife Blade)	<1>	<1>			<2>	<2>				
(" Shaft/ " " Handle)			<1>		<1>	<1>				
Snare/Trap						X				
Snare Peg						X				
BIRD HUNTING	0	1	2	0	3					
Bird Dart						X				
Dart Shaft Butt Piece						?				
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)						X				
Sling Handle										?
Bolas Ball										X
Gull Hook		1	2		3					3
Bird Noose								X	X	

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
FISHING	1	0	0	1	2					
Tools						X				
Leister Prong						X				
Leister Spear Barb				1	1	1				
Fish Hook - iron	1				1			1		
Fish Nets/Traps						X				
Fish Lure						X				
Fish Stringing Needle								X		
Ice Pick-2				<1>	<1>		<1>			
Scoop (ice)								X		
Mats-2								X		
TRANSPORTATION	2	5	6	3	16					
Trace Buckle		1	4	1	6	6				
Toggle						X				
Sled Runner						X				
Sled Shoe	2	3	1	2	8	8				
Sled Crossbar			1		1	1				
Whip Shank						X				
Umiak								X	X	
Kayak [Harpoon Rest]		1			1	1				
Oar							X			
Paddle						X				
Travel Lamp						X				
Travel Pot						X				

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
HOUSE BUILDING	0	0	0	0	0					
Snow Knife						X				
European Knife-2						X				
Saw						X				
Snow Shovel								X		
Probe						X				
Mattock Head										X
Pick-digger Head										X
MANUFACTURING	12(4)	14(9)	20(13)	7(5)	53(31)					
Awl-2						X				
Engraving Tool [/Chisel Handle]		1	1		2	2				
Drill Bit	2	2	4		8	8				
Bow Drill Mouthpiece			1		1	1				
Drill Shaft						X				
Marline Spike						X				
Adze Head [Nephrite Blade]		1		1	2	2				
Adze Handle			1		1	1				
Maul						X				
Wedge	1		4	1	6	6				
Pick						X				
Shaft Straightener						X				
Flint Flaker						X				
Whetstone/Abrader	(7)	(3)	(7)	(1)	(18)	(18)				
Hammerstone		1		1	2	2				
Timber Pegs						X				
Whale Bone Sheaves										X

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
File						X				
Side-bladed Knife [Blade] 1.		1	1	1	3	3				
Side-bladed Knife/Ulu Blade	(1)	(1)		(1)	(3)					(3)
" " " / " " - *silver*		(1)			(1)					(1)
Side-bladed Knife [Handle]			1		1	1				
[Endblade harpoon/sm. knife]	<8>	<2>	<6>	<3>	<19>	<19>				
[" " " - *iron]*		<1>			<1>	<1>				
[Unid. Endblade]		<1>	<2>	<1>	<4>	<4>				
European Knife						X				
Chisel (Tip)				1	1	1				
Whittling? Knife Handle	1	2			3	3				
[Angled Endbladed Knife Handle]		1			1	1				
SKIN PREPARATION	2(0)	3(0)	3(2)	1	9(3)					
Ulu [Blade]	(2)	(2)	(1)		(5)		(5)			
" *[Iron Blade]*		(1)			(1)		(1)			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu Blade)	<1>	<1>		<1>	<3>		<3>			
(" " / " " - silver)		<1>			<1>		<1>			
Beamer							X			
Scraper							X			
Scapula (blunt) Scraper			1		1		1			
Split Antler Scraper				1	1			1		
Composite Scraper							X			
Knife to Remove Water							X			
Tin Scraper to " "							X			
Kamik Stretcher							X			
Skin Stretcher							X			

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Skin Stretching Stakes			1		1		1		X(F)	
Whetstone	<7>	<3>	<7>	<1>	<18>		<18>			
SEWING	0	0	1	0	1					
(Ulu [Blade])	<2>	<2>	<1>		<5>		<5>			
(Ulu [Iron Blade])		<1>			<1>		<1>			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu Blade)	<1>	<1>		<1>	<3>		<3>			
(" " / " " - silver)		<1>			<1>		<1>			
Needle							X			
E. Needle							X			
Needle Case							X			
Needle Case Toggle							X			
Thimble			1		1		1			
Thimble Holder							X			
Awl							X			
Sinew Thread							X			
Birdskin Thread Bag							X			
FOOD PREPARATION	2	11	13	3	29					
Bowl/Vessel [Base]			3		3			3		
Tray - bone	1	1			2		2			
" - soapstone			1		1		1			
Cup								X		
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack			1		1		1			
Marrow Spatula							X			
Spoon/Ladle	1		3	1	5			5		
Ladle Side or Vessel Base			1		1		1			

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Meat Fork							X			
Stone Vessel	<8>	<33>	<28>	<8>	<77>		<77>			
Tea Kettle/Tin Pot							X			
Scoop (ice)							X			
Axe								X		
Flensing Knife [Handle]?			1		1	1				
(Lance/Flensing Knife Blade)	<1>	<1>			<2>	<2>				
(" Shaft/ " " Handle)			<1>		<1>	<1>				
[Endblade harpoon/sm. knife]	<8>	<2>	<6>	<3>	<19>	<19>				
[" " " - iron]		<1>			<1>	<1>				
[Unid. Endblade]		<1>	<2>	<1>	<4>	<4>				
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu Blade)	<1>	<1>		<1>	<3>		<3>			
(" " / " " - silver)		<1>			<1>		<1>			
Ulu [Blade]	<2>	<2>	<1>		<5>		<5>			
" *[Iron Blade]*		<1>			<1>		<1>			
Basket, cordage				1	1		1			
Scorifier				1	1		1			
Vessel, ceramic		5			5		5			
Unid. ceramics		2	1		3		3			
Crucible		1			1		1			
Vessel, black-glazed redware			1		1		1			
Coal		2	1		3		3			
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE	23(15)	48(15)	56(28)	15(7)	142(65)					
Lamp/Vessel	(8)	(33)	(28)	(8)	(77)		77			
Wick Trimmer	5	11	14	5	35		35			
Drying Rack							X			

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Box/Box Top			2		2			?		
Fire Drill								X		
Fire Hearth			1		1			1		
Whetstone	<7>	<3>	<7>	<1>	<18>		<18>			
Iron Pyrites			2		2		2			
Frobisher Flint 2.	10	4	7	2	23		23			
Cutting Board							X			
Skin Bag/Vessel			1		1		1			
Oil-catching Skin Basket							X			
Sucking Tube								X		
Mats								X		
Blubber Pounder							X			
Urine Scraper							?			
Birdskin (Wing) Sweeper			1		1			1		
CLOTHING/PROTECTION	0	0	0	1	1					
Parka							X			
Beaded Parka							X			
Trousers/Shorts								X		
Boot								X		
Mitten								X		
Button/Buckle								X		
Snow Goggles						X				
Snow Beaters				1	1			1		
ORNAMENTS/AMULETS	252	349	509	157	1267					
Brow Band							X			

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Perforated Tooth						X				
Miscellaneous Pendant 3.		4	1		5					5
Amulet-broken projectile point							X		X(F)	
Comb							X			
Hair Pin							X			
Bead - lithic			1	1	2		2			
Bead - glass	2		2	3	7		7			
Misc. Carving										X
Bead Figurine										?
Ring							X			
Bracelet							X		X	
Earrings								X		
Watchcase Ornament							X			
Coin							X			
Spoon Bowl							X			
Stove Tile 4.	250	345	505	153	1253		1253			
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL	0	0	0	0	0					
Drum						X				
Bull Roarer										X
BURIAL GOODS	0	0	0	0	0					
Weapons						X				
Kayak/Sled						X				
Pot							X		X(F)	
Lamp						X				
Beads							X			

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Knives							X			
Enamelled Cup								X		
Iron Spoon									X(F)	
Iron Fork										X
Tin Pot										X
Meat Tub										X
E. Clothing								X		
Doll								X	X(F)	
Toy Ulu									X(F)	
Bead Necklace									X(F)	
Pencil									X(F)	
Safety Pin									X(F)	
Match									X(F)	
MINIATURES/TOYS	9	4	8	1	22					
Figurine/Doll			3		3				3	
Toy Ulu Blade	3	2			5				5	
Toy Lamp	1		1		2				2	
Toy Harpoon Head	1		1		2				2	
Toy End Blade harpoon/sm. knife	(3)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(7)				(7)	
Toy Wound Pin?		1			1				1	
Toy Lance									X	
Toy Arrowhead									X	
Toy Bow									X	
Toy Throwing Board									X	
Toy Sled									X	
Toy Handle (Whip?)	1				1				1	

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Toy Shovel									?	
Toy Bucket									?	
Toy Ball									?	
Toy Drum Rim									?	
Toy Boat			1		1				1	
Toy Paddle									?	
Toy Animal									X	
Top									?	
Seal Bone Ajagak								?	?	
ADULT RECREATION	0	1	2	0	3					
Gaming Piece			1		1			1		
Bird Figure		1	1		2			2		
String Game							X			
Skip Rope							X		X	
Inuit Tennis							X			
Smoking Pipe								X	X	
MISCELLANEOUS LITHICS 5.	32	20	31	29	112					
Mica	1		2	14	17	17				
Soapstone	9	5	5	3	22	22				
Ground Slate/Siltstone/Shale	13	5	8	7	33	33				
Ground Nephrite/Neph. Debitage	1	2			3	3				
Ground Limestone			1		1	1				
Unid. Blade, Slate/Quartz	3	2	1	2	8			8		
Debitage, Slate 6.	5	4	14	3	26	26				
Lignite		2			2					2

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MISCELLANEOUS METAL 5.	10	5	7	2	**24**					
Iron	10	5	2	2	19	19				
Lead			1		1	1				
Pewter			1		1	1				
Nail, Iron			1		1	1				
Sheeting, Copper			1		1	1				
Slag			1		1	1				
MISCELLANEOUS ORGANICS 5.	33	55	174	24	**286**					
Shaft, Wood	2	1	10		13					13
Slab, Wood			1		1					1
Unid. Oval Disk/Plug, Wood		3		1	4					4
Peg, Wood			2		2					2
Point, Wood			1		1					1
Point, Bone			1		1					1
Reworked Bone Tool?				1	1					1
Unid. Handle?			5		5					5
Ferrule, Ivory			1		1	1				
Knotted Baleen	1	2	18		21					21
Modified Baleen	4	4	9	8	25					25
Modified Skin	1		10	1	12		12			
Modified Wood	12	26	86	9	133	133				
Modified Bone	10	12	14	2	38	38				
Modified Ivory/Tooth	3	3	9		15	15				
Modified Antler 7.		1	7	2	10	10				
Modified Bark		3			3					3

Table 27. Kamaiyuk Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.331)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES				TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.1	H.2	H.3	H.4		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MISC. EUROPEAN ITEMS	0	2	1	0	3					
Knife Utensil Handle		1			1					1
Oak Barrel/Basin Stave			1		1					1
Cross Bow Tip		1			1					1
INTRUSIVE ARTIFACTS	0	0	1	0	1					
Needle Valve			1		1					
TOTAL	**388**	**526**	**852**	**252**	**2018***					

Key:

italics	European items
{ }	total without conflicting items
( )	artifacts which are used in more than one activity
[ ]	additional specific parts/items recovered archaeologically
X	items present in Inuit material culture repertoire, but not recovered archaeologically from site
*	includes artifacts #2090 and #2091 which crossmend

Footnotes:

1. Although sidebladed knives were included in Table 3 as food preparation items, the reference conflicts with what is generally known about the function of these knives (for manufacturing), thus, it has been deleted as a food preparation item for this table.
2. Some pieces are flint cores, but all assumed to be used as strike-a-lights, rather than as raw material for flint tools.
3. Of graphite, soapstone, bone
4. Used by women to polish their brass hair ornaments (Hall 1970:244).
5. Primarily used in manufacturing activities
6. Including flakes, cores, shatter, bifaces, and unidentified preforms
7. Including a core from House 3

square brackets refer to additional and/or specific parts or items recovered archaeologically, but not specifically referenced ethnographically. Artifacts listed in italics represent European items.

By maintaining the inclusive classification used in Chapter 4, which introduced the full range of ethnographically documented Inuit material culture, in order to present the more modest artifact assemblage from Kamaiyuk (Table 27), two points become immediately apparent: the demonstrably unrepresentative nature of the Thule archaeological evidence (which archaeologists always expected) and the difficulty encountered in discussing gender aspects of activities which are represented by artifacts that, in some cases, were not only multi-functional, but may not have been clearly associated with one gender or the other (which is less frequently considered).

Presenting archaeological material within a framework derived from ethnographic evidence, with the attendant empty space that such a table generates, provides a graphic portrayal of the limitations inherent in the archaeological record. Archaeological investigations tend to involve discussion of only what was found rather than also of what was not. Hence, an overwhelming emphasis in archaeological reports on a well-preserved aspect of a culture, its lithic technology, for example, is ultimately transferred to an unwarranted and unconscious interpretation of that technology's predominant position within the culture.

Entire activity sets, such as skin sewing and land mammal hunting, are barely represented in the Kamaiyuk assemblage. Other activities, such as the preeminent focus of Thule culture - sea mammal hunting, are indicated primarily by a single artifact type, provided multi-purpose tools are discounted. Obviously, activities which were conducted within winter houses, such as artifact manufacture and repair, household maintenance and food preparation are better represented than activities which took place offsite, such as hunting and fishing, although other activities related to winter house use, such as house building and sewing, are not. However, some apparently well-represented activities may, in fact, be overrepresented through the inclusion of fragments (e.g. the 77 soapstone lamp or vessel sherds) which represent a much smaller number of whole items.

With respect to the issue of gender-association and artifacts, although tool kits, themselves, are very gendered and complete tools are readily identifiable (particularly with reference to the ethnographies), many archaeological specimens are broken, incomplete, or portions of composite tools whose function (and therefore gender-association) cannot be identified. These include items such as endblades, knife blades and knife handles. (My approach to resolving these problematic identifications is discussed a little later).

For example, sea mammal hunting and manufacturing activities are the most difficult to differentiate among

men's activities as a result of the undifferentiated appearance of knife endblades and harpoon endblades. Ulus, which could be used for sewing, skin preparation and food preparation activities offer the same problem for women's activities. And knife blades which may have been used for men's side-bladed knives *or* for women's ulus further complicate the issue, by obscuring the gender association.

Nevertheless, *the relative proportion of gendered material culture preserved archaeologically is approximately equivalent to that in the systemic record,* with some notable exceptions. While female occupations are well represented within these winter houses, notably in terms of food preparation and household maintenance (although the latter includes several broken vessel fragments), evidence for their other pursuits, such as skin preparation and sewing, is more opaque and includes ulu blades, which could also have been used in food preparation, and a single thimble. Similarly, the principal activities of men, sea mammal hunting and artifact manufacture, are well, if spottily, represented, while their other activities, such as land mammal hunting, are less well so.

Less well-gendered artifacts (including bird hunting and fishing equipment, tools for house building, religious items, and adult ornaments), were less well-represented archaeologically.

Problematic Classifications

Brief notes on some problematic artifact classes are included to provide an explanation/rationale for some of the classifications found in Table 27. Miscellaneous lithics, organics and metal, for example, have been classified by material rather than by function, although they all probably represent manufacturing materials and are therefore associated with men.

In another case, stove tile fragments have been documented as polishers for brass ornaments (Hall 1970:244), although this was surely not their only purpose. Nevertheless, since it represents the only *identified* function and since European ornaments have been associated with Inuit women, the tile fragments are assumed to be female-associated. Their sheer numbers, however, undoubtedly have more to do with fragmentation and spalling than with their popularity.

Endblades for Lances, Harpoons and Knives - While harpoon heads, lance heads, knife handles and complete tools are very distinct, their endblades are not always and, unfortunately, these portions are the most commonly represented archaeologically. Either the same triangular style of blade was used for several kinds of articles or the blades themselves were interchanged from one item to another. We know, for example, that larger blades which broke were reground and reused. Evidence for this lies in hole remnants along the base of smaller endblades (McCartney 1977:286).

Lance blades can be, although not always, quite easily differentiated from harpoon blades by size. Lance blades are thick and large, as are the blades of flensing knives with which they are sometimes confused. Occasionally, these items can be distinguished on the basis of their rivet hole patterns: a single, asymmetrical hole may typify a knife blade, while a line of holes can be more characteristic of a lance blade (William Fitzhugh pers. comm. May 5-7 1997).

Cutting tools can also be distinguished from projectiles according to their wear patterns: knives exhibit crushing and polishing along the edges, while lances and harpoons, which suffer from sudden impact, exhibit hinge fractures (Dan Odess pers. comm. June 10 1997). This is how endblades in the Kamaiyuk assemblage have been differentiated. However, in most Thule artifact analyses, endblades are implicitly assumed to represent (only) sea mammal hunting, when they could equally represent food butchering of any species.

Seal/Walrus/Whale Harpoon Endblades - Distinguishing *among* harpoon blade forms is another issue. Was a harpoon endblade used to hunt seal, walrus or whale? Most researchers have defined the difference based on size. According to McCartney (1977), large endblades, 6.0 cm wide, were used for whale or walrus hunting, while small endblades, 4.5 cm wide, were used for seal hunting. However, in Coronation Gulf, a well-known whaling centre, only small endblades are recovered (Morrison 1983), highlighting the

importance of reuse and suggesting that final use was not necessarily the principal use.

Harpoon Head Types - Nine Thule harpoon heads were recovered from Kamaiyuk: two Type 2's, two Type 3's and one Type 5 (see Matthiassen 1927; McCartney 1977; McGhee 1984 for full descriptions of these classes). Although Matthiassen (1927) recognized that Types 2 and 3 were used for marine mammals, since both appear in large numbers on coastal sites, without adjacent lakes or streams, functional classifications of harpoon heads have not progressed much beyond this point. The blunt point and large barbs of Thule Type 2 harpoons have been hypothesized as more suitable for hunting seals and beluga, as both species have skins which were easy to penetrate and easily torn by sharp blades, while the sharply-bladed Thule Type 3 harpoon may have been more successful in penetrating the tough hide of walrus (Matthiassen 1927:26-27). However, this classification has never been documented ethnographically.

Ulu and Side-Knife Blades - Fragments of these items can be difficult to differentiate, both types of blades are used for small, semilunar backed knives. Generally, small fragments were undiagnostic, larger fragments were recognized according to the angle of the cutting edge, among other criteria.

One of the specimens from Kamaiyuk is unique in terms of its material. A tiny *silver* blade (KfDe-5:1595), 3.77 cm long, 1.30 cm wide, 0.10 cm thick, now lies displayed in

Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife. It is a knife blade, with a definite hafting line and bevelling along one edge, while the other half is thinner and more corroded, as is typical of blade portions which have been set in a handle. Identification cannot be made any more definitely, which leaves its gender-association in question as well.

Ulus come in a range of sizes and shapes and while Matthiassen (1927) classified their forms at an early date, they have never been the basis for behavioural reconstruction and, only rarely, for cultural chronology[4]. Anne Henshaw (1989) has collected some information on ulu use and determined that medium-small specimens were used for sewing. Toy ulus were very small and generally of poorer quality stone, never of metal, while a third ulu form, amulets, were non-functional and very tiny. Distinguishing among the various uses and users of ulus warrants further research and must precede any discussion of the effect of European contact on this important item of Inuit material culture.

Men's Knives - The category of men's knives includes several types, first described by Matthiassen (1927). The classification for the Kamaiyuk specimens derives from this and the Brooman Point (McGhee 1984) and Learmonth (Taylor and McGhee 1979) reports. Long, endbladed knives, including specimens that were open at the sides, were used for flensing

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[4] For example, tanged specimens with metal blades represent a recent modification in ulu design (Porsild 1915).

and are classified as food preparation items. Shorter variations pose more problems of identification. Various interpretations include meat knives (Matthiassen 1927), whittling/sharpening knives (Taylor and McGhee 1979) and splitting knives (McGhee 1984). Thus, their use is either unclear or these were multi-purpose tools, related in some way to manufacturing or to food preparation. Side-bladed knives, used for whittling and sharpening, also represent the manufacturing realm as do composite knives, which consisted of a two-part handle tightly wrapped around a small blade (Collins 1950).

Wick Trimmers, Fire Drills, Bow Drill Spindles and Shanks - These artifacts are all variations of wood shafts which are difficult to differentiate if specimens are incomplete.

A fire drill is generally made of softwood, and has two conical ends, caused by rotation, one of which is generally blunted and charred.

A bow drill shank is made of hardwood and exhibits no end burning. It can consist of two pieces hafted together. The 'shank' is generally the term used for the distal end which contains the socket holding the drill bit; the 'spindle' is the proximal portion of the composite shaft and, if found alone, is generally not identifiable (Robert McGhee Canadian Museum of Civilization pers. comm 1997).

A classic wick trimmer, used to regulate the lamp oil flame, is a bipointed, slender wood shaft, with burnt tips.

However, more difficult to recognize are wick trimmers made from reused tool handles or from scraps of wood, which are often irregular in shape. The giveaway is the characteristic burning at one end. Nevertheless, frequently wick trimmers have not been recognized, collected or reported in Arctic research, although Holtved's (1944) report, which identified 866 in his Thule District excavations in Greenland, is an exception.

Kuyait

Site Description

Kuyait (KfDf-2) is located at the southwestern entrance of Wiswell Inlet on the mainland opposite Sumner Island. It lies approximately 17 km north of Countess of Warwick Sound and 2 km from the Pishuktie outpost camp, which is also known as Kuyait (or, more fondly by the archaeological crew as 'Kuyait City' in recognition of its amenities). The archaeological site consists of peat-covered raised beaches and rock outcrops. Initially identified as a large Thule winter village in our field reports, Kuyait actually represents a multi-season occupation with qarmat and tent rings, in addition to semi-subterranean sod houses.

The site was identified, mapped and tested in 1990. Twelve dwellings were located (note: there is no House 2), including three qarmat similar to Stenton's (1989:156) type

d/e (including House 7) and nine sod houses, two of which are bilobed, the rest appear to be single lobed (see Figure 19 and Figure 20). Four caches were also found and three tent rings were located nearby as well as a wooden box burial (not disturbed by our excavations). One hundred meters northwest of the site, three other caches were identified, in addition to a stone fox trap. Each house was tested in 1990 and additional test excavations took place outside the houses to locate Dorset material as well as Thule middens and associated Thule activity areas.

Test units (1 m by 1 m, 1 m by 50 cm or 50 cm by 50 cm) were generally placed in the living floor, on the sleeping platform or across the entrance passage, where one existed. Several examples of European materials and trade goods, dating to the 17th, 19th and early 20th centuries, recovered from these structures, as well as an intact Thule component and Dorset material, suggest Kuyait to be an important site for developing a detailed chronology of outer bay Thule Inuit cultural development (Fitzhugh 1993:118).

In 1991 and 1992, five of the structures were excavated: two qarmat and three semi-subterranean houses. Unlike Kussejeerarkjuan, which had some evidence of a seasonal and/or temporal pattern of site use, Kuyait offered no similar guidelines for defining excavation strategy. During the 1991 season at Kuyait, House 8, a bilobed semi-subterranean house, was excavated after testing produced an iron endblade, suggesting a pre-20th (probably 19th) century

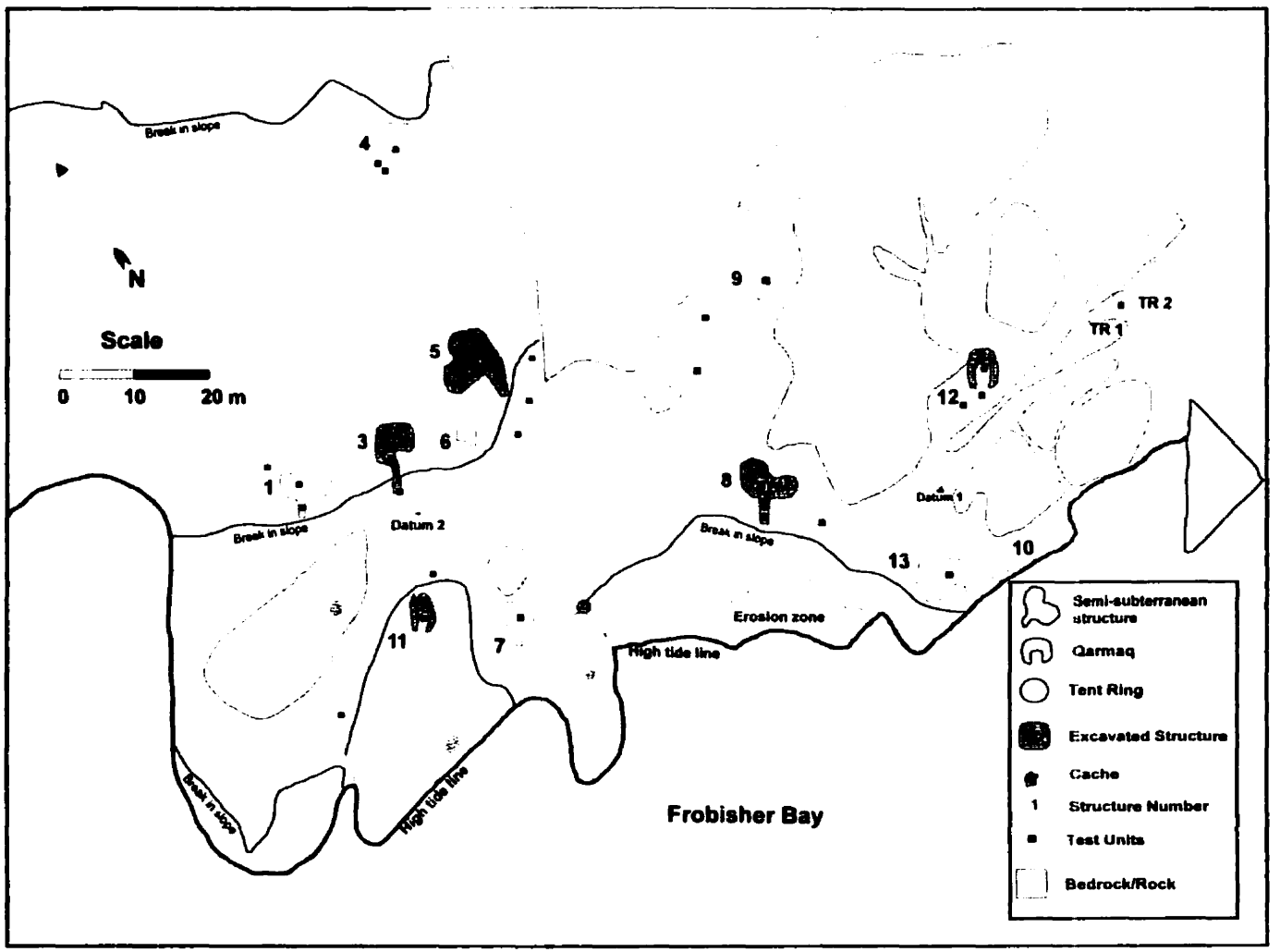

Figure 19. Kuyait (KfDf-2) Site Map

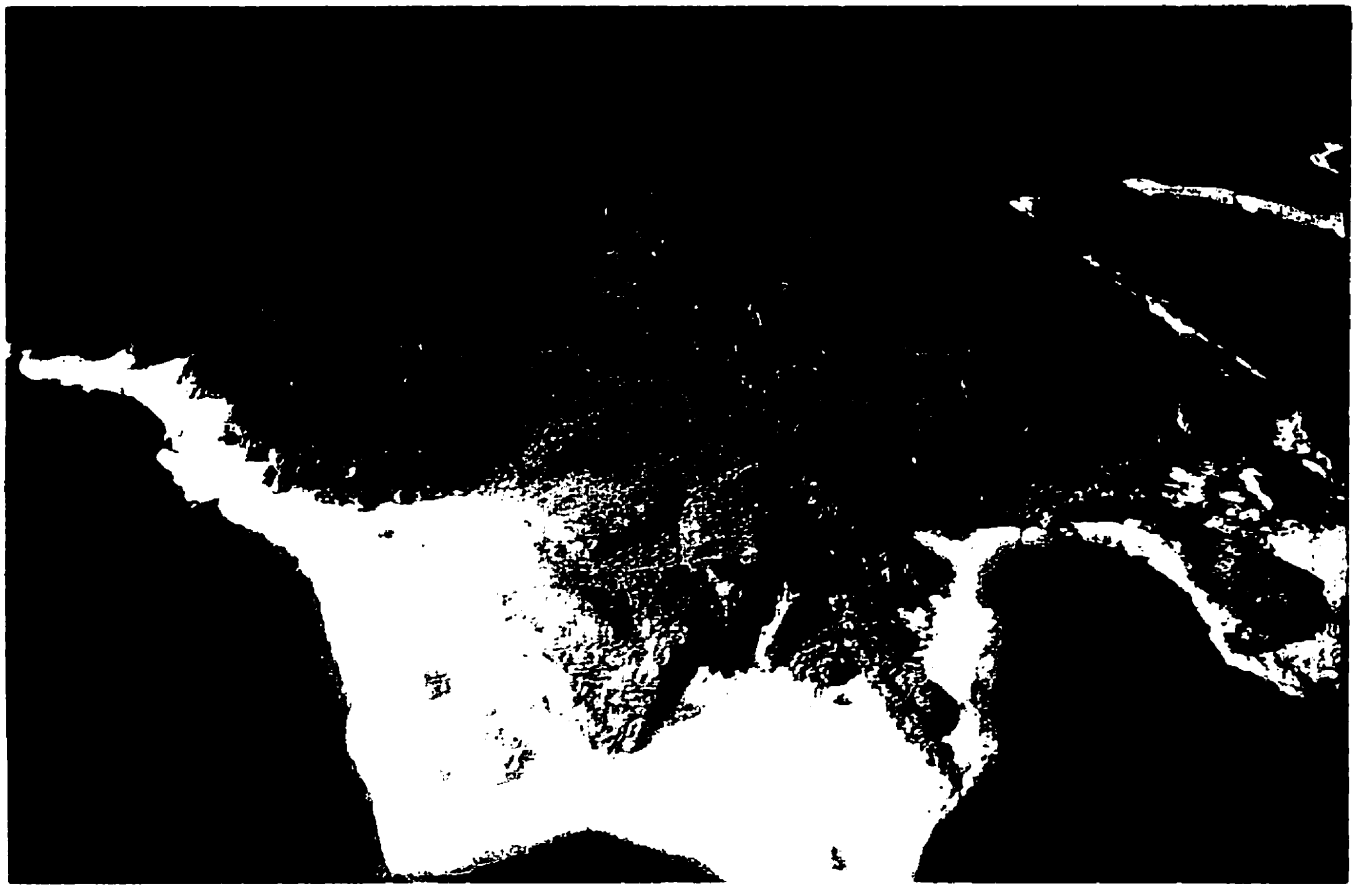

Figure 20. View of Kuyait (KfDf-2) facing northeast, July 1991

occupation. Finds from test excavations of House 12, a qarmaq, including ceramics, beads, iron and smoking pipe fragments, on the other hand, suggested early 20th century fur trade contact. Finally, House 3, a single room winter house, which appeared much older from surface inspection, was selected for excavation based on its potentially early protocontact or even precontact Thule origin.

A second semi-subterranean structure, House 5, was excavated the following year, primarily because House 8 excavations had yielded so little material culture. It contained occupation episodes ranging from mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century. House 11, a second early 20th-century qarmaq, was also excavated that season to provide a comparative data set for House 12. No evidence for deeply stratified Thule middens was recovered. Instead, some material was found in external surface scatters but was generally difficult to associate with individual structures.

Both qarmat were underlain by a Dorset component, while Dorset midden material and late pre-Dorset items were recovered elsewhere on the site (reported in Odess 1993). For example, marine erosion and slumpage of the exposed beach area had revealed Dorset middens. More specific destruction was found in Houses 3 and 5, where a clay boil had pushed up the house centres and disarranged Thule components. No human disturbance had occurred at the site, prior to our investigations.

Site Chronology

As with our investigations of Kamaiyuk, those at Kuyait revealed a richly complex settlement history, albeit one that was temporally more wide-ranging than Kamaiyuk. Test excavations at each of the Kuyait structures, both qarmat and semi-subterranean houses, yielded late 19th-early 20th century material culture, which was, in the case of the semi-subterranean houses, at odds with accepted end dates for the use of these winter dwellings.

Most Arctic archaeologists argue that such structures are prehistoric phenomena, replaced 'sometime in the historic era', or even earlier, by winter snow houses and transition season qarmat (e.g. Sabo and Jacobs 1980; Schledermann 1975). The explorer, Charles Francis Hall (1970), for example, notes their abandonment during his sojourn in Frobisher Bay in 1860-62. Other archaeologists (e.g Park 1988), familiar with Frobisher's eyewitness accounts (Stefansson and McCaskill 1938:64-65), concede their use in the early or proto-historic period. No one, however, posited that their use extended well into the 19th century. Our investigations at Kuyait suggest that these structures were used as semi-subterranean houses in the mid-19th century and possibly into the early 20th century, prior to or coeval with the alternative practise of qarmatizing the dwelling for spring or fall use.

Five[5] radiocarbon dates (two from Houses 3 and 5, one from House 8) were derived from samples of terrestrial plant material (see Table 28) and were evaluated against independent evidence of production dates for diagnostic European artifacts.

Table 28. Radiocarbon Dates from Kuyait (KfDf-2)

Structure Lab.#	Field Sample # Provenience	C14 Years BP Sample Content	Calibrated Age, Two Sigma
House 3			
Beta-53642	4S/0E-5 west wall /floor, L3	240 +/- 80 BP wood (spruce)	AD 1460-1900 AD 1902-1955
Beta-53643	8S/2E-9 midden, L5	60 +/- 80 BP wood (spruce)	
House 5			
Beta-71713	6S/0W-8,11,14 entrance, L3C[6]	240 +/- 70 BP twigs (crowberry/ willow)	AD 1470-1890 AD 1912-1955
Beta-81957	2S/2W-33 floor, L3D	340 +/- 60 BP twigs (crowberry)	AD 1440-1660
House 8			
Beta-52994	6N/28W-4 platform,L3	110 +/- 50 BP twigs (crowberry/ heather)	AD 1660-1955

The five houses excavated at Kuyait represent four periods of settlement ranging from the undated Thule components in House 3 to 17th century (House 5, Occupation

5 A sixth date was taken on material from a Dorset hearth from beneath House 11 and was reported in Odess (1993).

6 Since radiocarbon samples were submitted, some of the level designations have been changed. In Unit 6S/0W, the original Level 3B is now Level 3C.

4), 19th century (House 5, Occupation 3; House 8) and early 20th century occupations (House 3; House 5, Occupation 1; House 11; House 12), contemporaneous with Kussejeerarkjuan (see Table 29). All three of the excavated semi-subterranean houses had been reoccupied, with House 5 demonstrating as many as four episodes of reuse.

House 3

House 3 was occupied twice. The original Thule period residence dates to mid-15th to 19th century according to radiometric evidence. The presence of slate tools and flakes and lack of European items suggests that the earlier part of the range is more likely. A radiocarbon date on spruce wood found in association with a Type 4 harpoon head preform provides two date segments: 1460-1900 and 1900-1955 (calibrated in two sigma, Table 28), the first of which I accept, given the nature of the associated artifacts. Another radiocarbon sample from midden material in front of House 3 is of very recent date (Table 28).

The more recent reuse of House 3, as a 'boil-up or hunting bivouac, dates to the 1920s based on ammunition types, although two late 19th-century pieces (a toy cup or eggcup rim and a clay pipe fragment) were also recovered. Given the very disturbed nature of the deposits and the fact that the 20th-century utilization was not related to a specific structural episode, the House 3 artifact assemblage was not organized by occupation period.

Table 29. Kuyait House Occupation Dates

European Artifacts	House 3	House 8	House 11	House 12
Shotgun shells	1920-26?	1895-1918	>1920?<1926?	1895-1918
Rifle cartridges	>1910-1940	>1857	>1911-1957	1911-1957
Rifle Parts[1].				19th C.
Wire nails[2].	<1875	<1875	>1875	>1875
Tablespoon, nickel-silver			>late 1820s	
Bottle		19th-20th C.[3].	17th C-1920s[4]. (end of range)	
Ceramics	1880-1900[5].	mid 19th-early 20th C.[6].	1895-1920[7].	mid 19th-early 20th C.[6].
Calendar[8].				1921
Pipes	>1850-20th C. (earlier part of range)	18th-20th C.		
Buttons				1902-1922
Beads	1770s-early 20th C. (end of range)	late 19th-early 20th C.	late 19th-early 20th C. > 1897	>1850-early 20th C.
Disk record[9].				
Child's shoe		1880s		
C14 Dates				
	1470-1890	1660-1955		
Estimated Occupation Date	**1920s and Thule**	**late 19th C.**	**1920s**	**early 1920s**

Table 29 cont.

	House 5				
European Artifacts	Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Occ. 4	Midden
Shotgun shells	>1920?-<26?	>1920?<1926?			
Rifle cartridges	1916-1944	1915			
Harpoon head[11].	>1790-1800				
Wire nails[2].	<1875	<1875			
Ceramics				late 17th-18th C.[12].	1850-1900[13].
Pipes	>1850-20th C. (earlier part of range)	>1850-20th C. (earlier part of range)			
Beads	1910-20s	late 19th-early 20th C.	>1840 and early 20th C. (intrusive?)		
C14 Dates					
			1470-1890 1912-1955	1440-1660	
Estimated Occupation Date	**1920s**	**1920s**	**>1840?-1890**	**1660**	**<1850-1900>**[14].

Key:

date critical dates for estimating age of occupation

Footnotes:

1. Nosecap and frizzen/mainspring.
2. First produced in New York State in 1850, came in regular sizes by 1875 and became the dominant type by the 1890s (Nelson 1963).
3. Panelled, camphered corner (Olive Jones Parks Canada pers. comm. 22 June 1998)
4. Case gin bottle (Olive Jones Parks Canada pers. comm. 22 June 1998).
5. Toy cup/egg cup Japanese-influenced teal floral transferprint (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998).
6. Sponged, stamped handpainted ware.
7. Polychrome transferprint serving piece (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998).
8. Used as a boot insole.
9. Before 1897, these were made of various forms of hard rubber; after 1897 they were made of shellac (Canadian Association of Music Libraries Newsletter 1993).
10. Identified by Stephen Davis (Parks Canada pers. comm. 8 Oct 1998) and Jonathon Walford (Bata Shoe Museum pers. comm. 8 Oct. 1998).
11. 'Drop-forged'. i.e. mass-produced, dates >1790-1800 (John Light Parks Canada pers. comm. 23 June 1998).
12. Staffordshire yellow-combed slipware (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998)
13. Moulded white earthenware plate with flower motif (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998).
14. Only one dateable artifact recovered from midden but its use undoubtedly extends both earlier and later in time.

House 5

Occupation 1 - The date of the qarmaq constructed on House 5 derives from analysis of dateable historical artifacts including rifle cartridges, shotgun shells, beads and a pipe fragment (Table 29). Shotgun shells date to the early 1920s and provide the most refined temporal range. Rifle cartridges from House 5 are somewhat earlier than those recovered from the other qarmat: 1900-1920, while bead types provide additional support for early 20th-century date.

Between Occupation 1 and 2, a clay boil erupted creating a mixed deposit. Artifacts found in this level, Level 4, may have come from either occupation. The best indicator of the age of this level comes from shotgun shells dating to 1920-26.

Occupation 2 - Ammunition evidence suggests an occupation dating to the 1920s. Glass beads and pipe fragments date more generally to the late 19th-early 20th century.

Occupation 3 - Only two of the several historic artifacts recovered from Occupation 3 were diagnostic: a plastic bead, dating to the early 20th century or later and a seed bead, red with a white core, which postdates 1840 (Karlis Karklins Parks Canada pers. comm. 27 January 1998). The former likely is intrusive, according to the excavation records.

A radiocarbon date on a sample of twigs from Level 3B in the entrance dates to either 1470-1890 or 1912-1955

(calibrated age, two sigma) (see Table 28). Considered together, the historic and radiocarbon evidence suggest an occupation range of post-1840 to 1890.

Occupation 4 - A single historic artifact was recovered from Occupation 4 which, quite conveniently, is diagnostic: a piece of Staffordshire yellow-combed slipware, dating to the late 17th-18th century (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998). Its age slightly overlaps the radiocarbon date of 1440-1660 (calibrated age, two sigma variation), refining the probable date of Occupation 4 to 1660.

A single diagnostic artifact was recovered from associated midden deposits, a molded white earthenware plate fragment dating from 1850-1900 (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998). The use of the midden, however, undoubtedly extends both earlier and subsequent to this period.

House 8

House 8 was rather difficult to date. Few diagnostic historical artifacts were recovered and these were relatively recent (19th century), although winter sod houses were believed to have been abandoned well before this date. Furthermore, it was difficult to sort the artifact assemblage by occupation episode in this house. Because the two rebuilding episodes appear to have been close in time, the estimated occupation date for this structure has been based on the entire assemblage.

The material culture from House 8 is markedly different from the 20th-century qarmat of Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan. In addition to the low density of artifacts in the house, there was an absence of slate working, an absence of iron from the latest living floor, and a relative scarcity of iron throughout the deposit. These features suggest a relatively early period of European contact, geographic marginality to European influence, a short period of occupation, or a combination of all three. It is interesting that most of the site's Frobisher flint and tile came from this structure.

Ammunition, one of the better sources of site occupation dates, was scarce in this structure. Only a single rifle cartridge and a shotgun shell were recovered. Gun parts were not recovered, nor were traditional hunting tools. There was very little in the way of ceramics, glass, nails, tin cans, pipe fragments or miscellaneous European items and those which were collected have quite a long time span of production. For example, the single pipe fragment recovered (one of only two stoneware specimens from Kuyait), was available from the 18th-20th century. One exception is a child's leather shoe, which dates to the 1880s (Stephen Davis, Parks Canada and Jonathon Walford, Bata Shoe Museum pers. comm. 8 October 1998). Aside from a clasp knife and two scalpel blades, European tools were not found. The five diagnostic glass bead types date to the 19th-early 20th century.

The single radiocarbon date from crowberry and heather twigs from Level 3 on the north sleeping platform (see Table 28) indicates only that this bilobed dwelling was occupied in the historic period, some time between 1660-1955 (calibrated age, two sigma). The presence of 19th-early 20th century beads and ceramics and the late 19th century shoe argues for a late 19th century date as the most likely (Table 28).

House 11

House 11 was occupied in the 1920s, probably between 1920-1926 based on the presence of a shotgun shell labelled 'Eley London No. 12 Gastight' (Rutterford 1987:53,93). Neither ceramic nor bead types usefully narrowed the occupation range beyond late 19th-early 20th century. Rifle cartridges provide an even greater time range, the first half of the 20th century.

House 12

Estimating the occupation date of House 12 exemplifies one of the small pleasures of historic archaeology: its occasionally hyper-specific character. The recovery of a possible boot insole (KfDf-2:2333) made from a calendar fragment from May[7] 1921 provides a tightly defined postquem[8]

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[7] The month was determined by means of a perpetual calendar.

[8] i.e., an item appears only *after*, in the case of 'postquem', or *before* in the case of 'antequem', a certain year

date: 1921, while a jacket button from the 1st Life Guards (KfDf-2:2272), dating from 1902-1922 (Ripley 1971:10), provides an antequem date of 1922. Given the fragility of paper, especially for its use in footwear, an estimated occupation date of early 1920s seems reasonable.

Some conflicting evidence includes two 19th-century percussion rifle parts, perhaps suggesting long-term curation of earlier firearms, and another button (KfDf-2:2094), marked "Dublin Police" above a Victoria crown, with "J. Ireland & Son" on the reverse, dates prior to 1901, the year in which Queen Victoria was succeeded by King Edward VII (Chuck Bradley Parks Canada pers. comm. 23 June 1998).

House Descriptions

House 3

House 3 is a small, single-lobed, rectangular, semi-subterranean winter house (see Figure 21). It measures very roughly 4 m by 3 m in size with a 3.5 m long entrance passage running northeast-southwest. Its small dimensions, single-room configuration and poorly defined wall boundaries suggested a precontact or early contact Thule occupation, providing either a prehistoric baseline from which to assess culture change or comparative material for our investigations of Elizabethan contact at Kamaiyuk. Test excavations in the platform and entrance areas were not illuminating, however, producing only Dorset material and some iron can fragments.

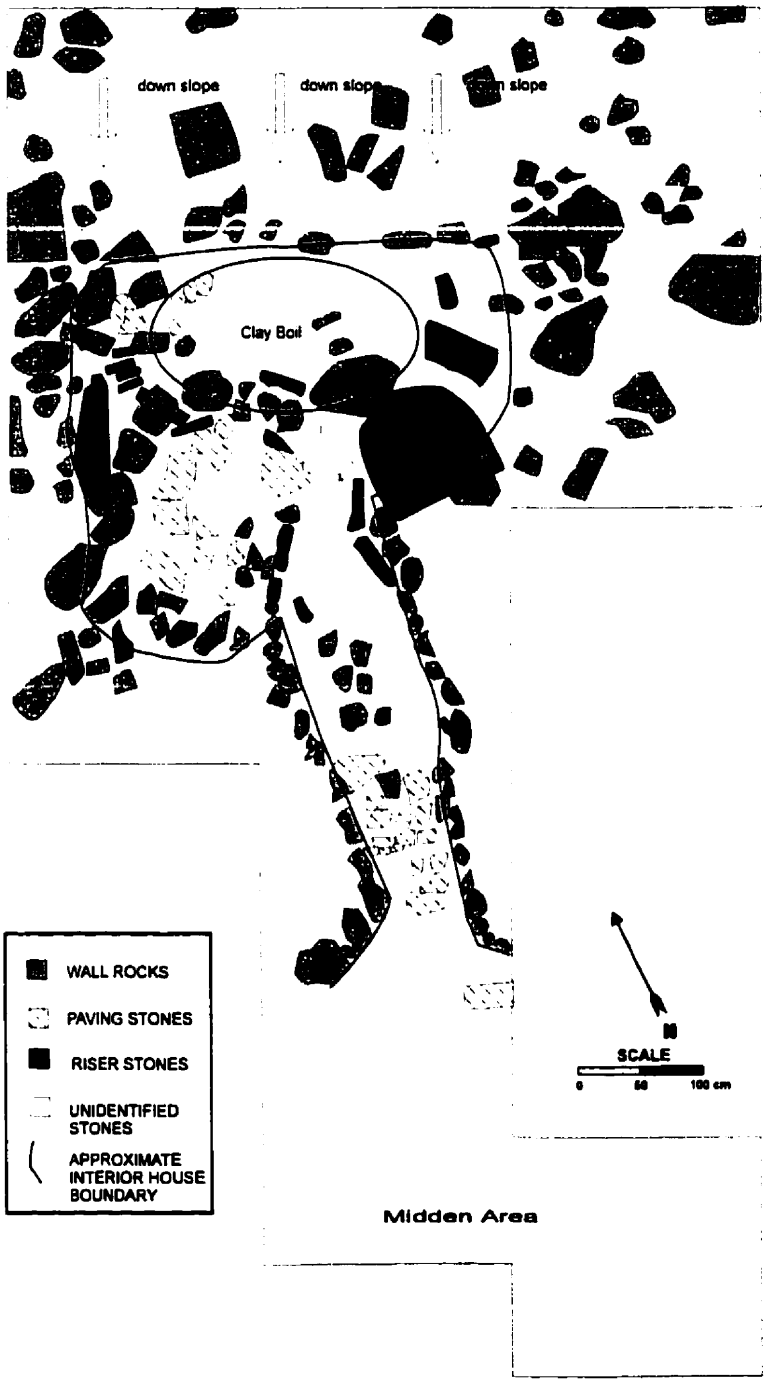

Figure 21. Kuyait House 3 Floor Plan

Our excavation of House 3 revealed that it did, in fact, originate as a prehistoric Thule structure and was later utilized in the early 20th century as a 'boil-up' or hunting bivouac, based on evidence of a recent hearth and midden deposit found on the surface. Unfortunately, this structure was an archaeological disaster both to excavate and to interpret because of localized frost boils and solifluction activity, which effectively tumbled features and destroyed context except for the entrance passage area. These frost boils, consisting of grey/tan clay overburdens (Level 4 and Level 6) from the lowest stratigraphic levels (25 cm and 10-15 cm thick, respectively), burst through the sleeping platform and pushed the remains of the house forward onto the living floor, destroying the structure, most of its deposits and the original architecture, but capping the precontact components (Level 5 and Level 7).

Because of the disturbed nature of the deposits, lack of cultural material associated with the structure, and the fairly large amount of Dorset material mixed throughout the deposit, this structure was not excavated to sterile soil. Only one baulk, for example, was excavated and screened.

Construction Sequence

House 3 was difficult to define for the aforementioned reasons. Its surface was hummocky; large frost cracks served as deposit areas for post-occupational items. The north wall was only vaguely defined on the surface and never appeared as more than a jumble of rocks upon excavation. A test trench

designed to delimit the northeast edge of the wall was inconclusive. Neither were distinctions between the wall and the platform or the floor and the platform clearly apparent, the latter being nothing more than a tumble of tilted slabs and boulders. The living area was small and empty; separate paving episodes were not uncovered. In situ hearth areas also were not located. Architectural whale bone was located only in the entrance passage.

The single well-defined feature was the entrance. The west passage wall consisted of large boulders, while the east wall was of quite different character - small, blocky rocks. An unusual feature was the near absence of floor pavements in the passage. In both the passage and the living floor, cobbles and boulders appear to have been brought in and covered in turf to form the floor, in place of the usual flagging stone. The exception is two courses of flagging which appear to form a small step above a boulder-filled passageway.

Immediately south of House 3, two 2 by 2 m units were excavated in a midden area. The midden contained a thin historic deposit (Level 3) and a more substantial Dorset deposit (Level 5). Neither appeared to be associated with the initial Thule occupation of House 3.

Occupation Sequence

Given the paucity of the artifacts recovered, determining the occupation length of House 3 is problematic. The structure was sterile, except for floor and passage

areas. Dorset materials were found in the sods but were mainly concentrated in buried peat deposits situated directly above bedrock in the south end of the entrance passage and adjacent to the passageway along the southeast perimeter (reported in Odess 1993).

Some Thule slate items were recovered from badly disturbed levels (Level 5 and Level 7) in the living floor, indicating the presence of two small remnant Thule occupations. Historic materials were not recovered from within the house context, aside from a pipe bowl found in the west wall of the passage. Recent material culture related to the early 20th century was recovered from the sod level (Level 1 and Level 2) of the structure.

House 5

House 5, measuring 7 m wide and 4.5 m long, is a large, bilobed structure located on the west side of Kuyait (see Figure 22 and Figure 23). It has a 4.5 m long entrance passage, oriented north-south; one lobe lies directly north of the entrance and the other lies southwest. This structure was selected for excavation because a 1990 test pit in the entrance passage revealed historical material with good bone and wood preservation and because excavations in another semi-subterranean house the year before, House 8, provoked more questions than they answered: questions about the paucity of material culture in these large structures; their period of occupation and their chronological position with

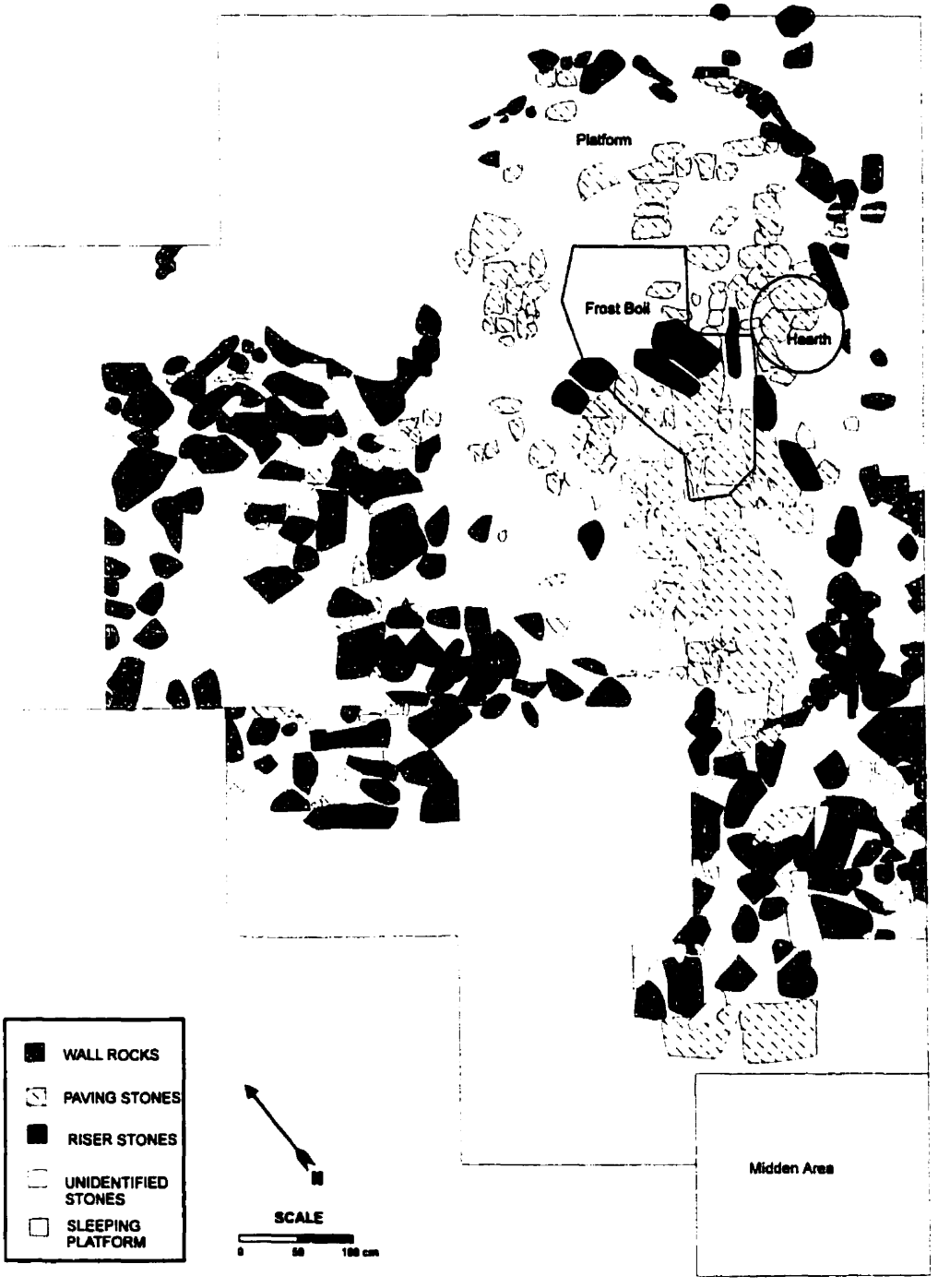

Figure 22. Kuyait House 5 Floor Plan - Occupation 1

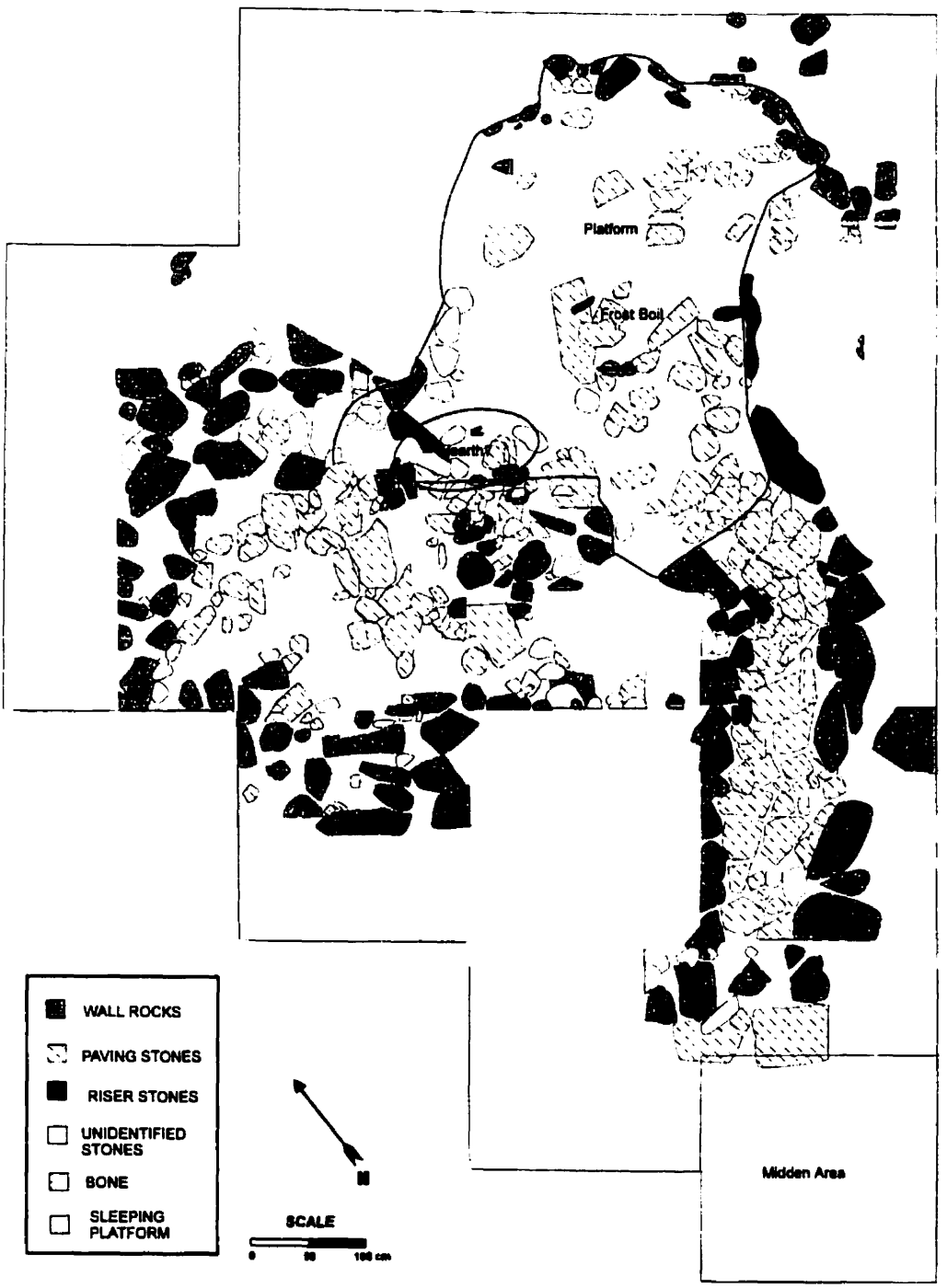

Figure 23. Kuyait House 5 Floor Plan - Occupation 2

respect to qarmaq-style dwellings. However, even surface observation indicated a complex occupation history for House 5: the southwest sleeping platform had been blocked off during a later occupation, evidenced by a low sod wall along the perimeter of the main living floor.

At the end of our investigation, House 5 was backfilled completely, although excavation units were not lined with plastic prior to the refilling because of limited supplies.

Occupation Sequence

House 5 consisted of at least four different occupation episodes which involved major remodeling and restructuring, as well as additional repaving episodes (see Table 30).

Table 30. Occupation Sequence for Kuyait House 5

	N Lobe	SW Lobe	Floor	Entrance
Occupation 1 (qarmaq)	1,2,2A	-	1,3A 4,5A (4S/2W)	1?,2,3A
(Clay Boil)	(4)	(-)	(4)	(-)
Occupation 2 (bilobed semi - subterranean house)	2B	1?,2,2A	3B 5B (4S/2W)	3B
Occupation 3 (single-lobed? semi-subterranean house)	-	2B 2C = 3C	3C	3C 3B (8S/0W)
Occupation 4 (?-lobed semi-subterranean house)	-	2D = 3D 2E?	3D	3D

Occupation 1 - During the most recent occupation, dating to the early 20th century, the structure was a 'qarmatized' winter house, consisting of a single room and a shallow entrance passage. A single post mold was found in the east side of the living area. Rock fall between Level 3A and Level 3B in the living floor suggests substantial destruction of the bilobed structure sometime prior to its transformation into a qarmaq.

Some Dorset material was collected from Occupation 1. More may have been recovered from the wall peat; however, walls were only excavated until structural wall rocks were visible. Exposure of part of the wall suggested that four layers of sod were used in the construction.

The north lobe was in use at this time, while the southwest lobe had been clearly walled off. This interior wall consisted of bedding peat laid over wall sod. Immediately in front of the inner wall lay concentrations of bone. The north sleeping platform was constructed of scattered pavements and there is evidence for a skin covering on the northeast side. Hearth areas, consisting of charcoal-rich soil with encrusted organics, occurred on both east and west sides of the platform. A deposit (identified as Level 5 in 2S/0W) consisting of thin, organically-impregnated layers of sand, may have been laid down to cover an oily residue from the hearth/lamp stand on the east side of the north platform. A profile of the east entrance wall indicates that

the large rocks were laid down and capped with two or three courses of sod, perhaps to facilitate drainage.

This occupation of House 5 overlies, and postdates, a clay boil, Level 4 (similar to the one in House 3), which is concentrated on the north platform and living floor. The clay boil has caused some slumping of the retainer rocks and has pushed many of the paving stones upward in this area of the house, leaving most of the flat slabs resting at an angle.

Occupation 2 - The principal use of House 5 was as a two-roomed dwelling with both the southwest and the north lobes occupied. Differentiating the qarmaq occupation from that of the bilobed house is difficult, however, in the north lobe. Platform pavements are patchy and discontinuous, and are separated by multi-bedding sod episodes.

A V-shaped partition separates the two lobes. The upper pavement in the southwest platform[9] is also discontinuous. Paving stones extending into the east baulk are tilted, making it difficult to determine which layer of paving they are associated with in adjacent units. Platform bedding is thick with multiple layers of peat. A hearth area was uncovered in the north end of the southwest platform. The living floor pavement in Occupation 2 is poorly defined and/or absent, represented by a few jumbled paving stones resulting from the clay boil action.

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9 This upper, or more recent, platform pavement was also designated as Level 2a but it relates to Occupation 2.

This platform contained historic European artifacts dating to the early 20th century. In general, however, very few artifacts were recovered. The high proportion of traditional tools and materials (soapstone, worked wood and bone) and few identifiably late historic artifacts suggest that this lobe may have been occupied only in the early historic period and been closed off during the late 19th/early 20th century occupation of the rest of the structure. There is, however, no distinctly early component in the living floor associated with this lobe.

It is uncertain whether the entrance passage was used during Occupation 2. If it were, the entrance is reminiscent of that of House 3 in that both lacked pavement. (True entrance paving was uncovered only for the earlier occupations.) Instead, boulders had been overlaid by sod to drain the passage. The lintel area is not well-defined but probably lies in Unit 4S/0W.

Occupation 3 - It is more difficult to state with certainty what the architectural configuration of the structure was during this period of occupation. While the southwest lobe, the living floor and the entrance were in use, the north platform appears to have been unused. Test trenching in this platform revealed no platform pavement or material culture relating to this or earlier events. Occupation 3 may have been a single-lobed semi-subterranean house.

The threshold stone is clearly evident and a large pillar stone defines the corner of the entrance passage. Approximately 30-40 cm of overburden separates the Occupation 3 passage from the cobble and sod deposits of Occupation 2. The very few historic items from this level were recovered from the top of the deposit. The living floor is well paved with large flat stones which extend into the Level 4 clay boil. The southwest platform was also continuously paved (Level 2B). A major hearth area is present in the southwest lobe along the north wall. Another hearth lies on the west side of the central living floor (Units 2S/2W, 4S/2W). It is deep and caps both Level 3C and Level 3D. It appears as if the occupants paved the rest of the house when the hearth crust reached a higher level than the surrounding floor. Large structural whale bone was found throughout the house during this occupation, especially in the southwest lobe.

At the base of Occupation 2, we dismantled the southwest platform and two additional pavements (Level 2C and Level 2D) were found below. These align with living floor pavements in adjacent units (Level 3C and Level 3D) and indicate that the living floor extended into the southwest lobe during Occupation 3.

The small artifact assemblage found in this level is made up of predominantly traditional Thule wood and bone artifacts, but historical materials were also recovered which date this occupation level to the second half of the 19th

century. Wood materials exhibiting metal file marks provide additional support for a historical date.

Occupation 4 - While permafrost prevented full excavation of the oldest level, Occupation 4, our investigations did reveal a continuously paved living floor and a threshold step in the central portion of the house, complete with a cache box underneath the southwest platform. The living floor associated with Occupation 4 lies beneath the north platform of Occupation 1. Although this pavement is only shallowly separated from Level 3C, it predates Occupation 3 significantly (see Table 29). Associated sleeping platforms were not located. It is possible that the sleeping platform extended well under the V-shaped wall dividing the north and southwest lobes. A hearth area lay just inside of the inner wall of the platform (4S/2W), in the same location as hearths from the more recent occupations (2 and 3).

The long entrance tunnel and the related living floor are oriented slightly west of those from Occupations 2 and 3 and the passage extends well into the house, appearing to continue underneath the east house wall which is visible on the surface.

Thule artifacts of bone, wood, baleen and slate were found sporadically in this occupation. Baleen use is typical of earlier Thule periods. Only one historical artifact was recovered: a ceramic fragment dating to the late 17th-18th century, dovetailing with a radiocarbon date of 1440-1600

(calibrated age, 2 sigma variation) obtained from an empetrum (crowberry plant) sample.

Sterile sand and gravel subsoil was encountered in several areas tested below this level, indicating that Occupation 4 was the oldest occupation of House 5, although occasionally a few paving stones were found immediately below Level 2D (as in Unit 4S/2W). However, these stones appear to represent a prior pavement episode related to Occupation 4.

Midden - In addition to investigations of the interior of House 5, four test pits were excavated to locate associated midden deposits: immediately south (Test Pits 1 and 2); east (Test Pit 3); and 14 m south (Test Pit 4) of the house. A midden area was uncovered south of the entrance passage to House 5 (Unit 9S/0W), which was characterized by the sheet scatter of historic bone, artifacts and rocks typical of Thule refuse deposits in Frobisher Bay. However, this area lies between House 5 and House 6 and could be associated with either structure.

Bone and cut wood came primarily from Level 3 within the midden and probably are associated with an earlier Thule occupation (of House 5?), as historical material was mostly limited to Level 1 sod and Level 2 peat layers. A heavy concentration of wood chips and sawn fragments represents axe cut shavings and other wood manufacturing debris. Excavation of the midden stopped at the permafrost layer.

House 8

House 8 was a large (10 m wide by 8 m long), well-preserved, bilobate semi-subterranean structure dating to the historical period (see Figure 24). Its plan reveals two raised sleeping platforms separated by a huge boulder and surmounting rocks used as a central roof support. Some architectural whalebone, primarily ribs, was uncovered. The east lobe platform was paved and old sod defined the easternmost wall of the house. The north-lobe platform was more difficult to define; it appeared to contain evidence for several layers of bedding peat, but how these relate to individual occupation episodes is unclear. The north lobe contained a single hearth, the east lobe, two, in the form of piles of fire-burned and fat-encrusted slabs. Between the two rooms was a paved common room floor with access to the outside through a sunken paved passage, 3 m long, trending northeast-southwest. A thoroughfare existed between the two lobes, behind the boulder. A small storage alcove was found beneath the front of the sleeping platform in the north room.

Test excavations for midden deposits were conducted in an area southeast of House 8 (House 8 Test Pit 3). Bone was collected from the upper level and Dorset items were recovered from the lower charcoal level. However, since it was unclear whether the faunal material was associated with House 8, excavations in this area were not continued.

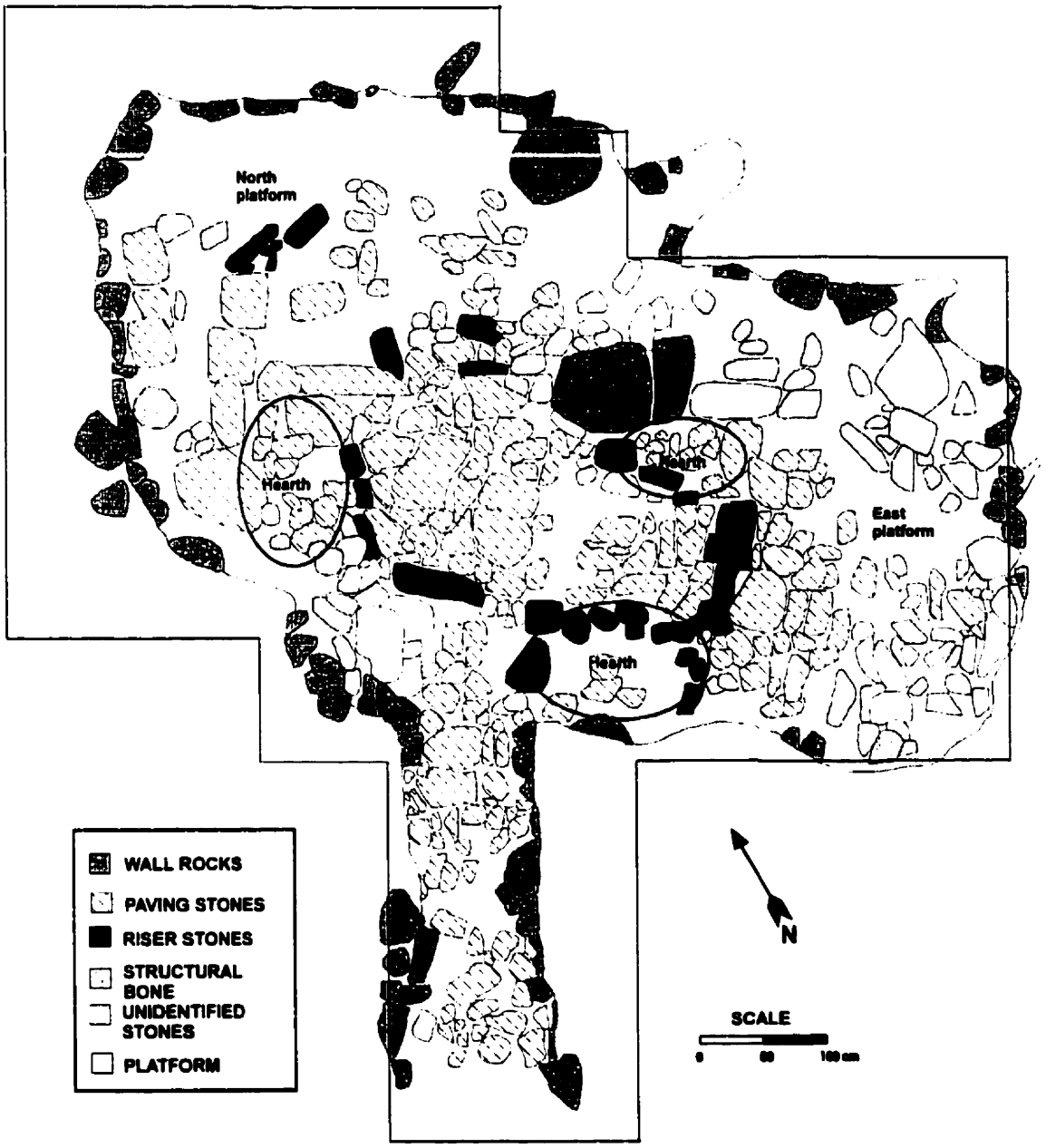

Figure 24. Kuyait House 8 Floor Plan

Constructional Sequence

Our excavations revealed two structural phases, probably representing two historic Inuit occupations, closely related in time. The house was initially constructed as a two-room structure; sometime later, blocking and infilling (perhaps even walling off) of the east platform took place. Further modifications evident in multiple floor paving episodes and the movement of hearth positions indicate seasonal reoccupations within these phases. For example, three paving episodes were apparent at the entrance-passage threshold. The uppermost one (Level 3) is associated with the house floor we uncovered. The second, discontinuous pavement, appears to be an attempt to level up and account for the large boulders intruding on the passage. The lowest pavement (in Level 5) appears to predate the west passage wall as it stands today, actually going underneath both the large wall rocks on the west and gravel outcrops on the east wall near the threshold.

Two major paving levels had been laid in the house floor in the north lobe and on the main floor,while only one major paving episode was found in the east room. On the north side of the north lobe, the pavement was three to four courses thick.

Occupational Sequence

This location had previously been the site of earlier Dorset and Thule structures, and many of their artifacts were found in wall and subfloor deposits. Evidence of Frobisher

contact included flint nodules, glazed stove tile and roof tile, suggesting 19th-century scavenging of Elizabethan sites for fire-making and polishing kits. However, despite the large size and elaborate construction of this structure, very few artifacts, many of which were fairly undiagnostic, were found. Moreover, many of the later period items, such as the child's shoe, may have been dropped into the house after it was abandoned. Thus, dating the final occupation of House 8 presents some difficulties.

The artifact assemblage generally indicates a mid-late 19th-century occupation, perhaps predating the qarmat of Kuyait (Houses 11 and 12) by fifty years. A single radiocarbon sample on empetrum twigs, yielding a date of 110 +/- 50 B.P. (A.D. 1660-1955, calibrated age with 2 sigma range), does not resolve the issue.

House 11

House 11 is a qarmaq or 'winterized tent' in the southwest part of the site which, like House 12, is located in a small gully sheltered by rock outcrops. Traditionally, qarmat were used in either spring or fall. The wet condition of this structure in June suggests that House 11 may have been occupied in the autumn. Qarmat are poorly known archaeologically, despite offering opportunities for tight spatial and temporal definition.

Test excavation in the living floor produced late 19th/early 20th century material arguing that House 11 was

contemporaneous with Occupations 1 and 2 of House 5 (as well as House 12) and that its excavation might elucidate seasonal aspects of this period of contact. Structural features were easily defined on the surface and the house was small enough to be completely excavated in the time which remained.

House 11 contains two cultural components which are stratigraphically distinct: an early 20th-century qarmaq which overlay a Dorset midden deposit. The qarmaq, 4.5 m by 4.5 m, is primarily constructed of low, 20 cm-high wall sods, which are well-defined on the west side but less obviously so on the north and east sides, possibly because few rocks were used in the wall construction (see Figure 25). The east side is built into bedrock. Instead of an entrance passage, a gap in the south wall indicates the position of a southwest-facing entrance way. A rock cache southwest of the structure may have been constructed from cannibalizing the qarmaq and is probably not associated with the house.

Inside, a raised three-sided platform surrounds a sunken (12 cm deep) living-floor area. Neither feature was continuously paved. The transition between the floor and the platform is well-defined topographically, although the platform lacks facing stones delimiting its edge. The north platform is composed of discrete, discontinuous bedding episodes marked by separate levels of peat. Bedding peat layers, noticeably thicker on the edge of the platform, indicate that the platform was built up from the living area rather than by excavating the latter, as had occurred in

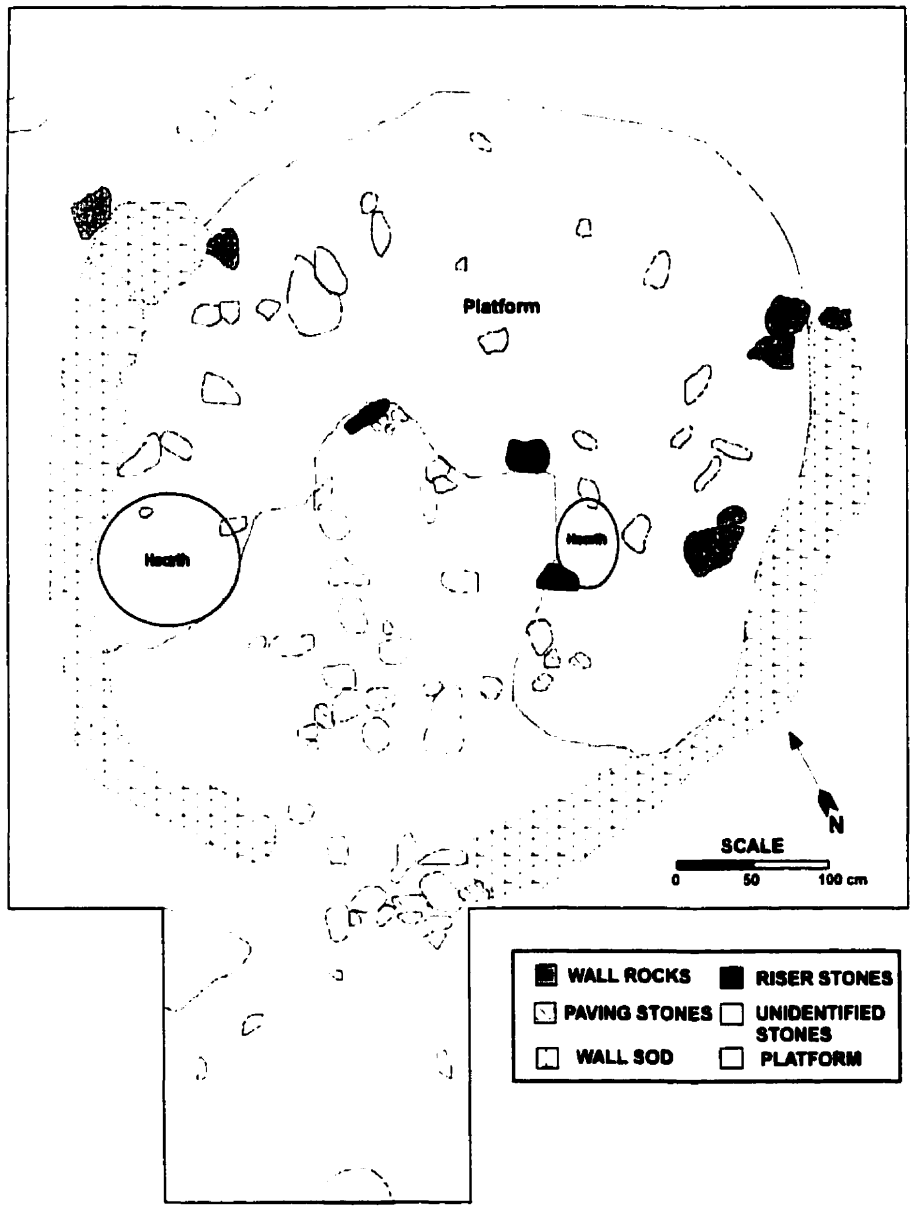

Figure 25. Kuyait House 11 Floor Plan

House 12. Hearth deposits are located on both the west and east platforms.

House 11 was excavated to the top of Level 4, a sterile layer of sandy gravel, and later backfilled, after lining the excavation units with plastic. Dorset material appeared at the base of Level 3 and the top of Level 4, although no associated structure was exposed (reported in Odess 1993). The deposit probably represents a Dorset midden, as evidenced by the recovery of primarily broken tools (although these can occur in dwellings too), their angled (i.e. tossed) deposition and the patchy, discontinuous layers of peat and charcoal-stained areas in which they were found. Only a small area of the Dorset deposit (Unit 4S/2W) was excavated completely due to time constraints.

South of the qarmaq entrance a contemporaneous midden was located. Bone and historic artifacts were recovered from a 2 m by 2 m unit excavated in this feature.

House 12

House 12 lies at the east end of the site, 20 m above the high-tide line (Figure 19). It is a qarmaq, a subrectangular, low, sod and rock-walled tent, measuring 4 m wide by 5 m long in size (Figure 26). Excavation of House 12 provided baseline data on this transition-season dwelling type, as well as on early 20th-century contact in general. It is coeval with House 11 and with similar structures at

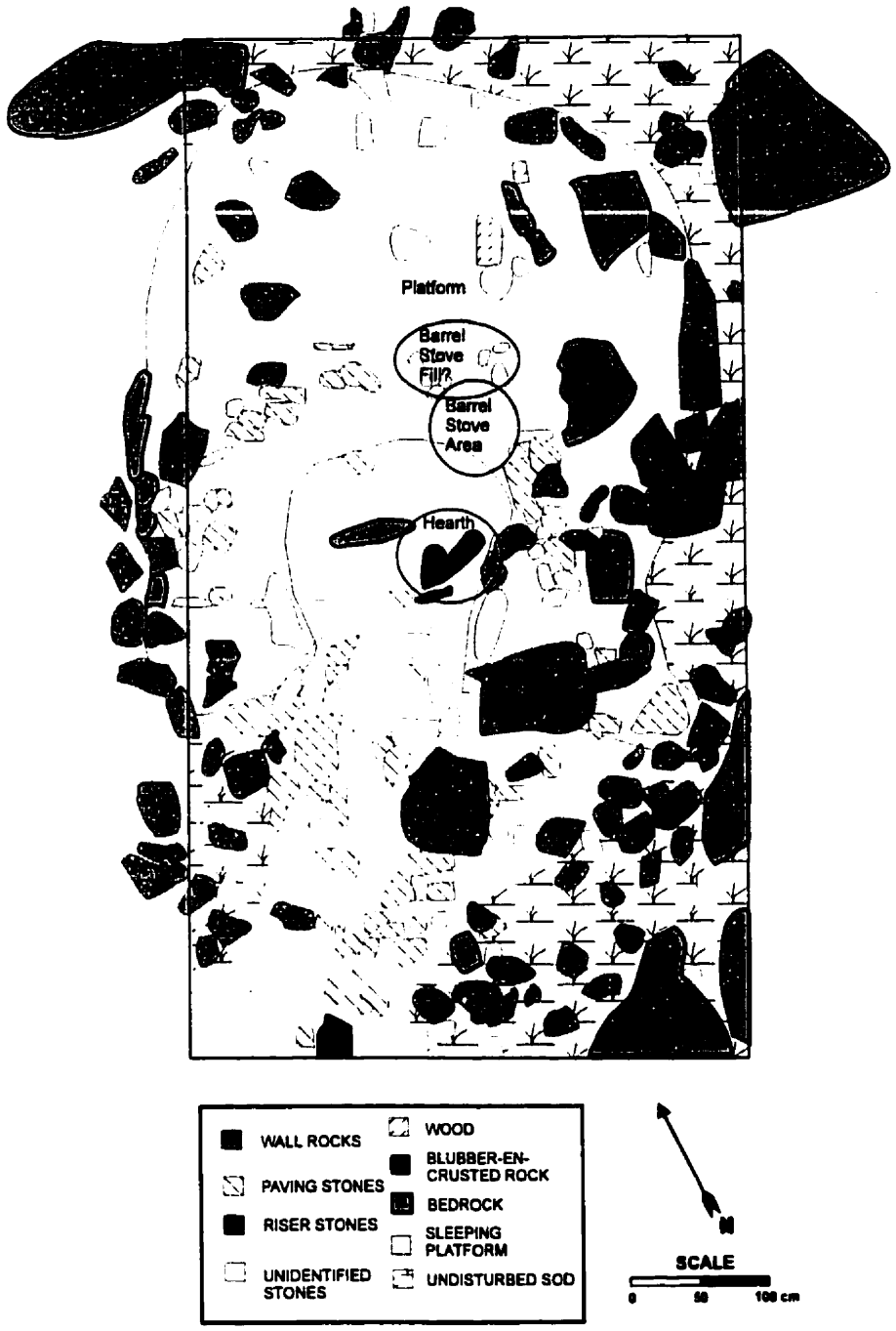

Figure 26. Kuyait House 12 Floor Plan

Kussejeerarkjuan and, like them, had not been disturbed after abandonment.

The qarmaq had been placed in a grassy slope sheltered between rock outcrops to the west and north. The outcropping ledges to the west served as a foundation for the structure's west wall, while the other three sides are formed by a 15 cm high stone and sod wall. The natural slope of the ground surface created a three-sided, raised lateral and rear sleeping area, once the occupants had excavated (to a depth of 15-20 cm) a small living-floor area. A circular depression at the north edge of the living area represents the location of a barrel stove. Another hearth deposit consists of a pavement stone with blubber encrustation and two upright slabs lay on the east side. A third hearth area of compacted, encrusted organics was found on the west platform. A paved exterior cache abutted the southwest corner.

Test excavations outside the qarmaq, in front of the house and in small ravine to the east, yielded no contemporaneous activity areas or middens, only a thin surface scatter of refuse. Excavation of the house itself produced a rich deposit of more than six hundred artifacts recovered from two stratigraphic components: a qarmaq occupation dating to the early 1920s, overlying a Paleo-Inuit midden containing Dorset and traces of pre-Dorset material (reported in Odess 1993). The latter existed only under the southern half of the structure (in Level 3).

'Assemblage Formation Processes'

A total of 4833 artifacts[10] were recovered from our 1991-1992 excavations at Kuyait related to prehistoric, 17th, 19th and early 20th-century Thule Inuit occupation of a late fall(?)/winter site. Since similar formation processes have acted on this assemblage as on those of Kamaiyuk and Kussejeerarkjuan, the reader can review pages 311-317 for these congruences.

Like the Kamaiyuk dwellings, House 5 and House 8 at Kuyait are characterized by rebuilding, repaving and extensive house cleaning. The artifacts found therein, in terms of both their nature and number, reflect this. House 11 and House 12, on the other hand, represent single season, single-family occupations, as at Kussejeerarkjuan. House 3 and House 5 are unique within Kuyait and indeed our entire sample of Thule Inuit structures for their destruction, or at least considerable adulteration, by solifluction activities. As a result, only remnants of the original Thule occupation of Houses 3 and 5 were recovered.

As with the artifact assemblages from the other two sites, that of Kuyait derives from excavation of several structures (five of a total of twelve qarmat and semi-

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10 Total catalogued items for the 1991 and 1992 excavations (5023) - unused catalogue numbers (190) = 4833. In addition, 161 entries (including 40 related to the Dorset culture) were lot-catalogued by Réginald Auger from the 1990 test excavations of Houses 1, 3-13 to total a further 562 Thule and/or historic items (Appendix B).

subterranean houses), as well as some midden material, which is less well-provenienced to structure and age. However, excavations of the earliest levels in House 3 and House 5 were by no means complete, partly because to investigate further would have meant dismantling the existing structures (even more than we did), but also because permafrost limited excavations and clay boil activities obliterated evidence.

Each item collected in 1991 and 1992 was given a separate catalogue number. (This was not the case for items recovered from the 1990 test excavations which were catalogued by lots within test pits and are presented separately in Appendix B). The following discussion and that of the next chapter focuses on the items recovered from Houses 3, 5, 8, 11 and 12 during the 1991 and 1992 investigations.

Kuyait Artifact Assemblage - A Preamble

The artifacts collected from Kuyait Houses 3, 5, 8, 11 and 12 are presented in two, two-part tables (Table 31 and Table 32) according to activities and gender association, as these have been described in Chapter 4 and from information in Chapter 5 on 19th and 20th-century European material culture adoptions. (Table 32 presents the material culture from House 5 by occupation level). Artifact totals, therefore, are duplicated, appearing once as a sum of the houses and again in the appropriate gender column. The exceptions to this classificatory scheme are miscellaneous

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
GENERAL HUNTING 1.	**22**	**125**	**3**	**53**	**156**	**359**					
Rifle (Barrel) 2.		1				1	1				
Breech-loading Drop Block							X				
Butt Plate/Butt		2		1		3	3				
Sling Swivel		1		1	1	3	3				
Ramrod Tip							X				
Backsight				2		2	2				
Side Screw					1	1	1				
Nose Cap					1	1	1				
Frizzen/Mainspring					1	1	1				
Lock Plate					1	1	1				
Floor Plate w/Trigger					1	1	1				
Cartridge Casing	7	38	1	12	58	116	116				
Cartridge				1	1	2	2				
Bullet Head 3.		3		1	10	14	14				
Primer Cap	4	21		5	33	63	63				
Shotgun Shell	10	34	1	17	20	82	82				
Wadding?					1	1	1				
Lead Shot		1	1	10	15	27	27				
Musket Ball							X				
Stripper Clip		24		3	12	39	39				
(Projectile Point?) 4.	1					1	1				
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING	**7(4)**	**7(4)**	**3(2)**	**0**	**0**	**17(10)**					
Harpoon Head							X				
Harpoon Head, Iron 5.	1	1				2	2				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
iron blade							X				
Harpoon Endblade 5.	2	1	2			5	5				
(Harpoon/Small Knife Endblade)5.		(3)	(1)			(4)	(4)				
Harpoon Shaft							X				
Foreshaft							X				
Socket Piece							X				
Finger/Hand Rest		1				1	1				
Harpoon Tension Piece							X				
Lance Head - iron blade							X				
(Lance/Endbladed Knife Blade) 5.	(3)					(3)	(3)				
Dart Head							X				
Ice Pick?	1					1	1				
Wound Plug							X				
Incision Needle							X				
Bladder Float Toggle		1				1	1?				
Float Mouthpiece							X				
Bladder Float Plug							X				
Bladder Mending Disk							?				
Drag Line Handle							?				
Line Clasp or Stopper							X				
(Toggles - line)							X				
Seal (Ice) Scratcher							X				
Seal Indicator							X				
Seal Indicator-E. Needle							X				
Sealing Stool							X				
Hammer/Club							X				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES / Artifacts	HOUSES H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12	TOTAL	GENDER Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Umiak-2							X				
Kayak-2 [Harpoon Rest]							X				
Paddle-2							X				
Whaleboat [Cotter Pin w/Pull]				<1>		<1>		<1>			
Rope Guide					<1>	<1>		<1>			
Boat Lapstrake Rivets							X				
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**					
Arrowhead, iron							X			X(M)	
Arrowshaft							X				
Bow [End]							X			X(M)	
Bow Brace							X				
Quiver							X				
Lance head							X				
(Mirror)		<1>		<1>	<3>	<5>		<5>			
Snare/Trap [Spring]							X				
Snare Peg							X				
Telescope					1	1	1				
BIRD HUNTING	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**					
Bird Dart							X				
Dart Shaft Butt Piece							?				
Bird Spear Ferrule 6.		1				1	1				
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)							X				
Bird Arrowhead, cartridge							X				
Sling Handle											?

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Bolas Ball	1					1					1
Gull Hook		1				1					1
Bird Noose									X	X	
FISHING	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**4**					
Tools							X				
Leister Prong							X				
Leister Spear Barb							X				
Fish Hook, iron				2		2			2		
Fish Hook Weight, iron				1		1			1		
Fish Nets/Traps (Weight)			1			1	1				
Fish Lure							X				
Fish Stringing Needle									X		
Ice Pick-2								X			
Scoop (ice)									X		
Mats-2									X		
TRANSPORTATION	**0**	**3**	**2**	**4(3)**	**2(1)**	**11(9)**					
Trace Buckle			2			2	2				
(Toggle)							X				
Sled Runner							X				
Sled Shoe		3		1	1	5	5				
Sled Shoe, iron				1		1	1				
Sled Crossbar							X				
Whip Shank							X				
Umiak									X	X	

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Kayak (Harpoon Rest)							X				
Oar								X			
Paddle							X				
Whaleboat (Cotter Pin w/Pull)				(1)		(1)	1				
Rope Guide					(1)	(1)	1				
Boat Lapstrake Rivets							X				
Travel Lamp							X				
Travel Pot							X				
Canvas Strapping Buckle				1		1		1?			
(Canvas)					<1>	<1>		<1>			
HOUSE BUILDING	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1(0)**	**6(5)**					
Snow Knife (handle)		1	1			2	2				
European Knife-2							X				
(Saw (blade))		<2>			<2>	<5>	<5>				
Snow Shovel									X		
E. Shovel (Ferrule)									?		
Handle Nut		1				1			1?		
Probe							X				
Mattock Head											X
Pick-digger Head											X
(Nails) 7.	<2>	<29>	<5>	<95>	<56>	<187>	<187>				
(Canvas)					(1)	(1)		(1)			
Tarp/Tent Grommet				1		1		1			
Door Hinge Pintle											?
Sash Lock Keeper											?

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Window Glass			1			1					1?
MANUFACTURING	18(7)	60(19)	13(6)	136(39)	76(16)	303(87)					
Awl-2							X				
Blacksmith's Punch		2				2	2?				
Engraving Tool/Chisel							X				
Auger					1	1	1?				
Drill (Bit)	3		1	1	1	6	6				
Mouthpiece			1	1		2	2				
E. Drill							X				
Marline Spike							X				
Adze Head (Blade)	1	1				2	2				
Socket				1		1	1				
Maul							X				
Mallet (Ship Caulking)		1				1	1				
Wedge?	1	1				2	2				
Pick							X				
Shaft Straightener							X				
Flint Flaker							X				
(Whetstone/Abrader)	(8)	(9)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(22)	(22)				
Hammerstone	1	1				2	2				
Peen Hammer		1				1	1?				
Timber Pegs							X				
Whale Bone Sheaves											X
File					1	1	1				
Gouge							X				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
(Saw Blade) 8.		(2)			(3)	(5)	(5)?				
Saw/Tool [Handle Nut]				1		1	1?				
Screwdriver [Tip]							X				
Vice							X				
(Nails - iron) 7.	(2)	(29)	(5)	(95)	(56)	(187)	(187)?				
Nails - copper/brass		2		8	2	12	12?				
Rivet		4	1	2	4	11	11?				
Rove				1		1	1?				
Screw		1		3	1	5	5?				
Wood Screw 9.		1		15	2	18	18?				
Spike							X				
Tack				1		1	1?				
Washer 10.				2	1	3	3?				
Hex Nut					1	1	1?				
Carriage Bolt							X				
(Knife Blade, iron) 11.	(1)					(1)	(1)				
Side-bladed Knife [blade]		2				2	2				
(Side-bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])		(1)				(1)					(1)
Whittling? Knife Handle							X				
Clasp Knife [Blade]		2	1	2		5	5				
Utility Knife [Blade]					2	2	2?				
Scalpel [Blade] 12.			2			2	2?				
Knife?, glass 12.				1		1	1?				
Solder	1					1	1?				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
SKIN PREPARATION	1(0)	5(1)	1(0)	1	5(4)	13(6)					
(Ulu [Blade])	(1)	(4)	(1)		(1)	(7)		(7)			
Reworked Handle		1				1		1			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])		<1>				<1>					<1>
Beamer								X			
Scraper, copper					1	1		1			
Scraper, glass				1	3	4		4			
Scapula (blunt) Scraper								X			
Split Antler Scraper									X		
Composite Scraper								X			
Knife to Remove Water								X			
Tin Scraper to " "								X			
Kamik Stretcher								X			
Skin Stretcher								X			
Skin Stretching Stakes								X		X(F)	
(Whetstone)	<8>	<9>	<2>	<2>	<1>	<22>		<22>			
Clothespin Spring								?			
SEWING	0	1	0	1	9	11					
(Ulu [Blade])	<1>	<4>	<1>		<1>	<7>		<7>			
Reworked Handle		<1>				<1>		<1>			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])		<1>				<1>					<1>
Needle								X			
E. Needle					1	1		1			
E. Pin								X			
Needle Case								X			

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Needle Case Toggle								X			
Thimble								X			
E. Thimble					2	2		2			
Thimble Holder								X			
Awl 13.				1	5	6		6			
Sinew Thread								X			
Birdskin Thread Bag								X			
E. Thread								X			
Button-2		<5>		<3>	<14>	<22>		<22>			
Cloth-2								X			
Scissors (blade)		1			1	2		2			
Sewing Machine								X			
FOOD PREPARATION	11	175(68)	11(10)	446(25(	129(91)	772(430)					
Bowl/Vessel (Base)		1	2		1	4			4		
Tray - bone								X			
" - soapstone								X			
Cup									X		
Cooking Pot (lid)								X			
Sheet Metal Can								X			
(Sheet Metal Container)		(107)	(1)	(196)	(38)	(342)		(342)			
Meat Can Key								X			
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack								X			
Flesh Hook				1		1		1?			
Marrow Spatula								X			
Spoon/Ladle		1				1			1		

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Ladle Side or Vessel Base									X		
Cup/Pot/Ladle Handle - sheet metal					3	3			3		
Meat (Kitchen) Fork					1	1		1			
Fork								X			
Teaspoon	1				1	2		2			
Tablespoon		3		2	1	6		6			
Spoon/Fork Handle	1			3	1	5		5			
Cutlery [Tang]								X			
Bolster		2				2		2			
Spatula, iron					1	1		1			
Stone Vessel								X			
Tea/Coffee Pot [spout sieve]		1				1		1			
Ice Pick 14.		1				1		1?			
Scoop (ice)								X			
Axe									X		
Flensing Knife?, iron blade							X				
E. Knife (hunting/butchering)							X				
(Knife Blade, iron)	<1>					<1>	<1>				
(Harpoon/Small Knife Endblade)5.		<3>	<1>			<4>	<4>				
(Lance/Endbladed Knife Blade) 5.	<3>					<3>	<3>				
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])		<1>									<1>
(Ulu [Blade])	<1>	<4>	<1>		<1>	<7>		<7>?			
Plate?		4		34	2	40		40?			
Soup Plate		31		9		40		40?			
Bowl			2	64	53	119		119?			
Tea Cup?								?			

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Cup	2		3	3		8		8?			
Cup/Bowl	1			12	1	14		14?			
Large Mug?								?			
Mug? 15.		1		2		3		3?			
Saucer				1		1		1?			
Toy/Demitasse Saucer								?			
Jug Stopper					1	1		1?			
Preserve Jar				2		2		2?			
Tub/Crock			1			1		1?			
Large Bowl/Chamber Pot								?			
Pan Lug								?			
Vessel, ceramic		2	1	30	7	40		40?			
Vessel Lid					1	1		1?			
Large Vessel 'baker'?								?			
Flatware, ceramic								?			
Serving Piece, ceramic				6	1	7		7?			
Unidentified Ceramic	1	21		65	16	103		103?			
Castor Oil Bottle											?
Case Gin Bottle				3		3					3
Beverage Bottle Lid											X
Beverage Bottle 16.	5		1	9		15					15
Vessel Glass				4		4					4
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE	**14**	**73**	**32**	**47**	**40**	**206**					
Lamp/Vessel	5	10	12	3	4	34		34			
Lamp			1			1		1			

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Lamp, copper								X			
Primus Stove (burner)					1	1		1?			
Kerosene								?			
Coal					4	4		4			
Wick Trimmer	6	36	10	6	6	64		64			
Drying Rack								X			
Fire Drill									X		
Fire Hearth		1				1			1		
(Whetstone)	<8>	<9>	<2>	<2>	<1>	<22>		<22>			
Iron Pyrites								X			
Frobisher Flint		1	5		2	8		8			
Cutting Board								X			
Box (Top/Bottom) 17.		5				5			5?		
E. Box? (side?)				1		1			1?		
Box Lock									?		
Escutcheon Plate									?		
Box Handle									?		
Butt Hinge	1					1			1?		
Skin Bag/Vessel								X			
Oil-catching Skin Basket								X			
Sucking Tube									X		
Mats									X		
Towels								?			
Blankets								?			
Blubber Pounder								X			
Urine Scraper								?			

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Birdskin (Wing) Sweeper									(		
Scrub Brush				1		1		1			
Trunk [Handle Strap]		1				1			1		
Patent Medicine? Bottle											?
Patent Medicine Bottle Cap?											?
Bottle - glass 16.			1	16	1	18					18?
Bottle - ceramic 18.					1	1					1?
Bottle Stopper				1		1					1?
Container Lid					1	1					1?
Pail [handle]			1	1		2		2			
Bucket [stave]				1		1		1			
(Sheet Metal Container)		<107>	<1>	<196>	<38>	<342>		<342>?			
" " *Container [lid]*		18		1	4	23		23?			
Commercial Container Label			2			2					2?
Alarm Clock [bell]		1				1					1
Face					6	6					6
Gear					5	5					5
Figurine?	2			16	5	23					23?
CLOTHING/PROTECTION	**2**	**14(9)**	**1**	**15(12)**	**28(14)**	**60(38)**					
Parka								X			
Beaded Parka								X			
Trousers/Shorts									X		
Boot [Insole?] 19.		1			1	2			2		
Pull?					1	1			1		
Shoe			1	1		2				1	1

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Mitten									X		
Button/Buckle/Toggle									X		
Snow Goggles							X				
E. Goggles (Eyepiece Frame)							X				
Sunglasses (Lens)?		1		1		2	2				
Snow Beaters									X		
E. Clothing									X	X	
Belt?					1	1					1?
(Button) 20.		(5)		(3)	(14)	(22)					22?
Button Hole Patch - leather		3				3					3?
Clothing Eye				1		1					1?
Clothing Grommet?					1	1					1?
Clothing Rivet		1				1	1				
Clothing Snap Cover				1		1					1?
Collar Stud		1				1	1				
Safety Pin					2	2					2
Garter? Buckle		1				1					1
Suspender Clip/Snap	1				3	4	4				
Suspender (Tab/Strap/Buckle)	1			5	1	7	7				
Fabric, wool		1		1	3	5					5
Fabric, cotton				2	1	3					3
ORNAMENTS/AMULET/PERSONAL	6	1052(1(	58	199(19	307(304)	1622(1617)					
Brow Band								X			
Perforated Tooth		1	1			2	2				
Baleen Pendant		1				1					1?

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Ivory Pendant				1		1					1?
Aluminum Pendant?											?
Button Pendant?		1			1	2		2			
Spoon Pendant				1		1		1			
Coin Pendant								X			
Thimble Pendant?					1	1		1			
Amulet-broken projectile point								X		X(F)	
Amulet [harpoon/snowknife]				2		2					2
Comb								X			
Hair Pin								X			
Bead preform - slate		1				1		1			
Bead - bone, wood			1	1		2		2			
Bead - lead					1	1		1			
Bead - glass	6	1029	49	193	300	1577		1577			
Bead - plastic		1				1		1			
Bead? - brass		10				10		10			
Misc. Carving											X
Bead Figurine											?
Glass 'Cameo'			1			1		1?			
Ring								X			
Bracelet								X		X	
Earring									X		
Watchcase Ornament								X			
Pocketwatch [parts] 21.		4				4		4			
Stove Tile 22.		1	3			4		4			
Brick			3		1	4		4			

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	**HOUSES**					**TOTAL**	**GENDER**				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Reading Glasses									X		
Tweezers		1				1					1?
Shaving Brush (handle)		1				1	1?				
Toiletries Container								X			
(Mirror) 23.		(1)		(1)	(3)	(5)					(5)
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**					
Drum							X				
Bull Roarer											X
BURIAL GOODS	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**					
Weapons?/Gun							X				
Kayak/Sled							X				
Pot								X		X(F)	
Lamp								X			
Beads								X			
Knives								X			
Enamelled Cup										X(F)	
Iron Spoon										X(F)	
Iron Fork											X
Tin Pot											X
Meat Tub											X
E. Clothing									X		
Doll									X	X(F)	
Toy Ulu										X(F)	
Bead Necklace										X(F)	

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Pencil										X(F)	
Safety Pin										X(F)	
Match										X(F)	
MINIATURES/TOYS	**1**	**7**	**2**	**1**	**5**	**16**					
Figurine/Doll										X	
E. Toy Doll										X	
Toy Soldier					2	2				2	
Toy Ulu Blade			1			1				1	
Toy Lamp		2			1	3				3	
Toy Cup/Bowl 24.	1					1				1?	
Toy Harpoon Head		1				1				1	
Toy End Blade harpoon/sm. knife		1	1			2				2	
Toy Wound Pin?										X	
Toy Lance										X	
Toy Arrowshaft		2				2				2	
Toy Bow		1		1		2				2	
Toy Throwing Board										X	
Toy Sled										X	
Toy? Trace Buckle/Toggle										?	
Toy Handle (Whip?)										X	
Toy Shovel										?	
Toy Bucket										?	
Toy Ball										?	
Toy Drum Rim										?	
Toy Boat										X	

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Toy Paddle										?	
Toy Animal										X	
Top										?	
E. Top										X	
Seal Bone Ajagak									?	?	
Whistle										X	
Marble					2	2				2?	
WRITING	**0**	**4**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**11**					
Pencil [lead/wood]		4		5	2	11					11?
ADULT RECREATION	**8**	**55**	**1**	**24**	**58**	**146**					
Gaming Piece									X		
Bird Figure		1				1			1		
String Game								X			
Skip Rope								X		X	
Inuit Tennis								X			
Pipe 25.	6	49	1	12	53	121			121	X	
Pipe Damper		1				1			1		
Snuffbox? Lid	1	1				2			2		
Tobacco Brand		3			3	6			6		
Tobacco									X		
Record Player											X
Disk Record				12		12					12
Checker Piece	1				2	3			3		
Accordion											X

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Harmonica (plate/reed)											X
Music Box											X
Violin											X
MISCELLANEOUS LITHICS/MINERALS 2	**29**	**24**	**11**	**13**	**16**	**93**					
Mica	1		1		3	5	5?				
Ground Nephrite/Neph. Debitage							?				
Ground Slate	10	13	1		1	25	26?				
Debitage, Slate	9	6	4		6	25	25?				
Core?, Slate	1					1	1?				
Unidentified Blade - slate	2		1		1	4	4?				
Modified Soapstone	4	1	2	8	2	17	17?				
Modified Graphite	1	4	1	1	2	9	9?				
Modified Gneiss	1					1	1?				
Modified Siltstone				1	1	2	2?				
Uniface, Slate				1		1	1?				
Plug? - unid. lithic			1			1	1?				
Hematite				2		2	2?				
MISCELLANEOUS METAL 26.	**6**	**182**	**16**	**413**	**94**	**711**					
Sheet metal - lead					1	1	1?				
Sheet metal - copper/brass				2	5	7	7?				
Sheet metal - iron 27.	5	162	8	386	52	613	613?				
Shaft/bar/rod, iron/copper/lead		5		9	4	18					18?
Strip, iron					2	2					2?
Wire		2		1	9	12	12?				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Lump, iron/lead			1	2	1	4					4?
Unidentified iron 28.	1	12	7	13	17	50					50?
Unidentified brass/copper 29.		1			3	4					4?
MISCELLANEOUS ORGANICS 26.	**18**	**184**	**40**	**63**	**43**	**348**					
Shaft, Wood	2	45	6	6	6	65					65?
Plug, Wood		1				1					1?
Peg, Wood											?
Point, Wood/Bone											?
Unidentified Item - Wood		2				2					2?
Modified Wood 30.	5	85	20	43	14	167	167?				
Tool Handle?, Bone		1		1		2					2?
Knotted Baleen		5	2			7					7?
Modified Baleen	4	3	3	1		11					11?
Skin Strip/Lace		1			1	2		2?			
Modified Skin	2	10	2	2	5	21		21?			
Unidentified Item - Bone		1	2			3					3?
Modified Bone 28.	3	20	2	8	8	41	41?				
Plug, ivory					1	1					1?
Unid. Slotted Ivory Handle			1			1					1?
Modified Ivory/Tooth	2	8		1	3	14	14?				
Modified Antler		2	1	1	5	9	9?				
Modified Bark			1			1					1?
MISC. EUROPEAN ITEMS	**4**	**27**	**2**	**37**	**50**	**120**					
Angle Iron				1		1					1?

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Bale Seal?											?
Barrel Strapping 31.					1	1			1		
Strapping 28.		1	1	6	2	10					10?
Chain Link					1	1					1?
Commercial Hinge					1	1					1?
D-ring				2		2					2?
Eyebolt				1		1					1?
Fastener					1	1					1?
Grommet				1	3	4					4?
Hasp (gate?)					1	1					1?
Instrument Pressure Gauge											?
Machinery Clamp/Bracket											?
Nozzle											?
Roller Bearings											?
Unidentified Machinery/Tool Part											?
Bolt		1		1		2					2?
Long Bolt											?
Band, copper/brass					1	1					1?
Ferrule	1	2		1	1	5					5?
Plate, iron											?
Stamped Label, brass											?
Label?, tin-plated											?
Unidentified Handle Tab		1				1					1?
Unidentified gilt/gilded lead		10		1		11					11?
Brass Cap?		1				1					1?
Modified Glass 32.	1			3	6	10	10?				

Table 31. Kuyait Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.402)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.3	H.5	H. 8	H.11	H.12		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Plate Glass											?
Flat Glass		5		2	23	30					30?
Unidentified Glass				2	4	6					6?
Graphite Stick 33.				9		9					9?
Twine					1	1					1?
Mortar?		1				1					1?
Modified Leather 34.	2	1		3	3	9					9?
Modified Cardboard		1				1					1?
Unidentified Cardboard Insert			1			1					1?
Unidentified Cork				1		1					1?
Unidentifed European Wood				1		1					1?
Unidentified Paper		1				1					1?
Unidentified Rubber or Bakelite					1	1					1?
Unid. Item, Unid. Material		2		2		4					4?
TOTAL 35.	**148**	**2002**	**199**	**1462**	**1022**	**4833**					

Key:

italics	European items
-2	secondary use
?	probable gender association
{ }	total without conflicting items
( )	artifacts which are used in more than one activity
< >	secondary use, not included in calculations
[ ]	additional specific parts/items recovered archaeologically
X	items present in Inuit material culture repertoire, but not recovered archaeologically from site

Footnotes:

1. Consisting primarily of gun parts and ammunition, could be for sea mammal, land mammal or bird hunting.
2. Modified (cut, twisted).
3. One has been modified (whittled).
4. Function unknown: arrow? harpoon?
5. One is a preform.
6. Known as a 'nuirn' in Inuktitut, part of a kayak (Boas 1888:495-496)
7. Classified as manufacturing items at this site, but as house building materials at Kussejeerarkjuan because the majority there were found around house perimeters. Nail distribution was not associated with house walls at Kuyait. However, the large numbers recovered, especially from the qarmat, are suggestive.
8. Includes two hacksaw blades.
9. One is brass.
10. One is rubber.
11. Preform made from barrel strapping.
12. Because its form resembles a men's sideknife, I assume that the scalpel is a men's knife.
13. One is a leather awl; one is homemade.
14. Too delicate for hunting or snowhouse building.
15. Includes one handle fragment.
16. Several pieces are flaked (5 beverage bottles; 4 unidentified bottles).
17. One is modified (nail hole).
18. Beer or shoe blacking bottle (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998).
19. One boot sole is a calendar fragment, one is of bird skin.
20. Includes buttons made of iron, brass, and glass as well as two possible button backs made for coat buttons. Includes shirt, suspender, military/police jacket and dress buttons.
21. Two are modified (cut, flanged).
22. Used by women to polish their brass hair ornaments (Hall 1970:244). One could be a brick or tile; one is modified (an abrader).
23. Also used to signal when hunting. One piece is flaked.

24. Or possibly an eggcup.
25. One is ceramic.
26. Primarily used in manufacturing activities.
27. Four are corrugated. Two are modified, including one of tin-plated iron with fern motif.
28. One with nail.
29. Includes one filed block
30. Including three with nails, one with bolt.
31. One is modified.
32. Highly flaked - used as a raw material alternative to lithics? One is plate glass.
33. Possibly used for drawing.
34. One with rivet.
35. Site total includes 15 artifacts from locations other than Houses 3, 5, 8, 11, or 12. These are: one modified bone, one bone adze head, and one ivory doll from beach collections, one wick trimmer, one slate flake, two pieces of modified slate, one piece of modified graphite, and one clay pipe fragment from Test Pit 2 in House 1, as well as two glass seed beads, one piece of modified soapstone, one piece of modified wood, one piece of modified skin and one piece of modified copper sheet metal.

Note: A few items identified with food preparation are associated with both genders in the ethnographic literature (see Chapter 4). These include bowls, cups, spoons/ladles, and axes. Consequently, their association with both genders has been maintained in the artifact assemblage tables. I have designated other items, such as cutlery and ceramics, as female but these could have been used by everyone.

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
GENERAL HUNTING 1.	**81**	**22**	**18**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**125***					
Rifle (Barrel) 2.	1						1	1				
Breech-loading Drop Block								X				
Butt Plate/Butt	2						2	2				
Sling Swivel	1						1	1				
Ramrod Tip								X				
Backsight								X				
Side Screw								X				
Nose Cap								X				
Frizzen/Mainspring								X				
Lock Plate								X				
Floor Plate w/Trigger								X				
Cartridge Casing	25	7	4			1	38*	38				
Cartridge								X				
Bullet Head 3.	2		1				3	3				
Primer Cap	8	4	8	1			21	21				
Shotgun Shell	21	8	4			1	34	34				
Wadding?								X				
Lead Shot	1						1	1				
Musket Ball								X				
Stripper Clip	20	3	1				24	24				
(Projectile Point?) 4.								X				
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING	**4(3)**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**7(4)**					
Harpoon Head								X				
Harpoon Head, iron 5.	1						1	1				

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
iron blade								X				
Harpoon Endblade 5.	1						1	1				
(Harpoon/Small Knife Endblade)!	(1)			(2)			(3)	(3)				
Harpoon Shaft								X				
Foreshaft								X				
Socket Piece								X				
Finger/Hand Rest	1						1	1				
Harpoon Tension Piece								X				
Lance Head - iron blade								X				
(Lance/Endbladed Knife Blade) 5.								X				
Dart Head								X				
Ice Pick?								X				
Wound Plug								X				
Incision Needle								X				
Bladder Float Toggle					1		1	1?				
Float Mouthpiece								X				
Bladder Float Plug								X				
Bladder Mending Disk								?				
Drag Line Handle								?				
Line Clasp or Stopper								X				
(Toggles - line)								X				
Seal (Ice) Scratcher								X				
Seal Indicator								X				
Seal Indicator-E. Needle								X				
Sealing Stool								X				
Hammer/Club								X				

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Umiak-2								X				
Kayak-2 [Harpoon Rest]								X				
Paddle-2								X				
Whaleboat-2								X				
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**					
Arrowhead, iron								X			X(M)	
Arrowshaft								X				
Bow [End]								X			X(M)	
Bow Brace								X				
Quiver								X				
Lance head								X				
(Mirror)	<1>						<1>	<1>				
Snare/Trap [Spring]								X				
Snare Peg								X				
Telescope								X				
BIRD HUNTING	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**					
Bird Dart								X				
Dart Shaft Butt Piece								?				
Bird Spear Ferrule 6.					1		1	1				
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)								X				
Bird Arrowhead, cartridge								X				
Sling Handle												?
Bolas Ball												X
Gull Hook				1			1					1

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Bird Noose										X	X	
FISHING	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**					
Tools								X				
Leister Prong								X				
Leister Spear Barb								X				
Fish Hook, iron										X		
Fish Hook Weight, iron										X		
Fish Nets/Traps [Weight]								X				
Fish Lure								X				
Fish Stringing Needle										X		
Ice Pick-2									X			
Scoop (ice)										X		
Mats-2										X		
TRANSPORTATION	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**					
Trace Buckle								X				
(Toggle)								X				
Sled Runner								X				
Sled Shoe	2			1			3	3				
Sled Shoe, iron								X				
Sled Crossbar								X				
Whip Shank								X				
Umiak										X	X	
Kayak [Harpoon Rest]								X				
Oar									X			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	**HOUSE 5**							**GENDER**				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Paddle								X				
Whaleboat [Cotter Pin w/Pull]								X				
Rope Guide								X				
Boat Lapstrake Rivets								X				
Travel Lamp								X				
Travel Pot								X				
Canvas Strapping Buckle									?			
(Canvas-2)									X			
HOUSE BUILDING	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**					
Snow Knife [handle]			1				1	1				
European Knife-2								X				
(Saw [blade])	<2>						<2>	<2>				
Snow Shovel										X		
E. Shovel [Ferrule]										?		
Handle Nut		1					1			1?		
Probe								X				
Mattock Head												X
Pick-digger Head												X
(Nails) 7.	<23>	<2>	<3>	<1>			<29>	<29>				
(Canvas)									X			
Tarp/Tent Grommet									X			
Door Hinge Pintle												?
Sash Lock Keeper												?
Window Glass												?

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MANUFACTURING	39(12)	3(1)	9(4)	4(1)	1(0)	4(1)	60(19)					
Awl-2								X				
Blacksmith's Punch			2				2	2?				
Engraving Tool/Chisel								X				
Auger								?				
Drill [Bit]								X				
Mouthpiece								X				
E. Drill								X				
Marline Spike								X				
Adze Head [Blade]	1						1	1				
Socket								X				
Maul								X				
Mallet (Ship Caulking)			1				1	1				
Wedge?	1						1	1				
Pick								X				
Shaft Straightener								X				
Flint Flaker								X				
(Whetstone/Abrader)	(2)		(2)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(9)	(9)				
Hammerstone	1						1	1				
Peen Hammer	1						1	1?				
Timber Pegs								X				
Whale Bone Sheaves												X
File								X				
Gouge								X				
(Saw Blade) 8.	(2)						(2)	(2)?				
Saw/Tool [Handle Nut]								?				

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Screwdriver (Tip)								X				
Vice								X				
(Nails - iron) 7.	(23)	(2)	(3)	(1)			(29)	(29)?				
Nails - copper/brass	1		1				2	2?				
Rivet	4						4	4?				
Rove								?				
Screw	1						1	1?				
Wood Screw 9.		1					1	1?				
Spike								X				
Tack								?				
Washer 10.								?				
Hex Nut								?				
Carriage Bolt								X				
(Knife Blade, iron) 11.								X				
Side-bladed Knife (blade)				1		1	2	2				
(Side-bladed Knife/Ulu (blade))						(1)	(1)					(1)
Whittling? Knife Handle								X				
Clasp Knife (Blade)	2						2	2				
Utility Knife (Blade)								?				
Scalpel (Blade) 12.								?				
Knife?, glass 12.								?				
Solder								1?				
SKIN PREPARATION	**1(0)**	**0**	**1(0)**	**1(0)**	**1(0)**	**1(0)**	**5(0)**					
(Ulu (Blade))	(1)		(1)		(1)	(1)	(4)		(4)			
Reworked Handle				(1)			(1)		1			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])						<1>	<1>					<1>
Beamer									X			
Scraper, copper									X			
Scraper, glass									X			
Scapula (blunt) Scraper									X			
Split Antler Scraper										X		
Composite Scraper									X			
Knife to Remove Water									X			
Tin Scraper to " "									X			
Kamik Stretcher									X			
Skin Stretcher									X			
Skin Stretching Stakes									X		X(F)	
(Whetstone)	<2>		<2>	<2>	<1>	<2>	<9>		<9>			
Clothespin Spring									?			
SEWING	0	0	0	1	0	0	1					
(Ulu [Blade])	<1>		<1>		<1>	<1>	<4>		<4>			
Reworked Handle				<1>			<1>		1			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])						<1>	<1>					<1>
Needle									X			
E. Needle									X			
E. Pin									X			
Needle Case									X			
Needle Case Toggle									X			
Thimble									X			
E. Thimble									X			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Thimble Holder									X			
Awl 13.									X			
Sinew Thread									X			
Birdskin Thread Bag									X			
E. Thread									X			
(Button)-2	<4>		<1>				<5>		<5>			
Cloth									X			
Scissors (blade)				1			1		1			
Sewing Machine									X			
FOOD PREPARATION	**96(16)**	**28(22)**	**36(15)**	**7**	**3**	**4**	**175*(68)**					
Bowl/Vessel (Base)					1		1			1		
Tray - bone									X			
" - soapstone									X			
Cup										X		
Cooking Pot (lid)									X			
Sheet Metal Can									X			
(Sheet Metal Container)	(80)	(6)	(21)				(107)		(107)			
Meat Can Key									X			
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack									X			
Flesh Hook									?			
Marrow Spatula									X			
Spoon/Ladle					1		1			1		
Ladle Side or Vessel Base										X		
Cup/Pot/Ladle Handle - sheet metal										X		
Meat (Kitchen) Fork									X			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Fork									X			
Teaspoon									X			
Tablespoon	3						3		3			
Spoon/Fork Handle									X			
Cutlery [Tang]									X			
Bolster				2			2		2			
Spatula, iron									X			
Stone Vessel									X			
Tea/Coffee Pot [spout sieve]	1						1		1			
Ice Pick 14.			1				1		1?			
Scoop (ice)									X			
Axe										X		
Flensing Knife?, iron blade								X				
E. Knife (hunting/butchering)								X				
(Knife Blade, iron)								X				
(Harpoon/Small Knife Endblade)!	<1>			<2>			<3>	<3>				
(Lance/Endbladed Knife Blade) 5.								X				
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])						<1>	<1>					<1>
(Ulu [Blade])	<1>		<1>		<1>	<1>	<4>		<4>?			
Plate?	1			1		2	4		4?			
Soup Plate	2	17	7	3		2	31		31?			
Bowl									?			
Tea Cup?									?			
Cup									?			
Cup/Bowl									?			
Large Mug?									?			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Mug? 15.	1						1		1?			
Saucer									?			
Toy/Demitasse Saucer									?			
Jug Stopper									?			
Preserve Jar									?			
Tub/Crock									?			
Large Bowl/Chamber Pot									?			
Pan Lug									?			
Vessel, ceramic			1		1		2		2?			
Vessel Lid									?			
Large Vessel 'baker'?									?			
Flatware, ceramic									?			
Serving Piece, ceramic									?			
Unidentified Ceramic	8	5	6	1			21*		21?			
Castor Oil Bottle												?
Case Gin Bottle												X
Beverage Bottle Lid									X			
Beverage Bottle 16.												X
Vessel Glass												X
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE	**23**	**0**	**8**	**13**	**7**	**21**	**73***					
Lamp/Vessel	1		3	1	4	1	10		10			
Lamp									X			
Lamp, copper									X			
Primus Stove [burner]									?			
Kerosene									?			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Coal									X			
Wick Trimmer	2		1	12	2	19	36		36			
Drying Rack									X			
Fire Drill										X		
Fire Hearth			1				1			1		
(Whetstone)	<2>		<2>	<2>	<1>	<2>	<9>		<9>			
Iron Pyrites									X			
Frobisher Flint			1				1		1			
Cutting Board									X			
Box [Top/Bottom] 17.	1		2		1	1	5			5?		
E. Box? [side?]										?		
Box Lock										?		
Escutcheon Plate										?		
Box Handle										?		
Butt Hinge										?		
Skin Bag/Vessel									X			
Oil-catching Skin Basket									X			
Sucking Tube										X		
Mats										X		
Towels									?			
Blankets									?			
Blubber Pounder									X			
Urine Scraper									?			
Birdskin (Wing) Sweeper										X		
Scrub Brush									X			
Trunk [Handle Strap]	1						1			1		

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Patent Medicine? Bottle												?
Patent Medicine Bottle Cap?												?
Bottle - glass 16.												?
Bottle - ceramic 18.												?
Bottle Stopper												?
Container Lid												?
Pail [handle]									2			
Bucket [stave]									1			
(Sheet Metal Container)	<80>	<6>	<21>				<107>		<107>?			
" " Container [lid]	18						18		18?			
Commercial Container Label												?
Alarm Clock [bell]							1*					1
Face												X
Gear												X
Figurine?												?
CLOTHING/PROTECTION	**9(5)**	**0**	**3(2)**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**14(9)**					
Parka									X			
Beaded Parka									X			
Trousers/Shorts										X		
Boot [Insole?] 19.					1		1			1		
Pull?										X		
Shoe											X	X
Mitten										X		
Button/Buckle/Toggle										X		
Snow Goggles								X				

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
E. Goggles [Eyepiece Frame]								X				
Sunglasses [Lens]?	1						1	1				
Snow Beaters										X		
E. Clothing										X	X	
Belt?												?
(Button) 20.	(4)		(1)				(5)					5?
Button Hole Patch - leather	2		1				3					3?
Clothing Eye												?
Clothing Grommet?												?
Clothing Rivet						1	1	1				
Clothing Snap Cover												?
Collar Stud	1						1	1				
Safety Pin												X
Garter? Buckle	1						1					1
Suspender Clip/Snap								X				
Suspender [Tab/Strap/Buckle]								X				
Fabric, wool			1				1					1
Fabric, cotton												?
ORNAMENTS/AMULET/PERSONAL	901(9(	27	92	18	1	12	1052*(1051)					
Brow Band									X			
Perforated Tooth				1			1	1				
Baleen Pendant					1		1					1?
Ivory Pendant												?
Aluminum Pendant?												?
Button Pendant?		1					1		1			

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Spoon Pendant									X			
Coin Pendant									X			
Thimble Pendant?									X			
Amulet-broken projectile point									X		X(F)	
Amulet [harpoon/snowknife]												X
Comb									X			
Hair Pin									X			
Bead preform - slate	1						1		1			
Bead - bone, wood									X			
Bead - lead									X			
Bead - glass	884	25	91	16		12	1029*		1029			
Bead - plastic				1			1		1			
Bead? - brass	8	1	1				10		10			
Misc. Carving												X
Bead Figurine												?
Glass 'Cameo'									?			
Ring									X			
Bracelet									X		X	
Earring										X		
Watchcase Ornament									X			
Pocketwatch [parts] 21.	4						4		4			
Stove Tile 22.	1						1		1			
Brick									X			
Reading Glasses										X		
Tweezers	1						1					1?
Shaving Brush [handle]	1						1	1?				

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Toiletries Container									X			
(Mirror) 23.	(1)						(1)					(1)
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Drum								X				
Bull Roarer												X
BURIAL GOODS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Weapons/Gun								X				
Kayak/Sled								X				
Pot									X		X(F)	
Lamp									X			
Beads									X			
Knives									X			
Enamelled Cup											X(F)	
Iron Spoon											X(F)	
Iron Fork												X
Tin Pot												X
Meat Tub												X
E. Clothing										X		
Doll										X	X(F)	
Toy Ulu											X(F)	
Bead Necklace											X(F)	
Pencil											X(F)	
Safety Pin											X(F)	
Match											X(F)	

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MINIATURES/TOYS	**3**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**7**					
Figurine/Doll												X
E. Toy Doll												X
Toy Soldier												X
Toy Ulu Blade												X
Toy Lamp	1			1			2					2
Toy Cup/Bowl 24.												?
Toy Harpoon Head	1						1					1
Toy End Blade harpoon/sm. knif	1						1					1
Toy Wound Pin?												X
Toy Lance												X
Toy Arrowshaft			1		1		2					2
Toy Bow				1			1					1
Toy Throwing Board												X
Toy Sled												X
Toy? Trace Buckle/Toggle												?
Toy Handle (Whip?)												X
Toy Shovel												?
Toy Bucket												?
Toy Ball												?
Toy Drum Rim												?
Toy Boat												X
Toy Paddle												?
Toy Animal												X
Top												?
E. Top												X

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Seal Bone Ajagak										?	?	
Whistle											X	
Marble											?	
WRITING	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**					
Pencil [lead/wood]	4						4					4?
ADULT RECREATION	**33**	**4**	**18**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**55**					
Gaming Piece										X		
Bird Figure	1						1			1		
String Game									X			
Skip Rope									X		X	
Inuit Tennis									X			
Pipe 25.	28	4	17				49			49	X	
Pipe Damper	1						1			1		
Snuffbox? Lid			1				1					1
Tobacco Brand	3						3			3		
Tobacco										X		
Record Player												X
Disk Record												X
Checker Piece										X		
Accordion												X
Harmonica [plate/reed]												X
Music Box												X
Violin												X

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MISCELLANEOUS LITHICS/MINERALS	**1**	**0**	**6**	**9**	**2**	**6**	**24**					
Mica								?				
Ground Nephrite/Neph. Debitage								?				
Ground Slate	1		1	5	2	4	13	13?				
Debitage, Slate			3	1		2	6	6?				
Core?, Slate								?				
Unidentified Blade - slate								?				
Modified Soapstone				1			1	1?				
Modified Graphite			2	2			4	4?				
Modified Gneiss								?				
Modified Siltstone								?				
Uniface, slate								?				
Plug? - unid. lithic								?				
Hematite								?				
MISCELLANEOUS METAL 26.	**174**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**182**					
Sheet metal - lead								?				
Sheet metal - copper/brass								?				
Sheet metal - iron 27.	159	1	1	1			162	162?				
Shaft/bar/rod, iron/copper/lea	2	1	2				5				5?	
Strip, iron											?	
Wire	2						2	2?				
Lump, iron/lead											?	
Unidentified iron 28.	10	1	1				12				12?	
Unidentified brass/copper 29.	1						1				1?	

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
MISCELLANEOUS ORGANICS 26.	**39**	**10**	**17**	**41**	**12**	**65**	**184**					
Shaft, Wood	9	2	2	9	3	20	45					42?
Plug, Wood	1						1					1?
Peg, Wood												?
Point, Wood/Bone												?
Unidentified Item - Wood			1	1			2					2?
Modified Wood 30.	8	4	7	20	1	45	85	85?				
Tool Handle?, Bone	1						1					1?
Knotted Baleen					5		5					5?
Modified Baleen				3			3					3?
Skin Strip/Lace	1						1		1?			
Modified Skin	5	2	2	1			10		10?			
Unidentified Item - Bone	1						1					1?
Modified Bone 28.	10	1	2	5	2		20	20?				
Plug, ivory												?
Unid. Slotted Ivory Handle												?
Modified Ivory/Tooth	3	1	2	2			8	8?				
Modified Antler			1		1		2	2?				
Modified Bark												?
MISC. EUROPEAN ITEMS	**8**	**2**	**11**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**27**					
Angle Iron												?
Bale Seal?												?
Barrel Strapping 31.										X		
Strapping 28.	1						1					1?
Chain Link												?

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Commercial Hinge												?
D-ring												?
Eyebolt												?
Fastener												?
Grommet												?
Hasp (gate?)												?
Instrument Pressure Gauge												?
Machinery Clamp/Bracket												?
Nozzle												?
Roller Bearings												?
Unidentified Machinery/Tool Part												?
Bolt			1				1					1?
Long Bolt												?
Band, copper/brass												?
Ferrule	2						2					2?
Plate, iron												?
Stamped Label, brass												?
Label?, tin-plated												?
Unidentified Handle Tab	1						1					1?
Unidentified gilt/gilded lead			9	1			10					10?
Unidentified brass tip	1						1					1?
Graphite Stick												
Modified Glass 32.								?				
Plate Glass												?
Flat Glass	3			2			5					5?
Unidentified Glass												?

Table 32. Kuyait House 5 Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.426)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSE 5							GENDER				
Artifacts	Occ.1	Clay Boil	Occ.2	Occ.3	Occ.4	Midden	TOTAL	Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Modified Leather 33.			1				1					1?
Modified Cardboard		1					1					1?
Unidentified Cardboard Insert												?
Unidentified Cork												?
Unidentifed European Wood												?
Unidentified Paper		1					1					1?
Unidentified Rubber or Bakelite												?
Unid. Item, Unid. Material						2	2					2?
Twine												?
Mortar?						1	1					1?
TOTAL	**1418**	**100**	**225**	**105**	**31**	**119**	**2002****					

Key:

italics	European items
*	includes one artifact unidentified to level
**	includes four artifacts unidentified to level
-2	secondary use
?	probable gender association
{ }	total without conflicting items
( )	artifacts which are used in more than one activity
[ ]	additional specific parts/items recovered archaeologically
X	items present in Inuit material culture repertoire, but not recovered archaeologically from site

Footnotes:

1. Consisting primarily of gun parts and ammunition, could be for sea mammal, land mammal or bird hunting.
2. Modified (cut, twisted).
3. One has been modified (whittled).
4. Function unknown: arrow? harpoon?
5. One is a preform.
6. Known as a 'nuirn' in Inuktitut, part of a kayak (Boas 1888:495-496)
7. Classified as manufacturing items at this site, but as house building materials at Kussejeerarkjuan because the majority there were found around house perimeters. Nail distribution was not associated with house walls at Kuyait. However, the large numbers recovered, especially from the qarmat, are suggestive.
8. Includes two hacksaw blades.
9. One is brass.
10. One is rubber.
11. Preform made from barrel strapping.
12. Because its form resembles a men's sideknife, I assume that the scalpel is a men's knife.
13. One is a leather awl; one is homemade.
14. Too delicate for hunting or snowhouse building.
15. Includes one handle fragment.
16. Several pieces are flaked (5 beverage bottles; 4 unidentified bottles).
17. One is modified (nail hole).
18. Beer or shoe blacking bottle (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 18 June 1998).
19. One boot sole is a calendar fragment; one is of bird skin.
20. Includes buttons made of iron, brass, and glass as well as two possible button backs made for coat buttons. Includes shirt, suspender, military/police jacket and dress buttons.
21. Two are modified (cut, flanged).
22. Used by women to polish their brass hair ornaments (Hall 1970:244). One could be a brick or tile, one is modified (an abrader).

23. Also used to signal when hunting. One piece is flaked.
24. Or possibly an eggcup.
25. One is ceramic.
26. Primarily used in manufacturing activities.
27. Four are corrugated. Two are modified, including one of tin-plated iron with fern motif.
28. One with nail.
29. Includes one filed block
30. Including three with nails, one with bolt.
31. One is modified.
32. Highly flaked - used as a raw material alternative to lithics? One is plate glass.
33. One with rivet.

lithics, organics and metal, as well as miscellaneous European items which have been classified by material rather than by function. Some of these miscellaneous items represent raw materials for manufacturing, and therefore, by association, men. Others, for example, various machine parts, could not be attributed to a specific activity or gender. The organization of Tables 31 and 32 generally follows that of Table 3 in Chapter 4 and the reader is asked to refer to that section of the dissertation for further information. However, a brief explanation of some of the organizational structure is repeated here.

In Tables 31 and 32, items not found archaeologically retain an 'X' under the appropriate gender designation. Artifacts in parentheses represent items for multiple or unspecified activities but are included only once in totals, usually in the primary activity with which they are associated. In their secondary or alternate uses, their totals appear in < > but are not counted in activity set totals. Therefore, each artifact is counted only once, although it may *appear* more than once. Artifacts in square brackets represent additional/specific parts recovered archaeologically but not referenced ethnographically. Italicized items are of European origin.

Retaining the full range of ethnographic Inuit material culture classes in this table, which primarily represents a 19th/20th-century assemblage, enables us to see how much the material culture has changed. Some activity sets, such as

sea mammal, land mammal and bird hunting, as well as house building are barely represented. Instead, a new category, 'general hunting', has been added to account for arms and ammunition which may have been used for sea mammal, land mammal or bird hunting. With regard to manufacturing, far less evidence in the form of organic detritus exists, compared to Kamaiyuk, but there are several examples of reuse, particularly of sheet metal. Within the Kuyait assemblage, nails are classified as manufacturing items rather than as house-building items, as they are within the Kussejeerarkjuan collection, because at Kuyait their provenience was not specific to house perimeters. Other categories suggest seasonality. For example, the few winter-related items came from the semi-subterranean occupations, while a few references to summer boat travel were found among the qarmat artifact assemblages.

Unlike the Kamaiyuk assemblage, the relative proportion of gendered material culture preserved archaeologically appears skewed in comparison to that in the systemic record. For example, while Inuit women are well represented by food preparation and household items as well as by ornaments, their labour in preparing skins and sewing is less well-represented. Men are well-represented in terms of general hunting apparatus and artifact manufacture, but specific reference to sea mammal or land mammal hunting is relatively sparse, as is winter transportation. Children's activities, on the other hand, are better represented at Kuyait than at

the other two sites. The same scenario holds for less well-gendered activities. While house-building and clothing and recreational items are present archaeologically, for example, bird hunting, fishing, house-building and religious items were rarely, if at all, recovered from Kuyait.

Kussejeerarkjuan

Site Description

Kussejeerarkjuan (KeDe-7) lies in Countess of Warwick Sound, on the mainland 2 km NNW of Kodlunarn Island, high above an exposed rocky shore on a grass-covered field. The name means 'black seal' (Rowley 1993b:35) or 'place for hunting black seal' (Fitzhugh 1992a:11) in Inuktitut, although the exact transliteration is 'Kasayerajuk' (Fitzhugh 1991:11). The site was first represented cartographically, spelled as 'Kus-se-gear-ark-ju-in', by Charles Francis Hall in the 1860s on both a sketch map from his field notes and a published version (Fitzhugh 1993d:20) (see Figure 27).

In 1981 the site was relocated during the Smithsonian survey (Fitzhugh 1981) and during the 1990 survey it was mapped and tested as 'Paksakha' (Fitzhugh 1990). In 1992, we learned that the name 'Paksakha' was incorrect and actually referred to the grassy plain 1 km west of the site, visited by Hall (1970:442) in 1862, when it housed a small winter settlement.

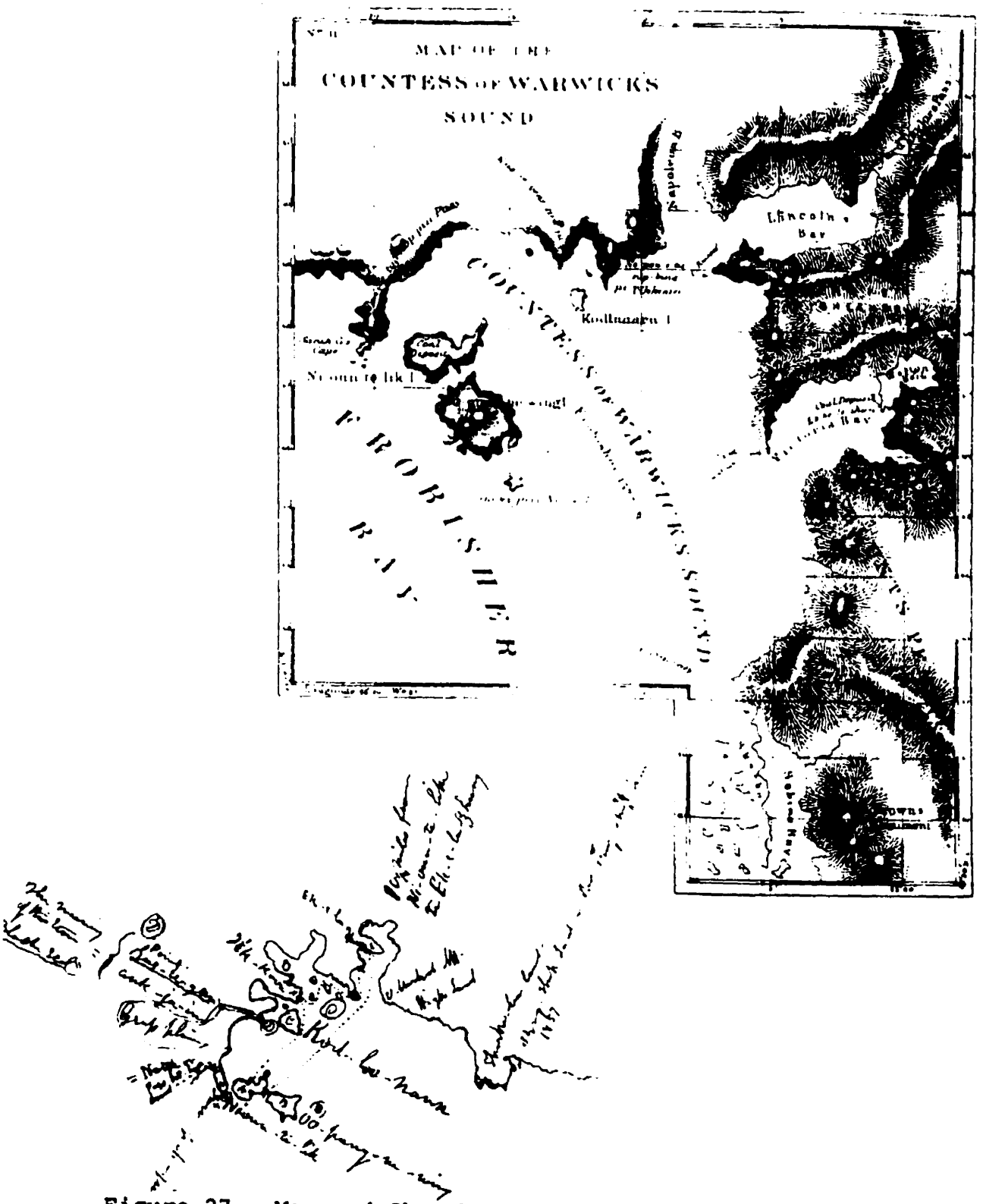

Figure 27. Map and Sketch Map of Countess of Warwick Sound by C.F. Hall (Fitzhugh, Laeyendecker and Hogarth 1993:20)

The Kussejeerarkjuan site consists of 28 single-family structures, 12 qarmat and 16 tent rings, similar to Stenton's (1989:156) type 6, as well as six caches and an external box hearth (see Figures 28 and 29). Most of the structures lie 4-5 m a. s. l., although some are eroding at the 2-3 m line (e.g., the eastern half of H.7, H.8 and the tent ring east of H.9). No human disturbance was observed. The western two-thirds of the site contains the majority of the qarmat, while the eastern one-third, primarily tent rings on the 5 m elevation contour line and across the braided stream.

In 1990, nine structures (identified as Houses 1-9), three tent rings and six qarmat[11], were tested. Test units (1 m x 0.5 m or 0.5 x 0.5 m) were generally placed in the living floor or across the entrance passage, where one existed. Except for the test units in Houses 7 and 9, which were sterile, several examples of European materials and trade goods, dating to about 1880-1920, were recovered from these structures. No evidence for earlier occupations (e.g., prehistoric Thule or Dorset) were found, although testing was not conducted outside the houses, beyond the entrance passages, or between houses.

Because we suspected a possible chronological sequence of site occupation, either from east to west or in terms of

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11 It is not clear whether House 7 is a shallow qarmaq, a tent ring or even a habitation structure at all. It is identified as a qarmaq in Figure 2.

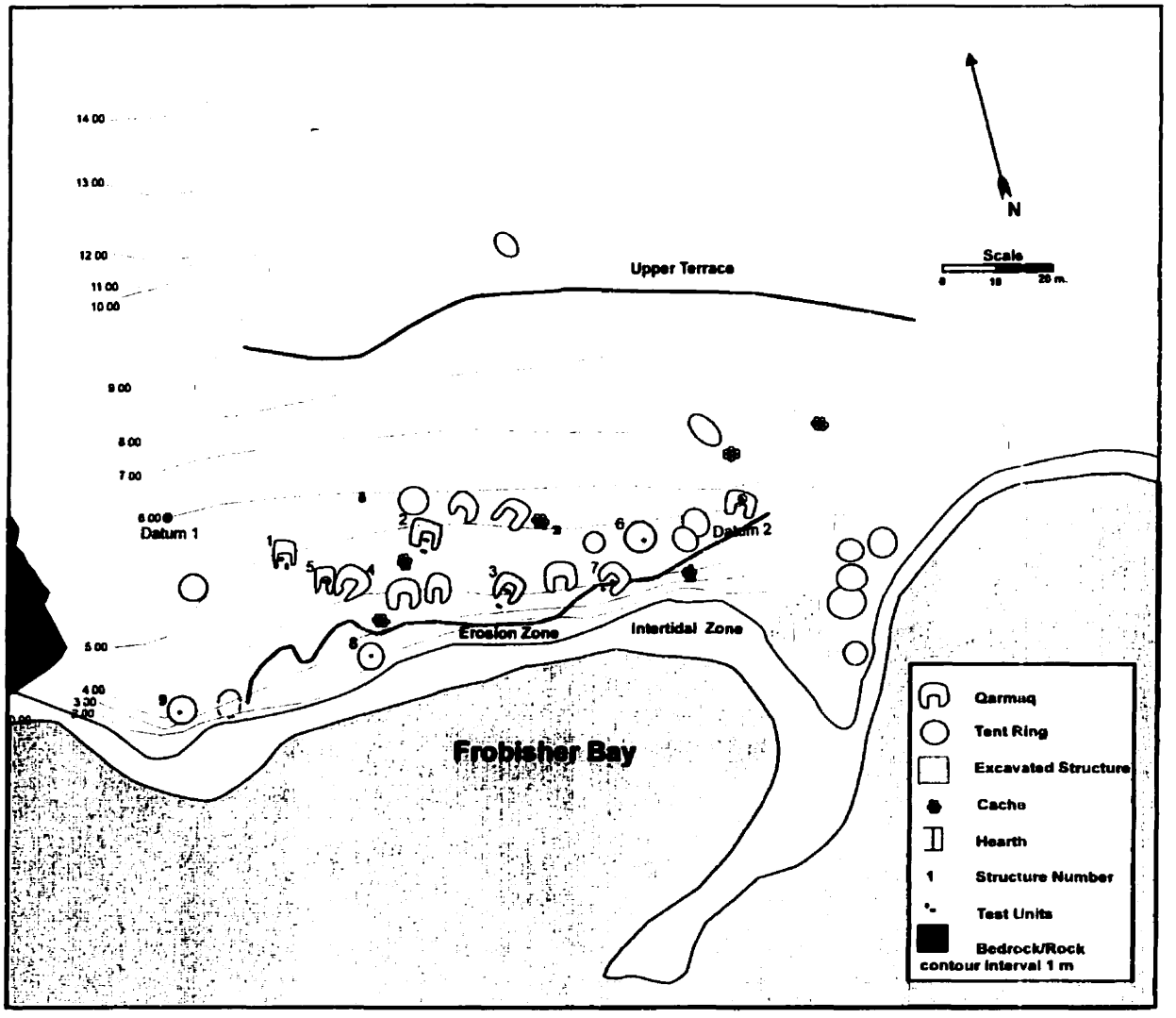

Figure 28. Kussejeerarkjuan (KeDe-7) Site Map

Figure 29. View of Kussejeerarkjuan (KeDe-7) facing southeast with Kodlunarn Island in mid-distance.

relative distance from the shoreline[12], as well as a possible east-west *seasonal* dichotomy, selected structures from these areas within the site were fully excavated in 1992. These include: House 2, a qarmat lying on the western half of the 5 m line; House 3, a qarmat from the 4 m line in the centre of the site; and House 6, a tent ring on the east side of the site. The 1990 test program suggested that the site would be a good comparative database for the Kuyait material, especially the assemblages from Kuyait Houses 11 and 12. In addition, the camp's proximity to Kodlunarn Island provided us with the opportunity to investigate possible 19th-20th century scavenging of the Elizabethan site.

Although the name Kussejeerarkjuan suggests a dietary emphasis on seals, the presence of a large lake system and two large caribou drives, in the form of fences, blinds, caches and inuksuit lying in the hills (KfDe-12) several hundred meters to the north of the site point to the importance of another subsistence source: caribou. A second hunting site, with tent rings, lies northwest at the junction of Big Lake and an outgoing stream. The drive lines were

> set to concentrate caribou heading northwest toward Paksakha plain, . . . suggesting that the Paksakha area has been a major caribou hunting region and must have been used during late summer or early fall for meat and fur (Fitzhugh 1992b:unpaginated)

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12 There appeared to be two lines of structures which converged towards the east, at 4 m a.s.l. and a shorter one at 5 m a.s.l.

a time when animals congregated and fur quality was prime. However, the absence of 19th or 20th-century markers, such as gunshells suggests that they may have been in use prehistorically, rather than historically. According to Fitzhugh (1992b), most of these lines were used for close-in contact, involving the use of spears rather than guns or bows and arrows. Faunal evidence from the excavated qarmat indicates a predominant reliance on seal (Henshaw 1995).

Site Chronology

A variety of sources is used to establish the chronology of occupation across an historic period site. In the case of Kussejeerarkjuan, the settlement is too recent for radiocarbon dating methods and we rely, instead, on the superposition of structures and of occupation levels within houses, as well as known dates for the manufacturing of certain artifacts or for specific techniques of their production.

Some of these production dates are only very general, to the century, perhaps (for example, 19th century monochromatic transferprint ceramics). Other items date more precisely, to a quarter century, to a decade, even to a certain year. Some offer only a *postquem* date or *antequem* date. Sometimes articles which have dates actually imprinted on them can be quite misleading. Initially, for example, I believed that House 6 predated Houses 2 and 3 by forty years or more, based

on ammunition evidence. The Austrian rifle cartridges recovered from this tent ring were stamped with first production dates from the 1880s but were actually in use decades later, according to associated artifacts. This is one reason why archaeologists do not rely on the presence of a single artifact type to date all structures or occupation levels, even if such an item is found to be ubiquitous. The entire sample of datable items serves to delineate, refine and adjust chronological ranges.

Across the site generally, test excavations in Houses 1 to 9 suggested a late 19th/early 20th-century occupation. Superposition of the dwellings was only partially useful as a dating technique, given the site's expanse, which obviated the usual requirement of rebuilding or remodelling existing structures. However, some surface evidence for reoccupation of the site does exist. House 4 appears to overlap House 5 and may have been constructed later (see Figure 28). In addition, two tent rings east of House 6 also overlapped, as did two or three tent rings east of the stream (Figure 28).

The three excavated structures at Kussejeerarkjuan appear to represent two periods of occupation, separated by only about a decade. House 6 dates to 1910-1918, based primarily on shotgun shell, rifle cartridge and bead production dates (see Table 33). The two qarmat were occupied in the 1920s, according to the evidence provided by ceramics, beads and harmonica parts (Table 33).

Table 33. Kussejeerarkjuan House Occupation Dates

European Artifacts	House 2	House 3 Occ. 1	House 3 Occ. 2	House 3 Occ. 3	House 6
Shotgun shells	1895-1918		1895-1918		1895-1918
Rifle cartridges	>1910-1945	1914-1945	1908/14-1917		>1910-1918
Rifle drop block[1].				1870s-present	
Wire nails[2].	>1875	>1875	>1875	>1875	>1875
Hunting/butchering knife[3].	[1834-1927]				
Fork, nickel-silver					>late 1820s
Case gin bottle					17th C.-1920s (end of range)
Ceramics	1891-1925[4].	1891-1925[4].	>1835[5].	1891-1925[4].	1830s or 1870s-1920s[6].
Medicine bottle, handmade		<1920s			
Toiletries container, fully machine-made		20th C.	20th C.		
Beads	1910-1920s		1910-1920s	1920s-1930s	1910-1920
Disk record[7].			20th C. 1897>	20th C. 1897>	
Harmonica[8].	>1920		>1920		
Amethyst-tinted glass[9].	<1918				
Estimated Occupation Date	**1920s**	**1920s**	**1920s**	**1920s**	**1910-1918**

Key:
date critical dates for estimating age of occupation

Footnotes:

1. From Martini-Henry rifle (British) (Hogg 1984:230-231).
2. First produced in New York State in 1850, came in regular sizes by 1875 and became the dominant type by the 1890s (Nelson 1963).
3. Similar ones found in several cutlery catalogues, covering the period 1834-1927. This item could also have been in use before or after this period.
4. Soup plates marked 'W.H. Grindley and Co.' (Godden 1991:294). Fragments found in House 3 Occupations 1 and 3 crossmend
5. Preserve jar 'Bristol-glazed', postdates 1835 (Gerald Gussette Parks Canada pers. comm. 2 February 1998).
6. Handpainted mug, Adam's Rose, 1830s or 'Virginia' pattern, 1870s-1920s (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 2 February 1998).
7. Before 1897, these were made of various forms of hard rubber; after 1897 they were made of shellac (Canadian Association of Music Libraries Newsletter 1993).
8. Country of origin appears after 1891; 'Made In' first appears in 1920 (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 28 January 1998).
9. Amethyst colour created by the use of manganese supplied by Germany. Supplies ceased by the end of the first World War (Catherine Sullivan Parks Canada pers. comm. 2 February 1998).

Although the cartridge case dates indicate a wide occupation span for House 2, from about 1910-1945, while the shotgun shells suggest that the occupation ended before 1920 and the beads suggest a date of 1910-1920s, two items confirm that this qarmaq was occupied just before or during the 1920s. Soup plates recovered from the house and stamped 'W.H. Grindley and Co." were produced only between 1891-1925 (Godden 1991:294). The first HBC post in Frobisher Bay was established on the south shore in 1914-15, moved to Fletcher Island in 1915-1920 and moved again to the east shore in 1920. Thus, the date range for House 2, based on access to the HBC ceramic ware, shrinks to 1914-1925. The recovery of a harmonica plate engraved 'MADE IN JAPAN/OUR NAVY' refines the occupation date to post-1920[13].

All three occupation episodes of House 3 appear to date to the 1920s. In fact, the later qarmaq repaving episodes may have taken place over sequential years. Initially, the presence of Grindley soup plates in the oldest level provided an original occupation date of 1914-1925; however, once these fragments were found to crossmend with pieces from the latter qarmaq repaving episode (Occupation 1), some degree of mixing of the deposits was obvious. Instead, the post-1920s date for the original tent ring (Occupation 3) is tentatively attributed to the presence of two small, mould-pressed

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13 The country of manufacture first appears on articles in 1891; 'Made in' does not appear until 1920 (Phil Dunning Parks Canada pers. comm. 28 January 1998)

faceted blue beads, popular on lamp fringes in the 1920s and 1930s (Karlis Karklins Parks Canada pers. comm. 27 January 1998).

The initial qarmat occupation at this structure (Occupation 2) also dates to the 1920s, based on the presence of more harmonica parts with 'Made In' stamped on them. Ammunition production dates, on the other hand, suggest an early occupation of 1908/14-1917. However, this earlier date is not possible given the superposition of the qarmaq over the north half of the tent ring, pointing, in turn, either to the curation of rifle shells by the hunters or, more likely, the acquisition and commercial resale of older stock by the HBC, a common practise among retailers of that time.

The most recent occupation of House 3 also dates to the 1920s, although in this case, the evidence is not artifactual. Unfortunately, the date range of the cartridge cases, 1914-1945, is wide. Soup plate fragments provide a chronological range of 1914-1925, while a handmade medicine bottle predates 1920 (Catherine Sullivan Parks Canada pers. comm. 2 February 1998). Since this occupation lies above Occupation 2, however, it must date in the later part of the range, that is, sometime during the 1920s.

House Descriptions

House 2

House 2, 4 m by 5-6 m, is a classic single-occupation qarmaq which dates to the 1920s (Figure 30). It contains a depressed living area lined with shallow riser stones which form a C-shaped platform encircling it. House walls are constructed primarily of stone, two courses high. A small hearth area is located on the west side where artifact density is markedly higher than on the east. The floor area was virtually unpaved and paving stones extended only beyond the platform riser stones. This platform pavement was set on a black organic fill which was sterile except for a few bone fragments, indicating some type of earlier (refuse?) deposit. No earlier pavement levels existed. Two large stones south of the house wall may demarcate entrance walls; however, the precise position of the entrance passage is difficult to determine. Pavement inside the house and structural wood remains may represent a door frame/entryway.

House 3

During the 1990 testing of the site, House 3 (Figure 31), a 4 m by 5 m qarmaq located in the centre of the site, 4 m a.s.l., yielded artifacts and fauna from both inside the house and in the entrance passage, raising the possibility of an intact associated midden deposit. The 1992 excavations revealed, instead, a series of reoccupation episodes,

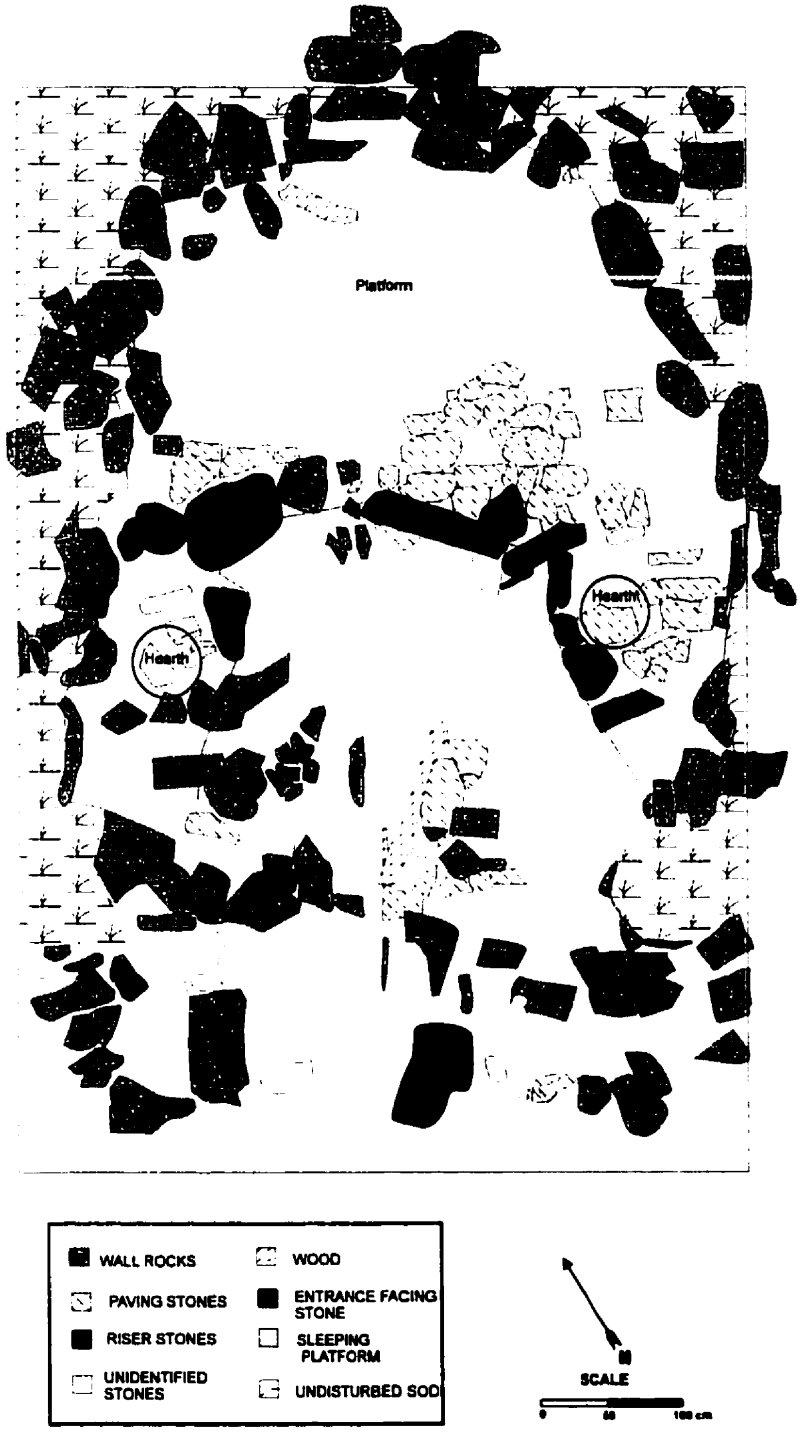

Figure 30. Kussejeerarkjuan House 2 Floor Plan

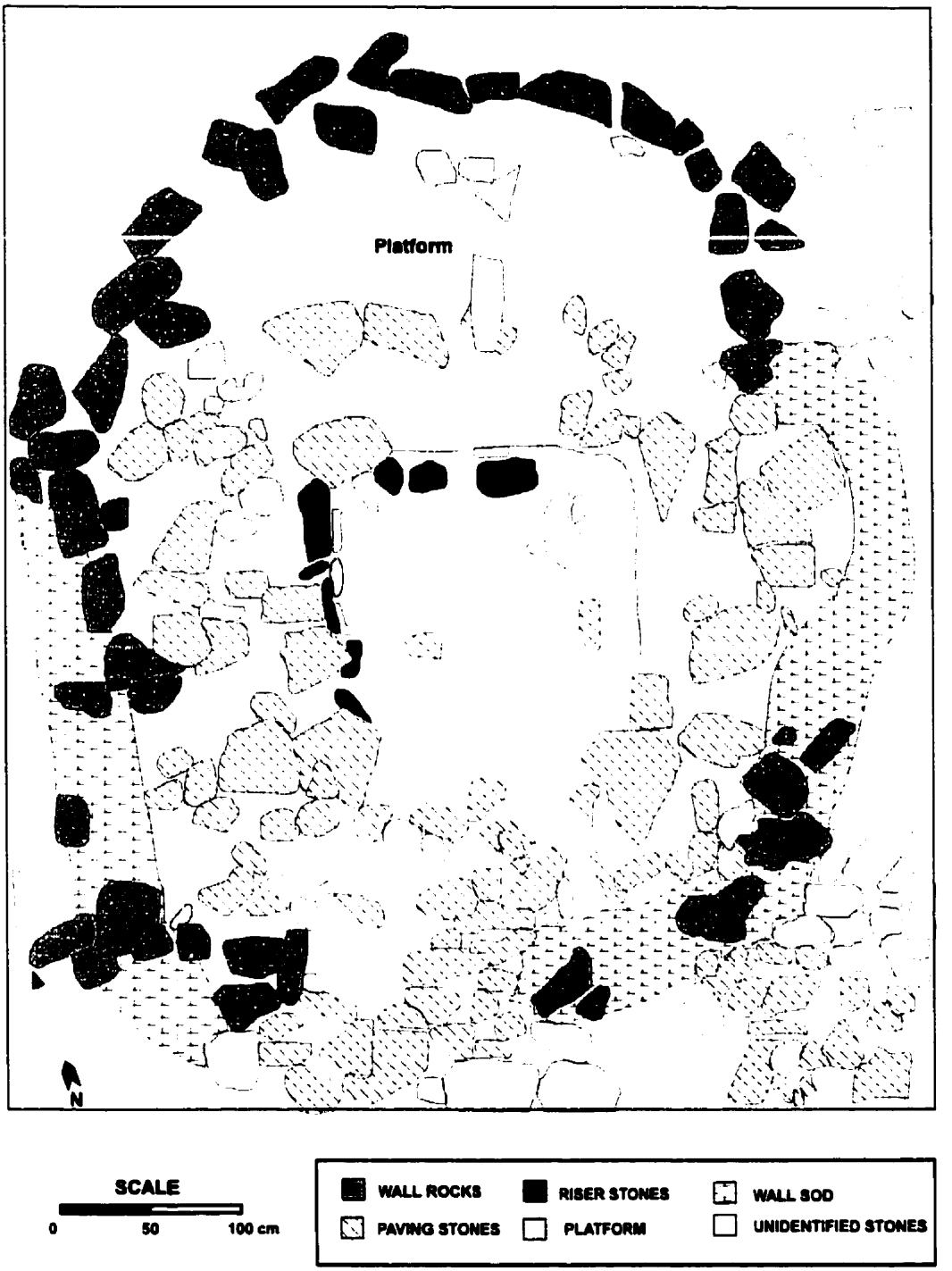

Figure 31. Kussejeerarkjuan House 3 Floor Plan - Occupation 2

consisting of two qarmat and a tent ring built on virtually the same spot. Cultural material was found in Levels 1, 2A and 3, corresponding with the three occupations of the house. Unfortunately, Level 3 in the living area lacked pavement, so occupation episodes, particularly the older two, were not stratigraphically distinct in this part of the dwelling.

Occupation Sequence

Occupation 1 (L1-L2) - During the most recent occupation, the structure was used as a qarmaq during the spring or fall seasons. (The zooarchaeological studies on seasonality suggest spring use [Henshaw 1995:225]). Sod and medium-sized boulders clearly define the outer wall on the west, north and east side of the structure. The eastern and western platforms were built up using large flat paving stones, while the north platform was elevated with bedding peat. Building up the platforms created a slightly (10 cm) depressed living area without the necessity of digging out the floor. The floor was unpaved during this occupation, but does appear to have been lined with wood risers similar to floors in qarmat at Newell Sound 1 (KgD1-1), occupied in the 1950s/60s (Fitzhugh 1992b).

Artifacts were mostly concentrated in the west platform and west side of the north platform. Diagnostic items such as soup plates manufactured by the Grindley Company date Occupation 1 to the 1920s (Table 33).

Occupation 2 (L2A) - Beneath Occupation 1, lay evidence for an earlier qarmaq. Its wall perimeters generally conform

to those of Occupation 1. Pavement stones along the eastern edge of the platform do not extend beneath the outer wall, suggesting that the wall was probably in place during the second occupation of the house. In both occupation levels, the large quantity of nails found around the perimeter of the structure suggests that these artifacts served in house construction. Either the qarmaq walls or its roof may have been partially constructed of wood.

Occupation 2 also had elevated north, west and east platforms, built up in the north platform and west side of east platform with peat. A hearth area was defined by a large concentration of charcoal on the northeast platform and another, marked by encrusted blubber deposits, lay on the west platform alongside a soapstone lamp fragment. Paving stones for this occupation extended well down into the base of the next layer and were originally used as wall rocks during the initial occupation of the dwelling as a summer tent site (see Occupation 3).

The entrance area was roughly paved (in places 2-3 courses high) during this occupation, with small flat paving stones and a gravel fill. This pavement did not extend into the living area.

Artifact densities were highest in platform areas of the structure. The small quantities of Frobisher tile and flint recovered from this occupation suggest that scavenging of the Elizabethan basecamp continued into the early 20th century.

Diagnostic artifacts, such as harmonica parts, date Occupation 2 to the 1920s.

Occupation 3 (L3) - Prior to the construction of the qarmat sequence, a summer tent was situated slightly south of the present structure, such that its north half was eventually bisected by the extant qarmaq (see Figure 32). The tent ring's southern half was defined by large flat paving stones; the sleeping area was not elevated as in later occupations. Pavement and wall stones were laid directly on the original ground surface (L3). Platform areas for the subsequent qarmat occupation were built up around the original stone walls, with the newer structures displaced slightly northwards. The southeast wall perimeter of the original tent ring was not well defined, possibly as a result of remodelling during later occupations. A hearth feature with soapstone lamp fragments was noted near the east wall perimeter.

Very few artifacts were recovered from the tent ring. Small, mold-pressed, faceted blue beads, produced during the 1920s and 1930s, date Occupation 3 to the 1920s.

Structure 3 provides another example of the process of Inuit architectural remodelling. Based on artifact types, the different occupation episodes occurred during a relatively short period of time, perhaps on a seasonal basis. Occupation 1 and 2 seem particularly closely related and perhaps occurred over two consecutive years.

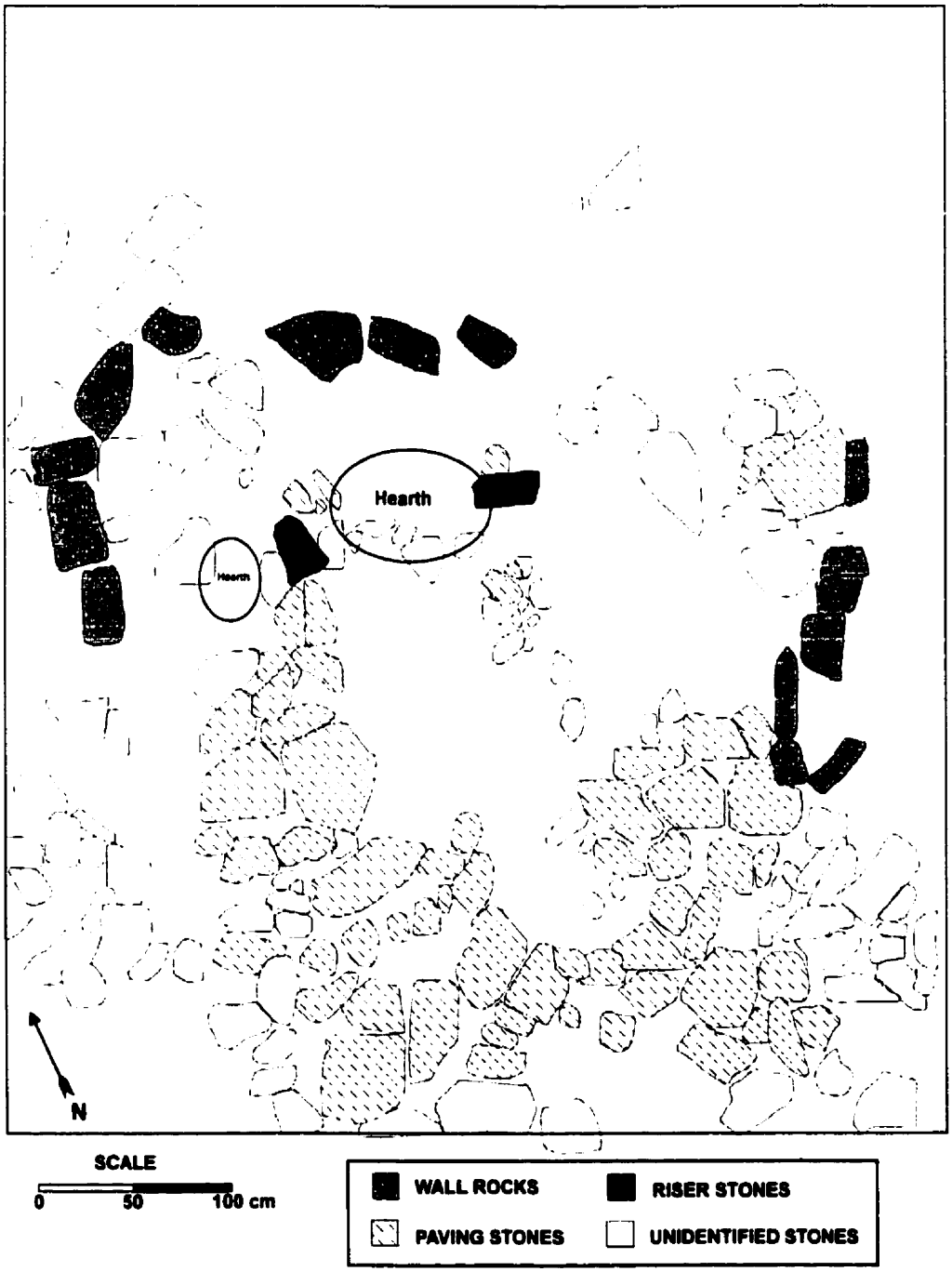

Figure 32. Kussejeerarkjuan House 3 Floor Plan - Occupation 3

Relation to Other Houses

House 3 is the only excavated structure at Kussejeerarkjuan showing evidence of remodelling and rebuilding. All three occupations are contemporaneous with House 2, based on artifact similarities.

House 6

House 6, situated at the east end of the site and on the second line of houses, was one of only two summer structures excavated (the other being Occupation 3 of House 3) in the three sites I investigated, and was expected to shed light on seasonality issues (Figure 33). This tent ring, 4 m by 5 m in size, was bisected by a shallow line of riser stones, approximately 15 cm high, into a sleeping platform and a living floor. Each of these features was only partially paved. Flat pavement stones and a gap in the wall rocks suggest that the entranceway lay perpendicular to the platform, running due north. Three upright posts, undoubtedly tent supports, were found along the inner wall on the west side of the structure. Hearth features were not uncovered, but hearth crust was sampled from the east side of the house where a piece of soapstone was found upside down with its upper surface encrusted with fat. Faunal remains were much more abundant and well-preserved than in House 2, the sample being dominated by butchered caribou bone.

The artifact assemblage places the occupation at 1910-1918, ten years prior to Houses 2 and 3. This suggests that

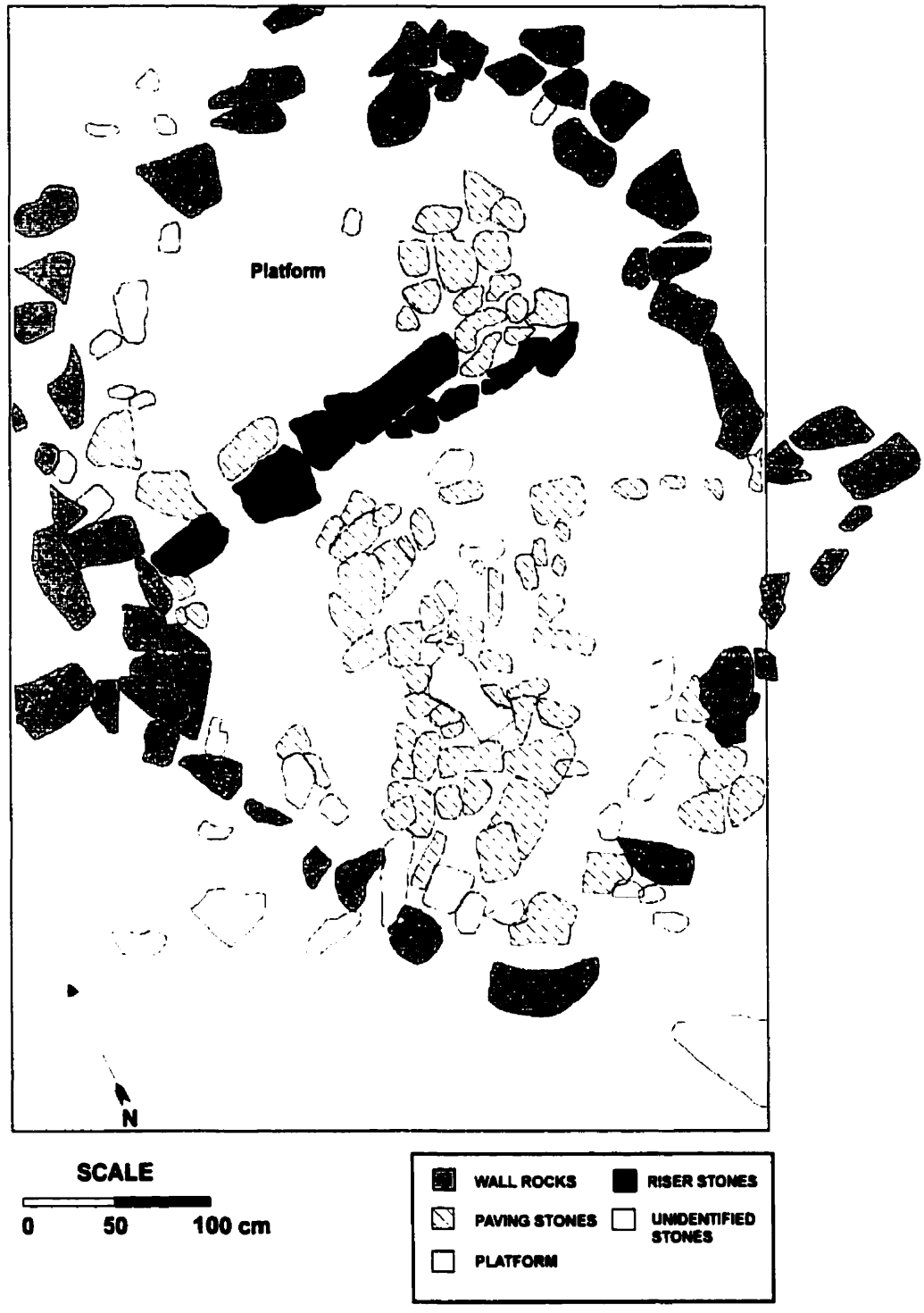

Figure 33. Kussejeerarkjuan House 6 Floor Plan

the temporal variation in site occupancy trended east to west, rather than being related to the relative distance from the shoreline.

'Assemblage Formation Processes'

The Kussejeerarkjuan artifact assemblage numbers 2573[14] items related to the early 20th-century Inuit occupation of a summer/transition season site. In many ways, the processes acting on this assemblage formation are similar to those of Kamaiyuk (see pages 311-317). In other important ways they differ. The principal variation is that Houses 2 and 6, at least, appear to have been occupied for only one season each. Neither rebuilding, repaving, extensive house cleaning nor midden development characterize this settlement in the way they do Kamaiyuk.

Like Kamaiyuk, however, the Kussejeerarkjuan collection derives from complete excavation of the interiors of several structures (in this case, three of a total of 28 qarmat and tent rings). Each item collected during the 1992 excavations was given a separate catalogue number. In contrast, the items recovered during our 1990 test excavations were catalogued by lot (several similar items received a single

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[14] Total catalogued items from the 1992 excavations (2591) - unused catalogue numbers (28) = 2573. In addition, 73 entries were lot-catalogued by Réginald Auger from the 1990 test excavations of Houses 1 - 9, to total an additional 127 items (Appendix C).

catalogue number). They are presented separately (see Appendix C) and the following discussion, as well as that of Chapter 7, focuses on the items recovered from Houses 2, 3 and 6 during the 1992 investigations.

The Kussejeerarkjuan assemblage includes several sheet metal fragments, primarily iron. Although associated pieces may have come from a single item, as with the clay tile fragments from Kamaiyuk, unless fresh edges indicating recent breakage were noted, they were given separate numbers.

Much of my past experience involves 18th-20th-century Euro-American material culture analysis, so I was familiar with current cataloguing/analysis practises for these materials. Nevertheless, many items were identified or dated with help from the research staff at Parks Canada and their extensive National Comparative Collection and reference library. Descriptions in the site catalogue for Kussejeerarkjuan reference these sources whenever possible.

Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage - A Preamble

The artifacts collected from Kussejeerarkjuan Houses 2, 3 and 6 are presented in a two-part table (Table 34) according to activities and gender association, as these have been described in Chapter 4 and from information in Chapter 5 on 20th-century European material culture adoptions. Artifact totals, therefore, are duplicated, appearing once as a sum of the houses and again in the appropriate gender column. The exceptions to this classificatory scheme are

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	**HOUSES**						**TOTAL**	**GENDER**				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
GENERAL HUNTING 1.	25				23	45	93					
Rifle (breech-loading drop block)				1	1		1	1				
Gun (barrel)	1						1	1				
Sling swivel				1	1		1	1				
Ramrod tip		1	1		2	1	3	3				
Cartridge casing	16	7	7		14	29	59	59				
Cartridge jacket	1						1	1				
Bullet head	2	2			2		4	4				
Percussion cap	1		1		1	9	11	11				
Shotgun shell	3		2		2	5	10	10				
Lead shot	1						1	1				
Musket ball						1	1	1				
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING	0				0	0	0					
Harpoon Head								X				
" " - *iron blade*								X				
Harpoon Shaft								X				
Foreshaft								X				
Socket Piece								X				
Finger Rest								X				
Harpoon Tension Piece								X				
Lance Head - iron blade								X				
Dart Head								X				
Ice Pick/Fixed Harpoon Foreshaft								X				
Wound Plug								X				
Incision Needle								X				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	**HOUSES**					**TOTAL**	**GENDER**				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Bladder Float Toggle								?				
Float Mouthpiece								X				
Bladder Float Plug								X				
Bladder Mending Disk								?				
Drag Line Handle								?				
Line Clasp or Stopper								X				
Toggles/Buckles (line)								X				
Seal Scratcher								X				
Seal Indicator								X				
Seal Indicator-E. Needle								X				
Sealing Stool								X				
Hammer/Club								X				
Umiak-2								X				
Kayak-2 [Harpoon Rest]								X				
Paddle-2								X				
Whaleboat -2								X				
LAND MAMMAL HUNTING	3				1	0	4					
Arrowhead, iron 2.	1						1	1			X(M)	
Arrowshaft								X				
Bow [End]	1						1	1			X(M)	
Bow Brace								X				
Quiver								X				
Lance head								X				
(Mirror)	<1>		<1>		<1>	<1>	<3>	<3>				
Snare/Trap [spring]	1	1			1		2	2				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Snare Peg								X				
Telescope								X				
BIRD HUNTING	1				2	0	3					
Bird Dart								X				
Dart Shaft Butt Piece								?				
Bird Arrowhead (blunt)								X				
Bird Arrowhead, cartridge 3.	1	2			2		3	3				
Sling Handle												?
Bolas Ball												X
Gull Hook												X
Bird Noose										X	X	
FISHING	1				1	0	2					
Tools								X				
Leister Prong								X				
Leister Spear Barb								X				
Fish Hook, iron	1						1			1		
Fish Nets/Traps (weight) 4.				1	1		1	1				
Fish Lure								X				
Fish Stringing Needle										X		
Ice Pick-2									X			
Scoop (ice)										X		
Mats-2										X		

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
TRANSPORTATION	0				59	0	59					
Trace Buckle								X				
Toggle								X				
Sled Runner								X				
Sled Shoe		1			1		1	1				
Sled Crossbar								X				
Whip Shank								X				
Umiak										X	X	
Kayak [Harpoon Rest]								X				
Oar									X			
Paddle								X				
Whaleboat								X				
Boat Lapstrake Rivets		41	16	1	58		58	58				
Travel Lamp								X				
Travel Pot								X				
HOUSE BUILDING	45(2)				453(1)	35(2)	533(5)					
Snow Knife								X				
European Knife-2								X				
(Saw [blade])	<2>						<2>	<2>				
Snow Shovel										X		
E. Shovel Ferrule						1	1			1?		
Probe								X				
Mattock Head												X
Pick-digger Head												X
(Nails) 5.	(43)	(339)	(107)	(6)	(452)	(33)	(528)	528?				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Tarp/Tent Grommet				1	1		1		1			
Door Hinge Pintle						1	1					1?
Sash Lock Keeper	2						2					2?
MANUFACTURING	11(9)				64(63)	6	81(78)					
Awl-2								X				
Engraving Tool/Chisel								X				
Drill (bit, mouthpiece, shaft)								X				
E. Drill								X				
Marline Spike								X				
Adze Head (Nephrite Blade)								X				
Maul								X				
Mallet	1						1	1				
Wedge								X				
Pick								X				
Shaft Straightener								X				
Flint Flaker								X				
Whetstone/Abrader								X				
Hammerstone								X				
Timber Pegs								X				
Whale Bone Sheaves												X
File 6.			1		1	1	2	2				
Gouge	1						1	1?				
(Saw Blade) 7.	(2)						(2)	(2)?				
Screwdriver (tip)	2						2	2?				
Vice	1						1	1?				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	**HOUSES**						**TOTAL**	**GENDER**				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
(Nails) 5.	<43>	<339>	<107>	<6>	<452>	<33>	<528>	<528>?				
Rivet	1	4	2		6	1	8	8?				
Rove	1	5			5		6	6?				
(Reworked Knife Blade, iron)			(1)		(1)		(1)	(1)?				
Screw 8.	1					1	2	2?				
Wood Screw		18	9	1	28	2	30	30?				
Spike		2	2		4		4	4?				
Tack		14	1		15		15	15?				
Washer			1		1		1	1?				
Carriage Bolt						1	1	1?				
Side-bladed Knife								X				
Side-bladed Knife/Ulu [blade]			1		1		1					1
Clasp Knife	1	1	1		2		3	3				
Whittling? Knife Handle								X				
SKIN PREPARATION	1				1	0	2					
Ulu									X			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])									X			
Beamer									X			
Scraper, iron 9.	1						1		1			
Scapula (blunt) Scraper									X			
Split Antler Scraper										X		
Composite Scraper									X			
Knife to Remove Water									X			
Tin Scraper to " "									X			
Kamik Stretcher									X			

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Skin Stretcher									X			
Skin Stretching Stakes									X		X(F)	
Whetstone									X			
Clothespin Spring		1			1		1		1?			
SEWING	2				1	1	4					
(Ulu)									X			
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu [blade])									X			
Needle									X			
E. Needle 10.	2						2		2			
E. Pin		1			1		1		1			
Needle Case									X			
Needle Case Toggle									X			
Thimble									X			
E. Thimble						1	1		1			
Thimble Holder									X			
Awl									X			
Sinew Thread									X			
Birdskin Thread Bag									X			
E. Thread									X			
(Button)-2	<2>		<1>		<1>	<2>	<5>		<5>			
Cloth									X			
Scissors									X			
Sewing Machine									X			

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
FOOD PREPARATION	257(179)				150(124)	227(195	634(493)					
Bowl/Vessel [Base]										X		
Tray - bone									X			
" - soapstone									X			
Cup										X		
Cooking Pot [lid]	15						15		15			
Sheet Metal Can	1	2			2		3		3			
(Sheet Metal Container)	(83)	(16)	(8)	(2)	(26)	(32)	(141)		(141)			
Meat Can Key	1						1		1			
Meat/Pot Hook/Rack									X			
Marrow Spatula									X			
Spoon/Ladle										X		
Ladle Side or Vessel Base										X		
Meat Fork									X			
Fork	1					1	2		2			
Teaspoon	1						1		1			
Tablespoon	1						1		1			
Spoon/Fork Handle	1	1			1		2		2			
Cutlery Tang		1			1		1		1			
Stone Vessel									X			
Tea Kettle/Tin Pot									X			
Scoop (ice)									X			
Axe										X		
Flensing Knife?, iron blade 11.						1	1	1				
E. Knife (hunting/butchering)	1						1	1				
(Reworked Knife Blade, iron)			<1>		<1>		<1>	<1>				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
(Side-Bladed Knife/Ulu (blade))									X			
Ulu									X			
Soup Plate	18	4		31	35		53		53			
Bowl	15					2	17		17			
Tea Cup?			4	1	5	5	10		10			
Cup	28						28		28			
Cup/Bowl	1						1		1			
Large Mug?						88	88		88			
Mug?			15	6	21	23	44		44			
Saucer		10	2	2	14		14		14			
Toy/Demitasse Saucer						7	7		7			
Preserve Jar		14	6	2	22		22		22			
Large Bowl/Chamber Pot				1	1		1		1			
Pan Lug		1			1		1		1			
Large Vessel 'baker'?	27						27		27			
Vessel	10	1	2	2	5	59	74		74			
Flatware, ceramic		7			7	1	8		8			
Unidentified Ceramic	34	1	5	2	8	5	47		47			
Castor Oil Bottle	16						16					16
Case Gin Bottle						2	2					2
Beverage Bottle Lid		1			1	1	2					2
Beverage Bottle	3						3					3
HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE	24				43	19	88**					
Lamp/Vessel	3	1		1	2	1	6		6			
Lamp, copper 12.							1*		1			

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Primus Stove									?			
Coal									X			
Kerosene									?			
Wick Trimmer 12.	5	6	1	3	10	3	19*		19			
Drying Rack									X			
Fire Drill										X		
Fire Hearth						1	1			1		
Whetstone									X			
Iron Pyrites									X			
Frobisher Flint 2.	1					1	2		2			
Cutting Board									X			
Box/Box Top [bottom]			1		1		1			1?		
Box		1			1		1			1?		
Box Lock		1	1		2		2			2?		
Escutcheon Plate		1			1		1			1?		
Box Handle	1						1			1?		
Butt Hinge 11.		8			8		8			8?		
Skin Bag/Vessel									X			
Oil-catching Skin Basket									X			
Sucking Tube										X		
Mats										X		
Towels									?			
Blankets									?			
Blubber Pounder									X			
Urine Scraper									?			
Birdskin (Wing) Sweeper										X		

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Patent Medicine? Bottle		1			1	7	8					8?
Patent Medicine Bottle Cap?	1						1					1?
Bottle Glass	11					3	14					14?
Container Lid			1		1	1	2					2?
Pail (handle)	1					2	3		3			
(Sheet Metal Container)	<83>	<16>	<8>	<2>	<26>	<32>	<141>		<141>?			
" " *Commercial Container (lid)*			10	3	13		13		13?			
Alarm Clock (cog/bell)	1	1			1		2					2
Figurine?		1	1		2		2					2?
CLOTHING/PROTECTION	5(3)				3(2)	7(5)	**15(10)**					
Parka									X			
Beaded Parka									X			
Trousers/Shorts										X		
Boot										X		
Mitten										X		
Button/Buckle/Toggle	1						1			1		
Snow Goggles								X				
E. Goggles (eyepiece frame)						1	1	1?				
Snow Beaters										X		
E. Clothing										X	X	
Collar Stud		1			1		1	1?				
(Button) 13.	(2)		(1)		(1)	(2)	(5)					5?
Safety Pin	1						1					1
Suspender Clip	1	1			1	2	4	4				
Suspender Tab						2	2	2				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3 Occ. 1	H. 3 Occ. 2	H. 3 Occ. 3	H.3 Total	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
ORNAMENTS/AMULELET/PERSONAL	326(325)				64(63)	86(85)	476(473)					
Brow Band									X			
Perforated Tooth								X				
Aluminum Pendant?	1						1					1?
Amulet-broken projectile point									X		X(F)	
Toiletries Container	1	1	6	1	8		9		9			
(Mirror) 14.	(1)		(1)		(1)	(1)	(3)					(3)
Comb									X			
Hair Pin									X			
Bead - lithic									X			
Bead - glass	322	9	16	11	36	80	438		438			
Misc. Carving												X
Bead Figurine												?
Ring						3	3		3			
Bracelet									X		X	
Earrings										X		
Watchcase Ornament									X			
Coin									X			
Spoon Bowl									X			
Stove Tile 15.				1	1		1		1			
Brick	1		2	16	18	2	21		21			
Reading Glasses										X		
RELIGIOUS/CEREMONIAL	0				0	0	0					
Drum								X				
Bull Roarer												X

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
BURIAL GOODS	0				0	0	0					
Weapons								X				
Kayak/Sled								X				
Pot									X		X(F)	
Lamp									X			
Beads									X			
Knives									X			
Enamelled Cup											X(F)	
Iron Spoon											X(F)	
Iron Fork												X
Tin Pot												X
Meat Tub												X
E. Clothing										X		
Doll										X	X(F)	
Toy Ulu											X(F)	
Bead Necklace											X(F)	
Pencil											X(F)	
Safety Pin											X(F)	
Match											X(F)	
MINIATURES/TOYS	1				0	1	2					
Figurine/Doll						1	1				1	
E. Toy Doll											X	
Toy Ulu Blade											X	
Toy Lamp											X	
Toy Harpoon Head											X	

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES					TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Toy End Blade harpoon/sm. knife											X	
Toy Wound Pin?											X	
Toy Lance											X	
Toy Arrowhead											X	
Toy Bow											X	
Toy Throwing Board											X	
Toy Sled											X	
Toy? Trace Buckle/Toggle	1						1				1?	
Toy Handle (Whip?)											X	
Toy Shovel											?	
Toy Bucket											?	
Toy Ball											?	
Toy Drum Rim											?	
Toy Boat											X	
Toy Paddle											?	
Toy Animal											X	
Top											?	
E. Top											X	
Seal Bone Ajagak										?	?	
Whistle											X	
WRITING	0				0	1	1					
Pencil						1	1					1
ADULT RECREATION	17				13	20	50					
Gaming Piece										X		

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3 Occ. 1	H. 3 Occ. 2	H. 3 Occ. 3	H.3 Total	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
Bird Figure										X		
String Game									X			
Skip Rope									X		X	
Inuit Tennis									X			
Pipe 16.	15	4	1		6	19	40			40		
Tobacco Brand						1	1			1		
Tobacco										X		
Record Player												X
Disk Record			1	2	3		3					3
Checker Piece	1						1			1		
Accordion												X
Harmonica (plate/reed)	1		4		4		5					5
Music Box												X
Violin												X
MISCELLANEOUS LITHICS 17.	2				0	7	9					
Mica						3	3	3?				
Soapstone modified	2					1	3	3?				
Ground Slate						1	1	1?				
Ground Nephrite/Neph. Debitage								X?				
Ground Limestone								X?				
Debitage, Chert						1	1	1?				
Pebble Core, Chert						1	1	1?				
MISCELLANEOUS METAL 17.	122				106	37	265					
Sheet metal, copper/brass	5	1	3	1	5	3	13	13?				

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Sheet metal, iron 18.	84	33	26	23	82	14	180	180?				
Shaft/bar/rod, iron	8	1	1	1	3	1	12					12?
Lumps, iron/lead	7	1	2	2	5	1	13					13?
Unidentified iron			2		2	6	8					8?
Wire	3	3	3	2	8	3	14	14?				
Unidentified nail/rivet in wood	15	1			1	9	25	25?				
MISCELLANEOUS ORGANICS 17.	25				123	20	**168**					
Shaft, Wood	2		1	8	9	1	12					12?
Plug, Wood	1			1	1		2					2?
Peg, Wood												X?
Point, Wood/Bone												X?
Knotted Baleen												X?
Modified Baleen												X?
Modified Skin	3	1	1		2		5		3?			
Modified Wood	7	38	63	8	109	13	129	129?				
Modified Bone	4		1		1	3	8	8?				
Modified Ivory/Tooth	6			1	1	2	9	9?				
Modified Antler 7.	1						1	1?				
Modified Cork	1						1					1?
Unidentified Ivory						1	1					1?
MISC. EUROPEAN ITEMS	47				26	11	**84**					
Bale Seal?	1						1					1?
Barrel Strapping	22			2	2	5	29			29		
Strapping	2	1	2		3		5					5?

Table 34. Kussejeerarkjuan Artifact Assemblage
(key is on p.470)

ACTIVITIES	HOUSES						TOTAL	GENDER				
Artifacts	H.2	H. 3			H.3	H.6		Male	Female	Both	Children	Unknown
		Occ. 1	Occ. 2	Occ. 3	Total							
Instrument Pressure Gauge	1						1					1?
Machinery Clamp/Bracket	2						2					2?
Nozzle		1			1		1					1?
Roller Bearings	1						1					1?
Unidentified Machinery/Tool Part	1		1	1	2		3					3?
Bolt		1			1		1					1?
Long Bolt		1			1		1					1?
Ferrule				1	1		1					1?
Plate, iron			1		1		1					1?
Stamped Label, brass						1	1					1?
Label?, tin-plated	1						1					1?
Unidentified Handle Tab	1					1	2					2?
Modified Glass 19.	7	1			1		8	8?				
Plate Glass	4					1	5					5?
Unidentified Glass 20.	3	1	1		4	3	10					10?
Modified Cardboard			3		3		3					3?
Unidentified Shellac Item		5			5		5					5?
Unid. Item, Unid. Material	1		1		1		2					2?
TOTAL 21., 22.	**915**	**626**	**354**	**150**	**1133**	**523**	**2573**					

Key:

italics	European items
?	probable association
{ }	total without conflicting items
( )	artifacts which are used in more than one activity
[ ]	additional specific parts/items recovered archaeologically
X	items present in Inuit material culture repertoire, but not recovered archaeologically from site
**	Includes two items found on site surface
*	Includes one item found on site surface

Footnotes:

1. Consisting of gun parts and ammunition, could be for sea mammal, land mammal or bird hunting.
2. Preform from modified rat trap spring.
3. Wood shaft inserted into empty cartridge casing.
4. Made from cut spike.
5. Classified as house building items, because the majority (esp. House 3) found around perimeter.
6. One is locally made with an antler handle.
7. Includes one hacksaw blade.
8. Includes one modified (cut) screw.
9. Originally a veneer/cabinet scraper, called a 'saligu' by Inuit.
10. Includes a packing needle.
11. Locally-made.
12. Total includes one found on site surface.
13. Made of iron, brass, glass, and pressed cardboard. Includes one coat and two shirt buttons.
14. Also used to signal when hunting.
15. Used by women to polish their brass hair ornaments (Hall 1970:244).
16. House 3 total includes one fragment from back dirt pile.
17. Primarily used in manufacturing activities.
18. Includes three modified (cut, rolled) pieces.
19. Highly flaked - used as a raw material alternative to lithics?
20. House 3 total includes two pieces lacking provenience.
21. House 3 total includes three artifacts without provenience.
22. Site total includes two artifacts found on site surface (i.e. not from H. 2,3 or 6).

miscellaneous lithics, organics and metal, as well as miscellaneous European items. Some of these miscellaneous items represent raw materials for manufacturing, and therefore, by association, men. Others, for example, various machine parts, could not be attributed to a specific activity or gender. The organization of Table 34 generally follows that of Table 3 in Chapter 4 and the reader is asked to refer to that section of the study for further explanation. However, a brief account of some of the organizational structure is repeated here.

In Table 34, items not found archaeologically retain an 'X' under the appropriate gender designation. Artifacts in parentheses represent items relating to multiple or unspecified activities, but are included only once in totals, usually in the primary activity with which they are associated. In their secondary or alternate uses, their totals appear in < > but are not counted in activity set totals. Therefore, each artifact is counted only once, although it may *appear* more than once. Artifacts in square brackets represent additional/specific parts recovered archaeologically but not referenced ethnographically.

Retaining the full range of ethnographic Inuit material culture classes in this table, which represents a 20th century assemblage, enables us, as at Kuyiat, to see how much the material culture has changed. Entire activity sets, such as sea mammal hunting, are no longer specifically represented. Instead, a new category 'general hunting' has

been added to account for arms and ammunition which may have been used for sea mammal, land mammal or bird hunting. Some items of traditional Inuit technology persist, however, for example, using harpoons along with rifles for sea mammal hunting. With regard to manufacturing, far less evidence in the form of organic detritus exists, compared to Kamaiyuk, but there are several examples of reuse, particularly of sheet metal. Other categories suggest seasonality. For example, aside from a single sled shoe fragment, winter transportation is unrepresented, while summer boat travel is suggested by the numerous boat lapstrake rivets, not unexpected in a warm season site, as defined by house form.

As with the Kuyait assemblage, the relative proportion of gendered material culture for both women and men that is preserved archaeologically appears skewed when compared to the systemic record as derived from the ethnographic accounts. For example, while Inuit women are well represented by food preparation and household items as well as by ornaments, their labour in preparing skins and sewing (aside from beads) is barely represented. Men are well-represented in terms of general hunting apparatus and artifact manufacture, but specific reference to sea mammal or land mammal hunting is virtually lacking, as is winter transportation (due to the non-winter season of occupation). Children's activities are also generally poorly represented at Kussejeerarkjuan, as are less well-gendered activities. For example, although house-building and recreational items

are present archaeologically, bird hunting, fishing and religious items were rarely, if at all, recovered from the site.

Conclusions

Archaeological excavations at three historical period Inuit sites in outer Frobisher Bay yielded evidence for occupations ranging in age from pre-contact Thule deposits to early 20th-century ones. Subsequent remodelling and reoccupation of the structures served to limit evidence for earlier occupations, especially those from the precontact period. The dwellings represent a range of seasonally-adapted forms: semi-subterranean winter houses, transition-season qarmat and summer tents. Unfortunately, we did not recover evidence for seasonal variability among contemporaneous occupations. Evidence for winter settlement tended to come from earlier periods, while transition-season qarmat and summer tent rings dated to the latest period of contact. This limits the ability to interpret seasonality of gender behaviour and culture contact.

Each of these house forms is subject to very different site formation processes with respect to reuse, refuse disposal and effects of marine erosion. Unfortunately, associated midden deposits were not located. Either they were destroyed by erosion or were not visible archaeologically due to the short period of house occupation.

The overall preservation of artifacts and faunal remains was less favourable than similar assemblages recovered from upper bay excavations (e.g. Stenton 1983a). Possibly the upper bay deposits derived from more consistently wet conditions.

The chronology of site use was derived from a combination of radiocarbon evidence, manufacturing dates for some European items, superposition and structural integrity (e.g., platform pavement completeness). Seemingly chronologically contemporaneous sites were thus seen to be internally heterogeneous. This finding underscores the importance of establishing intrasite contemporaniety rather than assuming it.

Evidence from Kamaiyuk, initially believed to represent an occupation which was a generation or so removed from Elizabethan contact, revealed a multi-component site containing occupation episodes dating from the late 16th-early 17th century to the 18th century and possibly to the 19th century, prior to the commercial whaling era.

Excavation of five structures at Kuyait demonstrated successive reuse of the site. House 3 was a badly disturbed winter house with some evidence of early 20th-century reuse. An early occupation of another semi-subterranean house (House 5) showed slight evidence of 17th-century contact, suggesting indirect interaction, perhaps originating from the Hudson Strait ship-based trade. The mid 19th-century period of use of both House 5 (Occupation 2) and House 8 indicate that Inuit use of semi-subterranean houses continued well into the

19th century. House 5 was reused as qarmaq (the entrance passage was filled in and a room was blocked off) in the early 20th century. The most recent occupation of Kuyait, as represented by this qarmatized sodhouse as well as other qarmat, dates to the fur trade contact period.

The Kussejeerarkjuan site contained evidence for two occupations, separated by a decade or so in time. The evidence suggests a temporal variation in site occupancy which trended east to west. A summer tent ring, House 6, dated to the early years of the 20th century, prior to the fur trade. Houses 2 and 3, representing qarmat, were occupied during the 1920s. The foundation of House 3, which contained evidence for two paving levels, partially overlay a third pavement which represented an earlier tent ring foundation.

Artifact assemblages from each site were organized in the same format as the ethnographic data presented in Chapter 4. This manner of presentation highlights both the unrepresentative nature of the Thule archaeological evidence (which comprises only a small portion of the ethnographic documentation of material culture use) and the changes to this material culture with contact. Furthermore, artifacts which are either multi-functional or not clearly associated with one gender present some problems for establishing gender-association.

I turn now to a specific consideration of the material culture evidence from these three sites to evaluate the

hypotheses regarding gendered interaction which were set up in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 7

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

> The great advantage of gender as an analytical tool is that it operates in all levels of society, from the structuring of daily life to cosmologies. (Dommasnes 1992:12)

Kamaiyuk - 16th Century Contact

Division of Labour and Material Culture

In Chapter 2, I developed two hypotheses concerning Inuit division of labour and material culture as they relate to European contact, based on well-supported evidence for the egalitarian and complementary nature of the Inuit gender system.

Hypothesis 1 stated that European goods and raw materials would be utilized equally for items used by men compared to those used by women. The alternate hypothesis (Hypothesis 1') stated that European goods and materials *would not* be used equally for items used by each gender and that this difference was a function of access, due either to an inherent gender hierarchy or to differential opportunities for European contact in terms of personal access by men and women.

Hypothesis 2 stated that *within* each gendered set of activities, European items or materials would not be uniformly adopted but their adoption would depend on the

nature of the tasks themselves or on the relative superiority of the aboriginal or the European articles.

The following discussion is a description of the nature of the European acquisitions and a comparison of the proportion of Inuit and European goods and raw materials used in women's and men's tools at Kamaiyuk for the purpose of evaluating these hypotheses.

Nature of the European Acquisitions

Of the 2011[1] Thule period artifacts recovered from the four houses at Kamaiyuk, 1327 were European in origin. These included items of metal (N=31), of stone (N=23), of ceramics (N=11), of wood (N=2) and of glass (N=7), as well as 1251 tile (probably stove) fragments (see Table 35).

The Kamaiyuk assemblage reflects the documentary record regarding the nature of the Elizabethan acquisitions on two counts. First, except for a very few items: the glass beads, the fishhook and perhaps the endblades, which may have been acquired through gifting, or perhaps trading, most of the artifacts (e.g., stove tiles, metal, flint, wood and coal) were acquired by scavenging. Their acquisition, in other words, is not associated with gender. Therefore, differentiated access in terms of personal opportunities for contact (Hypothesis 1') is not a viable explanation for the

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1 The total number of Thule period artifacts recovered from Kamaiyuk is 2014; it includes three items found outside Houses 1 to 4.

Table 35. Distribution of European Items at Kamaiyuk by Gender and Activity

ARTIFACT	GENDER			ACTIVITY
	Male	Both/ Unknown	Female	
Harpoon head, iron	1*			Sea Mammal Hunting
Endblade, iron	(1)			Sea Mammal Hunting/ Food Prep./Manufact.
Lance head, iron blade	(1)			Sea Mammal Hunting/ Land Mammal Hunting
----------	----	-----	------	Bird Hunting
Fish hook, iron		1		Fishing
----------	----	-----	------	Transportation
Knife blade, silver		(1)		Manufact./Skin Prep./ Sewing/Food Prep.
Ulu blade, iron			(1)	Skin Preparation/ Sewing/Food Prep.
Scorifier			1	Food Preparation?
Vessel - ceramic			5	" "
Unid ceramics			3	" "
Crucible			1	" "
Vessel, black - glazed redware			1	" "
Strike-a-lights flint			23	Household Maintenance
Coal			2	House Maintenance/Food Preparation
----------	----	-----	------	Clothing/Protection
Beads, glass			7	Ornaments/Amulets
Stove tile polishers?			1251?	Ornaments/Amulets
----------	-----	-------	------	Religious/Ceremonial
----------	-----	-------	------	Burial Goods
----------	-----	-------	------	Miniatures/Toys
----------	-----	-------	------	Adult Recreation
----------	-----	-------	------	Miscellaneous Lithics
Iron	19			Miscellaneous Metals[1].
Lead	1			" "
Pewter	1			" "
Nail - iron	1			" "
Sheeting - copper	1			" "
Slag	1			" "
Knife utensil handle, wood		1		Misc. European Items
Barrel/Basin Stave, wood		1		" " "
Crossbow tip, iron		1		" " "
TOTAL	3[27]	5	44[1295]	

Key:
1. Representing manufacture, not use.
( ) Items representing multiple activity classes
[ ] Totals include questionable items
*including artifacts #2090 and 2091 which cross-mend

Kamaiyuk assemblage. Only coal was acquired in smaller quantities (possibly because Inuit burned it) than one would have expected given Hall's (1970; Rowley 1993) observations. In fact, the contents of Table 35 bear noticeable similarity to the list of items recovered from excavations at Kodlunarn Island (Table 12), which includes tile, brick, ceramics, glass, coal, flint, iron and wood.

Many trade goods itemized in the Frobisher lading lists, such as small tools, cloth, buttons and metal vessels for the use of women or tools such as hammers, files and whetstones and metal bars for men, were not recovered archaeologically. However, it is not certain that these items were actually exchanged. Neither were mirrors nor knives, items which were identified in the accounts of exchange and which represent non-gender-associated trade items, recovered.

Second, the Kamaiyuk assemblage substantiates the impact of Elizabethan contact as a source of raw materials for manufacturing indigenous items. Supplies of metal and wood would have been used by Inuit men for manufacturing; the final products may have been used by either gender. Aside from the fishhook and glass beads, most of the items appearing in Table 35 are traditional Inuit articles, locally fashioned from European materials. Although the artifact collection provides little indication of prestige goods *per se*, wood and metal would have served as utilitarian goods of the sort that eased work. Other non-utilitarian items included glass beads and roof and stove tile polishers. The

tiles were widely traded throughout Frobisher Bay, appearing at Qamaarviit (Stenton 1983a), and perhaps as far away as Cumberland Sound (Hall 1970:258). However, their appearance in the archaeological record has less to say about material culture as status indicators, since most items were gifts or scavenged, leaving Inuit little choice amongst them.

Third, the relatively small proportion of metal items actually recovered (seven artifacts representing 13 per cent of the assemblage, excluding stove tiles and unidentified fragments), compared with items identified in transactions, half of which were metal (Table 10), points to the possible curation of metal, which substantiates eyewitness reports of the avid esteem 16th-century Inuit held for iron.

Gender, Material Culture and 16th Century Contact

Table 35 presents a distribution of European items at Kamaiyuk by gender and activity. Numbers alone are not very useful; for most activities too few artifacts were recovered to be statistically significant. On the other hand, stove tiles, which documentary evidence suggests were used by women to polish their brass ornaments, if taken at face value, grossly overestimate both European influence and the dominance of female-associated artifacts because frost spalling overrepresents their number.

Only seven identifiable metal items were recovered: three are male-associated, one is female-associated and two are unknown/both, too few to make any conclusive statements

about gender and raw material use. Five of the European items (a fishhook, a silver knife blade, an 18th-century table knife handle, a barrel or basin stave and a crossbow tip), could not be identified by gender. Many categories of activities were not represented by artifacts of European-origin: clothing/protection, religious, burial goods, adult recreation, house building and bird hunting. In addition, most of the wood recovered from Kamaiyuk was derived from driftwood, although some European hard wood species were identified whose source was probably Frobisher's basecamp cache (Eggertsson and Laeyendecker 1995:184; Kenyon 1980-81:186).

Only three of the items were used by men, although some of the 24 pieces of miscellaneous metal likely represent male manufacturing activities, rather than male use. These three items are all of iron and include a harpoon head with remnants of multiple iron blades, an endblade and a lance head. These artifacts are associated with sea mammal hunting but also with manufacturing or land mammal hunting. Compared with traditional slate items, their representation is modest. Only one of eight harpoon heads (including one preform), and one of 20 endblades (including four preforms) were made of metal. The other male-dominated activity, manufacturing, is likewise notable for the nearly-complete absence of foreign items. None of the eight drill bits, the three adze heads, or the 18 whetstones/abraders (the European equivalent would be files) was produced from metal. Other activities

associated with men, such as transportation, are not represented at all by European items. Change in this activity did not occur until the 19th century.

Many more European items were female-associated: beads (N=7), an ulu blade (N=1), flint for strike-a-lights (N=23), ceramics (N=11) and at least some of the clay tiles (N=1251), the inclusion of which serves vastly to overinflate female representation. With respect to their effect on traditional activities, however, very little changed. For skin preparation and sewing, for example, only one of six ulu blades recovered was made of metal, and neither of the two scrapers nor the thimble. Traditional items used for food preparation and household maintenance continued to be used (e.g. stone vessels and lamps, wood utensils, wick trimmers and whetstones) alongside two additions: ceramic containers (11 fragments of various vessels were found) and flint, which may have been used for strike-a-lights. (Sixteenth-century Inuit ceramic use is assumed to be equivalent to 19th-century Inuit use, which, in turn, reflected European functions.) Glass beads were introduced during this period but, although seven of nine European beads are glass, this total is nowhere near the astounding number in use during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Children's activities are well-represented, although none of the toys (N=22) was made with European materials. The absence of European influence on the goods and materials for this class of artifacts is not unexpected, given the

nature of the contact: first time and fleeting. European items would have been carefully curated in these circumstances.

Hypotheses Reviewed

Hypothesis 1

According to Table 35, only three[2] European artifacts could be positively identified with male users, while, exclusive of stove tile fragments, the foreign items used by women totalled 44. Acknowledging the many caveats surrounding this figure, a severalfold increase in female use of foreign goods and materials compared with male use is nevertheless indicated. Do the Kamaiyuk results then support an hypothesis of equal use of European items by men and women or one of unequal utilization based on a status hierarchy? In fact, we find that female-associated European goods were not merely equivalent to, but far-surpassed, male-associated European use. If a gender hierarchy is being supported, it is the inverse of the one implicitly predicted in Chapter 2. (However, an inverse gender hierarchy is not what is being advocated. There are far too few items to be statistically significant. The purpose here is simply to point out an unexpected trend.)

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2 The number increases to 27 if miscellaneous metal fragments which may indicate male manufacturing, but not male use, are included.

Similarly, most gender status indicators in Chapter 2 are not usefully employed in discussions of Elizabethan contact. The obvious problem with a simple consideration of the increased number of items is that it is difficult to define what is actually represented (this refers to the tile problem) as well as the preservation problem of what may have been the most used Frobisher material (wood). Comparing the ratio of ready-made to locally-made items of European materials is not possible because the nature of the Elizabethan contact was as a source of raw materials; almost all of the 'European goods' recovered were locally-made.

Increased size in the items used by one gender was thought to indicate a higher status, as was evidence for decreased reuse, reworking and maintenance, but recycling was always an aspect of this culture, both before and after contact. In fact, more Thule items were reused than European items, the only example of which is a barrel stave cut down to make a basin. Because of the restricted number of European artifacts available, they were continually recycled until all the items we found were quite small. Some of the small endblades recovered could easily have started out as larger ulu blades which were reworked.

Hypothesis 2

The results of Table 1 actually have more bearing on the *task-related* nature of European acquisition (Hypothesis 2) and are a function, in part, of assemblage formation processes. Because semi-subterranean house interiors were

the principal domain of women, their activities (indicating evidence of European contact) are more apparent in the archaeological record than are men's. Hence, while the lack of skin preparation and sewing items is surprising, the presence of ceramics, flint, coal and even beads, is not. Since hunting activities were undertaken by men outdoors, the relative lack of projectiles is not unexpected. However, men's manufacturing activities were conducted inside winter houses and greater evidence of European contact would have been expected, at least among the smaller items: drill bits, chisel tips, and side-bladed knives, if not among adzes, mauls, hammers, picks or files.

Evidence for Manufacture and Craft Activities

In Chapter 4, I distinguished between artifact production and artifact use in discussing the division of labour, since producers and users are not necessarily of the same gender. Artifact manufacture was primarily in the domain of Inuit men, at least with respect to what is generally recovered archaeologically. This may suggest one reason for, without excusing, the androcentric bias implicit in archaeological discussions of Inuit culture. However, the association of manufacturing with men also suggests that a preform of a woman's tool made by a man represents a male-associated activity rather than a female one.

Manufacturing tools found at Kamaiyuk include engraving/chisel tools, drill bits and mouthpieces, adze heads, wedges, whetstones/abraders, hammerstones, side-bladed knives, whittling knives and an angled end-bladed knife, as well as ulus and scrapers. The finds of these items confirm ethnographic accounts that artifact production occurred during winter. The lack of European tools among this class of items indicates a lack of foreign influence on this activity.

Raw materials include slate, mica, soapstone, nephrite, wood, bone, antler, skin, bark and metal. Changes to artifact production resulting from the introduction of European goods appears to be restricted to the replacement of metal for stone or bone as the source material for traditional artifacts such as ulu blades, harpoons, lances and knives. Both traditional and imported materials were still within the domain of men's manufacturing tasks, however.

Further evidence for manufacturing lies with the presence of artifact debris, including actual tool preforms, discarded during some stage of manufacture, and modified raw materials such as baleen, ivory, antler, bone or wood, which exhibit a variety of cultural alterations: cutting, sawing, drilling, shaping, grinding, filing, stitching, notching, grooving, bevelling, perforating or hafting marks.

Twenty of the artifacts found at Kamaiyuk were preforms. These include eight items which would have been used by men,

if the pieces had been finished: endblades, an arrowhead, a biface, a harpoon head and a side knife handle. Preforms of five items associated, in their finished state, with women include a bead, pendants, a lamp and a spoon. Five toy preforms were also recovered. As finished toys, they would have been used by children. Two preforms were not clearly associated with men, women or children.

It is in the realm of culturally modified materials that a European influence in Thule men's manufacturing practise is felt, albeit indirectly, in the form of saw and file marks left on organic materials. Neither saws nor files were components of a precontact Thule tool kit. However, although a complete survey was not undertaken, at least five artifacts (three modified bones and two ivory trace buckles) exhibited evidence of sawing or filing.

Raw Material and Symbolic Gender Association

The impetus for this aspect of the research lies with Robert McGhee's (1977) intriguing structural analysis of five Thule artifact assemblages as ideology writ as raw material. (See pages 38-41 for a full discussion of this research). In these collections, McGhee observed that arrowheads were made from antler, while the majority of harpoon heads and lance heads were made of ivory or sea mammal bone. He noted that ivory, in fact, was associated with sea mammal and bird hunting, with winter use and with women's sewing tools and

ornaments, including 'tingmiujang', or bird-women game pieces (McGhee 1977:144-145). According to McGhee, ivory and sea mammal bone were never associated with hunting caribou. These associations crosscut issues of availability, workability, suitability (for, indeed, the materials are relatively interchangeable) and even gender-associated behaviour. They were linked, instead, to symbolic gender domains and, ultimately, to the overarching Thule dichotomy of land and sea. McGhee (1977:146) concluded that the separation taboos described ethnographically (concerning, for example, the completion of caribou skin clothing production prior to moving camp to the sea ice) were not restricted to animals, but were also applied to other products of the land and sea, including the weapons used to kill these animals.

The following research on contact period artifacts provides an opportunity to see if these perceived patterns of differential raw material use continue in the historic period and what the implications related to the introduction of European metal are. In two important ways, it differs from the original study. In addition to McGhee's initial categories of ivory, antler and sea mammal bone (functionally equivalent materials), I have also considered baleen, land mammal bone, and wood. Within Inuit ideology, the first material is symbolically associated with the sea, the second with the land, while the third, wood, doesn't fall neatly

within either category, and is classified as 'other'[3]. While the physical/mechanical features of land mammal bone fit entirely within the parameters established by the original materials, baleen and wood are less clearly equivalent. In some cases, baleen was used interchangeably with bone or even slate (e.g. as harpoon endblades), but this material is also more flexible than bone, antler or ivory, and can be used in other ways. Furthermore, although wood may be used interchangeably for some items, like tool handles, it is never used for other items, like harpoons. These alternative uses may be grounded more in functionality than in ideology.

The second point of divergence involves expansion of the Thule material culture considered. Initially, I included *all* artifact classes from Kamaiyuk made of these materials, rather than restricting the analysis to those with which ivory is often associated, as was done by McGhee. This only served to distort the situation, however. Artifacts have multi-valent uses and in some cases, functionality may supersede ideology. Manufacturing tools, for example, may not be as directly related to the land/sea dichotomy as are the weapons used to procure game, perhaps because tools are intended to be used on various materials. Furthermore, for many items (e.g. soapstone lamps or wooden arrowshafts), *choice* of material is not an issue; no alternatives exist.

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3 Wood could be associated with the land and, ultimately, with men because it is collected during summer life on the land (McGhee 1977:146), but in Frobisher Bay, most of it is collected as driftwood, a product of the sea.

Eventually, I restricted the list to items which *potentially* could be made from more than one of the raw materials itemized earlier (see Table 36). Table 36 is a modified version of that produced by McGhee (1977:Table 1, 143). Several items included in his table were not found at Kamaiyuk. Others have been included according to the criteria described above. (In other words, the items could potentially be made from various materials interchangeably).

The answer to the question: 'Are raw materials associated with Inuit domains of gender in the contact period?' is not apparent from the evidence at Kamaiyuk. Sea mammal bone, ivory and baleen do appear to be symbolically associated with women, especially for items used in sea mammal hunting (71%, or 89% of the harpoon and lance heads), for winter equipment (100%), and for bird-women figures (100%). However, there was not enough information from Kamaiyuk, to confirm or disprove the symbolic association of men and land mammal hunting or for the 'women's equipment' identified by McGhee, actually sewing gear and ornaments.

For other artifact classes, the Kamaiyuk data contradict McGhee's results. For example, men's manufacturing tools (wedges and tool handles) were primarily made of sea mammal bone (69%), rather than antler. On the other hand, skin preparation tools used by women, such as scrapers and skin drying stakes, were made of antler, land mammal bone or wood.

Because the symbolic association of men and land mammal hunting equipment remains unclear with the Kamaiyuk data, the

Table 36. Proportions of Selected Artifact Classes made from Ivory, Bone, Baleen, Antler and Wood for Kamaiyuk

ACTIVITIES	RAW MATERIAL									
	FEMALE SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATION					MALE SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATION			OTHER	
Artifacts	Ivory	Sea Mammal Bone		Baleen	% TOTAL	Antler		Land Mammal Bone	Wood	% TOTAL
Caribou Arrowhead		1			50	1				50
Harpoon and Lance Heads	2	6			89	1				11
SEA MAMMAL HUNTING										
Lance Shaft/Flensing Knife Handle		1			100					
Ice Pick/Fixed Harpoon Foreshaft						1				100
Bladder Float Plug									2	100
Kayak [Harpoon Rest]	1				100					
BIRD HUNTING										
Gull Hook									3	100
WINTER EQUIPMENT										
Trace Buckle*	3	2			100					
Sled Shoe		8			100					
Sled Crossbar		1			100					
Snow Beater				1	100					
MANUFACTURING										
Engraving Tool [/Chisel Handle]									2	100
Wedge*	1	3			80	1				20
Men's Whittling? Knife Handles		5			100					
SKIN PREPARATION										
Scrapers						1		1		100
Skin Stretching Stakes									1	100

Table 36. Proportions of Selected Artifact Classes made from Ivory, Bone, Baleen, Antler and Wood for Kamaiyuk

ACTIVITIES	RAW MATERIAL								
	FEMALE SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATION					MALE SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATION			OTHER	
Artifacts	Ivory	Sea Mammal Bone	Baleen	% TOTAL		Antler	Land Mammal Bone		Wood	% TOTAL
FOOD PREPARATION										
Flensing Knife [Handle]?		1		100						
WOMEN'S EQUIPMENT**										
Pendant		1		100						
Bird-Woman Figure	2			100						

KEY:

[ ] additional specific parts/items recovered archaeologically

* one made from unidentified bone

** Items which McGhee included, such as needlecases, thimbleholders, combs and ivory pendants were not recovered from Kamaiyuk. Other items of female equipment, such as ulu handles, were not included in McGhee's study nor found at Kamaiyuk.

question arises as to whether, because most of the raw material comes from sea mammals, its prevalence is related to availability rather than is symbolically-oriented. For example, McGhee (1977:142) suggested that the anomalous association of antler with harpoons at one of his sites could probably be attributed largely to the unavailability of sea mammal bone or ivory, which accounted for only 0.3% of the fauna. Henshaw (1995) determined that only 4-5 per cent (MNI) of the Kamaiyuk faunal assemblage was caribou, compared to 52-81 per cent (MNI) sea mammal. Availability, indeed, may have played some role in the patterned choice of raw material at Kamaiyuk.

At this point, the most that can be stated regarding the symbolic use of raw materials in Inuit culture is that the sample from Kamaiyuk is far too small to be convincing and too small to enable a test of statistical significance to be undertaken (Richard Morlan Canadian Museum of Civilization pers. comm. 16 December 1998). The available data from the other two more recent sites are not adequate for answering this question. McGhee's formulations have yet to be tested elsewhere by others with larger samples. A definitive study of this problem is long overdue. It requires larger collections than those I have excavated and is beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, this application of McGhee's method for assessing symbolism in raw material has hopefully amplified the scope of the original study.

Following from McGhee's analysis of Thule symbolism and raw material in Chapter 2, I proposed a hypothesis concerning European metal use which stated that its inclusion would crosscut symbolically-associated gender categories. While European metal is not an equivalent of the organic materials discussed above, we can consider whether its distribution follows symbolic gender domains or follows behavioural associations regarding gender. The following section serves to illuminate the symbolic and actual gendered use of metal.

Raw Material Use: Metal and Slate

Introduction

According to Allen McCartney (1991), A.D. 1600 marks a watershed between prehistory and history in Arctic Canada, due to the 'great influx' of metal from the Frobisher, and later, expeditions. "Hundreds of iron tools and even complete iron foundries were introduced into the Arctic by these expeditions . . . " (McCartney 1991:31). In this section, I use evidence from Kamaiyuk and from two other sites in Frobisher Bay to test whether the rate of Thule metal use did accelerate after 1600.

Determining how great the influx of metal from the Frobisher expedition was, compared to prehistoric Thule use, is compounded by the fact that during a period of transition such as this, the overall quantity of materials tends to decrease, the old materials because they are replaced by the

new, the new materials because they are so safeguarded that they tend not to end up in the archaeological record, but are continually curated and recycled (Ehrenreich, pers. comm. 22 September 1992). In this case, there is the additional problem that the old material, slate, breaks more easily and is thus discarded and replaced more frequently than the new material, metal.

More importantly, metal was a widely traded commodity well before 1600. In a survey conducted by McCartney (1988), metal was found at over 20 Thule-period sites and in almost every house excavated. Within Frobisher Bay itself, the inhabitants' metal-tipped tools demonstrate the ubiquity (but not the source) of this material prior to Elizabethan contact. They traded with other people for "barres of iron, heades of iron for their dartes, needles made four-square, certayne buttons of copper, whiche they use to weare uppon theyr forheads for ornaments . . . " (Collinson 1867:285). In fact, McGhee (1984b) defined the Thule Inuit as an 'iron age' culture based on the presence of metal, the absence of stone tools for manufacturing and the numerous tool handles which originally held metal blades. McCartney's (1991:28) term, "epimetallurgy", is more precise: a dependency on, but not a production of, metal. Epimetallurgy is technologically intermediate between no metal use and abundant metal use. The stage is marked by three features: 1.) the manufacture of miniaturized metal tools; 2.) their specialized use and 3.) their careful curation (McCartney 1991).

Once more routine contact was established in Arctic Canada, the steady flow of manufactured metal goods into Inuit society meant less need for careful curation or manufacture into miniaturized cutting/grooving/scraping blades (McCartney 1991:29). A relative increase in the size of metal items in later period contact sites was one outcome.

Three sources of iron metal existed in the Arctic during pre-Elizabethan times: 1) meteoritic iron from Cape York in northwest Greenland; 2) native or telluric iron from basalt outcrops in western Greenland; and 3) wrought iron from Norse contacts in the east, from the Bering Strait in the west, or from iron-bearing driftwood or shipwrecks (Wayman 1988).

Systematic differences exist between iron types in terms of composition, structure and hardness (Buchwald and Mosdal 1985). Meteoritic iron is characterized by a high nickel content. Telluric iron artifacts contain lower percentages of nickel and some carbon and are only found in archaeological deposits local to western Greenland, cold hammered into small, flat pieces (Buchwald and Mosdal 1985). Wrought iron is worked by smelting and is a generally more homogeneous material than the other two forms. However, variation in elemental ratios within smelted iron, resulting, for example, from the introduction or elimination of elements during the actual production process, makes it difficult to distinguish between wrought iron produced in 900 A.D. and in 1600 A.D. or between geological sources of wrought iron (Buchwald and Mosdal 1985). A further distinguishing feature

is that wrought iron corrodes more easily than meteoritic iron (Buchwald and Mosdal 1985).

Initially, European metal items simply served as raw material sources for transformation into artifacts of Inuit design. Metal objects from these early deposits, typically, are less than 10 cm and usually under 5 cm in size (McCartney 1991:30). Since iron, whatever its source, meteoritic or European, was available in such limited quantities during early contact, it was continually reused, reshaped and resharpened, and therefore reduced in size over time (McCartney 1988; McCartney and Mack 1973).

Using criteria for Thule metal use delineated below, I examined the artifact assemblage from Kamaiyuk and compared this collection with one recovered in the 1980s at Qamaarviit (KkDo-1), another early contact site at the head of Frobisher Bay (Stenton 1983a;1987), and to Crystal II (KkDn-1), a precontact Thule site located in the same area, excavated in the 1940s (Collins 1950). Qamaarviit was occupied a little later than Kuyait, probably in the 17th or 18th century. Neither assemblage has yet been fully analyzed.

Hypotheses

As well as verifying McCartney's premise of A.D. 1600 as a contact crux, or turning point, this research tests two other hypotheses. The first, as laid out in Chapter 2, is that metal consumption crosscuts ideologically-determined gender domains of technology and materials, given the

ethnographic evidence of generally egalitarian, complementary gender roles (contra arguments for differential male consumption of metal based on a presumed gender hierarchy [e.g. Whitridge 1995]).

The second hypothesis is that differential metal use is associated not with gender but with risk level. McCartney (1988:75) has argued that, because of scarcity, iron was most profitably used in manufacturing rather than in hunting activities, since with the former there was the relatively lower risk of damage or loss. Another perhaps related factor concerns the belief among Alaskan Inuit of the 'dangerously polluting' aspects of iron to souls of sea mammals, which meant that iron could not be used as tips for harpoons or lances, while iron axes and knives could not be used to butcher sea mammals (Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982:70). Some of these concepts might have been present among the cultural beliefs of eastern Arctic Inuit as well. Thus, metal initially would be used to make other tools and implements, to process food and to produce clothing, rather than as harpoon, lance and arrow points.

Buchwald and Mosdal's (1985) survey of telluric iron artifacts with cutting edges in Greenlandic collections, consisting of five ulus, five knives and a single harpoon point from pre-1650 A.D. contexts, bears out this risk-level explanation. A similar correlation has been observed for the transition from Norton culture to historic Alaskan culture when chipped stone was replaced by slate, initially for ulus

and men's knives and only subsequently for projectile point blades (Dumond 1971 in McGhee 1980:42).

Locally, the premise is supported by Settle's observation that while most arrows were headed with bone or stone, "[the Nugumiut] have some yron, whereof they make arrowe heades, kniues, and other little instrumentes, to woorke their boates, bowes and arrowes and dartes withal . . . " (Collinson 1867:283; Settle 1577:54).

Problems and Alternate Approaches

One of the problems we face in interpreting Inuit-Elizabethan interaction is the slight material evidence of 16th-century contact. This is particularly true of metal items which were highly valued, heavily curated and easily corroded. Their relative absence in the archaeological record bears little relation to their actual frequency of use, giving the impression that metal was peripheral to Inuit adaptation (McCartney 1988:58; Morrison 1987:6). Burials, for example, despite their small size, contain higher frequencies of metal tools than those recovered from habitation sites (Morrison 1987).

Differential preservation can produce misleading effects in two ways. For example, both Native and European copper and meteoritic iron (the latter, because of its higher nickel content) are less susceptible to corrosion than wrought iron (McCartney 1988). In addition, McCartney and Mack (1973) suggest that permafrost slows the oxidation rate and may be

more likely to preserve iron in frozen cultural deposits lying beneath the active zone. Thus, older, deeper deposits of iron may preserve better than more recently buried assemblages.

There are several approaches to studying metal use involving both direct and indirect evidence. The direct approach involves comparing the frequency of complete slate and complete metal tools and the range of tools for which these materials were employed (Morrison 1987). These frequencies are then compared to earlier Thule assemblages which may have bone or stone analogs to the metal tools (Morrison 1987). However, given the problems identified above, this approach yields a less than realistic perspective of Thule metal use.

A better method is to compare the frequencies of complete tools to indirect evidence for these materials, particularly since curation of metal was so important (McCartney 1991). "Although multiple iron use suggests that there were fewer iron pieces in circulation than there were handles to hold them, there were undoubtedly more metal pieces being used than are represented in [Thule collections] . . . " (McCartney 1988:66).

Therefore, in addition to quantifying complete metal-bladed tools, I also consider: 1) the frequency of tools with evidence of rust within the blade slots; 2) the relative frequency of metal blades and other metal fragments compared

with lithic blades; 3) blade slot width; and 4) artifact size.

Blade Slot Width

The original premise behind the blade slot width measurement was simple, but erroneous: slate blades less than 2 mm thick break, therefore blade slots of less than 2 mm must have held metal blades and, by extension, blade slots wider than 2 mm took slate blades (e.g. McCartney 1991; Wayman 1987). McCartney (1988:71) put it most precisely: "Very thin blade slots (0.5-1.5 mm) suggest metal blades because no other straight blades of that thickness, such as ground slate or nephrite, are strong enough to withstand lateral pressures exerted on them in cutting, grooving or scraping hard materials". Elsewhere in the article, he uses various alternative measurements: '1.0-1.5 mm' or 'around 1 mm' to indicate slots which held metal, while '2 mm and above' held slate. None of the articles cites a definitive study of slate blade breakage. The '2 mm' rule, as I term it, may be just an archaeological myth.

Written as an equation, it would look like this:

metal blades < 2 mm < slate blades

The first problem with the equation is that the corollary that blade slots wider than 2 mm held only slate blades does not follow from the initial premise. Blade slots wider than 2 mm could take slate *or* metal blades. Also, a thick slot could hold a thinner metal blade that was held in place by packing material (McCartney 1988:71). This means that Thule

metal use could be vastly underestimated if only slots less than 2 mm are considered to have held metal blades. A closer approximation of the relationship would be:

metal blades < 2 mm < slate *or* metal blades

In Whitridge's (1995) study of 194 slotted tools at Qariaraktuk in the Central Arctic, he found a bimodal distribution of slot widths with peaks occurring at 1.1 and 1.9 mm. He concluded that they represented slots for metal and slate blades, respectively. Whitridge measured metal blade thicknesses from Qariaraktuk, pooling them, with Franklin et al.'s (1981) calculation of copper sheet metal thickness from various arctic collections, to arrive at a mode of 0.5 mm, with 90% of the metal pieces less than 1.5 mm thick. Slate blades, apparently too few to be useful, were not measured. The paucity of slate, however, suggests to me that slate was not utilized and, therefore, could not account for the slot width mode of 1.9 mm. (A third smaller mode at 2.3 mm, which could possibly represent slate blade thickness, is not explained.)

In fact, a bimodal distribution of slot widths is not proof of different materials, but of two blade *sizes*. Different blade widths could arise from functional differences between tool types. One would expect ulus to be thicker than harpoon blades, for example, and as these are gendered items, this functional association has repercussions for any gender debate.

Alternatively, different *types* of a single material, metal, could be represented: copper and iron, or meteoritic and wrought iron. McCartney (1988:71) has noted that "[s]oft copper would be expected to be used primarily as penetrating blades rather than as blades for manufacturing tools", while others (Workman 1976; Franklin et al. 1981 *in* McCartney 1988:71) suggest that the technology and history of these two metals [copper and iron] may be quite distinct". We need to determine if a difference in average blade thickness exists between meteoritic and wrought iron and between iron and copper.

Aside from function and material, production technique may influence blade slot size. Presumably, drilled slots would, of necessity, be larger (greater than 2 mm) than cut/incised slots. (The only evidence we have for this technique is a preform for a side-bladed knife from Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5:2347).

Stone Blades

In order to test the '2 mm' rule - that stone blades exceed 2 mm in thickness, I measured all slate blades from the three sites which had intact distal ends or midsections (N=77, one of which was intact in handle), aside from toys and blanks (see Figure 34). The blades were classified as harpoon/small knife endblades, lance/flensing knife endblades, side knife blades; and ulus. The average slate blade thickness across all classes of tools was 3 mm, well above the traditionally-used value of 2 mm.

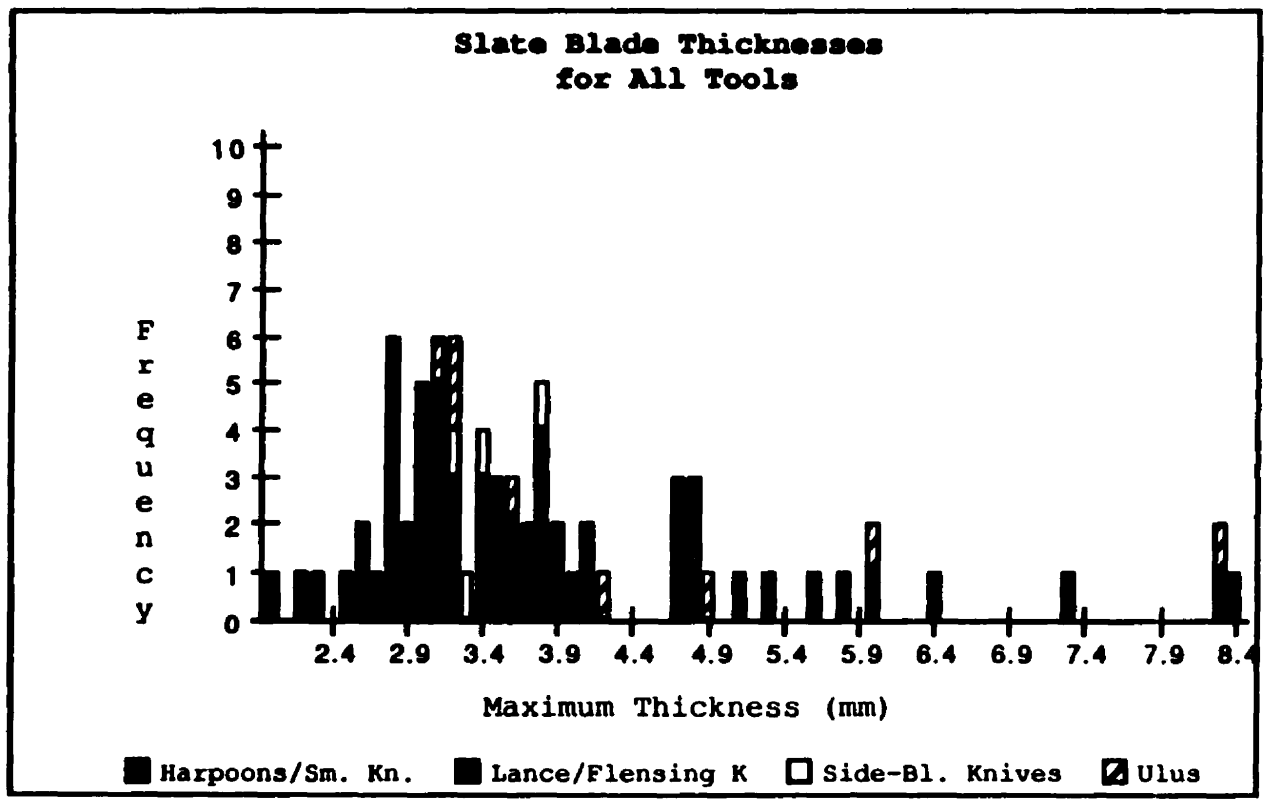

Figure 34. Slate Blade Thicknesses for All Tools from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

However, the figure undoubtedly masks functional differences in blade width (Figures 35 and 36). We expect, for example, ulus and lances to have thicker blades than harpoons and side knives. In fact, at Qamaarviit, ulu blades average 4.6 - 5.2 mm; lances/flensing knives, 6.5 mm; harpoons/small knife end blades, 3.5 mm; and side-bladed knives, 3.4 mm. While the samples from Crystal II (N=4) and Kamaiyuk (N=41) were too small and/or undifferentiated to draw conclusions about differential thickness for different tools, they followed the trend of much thicker lance blades than harpoon blades found at Qamaarviit.

Slate blades are never less than 2 mm thick. The 'slate > 2 mm' rule not only holds but can be changed to: blade slots greater than 3 mm held slate blades for harpoons/small knives and blade slots greater than 4.5 mm held slate blades for ulus and lances/flensing knives. *The difference in blade thickness across tool types for the same material is greater than the difference in thickness between metal and slate blades.*

Metal Blades

Metal blades (N=11), from Kamaiyuk and Qamaarviit, both loose and intact, were measured to determine if they were consistently less than 2 mm thick (or even 1.5 mm, as some have suggested) or were of various thicknesses, according to metal type and/or tool function. These blades were all made of wrought iron, except for a single silver blade.

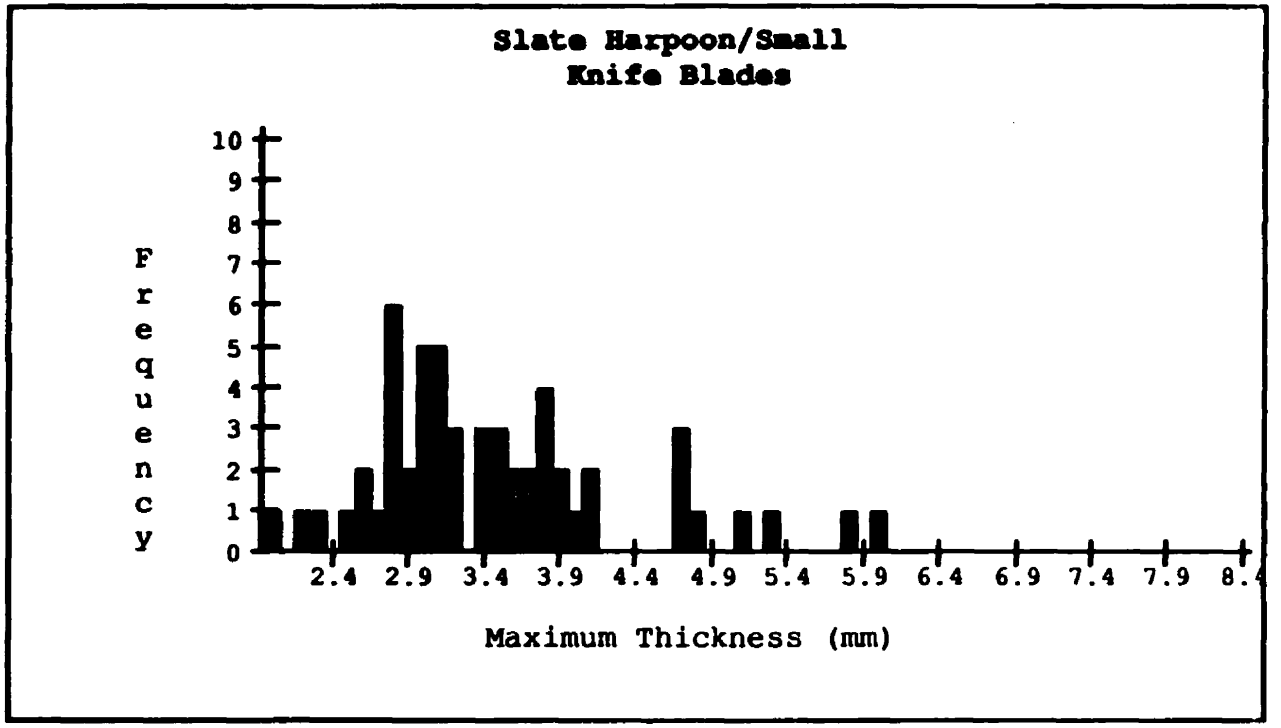

Figure 35. Slate Blade Thicknesses for Harpoon/Small Knife Blades from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

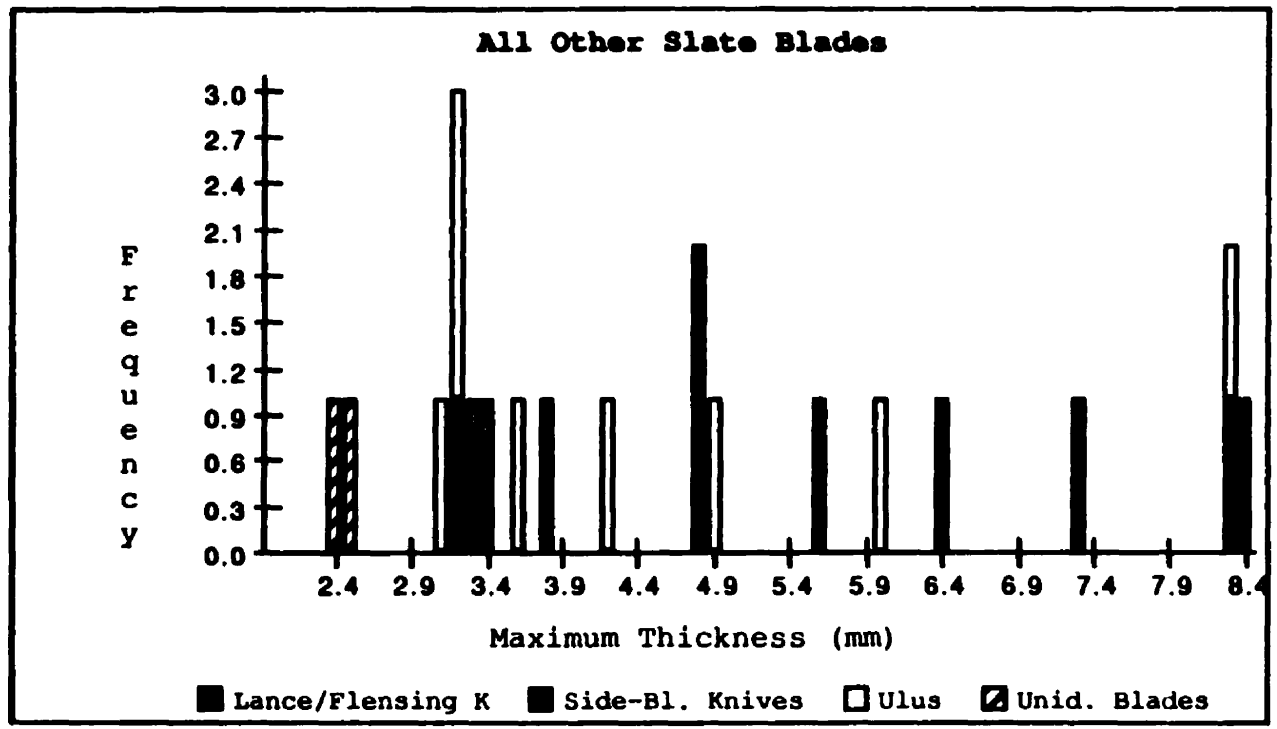

Figure 36. Slate Blade Thicknesses for Other Tools from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

At Kamaiyuk (N=5) 60% of the metal blades were over 2 mm thick, demonstrating unequivocally that *blade slots over 2 mm could hold metal blades*. At Qamaarviit (N=6), all of the iron blades were thicker than 2 mm, although three of these were European-made blades. Three-quarters of the locally-made metal blades at these two sites, in other words, were over 2 mm thick. This suggests that many more metal tools may have been used than the old '2 mm' rule suggests. *The assumption that metal blades are less than 2 mm thick is not true*. Metal blades, however, were generally less than 4.0 mm. Unfortunately, wrought iron has a lot of corrosion product which tends to deform blade slots outwards (i.e. wider), as well as making it very difficult to measure blades accurately.

Of course, metal blade thickness may depend on the type of tool. Interestingly the single non-iron blade, of sterling silver, was the thinnest blade. Since most of the blades from Kamaiyuk and Qamaarviit were over 2 mm thick, no real pattern emerged, except that metal ulu and lance blades were thicker than 2 mm, while those of harpoons and knives varied in size, tracking the same pattern noted amongst the slate tools.

To make this study more broadly relevant for Thule archaeology, I measured blades in the CMC's artifact assemblage from the prehistoric site of Cape Garry (PcJq-5) (Table 37), which may represent meteoritic or Norse wrought iron, and averaged, as well, copper blade thicknesses

reported by Franklin et al. (1981:23, Table 3) for 16 Mackenzie Inuit and Thule sheet copper artifacts. Iron from prehistoric contexts averaged 2.2 mm thick. Copper blades averaged 0.75 mm thick.

Table 37. Metal Blade Thicknesses from Cape Garry (PcJq-5) Artifacts

		Blade Thickness	Slot Width
PcJq-5:27	knife, iron fragments	2.19	3.02
" :176	knife, iron blade	1.46	2.12
" :252	endblade, iron	2.6	-
" :562	knife, iron blade (engraver?)	2.08	2.9
" :627	harpoon, iron blade	2.42	3.14
" :706	endblade, copper	1.04	-
" :796	knife, iron tip (engraver?)	2.48	2.34
" :858	bone, iron blade	1.6	3.9
" :868	bone engraver, iron point	1.46	1.95

Blade Slot Width Revisited

Stone blades averaged 3 mm or more in thickness, while most metal blades examined were over 2 mm thick. Not only is the average blade thickness *greater* than predicted by the '2 mm' rule *for both materials*, but blade thicknesses for these materials *overlap* between 3.0 and 4.0 mm. Slot widths less than 3.0 mm generally held metal, over 4.0 mm, slate. Slot

widths between 3.0 and 4.0 could have held either material. Written as an equation the relationship is like this:

metal blades $\leq$ 4.0 mm and 3.0 mm $\leq$ slate blades

While the difference in blade thickness across tool types for the same material is greater than that between metal and slate, nevertheless slate blades are still generally thicker than metal blades.

As a check on the relationship between blade thickness and blade material, slotted tools were examined for rust residues. All four blade slots (from two harpoons and a slotted rib bone from Qamaarviit and a lance from Kamaiyuk) exhibiting rust, measured well within the range for metal blades, 1.38 - 1.8 mm.

As a further check, I compared the slot widths and blade thicknesses for all intact tools. Of these six items, two-thirds of the materials predicted by slot size (that is, a slot width less than 3.0 mm should hold a metal blade, over 4.0 mm, slate) were substantiated by the blade material and thickness. However, in at least two cases, metal corrosion increased the blade size past the norm for metal to the point of exceeding the slot width itself.

Evidence of slate and metal use

Table 38 summarizes the relative frequency of metal use at each of the three sites. For complete tools (i.e., with intact blades), the lack of stone-bladed or metal-bladed artifacts from the precontact period, compared to Kamaiyuk,

Table 38. Summary of Relative Frequency of Metal Use

	CRYSTAL II (Precontact)		KAMAIYUK (16th C.)		QAMAARVIIT (17th C.)	
	slate	metal	slate	metal	slate	metal
Intact Blades	0	0	0	2	3[1]	4
Rust Residues	-	0	-	1	-	3
Loose Blades						
- lg. endblades[2]	2	0	2	0	3	0
- sm. endblades[3]	1	0	18(14)	1	56(41)	0
- side blades	0	0	3	0	1	0
- E. knife blades	-	0	-	0	-	2
- ulu blades	1?	0	6(2)	1?	6(4)	0
- side/ulu blades	0	0	3(2)	1	0	0
- unid. blades	0	0	10(1)	0	9(0)	0
Other Tools						
- burins/gravers	0	0	0	0	0	0
- drill bits	0	0	8	0	4	0
- adze blades	3	0	3	0	0	0
Misc. Metal	-	0	-	26[4]	-	28[5]
Blade Slot Widths						
2 mm rule	14 (50%)	14 (50%)	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	16 (43%)	21 (57%)
≤ 3 or ≥ 4 mm rule	6 (21%)	19* (68%)	-	2* (33%)	5 (13.5%)	27* (73%)

Key:
( ) measurable blades
1. one baleen-bladed harpoon, 3.3 mm thick
2. flensing knife or lance blades
3. harpoon or small knife blades
4. includes 23 unidentified metal fragments, 1 nail/spike, 1 fish hook, and 1 cross bow tip
5. includes 12 unidentified metal fragments, 8 nails/spikes, 1 fish spear fragment, 1 awl or chisel, 1 spoon bowl, 1 musket ball, 1 pail lid, 2 pendants, and 1 browband

* 3(11%) of Crystal II blade slots; 4(67%) of Kamaiyuk blade slots; and 5(13.5%) of Qamaarviit blade slots could have held either metal or slate.

where two metal-bladed harpoons were found, indicates a negligible change in metal use. Qamaarviit was more productive; two stone-edged tools and one baleen and *four* metal-edged tools were recovered. While the total sample is too small to consider statistical significance, there is a trend towards greater metal use with Elizabethan contact, supporting McCartney's claim regarding the impact of the 16th-century expeditions.

How does the perspective change with a consideration of the *indirect* evidence for Thule metal use? Rust residues in tool slots (which signifies *corroded* metal, i.e., iron, not copper), increase the metal tool count at Kamaiyuk by one, a harpoon, and at Qamaarviit by three, two harpoons and a slotted rib fragment. Rust residues were not found on any tools from Crystal II.

Loose metal blades also increase the metal tool frequency. In the Kamaiyuk collection, a small iron endblade, an iron ulu blade and a silver blade from a side knife or ulu were recovered; at Qamaarviit, two European-made knife blades were found. Metal blades were not recovered from Crystal II. However, what is anomalous is the *exceptionally high frequency of stone blades or tool tips recovered from the two contact period sites* (53 at Kamaiyuk; 81 at Qamaarviit), relative to the precontact site (N=7). (Back dirt from Crystal II was not screened and more evidence for slate-tool use may have been recovered if it had.) From the very little ground slate recovered at Crystal

II, the excavator, Collins (1950) concluded that metal was used but not preserved, corroborating Ehrenreich's (pers. comm. 22 September 1992) hypothesis that overall frequencies of materials decline during transition periods. However, this does not explain the preponderance of traditional materials in the later sites, if metal use was increasing through time. I address this unexpected finding in more detail later in the chapter.

The next set of evidence comes from miscellaneous or unidentified metal. Unidentified metal fragments were not recovered from Crystal II. At this point, the lack of complete tools, rust residues, loose blades or other metal fragments at Crystal II suggests *no metal use* whatsoever *at this precontact site.*

Several metal pieces were recovered at each of the two historic sites, the first support for McCartney's hypothesis of 1600 A.D. as the watershed for technological change among the Inuit. At Kamaiyuk, metal fragments included a fishhook, a nail or spike and a crossbow tip, increasing the metal frequency from a site total of six to 32 pieces. A similar situation occurs at Qamaarviit, with a little more variety: several nails, a possible awl or chisel, a small spoon bowl, a European-made fish spear, a musket ball, and a pail lid were recovered. Of particular interest are three ornamental copper pieces, two pendants and a browband, unquestionably non-utilitarian pieces which are associated with the Frobisher brick or tile fragments used to polish brass

ornaments (Hall 1970). All of these metal pieces increase the Qamaarviit site total from nine to 37 pieces.

In addition, most of the metal pieces from both historic sites were small in size, less than 5 cm, although the later site also contained several large pieces of metal. The tendency for small-sized metal pieces suggests deliberate manufacture of miniaturized tools to conserve metal, a hallmark of an epimetallurgical stage.

The most informative source of indirect evidence comes from an examination of blade slot width. At Crystal II, 28 slotted tools were recovered. According to the old '2 mm' rule, fully half the measurable blade slots in the precontact site held metal blades (Table 38). Using the '3 and 4 mm' rule, that any slot less than 3 mm held metal, increased the slotted tool total to 68 per cent. Both methods strongly confirm *the prevalence of metal use in pre-Elizabethan contact times*, as the documents themselves and, indeed, other archaeological investigations have suggested.

Recovering tools of any kind, and particularly those with measurable blade slots, occurred infrequently at Kamaiyuk. Six slotted tools were recovered, exclusive of toys. Only a third of these items took metal blades, according to the '2 mm' rule. Using the new rule, most of the slots fall into the indeterminate zone of 3.0 to 4.0 mm and one-third held metal blades. Thus, contrary to what McCartney predicted, there appears to have been *a decline in metal use after 1600* compared to precontact times. This

conclusion is supported by the numerous stone blades recovered at Kamaiyuk.

At the contact site of Qamaarviit, where 37 slotted tools were recovered, the situation reverts to the precontact scenario. According to the old '2 mm' rule, the relative frequency of narrow blade slots is 57 per cent, close to the precontact figure of 50 per cent, while the '3 and 4 mm' rule suggests that nearly 3/4 of the slotted tools took metal blades, close to the precontact figure of 68 per cent. *There is a significant increase in metal use in the 17th and 18th centuries,* the period of indirect middleman contact from the ship-based trade of Hudson Strait, *but only in relation to that of the 16th century. Compared with precontact metal use, 17th-18th century metal consumption increased only marginally.*

Slate Blade Frequencies at Kamaiyuk and Qamaarviit

Unexpectedly large numbers of stone blades were recovered from the two contact period sites relative to the precontact assemblage. A partial explanation may follow from consideration of the respective tool functions. The great majority of these blades are small endblades, which may either have been for high risk tools such as harpoons or low risk items such as small, endbladed knives. I suggest the blades represent the former, since other low risk items, such as side-bladed knives and ulus, are much less common.

McCartney (1988) hypothesized that during periods of restricted access to metal, it is reserved for processing or manufacturing functions to reduce risk from loss or damage. One would surmise that such a state was exemplified by the precontact site of Crystal II, yet stone blades were rarely recovered from there. It is appears as if *more metal,* in the form of meteoritic or Norse iron, *was available, and consequently, less slate was used, in prehistoric times than with the advent of Elizabethan contact!*

An examination of blade slot data does not resolve this. We should find increasing evidence for slate use in the later period reflected in the slot width measurements. While the use of the old '2 mm' rule for the Kamaiyuk collection does suggest that the majority of blade slots took slate blades, the new rule suggests that the majority of slots could have taken either slate or metal blades. However, at Qamaarviit, both rules suggest a preponderance of metal blades, irrespective of the numerous loose slate blades recovered. I can offer no adequate explanation for this result. The issue of Thule transitional stages and their material culture correlates deserves more research, including a larger assemblage sample.

Hypotheses Reviewed

Gender Hypothesis

Evaluation of a hypothesis concerning differential consumption of metal as an aspect of an Inuit gender

hierarchy proved intractable. So few female-associated slotted tools were recovered that it is difficult to conclude much about the gendered consumption of metal in Frobisher Bay. At Qamaarviit, for example, only a single female-associated tool had a measurable blade slot, while at Kamaiyuk, no such items were recovered. Nevertheless, a simple count of gendered metal-bladed artifacts demonstrates that Inuit male consumption far outweighed female consumption of metal in Frobisher Bay before, during and subsequent to Elizabethan contact (Tables 39 and 40).

Another list of metal artifacts from precontact and historic sites in the Copper Inuit area suggests that equal use of metal for women's and men's tools did occur in both the precontact (41% vs. 59%) and historical periods (53% vs. 47%) (Morrison 1987:8 Table 2).

The essential problem lies with the nature of the data themselves. While at least six men's tools took blades: harpoons, lances, knives, compound knives/engravers, and adzes, only one type of women's tool, ulus, is slotted. In the western Arctic, in fact, ulus were not even hafted into handles; instead, the entire tool consisted of the blade itself (David Morrison Canadian Museum of Civilization pers. comm. November 27, 1997). If these blades were curated, no evidence of women's use of metal blades would exist archaeologically. With one gender using six times as many slotted tools, which gender had greater access to metal becomes a moot question. One might not even expect iron to

Table 39. Gender-Association of Metal-Bladed Tools from Crystal II, Kamaiyuk and Qamaarviit.

	Crystal II		Kamaiyuk		Qamaarviit	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Intact Blades				2 h.	1 u.	1 l.
						1 k.
Rust Residues				1 h.		2 h.
Loose Blades			1 u.	1 eb.		
Blade Slot Width						
- 2 mm rule	2 u.	2 h.			1 u.	12 h.
		1 l.		1 l.		2 l.
		7 k.				2 k.
		2 c.k.				2 a.
- 3 and 4 mm rule	2 u.	4 h.		1 h.	1 u.	15 h.
		1 l.		1 l.		3 l.
		8 k.		2 k.		5 k.
		3 c.k.				2 a.

Key:
u. = ulu
h. = harpoon
l. = lance
k. = knife
c.k. = compound knife
eb. = endblade
a. = adze

Table 40. Summary of Gender-Associated Metal-Bladed Tools

		Female	Male
2 mm rule	Crystal II	2	12
	Kamaiyuk	1	5
	Qamaarviit	2	22
4 mm rule	Crystal II	2	16
	Kamaiyuk	1	8
	Qamaarviit	2	29

be used in precontact ulus, not because of status differentiation, but because of economic considerations. The available metal pieces, at least the iron ones, generally were not large enough to serve as ulu blades, but were adequate for smaller-sized tools such as engraver tips or harpoon endblades.

A better method of assessing gender status as it relates to metal consumption may be to compare slate and metal use within each gendered category. In this case, blade slot widths of nearly all the tools associated with either gender held metal blades, according to the '3 and 4 mm' rule (Figures 37, 38 and 39). However, the evidence of loose blades tells a different story. Almost all the blades identified to gender-association are slate for both women and men.

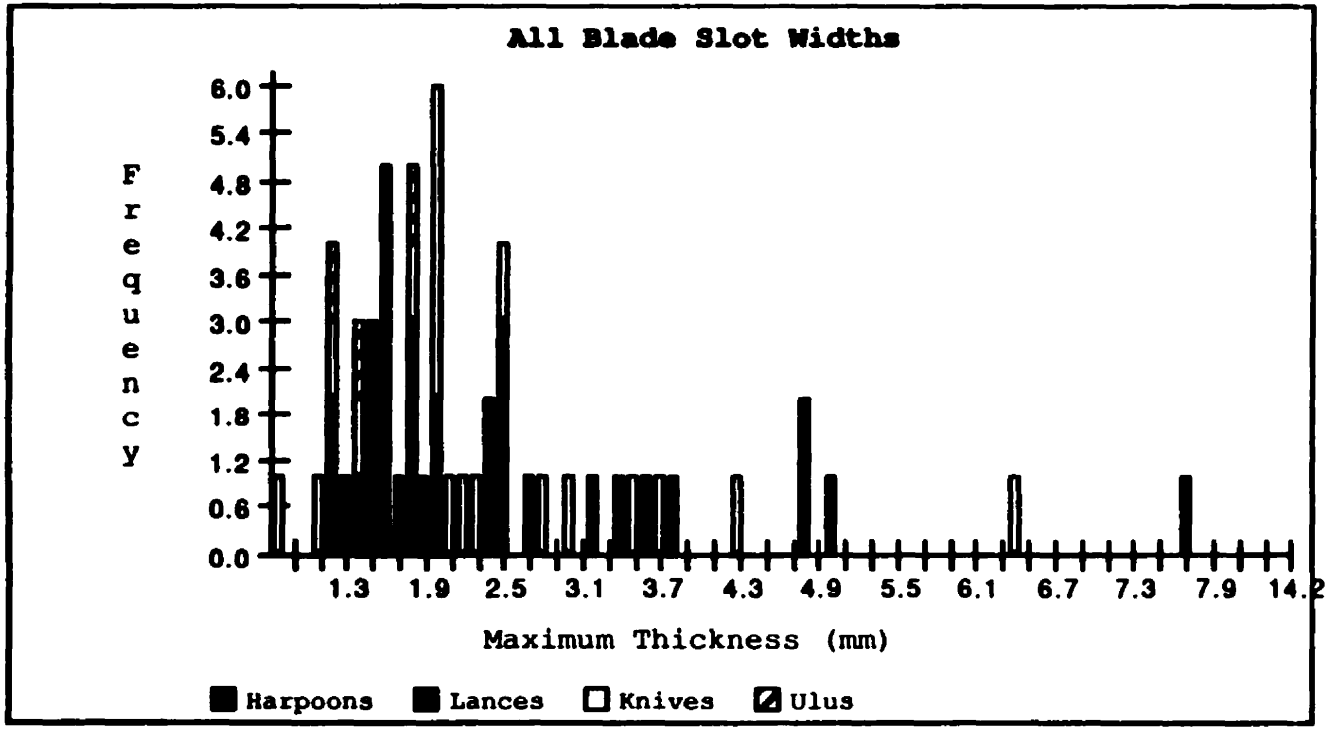

Figure 37. Blade Slot Widths for All Tools from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

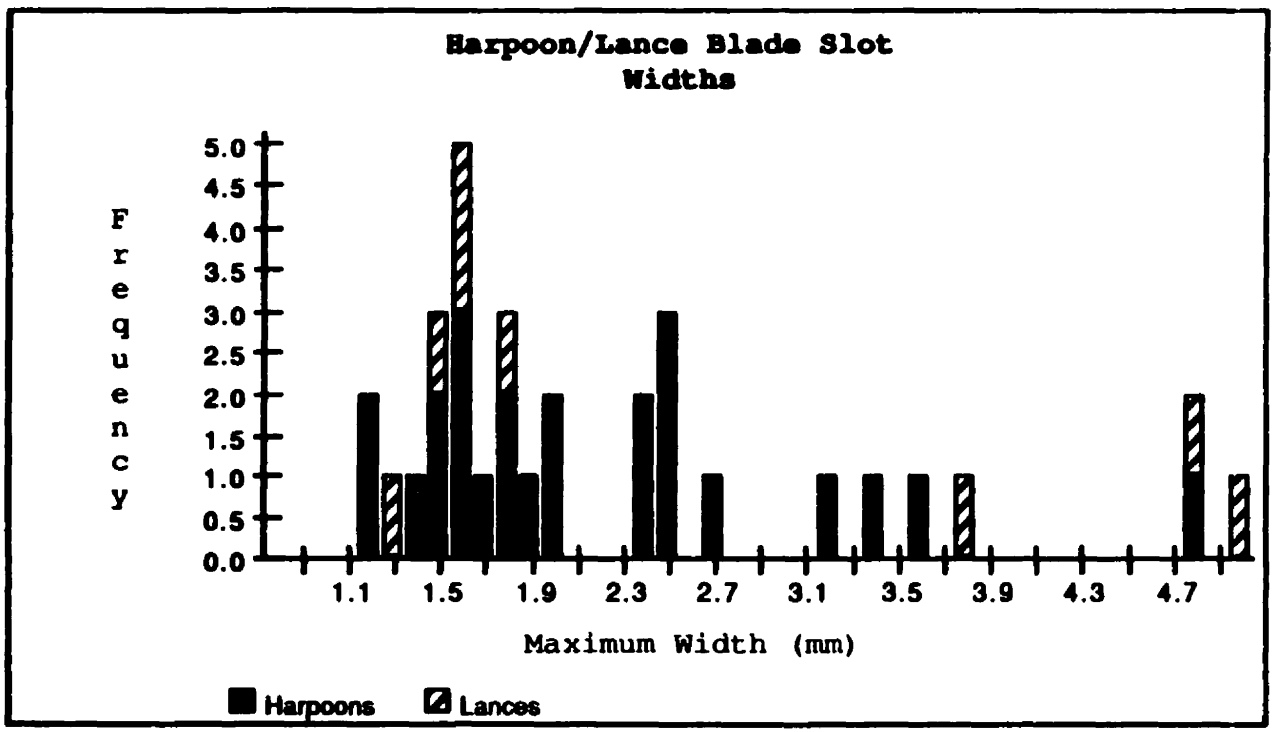

Figure 38. Blade Slot Widths for Harpoons and Lances from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

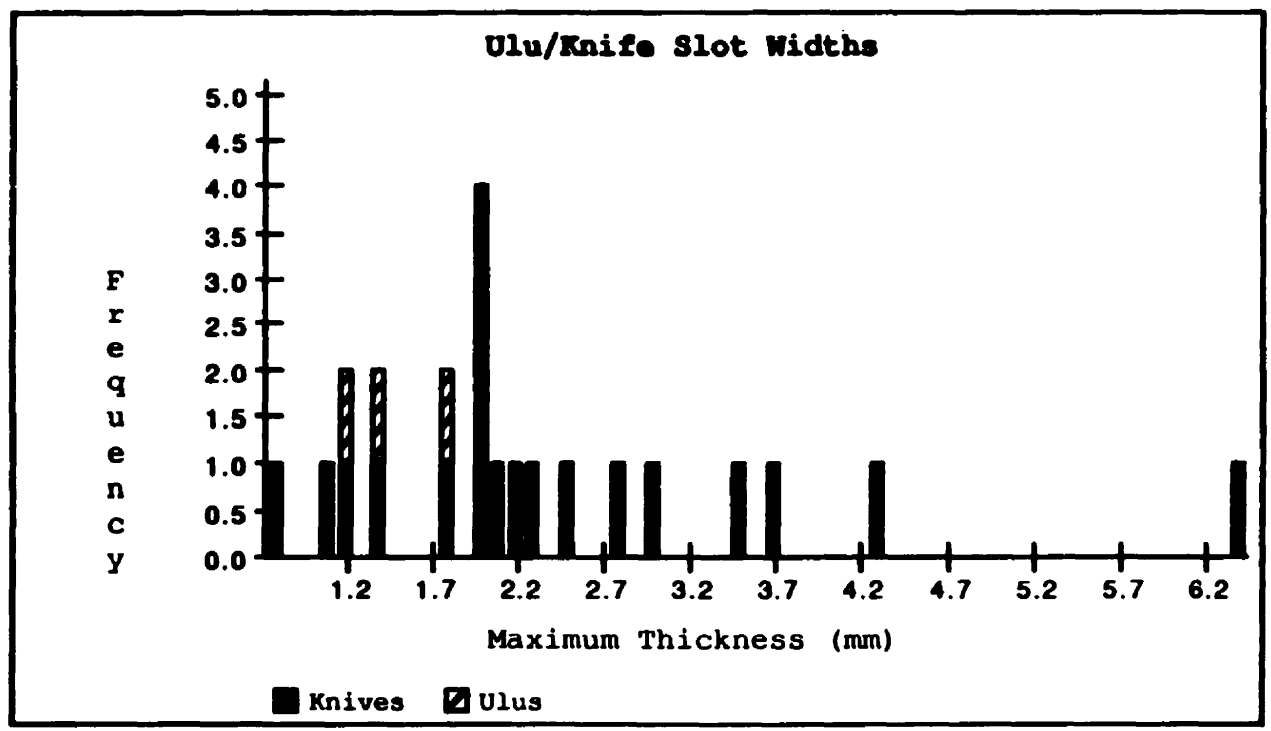

Figure 39. Blade Slot Widths for Men's Knives and Ulus from Crystal II (KkDn-1), Qamaarviit (KkDo-1) and Kamaiyuk (KfDe-5)

Risk-level Hypothesis

The risk-level hypothesis is not supported by the data. With the Crystal II assemblage, low-risk items, such as ulus, knives and half of the compound knives are made of metal, but so are two-thirds of the harpoons (Table 41). Furthermore, the lance, which I classified as a high-risk item, was made of metal. Other low-risk items, such as adzes (N=4) and antler (scraper?) handles (N=3) held stone blades.

At Kamaiyuk, the inverse situation occurs. High-risk items, such as lances and harpoons, held metal blades, while low risk tools, such as men's knives used slate (Table 41). Even if metal were more common during the 16th century, one would still expect low-risk tools to continue to be made of metal.

At the contact site of Qamaarviit, the harpoons and knives are made of metal, as was the ulu and half the lances and adzes. In other words, by the time this site was occupied, metal appears to have been generally enough available to be used for most tools, including high-risk items.

Morrison's (1987) comparison of metal use in pre- and post contact sites in the Central Arctic confirms my rejection of the risk-level hypothesis. In Morrison's precontact assemblage, 17 low-risk and 11 high-risk items were made of metal, while in the historical assemblages 19 low-risk and one high-risk items were made of metal. We should see an increase in high-risk items made of metal as

Table 41. Risk-Level and Raw Material Use

SITE/RULE	RISK-LEVEL low	high
Crystal II - 2 mm rule	**ulus**	**lance**
	knives	2/3 harpoons
	1/2 compound knives	
	adzes	
	2/3 antler handles	
- ≤ 4 mm rule	**ulus**	**lance**
	knives	**2/3 harpoons**
	3/4 compound knives	
	adzes	
	2/3 antler handles	
Kamaiyuk - 2 mm rule	3/4 men's knives	**lance**
		harpoons
- ≤ 4 mm rule	1/4 men's knives*	**lance**
		harpoons
Qamaarviit - 2 mm rule	**ulu**	**2/3 harpoons**
	knives	**1/2 lances**
	1/2 adzes	
	slotted seal rib	
- ≤ 4 mm rule	**ulu**	**harpoons**
	knives	**1/2 lances**
	1/2 adzes	
	slotted seal rib	

Key:
boldface = metal
plainface = slate
* remainder have blade slots between 3 and 4 mm

metal presumably becomes more available if the risk-level explanation was valid.

Summary

The 'great influx' of metal from Elizabethan to Inuit contexts anticipated by McCartney was not supported in this study of Thule metal use; rather the evidence suggests the inverse occurred.

The best indicator of metal use, blade slot width, demonstrated the prevalence of metal use in precontact times. Fully two-thirds of slotted tools took metal blades at Crystal II. Although precontact metal use among the Inuit was known, this evidence of its extent is still surprising. More surprising still is that only one-third of slotted tools took metal blades at the 16th-century site of Kamaiyuk. It appears that despite the proximity of the Frobisher basecamp and its supply of metal, *much less metal was used in the initial contact period than in precontact times*[4]. Moreover, the 17th and 18th centuries, the period of indirect middleman contact from ship-based trade in Hudson Strait, showed a nearly identical frequency of metal-edged tools (75% versus 68%) as the precontact period. In other words, *no significant acceleration of metal use occurred even one or*

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[4] It may be that well-established precontact metal exchange networks originating from Greenland and Ellesmere Island were disrupted by depopulation of intermediate areas north of Parry Channel in the 15th and 16th centuries (McGhee 1984c:375); however, research attention has yet to be focused on the Thule metal trade.

two centuries after Frobisher contact. In fact, the real increase in metal use in Frobisher Bay did not occur at the A.D. 1600 watershed but well after A.D. 1850, as analysis of the assemblages from Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan demonstrates. (In other areas, such as Labrador, this may not be true.)

By comparing the frequency of complete tools to indirect evidence, particularly blade slot width, the visibility of metal tool use increased from 0 per cent to 68 per cent at the precontact site of Crystal II, proof that metal curation was practised at all three sites, notably at Crystal II, where the only evidence of any metal use at all was blade slot width.

The manufacture of tiny tools for low-risk use and their careful husbanding characterized Thule metal use both *before and after* Frobisher contact, while the Frobisher period itself was characterized by the use of lithic sources for tool blades.

A definitive study of Thule metal use requires a larger sample. Tool blanks and toys should be routinely excluded and functional distinctions must be applied. Some tools, such as lances and ulus, for example, will have wider slots because they require thicker blades, not because they held only slate blades. Therefore, lances must be considered separately from harpoons, and knives should be classified and measured by type. As a check, the slots and the blades of complete tools should be measured and compared. Thule metal

use studies must also differentiate between meteoritic and wrought iron and both of these from copper, which tends to be much thinner.

Conclusions

Material culture and radiocarbon evidence collected from the four intact semi-subterranean houses at Kamaiyuk suggest that the site, recorded by 16th century Elizabethan mariners, was occupied sporadically over a two or three century period: once after the Frobisher voyages in the late 16th or early 17th century, and again in the 18th century and perhaps in the 19th century before the onset of European whaling in the area. Excavations of Houses 2 and 3 revealed, respectively, at least two and four periods of reoccupation within these structures.

During this early period of European-Inuit interaction, the contact served primarily as a source of raw material, especially metal and wood, for the manufacture of indigenous items. Nevertheless, the Elizabethan presence did not appear to be a significant source of materials; less than four per cent of the Kamaiyuk assemblage, exclusive of stove tile fragments, were of European origin. However, the lack of metal recovered archaeologically, compared with its importance in European records of transactions indicates that the Nugumiut carefully curated this material. Nonetheless, a study of blade slot width from tools recovered from a

precontact site and a later historic site, in addition to those from Kamaiyuk, showed much less metal use during the initial (Elizabethan) contact period than in precontact times, despite the proximity of the Frobisher basecamp. It is important to note, however, that the Kamaiyuk assemblage may not accurately reflect 'initial' Elizabethan contact, which was only of three years duration, because of the archaeological evidence suggesting substantial reuse and rebuilding of the site for a long time subsequent to its description by Frobisher's captain.

The nature of the European materials found at Kamaiyuk suggests that most were acquired by scavenging, supporting the hypothesis of undifferentiated access to European goods in terms of gender. In fact, more Elizabethan-origin items were associated with Inuit women's activities than with those of Inuit men. For both genders, however, the adoption of European material culture was both slight and unevenly distributed across activities. The three European items associated with Inuit men's activities (a harpoon head, an unidentified endblade and a lance head), for example, were all of metal and could have represented sea mammal or land mammal hunting or manufacturing. However, their manufacturing activities were characterized, for the most part, by the absence of foreign items, although indirect evidence in the form of saw and file marks, was apparent. For Inuit women, although beads, a metal ulu blade, flint for strike-a-lights, ceramics and tile were all recovered, there

was very little effect on traditional activities of sewing, food preparation or household maintenance. Changes to roles for either gender, in fact, are not discernable in the Kamaiyuk assemblage. Not surprisingly, the material culture evidence for children's activities at Kamaiyuk showed no European influence since European goods were carefully curated.

Empirical tests of McGhee's conclusions regarding raw material use and symbolic gender association both for evidence of the continuity of differential raw material use in the contact period and for the implications related to the influence of European metal were inconclusive because the Kamaiyuk sample was too small.

Kuyait - (17th), 19th and 20th Century Contact

Division of Labour and Material Culture

Nature of European Acquisitions

The excavation of five houses, totaling ten components, yielded 4859 Thule and historical period artifacts from Kuyait. Of these, 85 per cent (4147) were European in origin, a little less than the percentage recovered from Kussejeerarkjuan (92 per cent) and considerably more than the less than four percent (exclusive of Frobisher stove tiles) recovered from Kamaiyuk. The majority of these items were made of metal (1841) or glass (1691), but ceramic (394), clay

(129), European wood (19), leather (15), fabric (9), and stone (8), as well as 41 items made of other materials (e.g. paper, cork) were also recovered.

Generally speaking, the Kuyait artifact assemblage reflects little concerning Inuit acquisition practices of these goods, even when the various contact periods are considered individually. From the earliest historical component of House 5 (Occupation 4), for example, a single European artifact was recovered, a ceramic sherd dating from the late 17th-18th centuries. While the nature of the artifact itself does not provide any indication of how it was acquired, its age suggests that it originated with the 17th-century Hudson Strait ship-based trade, for it predates any known post-Elizabethan European presence in Frobisher Bay.

The mid to late 19th-century whaling contact at Kuyait is represented by assemblages recovered from House 8 and from Occupation 3 of House 5. The House 8 collection (and less obviously that from the contemporaneous level of House 5) is markedly different from those recovered from the early 20th-century structures. The complete lack of firearms and fox traps, the single rifle cartridge and gunshell, and the dearth of nails, ceramics, sheet metal, beads and miscellaneous European items characterize the 19th-century assemblage. The absence of fox trapping and firearms equipment and tin cans suggests that House 8 and House 5 Occupation 3 predate the commercial trapping era (1920-1940) when firearms were common and the companies supplied

provisions in the form of tinned foods. Interestingly, the only scalpel blades recovered from any of the sites - atypical trade items, certainly - came from Kuyait House 8 (from the whalers' own surgical supplies?). On the other hand, most of the Elizabethan flint, stove tile and (probably) brick came from House 8, substantiating Hall's (1970:244) observation that scavenging of the Frobisher basecamp continued into the 19th century.

During the early 20th-century settlement of Kuyait the presence of gun parts, tin cans, ceramics, nails and other fasteners indicate that trading and provisioning were the major means of acquiring European goods, primarily as finished products. Archaeological evidence of cloth garments, telescopes, whaling boats, store foods and tin can reuse supports their mention in the documentary record. Whaleboats were acquired only through employment with the ships or stations beginning in the 1860s in Frobisher Bay, for example. Unlike Kussejeerarkjuan, at Kuyait we have no artifact evidence for commercial fox trapping, which began with HBC contact in the early part of this century. However, as at the Kussejeerarkjuan site, the introduction of firearms, which replaced traditional hunting technology, resulted in little artifactual evidence recovered which was specific to sea mammal hunting.

Scavenging during the early 20th-century occupation of Kuyait was much less prevalent than at the 16th-century site of Kamaiyuk. Metal items comprised nearly 38 per cent of the

assemblage compared to just 1.5 per cent (or 4 percent, excluding stove tile fragments) at Kamaiyuk, indicating a reduced necessity for metal curation during this later period of contact. Certainly reuse continued, however, as the finds of glass and copper scrapers, a glass knife and large quantities of sheet metal[5] attest.

According to the documentary records for the whaling period, there is no indication that acquisition practices were associated with gender. Therefore, differential access in terms of personal opportunities for contact (Hypothesis 1') is not a viable explanation for the 19th-century assemblage recovered from Kuyait. On the other hand, early 20th century acquisition of European goods was in the hands of men, according to the historic evidence. However, during this period, women are so much less visible in the documentary record that only an androcentric perspective of fur-trade period acquisition is obtained. Regardless of who had more access to European contact, for both periods, a range of artifacts associated with each gender were recovered.

As at the other two sites, European-origin artifacts from Kuyait consisted of both utilitarian and non-utilitarian items. For men utilitarian items prevailed: firearms, ammunition, tools, nails and fasteners. For women, articles

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[5] Although the numerical rank of iron sheeting is artificially inflated because of its friable nature as well as my cataloguing procedure.

of a practical nature included canvas tents, cloth, sewing tools, cutlery and tableware. Less frequent than expected in the archaeological assemblage was evidence for tinned food, European clothing, kettles, pots, needles and sea mammal hunting equipment.

Prestige or luxury goods can be both utilitarian and/or decorative. At Kuyait, such items included a telescope part, beads, gun parts, tents, clothing, pendants, tobacco (in the form of smoking equipment), alarm clocks and disk records. Perhaps writing implements (i.e. pencils) might be included here to indicate possible educational contact. Although school teaching was not mentioned in the HBC accounts, it may have been undertaken by some of the company employees and was certainly done so by the Anglican clergy.

For men, prestige goods were primarily practical in nature: telescopes, firearms and whaleboats. For women, they were a mixture: both decorative (like the clothing, beads, pendants and clock parts which were recovered) and utilitarian (canvas tents). There appeared to be little to differentiate 19th and 20th-century material culture associated with female prestige, except that far fewer beads were recovered from the 19th-century deposits than were expected, given their importance in the documents of the period, and far more were retrieved from the 20th-century components. The HBC trade records do not mention women's ornaments; however, the archaeological record suggests that

beads were not restricted to the commercial-whaling era but that their use extended into the 1920s as well.

The early 20th-century components of Kuyait are strikingly similar to contemporaneous assemblages at Kussejeerarkjuan. Both date to the 1920s and exhibit less recycled and repaired material, therefore they are a more reliable source of imported goods than is the assemblage from House 6 at Kussejeerarkjuan, which predates them by a decade (1910-1920) and shows evidence of local remodelling, recycling and repair and more emphasis on worked lithics. Likewise the origin of the ammunition is primarily Canadian and British, with a few American calibers. The early component of Kussejeerarkjuan included several calibers of German or Austrian origin.

Nevertheless, some differences in European sources seem evident. For example, while the 1920 assemblage at Kuyait contains soup plate fragments, none of these was HBC vitrified earthenware. Unlike the Kussejeerarkjuan equivalents, there was no obvious link to HBC goods here. Neither do the early 20th-century occupations at Kamaiyuk contain the large mugs and monochrome transferprint ceramics of the earlier occupation of House 6 at Kussejeerarkjuan, suggesting a different origin (i.e., trading post) for these items.

Gender, Material Culture and (17th), 19th and 20th Century Contact

The following discussion of gender, material culture and Inuit-European contact at Kuyait primarily considers the 19th and early 20th-century evidence, since only a single European item was recovered from the 17th-century component.

The commercial whaling contact of the mid to late 19th century is represented by assemblages recovered from House 8 and from Occupation 3 of House 5. From this component, 18 identifiable metal items were collected, 13 (72 per cent) of which are associated with males; 2 (11 per cent) of which relate to female use. Seventeen per cent are either associated with both genders or their gender association is unknown. During this period of European contact, metal use was associated more than seven times more frequently with men's activities than with women's. This is the first evidence we have that a differential, although not necessarily a hierarchical, use of European goods by gender could have existed. Some of the difference may be accounted for by Inuit women's use of other, non-metal European materials which were available, including ceramics and some glass, as well as flint and stove tile or brick scavenged from Elizabethan deposits, and because metal was not as important for women's work. Another factor is that metal is more valuable (because it is malleable and reusable) than glass or crockery, and therefore would not have been discarded as often.

During the 19th-century contact, the use of European goods or materials was restricted to tool manufacture, food preparation and personal adornment, as well as some aspects of household maintenance. Aside from a couple of iron harpoon heads, there are no European items among sea mammal hunting equipment.

A total of 13 European items (or 23, if miscellaneous European materials, possibly for manufacture, are included) are associated with men, primarily for manufacturing. Traditional items are used for sea mammal hunting and, to some degree, for transportation and manufacturing. Modified lithics and organics, especially wood, are more common than miscellaneous metal fragments during this period, suggesting that traditional tool-production technologies persisted. For example, the two endblades recovered from this period are slate.

More than five times as many European items are associated with women (N=72) as with men. These relate primarily to food preparation and ornamentation, but to household maintenance as well. However, traditional items continued to be used in the latter activity. Too few skin preparation or sewing tools were found to determine the influence of European materials during this period. In addition, all children's toys (N=4) are of local, non-European origin, during this period as well.

Evidence for the early 20th-century settlement of Kuyait comes from Houses 11 and 12, the upper (mixed) level of House

3, and Occupations 1 and 2 of House 5. A total of 1070 identifiable metal items were recovered from this occupation period. Of these, 610 (57 per cent) were male-associated artifacts; while 414 (39 per cent) were female-associated. Four per cent[6] were either of unknown association or are associated with both genders.

By the early 20th century, metal was no longer a rare commodity and its use was less than one and one-half times more prevalent among male-associated artifacts than female-associated ones. Other European materials available by the early 20th century included ceramics, glass, clay, cloth and canvas.

By this time, aspects of virtually all activities for which we have artifactual evidence were undertaken with European goods or materials, the exceptions being the various specific hunting activities (sea mammal, land mammal and bird) which have been subsumed under the general hunting category with the introduction of firearms. In other instances, traditional items continued in use (soapstone lamps or vessels and wood wick trimmers, for example). In the space of seventy-five years, or less, albeit much *later* than most Thule scholars would concede, the majority of Inuit material culture appears to have been supplanted with European equivalents. This can also be seen within the realm

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6 Includes two toy fragments.

of childhood activities where 40 per cent[7] of the toys are of European origin.

Male-associated European artifacts for the early 20th century contact total 620 (or 1313, if miscellaneous European materials are included). The activities with which they are found parallel those from Kussejeerarkjuan, a contemporaneous settlement: general hunting (arms and ammunition), manufacturing (tools and fasteners), as well as some transportation and clothing items (e.g., suspenders). Traditional items, such as adzes, drills and whetstones, as well as lithic and organic material manufacture, were still used for some aspects of artifact production.

Almost four times more female-associated European artifacts (N=2290, including 1499 beads) than male-associated ones were recovered from early 20th-century deposits at Kuyait, primarily in the realms of food preparation, ornaments, household maintenance, skin preparation (glass and copper scrapers) and sewing (awls, scissors, thimbles, needle). Some traditional items recovered (soapstone lamps/vessels as well as wick trimmers) still continued to be used in the household.

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[7] Two toy fragments crossmend.

Hypothesis Reviewed

19th Century Commercial Whaling Contact at Kuyait

Hypothesis 1

According to Hypothesis 1, if there is no Inuit gender hierarchy or bias in terms of acquisition interest or availability, 19th-century European goods and materials should occur equally among items used by women and those used by men. Alternatively (if Hypothesis 1' holds), we will find unequal use of European goods by gender according to access, resulting either from inherent status differences between genders or from differential personal access or availability of certain types of goods.

Documentary evidence suggests that during the 19th century access to European goods and materials was equal between Inuit men and women. In an apparent contradiction, the archaeological record reveals a predominant association of metal with male task-related artifacts. However, metal is the only substance associated with men, while Inuit women used a variety of imported materials. In fact, raw counts (72 European goods relate to female tasks; 13[8] to men) suggest, as do the 20th-century assemblages from both Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan, that *Inuit women's use of European-source goods far outweighs that of Inuit men.* However, the majority of 19th century female-associated European goods are beads, some of which may represent parts of a much smaller

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[8] Excluding miscellaneous metal fragments which may indicate male manufacturing, but not male use.

set of whole items, such as beaded clothing and earrings. If these are excluded, then foreign items or materials related to women's activities are half as frequent as those of men's. Several artifacts, used by men or women, in fact, are parts of larger items: ceramic and glass fragments, tin can and sheet metal fragments, as well as fasteners, such as nails and screws. Determining the minimum number of vessels (MNV) represented by the ceramic and glass fragments (12 fragments represent six ceramic vessels and four glass fragments represent three glass vessels) does not significantly change the rank order of female-associated artifacts.

Other status indicators (for example, the ratio of ready-made to locally-made items) are difficult to determine as evidence for reuse, recycling and repair was not evident in House 8 or Occupation 3 of House 5. In fact, from the limited evidence available for 19th-century contact, it is not possible to conclude whether Hypothesis 1 (equal use across gender lines) or Hypothesis 1' (differential use across gender lines) was the case. While on the one hand, we have evidence of more metal use by men, on the other, we see a greater variety of materials used by women. In any case, the privileging of metal over other materials may be a moot point when, for example, its use is not congruent with the users' needs. In addition, while more European items are associated with women, these frequently consist of parts of a smaller number of whole items, such as beads for beaded garments or fragments of a ceramic vessel. The 19th-century

sample from Kuyait is insufficient for addressing issues of access and gender status.

Hypothesis 2

According to Hypothesis 2, within gendered activities, the adoption of European goods and materials will relate to the nature of tasks or the relative superiority of the tools. However, in the case of the 19th-century contact represented at Kuyait, too few items, relating to too many different activities were recovered to evaluate Hypothesis 2 conclusively. Few items were recovered from House 8 and the contemporaneous level in House 5 was deeply buried beneath subsequent, successive remodellings of the house. The 19th-century assemblage for Kuyait is *suggestive* of trends in the whaling era contact and response, but is too small to be representative of that period of interaction.

Nevertheless, some conclusions about the task-related nature of the contact response can be made. For activities undertaken by men, 19th-century European imports primarily relate to the use of manufacturing tools. The recovery of modified lithics and organics indicates that Inuit men used European tools to produce items made from traditional materials. Evidence for the use of European goods or materials for high-risk hunting was not found. Little change was noted in women's tasks aside from the modification suggested by a few fragments of ceramic soup plates and bowls or cups and a pail handle which were recovered. Although no evidence for traditional clothing was recovered, aside from a

very few skin fragments, the single leather shoe collected, the sole evidence we have of adoption of European clothing, indicates very little change occurred within the category of clothing artifacts. Since most evidence for clothing, aside from hardware, would not have survived, photographic evidence from the period would be more useful as a source of information. Unfortunately, such a study is beyond the scope of the present research. A similar situation pertains to artifacts for adult recreation; here, the European influence rests on a single smoking pipe fragment. It is, in fact, the absence of European material culture in general that is most informative about culture contact in the mid 19th-century Inuit occupation of Frobisher Bay.

Early 20th-Century Fur Trade Contact at Kuyait

Hypothesis 1

According to the documentary evidence, Inuit women and men had unequal access to European trade goods and materials in the early 20th century. With their involvement in fox trapping and employment at the posts, Inuit men had greater opportunities for interaction with the fur traders. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence demonstrates equal use of European items across gender lines. In fact, the raw figures (620 European goods related to male activities and 2290 to female) suggest, once more, a predominance of female use of European goods and materials. However, items which represent parts of a much smaller set of whole items, such as beads, ceramics, nails, tin can and sheet metal fragments,

are given the same weight as a pocket knife or a skin scraper. This imbalance, corrected by determining the minimum number of vessels (MNV), reduces the 296 ceramic fragments to 37 vessels and the 28 glass fragments to 10. In the case of early 20th-century contact, however, even when MNVs are used, the female-associated European artifact frequency drops only slightly to 2013, still more than three times that of male-associated European artifacts. However, if glass beads are excluded, the number of European artifacts related to female activities drops to 513, a little less than that of men.

Despite the lack of evidence for such activities in the 19th century, reuse, recycling and repair were important features of Inuit adoption of European material in the early 20th century (see Table 42). Bottle glass was routinely flaked into scrapers or a men's knife; barrel strapping was transformed into a knife blade preform; ceramics were drilled for mending broken vessels and cartridges were cut for hair ornaments or beads.

However, the implications of this behaviour for defining gender status are ambiguous. For example, the ratio of locally-made to ready-made items is very small, less than one per cent, for items used by either men or by women. At Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan, European contact is a source of finished products, not raw material. Therefore, the criteria of relative artifact size is not useful either. The evidence from Kussejeerarkjuan shows that male-related items were more

commonly made from recycled European-source material, while the evidence from early 20th-century components at Kuyait (Table 42) shows over four times as many female-related artifacts made from recycled/ repaired European materials. At Kussejeerarkjuan, more male-related items were made from recycled material than a hypothesis of an androcentric gender hierarchy would suppose, while at Kuyait, more female-related items were produced from recycled material during the early part of this century.

Table 42 Gendered Association of Recycled/Repaired Artifacts from Early 20th Century Kuyait

Gender	Recycled Artifacts	Total
Male	barrel strapping » knife blade preform bottle glass » knife utility knife, heavily resharpened barrel stave » anvil for punch? sheet metal » washer	5
Female	bottle glass » scraper (4) copper sheet metal » scraper ceramic vessel w/mend holes (2) ceramic bowl » lamp (blubber residue) button » pendant (drilled, filed) cartridge casing » (hair?) beads (10) pocket watch parts, cut, feathered (2)	21
Unknown/Both	flaked bottle glass (14) flaked mirror glass eyebolt, cold-chiselled rove, filed small brass block, filed cartridge casing, cut (3) bullet head, whittled rifle barrel, cut, twisted barrel strapping, cut	24

A consideration of the nature of the artifacts is relevant. Five of the recycled artifacts used by women are scrapers and ten are possible hair beads, which the fur traders did not supply in any form. The Kuyait data reflect a case of transforming foreign material into useable traditional forms, rather than restricting access to European equivalents.

Evidence of the relative frequency of European goods and materials according to gender and of artifact recycling and repair all support Hypothesis 1 (equal use of European goods regardless of gender) for the 20th-century fur trade in Kuyait. Other criteria, such as the ratio of locally-made to ready-made items and relative artifact size, were not useful in testing for evidence of equal use across gender lines.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 relates to the nature of the contact response for each gender individually, that contact and the adoption of European items was not monolithic but mosaic, relating to the nature of the tasks themselves or to the relative superiority of the tools used. Firearms and ammunition, representing general hunting activities, were prevalent, while artifactual evidence for fox trapping or, indeed, any land mammal hunting was not recovered. Nevertheless, the relatively high percentage of caribou bone recovered from Kuyait compared to the assemblage from Kamaiyuk suggests that land mammal hunting was still an important activity perhaps because of the proximity to

inland resources and season of occupation (Henshaw 1995:211). The prevalence of long bone fragments, especially blanks and cores from caribou metatarsals, indicates the continuation of bone tool technology into the early 20th century (Henshaw 1995: 211). Some evidence exists for the use of metal fishhooks and line weights. The recovery of small boat parts from the 20th-century deposits, although not equivalent to the numerous boat lapstrake rivets of Kussejeerarkjuan, point to the replacement of traditional kayaks and umiaks with whaleboats. Aside from a few tent grommets, there is little evidence (in the form of hardware, door hinges, nailed walls) of European influence on Kuyait house structures, unlike at Kussejeerarkjuan. The qarmat of Kuyait appear to have been essentially traditional in form, material and construction technique.

European influence in Inuit men's activities is primarily concentrated on hunting and on manufacturing artifacts in the form of European tools, fasteners and knives (the latter are multi-purpose and relate to other activities as well).

In women's activities, the influence of fur trade contact was especially notable in the realms of sewing and skin preparation and food preparation. Glass and copper scrapers, needles, thimbles, scissors, awls (both Inuit and European style) were utilized, but for tasks that remained essentially traditional in nature. The vested interest of the Europeans in Inuit skin production for the trade may have

been the impetus for their support of this activity in the form of easily acquired tools[9].

Ceramic vessels, such as plates, soup plates and bowls, replaced traditional organic containers but the same type of foods, liquid-based, such as soups or stews, as well as rendered blubber, were prepared. The preponderance of metal spoons, over forks, substantiates this observation concerning the form of food. However, the replacement of traditional containers by ceramic counterparts is less obvious at Kuyait than at Kussejeerarkjuan, where soup plates and drinking mug fragments predominate. The few bottle fragments found at Kuyait were often flaked, suggesting that their value was primarily as a raw material source, rather than as containers for fluids. The pieces of sheet metal containers recovered could represent tinned food and thus indicate some augmentation of traditional country food with store-bought food, as the archival records obliquely suggest (see pages 226-228).

Soapstone lamps and wick trimmers were still the primary means of providing warmth, although a bowl with blubber residue appears to have been used as a lamp and one primus stove burner was recovered. There is evidence, in the form of hinges and handles, that wood boxes and metal pails supplanted skin bags and baleen boxes as storage containers.

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9 Although Turner (1979:43) observed that scissors were not adapted to cutting fur skins, and were only used for cutting cloth by the 19th-century Koksoakmiut of Ungava.

Evidence for the adoption of European-style clothing is much more obvious for the early part of this century than for the preceding one. Buttons (often from military jackets), suspenders (and therefore pants) and fabric remnants were all recovered. Similarly, adult recreation items of European origin, such as pipes and related smoking equipment, checker pieces, record disks, and alarm clocks (found also at Kussejeerarkjuan), were common.

By the early 20th century, European material culture adoption was so widespread that these goods and materials were virtually ubiquitous across most activities, with the exception of winter clothing, food and specific hunting technologies related to land mammal or to sea mammal procurement. However, the activities themselves, save for the indirect evidence of writing, in the form of several pencil fragments, remained traditional in nature.

Evidence of the Seasonal Nature of Gender Behaviour

Despite the advantages that a multi-season site offers for seasonality studies, characterizing the seasonal nature of Inuit gender behaviour at Kuyait remains difficult because the winter sodhouses and the transition-season qarmat date to different periods of European contact. Nevertheless, using models derived from Chapter 4 concerning the more seasonally variable nature of men's activities, which were often conducted outside dwellings, and the less seasonally-

organized nature of women's activities (with the expectation being that evidence for men's work is less discernible archaeologically and women's material culture would be fairly evenly distributed across seasonal dwellings), some statements concerning gender and seasonality at Kuyait can be made.

As with the Kussejeerarkjuan and Kamaiyuk assemblages, far more artifacts were recovered from the qarmat than from the sodhouses at Kuyait. The qarmat were single-season, single-family occupations with an emphasis on outdoor activities, while the multi-family sodhouses were occupied over a number of years with activities concentrated indoors, leading one to expect more material culture representation in the winter houses. That the reverse was found may be due to the fact that the qarmat floors were unpaved, providing more opportunity for small-object loss, and that they were single-use dwellings and therefore not cleaned out prior to reoccupation, as the sodhouses most likely were.

Women's activities during both the winter and spring/fall reflect a similar distribution of items related to food preparation and household maintenance, although there was less evidence for soapstone lamp use and wick trimmers in the qarmat, since cooking took place outdoors in warmer seasons. Unlike Kussejeerarkjuan, however, there is evidence, in the form of artifacts and pieces of cut skin, of skin preparation and sewing in the Kuyait qarmat. These were seasonal activities; the manufacture of clothing took place

in the fall prior to winter ice hunting, and the production of summer skin tents in the spring. Little evidence for skin preparation and sewing was found in the winter houses, although clothing repair is an activity which would have been done year-round.

As with the Kussejeerarkjuan data, evidence for the warmer-season occupations of men is more obvious. While no direct artifactual evidence exists for the expected land mammal or bird-hunting activities, the gun parts and ammunition recovered indicate hunting generally. There is some evidence for fishing as well. The recovery of small boat parts from whaleboats suggests summer travel. As expected, artifacts related to winter pursuits, such as sea mammal hunting, snowhouse building or fox trapping were not recovered from the qarmat, although a few sled parts were. The slight zooarchaeological evidence of fox trapping substantiates the lack of involvement in the fur trade by the Nugumiut of outer Frobisher Bay (Henshaw 1995:210). The recovery of several manufacturing tools and related debris, however, suggests that artifact production and repair were not restricted to the winter months, as the ethnographies suggest, but were likely year-round activities.

The mid to late 19th-century sodhouse occupations predate the widespread use of firearms by the Nugumiut. The lack of ammunition and gun parts from this component is, therefore, not surprising. Some evidence was recovered of sea mammal hunting (harpoon endblades, an ice pick), winter

travel (trace buckles) and snow house building (snowknife). The few manufacturing tools recovered from the winter houses were mainly Inuit, except for a variety of metal knife blades from House 8.

The only seasonally-related clothing/protection recovered are from the qarmat: two sunglass lenses used during spring hunting.

Evidence of Manufacture and Craft Activities

19th Century

In this section I discuss the effect of European contact on artifact production. During the 19th century, most of the Inuit material culture used at Kuyait was produced by the site's occupants, from traditional materials and with traditional tools: harpoon endblades, gull hooks, net weights, snow knives, soapstone lamps and vessels, wick trimmers, ulus, harness equipment, and children's toys. The manufacturing tools include bowdrills, whetstones, ulus, and side knives. However, a clasp knife, scalpel blades and a scissors blade were also recovered. The adoption of European metal fasteners, such as nails, screws, rivets, tacks, reveals a different aspect of contact and artifact production. Although only seven fasteners were recovered, all were European in origin.

Raw materials, including lithics (e.g., mica, slate, soapstone and graphite) (N=19); metal (primarily iron

sheeting) (N=17); and organic materials (especially modified wood, but also bone and a little baleen and antler) (N=82), show a predominance of traditional over imported materials. Bottle glass was not utilized as a raw material during this period and, in fact, only two fragments were recovered. Mid to late 19th-century Kuyait fits neatly after 16th century Kamaiyuk and before the 20th-century occupation in terms of the relative proportion of raw material of European-origin its inhabitants used.

The artifact debris (pieces which have been modified in some way) are from traditional materials. These modified pieces exhibit cultural alterations dominated by cutting, drilling and grooving. Only three pieces exhibit (European) saw marks. One artifact preform was recovered from this small assemblage, a harpoon endblade, which, when finished, would have been associated with men.

Early 20th Century

During the early 20th century, several traditional items were still being manufactured: harpoon/small knife endblades, a harpoon hand rest, sled shoes, a snowknife, soapstone lamps and vessels, wick trimmers, a fire hearth, wood box bottoms, a pendant and amulets, and children's toys, as well as a slate bead, a bone bead and several manufacturing tools. The roughly equivalent numbers of traditional artifacts coming from four early 20th-century components (N=75) compared to those from two 19th-century components (N=68) indicate that

reliance on traditional materials for artifact production was in decline by the early 20th century. Compared to the 19th century, the manufacturing tools for the fur trade period are frequently of European-origin, if not in form then in material (eg., the glass and copper scrapers and knife). These tools include an auger, a file, a mallet, a peen hammer, blacksmith's punches, saw blades, clasp knives, utility knives, a glass knife, glass scrapers, a copper scraper, an iron needle, iron thimbles, awls and scissors. They are augmented by 230 European fasteners, primarily nails. Traditional tools still in use include bow drills, adzes, a wedge, a hammerstone, whetstones, ulus and bone awls.

By the fur trade era, European materials, especially iron sheeting (N=687), were far more prevalent at these sites. Few pieces show deliberate modification and, again, the number may be artificially inflated because of cataloguing procedures. However, while lithics (N=37) were less frequently used in artifact production, organic materials (modified bone, wood, skin and ivory, as well as some antler, but virtually no baleen) (N=176) were still used. Interestingly, glass appears as a European raw material replacement for slate but as a flaked, rather than ground, material. Artifact detritus exhibits cultural alterations which include grinding, cutting, chopping, rolling, drilling, flaking, punching and sawing (N=8).

Three artifact preforms were recovered: a slate bead and an ulu blade (both of which, when finished, would be associated with women) and an iron harpoon head preform, which, in its finished state, would have been used in male-related activities. The two female-associated preforms, therefore, represent a men's activity, manufacturing, rather than the *intended* female use. However, the preform sample is too small to alter substantially the ratio of gender-related artifacts.

Early 20th-century artifact manufacture is characterized by more European tools, more European fasteners and more European-source raw material than was the preceding contact period.

Because the 19th-century components represent winter occupations, while the 20th-century ones are from transition season qarmat, we might expect more evidence of manufacturing in the earlier period, since artifact production tended to take place in the winter. Once again, the small sample of 19th-century material culture recovered accounts for the result.

Conclusions

Analysis of artifacts and radiocarbon samples recovered from Kuyait indicate that the site was occupied over several centuries: from precontact Thule times to the 17th century (Hudson Strait contact?), 19th-century whaling contact, and

early 20th-century fur trade contact. Ten components were identified from the excavation of five houses.

Reuse and remodelling, both intentionally and naturally, meant that older deposits were difficult to define. A prime example is House 5, in which, during four successive occupations, the entrance passage was reoriented and later filled in and one room was blocked off. Other dwellings, (House 11 and House 12) were single-season occupations.

The single yellow combed slipware fragment from House 5 (Occupation 4) provides the only evidence of 17th-century contact in Frobisher Bay. The age of the piece, which corresponds with the radiocarbon evidence, indicates that it may have been acquired indirectly through 17th-18th centuries Hudson Strait ship-based trade.

Our investigations at Kuyait have also provided evidence of the persistence of semi-subterranean house use in the eastern Arctic into the mid-late 19th century (House 8 and Occupation 3 of House 5) (and possibly into the early 20th century according to surveys of small, semi-subterranean structures on Sumner Island, directly offshore from Kuyait). Possibly the nearby polynya, which is a reliable source of subsistence, permited a continued winter sedentism. Most of the evidence at Kuyait for scavenging of Frobisher deposits comes from this period as well. House 5 (Occupation 1) also offered proof of the more recent qarmatization of these semi-subterranean houses.

By the early 20th century, we find Inuit material culture heavily dominated by European imports, but, except for hunting changes introduced by the use of the firearms, basically traditional in character. Cloth garments, telescopes, whaling boats and store food were acquired by trading and provisioning.

Although there was insufficient evidence of mid to late 19th-century European contact, the early 20th-century data demonstrate that Inuit men and women adopted European culture equally, but not evenly. Therefore, both Hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported. For Inuit women, foreign influence is evident in tasks such as food preparation, household maintenance, sewing and skin preparation. For men, European replacements occur in the realms of manufacturing and in hunting, but only the use of firearms afforded some degree of behavioural as well as material change. There was no evidence at Kuyait for changes in gender roles (e.g., the recovery of trap parts to suggest commercial fox trapping by men), such as there was at Kussejeerarkjuan.

The evidence we have for children's activities in the early 20th century at Kuyait shows that boys and girls played with a combination of European toys (marbles, soldiers) and traditional ones (miniature bow and arrows, lamps and harpoons).

The problem of determining gender behaviour and seasonality in the contact era in general are exhibited in microcosm at Kuyait: a lack of contemporaneous occupations in

seasonally-different structures and therefore no directly comparable assemblages.

Kussejeerarkjuan - 20th Century Contact

Division of Labour and Material Culture

Nature of European Acquisitions

The total number of artifacts recovered from the three houses excavated at Kussejeerarkjuan is 2573 (including two items surface collected from outside the houses). Of these, 92 per cent (2366) were European in origin. These included 1323 metal items or composite artifacts which contained metal; 2 stone, 444 ceramic, 3 wood, 518 glass and 62 clay pieces; as well as 14 items made of other materials (e.g., pressed cardboard).

Despite the wealth of recovered material, information on the nature of the European acquisitions was more readily recovered from the documentary record than from the archaeological one. Inuit response to the early 20th-century fur trade period was characterized by the acquisition of cloth garments, telescopes, motor boats, store foods and by the use of tin cans as metal for artifact production. Yet little of this, save clothing hardware (e.g. buttons) and the latter recycling, is observable archaeologically. Few trap parts and no gear specific to sea mammal hunting were recovered, giving little indication that fox trapping and

sealing were active pursuits. In fact, the Kussejeerarkjuan assemblage reflects the documentary record regarding the nature of 20th-century European acquisitions in only one respect. It substantiates the fur trade contact, not as a source of raw materials, but as a source of finished products, both replacing aboriginal material culture and augmenting it. Furthermore, the documents do not mention the continued, albeit small-scale, scavenging of Frobisher's 16th-century basecamp for brick, tile and flint fragments.

During the early 20th century, European goods were acquired, not primarily by scavenging, as at 16th-century Kamaiyuk, nor by gifting, but by fox trapping, trade in other skins or materials or employment with the companies (see Table 22). Nevertheless, although scavenging was less critical than in former times, it always remained important and some of the European material at Kussejeerarkjuan might have been acquired by scavenging cast-off or unneeded European goods and materials at the posts. Wood, barrels, tin cans and old bullets were often recycled and refashioned into new items and evidence for this behaviour was recovered from house excavations at Kussejeerarkjuan.

While some degree of choice was involved in the acquisition process, the means of acquisition appear to have been primarily controlled by men. This suggests the possibility of differential access in terms of personal opportunities for contact (i.e. Hypothesis 1'), but is difficult to verify given that women are so much less visible

in the documentary record. Furthermore, the idea is countered by the range of female-associated artifacts recovered. It is also difficult to 'see' any acquisition behaviour archaeologically, aside from evidence for scavenging and the trap parts, which are male-associated.

Whether European items were acquired through trade, or employment, the same items were procured. For the most part, these were practical in nature. Artifact densities, highest in platform areas of the qarmat, were dominated by utilitarian items. Most of these were carpentry-related - bolts, rivets, screws and nails - and may have been involved in the construction of the qarmat using European techniques and materials (while retaining the traditional form). For men, these utilitarian acquisitions included whaleboats, rifles, ammunition, telescopes and tools; for women, kettles, pots, scissors, needles and clothing.

Some of these items show up less frequently in the archaeological record than expected, given their inclusion in the archival accounts of European commodities. European clothing (especially for summer use), for example, in the form of buttons, buckles, trim, and so forth, was rarely recovered, although the documentary record is itself contradictory on their popularity. Tin cans were also less common than expected. However, their absence may be explained by their use as a source of metal for ovens, scrapers, buckets and ammunition.

Telescope parts were not recovered, probably because these high prestige goods were highly curated. Evidence for other prestige goods associated with men, such as firearms and whaleboats, were recovered archaeologically.

Of the canvas tents and cloth that women esteemed in the early 20th century, little archaeological evidence survives, reversing the 19th-century trend of female-associated prestige goods being dominated by the non-utilitarian bead which was ubiquitous in the archaeological record. While glass beads (but not other parka decorations) were still frequently recovered, they were not mentioned in the documentary record.

In the early 20th century, other non-utilitarian acquisitions included tobacco (archaeological evidence for which appears in the form of clay pipes), alarm clocks and musical instruments.

Significant differences in the nature of the European goods being acquired occur between the 1920s occupation of Houses 2 and 3 and that of House 6 from a decade earlier. House 6 represents a classic pattern of early European-Native trade with local remodeling, recycling and repair of items occurring. The few pieces of worked lithics come from this dwelling. In contrast, the two qarmat occupied in the 1920s contained less recycled and repaired material, suggesting a more reliable source and a generally greater variety of these items, which included nails, various tools and cutlery and whaleboats (in the form of boat rivets). Rifle cartridges

recovered from the tent ring were of Austrian and English manufacture and were twice as common as those from Houses 2 and 3, which were either Canadian- and American-made. In addition, trap parts were found only in the more recent structures, which were coeval with the HBC fur trade period.

Ceramic and glass vessel use also varied across the site. House 6 contained fragments of large earthenware mugs and earlier monochromatic transferprint fragments, while the 1920s occupation was characterized by vitrified whiteware soup plates, as well as earthenware saucers, cups and/or bowls and stoneware preserve jar fragments. Case gin and medicine bottle glass were recovered from House 6, while castor oil bottle glass was found in Houses 2 and 3.

Although beads were more frequent in the later occupation, bead types had not changed much throughout the period of the site's use.

Gender, Material Culture and 20th Century Contact

By the early 20th century, European goods were so well integrated into Inuit material culture that discussions of gender and raw material use for this period become nearly meaningless. Over 90 per cent of the artifacts recovered from Kussejeerarkjuan were European in origin. While male-associated use of identifiable metal items was more than four

times as common as female-associated use[10], metal was no longer a rare commodity in the fur trade period. Nor was it the only European material of significance. Many other materials were now available (e.g., ceramics for dishes, glass vessels and beads, etc.).

In fact, the only categories of activities *not* represented by European-origin artifacts are sea mammal hunting (because evidence for this activity is now subsumed under the category 'general hunting'), children's toys and religious items, with clothing, fishing and bird hunting being minimally represented (Table 34). This differs from 16th-century contact when, in addition to clothing, fishing and religious items, adult recreation and house-building also remained traditional in terms of origin of material culture.

Several male-associated activities were well-represented by European goods (N=776 or 1049[11]), particularly general hunting (in the form of arms and ammunition), manufacturing (especially tools) and house-building or general carpentry (by items such as nails). European items were also used to some degree for land mammal hunting, bird hunting, transportation (boat rivets), clothing (pant suspenders), and adult recreation (pipe smoking). In addition, sheet metal

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10 Of 1054 identifiable metal items, 74 per cent (775) were male-associated, 17 per cent (183) female-associated, 9 per cent both or of unknown association.

11 If miscellaneous European materials, possibly for manufacturing, are included.

fragments may have been used as raw material by men to manufacture artifacts.

Women's activities were equally mosaically represented by European goods (N=1117). Food preparation items of European origin, such as pots, dishes, bottles and cutlery were especially numerous. Ornaments, in the form of beads (although not other parka decorations), and household maintenance items such as pails, alarm clocks, and medicine bottles were also recovered. On the other hand, little or no infiltration of European material culture had occurred in articles used in skin preparation, sewing or women's clothing.

Hypotheses Reviewed

Hypothesis 1

According to Hypothesis 1, European goods and raw materials would be utilized equally for items used by women compared to those used by men. Alternatively (Hypothesis 1'), unequal use of European items based on gender would be a function of access, due either to an inherent gender hierarchy or to personal access to the materials.

Despite differential opportunities for European contact between Inuit men and women in the early 20th century, in the form of heightened personal access by men, the archaeological data support equal use of European items across genders

(Hypothesis 1). Table 34 indicates that 776[12] European artifacts could be positively identified with male users, while foreign items used by women totalled 1117. In fact, the Kussejeerarkjuan results, like those of 16th-century Kamaiyuk, suggest an unexpected predominance of *female* use of foreign goods and materials compared with male use. However, there are several caveats relating to the interpretation of these figures. Counting each bead or ceramic fragment, or for that matter, every nail, individually gives items which are, in reality, parts of a whole, the same weight as a file or a thimble, which are independent in themselves. The ceramic and glass counts[13] can be reduced to a minimum number of vessels by refit patterns, but determining the minimum number of objects represented for other types of artifacts is not always possible. Counting each item separately, at least, ensures a level of comparability.

Other gender-status indicators, such as the ratio of ready-made to locally-made items of European materials, are as difficult to compare at this site as at Kamaiyuk, but for contrary reasons. At Kussejeerarkjuan, fur trade contact was

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12 The number increases to 1049 if miscellaneous metal fragments, which may indicate male manufacturing, but not male use, are included.

13 The minimum number of ceramic vessels (MNI), 7 from House 2, 10 from House 3 and 11 from House 6, reduces the ceramic frequency to 28 from 444. The minimum number of glass items, 352 from House 2, 43 from House 3 and 97 from House 6, reduces the glass frequency slightly to 492 from 518. Thus, when MNIs are used, the female-associated Euro-American artifact frequency drops to 675, slightly less than that of male use.

primarily a source of *finished* products, rather than of raw materials as at Kamaiyuk. For the same reason, the criteria of increased size of artifacts as an indicator of gender status is untenable as well.

Other indications of higher status for one or the other gender include decreased reuse, reworking and maintenance of associated material culture. Table 42 indicates that items used by men appear to have been more commonly made from recycled materials than those used by women, evidence which refutes an argument in favour of a male-based gender hierarchy. The quantity of cartridges found inside the structures also suggests possible reuse, although no archaeological evidence of using sheet metal to make new cartridge casings, as the documentary record suggests (Eber 1989:18), was recovered. Ceramic vessels from Kussejeerarkjuan collection, which were used by women, showed no evidence of being repaired with mend holes, as was commonly done in the 19th century.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 stated that *within* each gendered set of activities, European items or materials would not be uniformly adopted but acceptance would be related either to the nature of the tasks or to the relative superiority of the aboriginal or the European articles. This is borne out by the Kussejeerarkjuan data, whenever relevant data are available.

Table 42. Gendered Association of Recycled Artifacts

Gender	Recycled Artifacts	Total
Male	fox trap » arrowhead preform	6
	cartridges » bird arrowheads (3)	
	reworked knife blade	
	ship's spike » net weight	
	screw » drill/graver?*	1
	gun barrel » harpoon foreshaft blanks*	1
Female	copper sheeting » lamp	1
Unknown/Both	iron sheeting » hinge	1

* These items come from test excavations in 1990 and are listed in Appendix C.

According to the archaeological evidence from Kussejeerarkjuan, firearms were uniformly adopted for hunting and metal traps were used to catch fox. Although there are indications that bow and arrow use persisted, especially for bird hunting, the arrows were headed with used cartridge cases. The use of European fish hooks and fish nets is documented both archaeologically and archivally for this period, as is the replacement of umiaks, and later kayaks, by European whaleboats. House structures, although they retained traditional forms, now incorporated European materials, perhaps doors (based on hinge and lock evidence) and possibly nailed walls of some sort. The single tent

grommet provides the only archaeological evidence of canvas tent use.

Men now manufactured articles using European tools and joined parts with imported fasteners. Although some modified organics and lithics were recovered, wood and stone-working were no longer principal pursuits.

The effect on women's tasks of skin preparation and sewing is more difficult to determine, since few items relating to these tasks were recovered from Kussejeerarkjuan. However, in the realm of food preparation and household maintenance, evidence for the adoption of European material culture is strong. Although ceramic and glass containers replaced soapstone, baleen and skin vessels, the foods they contained appear to have retained the traditional liquid form (meat stews, blood soup, boiled fat), based on vessel shape. The bowls and soup plates would have been ideal for eating stews or soups; the cups and mugs, hot tea and metal spoons replaced traditional organic equivalents. The metal forks could have been used for spearing chunks of meat or blubber.

Soapstone lamps, or metal equivalents, appear to have still been in use in the early 1900s and no evidence for primus stoves was found. Wooden box parts and metal pail handles indicate the replacement of skin bags and baleen boxes.

One class of material culture which does not appear to have been rapidly replaced was clothing. Aside from a few

buttons and suspender parts, little of the hardware associated with European clothing was recovered.

Evidence of adult recreation, on the other hand, is rife with examples of imported goods: pipes for smoking, a checkers piece, harmonicas, record album fragments and alarm clocks (esteemed, as mentioned previously, for their pleasing sound).

Evidence for the Seasonal Nature of Gender Behaviour

Inuit culture involved seasonal variations in settlement patterns and subsistence pursuits and, as I argue in Chapter 4, some degree of seasonality in gender behaviour, as well. Men's work was seasonally variable, although more of their activities were conducted outside dwellings, rendering them less discernable archaeologically, if only house interiors are considered. Women's work was not as seasonally-organized, therefore their material culture would be expected to be fairly uniformly distributed across seasonal dwellings.

In general, more artifacts were recovered from tent and qarmaq occupations than from the sod houses. Given the shorter occupation length of the warmer season dwellings and greater time spent in pursuit of outdoor activities, this is slightly unexpected but understandable. Qarmat and tent rings were occupied for single seasons and therefore were not cleaned out as the sodhouses were prior to reoccupation. They were also less commonly paved, providing more

opportunity for small object loss. Furthermore, midden deposits, such as were associated with the winter house village of Kamaiyuk and which are frequently the principal source of artifacts, were not recovered.

Women's activities represented in the winter house assemblages of Kamaiyuk and the warmer season dwellings of Kussejeerarkjuan display the same general activities, namely numerous items associated with food preparation and house maintenance. There was, however, minimal evidence of soapstone lamp use at the latter site, since cooking took place outdoors. At both sites, there is very little evidence, in the form of either artifacts or related production debris, of women preparing skins or sewing clothing or tents, although for different reasons. At Kamaiyuk, the dearth is explainable because the season of occupation was not that during which such tasks were undertaken. At Kussejeerarkjuan, these activities took place outdoors. Time constraints prevented us from opening up areas in front of, and between, the houses to investigate outdoor activity areas. Associating artifacts with one dwelling or another would have been difficult, since the entire surface of the site was strewn with discarded items.

Evidence for the warmer season occupations of men, on the other hand, is more conspicuous. Although traditional artifacts for hunting land mammals were not found, the gun parts and ammunition recovered indicate hunting generally,

and most probably caribou hunting[14]. Other warm season subsistence pursuits, bird hunting with cartridge-tipped arrows and fishing, are also represented archaeologically. In addition, boat lapstrake rivets came from the whaleboats, which were used in the warmer months. On the other hand, colder season pursuits, such as dog-sledding, ice-hole sea mammal hunting and snowhouse building, are not represented in the Kussejeerarkjuan assemblage, although metal trap parts, used for fox hunting between November and March, were recovered. The recovery of trap parts is one of our principal indications that Kussejeerarkjuan is a site that belonged to people involved in the early 20th-century fur trade; their presence at a site occupied in the non-trapping season is slightly anomalous for a seasonally-mobile people who routinely cached items in sites to be reused during a subsequent reoccupation. Interestingly, fox remains were not recovered from House 6 which predates the fur trade era, while the few remains found at the other houses substantiate documentary evidence for the lack of involvement in the fur trade by the Nugumiut of outer Frobisher Bay (Henshaw 1995:217, 226). As expected, fewer manufacturing tools or associated debris were recovered compared to the winter house occupations at Kamaiyuk.

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[14] Few caribou remains (5-15 per cent MNI of identified mammal bone) were recovered despite the presence of nearby lakes and caribou drive systems (Henshaw 1995:221). This scarcity of caribou is supported with documentary evidence (p.245).

No artifactual evidence for seasonally-related clothing use by either women or men at Kussejeerarkjuan was found, aside from a European eye-goggle piece presumably used during spring hunting. Recreation items of European-origin, on the other hand, were more frequent than expected for the season, although not for the period of contact.

Evidence for Manufacture and Craft Activities

Distinguishing between artifact production and artifact use has relevance for any discussion of a gendered division of labour among Inuit, because producers and users are not always of the same gender. However, evidence for manufacturing and craft activities is far less discernable at Kussejeerarkjuan than at Kamaiyuk. This is because early 20th-century European contact represented a source of *finished* goods and the site itself was occupied in the warmer season months when artifact production was less likely to have been undertaken.

At Kussejeerarkjuan, changes to artifact production resulting from the introduction of European goods involved the virtual abandonment of traditional manufacturing, aside from the production of items such as wick trimmers, box bottoms and a clothing toggle or buckle, and the consequent reuse and recycling of European goods.

Unlike the 16th-century manufacturing tools recovered at Kamaiyuk, which were numerous and, despite Elizabethan

contact, solidly aboriginal in origin, those at Kussejeerarkjuan were principally of European origin: files, saw blades, clasp knives, a gouge, a screwdriver, a vice, as well as a reworked iron knife blade. Fasteners, such as nails, rivets, roves, screws, wood screws, spikes, tacks, washers and a carriage bolt, were also common.

Raw materials included quantities of iron sheeting, some copper/brass sheeting, wood and glass but very little lithics, bone, ivory or antler. Artifact debris, such as modified raw materials, principally glass, metal and wood, exhibited cultural alterations which included cutting, folding, punching (with square nails), grinding, flaking and painting[15]. Very little drilling was noted, aside from a small amount on organic materials. Only two artifact preforms were recovered: an arrowhead blank made from a rat-trap spring, which, when finished, would have been used by men and a modified cooking-pot lid which appears to have been cut to shape a lamp, associated, in a finished state, with women.

Conclusions

Analysis of the artifacts collected from Kussejeerarkjuan demonstrates that the site was occupied over a twenty-year period during the early 20th century, the time

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15 Although painted items were probably of Euro-American origin.

of the independent traders and the HBC. Ceramic ware stamped with the company's crest establishes the inhabitants' contact with the company. Surface survey and excavation of Houses 2, 3 and 6 indicate that there was some structural reuse and remodelling but not on the scale of the winter houses at Kamaiyuk and of House 5 at Kuyait.

European contact during this period was a source, although not exclusively, of finished goods rather than raw materials. Yet, while over 90 per cent of the artifacts were of European-origin, the activities with which they were associated remained firmly Inuit in tradition, if not execution. (Although the pencil fragment could indicate (syllabic) writing, it could as easily represent drawing or marking skins or fabric for sewing.)

According to gender-association analysis, Inuit men and women adopted European material culture equally, although not evenly, supporting both Hypotheses 1 and 2. Representations in terms of archaeologically recovered material culture of certain activities associated with each gender were skewed. For women, food preparation and household maintenance items showed a degree of European influence, while sewing and skin preparation activities were hardly visible archaeologically. While ample evidence for the use of firearms and consequent loss of traditional hunting techniques exists for Inuit men, there is little indication of the specifics of their subsistence pursuits from the material culture. Children were poorly represented in this assemblage. Most of their

activities must have taken place outdoors or were not clearly represented in terms of material culture.

Changes to gender roles are not discernable in the Kussejeerarkjuan assemblage, aside from evidence for fox-trapping by men. The skin-cleaning, which the documents reported was undertaken by men, was probably specific to the post itself. Although women made significant adaptations to European contact through their use of clothing, sewing machines and store-bought food, little of this is apparent at Kussejeerarkjuan.

While site seasonality was easy to confirm using the architectural and artifactual evidence, seasonal differences in contact response are difficult to ascertain without investigation of occupations of 16th-century summer *and* winter sites or 20th-century summer *and* winter sites.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

> [The development of gender studies in archaeology] has called for no less than a complete re-evaluation of archaeology's theoretical foundation. In this, it has been successful in exposing a succession of fundamental biases within archaeological thought. (Lesick 1997:38)

There has been little systemic archaeological research on European-Inuit contact in arctic Canada prior to this study of engendered interaction. Yet ideas about the nature of that contact have, nonetheless, proliferated. The period of the 16th century, for example, is considered to demarcate the prehistoric and historic periods in the eastern Canadian Arctic, with the expeditions of Frobisher and other early explorers serving as the impetus for major transformations to Thule culture, notably in terms of the introduction of huge amounts of metal into their material realm (McCartney 1991). Despite wide recognition of Thule use of meteoritic and Norse metal prior to this period, the introduction of 16th-century European sources of metal is considered to have had important effects on technology (i.e., the replacement of slate with metal-bladed tools); on traditional exchange networks for slate, meteoritic metal and driftwood; and on settlement patterns (locally involving movement from the head of Frobisher Bay to the outer bay) (Fitzhugh 1985b, 1993a; Stenton 1983a). Indeed, in early economic encounters of any

sort, it is often assumed (e.g., Goldring 1986 and others) that the European goods received were of this strictly utilitarian type, rather than items perceived by Europeans as of a non-essential nature.

Although the impact of the contact on Inuit gender roles has not been a focus of arctic archaeological research, there is an assumption (e.g., Friedl 1983) that the Thule Inuit gender system was a hierarchical one, based on status acquired primarily through food procurement, the control of internal exchange and, in turn, the control of exchange with other groups, with men having higher status than women[1]. Coupled with this assumption is the prevailing (incorrect) notion (e.g., Hayden 1977) that men were the dominant tool users in most hunter-gatherer groups and therefore that the effect of contact would be most apparent in their domains. A related feature of both later Thule and historic Inuit culture, not yet resolved, is the degeneration in artifact elaboration, artistry and workmanship and in range of types (McGhee 1972, 1976, 1980). With contact, it was assumed that Inuit men would be the first to acquire exotic goods and, specifically, to experience the benefits of metal use. Associated with the notion of men as the agents of intersocietal interaction was the issue of communal house development, a phenomenon in Greenland and Labrador but not in the intermediate area of Baffin Island, which was believed

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[1] Such a correlation continues to be taught through introductory anthropology texts (e.g. Crapo 1996:142-143)

to relate to restricted (middleman) access to European material culture and the power that accrued because of it. This, in turn, is based on the assumption that commercial whale hunting, with its attendant male-centred social ranking, was *the* key feature of all Thule arctic adaptation. In truth, the relative importance of this species has varied with time and place and flexibility is the real hallmark of Thule adaptation.

While the Frobisher Bay region witnessed a lack of direct contact for nearly 300 years after the Frobisher encounters, there was a 'trickle-down' effect from the ship-based HBC contact that took place in Hudson Strait (Barr 1994). The large quantities of certain European trade goods traded to a small local population of people along Hudson Strait suggested that these people were middlemen in an intergroup exchange involving Baffin Island, the central Arctic and Ungava (Barr 1994:236).

The advent of commercial whaling in the 19th century is viewed by some (Eber 1989; Bird 1967 *in* Ross 1975) as the beginning of real change for the Inuit. However, as with most issues, much depends on perspective. Some scholars tend to view the 19th-century interaction as a situation of victimization of the Inuit by the European whalers, but the oral history evidence collected by Eber (1989) and others suggests that this was not necessarily the perspective held by the Inuit themselves. While Inuit located near whaling centres such as Cumberland Sound (including some of the

Nugumiut who immigrated there) could experience settlement which was both centred around the stations and more sedentary in character; employment with the whalemen, which severely disrupted their traditional subsistence round; and considerable material culture replacement, as well as changes in the social organization of hunting to a more centralized 'big man' control, there existed regional disparities in culture contact. People like the Nugumiut, who stayed in Frobisher Bay, were at the margins of contact and have rarely been the subject of culture contact research.

During this period of interaction, Inuit men, in their capacity as whaleboat captains and crewmen, are considered to have been the principal contact agents, while Inuit women were either relatively removed from contact or more conservative in their response (McElroy 1979; Sabo 1979). Sometime during this same period, if not well before, winter semisubterranean sod houses were thought to have been replaced by snow houses and transition-season qarmat, presumably due to a shift from the use of stored food surpluses to winter ice-hole sealing.

The transition to early 20th-century fur trade contact was very gradual: ship-based whaling became shore-based whaling, and these stations continued to trade in seal and walrus pelts and oil as well as caribou skin and, as whale catches declined, eventually only in these products. During the early years of the 20th century, some of the European whalers became independent traders who worked from boats or

shore stations for at least part of the year. Gradually these independent traders and other competing trade companies were bought out by the HBC.

It is generally believed that Frobisher Bay, like other arctic regions, experienced a major transformation in animal procurement during the early 20th century from traditional seal and caribou hunting to commercial fur trapping, which came with a profound reliance on the trading posts for equipment, provisions (i.e., store-bought foods) - virtually all material culture, in fact. In the process Inuit became, it is thought, essentially, 'poor whites', a people who had lost their traditional culture base and could not easily replace it with an alternative. Yet until this study, historical evidence for this period in the form of unpublished post journals had not been consulted and archaeological research had not yet been undertaken.

The Impact of European Contact on Nugumiut Culture and Gender Roles

For this study, I used the extensive documentary evidence available to develop a model of the Inuit gender system and to detail the nature of three periods of contact (16th-century exploration, 19th-century commercial whaling and early 20th-century commercial fur trapping) between Europeans and the Nugumiut of Frobisher Bay. Excavation of three historic Inuit sites, involving ten components, yielded

a material culture sample which was representative of 16th and early 20th-century contact, but less forthcoming about the nature of 19th-century interaction.

Tacking back and forth between the two sources of information allowed me to evaluate hypotheses developed from the analysis of the ethnographic evidence, which strongly supported the egalitarian, complementary nature of Inuit gender relations, and suggested that European goods and materials were used equally by men and women. This countered prevailing assumptions in the literature concerning gendered inequality in the consumption of European material culture.

Leading from this, I hypothesized that within each gendered set of tasks, European goods and materials were *not* uniformly used, but their use depended on empirically functional criteria such as the *nature* of the tasks themselves. In other words, given this egalitarian society, adoption of European material culture was functional rather than hierarchical. Differential use of a scarce resource, metal, I suggested (following McCartney 1988), would be a function not of gender but of risk level, as measured in terms of loss or damage of material, with iron reserved for low-risk manufacturing and processing activities, rather than high-risk hunting activities.

A third hypothesis concerned raw material use and the symbolic gender system which was first observed in patterns of material culture use by McGhee (1977). The aspect of gendered raw material use which I wished to examine

particularly was the effect of the introduction of metal on the equation of men:antler as women:sea mammal bone and ivory. I now recognize that this last query was poorly formulated since metal generally replaced stone, rather than antler or sea mammal bone.

16th Century Interaction

According to both the historical and archaeological evidence, the earliest documented European contact, the Frobisher expedition of the 16th century, seems not to have resulted in alterations to Nugumiut gender roles, tasks, authority or status. Access to 16th-century European goods was related neither to gender status differences nor to opportunities for contact in terms of shifting gender roles, European alliances, involvement in European labour or the European evaluation of Inuit gender skills. Instead, access hinged on geographic proximity to the sources of the European goods rather than on social identity. Evidence for equivalent, albeit light, use of 16th-century European material culture was recovered from excavations at Kamaiyuk, supporting Hypothesis 1.

Documentary evidence for this period lent support to Hypothesis 2 that Inuit gender differences in European contact were the result of task differences. Although men were identified as participants in most of the encounters with the English, there does not appear to be any gender

association relating to the *means* of obtaining 16th-century European goods. Trade goods were brought which were useful to both genders and the items tended to be generally distributed. The combination of utilitarian and non-utilitarian European goods recovered, however, suggests that even at this early date Inuit adoption of foreign items was not restricted to those of a solely practical nature. The discarded mining tools, however, may have been most useful to the Inuit men. This, in turn, suggests differential adaptation based on tasks, since men manufactured metal tools. The adoption of European material culture in items associated with Inuit women: tile polishers, a few beads, a little pottery, do not suggest changes to their traditional activities.

European material culture was acquired primarily through scavenging and gifting. While these methods of acquisition did not involve choice of goods, neither did they involve any labour by Inuit (and therefore, no conflict in scheduling seasonal or other subsistence pursuits), nor any exchange, since the Elizabethans had no commercial interest in Inuit commodities (and there was, therefore, no need, on the part of the Inuit, to change or intensify these subsistence strategies). In fact, the net result of this first documented contact, the supposed watershed between the prehistoric and historic eras, brought little change to Inuit lifeways. Settlement patterns, seasonal scheduling and subsistence seem to have retained their traditional forms.

Unlike the adjacent areas of Greenland and Labrador, there is no evidence for communal house development in Frobisher Bay. Likewise, there is no evidence of a settlement shift down the bay for the purposes of European contact; rather the polynya and its subsistence resources were predictable features in mid/lower bay settlements throughout the period of Thule occupation of the bay (Henshaw 1995:303).

Elizabethan contact served primarily as a source of raw material (namely, wood and iron) for men (both contemporaneous inhabitants and their descendants) to manufacture items for each gender. However, the presence of tile or brick fragments at locations at the head of Frobisher Bay and in Cumberland Sound suggest some movement of this material, perhaps through exchange systems. The availability of these materials in outer Frobisher Bay might have culminated in shifts in trade routes. With Frobisher's stores nearby, there was less need to acquire wood from Hudson Strait or Resolution Island by travelling themselves or through exchange.

The Elizabethan presence did provide an influence of another sort, however, as material for the mind. The events of so long ago and knowledge of and familiarity in dealing with Europeans (both in terms of future opportunities and future hazards) became part of the oral history of the Nugumiut (as recounted in Hall [1970]) and both Frobisher's monument and the ship's anvil retained a place in Inuit ideology for generations to follow.

Because Thule metal use predated Elizabethan contact, the encounters did not result in changes to Thule technology (although the few examples I observed of sawing and filing indirectly indicate changes in tool manufacturing techniques). Application of the refinement in measuring blade-slot width led to the surprising conclusion that during Elizabethan contact and shortly afterwards, *less* metal was used by the Nugumiut than in the prehistoric era. I had, in fact, predicted a slight increase in metal consumption with the onset of European contact. Whether this anomaly was due to a possible depopulation of the middleman region north of Baffin Island in the prehistoric metal exchange network is a subject for further study.

Marshall Sahlins (1995:188) writes, in the context of 'first contacts' that "[f]or Europeans, of course, the great rupture in the history of the rest of the world is initiated by their own appearance there . . . ". For the 16th century in Baffin Island, at least, the Elizabethan world's influence appears to have been merely 'peripheral' to the Thule Inuit 'centre'.

19th-Century Interaction

Archaeological evidence offered some support for the suggestion derived from the documentary record (Barr 1994) that indirect European contact in the form of middleman trade from the Hudson Strait occurred in Frobisher Bay prior to the

mid-19th century whaling period. However, while Nugumiut occupation of Frobisher Bay continued with relative isolation from direct European influence after Frobisher's departure and prior to commercial whaling, little archaeological evidence of this (17th to early 19th century) occupation was found. Later, during the commercial whaling era, population shifts to whaling centres outside the Frobisher Bay area, as well as the remodelling and rebuilding of sodhouse structures (which effectively masked the earlier occupations as well), resulted in the recovery of little archaeological evidence for this period in outer Frobisher Bay.

Only two components at Kuyait and one at Kamaiyuk dated to the 19th century. Their assemblages are very different in nature from those of early 20th-century occupations. From the earlier deposits, little evidence of major artifact classes, such as crockery, glass, nails, tin cans and smoking pipes, was recovered. The lack of firearms and fox traps and rare recovery of ammunition suggests that these components predate the commercial trapping era (1920-1940). Most of Kuyait's Frobisher flint and tile come from House 8, which dates to this period, substantiating Hall's (1970:244) observation that scavenging of the Frobisher basecamp continued well into the 19th century. It is, in fact, the absence of European material culture, suggesting geographic marginality to European influence, that is most informative about the 19th century culture contact situation in Frobisher Bay.

Unfortunately, the 19th-century artifact assemblages were insufficient for addressing issues of differential gender use. The first hypothesis stated that Inuit men and women would use European goods and materials equally. While equal access is documented historically, the archaeological evidence suggests more metal use by men than by women. Although this is evidence of a differential use of European goods by gender, it is not necessarily related to a gender hierarchy. Metal is only one of several materials of European-origin used and Inuit women used more non-metal materials. This makes the privileging of metal over other materials moot, particularly if its use was not relevant for a specific task.

In terms of absolute numbers, Inuit women appear to have used more European goods than men, although this ratio is highly skewed by the inclusion of beads, many of which may simply represent parts of a whole, such as a beaded parka. When beads are excluded, 19th-century Nugumiut women's use of European goods is half of that of men's. Other possible high status indicators, such as the ratio of ready-made versus locally-made items, are difficult to verify since little evidence for artifact recycling was recovered.

Evaluation of the second hypothesis, which suggests that adoption of European material is not uniform but task-related, suffers because too few items from too many different activities were recovered. For men, the adoption of European goods was primarily in the realm of

manufacturing. The recovery of these tools, along with modified lithics and wood, suggests that European tools were used to make items from traditional materials. However, most manufacturing tools during this period of occupation at Kuyait were traditional Thule items. Few of the available items of European material culture were used for hunting which suggests that during the mid-19th century in Frobisher Bay metal still appears to have been a rare enough material that its use was reserved for low-risk (manufacturing) rather than high-risk (hunting) activities. For women's activities, 19th-century European contact apparently involved little change. Some crockery and other containers were recovered. A single child's shoe is the only item of clothing, suggesting that very little change occurred in this class of items. Similarly, the use of European goods for recreation appears to have been minimal in this period: a single smoking pipe fragment was collected.

The changes to lifeways which did occur during this period were more pronounced among Inuit (including Nugumiut) who settled near the whaling centres of Cyrus Field Bay and Cumberland Sound. During the commercial whaling era, European material culture was acquired primarily through employment on whaling crews and trade in sea mammal products, with some scavenging also occurring.

Gender played a notable role in interaction. Both women and men had opportunities for significant contact with the Europeans. Inuit women were especially esteemed for their

sewing skills and participated in the commercial whaling as guides, pilots and boat crew, and frequently cut up whale blubber. Some were also companions to the whalers, initiating a more protracted and direct access to European culture, one result of which was substantial and wide-ranging influence within their own cultural sphere. Acting as a companion to a whaler provided an avenue for increasing a woman's status, and this was displayed in her heavily beaded clothing. The elaboration of this single class of material culture suggests that the issues of Thule and historic Inuit material cultural degeneration noted by McGhee (1972, 1976, 1980) may have a gender component, since the decline in male manufacturing skills is not mirrored in those of women (i.e., their sewing abilities) nor in their method of marking personal status.

Inuit men's relationships with the Europeans revolved around their position as whaling bosses. As whaling bosses, men received guns and boats. Male prestige items appear to have differed from those of women in that they tended to be technologically labour-saving rather than personally status-designating.

In general, traditional gender roles underwent some intensification in the 19th century as a result of contact. For Nugumiut men, who were traditional seal hunters, commercial whaling was an addition to their repertoire and the use of European gear, an enhancement of their traditional pattern of seal/walrus hunting. The biggest impact was the

use of guns, which increased winter mobility and enabled individual, rather than cooperative, hunting (although not in Frobisher Bay). (Little evidence for firearm use was recovered archaeologically from Kuyait.) In this way, commercial whaling contact had a greater impact on men than on women among populations who had settled close to the whaling stations.

For women, adaptation to European culture was less extreme. Yet there is no indication of deliberate conservatism among Inuit women with respect to the impact of contact; adaptation was based on functional as well as aesthetic considerations. For example, metal cooking vessels replaced stone ones because they were more portable. While some European clothing was worn, there was little significant replacement of skin garments.

Early 20th-Century Interaction

In the early 20th century, European goods and materials were acquired by Inuit through the non-traditional trade in fox pelts, although in Frobisher Bay commercial fox trapping was always a supplementary occupation and was fitted into a traditional subsistence round which included inland travel to hunt caribou. Indeed, the HBC, itself, promoted a mixed economy to ensure a minimum level of reliance on the company. As a result, traditional products, such as caribou skins and marine mammals skins and oil, continued to be traded. Unlike

the commercial whaling era which preceded it, the fur trade period was not characterized by population centralization, sedentism, mass employment or contact with large numbers of Europeans. Nevertheless, significant changes to Nugumiut lifeways occurred. Provisioning with store-bought food became common. Within the posts, Nugumiut male employees now cleaned skins. As a a result, Nugumiut women's special role in processing skins was not as exclusive as it once was, although their sewing skills were still highly valued. Traditional hunting techniques became a thing of the past with the widespread use of the gun, although a combination of firearms and harpoons was, and is, still used to retrieve seals. However, kayaks remained in use until at least the 1920s, despite the introduction of Peterhead whaleboats during the whaling era.

Nevertheless, gendered interaction is surprisingly difficult to define in the HBC records. Moreso than even in the 16th-century accounts, the 20th-century chroniclers wrote of a single-sex society: male. With Inuit women invisible in so many of the historic documents, relative to the whaling ventures, it is difficult to comment on differential access to European material culture. While European material culture was now accessible year-round, men are identified more frequently in terms of journeys to the post. The male post assistants, of course, worked closely with the managers. Furthermore, the means of obtaining goods were now primarily in the hands of men: trading, trapping and employment,

although spouses purchased items for each other and Inuit women were employed in some capacities as well, for example, to render blubber, package skins and make and repair clothing.

Nugumiut men who engaged in trapping, trading or employment at the posts had more opportunities for interaction with the traders than did women, who were generally not actively engaged in trapping and appear to have been less directly engaged in exchanging goods such as skins, clothing, meat, labour or companionship. As mentioned previously, hired men or European bosses often processed skins, a task traditionally carried out by Inuit women.

Despite this suggestive evidence for unequal access to European goods, the archaeological record shows equal use across genders (i.e., supporting Hypothesis 1) according to the relative artifact frequency as well as evidence for artifact recycling and repair, although the latter is ambiguous regarding differential gender status. At Kussejeerarkjuan more male-associated items were recycled or repaired, while at the contemporaneous occupation at Kuyait more female-associated European goods were recycled or repaired. However, it is important to note that these female-associated items generally were goods not supplied by the traders which suggests a transformation of foreign material to useable traditional forms rather than access restrictions for imported artifacts.

The ubiquitous distribution of European material culture across activity classes indicates that the use of foreign goods and materials was so widespread by this time that Hypothesis 2 (i.e., non-uniform use within each gendered set of tasks) no longer holds.

During the fur trade era, both women and men made significant adaptations to European contact. Although women still made skin clothing, they now purchased cloth, sewing machines and some store-bought food (although the documentary evidence for the latter is conflicting and there is little archaeological evidence in the form of tin can refuse). For the men, European material culture was no longer a source of raw materials, but a source of finished tools. Less recycled and repaired materials in the 1920s' deposits compared to those from an assemblage a decade earlier indicate a more reliable source of imported goods. In general, there was an increasing reliance on European material culture, as long as people could obtain it. That this was often difficult is made clear in the post journals, which describe the chronic lack of provisions and supplies at the competition's post.

The huge change in the rate of material culture adoption in just 75 years, from mid 19th century to early 20th century, suggested by the Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan data (from 46 to 92 per cent of the total number of artifacts) is interesting because it is so much later than most scholars believe. In part, this may be the result of isolation from European contact for those Nugumiut who lived in 19th century

Frobisher Bay. Indeed, both the nature of contact history and the Inuit response appear to be very different from nearby Labrador where the acquisition and control of European goods by Inuit became central to their economic, social and political life (Kaplan 1985).

The time of profound change to Nugumiut culture, including the gender system, did not occur until much later. The period of nucleation into towns and the advent of schools and of wage labour in the 1950s and 60s mark its onset.

Contributions to Thule Archaeology

This work has contributed to an improved understanding of the role played by gender in Inuit-European contact in Baffin Island through an interdisciplinary approach involving multiple lines of evidence which serve both to enlarge the base of available data and to question a whole suite of assumptions about how cultures interact and how gender operates. The archaeological material was organized not simply according to activities but in a manner which also incorporates gender with respect to manufacture, use, location and seasonality distinctions. Other strategies included the use of indirect evidence of technology, such as blade slot width, to resolve questions about differential gender use of raw materials as well as the careful excavation of seemingly contemporaneous structures to reveal significant chronological and seasonal variations. In the process,

ethnocentric and androcentric assumptions about the nature of 'first contacts', Thule use of metal, female conservatism and seasonality of gender behaviour were addressed.

In the following sections, I make reference to some of the methodological contributions this research makes to Thule archaeology. I follow this with a discussion of its value to theoretical and methodological issues in gender archaeology.

Reevaluating Indirect Evidence for Thule Metal Use

Prior to this research, indirect evidence for Thule metal use was predicated on the untested assumption that metal blades (and their slots in extant tools) were less than 2 mm thick and slate blades (and their slots) were more than 2 mm thick. Based on the analysis of slotted tools from prehistoric and early historic sites in Thule sites in Frobisher Bay, I suggested a refinement of the 'blade slot width' rule, to acknowledge the overlap in blade thickness that occurs between 3-4 mm for metal and slate. From evidence of slate and metal blades, rust residues and slot width, I determined that tools which took metal blades have slots less than or equal to 3 mm, while those which took ground slate blades are equal to, or more than, 4 mm. This, of course, depends significantly on the function of the tool. Lances and ulus have thicker blades than harpoons or side-bladed knives. That, in turn, suggests *much more metal use overall by Thule Inuit than previously believed.* Application

of the refinement in blade-slot width led to the surprising conclusion that during Elizabethan contact and shortly afterwards, there was actually *less* metal use by the Nugumiut than in the prehistoric era. With respect to evaluating differential use of metal as an aspect of a gender hierarchy with the early assemblages, the fact that one gender (males) used many more types of slotted tools than the other (females) did renders the question of which had greater access to metal invalid.

My investigations of the blade slot width criteria for determining metal use in the absence of metal artifacts also served to underline the problem of neglecting to distinguish metal types: iron and copper, and meteoritic and wrought iron, for example. Since so little metal is actually recovered in early sites, and the principal evidence for metal use comes from blade slot widths, various metals may be differentiated by blade thickness. Preliminary measurements of copper blades (see p.501), for example, show that they are frequently much thinner than their ferrous counterparts. I plan to address the role of metal type in determining blade thickness in future research on Thule epimetallurgy.

Another indirect source of information on Thule metal use are the marks which metal tools leave on organic materials. Differentiating these stone and metal tool marks would yield further insights into the role of metal in primary tool manufacture by men, particularly in situations

where metal was highly curated, as it was among the Thule Inuit.

One of the most valued materials in Thule culture was metal. The fact that so little survives in archaeological deposits means that we must evaluate metal's impact by indirect methods. This reevaluation of the correlation of blade slot width and raw material concludes that there was more use of metal by Thule Inuit than previously thought and, in the process, reinforces the privileged position of metal in the Thule material culture repertoire.

Ideology Writ as Raw Material?: An Application of McGhee's 'Ivory for the Sea Woman' Hypothesis in an Historic Thule Context

In 1977, Robert McGhee made the provocative suggestion that the Thule symbolic system may be encoded in their pattern of raw material use. The Kamaiyuk assemblage provided an opportunity to see if these perceived patterns continued into the historic period. Although I expanded the original categories of material considered as well as the variety of artifacts, an association of raw material with Inuit domains of gender was not substantiated by the Kamaiyuk evidence. Instead, I suggested that the differential availability of sea mammal products compared with caribou materials may have played a role in the patterned choice of raw material. However, the Kamaiyuk sample was too small to

either confirm or refute McGhee's hypothesis. A definitive test of his formulation requires larger collections than those which I excavated.

Site Formation Processes and the Use of Evidential Constraints in Estimating Site Dates

The research also led to more general findings concerning Thule site formation processes and architectural remodelling and reuse. For example, the continued use of semi-subterranean winter houses well *into* the 19th century has not been previously documented. Although Sabo and Jacobs (1980) hypothesized the qarmatization of semi-subterranean houses as early as the Developed Thule period, their evidence, small artifact counts in the upper occupation levels of some winter dwellings, is questionable. Qarmatization of semi-subterranean houses in the form of blocked-off rooms and filled-in entrance tunnels is easy to see structurally and is the principal means of identification. Furthermore, with respect to relative artifact frequency, the qarmat of Kuyait and Kussejeerarkjuan yielded much *higher* frequencies of artifacts than did the larger winter houses.

Architectural remodelling and reuse, together with radiocarbon dates, historic artifact manufacture dates and stratigraphic superposition, allowed much more precision in estimating occupation dates than provided by a strict

adherence to a single technique. For a single structure, House 5 at Kuyait, this led to the identification of four periods of occupation, from the 16th to the early 20th century. At the small site of Kamaiyuk, four seemingly contemporaneous dwellings, slightly post-dating the Frobisher period, in fact, yielded three components ranging from the 16th-17th centuries to the 18th and 19th centuries. The use of multiple lines of evidence for establishing occupation dates provides a strong argument for clearly establishing intrasite contemporaneity prior to addressing intrasite behavioural variability.

Seasonality and Gender Visibility

Seasonality of occupation bears upon the archaeological visibility of gender activities. Ethnographic evidence demonstrates that Thule Inuit men were more seasonally variable in their activities; Thule Inuit women were more uniform in their's. More of Thule women's activities are visible in houses generally, but especially in winter houses. Less of either gender's activities are archaeologically visible in the remains of the warmer season dwellings of the Inuit. The problem I encountered in evaluating seasonality of gender behaviour and culture contact is that the winter sodhouses and the transition season qarmat and summer tent rings dated to different periods of European contact.

While evidence for men's manufacturing and repair activities are found archaeologically, direct evidence for their hunting activities may be less apparent within household excavations because these activities were conducted outside. Brumbach and Jarvenpa (1997) have made similar observations of Chipewyan gender visibility vis-a`-vis base camps and other sites. This imbalance in gender visibility in favour of women's representation in households is now being generally acknowledged. Joyce and Claassen (1997:8) remind us that "since women were major participants in household life, their activities must make up a large proportion of the archaeological record in domestic contexts".

Further Suggestions for Future Research

Although this study of Inuit gender and Inuit-European contact is methodologically interdisciplinary, involving historical, ethnographic and archaeological evidence, it suffers from the absence of an oral historical dimension. This gap in perspective is both unintended and unfortunate. Originally, the oral history component was part of the mandate of the larger umbrella program (the Meta Incognita Project); however, the research was never systematically undertaken. Several knowledgeable elders, such as Leah Nutaraq, aged over 100, Harry Kilabuk and Atchoouleak Pishuktie have died since this project began. Their

perspectives on Inuit gender and on contact with Europeans would have added immeasurably to the quality and depth of the present work.

Aside from ethnographic accounts, I am aware of only two ways to establish firmly gendered material culture associations: burial analyses and photographic records. Although research on Thule and historic Inuit burials has not been conducted in Frobisher Bay, burials dating to the period of whaling contact in Cumberland Sound have been studied by Anne Keenleyside (1988, 1990) as part of the Kekerton project to document archaeological evidence of the whaling era. While her principal interest was skeletal evidence of European contact and disease, Keenleyside (1988) also recorded the grave goods associated with the individuals. For those interments of individuals of known sex, study of the related artifacts would establish a gendered material culture, at least within a mortuary context.

Nineteenth-century historical photographs offer one of the best opportunities for establishing a detailed visual record of Inuit culture (King and Lidchi 1998), including the gendered association of Inuit material culture. Photographs, and earlier illustrations, were often taken of people, including their dress and ornaments, engaged in various tasks, and of settlements, dwellings, and house interiors (see p.237, for one such view), detailing the use of space. "Intentionally or otherwise . . . photographs reveal much about the modification of traditional culture during nearly

half a century of European whaling" (Ross 1990:97). A few images of Baffin Island Inuit from the early part of this century have been published; however, many more from the A.P. Low expedition and the Anglican missionaries' visits exist in archival collections.

This investigation of engendered interaction will undoubtedly benefit from comparison both with investigations of material culture representations of Inuit gender from other areas of the Arctic, the incipient class organization of the Alaskan whalers, for example, or Greenland or Labrador, each with a long contact history, good preservation and historic records and with other early 'first' contact situations world-wide. Such research, which recognizes the mosaic rather than the monolithic nature of culture contact, is beginning to be undertaken.

Theoretical and Methodological Contributions to Gender Archaeology

When I first conceived the research topic, engendering Inuit-European interaction, the landmark Chacmool conference, *The Archaeology of Gender* (Walde and Willows 1991), had been held only six months earlier. Mainstream archaeology was by no means convinced of the worth of gender or its potential to provide more holistic, complex and ultimately more realistic modelling of important issues in archaeology such as culture contact; seasonality and site selection; regional boundaries

and intersocietal communication; chronology; and public/private domains, to list just a few.

Today, a goal of establishing gender behaviour archaeologically seems almost naive. (See Cheryl Claassen's [1997] review article of some of the current provocative research on gender archaeology in North America, for example.) We have moved well beyond 'contribution history', that women were there too (Lake 1988). As a universal organizing principle of any society, much like class, ethnicity, or age, gender IS. And in many, many cases (although not all), aspects of a culture's gender behaviour, roles, relations and ideology are knowable archaeologically.

Thule Inuit archaeology offers an opportunity for examining the archaeological visibility of gender under possibly the most favorable research circumstances: a wealth of ethnographic evidence, a binary system of cultural organization, which includes gender oppositions, and clearly identified material dimensions of these gender relations. The result is a more complex and ultimately, a more holistic and objective reconstruction of, in the case of this study, three centuries, and three different types of European contact among the Inuit of Frobisher Bay. Specifically, this thesis reaffirms the notion that culture is participated in differentially. Patterns of adaptation, change and stability, including that of culture contact, are mosaic, rather than monolithic. With respect to intersccietal interaction, the gender system, the nature of activities, and

nature of the interaction, itself, affect the responses to contact.

'A Single History'

The development of post-processual archaeology (including gender archaeology), with its emphasis on a contextual approach involving alternative or multiple interpretations, heralds the time for a true synthesis of disciplines in the sense of creating, as Kowalewski (1997) put it, 'a single history', as opposed to a segregated prehistory and history. This involves a synergistic interplay of multiple lines of evidence which are non-hierarchical and independent, with each source informing the others. In this way there is no privileging of the documents nor selective reading of the ethnographic record by archaeologists.

This new synthesis involves source criticism, entailing an appreciation for the formation processes of *both* the written and the archaeological records. It requires an acknowledgement of the boundaries of a discipline and of the genuine limitations of all fields for addressing the past as fully as the present. To interpret a gender system archaeologically, for example, we must start with how gender relations work within that society, from the ethnographic data, in order to produce hypotheses about the behaviour which created the archaeological pattern.

When the archaeological and ethnographic evidence are contemporaneous, the problem of establishing comparability between the two sources is alleviated. When they are not, the solution is to combine the selection criteria of two analogical approaches: the assumption of cultural continuity of the direct historical approach *with* explicit evidence for continuity of selected 'boundary conditions', such as subsistence resources or ecological setting, regardless of their presumed historical relation (Ascher *in* Stahl 1993:236).

Tacking between the sources of information, both of which are incomplete, allows evaluation of each set of data in terms of contradictions and suggestions presented by the other. As I diagrammed in Figure 5, each context represented an incomplete view of the material culture potentially available to the Inuit - one side of the prism. Each source must be examined individually, since only a few items crosscut all contexts.

Even before Conkey and Spector's (1984) article exhorted us to engender archaeology, Janet Spector (1983) proposed the first methodological means of so doing: the task differentiation approach. Spector's (1991) method involved the use of ethnoarchaeological data to isolate gender-specific features of labour organization by considering such variables as the social composition of the task force (age, gender, size of group, relation of individuals to each other); its frequency, duration and season; the environmental

and/or community location where it takes place; and the associated artifacts, features and structures involved in its undertaking. Although arctic archaeologists, for the most part, have not yet examined engendered Thule archaeology, they, too, have routinely organized some of the material culture in terms of gender.

The principal problem with Spector's approach was its reliance on the assumption of cultural continuity and its essentially synchronic perspective. For this reason, Spector's model did little to advance the archaeological analysis of gender, especially in regards to prehistoric situations which lack ethnographic analogs (Mauer 1991). Spector (1991), herself, never tested the approach and has since abandoned it. (She felt that it did not alter the etic and ethnocentric character of most archaeological interpretations, which are based on Western concepts of economic rationale.) Her rejection of the approach was premature, however.

This study of engendering Thule-European interaction is an application of Spector's method which both overcomes many of the original problems with the approach and amplifies it considerably to look at gendered social relations, gendered ideology and raw material use and gendered contact with others. In the study, I have critically analyzed the formation processes of both sources of information and demonstrated, rather than assumed, continuity of certain critical aspects of Thule culture. Since both the historical

and archaeological sources go back at least four hundred years, I was able to examine Thule gender diachronically. In consequence, the research has considerable methodological rigour.

With respect to archaeological gender studies, particularly within the context of hunter-gatherer societies, I have suggested that any examination of gendered divisions of labour differentiate artifact production from artifact use, since the producer and the user were frequently not of the same gender. I found that the same artifact could be associated with men or with women depending on the stage of use in which an item was found. In fact, one of the main problems with doing an engendered archaeology concerns the ambiguity regarding male or female use since many artifacts are either multi-functional or not clearly gender-associated.

One means of increasing the proportion of gendered artifacts is to consider indirect evidence. In Thule archaeology, blade slot width is used to differentiate Thule metal and slate blade technology. This can then be used to resolve questions about differential gender use of this material, particularly in early contact situations when metal was heavily reworked, reused and recycled.

In this study, I confirmed Spector's premise of seasonal dimensions to engendered activities and their archaeological visibility. In the case of Thule Inuit, men's activities tended to be seasonally-variable, while women's were less so. However, many aspects of gender, along with other structuring

principles, are not accessible archaeologically. This means that archaeological behaviour that cannot be gendered should be degendered, that is to say, explicitly acknowledged as unknowable in terms of gender. Such may be the case with archaeological evidence for certain ideological aspects of the Inuit gender system. According to Nelson:

> The area of gender and ideology is one of the most difficult in which to reach satisfactory conclusions with archaeological evidence, possibly because both gender and ideology are considered by many to be unreachable with archaeological evidence (1998:152).

For example, I was not able to substantiate McGhee's (1977) thesis of differential raw material use with this study, despite expanding his original categories of ivory, antler and sea mammal bone to include baleen, land mammal bone and wood and including all items which potentially could be made from more than one of these raw materials. Although the available sample was too small, this application of McGhee's method for assessing symbolism in raw material has hopefully amplified the scope of the original study.

Gender archaeology represents an attempt to do a 'better' archaeology. Conceived primarily within the post-processualist paradigm, the approach has served to emphasize the importance of a self-critical perspective and, in the process, has exposed our own deeply-held gender biases. It has effectively demonstrated the importance of understanding social relations in structuring action, of co-existing

alternative or multiple histories and of the interplay of past and present in constructing the past.

However, it is important to acknowledge that engendering the past is not possible in all situations, those which are solely dependent on single sources of evidence like artistic imagery, for example, or those in the distant past for which we have no reliable analogs (the origins of gender development falls into this category). We need first to understand how gender works systemically before looking for the material culture patterns archaeologically. For an engendered discourse on archaeology to advance, we must identify *what* can be inferred (this depends on the assumptions we are prepared to make); *where* there is disagreement and *what* the implications of this conceptual gap are. Using processual methods of hypothesis testing to judge alternative explanations within the self-critical, contextual approach of post-processualism, gender research has an important role to play within the discipline of archaeology.

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APPENDIX A

KAMAIYUK (KfDe-5) ARTIFACTS FROM 1990 SURFACE COLLECTIONS

House 1 N=3

1 pebble core, Frobisher flint
1 stove/roof tile frag.
1 piece modified slate

House 2 N=1

1 stove tile frag.

House 3 N=2

2 stove? tile frags.

Total = 6

APPENDIX B

KUYAIT (KfDf-2) ARTIFACTS FROM 1990 TEST EXCAVATIONS

House 1 N=1

1 piece of modified wood

House 2 N=1

1 lance/endbladed knife blade

House 3 N=386

1 fragment of iron sheet metal
1 fragment of copper sheet metal
373 seed beads date: >1840
11 beads date: 1910-1920s (N=1)
1920s-1930s (N=1)
early 20th C. (N=1)

House 5 N=48

1 machine-cut nail
1 wood handle?
42 tin can fragments
1 lead bead
1 iron shaft?
2 pieces of modified wood

House 6 N=32

12 primer caps
1 brass rivet
2 unidentified ceramic fragments
16 seed beads
1 bead date: 1910s-1920s

House 7 N=19

1 primer caps
1 ceramic vessel footring
1 seed bead date: >1840
16 record disk fragments

House 8 N=8

1 small tool hinge? fragment
1 iron blade? fragment
1 unid. iron fragment
2 unidentified nails
1 seed bead
1 piece of modified wood
1 mica fragment

North of House 11 N=7

1 iron prong?*
2 ceramic vessel fragments (MNI=2)
1 piece of flaked glass
1 pipe fragment
2 pieces of modified bone

House 12 N=60

1 wedge
1 ceramic bowl fragment [1]
1 ceramic cup/bowl fragments
1 ceramic vessel fragment
3 unid. vitrified ceramic fragments
45 tin can fragments
1 wick trimmer
1 seed bead
1 bead date: 19th-early 20th C.
2 pipe fragments
1 piece of flaked glass
1 wood shaft
1 piece of modified wood

* missing artifact

Total = 562

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[1] Crossmends with flow blue bowl excavated from House 12 in 1991 (KfDf-2:1531).

APPENDIX C

KUSSEJEERARKJUAN (KeDe-7) ARTIFACTS FROM 1990 TEST EXCAVATIONS

Site Surface N=8

1 rifle shell date: 1867-1940
1 handle/toggle
1 sled shoe frag.
2 preserve jar frags (MNI=2) date for one: >1835
1 bead
1 toy bow end
1 set screw

House 1 N=17

1 tea cup handle
1 ceramic bowl frag.[1]
1 ceramic vessel frag.
1 seed bead
1 piece modified ivory
11 pieces modified sheet metal
1 piece of limestone 'chalk' (non-artifact)

House 2 N=29

1 modified gun barrel
2 machine-cut nails
1 modified unid. screw - drill/graver?
1 enamelled ladle/dipper handle
16 seed beads
3 tubular beads
1 Frobisher? brick frag.
1 toiletries bottle? frag.
1 sheet metal frag.
2 pieces of unid./shaft iron

House 3 N=22

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[1] Crossmends with blue-banded bowl excavated from House 2 in 1992 (KeDe-7:453 et al.).

3 rifle shells dates: 1900-1957 (2), 1900-1945
1 machine-cut nail
1 wick trimmer
1 clay pipe frag.
13 sheet metal container frags.
1 piece modified copper
2 pieces chert (Dorset culture)

House 4 N=4

1 rifle shell date: >1882
1 iron nail
2 seed beads

House 5 N=23

1 percussion cap
1 machine-cut nail
1 saucer frag.
1 plate frag.
1 cup/bowl frag.
10 ceramic vessel frags. (MNI=2)
2 glass tumbler frags.
1 glass measure frag. date: <1918
2 clay pipe frags.
1 piece of sheet metal
1 piece of unid. glass
1 piece of fossilized shale

House 6 N=21

2 rifle shells date: >1879, >1880
1 piece of flat glass (window, mirror or casing)
2 machine-cut nails
5 large mug ceramic frags. (MNI=2)
1 cloth frag.
2 clay pipe frags.
1 unid. iron frag.
4 unid. glass frags. (MNI=2)
2 glass tumbler frags.
1 panelled bottle frag.

House 8 N=3

1 rifle shell date:1900-1945
2 sheet metal frags.

Total = 127