

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Role of Fur Trade Technologies in Adult Learning: A Study of Selected Inuvialuit
Ancestors at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (Nunavut), Canada 1935-1947

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the application of fur-trade technology on the adult-learning process of five Inuvialuit ancestors who traded at Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk), NWT (Nunavut), one of 51 Coronation Gulf-Holman trading sites operating in the contact-traditional period of 1935-1947.

Cape Krusenstern Inuvialuit lived in an all-Inuit environment with their neighbours, the Inuinait (Copper Eskimo) sharing a lifestyle focus on food, family and social connections. Living in semi-permanent family base camps near caribou-crossing areas and good fishing lakes or rivers, they used many of their ancestral Thule hunting and fishing technologies (kayak, dog team, iglu, ulu, umiak and soapstone lamp) to enjoy a subsistence lifestyle. Inuvialuit left their camps from April to October, travelling inland while caching food along the way for future needs. These journeys were characterized by the individual adult learning of subsistence living skills.

Having added fur trapping to their subsistence practices in the 1920s, they set up lengthy traplines to trap predominantly white fox to trade. Abandoning their earlier aboriginal-era practice of December to March gatherings out on the sea ice at pre-arranged meeting or “knowing” places, Inuvialuit now chose to gather at trading-mission centres for shorter periods (Christmas, Easter). Though shorter in length, the significance of such multiple family gatherings was not diminished. There under the direction of their elders’, enriched by Inuvialuit orature and traditional *ways of knowing* (non-verbal, intuitive, present time, spatial memory, reflective and spiritual), Inuvialuit participated in both individual and communal adult learning to develop community and cultural ties.

Customary law was informal and flexible but relied heavily on social pressure to see that people acted according to traditional customs, practices and spiritual beliefs, and maintained cooperative values.

All adult learning was based on an animistic worldview and belief in the integration of spirit with the physical world. Further, adult-learning choices were shaped by the belief that life's events are influenced by *ayorama*, that many things "can't be helped" or changed by individual or group learning, or intervention.

Through contact with the trading post managers and the selection of store goods at the time of trading their furs, Inuvialuit were exposed to the influence of the global fur-trade economy as well as new ideas and material technologies. This did not affect traditional practices.

I adapted methods from the discipline of history and used the procedures of document research. I analyzed written words in primary and secondary textual sources, particularly fur-trade records, Semmler trading post records, and Inuvialuit oral histories. I used anthropological research methods to explore the role of trade technology in Inuvialuit *ways of knowing* during the contact-traditional era.

The results reveal that in exchanging white-fox pelts for trade goods, Inuvialuit supported traditional technologies by selecting scarce Inuit-made goods (food supplies) and resources (deerskins). In accordance with their practice of adapting new material technologies to ease the challenge of Arctic subsistence living, Cape Krusenstern Inuvialuit selected new goods such as boats, schooners, clothing, tools, sewing machines and new foods such as candy and chocolate, which prompted them to undertake new adult learning experiences. Other selections that had no connection to Inuit subsistence

living (necktie, Big Ben clock, rings) reflect a dawning awareness of the Euro-Canadian or western worldview.

In summary, as a result of successful white-fox fur trapping and trading, Inuvialuit selected traditional as well as new trade goods, prompting adult learning for individual skill development and “having.” Of greater importance is Inuvialuit adult learning for community and cultural ties, which (through its attention to food, family and social connections and a comfortable “don’t ask, don’t tell” approach) promoted Inuvialuit “being.” The data acts as a segment of a much longer timeline that demonstrates the adaptation of new technologies (a symbolic integration of product and knowledge) and the emergence of an Inuvialuit common ground through the intersection of traditional and western worldviews.

Preface

Our past is preserved and explained through the telling of stories and the passing of information from one generation to the next through what is called the oral tradition. Inuit recognize the importance of maintaining the oral tradition as a part of our culture and way of learning. At the same time, we realize that there are other ways to understand the past through activities such as archaeology and the study of historical documents. Both ways of knowing must now be used by Inuit and it is our elders and our schools that will provide the necessary tools.

(Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2007, ¶ 3)

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The completion of this research would not have been possible without the kind assistance of several people to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

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As a Distance Education graduate student, and one residing in Canada's western Arctic, my research would not have been possible without the tremendous assistance of

library staff who, in response to my many email requests over the years, located articles or books and then promptly forwarded them to me by Canada Post. Thank you to Mark Simpson, Doucette Library, for your assistance in compiling a searchable database as well as for the construction of our research website: www.capekrusenstern.org. At the Mackimmie Library, University of Calgary, I want to extend my appreciation to the Shauna Lipton, Leslie Potter and Zaheed Bardai for being equally calm and helpful when receiving one of my panicked emails or phone calls regarding EndNotes and/or APA formatting. I also want to thank Jennifer Lee, Cecilia Leung and particularly Marvel Nash not just for locating reference items but for your kind words of support over the last few years. Finally, there is one Arctic librarian, Adelia Wall, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Inuvik, NWT, that I wish to thank for her not only being on the constant lookout for potential textual items that might contribute to my research, but for her unwavering support of the significance of Arctic research.

I want to thank my northern “Indigenous” neighbours, particularly the Inuvialuit and Gwich’in, as well as “Other” non-indigenous neighbours, many of whom have spent more than half their lives in the Arctic, and like myself, are classified by the Government of the Northwest Territories as being “Indigenous non-aboriginal.” Literally, a lifetime of shared discussion and the offering of your participant or, as in my case, citizen observations have enabled me to acquire layers of understanding about the Indigenous perspective. It is this shared belief in the importance of reclaiming the past through understanding the indigenous learning process that has motivated me to complete this research.

Lastly, I want to thank and dedicate this research to my wife, Myrna. It is through her support and love that I have been able to complete this research. In her own right a respected Arctic archivist and expert in information retrieval, it is because of her work and that of other such people, recording and preserving the visual and textual records of the past, that future Arctic researchers will continue to find an abundance of resources for research.

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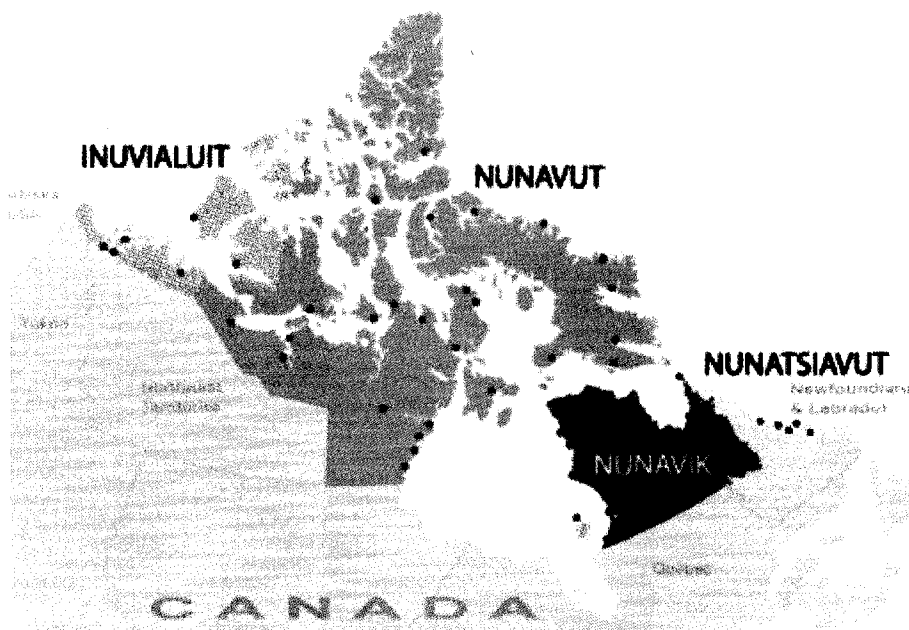
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the role of fur-trade technology application in adult learning among selected Inuvialuit ancestors, the Inuit of Canada's Western Arctic, from 1935-1947 at Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk), NWT (Nunavut).



Source: Statistics Canada

Map 1. Guèvremont & Kohen (2007). The Health of Inuit: Fact Sheet Statistics Canada, No. 2

This ancient but now abandoned trading site is situated east of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in neighbouring Inuinait (Copper Eskimo) territory on the continental mainland shore of the western Coronation Gulf. The local Inuit call it Nuvuk, with the Inuit word *nuvuk* meaning “point” (Lowe & Uummarmiut, 1984a, p. 240), with “point of land” being *nuvuraq* (1984a, p. 240). Throughout this research document, I refer to it by its English name, Cape Krusenstern. It was one of many trading sites along the historical Bering Strait (Alaskan Inupiat) to Coronation Gulf (Canadian Inuinait or Copper Eskimo) intercontinental trade network (Morrison, 1991). Stefansson, an ancestor of some present-day Inuvialuit families, in his work, *Prehistoric and Present Commerce among the Arctic Coast Eskimo* (1914a), described how this Bering Strait trade route began in the west near Siberia and followed a mostly coastal pathway along the present-day coast of Alaska, the Canadian Northwest Territories and Nunavut Territory, ending in northwestern Greenland. Morrison noted:

Stefansson described in considerable detail the movement of a hypothetical Russian iron knife traded across Bering Strait in the early 18th century and how, within a minimum of two and a half years, it could pass from hand to hand all the way to the western coast of Hudson Bay. (1991, p. 1)

As primary source documents on the fur-trade transactions of five selected Inuvialuit ancestors at Cape Krusenstern, I used the only surviving textual records from that period, the two trading-post ledgers or journals entitled: *Cape Krusenstern, NWT, Furs 1934 to 19—* (also referred to herein as Journal #1) and *Post Expenses* (referred to herein as Journal #2). Handwritten entries recording furs traded and goods selected in these trading-post ledgers were made by either the owners of the Semmler trading post,

Lawrence Frederick “Slim” Semmler and his wife, Agnes (Norberg) Semmler, or by unknown manager(s) in their employ whose duties were to manage all aspects of their year-round fur-trading operations. Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) was just one of the Semmler’s network of seven trading posts (Stapylton Bay, 1930-32; Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk), 1932-1946; Basil Bay, 1934-1938; Read Island, 1938-1948; Cambridge Bay, 1939-1943; “Mackenzie River,” Victoria Island, 1946-1948; Tuktoyaktuk, 1943-1949) operating in locations on the Beaufort Sea, Coronation and Queen Maud sub-regions during the period 1930 to 1949 (Usher, 1971d, pp. 106-115). Today, Cape Krusenstern is located in the Nunavut Territory (NU), but at the time referred to, it was part of the North West Territories (NWT), Canada.

The relation between fur-trade technology and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (hereafter also referred to as IAL), is an historical one that goes back centuries before the arrival of European traders and which, in an academic context, is neither fully understood nor well-documented (1.2) for specific Inuvialuit families, some of whom had origins through inter-marriage with members of the various Inuinnait sub-groups.

One should remember, though, that the Inuvialuit have been applying and adapting outside technologies for generations. Through European contact, they have continually been introduced to a wide range of technologies, which they learned to use and adapt to serve their purposes. But these new physical technologies were introduced through the medium of the new social systems, to which the Inuvialuit also had to adapt: commercial systems introduced by fur traders and whalers, legal systems dealing with

wildlife management, as well as the different religious, political and educational systems. (Weihs & Pokiak, 1991, p. 20)

In *Chapter 1: Introduction*, the three research questions (1.3) are described, the limitations and delimitations (1.4) are reviewed, the key terms for this study are explained (1.5), situated in their historical context (1.6) and finally grounded in the author's personal experience (1.7).

Chapter 2: Literature Review examines the research on adult learning (2.1) and Inuvialuit ways of learning and knowing (2.2), along with the literature related to the role of technology (2.3) in that culture. In addition, the literature related to methodologies appropriate to this type of study is reviewed (2.4).

Chapter 3: Research Design, describes the research design of the study. It presents the need for qualitative research (3.1), the research purpose (3.2), research questions (3.3), and the design rationale (3.4) for why qualitative methods have been used.

Chapter 4: Background on Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL), presents socio-political and cultural insights into Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) during that time.

Chapter 5 presents the findings and analysis for research question #1: “What is the history of Inuvialuit fur trading in the Coronation Gulf region prior to 1935?”

Chapter 6 presents the findings and analysis for research question #2: “As a study focusing on the adult-learning skill of fur-trade technology application by select Inuvialuit ancestors during 1935-1947, what can we learn about the time, place and types of furs traded as well as the types of goods and ideas received in exchange by Inuvialuit who traded at the Semmler trading post at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)?”

Chapter 7 presents the findings and analysis of the data that emerged from research question #3: “What is the relationship between the Inuvialuit fur-trade technology application, which involves the exchange of furs and the receipt of both goods and ideas, and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) during 1935-1947?”

Chapter 8 contains the conclusions and implications for future research.

1.1. Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to explore the role of trade technology in adult learning among a select group of Inuvialuit ancestors—the Inuit of Canada’s western Arctic—who traded at the Inuinait trading site, Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) from 1935 to 1947. An overview of data relating to the nearby Read Island (Qikiktanayuk) trading site, which was also frequented by Inuvialuit ancestors, provided additional information that contributed to understanding the context of trade-technology application at Cape Krusenstern. This study increases our understanding of one aspect of Inuvialuit adult learning by restricting its terms to a particular kind of technology and a culture-specific kind of adult in a specific place during a specific period.

1.2. Significance of the Research

This project is the first research to explore the direct relationship between specific trade transactions and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL). Up until this time, the work that has been done in the field of Inuvialuit epistemology has been done mainly outside the academy, most often as a subsection of research on Inuvialuit traditional knowledge or as contributing information in anthropological publications. Related research in this area, while not published in a scholarly context such as in academic peer-reviewed journals, nonetheless provided useful information in the larger field of Inuit learning. Publications

by the following organizations fall into this latter category: the Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami (2004, 2005, 2007), Pauktutiit—The Inuit Women of Canada (2004, 2006a, b, c, & d), Government of Nunavut (2005, 2006), and Governments of the Northwest Territories and of Canada (1991, 1996).

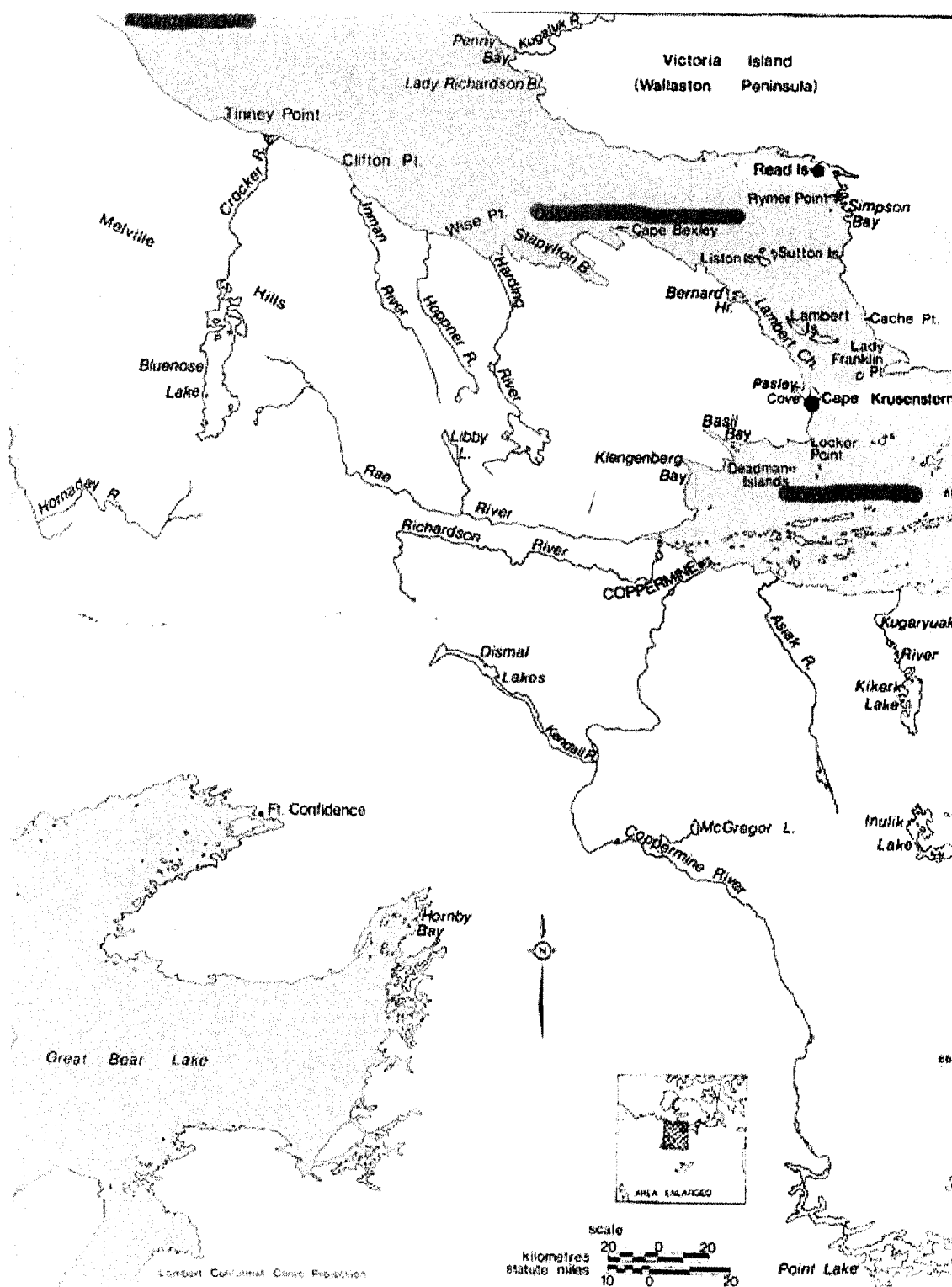
Second, this research is important in that it is the documentation of many first-hand statements by the Inuvialuit about learning, and specifically adult learning.

Third, the research will add to the sparse body of traditional knowledge about a now abandoned Cape Krusenstern trading post, a once prominent Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït trading site during the contact-traditional period of 1935 to 1947.

Finally, my research is important in that it is the first discussion to examine specific trading transactions and thereby acts as a test of a general hypothesis that trade technology plays a role in adult learning.

Much has been written about the historical hunting and trapping by Inuvialuit around their five major Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea settlements: Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk, and Sachs Harbour. However, little research has been conducted on the Inuvialuit ancestors who migrated to (or originated from) the southwestern shores of Victoria Island or the Copper River area. These areas are part of traditional Inuinnaït territory that ranges along the Amundsen Gulf, Dolphin Union Strait (Read Island trading site), into the Coronation Gulf (Cape Krusenstern trading site) and ends in the Queen Maud gulf (See Map 2). Abrahamson (1963) in *Tuktoyaktuk—Cape Perry Area Economic Survey* presented the following statistical data in his table, *Eskimo Population by Birth 1962*: 24 of the 405 Tuktoyaktuk residents and 17 of the 82 Cape Perry residents cited Coppermine, Victoria Island, as their place of birth (Abrahamson, 1963, p. 10).

Insights gained as a thirty-seven-year resident of the Western Arctic reveal additional levels of understanding of the role trade technology has played in the IAL process.



Cape Krusenstern/Read Island region. Adapted from Farquharson, p.35.
In Freeman, 1976, vol. 1, Map 4.

Map 2. Cape Krusenstern & Read Island Region

1.3. Research Questions

Research Question 1: What is the history of Inuvialuit fur trading in the Coronation Gulf region prior to 1935?

For many centuries prior to the 1700s and the arrival of the European traders, the Inuvialuit of Canada's western Northwest Territories were active participants in a centuries-old Inuit trading route. Stefansson, a non-Inuit ancestor to some present day Inuvialuit families, described the route as an intercontinental network that stretched from the Bering Strait, through the Beaufort Sea, down into the Coronation Gulf and from there to the Hudson Bay coast, ending eventually at Baffin land and northwestern Greenland (Stefansson, 1914b). Stefansson felt the existence of a trade route explained why there was such uniformity in the Inuit material culture from Alaska to Greenland (Morrison, 2000). It was through trade-technology application that the exchange of goods and ideas with other Inuit tribes and then more recently with non-Inuit from other parts of the globe, that Inuvialuit experienced and monitored individual adult learning and societal adaptation (Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1997).

Research Question 2: As a study examining the adult learning skill of fur-trade technology application by select Inuvialuit ancestors from 1935 to 1947, what can we learn about the time, place and types of fur traded? What can we learn about the type of goods and ideas received in exchange by Inuvialuit who traded at the Semmler trading post at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (Nunavut)?

As the Inuvialuit authors and historians Alunik (2003, 1998), Cockney (1988, 1996, 1998), Kolousok (2003), Nuligak (Metayer, 1966), and Pokiak (1991) have documented in textual format, many of the present-day Inuvialuit families are

descendents of Inuinnait Inuit from this area and this period. Individual and family oral memories that have been documented contain references to travel and trade by Inuvialuit at Read Island and Cape Krusenstern, two prominent meeting places on the Inuit trade route that traverses Inuinnait territory in the Coppermine geographic region. Up to this time, due to the lack of any textual or historical records, nothing has been documented about these Inuvialuit ancestors and their demonstrated practice of adult learning through the application of trade technology at Cape Krusenstern. This era is described by researchers as being part of the contact-traditional (Damas, 1988b) period of Arctic history where for the Inuvialuit and other Inuit tribes in Alaska and Canada, the messages of modernity were delivered whenever they had occasional contact with the representatives of the Big Three—the Church, the [Hudson's Bay] Company and the RCMP. For the most part during this study timeframe (1935-1947), the Inuvialuit and their eastern neighbours, the Inuinnait, continued to live a traditional lifestyle, subsistence hunting, fishing and trapping (Freeman, 1976, 1992). Adult learning was supervised by community leaders (elders), governed by traditional Inuit values of sharing and cooperation, and predominantly confined to adult learning within their respective family and community roles. Historical records (Freeman, 1976, 1992; Godsell, 1938; Murdoch, 1892; Scace, 1975; Usher, 1971d) show that Inuvialuit white-fox trapping began as early as 1900 but increased with the end of the bowhead whaling, such that by 1935, the trading of furs for basic goods had become an established Inuvialuit practice. While continuing their traditional cultural pattern of adult learning for community-cultural roles, through the contact and the practice of trade technology in trapping, individual Inuvialuit

were exposed to new adult learning that lightened the rigours of their Arctic subsistence lifestyle.

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between Inuvialuit fur-trade technology, which involves the exchange of furs and the receipt of both goods and ideas, and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) during 1935-1947?

In the 1920s and 1930s, both Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït adopted the practice of setting lengthy winter trap lines. "The maps in Freeman (1976) show trap lines in nearly every region extending more than one hundred miles in length, but there were fewer of these [lengthy traplines] in the east than the west" (Damas, 1988b, p. 108).

In response to the abundance of arctic-fox pelts in those years, the application of fur-trade technology, as one form of IAL, led to more and more trading sites being established in the western and central Arctic. In fact, it has been said that regularized trade practices by Inuvialuit and other Inuit distinguishes the contact-traditional era from the "early aboriginal" period (Damas, 1988b, p. 106). Further, the contact-traditional era of trade in "arctic-fox fur, and secondarily sealskins, brought on and sustained technological changes, which in turn strongly affected subsistence practices and, indirectly, settlement patterns" (Damas, 1988b, p. 130). In contrast to their nomadic pattern, "contact traditional settlement focused for longer periods of each year at cache sites from which hunting and trapping excursions emanated" (1988b, p. 130). In 1935-1947, both traditional subsistence economies and trapping economies were supported and changed by Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït selection of supplies and equipment at Semmler's trading post.

Fur-trade technology application is only one aspect of IAL. As in other indigenous cultures, adult learning is a holistic process of adaptation to their social and physical environment, primarily experiential, and one where “learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (Kolb, 1993, p. 155). The Inuit adult-learning process has been described as having the following features: circular, listens, decides with issues, looks at a larger picture (holistic), looks for connections to other parts. Further, it is a learning process with a locally subjective component that aims to maintain balance, adapt to the environment and is respectful of the need to live with the larger Creation universe (Hild, 1994, p. 6). Fur trading enabled the Inuvialuit to accumulate consumer credit and select goods that were representative of the new and emerging technology of that contact-traditional era. Considering that my definition of technology is *the need to understand both the use of the product and the knowledge/data/experience that accompanies that selection*, it can be said that during the 1935-1947 period, by selecting specific trade goods, Inuvialuit were opening the door to the gradual intersection of the western worldview with their traditional Inuvialuit worldview. Further, this open-door situation would cause Inuvialuit to begin to supplement their traditional adult-learning skills with new western or Euro-Canadian learning skills or ways of knowing. This western or Euro-Canadian adult learning process was characterized by features such as linear thinking, talking as a medium of knowledge exchange, objective decision-making based on numbers and an emphasis on the examination of details of a part that is separate from the whole (1994, p. 6). Over time, and on a gradual and Inuvialuit-controlled basis, people began to incorporate western adult learning skills in their traditional learning process.

1.3. Limitations and Delimitations

Three limitations, all in the literature, can be identified: (a) the concept of Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) is not found, (b) knowledge of trade technologies at Cape Krusenstern is severely limited, and (c) the relation between these two concepts is treated only indirectly. The delimitations of my projected research are clearly stated in its purpose to explore the role of trade technologies in adult learning among the Inuvialuit at Cape Krusenstern from 1935 to 1947. To improve our understanding of the trade-technology process at Cape Krusenstern, I incorporated data from another prominent Inuvialuit trading site, Read Island, which is situated northeast of Krusenstern and also along the historical Inuit trade route.

1.4. Terminology

1.4.1 Inuvialuit

The Inuvialuit in the Northwest Territories are one of Canada's four Inuit tribes. In Inuvialuktun, their language, *Inuvialuit* translates as “the real people” (Government of the Northwest Territories, Inuvialuit Pitqusiit—the culture of the Inuvialuit, 1991). According to their oral memories and oral histories (Alunik, 2003; Pokiak, 1989, 1991, 1996), they have been residents of the Mackenzie Delta, Beaufort Sea region of the Northwest Territories for many centuries. Modern Inuvialuit are descendents of other Inuit sub-tribes, most notably the Inupiat (Alaska) and the Inuinait (Canadian central Arctic).

The Inuit people to the west of the Inuvialuit were the Inupiat of Alaska.

The Inupiat would travel to hunt in the Inuvialuit territory. They were viewed as aggressive people who took more than they needed. However,

trading and bartering occurred with this group as they had many different hunting tools. After contact by the European people, many of the Inuvialuit died due to diseases that they were exposed to. The Alaskan Inupiat then moved into the territory of the Inuvialuit. The Inuvialuit of today have close affinities to the Inupiat and to the Copper Inuit located to the east. Today, many Inuvialuit maintain their strong kinship connections with their relatives in Alaska and to the east. In the traditional ways of the Inuvialuit, they renew contacts through travels in summer by boat or in the winter by airplane or snowmobile to and from Alaska.

(Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1998, *Inuvialuit Curriculum History & Culture, Grade 3, Unit 5, Region, Community Interactions*, p. 9)

In 1984, the Inuvialuit negotiated the *Western Arctic Claim—the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA)* (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2007; Government of Canada, 1984) with the Government of Canada in which they gained title for their traditional land-use area, thereafter known as the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR).

In the IFA, the Inuvialuit agreed to give up their exclusive use of their ancestral lands in exchange for certain other guaranteed rights from the Government of Canada. The rights came in three forms: land, wildlife management and money.

The Inuvialuit would have legal control over their land with ownership of 91,000 square kilometres (35,000 square miles) of land including 13,000 square kilometres (5,000 square miles) with subsurface rights to oil, gas and minerals. Furthermore, the Inuvialuit established the right to hunt and

harvest anywhere in the claim area, particularly as primary harvesters on certain lands known to be rich in wildlife. They also secured the responsibility for ensuring good wildlife management, becoming part of a wildlife management team with the government. The IFA was based on sustainable development. (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2007, ¶ 4)

In keeping with the terminology used in their 1984 Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), Inuvialuit today are known as beneficiaries. They define themselves in terms of the three basic goals laid out in the IFA: Individually and collectively they are dedicated “to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society ... [Enabling] Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society ... [And as Inuvialuit people] protect ... preserve ... Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity” (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2007, ¶ 5).

There are six major communities in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) where most modern Inuvialuit speak English while some are still fluent in one and often two of the three Inuvialuktun dialects. For those Inuvialuks (plr: Inuvialuit) who are bilingual, speaking both English and a dialect of Inuvialuktun, their adult-learning expression is guided by their own Inuvialuktun terminology for “knowing” or *ihun*.

Inuvialuit Communities							
Community	Place name in English	2006 Population	Inuvialuit	First Nations	Métis	Other Aboriginal	non-Aboriginal
Aklavik	barren-ground grizzly place	594	375	140	35	25	50
Inuvik	place of man	3,484	1,050	440	140	60	1,165
Paulatuk	place of coal	294	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Sachs Harbour	traditionally called Ikahuak meaning "where you go across to"	122	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Tuktoyaktuk	resembling a caribou	870	840	20	0	10	55
Ulukhaktok	a large bluff where we used to collect raw material to make ulus, formerly Holman	398	375	0	0	0	20

Table 1. Information on Inuvialuit Communities. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inuvialuit>.

Through joint support from their leaders in their own Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) as well as by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) in offering Inuvialuktun language-curriculum initiatives for grades 1-10, there are ongoing efforts to maintain and strengthen the three Inuvialuktun language dialects. The three dialects are: the Uummarmiut dialect, spoken by those who live in the Mackenzie Delta in the communities of Inuvik and Aklavik; the Siglit dialect, which is spoken by those who live along the Beaufort Sea coast in the communities of Tuktoyaktuk and Paulatuk, and, on Banks Island, in Sachs Harbour; and the Kangiryuarmiut dialect, which is spoken by those Inuvialuit who live in the community of Holman in Inuinnaït territory. Due to inter-Inuit travel along traditional trade routes, many residents in today's Inuvialuit communities are descendents from Kangiryuarmiut ancestors.

1.4.2 Inuinnaït

The Inuinnaït reside in Canada's central Arctic in a territory immediately east of and adjacent to the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Leaving their nomadic hunting and gathering lifestyle in the 1950s and 1960s, they settled into five major communities. They established two communities on Victoria Island: Ulukhaktok (formerly called Holman, which is also home to the Inuvialuit subtribe, the Kangiryuarmiut) and Cambridge Bay, known locally as Iqaluktuuttiaq. Across the water, on the tip of the North American mainland, they settled in three other communities: Kugluktuk (formerly Coppermine), Bathurst and Umingmaktok.

In 1911, Vilhjalmur Stefansson became the first European to meet these people; by 1913, he had given them the name “Copper Eskimo.” They have also been referred to as the Copper Inuit, but more recently they have chosen to self-identify as Inuinnait. Their traditional territory, encompassing both land and sea, begins on the eastern shores of Banks Island and continues eastward, encompassing both the south and the north shoreland adjacent to the Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf, and Dease Strait. The Inuinnait territory ends in the Queen Maud Gulf area (Collignon, 2006).

While all Inuit tribes used bone, stone and antler in their tool making, the Inuinnait were unusual in that they also incorporated the raw copper that they found locally in the construction of many of their tools: adze blades, weapon tips, knife blades, ice picks, fish hooks, and spear barbs (Morrison et al., 1995, p. 61). Living far removed from major sea-lanes, unlike their Inuvialuit neighbours, they did not have a record of any form of whale (beluga, bowhead) hunting. Another result of the distance from major Arctic sea routes and world centres of commerce was that the “Copper Inuit were among the last aboriginal people on earth to be absorbed into the global economy” (Morrison et al., 1995, p. 42). With winters lasting eight months, their habitat consisted of an unbroken expanse of ice.

Breathing-hole sealing was virtually the only winter-subsistence practice. The large herds of migrating barren-ground caribou reached into this zone in summer and dispersed in coastal, peninsular and insular regions. Caribou along with fish and small game were the chief subsistence sources for half the year’s cycle.

(Morrison et al, 1995, p.102)

However, like their Inuvialuit neighbours, they shared similar summer and winter seasonal patterns. Individual hunters and families dispersed inland in the warmer months of the year, but returned to the coast to designated meeting points in the fall. Once full winter was underway, usually November, clusters of families would take the dry caribou and freshwater fish with them out onto the sea ice where they congregated in multi-igloo communities. These winter gatherings were both trade centres and prime locations to hunt bearded seals, with residents numbering between 200 and 250 people; visitors came and went throughout the winter (Farquharson, *Inuit Land Use in the West-Central Canadian Arctic*, p. 34. In *Freeman, Inuit land Use and Occupancy Report, Volume One*, 1976). Such gatherings were primary opportunities for individual skill development and community-cultural learning because the breathing-hole sealing villages enabled “a fusion and fission of aboriginal social groups” guided by the teachings of their elders and leaders (*umialik*) according to the curricula of their customs and rules.

The Inuinait are relevant to this study because many Inuvialuit ancestors migrated or originated from this territory and, as a result, the Inuvialuit and Inuinait share an historical over-lapping land-use relationship. In the early 1920s, between 700 and 800 Inuinait (2006, p. 28) occupied a territory of approximately 700,000 square kilometres, taking advantage of the abundance of land and marine food resources. As a consequence, they evolved into 20 sub-groups ranging between 30 to 150 members, self-identifying with names associated with a particular land or sea area. The Cape Krusenstern trading site was occupied by the Inuinait subgroup, the Nuahunagmiut (Collignon, 2006, p. 30) but, as we shall see, was often frequented by Inuvialuit

ancestors. In the farthest north-eastern reaches of the territory, yet another Inuinait subgroup, the Kangiryuarmiut, has relevancy to the Inuvialuit people. Having resided for centuries on the north-western coast of Victoria Island (2006, footnote 9, pp. 28-29), today most residents live in the community of Holman. While recognizing their Inuinait roots, the draw of their historical ties with the Inuvialuit proved to be greater, so in 1984, the majority of Kangiryuarmiut chose to become beneficiaries in the Government of Canada federal land claim: the Western Arctic Claim, the Inuvialuit Settlement Agreement.

1.4.3 Cape Krusenstern, also known locally as Nuvuk

Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) is situated at 68 degrees 23' N, 113 degrees 54' W on a point of land at the end of a peninsula bordering the Coronation Gulf in the Inuinait territory (Collignon, 2006, p. 24). An earlier name for this site was Fort Hearne (Usher, 1971d, p. 110). The Inuvialuit term “point” is *nuvuk*; while “point of land” is *nuvuraq*, which is why local Inuit referred to this site as Nuvuk (Lowe, Uummarmiut, 1984a, p. 240).

Situated along an Inuit trading route, the Cape Krusenstern trading site is located in Inuinait territory. The residents of the immediate area around Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) were recorded by Rasmussen (Ostermann, 1942, p. 37) as being Nuvungmiut. In Freeman's Inuit Land Use, Volume One (1976) the Nuvungmiut were described as being part of the larger Inuinait sub-tribe, the Noahognikmiut, the “people of the land between Bernard Harbour and Coppermine River” (Farquharson, 1976, p. 33). Collignon (2006) settled on another spelling, the Nuahunangmiut, which is the spelling I have chosen to use in this paper. As one of a series of trading sites along the Inuit trade route, Cape

Krusenstern was frequented by locals as well as by nomadic Inupiat and Inuvialuit from the western Arctic and Netsiglimiut from the regions east of Inuinnait territory (Kitikmeot Heritage Society, 2007, ¶ 2). References to this site can be found in the records of the big three—the church (Anglican), the Company (the Hudson Bay) and the RCMP. For the RCMP, their function in G-division (Mackenzie Valley) at the time was administrative rather than policing. During their dog-team patrols up and down the established Inuit trade route, “they issued licences, collected income tax and sometimes custom duties, took the census and spread information about changes in [Government of Canada] regulations and laws” (Zaslow, 1988, p. 193). Journals of early 19th century explorers also refer to Cape Krusenstern, specifically Stefansson (1909, 1913, 1914a, 1914b, 1919, 1921, 1941), Klengenberg (1932; Jones, 1998) and Rasmussen (1908, 1932; Ostermann, 1942). The latter, Ostermann, in his research on the Mackenzie Eskimos, based his work on the posthumous notes from Rasmussen’s *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, Volume X, No. 2*. Rasmussen’s notes reveal a circa January 30, 1924 (Ostermann, 1942, p. 13) visit to Cape Krusenstern at which time he took a complete census by name of the occupants of the 11 sod houses at Krusenstern. His official photographer, Leo Hansen, took black and white photographs of some of the residents, copies of which today are held in the Smithsonian Institute, USA archives. Cape Krusenstern was not just a place to trade furs for both traditional Inuit manufactured and modern store goods but was a meeting place to maintain social ties with other Inuit and non-Inuit travellers.

In the 1920s, with an increasing demand in Europe for Canadian furs, historical records show that the Krusenstern trading site entered a period of intense trading activity

with trading posts operating between 1926 and 1948 (Usher, 1971d, p. 110). However, by the late 1940s, following a lessening demand and a scarcity of fur animals, the Krusenstern trading site fell into disuse. Today, only Inuit of a certain age know of Nuvuk. (Young Inuvialuit associate the place-name Nuvuk with their ancestral Inupiat community of Nuvuk (Point Barrow) Alaska. While the Canadian Krusenstern trading site has fallen away, the name lives on in the Cape Krusenstern National Park in northwest Alaska.

Records of this contract-traditional period in Arctic history show that the first trading post established at Krusenstern was operated by the Hudson's Bay between 1926 and 1929 (Usher, 1971d, p. 110). That same year, Lena Klengenberg, a private Inuit fur trader, set up in competition to the Bay and operated a trading post from 1926 to 1936. Between 1926 and the late 1948, three other private trading posts were established at Cape Krusenstern. William Seymour operated a post there from 1927 to 1932 while Canalaska Trading Co. (1932-1934) operated Krusenstern as an outpost of its Read Island trading post. The final trading-post operation at Krusenstern was run by Lawrence Frederick "Slim" and Agnes Semmler between 1932 and 1947 (Usher, 1971d, p. 110).

In the Inuvialuit Social Development Program, *Aulavik Oral History Project* (Nagy, 1999, 2000), the translated oral memories (histories of individual Inuvialuit) make far more frequent reference to Inuvialuit visiting, residing and trading at Read Island (Qikiktanayuk) than at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) (Nagy, 2000). My review of the Hudson's Bay Company Read Island trading-post records 1932-38 (Hudson's Bay Company, 1938) provided background information and confirmation of Inuvialuit ancestors' migration and trading habits during the research period.

During the period 1935 to 1947, Cape Krusenstern was part of the Northwest Territories. However, with the research into and establishment of the external boundaries and traditional land use of the Inuit of the eastern Arctic, in 1999, with the formation of Nunavut, it became part of the new Nunavut Territory.

1.4.4. Technology

For the purposes of this research, the term *technology* refers not just to the tools or equipment one normally associates with the word, but to the knowledge that accompanies them. A 1981 United Nations internal document elaborates:

Equipment comprises all kinds of tools, vehicles, machinery, buildings and what is known as process technology ... [while] technological knowledge covers all kinds of skills ... process and product know-how, institutional and organizational know-how, and information about equipment and knowledge. (United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization, UNESCO, 1981)

J. K. Galbraith (2006) defined technology as “the systematic application of scientific or other organized knowledge to practical tasks” (in *Harper's Quotes*, 2006). The knowledge accumulated by the Inuvialuit over the centuries through lived experience, that was essential to their identity and belonging, consisted of both ancient and modern technology.

One should remember, though, that the Inuvialuit have been applying and adapting outside technologies for generations. As a result of the European contact, they have been continually been introduced to a wide range of technologies, which they learned to use and adapt to serve their purposes. But these new physical technologies were introduced through the medium

of the new social systems, to which the Inuvialuit also had to adapt:
commercial systems introduced by fur traders and whalers, legal systems
dealing with wildlife management, as well as the different religious,
political and educational systems. (Weihs & Pokiak, 1991, p. 20)

The Inuvialuit ancestors of Cape Krusenstern and Read Island used trading technology to ease the hardship of their Arctic living conditions and, over time, developed a particular geosophy or way of knowing the land (Collignon, 2006, p. 162). Such collective knowledge, in my view, can be considered a form of cultural intelligence (Ridington, 1990) as opposed to the individualistic human intelligence of industrial modern times.

1.4.5. Adulthood

Adulthood, for the purposes of this study, is defined from the Inuvialuit perspective as documented by researchers in the Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït community of Ulukhaktok (Holman).

The term *inuhaaq* was used to describe young people making the transition from childhood (*nutaraq*) to adulthood (*inirniq*) The most significant event for a boy entering adulthood was the killing of his first large game, usually a caribou or seal ... [indicating that he] ... had come of age, and was now mature enough to support a wife. (Condon, 1987, p. 55)

Traditionally, adulthood for Inuvialuit girls began after puberty. Adulthood or *inirniq* refers to the child who is “fully grown, implying the attainment of physical (and reproductive) maturity and associated with the adult role of hunting game alone” (Condon, 1987, p. 54). Reaching puberty marked the transition into adulthood for boys and girls, although in modern times, *inuhaaq* can also mean teenage years.

1.4.6. Adult Learning within Western Cosmology

There does not seem to be one widely accepted definition of adult learning so for this study, I provide the following definition.

*Adult learning (and relearning) is the result of a blending of cognitive, affective, spiritual and behavioural understanding. During this process, the individual makes meaning and thereby develops perceptions, understanding and feelings about the world. This learning process varies from individual to individual because the process is anchored in the individual's inherited **nature** (genetic makeup, personality, psychological factors, motivation, and cognitive abilities and frameworks). This shapes his or her response to the **nurturing/non-nurturing** formative experiences of the individual's earlier life-stages (childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, middle and senior years). These experiences arise from the learning-context controls of that individual's language, culture (worldview) and its respective interpretive rules.*

Learning that takes place in the adult years was described by Merriam (2001) and Merriam and Caffarella (1999) as a situation in which “the configuration of learner, context and process together makes learning in adulthood distinctly different from learning in childhood” (p. 389). This definition is in keeping with the Inuit tradition of looking for meaning and understanding by examining the whole. In addition, I provide the following representative perspectives on adult learning that have evolved from western cosmology.

Knowles (1980, 1998) used a set of assumptions about adult learners (regarding self-concept, experience, readiness to learn, problem-centered actions, and internal motivation) to define andragogy (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999, p. 286). Peterson (1998)

and Coombs (1985) argued that self-directed, informal learning is both powerful and legitimate for adults. Yet other researchers have examined types of knowledge as a way to define adult learning. Habermas (1970) described three domains of knowledge (technical, practical, and emancipatory). Mezirow (1981) proposed that several types of learning (instrumental, communicative, and emancipatory) accompany Habermas's (1970) domains (Grill, 2002).

Much of adult learning was experiential in Indigenous cultures. Adult learning is "education that occurs as a direct participation in the events of life" (Houle, 1980, p. 221). Learning also resulted out of contemplative, reflection on life lived.

Aspects of indigenous adult learning, particularly in individual skill development, agrees with Kolb's (1984) theory that adult learning is based on the person's interest "in exploring the processes associated with making sense of concrete experiences and the different styles of learning that may be involved. In this he makes explicit use of the work of Piaget, Dewey and Lewin" (Smith, 2001, ¶ 4). However, Kolb's theory has been criticized as being too individualized and internal (rather than socially situated, as is common for most indigenous tribal cultures) and concerned with the production of knowledge (rather than practice).

The theoretical perspective on which my research is based lies within the overlap between social learning and constructivism theories of adult learning (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). The philosophy of constructivism emphasizes the learner rather than the teacher, but has an equal emphasis on the context or "the world knowledge, beliefs, and skills an individual brings to bear on learning" (Thanasoulas, 2008, ¶ 7).

1.4.7. Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) and Ways of Knowing

In her article, *Native Ways of Knowing—Let Me Count the Ways*, Warner (2006) reviewed 25 publications by different researchers and found that their approach to defining the term *ways of knowing* or *ways of learning* overlapped but fell into four categories. The categories were: (1) five viewed it as *person*, (2) seven viewed it as *product*, (3) four viewed it as *position*, and (4) nine considered ways of knowing to be a *process*. Examination of textual documents by the Inuvialuit (individuals or Inuvialuit Regional Corporation boards and committees), the Government of the Northwest Territories or Government of Canada agencies or academic researchers revealed that these could be categorized in any of Warner's four categories. This is particularly evident when reviewing the notes from the 1996 Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) workshop held in Inuvik. CAFF, the working group of the Arctic Council, hosted a conference, the *CAFF Seminar on the Documentation and Application of Indigenous Knowledge, Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Canada November 15-17, 1996*. In my research, I have chosen to examine only one of the four categories, the process of IAL.

Conclusions from a few key textual sources are summarized below.

From approximately AD 1100 to the 1950s, the Inuvialuit had a predominantly oral culture. Cranton's (1994) statement below illustrates the difficulty of defining Inuvialuit Adult Learning.

Perspectives on adult learning have changed dramatically over the decades. Adult learning has been viewed as a process of being freed from the oppression of being illiterate, a means of gaining knowledge and skills, a way to satisfy learner needs, and a process of critical self-reflection that can lead to transformation. The

phenomenon of adult learning is too complex and difficult to capture in any one definition. (Cranton, 1994, p. 3)

For the purpose of this research, the term *Inuvialuit adult learning* is a combination of the terms *adult learning* and *ways of knowing*. Historically, Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) has been a holistic process of adaptation to their social and physical environment, primarily experiential, and one where “learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (Kolb, 1993, p. 155).

Within the community there was general agreement on what was expected of individuals in terms of their behaviour, how they conducted their lives and what the commonly held values of the community were. The spiritual beliefs of the people also clearly outlined how people should behave with other people as well as with the natural and supernatural world. As a result, everyone within the group knew that certain behaviours would not be tolerated, particularly if that behaviour threatened the peace, security and stability of the group. (Pauktuutit, 2006a, p. 9)

Concepts are both derived from and modified by an individual’s experience. “No two thoughts are ever the same, since experience always intervenes Learning is an emergent process whose outcomes represent only historical knowledge, not knowledge of the future” (Kolb, 1993, p. 144). At Inuvialuit *knowing places* (Collignon, 2006), which are the landscapes and environments in and around the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, the Inuvialuit use adult-learning skills for individual skill development and for maintenance of community-cultural ties (Kawalilak, 2004).

Inuvialuit, when gathering at pre-arranged seasonal meeting or knowing places (Collignon, 2006), shared their individual experiences and thereby created a collective knowledge base about a particular area. Over time, Inuvialuit trusted in the predictability and the reliability of their knowledge about a certain place so that in times of change, Inuvialuit would be only momentarily disgruntled by the failure of their knowing skills and knowledge base. “You used to see that old ice coming from the west side of Sachs. No more. Now between Victoria Island and Banks Island, there is open water. Shouldn’t be that way” (Kudlak, Sachs Harbour, 1999) (Krupnik, 2002, p. 109).

In their childhood years, the pattern of lifelong IAL is set (Government of the Northwest Territories, *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit - the Culture of the Inuvialuit*, 1991). Much of adult learning arose from evolving subsistence practices as well as from life-cycle roles (Tenant, 1993) that were historically assigned to them by the elders or leaders. However, in modern times, adult learning increasingly comes from their individual preferences, particularly due to their intersecting worldview experiences (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Thus, it can be said that IAL results from a dialectical process between “the changing or developing person and the changing and evolving society” (1993, p. 133). From the distant past and their historical bartering practices, Inuvialuit underwent new adult learning and this constant process, a form of recurrent education, resulted from the “effects of social, economic and technological change” (p. 121).

Historically, the Inuvialuit felt someone who thinks too much (*isumayuaq*) (Siglit Inuvialuit. Lowe, 1984b, p. 34) could go out of his (her) mind or go crazy (*malukalingayuq*) (Siglit Inuvialuit. Lowe, 1984b, p. 35; Jim Gordon, personal communication). Therefore as a process, thinking too much was frowned upon. Learning

was not important and study was not necessary, since one learned everything by experiential, observational methods. Since the future could not be controlled or influenced (*ayorama*) (Okpik, 1960), a present-time cosmology evolved, dealing with survival needs and enjoyment of life's immediate pleasures.

IAL arose from a need to know, where the thinking process dealt with the external and technical rather than internal knowledge. Thus, it was at the *knowing places* in their traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region that all Inuvialuit were expected to participate in continual learning or ways-of-knowing process. The expectation was that Inuvialuit would retain two essential adult qualities and undertake such adult learning that both qualities would be practised on an as-needed basis. Beginning in childhood, when the child's *ishuma* (mind) had begun to form (Nagy, 2006, p. 85. In Stern et al., 2006) and continuing through adult years into elder-hood (Collings, 2000, 2001), Inuvialuit, like other Inuit, were expected to develop qualities of nurturance (*uummarmiut, qaunagigaa*, meaning "take care of, look after") (Lowe, 1984a, p. 37). They also developed reason (*uummarmiut, ihuma*, meaning, "mind, thought") (Lowe, 1984a, p. 30). Inuvialuit were judged by the degree to which they possessed these two qualities. He is a good person to the extent that he is nurturant or attentive to meeting Maselow's basic physical needs of warmth, food and safety for himself and the people he meets. He never refuses a request for help "except on the grounds that his resources are limited and someone other than the petitioner is in greater need of help" (Briggs, 1968, p. 152). The person was expected to be emotionally supportive, "happy and kind, or at least not destructive, not hostile and not expressing unhappiness or anxiety" (1968, p. 152). As for the second quality, *ihuma*, the Inuvialuit would be considered adult to the degree that he was reasonable.

A calm and cheerful demeanour ... is indicative of a man who is governed by reason. Equanimity in the face of difficulties and frustrations [in terms of both the Arctic environment and social conditions] and moderation in all forms of self-expression were expected of the reasoned Inuvialuk [plural, Inuvialuit]. Such moderation of self-expression included the expression of positive feeling; voluntary conformance with approved modes of behaviour; a realistic, pragmatic view of the environment and skill ... and high regard for both one's own autonomy and for the autonomy of others are all signs that one is a person of sense and reason. (Briggs, 1968, p. 152)

In fact, Inuit practice has evolved so that Inuit use laughter and joking to “express and simultaneously deny hostility and fear” while “children are taught to convert anger into amusement ... laughter is highly valued as an indication that a person is a ‘happy person,’ one of peaceful and friendly disposition who is unthreatening because he does not feel hostile” (p. 153).

It can therefore be said that Inuvialuit Adult learning and relearning results from a blended cognitive, affective, spiritual and behavioural process by which the individual makes meaning and thereby develops perceptions (“Now that the polar bear skins were higher priced, they were harder to get.”), understanding and feelings about the world. This learning process varies from individual to individual because the process is anchored in the individual's inherited *nature* (genetic makeup, personality, psychological factors, motivation, and cognitive abilities and frameworks). This shapes his or her response to the *nurturing/ non-nurturing* formative experiences of earlier life-stages (childhood, adolescence, young adult hood, middle years and senior years). Such experiences result

from the learning-context controls of that individual's language, pre-dominant culture (traditional worldview of pre-1952 and/ or Euro-Canadian worldview 1952 to the present) and its respective interpretive rules (Inuvialuit *ayorama*, "Life can't be helped or changed." Euro-Canadian, "Better safe than sorry."). General characteristics of traditional Inuit *ways of knowing* are shown in Fig. 2 in contrast to the new approaches introduced by the western world. Prior to the arrival of western adult-learning methods, Inuit *ways of knowing* were characterized by the belief in interbeing (animal-man) mobility and that animals were messengers and therefore teachers. In addition, visions, dreams and intuition were important for learning and understanding the cognitive, affective and spiritual part of adult learning (Kawagley, 1990, p. 10).

1.5. My Story

My interest in the dissertation topic has been accumulating for the thirty-five years that I have lived at Inuvik, Northwest Territories, in Canada's western Arctic. During that time, my professional and personal life in this small town of 3,500 people situated on the eastern side of the Mackenzie River Delta has become entwined with the socio-political evolution of my neighbours, the Inuvialuit, who are historically described as Mackenzie Delta Thule (Morrison, 1983, p. 26). In my work as an educator and a businessperson, I have witnessed their success in on-the-job training initiatives. I have seen their participation in Continuing Education and formal Aurora Campus, Inuvik, programs, and have noted that such participation is indicative of their lifelong commitment to adult learning. Over time, I began to think about indigenous adult learning and, in particular, Inuvialuit *ways of knowing*.

All Inuit in Canada's circumpolar region have a long history of cultural transformation. They have retained their traditional values of sharing and cooperating while absorbing foreign influences. Similarly, as modernity encroached through the initiatives of government and multinational resource corporations, I observed that they have not just culturally survived but, in the case of the Inuvialuit, have thrived by incorporating emerging technologies.

The self-identified connection of the familial culture is directly related to adult learning and the adaptation of both ancient Inuit and modern Euro-Canadian technologies. This observation led me to pose the following research question: "What do we know about indigenous adult learning and the role of technology?" Specifically, how have past Inuvialuit *ways of knowing* been changed under the influence of more recent technology? The many stories my neighbours shared with me in Inuvik, confirmed by my review of taped oral histories of the Inuvialuit, suggested ways of pursuing this investigation.

Many northerners learned through stories from family and neighbours, as I did. The 1920s and 1930s were a golden era of wealth for many Inuvialuit. It was a time when Inuvialuit adopted the new trapping and trading technology and were able to enjoy a prosperity that is unknown today to many Inuvialuit. When the demand for white-fox furs died out in the late 1940s, Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) faded away, particularly after the last Cape Krusenstern private fur trader, Slim Semmler, relocated his family and business operations to the Mackenzie Delta, the heart of the traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region. In other words, the stories told me by some of my neighbours encouraged me to ask broad questions about technology and indigenous adult learning for the Inuvialuit,

who today consist of about 4,000 beneficiaries (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation representative, personal communication, 2008) spread across the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. I settled upon a study of the role of trading technologies in IAL at the long-abandoned trading site called Cape Krusenstern from 1935 to 1947. Tester, in his review of Rasmussen's *Dissolving Inuit Society, Through Education and Money* (2000) wrote, "These days, there are an inordinate number of people giving back to those from whom they took it away, all the wisdom of the elders and other so-called 'ordinary folk'" (Tester, 2001, p. 352). I have completed this research in that spirit of returning to the Inuvialuit (particularly former students, teaching colleagues and neighbours) something that has nearly been lost.

1.6. Summary

This study of the role of trade technology in Inuvialuit adult learning will explore a general hypothesis (1.1) with reference to the Inuvialuit at Cape Krusenstern, with insights gathered from the research questions (1.3) posed about Inuvialuit at the Inuinnait trading site during 1935-1947. The study is important (1.2) because it attempts to close a gap in knowledge and correct a shortcoming in methodology. While it has limitations (1.4), it adds to the body of knowledge about the continuing effect of western technology on northern peoples. Terms (1.5) such as *Inuvialuit adult learning* and *technology* measure this effect and its historical complexity (1.6), just as the author's experience (1.7) of life among the Inuvialuit reveals its human face.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The terms used in this study (1.4) provided a thematic schema for the literature review. The review revealed the gaps in content and method noted in my earlier discussion of the importance of the proposed research (1.2). Primary and secondary sources were surveyed together, without distinguishing formally between them, but the reference list attached to the dissertation indicates how these categories were applied to the literature in question.

2.1 Adult Learning

The literature examined some of the major theories of adult learning, including four major tenets relevant to the larger field of Indigenous adult learning. These were: (a) adult learning is ongoing and meaningful through adult life participation over the years; (b) it arises from increasing lifetime responsibilities, experience and confidence; (c) it leads to or creates new learning situations; and (d) it includes both the “I” and the “We” forms (Brookfield, 1987). From two key sources *Learning in Adulthood—a Major Guide* (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999), and the follow-up source *The New Update on Adult Learning Theory* (Merriam, 2001), I was able to analyze several major theories.

There are at least three ways in which all ... approaches are contributing to our understanding of adult learning. First, the adult learner is seen holistically ... is more than a cognitive machine processing information. [S]he comes with a mind, memories, conscious and subconscious worlds, emotions, imagination, and a physical body, all of which can interact with new learning. Secondly, the learning

process is much more than the systematic acquisition and storage of information. It makes sense of our lives, transforming not just what we learn but the way we learn, and it is absorbing, imagining, intuiting and learning informally with others. Finally, the context in which learning occurs has taken on greater importance. Not only can we see learning as situated in a particular context, but we can also examine how race, class, gender, power and oppression, and conceptions of knowledge and truth shape the context in the first place and the subsequent adult learning that occurs. (Merriam, 2001, p. 96)

Adult-learning theorists Merriam and Caffarella (1999) observed that there are “different orientations to learning, any of which might include numerous learning theories” (p. 263). In my opinion, Inuvialuit adult-learning theory is better understood when analyzed through social and situational learning, which suggests that it evolves from interaction and observation in a social context.

Bandura (1977) and Rotter (1954) argue for a social-learning orientation (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999, p. 264). They believe that the adult-learning process arises from “interaction with and the observations of others in a social context” (1999, p. 264). The teacher’s responsibility is one of modelling and guiding roles and conduct, and manifests in adult learning that possesses the characteristics of socialization, development of societal roles, and mentoring, all within a controlled, i.e., organizational or cultural framework. The locus of learning is on the networks or the interaction of person, behaviour and environment (p. 264).

The following authors argue in favour of the constructivist adult-learning orientation: Dewey (1933, 1938), Lave (1988), Piaget (1972), Vygotsky (1978), and

McLoughlin (2000). These theorists believe that the locus of learning is in the relationship between the individual and the environment, out of which meaning is constructed individually and collectively. This is in keeping with the larger constructivist framework, which states that there is “internal construction of reality by the individual” (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999, p. 264) through an experiential, often self-directed learning process that is often accompanied by reflective practice (1999, p. 264). A direct manifestation of social and situational learning is socialization and social participation through the guidelines of the larger group or culture.

Therefore, in my opinion, traditional Indigenous adult-learning theory can be said to be in alignment with social constructivism as the larger theory of learning. Inuit scholars Barnhardt (1993, 1999, 2002, & 2005) and Kawagley (1990, 1995, 1999, 2005) followed a trail set by another Indigenous scholar Smith (1999) and have produced works that explain the social and the situational adult-learning process of Inuit people. The evidence provided in these works is well grounded in their cultural experience and is derived from detailed research on the Inuit worldview. These authors identified a new aspect of Inuit adult learning that has developed from the merging of the traditional Inuit worldview with that of the western-European worldview. Since the 1950s and the emergence of modernity in Inuit communities, Inuit have increasingly been exposed to western ways of learning through, in the case of the Inuvialuit, Euro-Canadian organizational structures. The result is a merging of these new *learning* skills with the traditional indigenous ways of *knowing* (Warner, 2006). As a result of this intersection, a shift has occurred in the Inuit historical mental model that has led to the development of a common ground (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶ 7) of new indigenous knowledge.

2.2. Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) and Ways of Knowing

Although in alignment with the social learning and constructivist orientations referred to above, Inuit adult-learning theory has not yet been understood by non-Inuit, perhaps due to the limitations of language translation. Nagy's research on Inuvialuit family memories and oral histories led to one reviewer summarizing Nagy's conclusion as the Inuit possessing such a "sophisticated understanding of cognitive development that it was difficult for translators to find sufficiently precise words in English for Inuit concepts" (Stern, 2006, p. 10).

Putting aside the translation shortcomings, I began this research by exploring (a) Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) in the wider context of the Inuit worldview and (b) the resulting indigenous knowledge. The national organization for Canadian Inuit, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2004), published the *State of Inuit Learning in Canada* (2005) to provide direction for the Canadian Council on Learning, so that their Knowledge Centres would have a better understanding of the Inuit cultural context. Battiste's (2002) *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education—A Literature Review with Recommendations (Canada)*, in which Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is represented, pointed out how these wider views were reflected in the Canadian context. In their online article, *Indigenous Knowledge Systems/Alaska Native Ways of Knowing*, Alaskan Inupiat researchers Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) described a situation that, from my observation, is shared not just by circumpolar cultures but indigenous cultures worldwide.

Indigenous peoples throughout the world have sustained their specialized worldviews and associated knowledge systems for millennia, even while

undergoing major social upheavals as a result of transformative forces beyond their control. Many of the core values, beliefs and practices associated with those worldviews have survived and are beginning to be recognized as having an adaptive integrity that is as valid for today's generations as it was for generations past. (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, Abstract section, ¶ 6)

Thus, a blended set of IAL skills (traditional and western or Euro-Canadian) arose from the intersecting of the two worldviews (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶ 7), creating common ground between the two knowledge systems: the traditional Inuit and the contemporary Euro-Canadian. While Barnhardt and Kawagley felt that Inuit are increasingly living in the common ground (Fig. 2), Collignon (2006, p. 207) believed that the Inuvialuit of Holman move back and forth between the two situations. Ellen and Harris (2000) observed that the indigenous adult-learning process is one in which “knowledge is orally transmitted rather than written, experiential rather than abstract, and empirical rather than theoretical; this knowledge is constantly changing, not static, and is retained and reinforced by constant repetition; an essential component of this type of knowledge is that it is place-based and local” (p. 5). Hoppers (2003) provided further insight into this blended process, noting:

Indigenous knowledge is thus the totality of knowledge and practices used in the management of the socioeconomic, spiritual and ecological facets of life. It can be cosmopolitan knowledge that is anchored in western cosmology, western scientific discoveries, economic preferences and philosophies. (2003, ¶ 3)

Reflecting that learning is derived from and modified by an individual's experience, Tennant (1993) stated, “No two thoughts are ever the same, since experience

always intervenes Learning is an emergent process whose outcomes represent only historical knowledge, not knowledge of the future” (p. 144). For this reason, Inuvialuit tend to speak of *knowing* and *knowledge* about a local area, but are reluctant to generalize as being applicable knowledge to the larger Inuvialuit settlement region (Frank Cockney, personal communication, 1987).

From the literature reviewed so far, it has become obvious that IAL consisted of two intertwined strands: (a) individual skills (i.e., vocational training as per Inuit gender roles), and (b) learning for maintaining community, cultural ties and values. From Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women’s Association of Canada and their publications (2004), particularly *The Inuit Way* (2006a), we gain insight into the social control that was used as part of community and cultural learning and bonding. The learning process in both strands was supervised and structured by adults, beginning with the grandparents, but soon included the authority of community leaders and elders. While there was no formal individual control method such as a boss, collective control determined that Inuvialuit would learn proper behaviour and, if need be, abandon things learned that did not meet with the approval of the community. According to Pauktuutit (2006a), the most effective social-control methods of shaping adult learning were predominantly (but not solely) used by women. They were the practices of ignoring, mocking, shaming and gossiping about the person in order to bring about relearning or new learning. To exert their social control, Inuit men were also known to gossip but historically they used fistfights, wrestling and song duels (Pokiak, 1991; Pauktuutit, 2006a, p. 12). Gossip among the Inuvialuit was a form of adult learning in that the person learned important day-to-day information. For other Inuit, gossip was also an adult learning process (Warner, 2006).

Gossip was both process and product, with the latter not necessarily based on the truth. Inuit, when gossiping about a person having done such and such, also knew that “the alleged misbehaviour did not necessarily even have to take place. In fact, the person gossiping might be just as guilty of acting inappropriately as the accused person, and had simply deflected attention and thereby avoided detection” (Pauktuutiit, 2006, p. 10).

The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) publications *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit—The Culture of the Inuvialuit* (1991) and *Inuuqatugiit* (1996) are two primary-source documents on Inuit learning and Inuit education. Critics may argue that these publications may contain a political rather than an academic agenda. However, I believe we can have confidence in these documents, because at the time, the Government of the Northwest Territories did not have on its staff any native or non-native people who could produce these publications. As a result, they went out into the Northwest Territories, then a land mass of one and a third million square miles with 43 settlements, and recruited elders and community leaders to contribute the cultural details not easily observable to non-Inuit. I have been the recipient of many personal communications from the Inuvialuit, as well as central and eastern Arctic Inuit who co-authored both documents.

The key concepts of IAL are established early, when children are given skill training for adult roles and introduced to essential Inuvialuit values and processes. These two documents are important because they describe the basic values and principles of learning shared by all Inuit.

Two other primary documents have been created by the Northwest Territories eastern Arctic neighbour, the Government of Nunavut. The *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)* (2005) describes the six principles of traditional Inuit knowledge or Inuit

Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). Founded on customs, beliefs, values and language, the IQ principles are:

Pijitsirarniq (concept of serving)

Aajiiqatigiingniq (consensus, decision making)

Pilimmaksarniq (concept of skills and knowledge acquisition)

Qanuqtuurungnarniq (concept of being resourceful to solve problems)

Piliriqatigiingniq (concept of collaborative relationship or working together for a common purpose)

Avatimik Kamattiarniq (concept of environmental stewardship).

IQ has been described by today's Inuit as being a "living technology ... rationalizing thought and action, a means of organizing tasks and resources" (J.Arnakak, Nanatsiaq News, August 25, 2000).

Another Government of Nunavut publication, *Nunavut Adult Learning Strategy* (2006), describes the types of adult learning necessary for Nunavut Territory residents, the Nunavutmiut, to participate in their evolving economic future.

Yet another two primary sources originate from the Northwest Territories' western neighbour, Alaska. First, from the Rural Alaska Community Action Program Inc., *Alaskan Native Knowledge and Ways of Knowing Workshop, Sept 13, 14, 1994* and the Inupiat's Commission on History, Culture and Language publication, *Ways of Survival, August 9-13, Commission on Inupiat History* (1982). They provide a comprehensive description of similarities and differences between the Inuit (traditional worldview) and the new western worldview.

The Inuvialuit organizations have been a source of publications, all of which provided related or casual references to adult learning. To date, no one publication focusing exclusively on IAL has been published. However, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), through sponsorship of community conservation plans for the six Inuvialuit (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1993) communities, and the Inuvialuit Social Development Fund (ISDP) have published documents that have provided rich, first-person anecdotes on the Inuvialuit learning process. One major source was the ISDP-sponsored publication *Qikiqtaruk (Herschel Island) Cultural Study: English transcripts and translations of interviews 1 to 35* (Inuvialuit Social Development Fund, 1991). Some publications that proved to be helpful in my research were the *Preliminary Study of Kitigaryuit Oral History* (1996), the *Inuvialuit Curriculum History and Culture—Teacher Resource, Grade 1 (draft)*, and *Yukon North Slope Cultural Resources Survey* (Nagy, 1992a, b, c; 1994, 1999, 2000).

Several Inuvialuit authors published works that provided historical facts and information about Inuvialuit beliefs, customs and values, all of which provided more detailed information about both the process and the product of IAL.

The Inuvialuit researcher and historian Abe Okpik (1960, 1970, 1972), in commenting on the book *Ayorama* (DeCoccola & King, 1955) written by the Roman Catholic priest Father R. DeCoccola, stated that the book provides a comprehensive analysis of the Inuinnaït use of *ayorama* and the manner in which it affects Inuit adult thinking and learning. Based on his experience and authenticated fact derived from 12 years among the Inuinnaït, it contains anecdotes about the role *ayorama* plays in the adult decision-making process. The reality was that for most Inuit, day-to-day existence, once

described by an Inuit elder as being “a long arduous journey on a thin [empty] stomach,” consisted of a diet of souls. This statement refers to an Inuit paradox representing their relationship with the animals. Since all living things possess a soul or spirit, and are dependent on each other for survival, is it possible for animals to be spiritual equals and yet one’s daily bread? (John Huston, personal communication, 2006). Ever respectful of the equality of all living things and the burden of what it means when one kills animals with souls like their own, Inuit felt restrained in the adult decision-making process. Their experience meant that much of life was beyond their control, so they adopted the viewpoint of *ayorama*. For Inuit, many life events or circumstances could not be forestalled, harsh as some may have been, due to *ayorma* or life. “Can’t be helped; life is like that (literally, because I am helpless)” (DeCoccola, 1955, p. 314). Generations of Inupiat, Inuvialuit and Inuinait examined the quandary of moral imperatives such as a diet of souls and the question of undertaking new adult learning to meet safety and survival needs. They realized that while they would occasionally need to blame themselves for laziness, lack of courage or an unwillingness to undergo new adult learning, most of the time life has an inevitable destiny. Some actions or new adult learning is considered unnecessary, almost worthless for the trying, since from time immemorial, a person is helpless because of *ayorama*, “life is like that.”

Publications by other academics based on interviews with Inuvialuit or resulting from joint participation (Participatory Action Research or PAR) with Inuvialuit researchers, historians or elders provided valuable tangential insights into the Inuvialuit learning process. I review some that provide the most relevant insight into the adult-learning process.

At *knowing places* (landscapes and environments), Inuvialuit used adult-learning skills for individual skill development in subsistence hunting, fishing and trapping lifestyles (Alunik, 2003; Pokiak, 1991) as well as for the maintenance of community and cultural ties (Kawalilak, 2004). Collignon (2006) has provided the most insight into the *knowing-places* process. For generations, Inuvialuit practised adult-learning skills that they had learned from family, community leaders and elders. Commenting on Collignon's work on Inuvialuit use of space and time, Stevenson said, "Collignon makes the claim that place names, rather than being good for travel, are good to think with" (Stern & Stevenson, 2006, p. 18). This refers to the Inuvialuit practice (like other Inuit) of remembering place names and accompanying stories that make up Inuvialuit collective knowledge. This type of embodied cognition (Cowart, 2008), as a learning process, "is founded on a very high sense of context and relations where space and [social] networks are indeed more important than places" (Stern et al., 2006, p. 18).

Collignon noted that the Inuvialuit at Ulukhaktok (Holman) have "a new geographic knowledge system that stems from information gathered about three different types of space: (a) today's settlement, (b) the ancient territory of the various Inuinait groups, and (c) the bright world of the south" (Collignon, 2006, p. 207). This geographic knowledge system, constructed through traditional adult-learning application, is "characterized by discontinuities and a certain unreality" (2006, p. 207). She explained, "[The] three different types of space ... each reflect a different spatial dimension of the two faces of contemporary Inuit identity: the image in the mirror (the Inuk), and the image on the passport (the Canadian)" (p. 207). Reflecting such a two-worldview intersecting reality, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2007), the national Inuit association, has

selected a motto that represents this situation: “First Canadians, Canadians first” (p. 207). “Inuinait today live not *between* the two worlds but *in* two worlds—the land and the urban setting of the settlements—not simultaneously but alternately moving from one to the other as they choose” (p. 207). From a western cosmological viewpoint, the situation may be considered unstable but the Inuit consider this to be the best possible way to function in the present world.

Written accounts provided by the following Inuvialuit citizens and authors provided insider insights into the Inuvialuit *way of knowing*. Nuligak (Metayer, 1966) grandfather to the Cockney clan, and Alice Masak French (1977, 1992), member of the Smith clan, were the first Inuvialuit to publish books on their culture and customs. In more recent times, Edwin Dean Kolousok (Alunik, 2003) and elder Ishmael Alunik (2003) have also published information relating to Inuvialuit history that explains adult learning and the role of trade technology.

A list of Arctic researchers whose publications contributed to my research are described below.

Collings (2001) in *Aging and Life Course Development in an Inuit Community*, published the results of his 38 interviews in the Inuvialuit community of Holman, gathered as part of his research into Inuit life stages. He found a connection between life-stage accomplishment and adult learning. In spite of the community transition to modernity through the media and exposure to Euro-Canadian institutions in schools and the workplace, Collings found that “younger Inuit continue to define life stages and perceive the structure of the life course in a manner consistent with that of their elders”

(Collings, 2000, Abs, p. 111). Collings' findings from his 38 interviews with Inuvialuit residents indicated that:

They perceive that entrance into new life stages, and thus the markers of one's age, are based upon the natural processes of growth and senescence, and upon one's social maturity, culminate in the development of *ihuma*, knowledge or wisdom, which defines adulthood and the development of which continues into Elderhood. (2000, p. 111)

In another article, Collings (2001) wrote about a single Inuvialuit life-stage, old age, finding that the key to a successful old age was connected to IAL and knowledge transfer. He concluded, "The individual's attitudes in late life, and in particular, their willingness to transmit their accumulated wisdom and knowledge to their juniors, are the critical determinants of whether an elder is viewed as having a successful old age" (Collings, 2001, Abs, p. 127).

Klassen (1994), in consultation with Inuvialuit researchers Camellia Grey, Billy Day (2002), Joey Amos and Jonah Nekamayak, published *Inuvialuit Culture and the Rules of Traditional Times*. She concluded that the Inuvialuit learning process for children and adults contained a number of features: (a) the ethic of non-interference, (b) the ethic that anger and other negative emotions should not be shown, and in times of stress or unsureness, (c) a conservation-withdrawal tactic is necessary. The key to understanding the Inuvialuit learning process is realizing that learning occurs in life stages or lifecycles, therefore some learning is only possible if the time is right. Klassen noted Briggs's (1970, p. 112) observation that Inuit give their children considerable freedom, and trust that their children will grow and acquire adult characteristics when the

time is right (Klassen, 1994, p. 39). Klassen's research joins that of other researchers on Inuit behaviour and attitudes associated with learning, confirming that the Inuit-preferred "sequence for learning adult skills involved the use of cognitive, affective and psychomotor functions simultaneously" (Harrison, 1981, p. 173).

Nagy's (1999, 2000, & 2006) research assisted the Inuvialuit to gather and document individual oral memories, place and family histories. She found that some elders, when translating from Inuvialuktun to English, used the Siglitun word *ilitchuri* or the Inuinnaqtun words *qauyi* and *qauyima*. These words refer to the time when their memories first began. Nagy (2006) stated that in this blended time and place learning and knowing process, the elders were using both cognitive and chronological markers. These word bases are "translated in dictionaries by 'become aware, become conscious, come to senses' but also as 'learn, know'" (Stern, 2006, p.81). For Inuit character traits or lifestyle decisions that people, through gossip and discussion, could not understand, and which were different from the Inuit norm of thinking and behaving, they were tolerant. Qitsualik (1999) stated, "We asked my uncle He wouldn't say. We finally left it alone, figuring it was some silly personal thing we couldn't understand—his own *isuma*, or sacred inner mind" (Qitsualik, 2007, ¶ 15).

Briggs's (1979) research provided invaluable insight into how the adult-learning process is affected by uncertainty. In another publication, Briggs (1968) described nine emotional concepts often found in Inuit expression (affection, kindness and gratitude, happiness, hostility and aggression, humour, fear, anxiety and loneliness). Briggs (1968) observed that an understanding of the Inuit idea of reason, *ihuma*, is essential in understanding Inuit emotional expression.

In terms of the social control of inappropriate emotional behaviour, Briggs noted the use of *ihuma* in two ways.

First, the person responding to an offence may appeal to the offender's *ihuma*, in an attempt to get him to reform, and secondly, he will probably rely on his own *ihuma* to help him control his irritation at the offensive behaviour. (Briggs, 1968, pp. 139-140)

Briggs observed the following behaviour intended to appeal to the offender's *ihuma*, with the result of changing his ways: (a) direct and indirect criticism (the former rarely used on adults), (b) praise (only occasionally used on adults), and (c) substitution of morally superior behaviour by claims such as, "It seems as though you have no *ihuma*" (Briggs, 1968, p. 141). A primary form of Inuit adult learning in response to an offender occurred when the person controlled his behaviour, or learned new behaviour, by using his own *ihuma* to minimize an emotional outburst or too overt a public response to the offender.

Three primary methods of self-control were:

- (a) Laughter, including amused gossip and imitation of the unwelcome behaviour behind the back of the offender;
- (b) Being matter-of-fact, that is, neutral-sounding statements to the effect that the unpleasant situation "can't be helped" or *ajuqnag*; and
- (c) Practical repair of the difficulty, such as repairing its effects and not saying anything to the offender. (1968, p. 141)

In this work, Briggs described yet another Inuit-specific trait of adult learning, their tolerance of ignorance or inability. Rather than blaming or holding the person

accountable, a feature of many adult-learning situations was that Inuit would feel “feelings of protective concern” (p. 150) towards the helpless or the ignorant.

In other research, Briggs observed two contextual or environmental features of adult learning—the person’s ambivalence and/or fear (Briggs, 1979, p. 36). She noted that both could arise out of self-doubt in an ability to control, through existing skills and knowledge, the many aspects of the natural social environment. This lack of control is never more obvious than the danger that Inuit might feel in travelling through the Arctic or in the tight collective social control of the Inuit model where individual behaviour was abandoned or learned through a “complex set of values, beliefs and taboos” (Pauktuutit, 2006a, p. 9). It has been said that Inuvialuit were once fearful of strangers and always felt fearful of strange spirits. Inuvialuit learned to be fearful because in earlier times their elders had taught them that bad things, if looked at or thought too much about, would come to visit the person doing the watching and thinking. In 1985, Elder Emma Dick said, “Even here in the old folks’ home, there are some people still afraid to watch TV, afraid of the things they’d see in case it comes to them” (Loreen, *Inuvialuit*, March, 1985, p. 11).

Inuvialuit researcher and artist Loreen-Wulf (2000) documented the Inuvialuit approach to competition, and the way it shapes the adult-learning process in her coverage of the history of the Arctic Games and interview with one of its founders, Inuvialuit coach and educator Edward Lennie (Committee of Original People’s Entitlement, 1978). Illustrative of Brigg’s research on the Inuit and play, Arctic sports (one-foot highkick, the airplane, knuckle hop, arm pull, and muskox push, to name a few) evolved within the cooperative values Inuit have espoused since the early times. However, the Inuit use of

competition is unusual because in the playing of games, as in life, an individual's competitive drive was aimed inward and a person tried to better his last attempt (Edward Lennie, personal communication, 1973). This is best seen in today's Arctic sports competitions when the non-Inuvialuit broadcaster refers to the western model of gold, silver or bronze performances (and everyone else is a loser), and whether the competitor won or wanted to win a gold. Meanwhile, the Inuvialuit competitors quietly talk among themselves as each one modestly reviews his last inwardly directed attempt at competition, remembering the lessons of their Inuvialuit mentor and coach Edward Lennie. To illustrate the interconnection between learning and living with all Creation (Rural Alaska Community Action Program, 1994, p. 6) referred to earlier, Lennie stated:

You can't say that the games came from here, or the games came from there.

They were passed on from generation to generation. Maybe it's a good thing to say that when the Good Lord came down to put us on the earth, the games were there. They found them. They were passed on from generation to generation.

Wherever the Inuit came from, that's where it all started.

All these sports just fit into one life story and it's hard to explain. Our style of sports is to be good at every little thing and if somebody beats you, you just go over there and shake his hand. It means there's somebody better than you. That's our style of sport. You've got to be thinking all of the time. Every part of your body, even your mind, has to be working. A guy that moves slowly doesn't have to be fast, as long as he thinks fast. The best way I can explain it is just to keep playing the games. (Northern Games Committee, 2000, p. 6)

In a society where the struggle between humankind and nature was apparent, the collective “all men together, sharing and cooperating” definition of man assured survival. In light of this, one did not take the risk of offending or competitively “beating” anyone in sport. The other person was your neighbour whom you had to depend upon for hunting, fishing or whaling chores and, in times of need, his food surplus.

Another Inuvialuit researcher and author, Pokiak (1991), has written on the history of Inuvialuit sports competitions and their importance in developing individual skills, attitude and endurance for their subsistence activities, but in the context of friendly rivalry and play. Since control is a variable that may or may not be achieved, Inuvialuit used play as part of the learning process. “It is not only the values that become emotionally invested ... it is play itself” (Briggs, 1979, p. 36). Briggs explained the connection between danger, lack of control and play, stating that it arises out of a central aspect of Inuit experiential adult learning—the tendency to test oneself. For Inuit:

The experiences through which important and dangerous things are learned are forever associated with the [Inuit] values ... partly because play itself—as distinct from the values associated with it—is both gratifying (because it is fun, safe, creative of trust) and dangerous (because it creates mistrust and generates fears; in other words, play itself is conflictful. Play becomes emotionally invested also because, as we have seen, it is one of the major ways of coping with the dangers learned, a way of giving unallowable feelings expression, and at the same time, a way of keeping them safely controlled and showing to oneself and the world that they are controlled. (Briggs, 1979, p. 37)

An aspect of sharing is the consequence of non-giving, the lesson of which began in early childhood but influences adult learning.

If the child does not give, she will be threatened with unlovability and abandonment—and she will feel vulnerable to those threats because she knows she wants not to give, or not to nurture; so she will give—perhaps not the shirt but other things—and both she and the recipient will perceive the gift as valuable precisely because it was hard to make. (Briggs, 1979, p. 35)

The sharing of goods did not extend to the sharing of one's personal feelings. As explained elsewhere in this research, the Inuvialuit possessed a minimized self-esteem. Exploration of an individual's needs was discouraged because the Inuvialuit model consists of a kind of social esteem where community survival takes precedence; adult learning was expected to respect that situation. This is in keeping with the social learning orientation, advocated by Piaget (1972) and Vygotsky (1978), who viewed the learning process as being situated in communities of practice (social context) for the primary purpose of modelling roles and behaviour set by the elders and Inuvialuit leaders (Pokiak, 1991, 1996). "We look to our past traditions so we know who we are today" (Inuvialuit beneficiary, personal communication, 2001). I have observed that situated learning within the family and the culture has historically been the norm for Indigenous northerners, Inuvialuit and Gwich'in alike. The intrusion of modern ways into the Arctic social environment, with the western focus on organizational institutions (workplace or higher education) which promote success founded on individualism (Mclean, 1994, 1997), self-esteem and independence from any group or social context other than the classroom or the workplace, has forced moments of distress and indecision on Indigenous individuals.

Academics and researchers who possess a humanist orientation (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999) believed that a key component of the successful adult-learning process is for the individual to develop healthy self-esteem and work towards self-actualization (Maslow). These academics have great difficulty understanding the equivalent in social learning: social esteem.

Loreen-Wulf described how individual emotional expression, or an examination of the motive for another's emotional state, was discouraged by Inuvialuit elders. For example, in the questioning way she had acquired at school in southern Canada, she was pestering her mother for an explanation of some family events. Before long, her mother authoritatively ended the conversation with a cautionary statement to her daughter, "Don't look into my heart" (Loreen-Wulf, personal communication, 1986). Reflecting the Inuvialuit perspective on Maslow's basic hierarchy of needs, Briggs observed that for most Inuit, having achieved basic physical, safety and belonging needs, "lovability ... is an issue ... for example, possessive behaviour [through gossip in knowing what others are doing], a sensitivity to rejection, and a pervasive concern with loneliness" (Briggs, 1979, p. 34).

The work of Condon and Damas with Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït in the central Arctic provided me with profound comment into the adult-learning process in their area. Condon's *The Northern Copper Inuit—A History* (1996) gave details such as the names of Siglit Inuvialuit trappers and traders who travelled and traded in the territory of their kin, as well as names for the Inuvialuit Kangiryuarmiut who frequented other central Arctic trading sites such as Read Island and Coppermine. Damas (1988a, 1988b) in

Arctic Migrants—Arctic Villagers (2002) provided information about Inuvialuit trade-technology application in the central Arctic region.

While I reviewed many graduate dissertations, my research was enhanced by the data derived specifically from two doctoral dissertations: Usher's *Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine-Holman Region, NWT* (1965) and Morrison's *Thule Culture in Western Coronation Gulf, NWT* (1983). They provided numerical and textual data that confirmed the historical significance of trade-technology application in Inuvialuit culture.

During my lifetime among northerners I have been privy to many personal communications with my Inuvialuit neighbours about IAL, some of which I describe in this research. However, in support of my personal communications, I have identified four organizations whose publications of Inuvialuit oral memories and history explained the Inuvialuit perspective on learning: the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC), the Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP), the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) Language Projects, and Parks Canada, Government of Canada research texts. Documents from these four sources contained first-person statements and anecdotes that described IAL and the role played by (re)learning in cultural roles and fur-trade-technology application.

Textual artefacts from the independent fur traders, Slim and Agnes Semmler (Cape Krusenstern Furs Journal and Post Expenses ledger) acted as primary-data sources. Additional references to Inuvialuit trade transactions were found in the Hudson's Bay Company manager's daily journal for the Read Island trading post (Hudson's Bay

Company, 1938). Published memoirs by two other fur traders (Klengenberg, 1932; Godsell, 1938) increased my understanding of the 1935-1947 period.

Other textual sources were the journals and writings of both early aboriginal (Murdoch, 1892) and contact-traditional explorers (Stefansson, 1909, 1913, 1914a, 1914b, 1921, 1941; Diamond Jenness, 1921, 1922, 1928, 1946; Rasmussen, 1908, 1932), and researchers (Mathiassen, 1930; Ostermann, 1942).

Several secondary sources provided data and commentary on 1935-1947, giving the broader socio-economic picture of Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït in the central Arctic. The following researchers were consulted: Collignon (2006), Collings (2000, 2001), Condon (1987, 1996, 1993), Damas (1988a, 1988b, 2002), Fossett (2001), Freeman (1976, 1992), Hart, 1994, 2001, Hart and Amos (2004), Koebberling (1986), Langdon (1984), Langdon and Worl (1981), Morrison (1983, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2000, 2003), (1995, 2000), Nagy (1992 a, 1992b, 1992c, 1994, 1999, 2000, 2006), Stern (1999, 2000, 2006) and Usher (1965, 1971a,b,c,d & e, 1973, 1981). These and numerous other articles, government documents, etc., were consulted for the details of Inuvialuit learning in the context of behaviour, technology, customs, beliefs, and taboos, with some sources occasionally referring to adult learning.

I was able to locate only a few government publications, an important one being a Department of the Interior, Government of Canada report entitled, *Canada's Western Arctic: Report on Investigations in 1925-26, 1928-29 and 1930* (Burwash, 1931). This document provided some simple data on the Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) trading site and its residents. Other government documents, some of which contained specific data about contemporary IAL, were located in the in-house library collections of Aurora Campus,

Aurora College, Inuvik. The in-house libraries of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), particularly its subsidiary departments, the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (Jacobson, 2005), the Joint Secretariat for Co-Management Resource Boards (2006), and the Inuvialuit Communications Society (2007) provided a wealth of information. On the broader topic of Inuit adult learning and fur-trade technology, publications by the national Inuit organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (Kanatami, 2004, 2005, 2007; Scace, 1975) and Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women's Association of Canada (2004, 2006a, b) proved to be valuable sources.

Some secondary sources discussed Inuit adult learning as both product and process. The following publications were important in my research. Brigg's *Aspect of Inuit Value Socialization* (1979) and *Utkuhiksalingmiut Eskimo Emotional Expression* (1968) described values, emotions and their effect on the Inuit way of learning. Koenig's (1981) *Cognitive Styles of Indian, Métis, Inuit and Non-Natives of Northern Canada and Alaska and Implications for Education* gave a quantitative data analysis of Inuit cognitive style. Harrison's *Informal Learning among Yupik Eskimos: An Ethnographic Study of One Alaskan Village* (1981) was revealing in its examination of which village members used problem solving processes, modelling and observing, verbal instruction, reading, memorization, and the results when learning took place in an emotionally supportive setting. Harrison identified one Inuit-specific sequence of processes that was preferred for children who were learning adult skills. She described it as follows:

Yupik children learned to expect a particular sequence of events to occur when they were learning adult skills. Whether or not the sequence occurred depended upon the way in which the child responded after he or she observed someone else

in a given activity. The child's attention was attracted by the activity, and the child chose whether or not to demonstrate interest in learning that activity. That choice was based on what the child had already learned about appropriate subjects for learning. If a child did not demonstrate interest, then the sequence terminated. Adults did not offer instruction. If a child demonstrated interest in learning, something inappropriate to his or her sex role and age, the sequence would terminate in that instance, too. An adult would not be likely to offer instruction in an inappropriate task. (Harrison, 1981, p. 174)

Arctic researchers Richard Condon and Pamela Stern, in *Gender-Role Preference, Gender Identity, and Gender-Socialization among Contemporary Inuit Youth* (1993) described how Inuit gender roles influence adult learning. Stern's *Learning To Be Smart: An Exploration of the Culture of Intelligence in a Canadian Inuit Community* (1999) and her *Subsistence: Work and Leisure* (2000) described adult learning related to community and cultural roles.

The consistency of anecdotal accounts ranging from first contact with Euro-Canadian culture to the present day, and from the Asiatic Eskimos in Siberia to the Kalaallit, the Greenland Eskimos (Briggs, 1968, p. 5) provided a solid foundation in understanding the features of IAL.

In analysing the above literature review, many of the items provided significant in completing the larger jigsaw puzzle of IAL. However, Briggs (1968, 1970 & 1979), the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), *Inuuqatigiit - The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* (1996), Klassen (1994), Nagy (2006) and Barnhardt & Kawagley's (2005) works that contributed the most. My own work will add data that support

Barnhardt and Kawagley's position on overlapping Inuit and western worldviews and the creation of common ground. Further, my work will provide firsthand statements by Inuvialuit about the respectful process of 'Don't ask, don't tell' and as well as the food, family and social connections context of IAL.

2.3. Trade Technologies and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL)

To understand how adult learning was changed by trade technologies, I used an integrative (Cooper, 1984) approach by summarizing the themes of the individual components: trade and adult learning. With an Inuvialuit cultural and southern Canadian scientific perspective, Weihs and Pokiak (1991) examined the link between these concepts.

One should remember that the Inuvialuit have been applying and adapting outside technology for generations. After European contact, they were introduced to a wide range of technology, which they learned to use and adapt to their purpose. The new physical technology was introduced through new social systems, to which the Inuvialuit also had to adapt. These were commercial systems introduced by fur traders and whalers, legal systems dealing with wildlife management, and the different religious, political and educational systems (Weihs & Pokiak, 1991, p. 20).

Apart from Weihs and Pokiak's work, I was unable to find any research linking adult learning and trade technology, although secondary sources from the research publications on archaeology, anthropology and renewable resource management on both Inuvialuit and Inuinait touched on aspects of this study. In circumpolar indigenous nations, little or no peer-reviewed research had been done on adult learning in the

community. References to the role of technology centred primarily on implements, toys, tools, and fashions introduced to their society. To strengthen my research on the Inuvialuit and for a wider Inuit perspective, I explored the literature on Inuit occupancy in the other three Arctic geopolitical entities: the United States, Greenland, and Russia (Freeman, Vol. I, 1976).

The work of archaeologists was useful in establishing trading as a historical practice for all Inuit. For the Inuvialuit in the Inuinnaït territory in the Coronation Gulf region, the practice could be traced back to their Thule ancestors some 800 years ago. Thule proved to have Alaskan origins and within the last thousand years, it had flourished across the North American Arctic from the Bering Strait to Greenland (Morrison, 1983, p. 2). As proof of the trade in ideas, Morrison (1983) stated, “The culture of the historic Alaskan and Greenlandic Eskimo is at least largely of Thule origin has never been seriously questioned” (p. 2). A useful publication summarizing the archaeological finds at Cape Krusenstern is found in Morrison’s doctoral research titled, *Thule Culture in Western Coronation Gulf, NWT* (1983). It contains the results of his archaeological excavation at Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) as well as another nearby site, Clachan. The findings indicated that the two sites had been occupied by western Inuit people. At Clachan, two well-defined components were found—an earlier, possibly Thule occupation (onslaught of Little Ice Age making maritime harvesting difficult and forcing abandonment) and a later Mackenzie Inuit occupation (1992, p. 159).

Another archaeological source document is Stevenson’s (1992) *Two Solitudes: South Amundsen Gulf History and Prehistory, NWT* in which he reported:

Given the lack of evidence for the continuity between Thule and later Mackenzie assemblages in the south Amundsen Gulf region, and between Thule and Copper Inuit in the Coronation Gulf, we must assume that classic Thule culture, as represented by the Clachan phase, came to an end around the middle of the 15th century. As the disappearance of the Thule culture from these gulfs appears to coincide with the onset of the Little Ice Age, we must also entertain the possibility that changes in local environmental conditions resulted in the abandonment of these regions. (Stevenson, 1992, p. 159)

For the Cape Krusenstern area, Stevenson (1992) stated:

Unable to maintain their maritime-oriented mode of production, they left. It is possible that some groups migrated west towards the [Mackenzie] Delta, exercising social rights and obligations with groups with which they had been in contact for 250 years. (p. 129)

Stevenson (1992) wrote, “Soapstone and copper, of course, would have been the major attractions that drew Mackenzie Inuit to the south Amundsen Gulf and Coronation Gulf regions” (p. 157) noting that for the Inuvialuit:

The locations of these deposits are a matter of common knowledge in Paulatuk ... we would anticipate the earliest sites involved in the Berigian trade network to be associated with these deposits, and perhaps slate, as well, which also occur ... [and] at these sources, we might expect to find evidence of specialized procurement and manufacture. (p. 158)

Presumably the latter was not only for their own use, but for trade by the Inuvialuit for other goods. Commented on the same Inuvialuit trading practice and

speaking of the Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït sub-tribe Kangiryuarmiut, Morrison stated, “The soapstone trade may have been the first step in the rise to prominence of the Kangiryuarmiut of western Victoria Island, one of two [Inuinnaït] Copper Inuit groups that appear to have been directly involved” (Morrison, 1991, p. 239).

Other reports describe the trading practices of the Mackenzie Inuit, the predecessors of the Inuvialuit. Bett’s (2007) *The Mackenzie Inuit Whale Bone Industry: Raw Material, Tool Manufacture, Scheduling and Trade* is a report on how archaeological findings at McKinley Bay enabled the conclusion that:

Bowhead bone reduction at McKinley Bay focused on ribs, which were traversely worked into large sections ... rib sections were treated as blanks and performs for the production of large durable tools, such as harpoon heads, adze sockets, mattock blades, and picks ... (and the) intensive whale bone reduction at McKinley Bay was part of a broader gearing-up strategy focused on the manufacture and repair of sleds and harpoons needed for the late winter migration and spring seal hunt. More generally, because the whale bone industry was intimately related to the bowhead hunt, it provides fundamental insights about key aspects of coastal whaling societies, such as social organization, re-distribution and inter-territorial trade. (Betts, 2007, p. 129)

Inuvialuit, like other Inuit tribes, traded wherever they went in the Arctic Regions. Publications on Inuvialuit culture with comments on trading have been published independently by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (*Inuvialuit History & Culture, Teacher Resource Guide—Grades 1-6* (1998). They provide an insider’s view of the contact-traditional era. In addition, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation has worked

jointly with both the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Government of the Yukon to produce more detailed reports. The result of their partnership was a publication containing both historical and anecdotal oral memories by Inuvialuit about the application and significance of trading technology for the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s.

Entitled *Stories about Herschel Island—Qikiqtaruk* (1992), representatives of the Heritage Branch, Renewable Resources, Government of the Yukon and the Inuvialuit Social Development Program, ISDP (1991) compiled it for Yukon Park staff. Dealing with the same time and the same issue of trade-technology application, this document provides rich anecdotal and statistical information about the white-fox fur trade at Herschel Island, NWT. A publication by the Inuit Cultural Institute entitled *Ajurnarmat - The Hunting and Trapping Lifestyle* (Inuit Cultural Institute, 1978) gave a first-person Inuit account of the hunting and trapping lifestyle at Baker Lake, Coral Harbour, and Eskimo Point, providing excellent anecdotal evidence on “contemporary problems arising from southern-induced changes to their traditional life-style” (Inuit Cultural Institute, Autumn 1978, p. 86).

In the fields of anthropology, history and natural resources, numerous other publications give casual or cursory comment on Inuit adult learning and Inuit trading technologies. Relatively few discuss the Inuvialuit or western Mackenzie Inuit in the Coppermine geographical region. However, research on the traditional and contact-traditional era in the Inupiat (Alaska), Mackenzie Eskimo (Canada) and Inuinait territories provided valuable reference material on Inuit trading practices in general. Particularly valuable were the works by Jenness (1922), MacInnis (1932), Murdoch

(1892); Petitot (Hohn, 1983); Mathiassen (1930), Rasmussen (1932; Ostermann, 1942); and Stefansson (1909, 1913, 1914a, 1914b, 1919, 1921, 1941).

My research relied on reviewing publications containing data on seasonal travel for subsistence and trading by the Inuvialuit and Inuinait traversing their trade route in the Beaufort Sea, through Dolphin and Union Strait into the Coronation Gulf area. The Inuvialuit of the Beaufort Region (Usher, 1971d, p. 106), particularly those from Kittigazuit, Tuktoyaktuk, Atkinson Point, Tom Cod Bay, Paulatuk, Pearce Point, and Sachs Harbour, were known to travel east into the Coronation region (Alunik, 2003; Collignon, 2006; Condon, 1987, 1996; Collings, 2000; Damas, 1988a, 1988b, 2002; Freeman, 1976, 1992; Nuligak, (Metayer, 1966); Pokiak, B. (1976), Pokiak, R., 1989, 1991, 1996; Stefansson, 1914b; and Usher, 1965, 1971a, b, c, d, & e, 1973). Inuit oral histories and text documents were compiled by explorers (Stefansson, 1909, 1914a, 1914b, 1919). Rasmussen, 1932, and Ostermann, 1942, missionaries (Webster, in NFB, 1992) and trading companies' staff (Hudson's Bay Company, Read Island, 1938; Canalaska, Kitikmeot Heritage Society, 2007) made mention of Inuvialuit travels from their Inuvialuit Settlement Region easterly into the Inuinait territory during the 1930s and 1940s. Notes from such texts report the Inuvialuit stopping at such trading sites as Stapleton Bay, Bernard Harbour, and Read Island, then at Cape Krusenstern trading site, travelling towards the ultimate Arctic metropolis of modernity, complete with a radio station and airplane runway, Coppermine (Kugluktuk).

The national association representing all Canadian Inuit is the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Since its formation in the early 1970s, it has been an advocate and leader in research in Inuit matters relating to the clarification of the Inuit socio-political and

economic identity. Their 1975 sponsored research entitled, *Exploration, Settlement and Land Use Activities in Northern Canada: A Historical Review* (Scace, 1975), provides useful comment on Inuit trading for the contact-traditional era under study; some of the main points are described in the following section. Scace (1975) noted that to emphasize its sovereignty in the north, by 1903 Canada “dispatched the North-West Mounted Police to the Yukon, the Beaufort Sea and to Hudson Bay” (p. 15). In doing so, “Canada for the first time openly served notice ... that she was accepting the responsibilities of sovereignty over the Arctic mainland and the islands beyond it” (1975, p. 15). By the 1930s and 40s:

A consequence of the application of Canadian sovereignty in northern Canada appeared in the form of a scattering of agencies along the Arctic coast ... and in certain institutional arrangements for the administrations of these lands. The response, however, to the apparent needs of the native peoples affected by such measures was much less sensitive. (p. 18)

By 1942 and the onset of World War II, and because of Canada’s Northern Policy, Judd (1969) stated:

Ottawa’s legislative programme for the north had been principally confined to an attempt, through the Northwest Territories Council to protect the native fur trapper ... but once committed to take an interest in the north (after the war), Canadians and Canadian governments decided that there was no choice but to change the style of Eskimo and Indian life and replace, almost entirely, the native cultures with white man’s education, technology and social organization.

(Judd, 1969, p. 594)

The Cape Krusenstern, Coronation Gulf data that I review in this study will provide, for the first time, a depiction of the series of trade transactions immediately after the government's steps of protection through the limiting of outsiders in the fur-trade business, and the establishment of protected areas like Victoria Island for exclusive Inuit use.

As a final source, it is important to review publications that are specific to the Inuvialuit. During my lifetime in the Arctic, I have heard many Inuvialuit oral memories or family histories refer to ancestors who were family or neighbours who travelled, trapped and traded in the Coronation Region. Proof of both stories and migration can be found in the extensive documentation of Inuvialuit family histories. Some documentation can be found at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resources Centre, Inuvik, NWT, in their collection titled the COPE Oral History Tapes [audio]. The stories refer to Inuvialuit trading from schooners in the summer, or through winter travels at sites like Victoria Island (Mackenzie River), Rymer Point, Read Island, Prince Albert Sound (Alaervik), Ulukhaktok (Holman) and Walker Bay. These trading sites are north and east of Cape Krusenstern. Textual confirmation of these sites can be found in Usher's (1971d) *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970*. The following six publications are a rich resource of oral memories by individual Inuvialuit about trading practices. Like the earlier publication on Inuvialuit trading technology at Herschel Island (1992), each of these publications documented the traditional knowledge related to an area in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and made only passing reference to the reason for the IAL process. The documents are: *Kitigaryuit Archaeological Inventory and Mapping Project* (Hart, 1999); *Herschel Island and Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History Project*

(Nagy, 1994); *Yellow Beagle Oral History and Archaeology Project* (Hart & Cockney, 1999), the *Tuktoyaktuk Traditional Knowledge Project* (1994); *Learning About Marine Resources and Their Use Through Inuvialuit Oral History* (Hart & Amos, 2004); *Aulavik Oral History Report on Banks Island, NWT: Final Report* (Nagy, 1999) and video library at Inuvialuit Communications Society, Inuvik, NWT.

A good source of data on the Inuvialuit settlement, Sachs Harbour, and the long history of white-fox trapping and trading by its residents, can be found in Usher's work *The Bankslanders* (1971a, b & c). This three volume series, its full title, *The Bankslanders: Economy and Ecology of a Frontier Trapping Community* (1970), contains valuable comment on the place-based history of Sachs Harbour Inuvialuit, many of whom explored and traded along the Inuit trade route inside Inuinnaït territory at Read Island and Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU). This source provides both quantitative and qualitative data on Inuvialuit trading-technology practices that originated in Banksland in the 1930s. Traditionally, the western shores of Banks Island are considered Inuvialuit territory but, as Collignon (2006) noted, the eastern shores of Banks Island are the farthest reach of the Inuinnaït territory. The proximity of one to the other leads us to believe that the experience and circumstances Usher described might also have occurred at the Cape Krusenstern trading site. Another source document directly related to the Coronation Gulf Inuinnaït is Usher's 1965 doctoral thesis, *Economic Basis and Resource Use of the Coppermine—Holman Region, NWT* (1965). In my opinion, his qualitative data complements Morrison's archaeological statistical data from his publication *The Thule Culture in Western Coronation Gulf, NWT* (Morrison, 1983). Usher's (1971d) publication, *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970*, contains extensive statistical data on historical trading posts and trading sites and assists researchers in

understanding which trading posts were Inuit owned and operated. Another Usher publication, *Committee of Original Peoples Entitlement* (Usher, 1973), provides details about the hunting-trapping subsistence economy of the five major Inuvialuit settlements: Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk, Sachs Harbour, and Inuvik.

Extensive secondary sources, often with only minor references to the role of technology in IAL, were found in peer-reviewed research publications, particularly in the fields of renewable resources and marine mammals. Numerous articles published in the peer-reviewed journal *Inuit Studies*, which were too plentiful to list for this proposal, provided information on Inuit adult learning and the influence of trade technology application. Some of the major articles were Searle's (2001), "Interpersonal Politics, Social-Science Research and the Construction of Inuit Identity," *Etudes/Inuit Studies*, 2001, 25(1-2), 101-119; Wenzel (2001), "Nunamiut or Kabloonamiut: Which 'identity' best fits Inuit (and does it matter)?" *Etudes/Inuit Studies*, 2001, 25 (1-2), 37-52; Csonka, "A stereotype further dispelled: Inuit-Dene relations west of Hudson Bay, 1920-1956," *Etudes/Inui /Studies*, 1999, 23 (1-2), 117-144; McNabb (1989). "Expressive conventions in Inuit society," *Etudes/Inuit Studies*, 1989 (13): 2; and Hickey (1984), "An examination of processes of cultural change among nineteenth century Copper Inuit," *Etudes/ Inuit Studies* 8(1): 13-35. I found these examinations of Inuit culture from the modernist and post-modern perspective most helpful in understanding the proposed research (McNicoll, 1999, p. 199).

Finally, four other source documents gave a blend of quantitative and qualitative information on the role that trade technologies played in Inuvialuit-Inuinait adult learning during 1935-1947. The publications are *The Northern Copper Inuit* (Condon,

1996); *Knowing Places: The Inuinait, Landscapes, and the Environment* (Collignon, 2006); *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, Volumes 1 - 3* (Freeman, 1976) and *Arctic Migrants and Arctic Villagers* (Damas, 2002). The publications described historical detail on how Inuvialuit, as part of their established subsistence living and the use of lengthy traplines, came to live and trade seasonally in the most easterly regions of the traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region at trading sites such as Cape Krusenstern. The increasing adoption of fur trapping and the trade exchange of coloured (white, red, blue and cross-fox) furs for trade goods led to the establishment of semi-permanent housing near their coastal traplines. This resulted in a rapid reduction of their daily familial nomadic subsistence lifestyles that involved meeting at pre-arranged seasonal times and locations with other Inuvialuit (Freeman, 1976, Vol 1). Inuvialuit had moved fully into the mercantile era (Wolforth, 1966) of small business ventures by trapping white-fox furs to trade for material goods. Acknowledging the duality of the traditional and the modern in the Inuvialuit culture, adult learning through trading technology enabled the Inuvialuit to balance the old ways with the new reality. However, emerging new technology put the Inuvialuit cultural values at risk.

Traditional practices, beliefs, technologies and architectural forms that evolved over time may simply be replaced by a new technology that is disconnected from the context, including implicit forms of knowledge that sustain both the everyday lives of people and a sense of historical continuity. (Bowers, 1988, p. 9)

The wider issue of the effect of trade technology on adult learning was rarely broached in the literature.

2.4. Methodologies

In examining trading transactions as a symbol of trade technology, I have chosen to study one of the prominent Inuvialuit trading sites, Cape Krusenstern, active from late 1926 to 1947 (Usher, 1971d, p. 111). My research adapts methods from the discipline of history and includes the approach and procedures of document research. These include analysis of the written word. My research involved primary and secondary textual sources, particularly the fur-trading records (Hudson's Bay trading post Manager's daily logbook (HBC, 1938); Semmler trading post records (1934) and journals; oral memories of the period (Government of the Yukon (Nagy, 1992, a, b & c; 1994, 1999, 2000); and data from explorers' journals (e.g., Stefansson, Rasmussen, Diamond Jenness). I examined anthropological research to explore the role of trade technologies in Inuvialuit *ways of knowing* during the contact-traditional era in a small region of northern Canada.

In *History and Significance of the Emic/Etic Distinction*, Harris (1976) observed that research in the academic disciplines that studied indigenous communities was often conducted by cultural outsiders. Such research sometimes provides analyses and conclusions that describe the effect of modern and emerging technologies as harmful, intrusive, or even assimilating the indigenous community being studied. Reflecting a differing insider viewpoint, Indigenous researchers report that a central element in Indigenous *ways of knowing* both historically and in the present time is that adult learning took place as a result of new technologies, and that rather than being harmful or invasive, the technology was adapted to their indigenous cultural framework. Smith's (1999) work is a foundational study in this respect. He deconstructed western research methodologies and replaced them by methodologies based on Indigenous *ways of knowing*. In addition,

researchers Barnhardt and Kawagley, reflecting their insider status as members of an Alaskan Inuit community, have more recently commented on the use of indigenous Yupik and Inupiat *ways of knowing* in educational research:

Actions currently being taken by indigenous communities throughout the world clearly demonstrate that a significant paradigm shift is underway in which indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing are beginning to be recognized as consisting of complex knowledge systems with an adaptive integrity of their own.

(Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶7)

The following source documents contained both quantitative and qualitative data gathered through anecdotal statements, and interview surveys. The resulting analysis is based on participant-observation strategies. Their documentation strengths lie in the use of PAR (Participant Action Research) methods, in which local Inuvialuit and Inuinait assisted in fieldwork data gathering and analysis. Another benefit is that these publications deal directly with Inuvialuit and Inuinait people of the Cape Krusenstern area. Particularly useful in the field of archaeology was the work of Harp (1958), Morrison (1983, 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1991) and Stevenson (1992). In anthropology, the following publications provide rich qualitative insights: Briggs (1968, 1970, 1979), Collignon (2006), Collings (2000, 2001), Condon (1987, 1996), Damas (2002), Nagy (2006), Stern (1999, 2000, 2006), and Usher (1965, 1973). In general, these provide multiple perspectives from their quantitative analysis and qualitative interpretation. While not discussing adult learning directly, they provide useful comments on this subject. However, it should be mentioned that all the researchers originated in the southern, academic community and visited the north for periods of a few months to two years.

Therefore, the methods chosen (for example, case studies, survey research, and statistical analysis) and their interpretation are based on a western ontological and epistemological view.

Some key source documents came from a partnership between Inuit and non-Inuit researchers. They reflect not only the Indigenous *ways of knowing* referred to by Barnhardt and Kawagley, but also an understanding of the Inuit ontology and epistemology. The authors were Fehr and Hurst (1996), Condon (1996), Nagy (1992, a, b & c, 1994, 1999, 2000), Stevenson (1992), and Weihs and Pokiak (1991).

A review of the methodology should examine the quantitative and qualitative methods (statistical and numerical analysis, case study, interview surveys) used by previous researchers and take into account the researcher's own ontological and epistemological viewpoint from which he analyzed the data. As noted above, most Arctic research in the academic field has been done by cultural outsiders and my own research falls into this category. For cultural outsiders who have expertise in conducting research, the next best method was the use of participant-observation. Bernard (1988) defined this method as "not really a method in the strictest sense, but rather a series of suggestions and pieces of advice that leave much space for the researchers' intuition and personality (Bernard, 1988, p. 150). Participant-observations allows for "controlled emersion into a community allowing researchers to be accepted without losing their identity

Researchers have to balance between being insiders and outsiders" (Collignon, 2006, p. 271). A proponent of the participant-observation strategy and early Arctic explorer, Franz Boas, lived on the land with the Inuit near Pangnirtung, Nunavut (L. Muller-Wille, 1998, p. 17) during his 1883-84 research expedition. Other Arctic explorers also used this

method, most notably Diamond Jenness (1922) who lived with the Puivlirmiut of Read Island, Nunavut from April to November 1915. In her research on the Kangiryuarmiut of Ulukhaktok (Holman), a subtribe of both the Inuvialuit and the Inuinait, Collignon (2006) noted that participant-observers must get “close enough to understand how people think and feel in different situations, but not so close that they get involved in local politics” (p. 271). Collignon stated, “Researchers have to balance between being insiders and outsiders” (p. 271).

In my role as guidance counsellor at Samuel Hearne Secondary School, Inuvik, I have visited families once or twice a year in all Inuvialuit settlements from 1970 to 1978. I took direction from their grandparents and made sure that their children attended high school classes and stayed the entire semester. I taught their children in classrooms, and counselled their children about their fears and homesickness. During the 1980s and 1990s, I employed and trained many local adult beneficiaries in business contracts with government and industry. Finally, I learnt a great deal from communication with the parents and grandparents when my wife and I shared custody (through Government of the Northwest Territories Childcare or Young Offender Act or interfamily arrangements) of their children and teenagers, sometimes for months or years.

From 1990 to 2000, I worked with a team of Beaufort Delta Education Council teachers and teacher consultants to design and deliver alternate programs for young adults 16 to 21 years who had a blend of town skills and bush skills. From this, I drew inspiration for exploring the concept of indigenous adult learning. In summary, the non-acceptance by Inuvialuit or Gwich'in is as it should be, because it is not their way, beyond neighbourliness, to offer any sense of cultural inclusion to outsiders. This practice

holds true even when outsiders or non-Inuit marry into their families. Nevertheless, I have come to belong in this community and this western Arctic landscape. It should be noted that I understand Inuvialuit values because I had similar Euro-Canadian family values taught to me by my parents. These were sharing and cooperation.

Through the shared experience of living in the bush, running a dog team for 20 years, travelling in hunting and fishing groups on the land, burying the dead, and the celebration of the many births and marriages of our neighbours, I was able to record insights into the IAL process. After years of observation, which cannot be obtained by simple outside-researcher residency, I can state with confidence that the IAL process is fluid and adaptable. Based on my extensive years of participant-observation, or citizen-observation record keeping, I am able to add my voice of support for aspects of some textual sources and, in some cases, add new information about IAL not yet recorded.

I have concluded that, historically, Inuit culture emphasized the importance of modelling roles and behaviour, the key purpose of social learning (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). In fact, IAL falls under constructivism, whose purpose of learning is to construct knowledge or meaning from the Inuvialuit experience. Therefore, the best theoretical viewpoint for my research is constructivist philosophy rather than the objectivist theory of learning, which maintains, “Humans can understand only what they have themselves constructed” (Thanasoulas, 2008, ¶ 1). As mentioned earlier, Bruner, Dewey, Kolb, Piaget, and Vygotsky present arguments on constructivism and its application to learning. Specifically, two subsets of constructivism are applicable to this study. It is my contention that, prior to 1952, IAL would fall under a social constructionism subset. This is considered a sociological concept where the “primary emphasis is on discourse as the

vehicle through which self and world are articulated, and the way in which such discourse functions within social relationships” (Lin, 2004, ¶ 1). In this process, Inuvialuit looked at social phenomena and then incorporated it into tradition. However, from 1952 to the present day, with the introduction of western or Euro-Canadian organizational structures of government institutions (schools, colleges) and large multinational corporations into the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, a shift occurred from group learning to individual learning. Now IAL falls under a second sub-set: social constructivism. This is considered a psychological concept, with proponents arguing that “while the mind constructs reality in its relationship to the world, this mental process is significantly informed by influences from social relationships” (Lin, 2004, ¶ 1). In this latter subset, the burden is on the individual to make meaning relative to their societal influences.

In closing, I feel this research stands apart from that of other cultural outsiders, some of which was reviewed in the methodology. Further, I think it is appropriate for this Arctic researcher to introduce a new strategy, one that is an inside layer of the current historical participation-observer strategy, wherein the researcher can be described as a “citizen observer.” When it comes to the Government of the Northwest Territories’ data calculation purposes, I am no longer just an “other” on government forms, but I fall under the very rare category of “Indigenous-non-aboriginal.” Regardless of terminology, I use both cultural sensitivity and socio-political insights acquired over a lifetime to reflect strengths and limitations in this review of the process of IAL.

2.5. Summary

Although the literature review revealed several concepts on adult learning, none was integrated with culture-specific Inuvialuit *ways of knowing*. I have therefore formulated a new term, Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) (1.5.4), which integrates an appropriate western concept of adult learning with relevant Inuvialuit *ways of knowing*. Although the literature review showed that a concept of technology suitable for this research project existed, the relation between technologies of any kind and IAL were implied rather than studied. This project will help to close a gap in knowledge. Finally, the review showed that methodologies appropriate for research in indigenous communities were slowly emerging. By using an informed perspective, this project will help to remedy that limitation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter develops the design of the research project. First, I discuss the reasons for choosing a qualitative design (3.1.), and follow that by restating the research purpose (3.2.) and questions (3.3.). The design is described (3.4.), together with its philosophical basis, methodology, and methods of data collection.

3.1. Need for Qualitative Design

Broadly speaking, my research investigates the historical influence of western technology on adult learning among the Inuit. To make full use of my northern experience in a manageable project, I have examined one technology (trading), one group of Inuit (the Inuvialuit), and the trading site, Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU), at one period (1935-1947). A qualitative research methodology is needed because the researcher is the instrument of data collection. The research uses a natural setting, is inductive, provides data that are descriptive and voiced. It is interpretive, idiosyncratic, persuasive, and unique. It has an emergent design and is to be judged by its trustworthiness (Hoepfl, 1997, ¶ 1). This study on the role of trade technology used various methods of data collection consistent with a qualitative perspective, analysis of print, audio and visual Inuvialuit statements about learning, and researcher-as-instrument.

3.2. Research Purpose

This research will study the role of trade technology in adult learning among the Inuvialuit at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) from 1935 to 1947.

3.3. Research Questions

3.3.1. What is the history of Inuvialuit fur trading in the Coronation Gulf region prior to 1935?

3.3.2. As a study on the adult-learning skill of trade-technology application by select Inuvialuit ancestors from 1935 to 1947, what can we learn about the time, place and types of fur traded as well as the type of goods and ideas received in exchange by Inuvialuit who traded at the Semmler trading post at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)?

3.3.3. What is the relationship between Inuvialuit fur-trade technology, which involves the exchange of furs and the receipt of both goods and ideas, and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) during 1935-1947? More generally, how has past Inuvialuit Adult Learning been changed under the influence of more recent technology?

3.4. Research Design and Rationale

In taking direction from Crotty (1998) on what constitutes sound research, Creswell (2003) suggested that a sound research proposal should provide information on the following questions: “1. What knowledge claims are being made by the researcher (including a theoretical perspective? 2. What strategies of inquiry will inform the procedures? 3. What methods of data collection and analysis will be used?” (Creswell 2003, p.5).

My research fell under the alternative-knowledge claim of social constructivism and will illustrate some of the theories of its proponents: Manheim (1936), Lincoln and Guba (2000), Crotty (1998), and Neuman (2000). Social constructivists assume that the individual seeks to understand the world in which s/he lives by constructing subjective meanings of her or his experience within cultural norms (Creswell, 2003, p. 8). Creswell stated, "The goal of researcher then is to rely on the participant's views of the situation being studied" (2003, p. 8). Through this constructivist perspective, my research studied IAL as part of the larger body of knowledge called an Inuvialuit *way of knowing*. "Socio-cultural theory, originating with the writings of Vygotsky (1978), emphasizes that learning is a form of enculturation in which the individual is socialized through gradual participation in tasks and is scaffolded or assisted by adults until full competence is attained. One interpretation of constructivism is situated cognition, based on the work of Lave (1988), who maintained, "Learning is best achieved when learning tasks are encountered, practised and applied in real world contexts" (McLoughlin, 2000, p. 3).

The strategy of inquiry (methodology) used is a case study of the role of trading technologies in IAL in a specific area and during a limited period. The length of time I have lived among the Inuvialuit and observed their ability to survive by learning to use new technologies suggests that my personal values have influenced my research. As Creswell (2003) noted, researchers must "acknowledge how their interpretation [of others' understandings of the world] flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical appearance" (p. 8).

Data were collected from three sources:

1. Public and private documents;

2. Audio-visual materials; and
3. Personal experience as a participant-observer.

The public documents I consulted included Inuit publications such as Government of Nunavut (NT), *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ)* (2005); the *Nunavut: Adult Learning Strategy* (2006); *The Inuit Way* (Pauktuutiit, 2006); *The Western Arctic Claim: the Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Government of Canada, 1984) and Government of the Northwest Territories (NWT) publications, such as *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1996). I reviewed several peer-reviewed journals in Arctic studies, with the following two journals being of particular help: *Etudes Inuit Studies*, and *Arctic* (AINA). Video productions by the following two production agencies provided relevant visual and narrative information: the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) video *Coppermine* (1992) and the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS). ICS produces two television series that have been a source of anecdotal insights through their interviews with elders and community leaders. In addition, ICS Family History (2007) binders were a source of relevant data. The television series (available on northern television channels and the Aboriginal People's Television Network of Canada) is *Tamapta*, which works to preserve the Inuvialuit language and traditions, and *Suaangan* (meaning "to have strength" in Inuvialuktun) which deals with current affairs relevant to Inuvialuit and other Inuit (Inuvialuit Communications Society, personal communication, 2005).

Some of the private documents used in my research were trade journals (Semmler's Cape Krusenstern Furs Journal, 1934), diaries (Hudson's Bay Read Island trading post, manager's daily journal, 1938), letters, and email sources.

My personal experience includes my thirty-seven years in Canada's Northwest Territories as well as my extensive travels in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region as an educator (secondary and adult) and businessman (design and delivery of training on-the-job programs).

Interviews were not conducted because of the current sociopolitical situation. As Wacowich (2006) stated:

The tensions between southern and local research initiatives endure as Inuit stories of the "freedom of exploitation" by social scientists seeking "to exploit Inuit knowledge" for professional gain have been made part of the public discourse (Flaherty 1995, p. 179). Well intentioned but highly bureaucratic university and Nunavut [and NWT] ethical review committees and licensing procedures, as well as raising honoraria payments, have created a new social climate for anthropologists; one with a very different set of social and environmental boundaries than those that formerly existed. (Wacowich, 2006, p. 136)

My principal research method was document analysis. Primary and secondary documents from all sources (see References) were investigated with respect to three major themes: IAL, trade technologies, and the relations between them. Two perspectives influenced my analysis: the perspective of the Inuvialuit voice, and my perspective as participant-observer.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADULT LEARNING

This chapter provides background information on the Inuvialuit Worldview (4.1.), the connection between Inuvialuit Knowledge and Wisdom (4.2), and the role the Inuvialuit language plays in learning (4.3). In their evolution into a modern society, the Inuvialuit, like many other indigenous societies, have taken actions that “clearly demonstrate that a significant paradigm shift is under way in which indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing [adult learning] are beginning to be recognized as complex knowledge systems with an adaptive integrity of their own” (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶ 7). Because of the intrusion of the western worldview into the Inuit worldview, we need to expand “our understanding of the processes of learning that occurs within and at the intersection of diverse worldviews and knowledge systems” (2005, ¶ 9). A 1994 Rural Alaska Community Action Program workshop on Alaskan *ways of knowing* stated that the characteristic features of their traditional adult learning process, or *ways of knowing*, were as follows: circular, listens, decides with issues, looks for the large picture (holistic), looks at connections of parts, filled with spirit, subjective, lives with all creation, and lives in balance while adapting to the environment (Hild, 1994, p. 6).

Inuvialuit today have maintained their culture through traditional *ways of knowing* and the gradual acquisition of new Euro-Canadian adult learning skills. Through taking advantage of workplace training and the completion of Euro-Canadian education programs (secondary school, college and university), they have acquired new western *ways of knowing*. Features of the western adult-learning process are: uses linear logic,

talks a great deal, decides with numbers, thrives on details, looks at parts of the whole, void of spirit, objective, controls environment, goes to extremes (1994, p. 6). The Inuvialuit, like their Alaskan neighbours, have acquired new technologies of adult learning through trading education and ideas with western and indigenous peoples. During the contact-traditional period under review, IAL would very likely have been conducted within their worldview, using traditional *ways of knowing*. Yet it was through fur-trade technology that Inuvialuit realized that a new world order was encroaching on their traditional territory. “Then when those people [missionaries, White and Metis trappers and traders, White government agents, scientists and prospectors] started coming around, they began to learn about white man’s ways with their stuff” (Kuptana, in Nagy, 1999, p. 64). It is important to review the Inuvialuit worldview, their perspective on knowledge and wisdom, and the role of language in adult learning, because the process is one where “the new (but old) insights that are emerging from indigenous societies may be of equal benefit to the broader educational community” (¶ 7). These old and new insights will not just benefit the non-Inuit, but indigenous people as well. “Native people need to understand western society, but not at the expense of what they already know, and the way they have come to know it” (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶ 8).

4.1. Inuvialuit Worldview and the Role of Language in Adult Learning and Knowledge Transfer

An individual’s worldview guides the selection of what is worth learning. A “worldview is an ideal theory to help researchers answer questions about the role of ... knowledge in the teaching and learning process” (Lewis, 1998). This is particularly so for

adult learners. “Also notable is the similarity between worldview as conceptualized in science-education literature and that conceptualized in educational-psychology literature. Both acknowledge that [a person’s] worldview is shaped by environmental experiences and both acknowledge that worldview influences behaviour to some degree” (Lewis, 1998, p. 23). The Inuvialuit have sustained their worldview for centuries, developing a set of traditional adult-learning skills that has led to the development of Inuvialuit traditional knowledge. They have done so while withstanding many transformative economic, social and (more recently) environmental changes beyond their control. Just as they had a history of technological adaptation, so too, their essential Inuit values, beliefs and practices associated with their worldview have survived and are “beginning to be recognized as having an adaptive integrity that is as valid for today’s generations as it was for generations past” (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, ¶ 6).

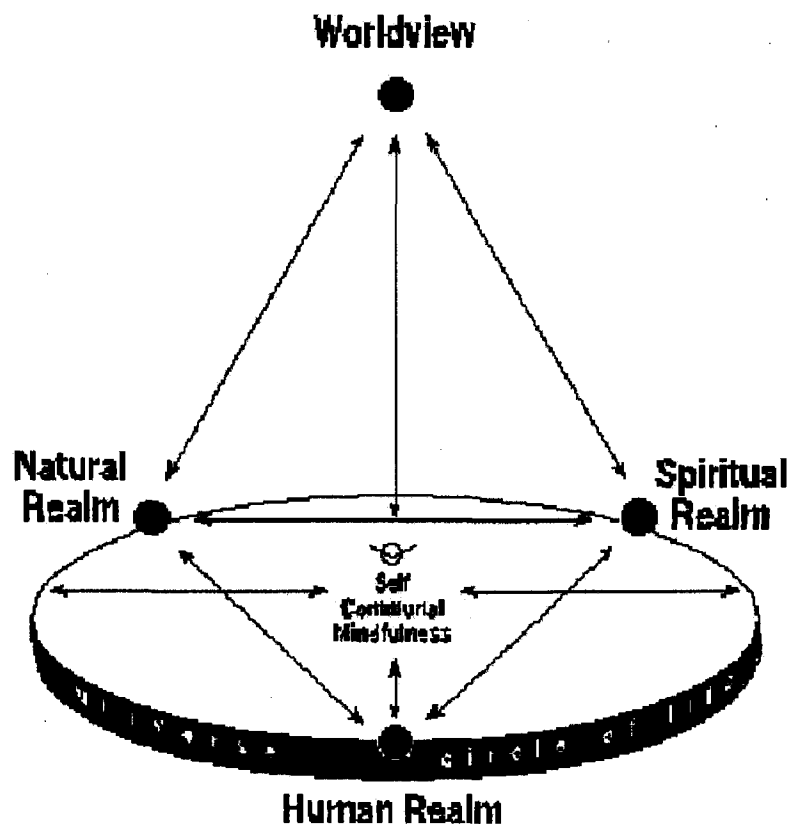


Figure 1. Tetrahedral Model; Kawagley, 1995, p. 16

Figure 1. Inuit worldview. <http://www.eed.state.ak.us/tls/Frameworks/langarts/2strtpnt.htm>

In the publication of his doctoral thesis in 1995, *A Yupiaq Worldview*, the Alaskan Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley provided a worldview framework that is, in my opinion, directly applicable to the Inuvialuit people. He defined a worldview as “the intersection of the psychology, epistemology, and cosmology of a people ... consisting of the principles, including values, traditions and customs we acquire to make sense of the world around us.” Kawagley observed that from childhood to adulthood, people learned

the principles of their worldview through “myths, legends, stories, family, community and examples set by community leaders” (Alaska, n.d.). Kawagley described a culture’s worldview as a way to make sense of the world around them and as a summation of the coping devices that have “worked in the past and may or may not be as effective in the present” (p. 16).

The ancestors of modern Inuvialuit came from Alaska and the tradition of the Inuvialuit *way of learning* must have its roots in the subsistence-based worldview of its ancestors.

Alaska Native peoples have constructed an intricate subsistence-based worldview, allowing them to live in harmony with other human relatives and the natural and spiritual worlds and exhibit the values of sharing, cooperation, and respect. Oscar Kawagley's tetrahedral model demonstrates how the natural, human, and spiritual realms lend support to the Yupiaq worldview and how human beings can place themselves in this world to make sure that the values and traditions behind these three realms are in balance. Traditional culture has provided a "cultural map" based upon the language, stories, science and technology, and role models to maintain the connections between these realms and to pursue actions that support the survival of the people and their beliefs. Traditional lessons communicated respect, the value of sharing over ownership, the necessity and responsibility of developing certain skills, tolerance, and humour. Along with the dual citizenship in the physical and spiritual world, this worldview operates from the principle that not all things are

knowable or controllable and that attitude is as important as action. Indigenous educational systems contain qualities and processes that support their worldviews.

(Government of Alaska, 2007, pp. 16-17)

Kawagley provided an Inuit perspective on the western worldview. In doing so, he revealed the context of adult-learning skills that are given priority in the western worldview.

Western schools reflect their origins from an epistemological system that has a mind-body separation. The western educational system was designed to study and analyze objectively learned facts and to predict and assert control over the forces of nature. This result in inquiries that seek to reduce physical phenomena into describable components and understand systems by manipulating these reduced components. Knowledge may be viewed as separate from specific contexts.

Western education is often seen as happening at school. (2007, p. 17)

“The importance of a people’s worldview to their well-being implies that education of any people requires a model which teaches from within a culture rather than about a culture” (p. 19). Since the Inuvialuit, like other Inuit, relied on trade to lessen the demands of their subsistence living in the Arctic environment, their worldview shaped their adult-learning experiences. Because my observations and those of other researchers are “about” the Inuvialuit culture, IAL is best understood by examining the statements that are generated from within the culture by the people themselves.

From the evidence provided above, we can understand how IAL led to the compilation of knowledge, the process falling under the social constructionism theory referred to earlier. As the evidence stated, Inuvialuit possessed a dynamic learning process but one where meaning was constructed under the direction of the elders following long-held traditional knowledge and taboos.

4.2. Gaining Knowledge and Wisdom

The Inuvialuit perspective on gaining knowledge and wisdom is described as follows:

In the time before the Inuvialuit had books, our elders, both men and women, were the keepers of the Inuvialuit knowledge In their old age, the elders were released somewhat from their hunting chores They had more time to observe the people of their camp as they went about their daily routines. Based upon their observations, they would give advice to young and old. Sometimes they would tell stories ... [to] help the young people learn about ways of doing things and ways of behaving. Their words were full of information and wisdom and our people respected the elders. (GNWT, 1991, p. 13)

In her article, *Native Ways of Knowing—Let Me Count the Ways*, Warner (2006) reviewed 25 publications by different researchers and found that that their approach to the term *ways of knowing* or *ways of learning*, while overlapping, fell into four categories: five viewed it as person, seven viewed it as product, four viewed it as position and nine considered ways of knowing to be a process. Examinations of textual documents by the Inuvialuit themselves, the Government of the Northwest Territories or Canadian agencies or researchers show that publications on Inuvialuit *ways of knowing or learning*

could also fall into all four of Warner's categories. This is particularly evident when reviewing the notes from the 1996 Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) workshop held in Inuvik. CAFF, the working group of the Arctic Council, hosted a conference, the *CAFF Seminar on the Documentation and Application of Indigenous Knowledge, Inuvik, Northwest Territories, Canada November 15-17, 1996*. In my research, I have chosen to examine only one of the four categories, the adult-learning process. Conclusions from a few key textual sources are summarized below.

The Government of the Northwest Territories publication *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective* (1996) has numerous sections that deal with the Inuit social-learning process. Inuit consider "learning, evaluation and personal improvement to be a continuous process for everyone" (1996, p. 22). No matter what your age, you were always expected to participate (an Inuit community/cultural requisite) and to do your best (individual skill development). Learning and evaluation took place at the same time, with children receiving immediate, positive feedback from parents and other adults, as well as being encouraged to self-evaluate as to whether their tasks were done well or correctly. "When a child's achievement was praised and encouraged, they were also shown or told how to improve on their work and encouraged to be persistent and to practise towards expertise" (p. 22). As children grew in age and skill level, they were given more and more responsibility. "Men and women had to learn each other's skills, as everyone was expected to help out when necessary" (p. 22).

From the opening quotation to this section 4.2, I conclude that traditionally, the Inuvialuit elders supervised Inuvialuit during their childhood,

youth and adulthood as they went about acquiring the learning skills to gain knowledge. This lifelong learning is in contrast to the western tradition that has historically viewed learning, particularly formal learning, as being confined to one's childhood, teenage years and early twenties.

Insight into lifelong learning by indigenous people can be obtained from the following observations about the learning journey of the Fitzroy Basin Elders Committee, a group of Indigenous elders from Central Queensland, Australia.

From my discussion of the origins, roles and activities of the Fitzroy Basin Elders Committee, it is evident that the journeys taken by the members of the committee are truly lifelong learning experiences. These Elders have survived the dispossession, the dispersals, the displacements, the fracturing of families, Stolen Generation practices, forced denial of their traditional culture and customs, the raising of families, and the racism and discrimination to the point where they are now senior people who have travelled a long road. In this time, they have learnt new languages and new laws, and have incorporated old ways with new ways. They are eager to teach other people—particularly young people—and see it as their responsibility to pass on information to future generations. They are teachers, instructors, innovators and mentors. They are my role models and guides in my lifelong learning experience as an Indigenous person. (Hornagold, 2008, ¶ 28)

For the Inuvialuit elders, they evolved a body of wisdom through their interpretation of knowledge.

Today, as in the past, Inuit consider learning, evaluation and personal improvement to be a continuous process for everyone. This attitude is brought to every task or skill, sports and entertainment, and it applies to everyone. You are always expected to participate and do your best. (Government of Northwest Territories, *Inuuqatigiit*, 1996, p. 22)

Instruction began in the early childhood years, when children were expected to watch and learn. Older children were expected to take care of and be responsible for younger children. "Learning was incorporated into play. Games of spear throwing or playing with dolls were early experiences of adult work" (1996, p. 22). As we learned in the opening statement, community elders closely observed children. As they tried new skills, they would "receive immediate and positive feedback from their parents and other adults" (p. 22). Projects badly done or not meeting the standards of the supervising grandparent, such as beadwork, were often taken apart by the grandparent at night when the child slept (Kuptana, personal communication, 1984). Often children would be re-shown the necessary skills or "told how to improve on their work and encouraged to be persistent and to practise" (p. 22). As children grew older, they assumed more familial, community responsibilities, which required acquisition of new learning skills.

"Evaluation became much stricter and more critical ... men and women had to learn each other's skills as everyone was expected to help out when necessary" (p. 22). Children were encouraged to self-evaluate to see if the skill or the project appeared right.

Inuvialuit traditionally communicated with their child "through facial and body expressions and tone of voice. This quiet or unspoken form of correction was preferred

... loud, verbal disciplining was considered inappropriate and disrespectful” (p. 11). I have noticed that communication during such teaching moments for Inuvialuit was often marked by lack of eye contact, a practice that was intended to show respect for the adult, the elder, or for their classroom teacher. “Instructions were used with a calm, respectful, positive voice ... children were encouraged to have fun ... praised ... encouraged to practise and learn with all their senses” (p. 14). Through personal anecdotes from my Inuvialuit neighbours, I can confirm their belief and their success in the above practices. “When children are treated with respect, acceptance, enjoyment and as contributing individuals, they will be strong and confident ... be able to think and work things out” (p. 15).

In childhood, besides learning skills, the Inuvialuit receive an introduction to cultural values and beliefs. I have observed that the Inuvialuit family dynamics revolve around the youngest children.

Raising children is important to Inuit. When a child is small, they are loved by everyone. A child is encouraged to remain a child. [S]he is praised for learning at his pace. When things are too complex for a child to understand or use, they are not encouraged to understand. The burden is too heavy for a child and develops a weak mind. This can only be bad for a child and confuse them. (Government of the Northwest Territories, *Inuuqatigiit*, 1996, p. 10)

Historically, the Inuit named their children after family or community members who were important to the family. This person is a guide to the young person, but the child also has a mentor, other than his or her parents, on whom s/he can model personal development.

The name or name gives you an immediate identity. Everyone relates to the child either through blood or through the name ... Inuit believe a person's spirit never dies ... it is passed on through the name" (Kitikmeot Heritage, 2007, p. 1). "The values ... the significance of who you are named after is important to learn and respect [Bringing] certain responsibilities ... your name is to be honoured by yourself and others [It] identifies you and gives you security. (2007, p. 1)

Corresponding beliefs that accompany this naming value among the Inuvialuit, like the Inuit, have been that "one of the parents or elder will dream about a person who has passed on as a sign that the child should have that person's name" (p. 1). In my time as an educator in the Inuvik Region, many of my students reported that family and community members pointed out in them their namesake's abilities. "When children are small, they will say things and behave in ways that are like the personality of the person they are named after" (p. 1). This is in keeping with a commonly held Inuvialuit perspective that "A person never really dies; their spirit is passed on to a child" (p. 1).

In emphasizing the role that values play in IAL, many Inuvialuit authors (Alunik, 2003; Cockney, 1998; Nasogaluak & Cockney, 1996; Nuligak, 1966; Pokiak, 1991) have examined the primary cultural values, sharing, cooperation and respect that are considered priorities by Inuvialuit citizens. Another Inuvialuit researcher, Inglangasuk (1992), agreed that these were primary values but also listed other native values, such as "living in harmony with nature, present time orientation ... [and] submissiveness - aggressiveness being socially acceptable" (1992, p. 6).

The Inuit Women's Association of Canada, Pauktuutiit (2006), confirms the Inuit values described above, as well as the methods of social control. In addition, Pauktuutiit

lists “independence, innovation, patience ... [and reiterates the importance of] cooperation ... traditional sharing [and] modern sharing” (Pauktuutiit, *The Inuit Way*, 2006, p. 6).

In the document, *Inuvialuit Culture and the Rules of Traditional Times*, Klassen (1994) stated, “The Inuvialuit culture is a more relaxed culture” (p. 39). Survey feedback from her adult participants indicated that Inuvialuit viewed outspokenness, forceful or aggressive behaviour as a shameful loss of control. “Indirect support of the ethic that anger not be shown is provided by comments that many of the respondents made in regards to sharing” (1994, p. 39). The suppression of anger, along with other extreme emotions, was essential since the indulgence of such emotions took away from the ongoing promotion of sharing and cooperation in society. Inuvialuit practised a non-interference type of learning supervision, preferring to let the individual learn from his or her own experience. However, indirect praise was often used to guide and encourage the individual to continue with his activities.

In summary, from early childhood through adulthood, marriage, middle years, death of parents, Inuvialuit worked on the acquisition and application of knowledge within their worldview that would assure a comfortable living for themselves and their family. The multi-generational knowledge accumulation of old age and the assumption of the role of elder and teacher meant that Inuvialuit were expected to synthesize simple traditional knowledge into wisdom.

4.3. Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) and the role of language

The adult learner conveys cognitive, social and emotional meaning through language. “The oral forms of a people are the artefacts and texts, spoken and written which represent the beliefs and values of a community” (Fru Ndeh, 2008, p. 1).

Oral histories report that Inuit from different areas, with their individual Inuit sub-dialects, travelled from Siberia to Greenland encountering little or no difficulty in understanding the simple terms of trade. Inuvialuit guide, George Kolousok’s observations were documented as follows: “Concerning the dialects of the Paulatuk, Coppermine and Mackenzie Delta Eskimos, George tells me that they can all understand each other, though certain words are different” (Mackay et al., 1951, p. 26). Inuvialuit, like other Inuit, used sign language, facial gestures and ground drawings to convey meaning (Jimmy Gordon, personal communication, 1978). However, to understand some of the deeper aspects of Inuit thinking and learning, it is important to understand the terminology used. “Learners should be able to understand the language they are exposed to, but should also come across new vocabulary and structures so they can expand their knowledge” (United States Department of Education, 2007, ¶ 2).

Lowe’s *Basic Kangiryuarmiut Eskimo Grammar* (1985, Vol. 4) showed that Kangiryuarmiut was the Inuvialuit dialect of the Holman-Coronation Gulf region, and everyday Inuvialuktun language centered on the cognitive and affective features of their Inuit lifestyle. Although they used a rich network of sign language cues, such as the raised eyebrows to signal “yes” to questions, and a wrinkle upwards of their nose to indicate “no,” language was a key component in IAL. The Inuvialuit created language not just for day-to-day living, but they created language to mark the rituals and

ceremonies of their six-season annual calendar: fall, early winter, winter, early spring, spring, and summer (Jim Gordon, personal communication, 1978). Through prose from their oral tradition, the Inuvialuit used myths, legends, drum songs, and stories to explain everything in their worldview. In keeping with the adult-learning purpose of most Inuit myths, Inuvialuit myths were indicators of the preferred behaviour expected of the adults (McGrath, 1984, p. 68). “Inuit dealt with unacceptable behaviour in several ways. The most common reaction to such behaviour was to ignore the situation, or to mock, shame and gossip about the person who was acting inappropriately” (Pauktuutiit, 2006, p. 10). If Inuvialuit were immune to the traditional methods of Inuit social control meted out by community members, they could always look to their myths for a role model of proper adult learning and behaviour. “Myths act with ritual to reduce anxiety by discharging emotions and supplying fixed points, something to hold onto, in a world of bewildering change, disappointment, want, destruction, [and] death” (McGrath, 1984, p. 68).

Pokiak (1991) described how Inuvialuit used their language:

People’s words at that time was like a contract, only it was not written. Words were not taken lightly by themselves or those around them. Usually what comes out of the mouth was performed physically ... I will, I’m going to, I’m ready to, I’ll do ... were words that drove the Inuvialuit. (p. 10)

While much of the western worldview is concerned with formal and informal learning that leads to skills for trading or acquiring goods and services, instead of adult learning for having, IAL concentrated on “being” (Fromm, 2004). Some light is shed on what could be interpreted as “being Inuvialuit” from the following:

Until recently, an Eskimo believed he was part of the whole creation, maybe much closer to it than some people in the world today. As a child and then as a man he learned to accept its adversities without questions or any specific time to follow. He learned to take what nature had in abundance, its hardships and even starvation, without the slightest upset. His time was not based on an hourly principle like most trained men are today, but was obligated to what the whole creation had to share with him. With this same feeling, he learned to share his needs with others. As I said earlier, an Eskimo who is approached individually or within a group wants to be recognized not as an Eskimo hunter but as a person who has the same kind of human needs and emotional feelings as anyone else.

(Okpik, 1960, p. 42)

For Inuvialuit, the language of learning was carried out in a supportive, non-confrontational manner. There was a rule that the time must be right (Klassen, 1994, p. 39). In fact, Palsson reported, a commonly held Inuvialuit belief of the Alaskan Inuit, which was if a child “before he gets understanding (before seven or eight years) is continuously forbidden to do things it wants to do, continually told, ‘Don’t do that. Stop your noise.’ ... [That his] ears [will] become like dog’s ears” (Palsson, 1998a, p. 538). To reiterate Klassen’s earlier observation, *being* was a process that occurred in a relaxed culture. A complete lack of urgency marked much of IAL. I have observed that Inuvialuit seem to think that learning or becoming smarter is a lengthy generational process. To explain what is unacceptable in the eyes of some Inuit and non-Inuit, such as rowdy or reckless behaviour, the person is described as not having gotten his brains yet (T. Kirby,

personal communication, 2006). This is used to describe Inuvialuit males in their twenties.

To understand the Inuvialuit use of the terms “learning” and “knowing,” we can refer to Nagy’s work (Nagy, 2006, Table 4.2., p. 80, in Stern). Our understanding of both the product and process of IAL is restricted due to the limitations of the English language. Some of the concepts are lost or distorted in translation. “Inuvialuktun is extremely different from English. One Inuvialuktun word can easily be translated as a full sentence in English. This is because Inuvialuktun uses word bases and suffixes and thus words ‘agglutinate’ in one single word” (Nagy, 1992c, p. 9). This difficulty is seen in the translation of memory-related terms in the three Inuvialuktun dialects outlined in Nagy’s Table 4.2. Forty-one percent of the Inuinnaqtun translators and narrators of the Inuinait region (Holman and, due to trade migration, possibly attributable to the Inuvialuit ancestors at Cape Krusenstern) translated the word *qauyi* (the dictionary translation is “become aware, learn”) to mean “first started remembering ... become aware” (Nagy, p. 80, in Stern, 2006). The Inuvialuit term *qauyima* (the dictionary translation is “be aware, know”) became interpreted by translators as “first started remembering” (Nagy, p. 80, in Stern, 2006). For many Inuvialuit, therefore, learning is not based on abstraction but is linked to early childhood when learning and remembering started together.

A feature of IAL is the fusion of time and space. Nagy observed that in an interview, in asking a “when” question she quite often got a “where” answer. “It should also be noted that in the three Inuvialuit dialects, the suffix *-vik* means both “a place or a time for X-ing” (Lowe, 1983, p. 170). Since here space and time are fused, only the context can tell which one is invoked” (Nagy, 2006, p. 76).

Emmanuel Felix, recalling those early years of white-fox trapping around the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and eastward into Inuinnaït territory, stated, “Life was a lot tougher then” (Felix, 1989, p. 1). As a young hunter and trapper, he had not received any formal education but was fluent in both Inuvialuktun and English and could read and write in both languages. Like many adult-learning situations, he started to learn English in his early teens by talking with friends returning from the residential school in Hay River and by reading a dictionary. “I never went to school; if I did I would have gone in the front door and out the back door” (1989, p. 1). He had not wanted to go to school because of the long distance between Tuktoyaktuk and Hay River.

Inuit had an oral culture and, in the opinion of some researchers (McGrath, 1984; Pokiak, 1991, 1996), showed a proficiency in English-Inuvialuktun language literacy. Indeed, L'Helgouach and Metayer (1953) in their publication for the western Arctic Catholic Eskimos entitled *Operation Eskimo: Angadjutitka* (a translation from English into Inuvialuktun of the Roman Catholic missal or hymnbook) stated:

Some of the words used as well as parts of the translation itself are far from perfect. The authors are convinced, however, that the linguistic value of the text would have been far inferior, had it not been for the devoted competence and untiring zeal of Raymond Mangelana. (L'Helgouach & Metayer, 1953, p. viii)

In the community history of Aklavik, it was reported that Inuvialuit elder, Carrie Goose “hated school although she liked reading and writing. She quit school for good when she was fourteen” (Campbell, 1987, p. 78). One reason why many Inuvialuit did not like school was their impatience with having to sit and listen for too long.

Historically, their watch-and-learn approach was not accompanied by a lot of talking or

explanation. Many northern students, along with quite a few northern teachers, would agree with what Victor Allen said at the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry hearings (1976, vol 39, 40, 42 & 44) in Inuvik, known to most northerners as the Berger Hearings. “A person talking a long time sometimes gets a little boring; we know that” (Berger, Victor Allen, 1976, p. 3781). Stefansson observed a similar adult-learning response when an Inuvialuit grew tired of his questioning. “If I get him tired (as I have once or twice done) he becomes careless in his answers and unreliable, saying, ‘yes’ to anything or pretending he understands my question” (Palsson, 1998b, p. 426). It seems that Inuvialuit interest in reading and listening is strongest when listening to information in a story format or when out on the land (Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1976, Volume 40, Victor Allen, p. 3781).

A pivotal moment in the evolution of IAL took place when the transition from an oral culture to written English began to occur. A description of what happened is reported below.

The techniques for harvesting and processing beluga whales were passed along verbally, from generation to generation. This process stopped when people learned how to write. A lot of history was lost because old people died before the younger people realized that they were losing their history. Many of the elders with whom Billy [Day] spoke seemed “starved” to talk, and once they started, it was almost as if they could see pictures of what was happening as they spoke.

(Norton & Harwood, 2001, p. 9)

The same publication reports the modern approach to listen and learning. “In earlier times, children playing outside would act as lookouts. One of them would give a big

shout, which was enough to notify the whole community that the whales were coming in, and everyone would race down to the shore. Now the community has grown to about 2,000 people, and one person could shout and no one would hear, as they are inside watching television. So the message is passed along using CB [radio]" (p. 10).

In a related observation on language and learning, Inuvialuit researcher Richard Binder stated:

Information on whale behaviour, movement and other observations was passed on from one generation to the next with stories and song. Visual observation was also used to learn hunting techniques and the processing of whales. Today, story-telling is still used to pass on information, however, we now have other visual aides that could be used to educate and train younger people how to hunt or process the whales. (Binder, 1996, p. 60, in Fehr & Hurst, Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna Seminar, 1996)

While it might seem that Inuvialuit adult learners in 1935-47 could freely choose to learn, in fact, the opposite was the case. Due to the restrictions of the natural environment, language, *ayorama* and their worldview, and the close supervision of the parents, grandparents and elders in skill development and acquisition of knowledge and wisdom, the Inuvialuit learners of this period were pressured to learn out of a sense of duty. "When the teacher is the land, patience and wisdom go together Things can usually be figured out in time, as long as one is a careful observer" (Nunavik Educational Task Force, 1992, p. 12). Further, "Education was also given by the weather, the sea, the fish, the animals and the land We did not worry about relating learning to life, because learning came naturally as part of living" (Yupiktak, Alaskan Inuk, in Darnell,

1996, p. 254). For Inuvialuit, even the animals had ways of knowing. Sarah Meyook said, "That is the way the old people are. If you don't get up early the animals would know and it's hard to get them. So, soon as I was awake, I would go out and go back in because I wanted to get some things in my traps. I'll always remember these words that as soon as we awake in the morning to go out" (North Slope-WMAC, 1996, p. 29). Deeply nuanced traditional knowledge was acquired almost automatically as part of daily living.

Inuvialuit William Apsimik described it thus: "When you learn it and do it for so long, you know your duty ... you put your heart into it" (Hart, 2001, p. 71). Over time and with multiple learning opportunities, Inuvialuit were expected to develop maturity. Maturity was measured according to the presence of *isuma*, translated as "reason," although it encompassed traits like modesty, good-humour, calmness and the aspiration towards wisdom, qualities the Inuit were to observe that were often lacking in the Whites of that period (Rasmussen, 2000, p. 47). To cope with those supposedly immature people, Inuvialuit like other Inuit learned the coping mechanism of *ilira*, or "compliant friendliness" (Brody, 1991, pp. 171-2; Kuptana, 1993; Qitusalik, 1999). This was a process where for those individuals, Inuit or Whites, who appeared to be emotional or unpredictable, and to handle criticism badly, the community would respond with *ilira*. Inuvialuit researcher and historian Rose Marie Kuptana (1993) noted that *ilira* does not mean "afraid" as some have translated it. Rather, it means "awe, such as the awe a strong father inspires in his children or the fear of the Qallunaat previously held by Inuit" (Kuptana, 1993, p. 7). From other Inuvialuit we learn that the traditional IAL process was marked by self-effacement, for while they valued skill and expertise, they frowned upon excessive self-pride and even trying too hard. "People did not like him 'cause he tried too

hard” (Albert Oliver, ICS – Family Histories Collection, 2007). Individual self-accomplishment, self-expression and success were minimized in the case of men, until their middle 30s and 40s, because the eldest male governed the nuclear family (Pokiak, 1991, 1996). On top of this model was the constant pressure on Inuvialuit learners to maintain social esteem, due to the dominance of the IAL process to assure community and cultural unity and survival in harmony with the Arctic environment. With this context in mind, the next chapter explores the history of the bartering and trading process prior to 1935 and the way fur-trade technology helped Inuvialuit adult learners to create opportunities for “freedom” and individual self-expression outside the cultural norm.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION # 1

Research question # 1

What is the history of Inuvialuit fur trading in the Coronation Gulf region prior to 1935?

This chapter consists of section (5.1.) a review of Inuvialuit trading history in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) pre-1935. Section (5.2.) is a review Inuvialuit trading history in the neighbouring Inuinnait territory prior to 1935.

5.1. Inuvialuit trading history in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) pre-1935.

The ISR includes both land and sea areas that range along the most northern tip of the North American continent from the Yukon Coast, inside the Mackenzie Delta to a midway point and eastward along the Beaufort Sea coastline. To situate this landuse area in Inuit geo-political terms, on the western boundary of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region is Alaskan Inupiat territory while the Canadian Inuinnait territory sits immediately adjacent on the ISR eastern boundary.

In the Inuvialuit worldview, in order to meet the environmental demands to provide for the collective survival needs of community and culture, IAL was a process whereby, “You learned new technologies and then the technologies changed you” (Doug Blakely, personal communication, November 10, 2007). The larger cultural values, customs and practices, however, did not change. In reviewing the history of Inuvialuit trading, we see consistent signs of such a process, confirmed by the anecdotal statements of Inuvialuit elders, and historians.

Archaeological research indicates that the Inuvialuit share a common origin with other Inuit in that there are descendents of an archaeological culture known as Thule.

However, they possess their own heritage (Morrison, 2000). About a thousand years ago, Thule Inuit began migrating east from their north-western Alaskan homeland to occupy the Canadian Arctic, eventually reaching Greenland. As proof of this migration, Alaskan tool technology in the form of Alaskan-style harpoon heads, snow goggles, copper harpoon blades, fish lures, slate knife blades, an arrowhead, bear tooth pendant, and an ivory fat scraper were all found in Inuinnait territory around Pearce Point on the southern shores of the Amundsen Gulf. Land subsistence and coastal slumping due to climate change have destroyed most Thule sites in the Western Arctic. "Archaeological evidence suggests that a distinctive Inuvialuit culture had developed as early as AD 1300-1400. The abandonment of coastal areas to the east and west after the Thule migration period helped foster a strong sense of local identity" (Morrison, 2000, Introduction, no pagination).

Archaeological findings (Morrison, 2000) confirm the oral history evidence of Inuvialuit elders of the importance of the marine and land areas. This is illustrated in the words of the Committee of Original People's Entitlement president, Sam Raddi, whose father had passed this advice down from his father as a single Inuvialuit commandment: "Protect the land for your people; if the animals die off from the sea, we all die" (MacGregor, *Maclean's Magazine*, February 23, 1981, p. 30).

In the summer, a family would travel inland and hunt alone; in winter, many families would gather at major camping sites on the coast or on the sea ice at the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) locations such as Herschel, Gupuk, Kittigazuit, Nuvuruk, Avvaq and Iglulualuit. Villages varied from tiny hamlets of one or two houses to large settlements like Kittigazuit, probably the largest traditional village in the

Canadian Arctic. Kittigazuit had a wintertime population of perhaps 150 people, which swelled to over 500 people during the summer beluga hunt. In summer, many people lived in skin tents rather than sod houses (2000, Introduction).

Each of the larger villages consisted of several extended families and was headed by a chief or an *umialiq* or *umialik*, terms that mean literally, “an owner of an *umiak* or boat.” Over time, it has come to mean “a rich man” (Pokiak, 1989, 1991, 1996). *Umialit* (the plural form) “had few formal powers; instead, their authority depended primarily upon their generosity and wisdom” (Morrison, 2000, Introduction, no pagination).

They used traditional tool technologies to construct harpoon, spears, *bola* balls, snow goggles, antler bow and arrows, bow-drill, and *ulus* (Murdoch, 1892, pp. 19-596) as well as traditional clothing technology to sew garments made from the hides of caribou, seals and other sea mammals (Riewe, 1977). This enabled them to hunt both land and marine mammals (Morrison, 2000, Intro, no page). Freeman (1992) described the type of adult learning or skills required to live their subsistence lifestyle as follows:

First, the individual must successfully master ... stalking and tracking skills, and associated knowledge about the environment and animal behaviour ... [as well as] manufacture, maintain, modify and effectively use the necessary hunting equipment. Furthermore, knowledge of the organizational aspects of cooperative hunting groups, and the social values, attitudes and behaviour required to function safely and harmoniously in various such associations under different personal, collective and environmental circumstances. (Freeman, 1992, p. 44)

Theirs was a rich hunting and gathering subsistence.

It is these skills, attitudes and social arrangements that constitute subsistence, a term that is often erroneously taken to mean “the bare means of surviving.” In fact, subsistence means far more: it is the patterned acquisition and use of local resources in such a way as to enhance the social relationships existing among a community of people. Indeed, it is now recognized that in order to understand what subsistence is, attention must be directed to the relationships existing among the people, rather than between people and wildlife. (Usher, 1981, p. 61;

Langdon, 1984, p. 3; Wenzel, 1991, p. 57; Freeman, 1992, p. 44)

The literature reveals that trade flourished among all Inuit groups. Contact with the westerners (Europeans, and then later Euro-Canadians) intensified trade and changed the economic value patterns of aboriginal groups. Originally, trade was intervillage and intertribal as well as intercontinental. Trade routes were well recognized, and in some regions, definite trading centers were established (Morrison, 1983, 1991; Usher, 1965, 1971d). While trading might be accompanied by ceremonies, rituals or other social activities, the primary objective was and is economic—to acquire goods which were not available in one’s own group (Langdon, 1981, p.81). The Alaskan Yupik-Inupiat societies were bound by trading relationships that linked them to each other as well as with the “Siberian Yupik, Chuckhi, Canadian Inupiat, and to a lesser degree with their Athabaskan neighbours” (1981, p. 87).

Inuvialuit subsistence practices changed in the mid 1800s with the arrival of the European and American traders in the Beaufort Sea region. From that point forward, the traditional subsistence economies of the Inuit became increasingly intertwined with the commercial market initiatives of the *Tan’git* (Inuvialuit term for Whitemen) (Alunik,

2003, p. 55). The initial trading transactions with the Europeans involved the direct exchange of natural resources, (meat, furs, metal, and wood) for western wares and even Inuit cultural artefacts. From their initial contact with European onwards, Inuit subsistence became permanently entwined with the highs and lows of the global market economy. Langdon and Worl (1981) found that “commercial goods, subsistence resources and manufactured products and services are exchanged in the [Alaskan] North Slope economy” (1981, p. 93).

Morrison (Alunik et al., 2003) described the Inuvialuit of the 1850s as being successful practitioners of trade technology, noting that the European observations about the Inuvialuit were that they had an attitude of superiority to all non-Inuit, which included the Dene and the Europeans. One wonders whether such a persona is a defence mechanism against fear and shyness, since Stefansson noted, “Nothing is more ingrained in the real Eskimo [and] his traditions and folklore than the idea that strangers are necessarily hostile and treacherous ... [and] that wicked Eskimos are to be found on the other side of the mountains” (Stefansson, 1921, p. 426). To determine the intentions of strangers, the Inuvialuit sub-group, Kanghiryuarmiut, on Victoria Island established a greeting ceremony custom which had a two-fold purpose: to discover the intentions of the newcomers and to create harmonious relationships between them. Allowing “[f]or the formation of partnerships between the two groups” (Rowley, 1985, p.17), meant that Inuvialuit enjoyed not just new social relationships but increased knowledge of resources they might use, and in turn, an increased trading or alliance network for marketing their own goods.

Whatever the explanation for Inuvialuit self-confidence the archaeological and historical records show that they had been skilled traders and negotiators for centuries before the arrival of the Europeans (Morrison, 2000). Notwithstanding the impression they had left, the Inuvialuit were acutely aware of the importance of Europeans because of their value as traders. In addition to enjoying a degree of material wealth, however, “the Inuvialuit eagerly adopted and adapted a host of useful items into their daily lives” (Morrison, 2003, *The Arrival of Strangers*, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, p. 73). In commenting about new IAL that resulted out of their accepting steel trade goods for tools, Morrison (2003) observed:

Almost none is a simple trade item, used as purchased This was not the wholesale adoption of a foreign technology, but the skilful incorporation of a new and very useful raw material Inuvialuit quickly learned how to alter metal to suit themselves ... clear evidence of metallurgy has been found in Inuvialuit archaeological sites dating from the 1860s. (p. 74)

The Inuvialuit, in return for “metal goods, tobacco, glass beads and firearms (after 1870) and a few other items, traded furs, mostly muskrat, red and white fox” (p. 74).

In the next section, I review a chronological history of Inuvialuit trading practices from the 1800s and the effect of their first exposure to European traders on Inuvialuit trading practices.

The year 1826 marks a point in the history of Inuvialuit trading because in that year, Inuvialuit met their first Whiteman, and with this encounter, began to move away from exclusive inter-Inuit trade in traditional Inuit goods (technologies) to trade Inuvialuit goods and services in order to acquire European or western technologies.

In 1826, a British Royal Navy party under Lt. John Franklin was the first outsiders to meet the Inuvialuit. Travelling west along ...the Yukon coast in small boats, they were met by hundreds of Inuvialuit in kayaks, and almost overwhelmed. Bloodshed and the possible destruction of the British party were avoided only with great difficulty. (Morrison, 2000, *Arrival of Strangers*, no pagination)

That year, “the Eskimo population at Kittigazuit has been estimated at about 1,000, and the villages of Point Atkinson and Cape Bathurst each numbered about 500 people (Stefansson, 1913, p. 452). Extensive trading routes that had been “established by the Eskimo extended from Cape Bathurst to Coronation Gulf, but sometime in the 1840s the continuity of habitation along the [Beaufort] coast was broken by changing trade conditions” (Mackay, 1958, p. 105).

During the first half of the 19th century, the Inuvialuit were actively involved in a native trade network centred on the Bering Strait. Russian ironware, tobacco and local Siberian goods were traded east in exchange for furs and other raw materials. The arrival of the Hudson’s Bay Company after 1850 quickly undercut prices and put a stop to this far-ranging trade. (Morrison, 2000, Sect 4)

Morrison noted that by the 1850s, the Inuvialuit were trading directly with the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort McPherson and that in 1861, “a new [Hudson’s Bay] post aimed exclusively at the Inuvialuit trade was opened at Fort Anderson ... while it closed five years later, the Inuvialuit were thoroughly enmeshed in the fur trade and what it had to offer” (Morrison, 2000, Sect 4, Hudson’s Bay Company).

In describing Inuit from the Bering Straits as far east as the Mackenzie Delta Inuvialuit, Hartwig (1871) noted the unchanging nature of all Inuit sub-groups, stating, “Upon the whole ... it is curious to observe how exactly, amidst all diversity of time and place, these people have preserved unaltered their habits and their manners” (Hartwig, 1871, p. 291). He noted that in the construction of their tools for hunting and fishing, they showed ingenuity and skill (1871, p. 293), their good naturedness (p. 301), and their kindness with which they treat their children (p. 301). He noted that the explorer Parry, “taxes them [Inuit] with want of gratitude” and that, among themselves, thieving was frowned upon, but in a form of double standard, the Inuit “steal without scruple from strangers and are not ashamed when detected, nor do they blush when reproved” (p. 301). He concluded, “In intelligence and susceptibility to civilization, the Esquimaux are far superior to the neighbouring Indians” (pp. 301-302) who possessed a “decided predilection for commercial pursuits, and undertaking long voyages for the purposes of trade” (p. 302).

In 1892, Murdoch described the following trading history, complete with consumer trends, of the then Inuvialuit ancestors, as follows:

The Kupunmiun appear to inhabit the permanent villages which have been seen near the western mouth of the Mackenzie, at Shingle Point and Point Sabine ... There appears to me no reasonable doubt that ... Tapeopmeut, “those who dwell by the sea” is the name that they actually apply to themselves, and that Kupunmium, “those who live on the Great River,” is a name bestowed upon them by their neighbours, perhaps their western neighbours alone These are the people who visit Fort McPherson every spring and summer and are well known to

the Hudson's Bay traders as the Mackenzie River Eskimo We are still somewhat at a loss for the proper local names of the last labret-wearing Eskimo, those, namely of the Anderson River and Cape Bathurst ... Sir John Richardson, the first white man to encounter them in 1826 says that they called themselves "Kitte-garroe-oo" ... and the Point Barrow people told ... of a country called Kit-t-gar-ru beyond the Mackenzie The intercourse between these two people [Nunatanmiun and Kupuumiun] is purely commercial. (Murdoch, 1892, p. 49)

With the latter statement confirming Inuvialuit participation in the Inuit trade route, Murdoch described how, through the trading of furs, old Inuit technology (i.e., tools, and the knowledge and skills that accompany each) was replaced by the new technology that they received through the new trade goods.

The articles of trade have changed somewhat in the last 30 years, from the fact that the western natives can now buy directly from the whalers iron articles, arms, ammunition, beads, tobacco, etc. ... the double-edged Siberian knives are no longer in the market and appear to be going out of fashion ... we did not hear of the purchase of stone lamps from the eastern natives [Inuit] ... the western natives prefer the breech-loading arms they obtain from the whalers to the flintlock guns sold by the Hudson's Bay Company. The trade with these people seems to be almost entirely for furs and skins, notably black and red fox skins and wolverine skins. Skins of the narwhal or beluga are no longer mentioned as important articles of trade. (Murdoch, 1892, p. 49)

Murdoch's description shows how the once exclusive and extensive trade route that ran from the Bering Sea to Greenland became interrupted when the Inuit began directing their trade to the non-Inuit in order to acquire the new technology that made their Arctic subsistence survival somewhat easier.

In return for these things, the western natives give sealskins, etc. especially oil, [and] as formerly ... [now] very little, if any, whalebone is now carried east, since the natives prefer to save it for trading with the ships in the hope of getting liquor, or arms and ammunition ... beads, kettles, etc. I was told that ... brass kettles were highly prized by the Kupunmiun, and that a large one would bring [in trade] three wolverine skins, three black fox skins, or five red ones We were told that the eastern natives were glad to buy gun flints and bright-coloured handkerchiefs, and that the Nunatanmium wanted blankets and playing-cards. (Murdoch, 1892, p. 49)

Murdoch reported later that he saw little to fear that the Inuit would lose their traditional technologies (at least in that era of Inuit trade), such as weapon making. "Although they have plenty of the most improved whaling gear, they are not likely to forget the manufacture of their own implements for this purpose, as this important fishery is ruled by tradition and superstition, which insists that at least one harpoon of the ancient pattern must be used in taking every whale. All are now rich in iron, civilized tools, canvas and wreck wood, and in this respect, their condition is improved" (p. 53).

Trading in European goods and technology did not mean an immediate abandonment of Inuvialuit practices and customs. Throughout his report, Murdoch described "Inuit as possessing qualities of boldness, adventurous ice-hunters who

considered themselves equal to Whitemen, if not superior. As a rule, they are quick-witted and intelligent, and show a great capacity for appreciating and learning useful things, especially mechanical arts” (p. 40). In disposition, they are “light-hearted and cheerful ... sometimes quick-tempered ... keen sense of humour and are fond of practical jokes, which they take in good part, even when practised on themselves ... their curiosity is unbounded, and they have no hesitation in gratifying it by unlimited questioning” (pp. 40-41).

They have contracted a taste for civilized food, especially hard bread and flour, but this they are unable to obtain for 10 months of the year, and they are thus obliged to adhere to their former habits. In fact, except in regard to use of firearms and mechanic tools, they struck me as essentially a conservative people.

(Murdoch, 1892, p. 54)

However, Morrison disagreed with Murdoch (1892) on the maintenance of earlier adult learning and traditional technologies, stating, “Only a dozen years after the beginnings of direct trade, the Inuvialuit had so enthusiastically adopted trade iron and steel into their tool kit” [thereby] abandoning their traditional cutting materials of stone, bone and native copper, “as the Inuvialuit became skilled metallurgists, foreign styles and materials began to influence the Inuvialuit tool kit” (Morrison, 2000).

By the mid-nineteenth century, their application of trade technologies and their openness to new adult learning meant that the Inuvialuit populations thrived. The Inuvialuit “numbered about 2500 people ... [and while they were] called “les Grands Esquimaux” (the tall Eskimo) by Roman Catholic missionary Petitot ... their name for themselves means ‘the real human beings.’” Petitot reported that they were living year

round in substantial houses built of sod and driftwood, which were big enough to accommodate four or more related families. Snow houses were used “in late winter only or while travelling” (Morrison, 2000, Introduction).

The arrival of the American whaling fleet in the late 19th century brought tremendous technological change for the Inuvialuit that resulted in both positive and negative experiences. “With the arrival [of the bowhead whalers] ... the Inuvialuit began to deteriorate rapidly. The whalers revolutionized Inuvialuit life, destroyed much of the traditional culture, and brought infectious diseases which decimated the people” (2000, Sect 5; *Arrival of Strangers*, no pagination). Inuvialuit oral memories described this time as one that, in exchange for furs, Inuit received both trade goods and diseases (Jim Gordon, personal communication, 1989). “After a measles epidemic in 1902, Kittigazuit and several other important villages were abandoned. By 1910, the Inuvialuit population had been reduced by about 90%” (Morrison, 2000, Sect 5).

Commercial American whalers, based in San Francisco, moved into the western Canadian Arctic, the Inuvialuit territory, in the late 1880s. By 1894, fifteen whaling ships wintered at Herschel Island. It is marked as a period of change in which an even greater quantity and range of trade goods became available to the Inuvialuit.

Europeans were not always perceived as peaceful, and their intrusion into Inuvialuit territory without permission or consultation was obviously resented. Like many people—most notable the Europeans themselves—the Inuvialuit had a general attitude of superiority towards others, be they Itqilit (Indians) or Kabloonacht (Whites) and were clearly angered by the all-too-obvious preference shown by Europeans to their traditional Dene rivals. And soon they could add

infectious diseases to their list of complaints. It was clear that Europeans had brought diseases, and in the Inuvialuit worldview, this could only be explained by malicious sorcery ... in fact, the truculence displayed by the 19th century Inuvialuit reflects their fundamental independence from the outside world. Masters in their own house, they were clearly not that worried about what Europeans thought of them. (Morrison, 2003, *The Arrival of Strangers 1789-1889*, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, p. 73)

Besides the confidence in their adult-learning process described in the last sentence, it was soon apparent that Inuvialuit possessed a keen sense for business, particularly the process of trading something of theirs (furs, Eskimo artefacts) for the European trade goods.

This does not mean that the Inuvialuit were not keenly aware of the value of European trade. Individual Europeans might have various other goals and purposes for visiting, from the salvation of souls to an interest in natural history, but the relationship between the two peoples was fundamentally a trading relationship. The Inuvialuit eagerly adopted and adapted a host of useful items into their daily lives. It was their control over the fur trade that gave Europeans whatever standing they had in Inuvialuit eyes. The items the Inuvialuit valued most were tobacco and metal, particularly iron or steel. Traditional Inuvialuit technology was based on antler, ivory, bone and wood. Iron or steel-edged tools made it much easier to work these hard organic materials and filled a real need Metal vessels were also in high demand, both as a source of metal and to replace traditional stone and ceramic cooking pots and lamps, which were too heavy and

fragile. (Morrison, 2003, *The Arrival of Strangers 1789-1889*, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, pp. 73-74)

Inuvialuit soon expanded their normal westward trading route easterly towards the central Arctic.

Each spring, the Qikiqtarukmuit [Herschel Island people] travelled west to trade furs, sealskins, and oil. In return, they got iron, knives, and beads at Point Barrow and on Barter Island. With the eastern peoples they exchanged products that might have included beluga whale skins, blubber, muktuk and meat, baleen from bowhead, and ivory from walrus, early European trade goods, and other goods for copper, meteoric iron and lamp stone. (Wildlife Management Advisory Council, North Slope, 1996, p. 21)

Through the acquisition of early trade goods, the Inuvialuit first became exposed to new European technologies, adapting them to their own needs. “The Inuvialuit believe that the arrival of the Tan’git (Europeans) was foretold by the shaman or prophet Isulik. He predicted that strangers would appear to be friendly, but would bring much pain” (2000, Intro).

So active were the Inuit in trading at Herschel that they created a new language technology—the trade jargon of Herschel Island. I offer as proof in the evolution of this dialect that, once again, Inuvialuit traded furs not just for trade or store goods but ideas. Noting that a similar jargon had developed at Barrow, Alaska, Stefansson (1909) described the Eskimo trade jargon of Herschel Island as having the most linguistic structure of any of the Beaufort Sea trade dialects.

At Herschel Island, indeed, practically all forms of the jargon exist side-by-side, for here gather whalers who have picked it up in Kotzebue sound, at Point Hope, Point Barrow, and at other places—and even one or two who have it from near Marble Island on the Atlantic ocean side—from which source we probably have at least the two work *kab-lu-na*, “White man” and *ku-ni*, “wife,” “husband”.... A semblance of uniformity is possible in a vocabulary ... only by adopting the Mackenzie River Eskimo pronunciation as used in dealing with whites.

(Stefansson, 1909, p. 218)

Stefansson noted that besides the ship’s jargon, “a more highly developed one [was] used in dealing with the Athabasca Indians” (1909, p. 219) around Arctic Red River and Fort Macpherson.

The greatest difference results from the inability of many white men to distinguish the final k sound characteristic of Eskimo words, while the Loucheux [Gwich’in] not only keep all the final k’s and other consonants, but even put k’s where they do not belong. (Stefansson, 1909, p. 219)

Additional remarks on 20th century Inuvialuit trading and the adoption of the new trade technologies supplanting technological production, can be found from the findings at two structure (house) archaeological excavations at Herschel (Qikiqtaruk) (Government of Yukon, 2007) where it was observed that they found few locally (i.e., Inuvialuit) made goods.

Although Inuvialuit of the early 20th century still produced a small number of items such as harpoon heads, fish net sinkers, skin scrappers ... however, they now used a much broader range of imported items ... trade goods are dominated

by firearm-related artifacts, which include 11 different calibers of rifle cartridge as well as 10-gauge shotgun shells ... also present were hundreds of other imported artifacts, ranging from glass beads, to playing cards, to rubber boots, to an accordion. Clearly, Inuvialuit were actively incorporating many aspects of imported technology into their culture ... [All the while maintaining] a close connection to the land. (Government of Yukon, 2007, ¶18)

Inuvialuit used the trade goods to reduce the rigours of Arctic subsistence, and before long, reflecting industriousness and adaptability, they were soon involved in wage employment. To assist in the hunting and trapping of bowhead whales, the whalers “offered the Inuvialuit employment as hunters, mistresses, seamstresses, trappers and labourers. Hundreds of Inuvialuit congregated at Herschel Island, where a bustling shanty town quickly arose” (Morrison, 2000, Sect 5).

By 1908, at Herschel Island, NWT, the end of the bowhead era began to force Inuvialuit to acquire new adult-learning skills. Historical records and Inuvialuit family memories (Alunik, 2003; Freeman, 1992; MacInnis, 1932; Metayer, 1966; Morrison, 2003; Stefansson, 1919) describe it as a time when the whaling boats and the traders left the Arctic and the Inuvialuit experienced a loss of trading opportunities as well as wage-earning opportunities. Having acquired a dependency on trade goods by then, Inuvialuit took up trapping furs to exchange for valuable trade goods.

When the market for baleen disappeared, some [whalers] stayed on particularly those who had married Inuvialuit women and fathered local families. Much of the early 20th century fur trade continued to be schooner-based and many of the old whaling ships ... continued in operation as floating trading posts, plying the

waters of the Beaufort Sea from community to community. (Morrison, 2003, *Trappers, Traders and Herders*, 1906, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, p. 113)

Inuvialuit continued to travel to Herschel and it thrived. The Hudson's Bay fur trader, Godsell, visited Herschel in 1921 and described it as follows:

The place was crowded with Mounted Police, missionaries, also traders and trappers of many nationalities from Negros and Hawaiians to Portuguese. Drawn up along the shore were about sixty motor schooners belonging to the Nunatagmiut Eskimos. They had become quite sophisticated in their ways was evidenced by the strains of 'Red Hot Mama', 'Dardanella' and 'How are you gonna Keep Down on the Farm' which were wafted on the Polar breeze from the gramophones within the cabins. (Morrison, 2003, *Trappers, Traders and Herders*, 1906, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, p. 114)

Those born in the early 1900s remember the hardship of their formative years having been eased by the comforts that trade goods brought to their nomadic subsistence lifestyle.

[In] 1917, towards the end of February, some families went down to Nugavik ... also there were some people at Utqaluk, and there was also a Hudson's Bay trading post there People trapping from our camp didn't have to out very far. They only made round trips. The trappers sometimes would go to Utqaluk with as many as 200 or 300 foxes to trade for goods. I must say, at that time, the white fox price was very good, about \$30.00 [each] ... I'll bring back old memories from 1920 when Jack Patterson arrived with Mr. Hester, the Anglican missionary. They

arrived by dog team and they had brought with them some goods they could trade. Light stuff like watches and other small valuables that they could haul in small quantities ... Jack Patterson got his supplies during the summer from Lee & Co., [they arrived at Utqaluk in a] a four-masted schooner Now at this time, the new trader was now paying \$63.00 for a white-fox skin. He carried with him a big money belt, which was loaded with cash. He gave out straight cash for all the foxes he could buy ... At this time, stuff was very cheap, and a trapper could get to one of the trading posts with two foxes, and could return home a rich man You could go to the trading post and load your basket sleigh right down till it couldn't hold any more stuff. I remember a box of 30-30 shells was \$2.00 and a bag of flour was \$5.00. (Government of the Northwest Territories, *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit*, 1991, p. 50)

Historical records confirm the Inuvialuit oral memories and collective oral histories of the wealth of early Inuvialuit trading at Herschel Island in the 1920s. "The 60 motor schooners belonging to 'Nunatagmiut' Eskimos (as Godsell called all Inuvialuit) are a clue that, for many people, prosperity remained high or even achieved new heights [through trading] in the years after the whaling boom" (Alunik, 2003, p. 115). Through the trading transactions, Inuvialuit received not only new goods such as the schooners, but were forced to learn new skills to maintain these modern tools. "The schooners were two-masted and 12 to 15 metres, 940-50 feet) long with powerful gas engines. They replaced the earlier sail-driven whale boats after 1912 and cost about \$6,000 each, a considerable fortune ninety years ago" (Alunik, 2003, p. 115). In fact, new adult learning escalated as a byproduct of successful trading. In some cases, while the new prosperity

eased the demands of their subsistence lifestyle, this new adult learning for some meant that the traditional technologies were set aside or even completely abandoned.

According to one observer, the average standard of living for Inuvialuit during the early 20th century was higher than that of many working-class southern Canadians It was the fur trade that supported this prosperity. The Inuvialuit had been involved in trading furs since 1850 ... the whalers had taught them to value and depend upon a whole range of trade items which the 19th century Hudson's Bay Company could not supply: gramophones, cotton clothing, imported food, sewing machines, frame houses with glass windows, even typewriters. To pay for these things, the Inuvialuit became more adept and highly focused fur trappers. The shift to an economy that depended more and more on trapping was also encouraged by a sharp rise in the price of furs. Between 1915 and 1919, the price of white fox in the western Arctic rose from \$2.50 to \$50.00 a pelt, marten from \$2.50 to \$55.00, mink from \$1.00 to \$20.00 and muskrat from .40 cents to \$1.50. (Morrison, 2003, *Trappers, Traders and Herders*, 1906, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, 2003, p. 115)

During this period, Inuvialuit were no longer content to be hunters and trappers. Some became traders and entrepreneurs. By 1945, about fifty posts had opened in the western Arctic, with at least eight being owned by Inuvialuit. Individual Inuvialuit families were also active in trading (Usher, 1971d)

With the decline of Herschel, and particularly the move by the RCMP from Herschel to Aklavik in 1922, Inuvialuit moved their trapping and trading practices to Aklavik drawn by the reports of the quality and quantity of both land and marine

resources on the west side of the Mackenzie River delta. “Aklavik rose to the forefront as the transportation, commercial and administrative capital of the western Arctic. It soon boasted stores, schools, a hospital, hotels and even an Anglican cathedral” (p.117). By 1931, 140 of the 411 people living at Aklavik were Inuvialuit. Due to the abundance of Mackenzie Delta muskrat and mink supply, “Hundreds of thousands of muskrats were taken—as many as 250,000 in some years—and Aklavik were soon known as the Muskrat Fur Capital of the World” (p. 117).

Inuvialuit who owned schooners were addressed as “Captain” and enjoyed “some of the prestige of the old Umialit, organizing the hunt and sharing out the spoils” (p. 118). People travelled to Aklavik on a seasonal basis to visit, trade, buy supplies and attend church. Fur trader Dudley Copland described the town in 1935, as follows:

Because of its location, this huddle of buildings on the bend of the river attracted a roving population of muskrat hunters. Most of them owned schooners. When the water level had gone down, and the ratting was over, they brought their boats to Aklavik and lined them up along the bank. Here they lived with their families until they dispersed for the fishing camps, to prepare for another winter. Sun-dried fish and meat hung from the riggings, along with family washing. There was an almost continual traffic of people, young and old, hurrying back and forth along the narrow banks that stretched between the riverbank to the boats Although the people were well off at the close of the muskrat-hunting season, the traders carried little cash, since most of the business was done on a barter or limited credit basis Muskrat was legal tender. I recall Harry Pepper standing over a hot stove in his kitchen clad in pajamas, frying bacon and eggs and flipping hot cakes

for his Inuit and Indian customers. They paid him in muskrat skins, which he tossed into a cardboard carton by his side. (Morrison, 2003, Trappers, Traders and Herders, 1906, in Alunik et al., *Across Time and Tundra*, p. 119)

In another recollection in the same source, Ishmael Alunik (2003) described his formative early years from his birth in 1923 when Inuvialuit technology dominated this contract-traditional period.

I was born on February 19, 1923, in Old Crow, Yukon ... things were tough ... families and people living in camps worked together and looked after each other...that was the way it was then. When I was around four years old, our whole family walked over the mountains from Crow Flats to our camp [Head Point on the Yukon coast] on the other side of the mountains. It was tough walking and my grandmother always encouraged me We had about 15 pack that packed our supplies Our clothes were made out of caribou skins. We all had caribou pants, caribou parkas and caribou mitts. Our *kamiks* (boots) had sealskin bottoms that were waterproof, with fur from the front legs of caribou for the top part. Our clothes were really warm. We used every part of the animals that were harvested for all our clothing, tools and supplies. Our dog packs were made out of sealskins and they were waterproof. Dog harnesses, floor mattresses, rope and other things we needed came from the animal hides ... we harvested First time I seen a dance was in 1928 or 1929 Hershel Island. I thought it was strange because I was young and people really dance and really make noise—especially at New Year's. They used to go outside after dance and bang, bang, bang, shoot their guns. In July, on big days before hunting whales ... [There were also] big dances at big

gatherings. This was what I remember as a child. It was hard work Even though it was tough we were all happy to be living off the land. (Alunik et al., 2003, p. 147)

While he hunted and trapped when he was growing up, by the time he was 17 [in 1940], Alunik found himself learning the “ins and outs” of yet another new technology: wage employment.

I started working after my father died. I waited for steamboat to come to work. We get fifty cents an hour for working hauling freight. Few more years, it becomes dollar an hour. Peffer [Aklavik trader] used to haul freight with big horse that pulled a log sled We get two free meals, breakfast and dinner when we work hauling freight. First time we eat like a hotel food. The rest of the time, when no work we hunt, fish and trap. (Alunik et al., 2003, p. 150)

Alunik adapted his fur-trading technology skills into a new small-business technology model, perhaps an indicator of future generations of Inuvialuit corporate expertise, in that he “used to sell fish to Peffer's [Store & Hotel] once in a while for seventy-five cents each” (p. 150).

In closing the historical overview provided above, we have seen how Inuvialuit from 1907 up to the early 1930s had adopted fur-trading technology. Through their extensive fur trading transactions and the receipt of trade goods (rather than cash), they were exposed to new technologies that brought with them the need for new knowledge on how to use them or how to fix them. Usher (1971d, p. 27) stated that between 1910 and 1916, contact was made as far eastward as Kugluktuk (Coppermine) and that not long after, the Inuinait “were soon oriented to the trapping economy and the [technology of

the] rifle” (p. 27). What follows then is a closer examination of primary and secondary sources on the history of Inuit trading in the Coronation Gulf region prior to 1935, on the shores of which is situated the Cape Krusenstern trading site. In summary, we can say that the Inuvialuit had a history of keeping abreast of new technologies starting with fur-trade technology, introduced through their trading partnerships with the Inuinnait sub-groups, starting with Kangiryuarmit (Holman). “The presence of the westerners on northwest Victoria Island ...quite possibly helped facilitate the Kangiryuarmit's gradual transition to trapping in the 1930s” (Condon, 1996, p. 109). However, as noted in Chapter 6, both archaeological and 1935-47 historical data confirms that there was an Inuvialuit (Thule) presence at Cape Krusenstern that dated back centuries.

5.2. Inuvialuit trading history in the Inuinnait territory prior to 1935.

The Inuinnait territory is situated immediately east of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (see map). It covers both north and south land masses adjacent to the Dolphin & Union Strait (Read Island Trading site), Coronation Gulf, Dease Strait and Queen Maud Gulf (Collignon, 2006, footnote 6, p. 24). Today, most Inuinnait live and travel among the five major settlements: Ulukhaktok (Holman), and Cambridge Bay which are situated north of the waterways on Victoria Island, or to Kugluktuk, Bathurst or Umingmaktok.

Inuinnait territory is at the centre of two major trade networks: the Siberia-Alaska-central Arctic route and the Greenland to central Arctic route.

“Travel and exchange of goods within each of the two major trade networks ... continued into the 17th century, when goods were exchanged where the trade networks intersected along the shores of the Coronation Gulf” (Fossett, 2001, p. 27). Many smaller trade networks operated in adjacent regions, such that “while social and cultural change

was always present within the Thule region, the persistence of trade relations between regions helped to maintain the similarities and continuities evident within indigenous Arctic societies over long periods” (Fossett, 2001, p. 27)

As reported earlier, Inuvialuit migration into Inuinnaït territory for trapping and trading was made possible due to extensive use of family owned schooners in the summer, and dog teams in the winter, both purchased by and maintained with the wealth acquired as part of the arctic fox trade.

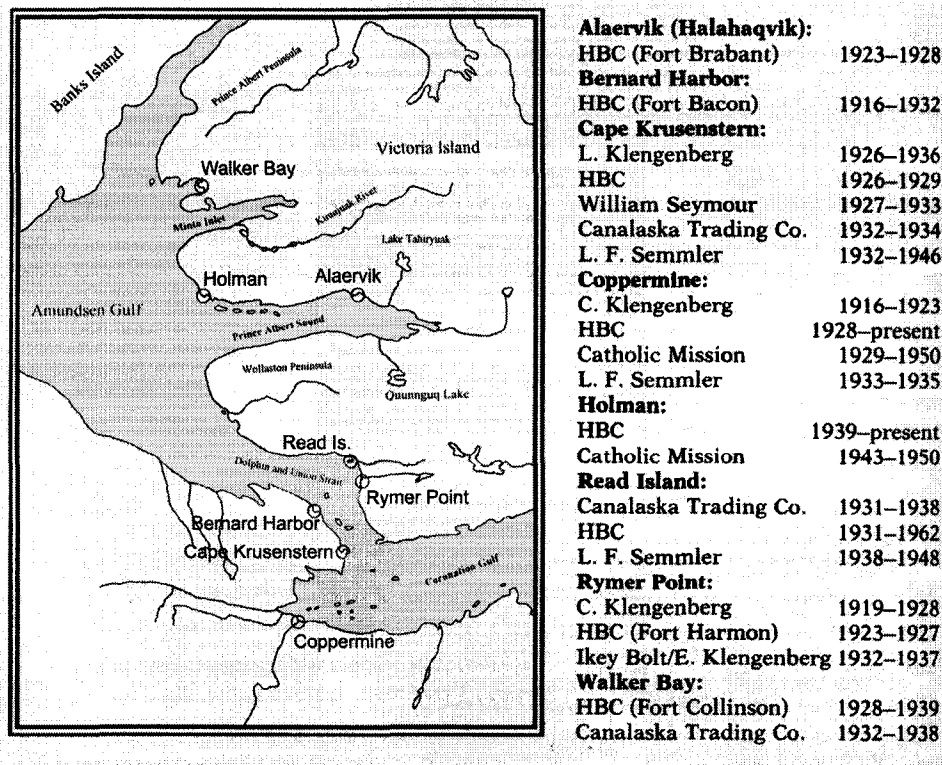
Sizeable dog teams contributed to, and fit well with, the contact-traditional settlement and economic orientations. Men could range widely and travel quickly for trapping, hunting (especially for caribou and polar bear), and visiting [food] caches which were at times scattered over the country. They could also make rapid runs to Point-of-Trade settlements [such as Cape Krusenstern] when vital equipment or supplies were needed. (Damas, 1988b, p. 110)

Many Inuvialuit families left their traditional lands and travelled into Inuinnaït territory. I believe that this was primarily due to their preference for nomadicism as a form of mental health to ease the tensions of short-term occupancy of living too close to their neighbours. Of course, exploring well travelled routes also satisfied their desire to experience the challenges of skill and luck in traditional marine and landuse harvest areas and to use the traditional knowledge acquired from elders at those seasonal gathering places. Perhaps, most importantly than subsistence food gathering though was their custom for Inuvialuit to travel by schooner or by dog teams throughout the western and central Arctic to maintain those valued community/cultural ties with other Inuit. Thus, in my opinion, the scarcity of white fox and other western Arctic furs due to over-harvesting

was really a secondary explanation for Inuvialuit relocation, as I believe it merely provided some Inuvialuit with a reason to load their “junk” (camp and living supplies) and just take off (Victor Allen, personal communication, 1986).

Fur-trade technology application by Inuvialuit and Inuinnait in the Coronation Gulf region resulted in a change in the historical summer inland and winter on the sea-ice occupancy pattern. By the 1920s, a “common pattern of yearly movements and settlement developed” (1988b, p. 112). In late spring and early summer, people moved inland where they tended to do more caribou hunting than fishing. It is reported that they usually stayed until August or September, after which they returned to pre-arranged meeting points on the coast to get ready for winter. By late October or early November, the family would move out onto the sea ice

Winter camps were established at loci of largest caribou kills, with nets set under the ice of nearby lakes and rivers and trapping concentrated at these sites and around surrounding cache locations. The Copper [Inuinnait] Eskimo ... returned to the coast for sealing as early as February or as late as April, depending upon the success of the previous year’s summer, fall and winter caribou hunting. (1988b, p. 112)



Location of major trading posts in the Holman – Coppermine region, Northwest Territories. Between 1916 and the early 1940's, at least fifty-one trading posts were in operation in the Holman-Coppermine region.

Adapted from Condon, 1996, p. 94.

Map 3. Major trading posts in the Holman-Coppermine Region

It can be seen from list of major trading posts operating in Inuinnaït territory, many by Inuit traders, that the Inuvialuit had numerous sites where they could stop, visit and trade any furs or fish, etc. that they had acquired along the way. Inuvialuit oral histories report that Read Island was often frequented. Departing Read Island, Inuvialuit would travel south along the Dolphin Union Strait and stop at Cape Krusenstern trading site before heading for the major Coronation Gulf trading site; Coppermine (Kugluktuk). While travelling in this area, some Inuvialuit intermarried with Inuinnaït.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, besides trading on the mainland, a number of the Banks Island fleets operating from their schooners began to trade further east inside Inuinnait territory. Inuvialuit began to winter over at western sites off Victoria Island, most notably Walker Bay, Read Island and, as we have shown, at Cape Krusenstern. Some of the western Inuvialuit who traded at Walker Bay were David Barnhardt, Alex Stefansson, Luke Miliksuk and his son Mashook, Johnny “One Arm” Togluk, Fred Wolkie, David Pektukana, Gerald and William Siksikaluk (Sixiealuk), Peter and Johnny Norberg, Andy Klengenberg, and George Avakana” (Condon, 1996, p. 103). Some of the Inuinnait that traded at the Walker Bay area were Igiukshiuk, Emerak, Kudluk, Kunilu, Kahak, Kataoyak, Pokuk, Nerriune, Pumyuk, Napayuak, Povotuk, Elongna, Macara, Kunanna, Inuktalik and Ilinnik (Condon, 1996, p. 109). Meanwhile, the Inuinnait continued their westerly migration with many Copper River Inuit travelling past Cape Krusenstern to trade at Read Island and other Victoria Island trading sites, eventually arriving on Banks Island. There they came in contact with the western trappers and their technology and with such contact, established opportunities to become ancestors to contemporary Inuvialuit families. “The Copper Inuit were still oriented more toward subsistence hunting, rather than intensive trapping” (Condon, 1996, p. 102). Because of the late 1920s/early 1930s start, and the fact Inuinnait trappers were underpaid for furs compared to other Inuvialuit trappers, “there did not arise ... a generation of really excellent Copper Eskimo trappers, because there had been less opportunity for them to learn the trade during the peak [1910s and 1920s] trapping years” (Condon, 1996, p. 107).

Between the 1916 establishment of a Hudson's Bay Coppermine trading post and the late 1940s, eight trading sites were set up in the western Amundsen Gulf, Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf region. The traders were either Hudson's Bay employees or independent fur traders. The trading sites were Alaervik (Halahaqvik), Bernard Harbour, Cape Krusenstern, Coppermine, Ulukhaktok (Holman), Read Island, Rymer Point and Walker Bay. Inuvialuit and Inuinnait alike frequented these trading sites but eventually a scarcity of game led to some trading sites winning out over others. "The [Hudson's] Bay realized that a lot of Prince Albert Sound people were trading at Read Island, not Fort Collinson, and that some of this trade was being side-tracked to the Bay's competitor, L. F. "Slim" Semmler" (Condon, 1996, p. 121), who operated posts at Read Island and Cape Krusenstern.

What follows is an overview of the historical record of Inuinnait contact with the first Europeans and the effect of the introduction of European or western goods (technologies).

The first European to visit this area was Samuel Hearne, whose expedition notes reveal that he first encountered Inuit people in 1771 at the mouth of the Coppermine River. He noted that there were no trade goods found (Tyrrell, 1911, p. 191). The next European visit occurred 81 years later in 1852 by Collinson (1889). His field notes report that the Inuit had little or no iron and that from their traditional dress, it showed that "this was in all probability the first time they had come in contact with white men" (Collinson, 1889, p. 222). It should be noted that the Little Ice Age from the 1500s to around 1850 had driven people out of the area, either west to the Mackenzie Delta or east of the Coronation Gulf to the Hudson Bay area. As a result, with the end of the ice age, a

climate change produced longer warm-weather seasons and winters where the sea ice was no longer so thick that they could not penetrate it to hunt seals. In 1902, 50 years later with the arrival of the sportsman and adventurer Hanbury, “the inflow of foreign goods and materials began anew. Tools such as knives, as well as scrap iron and steel for local manufactures, were popular commodities” (Klengenberg, 1932, pp. 229-230). In 1910, Stefansson reported, “Articles of iron have begun to come in more freely by overland native trade from Hudson Bay. Firearms and the fur trade are known by hearsay, though they have not as yet penetrated into Coronation Gulf proper” (Palsson, 2001, p. 254). Stefansson noted that this year (1910) was a pivotal one in the Inuinnaït territory regarding the establishment of a new adult-learning environment.

From the present year, however, change will be rapid ... our unwilling ministrations this summer broke down the walls of fear and hatred that ignorance of each other has till now maintained and that has since effectively kept apart the Coppermine Eskimo and the Bear Lake Slavey. The fur-trading post on Bear Lake River (Fort Norman) is the natural market for Coronation gulf. The white men there are eager for the Eskimo's furs; the missionaries there are no less eager to extend their activities The Eskimo, after familiarity with our outfit this summer [and naturally being quick, adaptive adult learners] are set on getting guns, fish nets, and tools In a year or two, the Eskimo will go to the traders if the traders do not come to the Eskimo. (Palsson, 2001, p. 256)

The process of fur-trade technology application began to unfold but it should be noted, at a subsistence pace controlled by the local Inuinnaït people (then referred to as the Copper Eskimos). A few years later, Stefansson's 1913-18 (1919) expedition field notes on his

visit to the Coronation Gulf revealed that the only noticeable trade goods were glass beads. The beads were used to adorn “the bonnet-like dancing hats worn by influential persons on festive occasions” (Karklins, 1992, p. 215). As reported earlier, it was outside the global interest in fur that the Hudson’s Bay Company moved into this western Coronation Gulf region opening a trading post at the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1916. The Dane Christian Klengenberg, along with his Inupiat wife, Gremnia (Qimniq) was one of the fur traders to identify the resources in Inuvialuit territory (Banks Island, 1890) and the central Arctic (Victoria Island, 1905). “If a trader could get into their country with a good supply of trade goods, he might have a chance to get furs cheaper than elsewhere in the Arctic, and could become wealthy” (Klengenberg, 1932, p. 128). The western Inuvialuit who accompanied Klengenberg on his ship, the *Olga*, introduced trapping camps “at some distance from the ship” (Condon, 1996, p. 38). The Inuvialuit historian, Nuligak (Metayer, 1966) related what happened when around 1906 at Wollaston Peninsula, Victoria Island, the experienced Inuvialuit trappers and fur traders, with their new technologies of matches and tobacco pipes, first met the forefathers of the Inuvialuit sub-tribe, the Kangiryuarmit (Prince Albert Sound people) with their bows and arrows. Inuvialuit trappers Romanic and Tajo and their wives were out visiting their snares when they were approached from the east by three strangers *Krangmalit*. (This is the old Mackenzie Delta term to describe the Inuit of the central Arctic) (Condon, 1996, footnote 4, p. 40). “While they were talking, Kromnanak, who felt like smoking, filled his pipe with tobacco, took out a match and lit his pipe—and the three visitors cleared out as fast as they could [frightened by the magical power]” (Metayer, 1966, pp. 41-42). When the Inuvialuit told Klengenberg of these new Inuit people, he loaded his sled and

travelled south of Prince Albert Sound, where, once initial distrust gave way to the excitement of new company, he started to offer them trade goods. “Although they had no raw furs to trade, Klengenberg took from them soapstone pots, copper snow knives and [even the] fur garments that they were wearing. Then a celebration was held, with dancing, eating and singing” (Condon, 1996, p. 42). The headman, a member of the Inuinnait subgroup, the Kangiryuarmit, told Klengenberg to get “more iron and knives” (1996, p. 42). He then gave him directions to their interior settlements, stating in that confident Inuinnait way that he would see Klengenberg next time and “would be able to get plenty of furs without taking their pants away from them [the Kangiryuarmit]” (1996, p. 42). As was his fashion in 1916, Klengenberg and his family set up a trading post at the mouth of the Coppermine River, some 100 kilometres south of Cape Krusenstern, in direct competition with the Hudson’s Bay Company.

By the 1920s, the Inuinnait fur garments were “tending to follow western Inuit patterns and to be overlaid with beadwork” (Jenness, 1946, p. 1). However, by 1937, the era of this Cape Krusenstern trading research, the Anglican minister Whitaker reported that there was no beadwork of any kind on adult clothing, but children’s clothing reflected trade goods that were both traditional and modern. Children’s coats were “often ornamented with red and blue beads, tufts of coloured wool, or by dangles of ivory or bone, sewn to the front and back” (Whitaker, 1937, p. 101). It should be noted that we have no information as to the range of other ornaments traded. In the Cape Krusenstern trading post records, referring specifically to the identified Inuvialuit ancestors, no beads were taken in trade. In fact, other than fabric and furs, trades were confined to meeting the simple wants Godsell reported earlier: basic foods, tools and clothing.

Usher (1965) stated, “The contact-traditional period ... is understood to be that stage of the meeting of the Eskimo and European cultures during which the hunting economy continues to hold sway, although its technological basis may have been radically altered” (p. 50). However, the low numbers of the amount and type of trade goods taken by Inuvialuit ancestors at Cape Krusenstern, Semmler’s trading post refutes Usher’s earlier observation about there being radical technological change. The term “radical” in this instance varies in the eye of the beholder, with my own opinion being in gentle disagreement with Usher’s. I prefer to give the last word to Collings. In his research on Inuvialuit community of Holman, Collings (2000) noted that, “[D]espite economic, political and technological changes to Inuit society, there remains a great deal of cultural continuity on an ideological level (p. 111).

Thus, to examine the role of adult learning through trade-technology application at the Inuinait site of Cape Krusenstern, we need only go back to 1910 to appreciate the state of Inuinait adult learning. On May 27, 1910, Stefansson came in sight of the Coronation Gulf, not by his long-anticipated dream of rounding the point of Cape Krusenstern peninsula, but by an overland portage. He encountered people with whom he exchanged a saddle of caribou and they gave him one dozen tomcod [fish]. His ethnographic journal entry stated that the people are “the most sophisticated, forward and inquisitive people we have met” (Stefansson, in Palsson, 2001, p. 214). For all their sophistication, Stefansson’s description of their ceremony of meeting illuminates the taboos and rituals that governed adult-learning practice. Stefansson noted:

But [we] did not understand that ... the man we first met stroked Tannaumirk’s clothes over with downward motions. Hala did the same the other night and we

now understand that this is connected with the turnnrat belief, to remove evil influences. Apattok fed us each with a piece of raw blubber, which he would not let us touch but himself placed in our mouths. Possible simply hospitality, more likely to ward off evil influences or to see if we were human and not spirits. (Some of my folklore tales from the west imply blubber fatal to spirits, kills them.) (Palsson, 2001, p. 216)

Thus, by projecting forward it can be said that for this research period 1935-1947, white-fox trapping and trading for goods was a reliable method by which the family provided for its simple survival needs. Faced with sporadic appearances of the caribou herds, the routine difficulties of seasonal climate and conditions, white-fox trapping and trading became a necessity, the practice of which removed the family's risk of total dependence on subsistence food gathering during periods of sporadic land (caribou) and marine (seal) food supplies.

From the anecdotal evidence available relating back to this research period, we can also see that it was a time that the Inuvialuit, in particular, had not only become experts at the application of fur-trade technology but they had become motivated consumers. The acquisition of trade goods, particularly foodstuffs, had changed them, and their desire for convenience and sweet goods drove them to continue to evolve and participate in the market economy. From Inuvialuk Jim Wolkie, Sachs Harbour, oral memories include:

We had already run out of white man's food—groceries, like flour and everything, and tea and sugar ... everything. Gone. And we had to take it that way and tough it out, and we had to live off the country. So we didn't have many

shells either, and there weren't much caribou on Banks Island at that time, and what few shells we had, we just used them for seal hunting in open water in fall time, and we lived on straight meat all the time ... we trapped owls for grub. When the winter came quick, there were lots of foxes alright, and we trapped a bit. There were really a lot of foxes and I got over 100 foxes already in fall time Then we started to run out of grub, so we just went back to that place again. And then when we went back after New Year, I told my wife that I couldn't stand it much longer this way—I'm not used to this kind of life. So I told her we'd try to make a trip to Lady Harbour [across on the mainland], so my wife told me, "If you go, maybe you won't come back. Maybe the ice will take you out and you could lose your life." So I told her I had pretty good dogs now and I told her I was going to try anyway, and I didn't care if I lost my life or not. I said I had good dogs. And if everything turned out all right, we'd see each other again. So she told me not to go all right, but I got up early and I went anyway. (Jim Wolkie, 1971, *The Long Crossing*, part 1)

Such motivation and dependence upon these subsistence foodstuffs and tools assured that the Inuvialuit ancestors, as well as Inuinnait, would continue to practise fur-trade technology applications. That conscious choice, however, changed them as individuals and as a group. In order to participate in the fur-trade technology, they had to look to outside knowledge and an understanding of the supply and demand global market economy and its effect on fur prices. During this era, while the Inuvialuit continued to be nomadic, "as they grew more dependent upon the traders and missionaries, they changed their seasonal migrations accordingly" (Usher, 1965, p. 59). The Inuvialuit and Inuinnait

conducted trades to such a degree that, in the Coronation Gulf region at this time, besides Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading post, Inuit frequented the Hudson's Bay's "three most important and long-standing ones [trading posts] ... at Coppermine, Holman and Read Island" (1965, p. 50).

It can be said that from 1910 to the 1930s, Inuvialuit subsistence patterns changed due to their adoption of and adaptation to new trade technology. When they began to move into Inuinait territory, they brought with them their advanced skills and technologies. Farquharson (1976) reported that the arrival of the fur traders (Hudson's Bay Company, Canalska Company, Semmler and private Inuvialuit traders from Banks Island) changed Inuinait people's hunting patterns, and in the years following 1916 and the first trading post in the area at Coppermine, "some Inuit travelled a long way from Holman Island, Minto Inlet, Cambridge Bay, and as far east as King William Island [to western Coronation Gulf area] to trade for metal knives, guns, ammunition and other valuable items" (Farquharson, in Freeman, 1976, Vol I., p. 33). While both Inuvialuit and Inuinait continued with their traditional adult-learning skills to maximize seasonal hunting and food gathering (Damas, 1988b, p. 111), it was also through trading furs for new products that they acquired new knowledge, such as information on how to use or how to repair these new products. The Inuvialuit were accustomed to the benefits resulting from white-fox-fur trading. The influence of the fur trade on local Inuinait (two of whom are in this review of five Inuvialuit ancestors) lifestyles was such that through the exchange of furs for goods that reflected new technological innovations, they experienced "aspects of altered and improved subsistence through use of guns, nets, and boats" (1988b, p. 111). Damas observed that for the period 1911-1923, thanks to traders

offering a steady replacement supply throughout the central Arctic region, both Inuvialuit and Inuinait experienced “pronounced changes in the seasonal economic cycles throughout much of the area” (p. 111).

During this contract-traditional Arctic era, it can be said that the traditional part reflected an active adult-learning process that centered upon the continued use of traditional subsistence technologies based on local, empirical knowledge and skills (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 1999, p. 1). However, through contact with fur traders, local Inuit were gradually becoming introduced and accustomed to store-bought goods. Damas (1988b) stated:

The fur traders were almost the sole source of European goods for much of the contact-traditional period. Only small relief issuances, usually administered by the traders or police, supplemented the trade until after World War II ... such items as flour, lard, tea and tobacco came to be highly prized by the Inuit. (Damas, 1988b, p. 108)

In addition, through contact with not only fur traders but the Big Three—the Church, the Hudson’s Bay Company and the RCMP—and exposure to their spiritual teachings, new trade goods and new laws, the Inuvialuit ancestors, like the Inuinait, while of mixed opinion about these new authority figures, nevertheless began to undergo new adult learning. Damas (1988b) stated that by using RCMP dog-team patrols on regular intervals and taking into account the “enforcement difficulties in the vast areas and scattered settlement of the patrol regions” (1988b, p. 117), the RCMP activity was “one of gentle and liberal application of the white man’s laws” (p.117). Damas commented

further that the influence of the Christian missionaries on Inuinnait “lies in the elusive and subjective areas of belief changes” (p. 117). Noting that Christian beliefs did not eradicate the traditional Inuit beliefs, Damas stated, “Rather, syncretism characterized religion during the contact-traditional period, and at least vestiges of shamanism survived into the 1960s even in centralized, mixed Inuit-White communities” (p. 117). While Inuvialuit viewed some of the contact messages with scepticism, they continued to practise fur-trade technology since, in their case it was one that had been passed down to them by their grandparents (Jim Gordon, personal communication, 1979).

Another major modern concept requiring new adult learning by the Inuvialuit was the introduction of the idea of the Boss, the Whiteman from the south, who was all-powerful particularly when it came to matters of money. Through the messages of the Big Three, Inuvialuit became introduced to a whole range of new powers, particularly when it came to money. Inuvialuit elders tell that this era marks the introduction into an (until then) unknown facet of Arctic living—politics. Accustomed as they were to the historic comfort and strength derived from elders’ and chiefs’ leadership and a sense of belonging through their individual participation in a consensus-style local decision-making process, some Inuvialuit were politely dismissive of these new rules and regulations at first, and in time, these new politics that came from the Boss far, far away.

Indicative of the external forces that required new adult learning was the encroachment of more and more government rules and regulations and increasing territorial management of Arctic regions by the Government of Canada in Ottawa. The trader became the government representative and “issued relief rations and supplies”

(Damas, 1988b, p. 117) to those Inuit in need. Fearful of economic and social exploitation of the Arctic people and its resources, the Government of Canada brought in a number of new measures. The Northwest Game Act of 1917, which was amended during the 1920s and 1930s, overruled traditional Inuvialuit landuse practices with regulations that were designed to establish an environment where "Eskimos should be left to their own ways as much as possible" (p. 29). Directly affecting the Inuvialuit sub-tribe, the Kangiryuarmiut of Inuinnaït territory, was the establishment in 1918 of Victoria Island, adjacent to Read Island, as a game preserve exclusively for the use of Inuit. Trading posts were issued licences and required to maintain accurate records of all trade transactions. The establishment of preserves meant that non-indigenous trappers were not permitted. A limitation was placed on any new trading posts being set up on the Arctic islands. Aware of the interest by American and other foreign countries in acquiring not just furs but other Arctic resources, the Government of Canada, Customs and Excise Branch, implemented a ban on any coastal trading by foreign ships. The Canadian government increased their monitoring efforts in 1926 to require that all fur traders obtain a license for each trading post operation, naming the exact location. By 1929, the government passed the regulation that all trading posts must be operated from permanent buildings and open at least eight months of the year, thereby ending schooner trading posts (Damas, 1988; Zaslow, 1984, 1988). The introduction of these numerous regulations did not deter the growth and application of fur trade technology since the demand for Arctic furs continued to grow, which gave Inuvialuit trappers further economic and social success through the application of trade technology (Pokiak, 1989, 1991). In short, considerable decision making was still in the hands of the Inuvialuit and

Inuinait people. “In spite of a number of the strictures favored by police, missionaries, and traders, there was reasonable freedom and autonomy for the members of the all-native community” (p. 118).

They benefited from the other aspects of trade technologies of that era, particularly the fashion in the US during the 1920s to wear dyed white fox in the summer season. By 1929, white-fox furs earned an Inuvialuit trapper \$54.15 (p. 30) ... blue fox was \$78.60, red at \$37.42, cross fox at \$80.81 and silver at \$104.65.

By the end of the 1920s, Inuvialuit became exposed to yet another downturn in the trapping cycle. After the fur-trade boom in the previous decade, many areas of the western Arctic were trapped out or over-harvested, to use a contemporary term. Dependent now on the two-economy lifestyle of subsistence hunting and fur trapping, Inuvialuit began to expand their traditional land-use boundaries (Freeman, 1976, Vols. 1-3). Inuvialuit migration directly eastward from their historical Mackenzie Delta and Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula trading sites soon led to the “colonization of Banks Island,” which Usher documented in his *The Bankslanders: Economy and Ecology of a Frontier Trapping Community, Vols. 1 to 3* (1971a, 1971b, 1971c). Leaving their traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region lands behind, they began occasional voyages into Inuinait territory around northern western Victoria Island and Coronation Gulf. The Inuinait were not representative of other Inuit tribes.

During the long local winters, they lived almost entirely by hunting ringed seals at their breathing holes through the sea ice. Spring and summer were spent on the land, hunting caribou and fishing. Unlike most other Inuit, they engaged in no

open-water sea mammal hunting. With a homeland far from the major sea lanes and world centres of commerce, the [Inuinnait] Copper Inuit were among the last aboriginal people on earth to be absorbed into the global economy. (Morrison et al., 1995, p. 42)

Only a few textual records from fur trading posts have survived but they confirm the Inuvialuit application of trade technology at Read Island and Cape Krusenstern (Usher, 1971d, p. 32). This migration reached a peak during the 1930s, a time when records show white-fox trapping increased markedly because of the abundance of fur-bearing animals in Inuinnait territory. The Cape Krusenstern data provided in this research illustrates the fur-trade technology years of 1935 to 1947 and, particularly, the results obtained by Inuvialuit ancestors for 1945, the peak year for white-fox pelts when their value was \$36.00 each (1971, p. 35).

However, there was a negative aspect to the adoption of trapping and trading technology. Prior to the establishment of fixed trading posts by private traders such as Slim Semmler at Cape Krusenstern or the Hudson's Bay Company at Read Island, Inuinnait had been holding winter gatherings on the ice of the Strait similar to those of the Inuvialuit at Kittigazuit, mentioned previously in this research. With increased attention to monitoring their traplines, the length and frequency of such important collective adult-learning experiences was diminished. The *Noahognikmiut* is the name given to those people living on the land and the waters between Bernard Harbour and Coppermine River (p. 33). Situated about halfway along the Bernard Harbour to Coppermine trade route, the Cape Krusenstern trading site was a welcome stopover site

for travellers and trappers. In fact, the Semmler trading-post records contain names of Inuvialuit ancestors many of whom were Noahognikmiut.

The Noahognikmiut wintered on the strait ... near Lambert Island, where they stayed most of the winter. This location was a trade centre and a place to hunt bearded seals. Large communities of 200 to 250 people grew up here, and visitors came and went throughout the winter. With spring, they left the ice and went inland to hunt caribou. (Usher, 1971d, p. 34)

Between 1915 and 1935, the historical nomadic Inuvialuit subsistence patterns within their traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region became altered when more and more Inuvialuit families chose to take up full-time fur trapping along established lines. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, some areas of the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea coastline were becoming trapped out. As a result, some Inuvialuit began to move eastward into Inuinnaït territory.

In 1928, three Inuvialuit-owned schooners arrived [on Banks Island] carrying the families of Lennie Inglangasuk, David Pektukana (Pirkuqana) and Adam Inoalayak ... it was bad trapping on the mainland but the Banks Island families did fairly well, and from that time on, the seasonal community on Banks Island began to grow Some of the Bankslanders also began trading into Walker Bay on Victoria Island, where there were both Hudson's Bay Company and Canalska Company trading posts. It is from this group, which included Alex Stefansson (son of Vilhjalmur by his common-law Inuvialuit wife, Pannigabluk), Fred Wolkie, Andy Klengenber, David Pektukana and Natkutsiak [Billy Banksland]

himself, [from] which the community of Holman eventually grew. (Alunik, 2003, p. 125)

The establishment of fur trapping and trading technology had a major influence on the Inuvialuit in that they established more semi-permanent residences around trading posts from which they could monitor their trap lines.

After the traders became established, these peoples' hunting and seasonal movements were often strongly influenced by the real (or presumed) distribution and numbers of foxes, a species that had been of very little importance to them up to that time. This fact, together with the presence of trading posts, changed the focus of activity and movement of many [Inuit] groups. (Usher, 1971d, p. 34)

The tempting causative connection between technology and changing adult-learning behaviour meant that "Soon after the introduction of the rifle, the caribou herd ceased to cross Dolphin and Union Strait to summer on Victoria Island" (1971, p. 36). As a result, the Read Island residents (Puivlingmiut) were motivated to trap fox pelts in order to trade for caribou from other Inuit tribes. With a similar caribou disappearance affecting the Inuit around Cape Krusenstern (Noahognikmiut) and other trading posts, and being faced with "shortages and uncertainty in the supply of food and clothing [from caribou], trapping [for trading] became a more serious and necessary activity" (p. 36).

An important aspect of the trade-technology history of the Coronation Gulf history is that, up to the 1930s, not all Inuinait sub-tribes had adopted the adult-learning skill of fur-trade technology to the degree that the Inuvialuit had in their traditional territory. It is interesting to note that two of the five Inuvialuit ancestors reviewed in this study were Inuinait, William Kuptana and Buster Kailek, who (presented in Chapter 6),

were the exception to the local rule in that they adopted fur-trade technology on a scale much larger than simple subsistence numbers revealed in other Inuinnait fur-trade transactions. Perhaps the adoption of this western Inuit trait was one of their reasons for relocating further west inside the traditional Inuvialuit Settlement Region. In fact, textual records report that local Kangiryuarmit (an Inuinnait sub-group) were still subsistence hunters and had displayed little to no interest in the fur trade (Freeman, 1976). This fact is borne out with the fur-trade transactions from Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading post, in which for many of the Inuvialuit ancestors the entries indicate that they often exchanged large amounts of fur for an equally large amount of trade goods, to be used for themselves or perhaps to trade with other Inuit. Records for the Inuinnait show the trading of a fox pelt, one or two at a time, for basic food staples and are indicative, perhaps, of their attention to subsistence hunting and gathering, and the fact they may have not intentionally harvested furs. Of course, the reader should make allowances for the availability of fur to trap considering the vast distances in Inuinnait territory. A key aspect of the importance of what new adult learning should take place is in the textual record of the view the Copper Inuit had of the Inuvialuit, whom they viewed as being Uallingmiut – westerners. As one Copper Inuit elder reported some fifty years later:

I remember those westerners. Those people used to come here to trap and trade.

Some of them were pretty wealthy. They were able to buy lumber to build wood houses. They were mostly trappers, while the people around here were still mostly hunting and only doing a little bit of trapping. (Alunik, 2003, p. 127)

In contrast to some Inuinnait sub-tribes that did not adopt trade technology during this era, historical records show that individual Inuvialuit and Inuinnait on Banks Island

(the western side is considered traditional Inuvialuit lands, and the eastern side traditional Inuinnaït territory) developed trade technology benefits by establishing traplines that were hundreds of miles long (Freeman, 1976; Usher, 1971d). I could find no such documentation that they did so at the sacrifice of their traditional cultural values and customs. (Note: By 1936, “forty-one trappers or fully forty percent of all Inuvialuit trappers in the western Arctic had trapped on the [Banks] island for at least one season” (p. 127). At that time, Inuvialuit trappers Fred Carpenter and Jim Wolkie “got together and bought a 57-foot schooner they called the North Star It cost \$35,000 at the time, or about \$300,000 in modern funds” (p. 127).

The migration by Inuvialuit into Inuinnaït territory reached a peak during the 1930s, when records show white-fox trapping increased dramatically because of an abundance of fur-bearing animals in Inuinnaït territory. The Cape Krusenstern data provided in this research illustrates the fur-trade technology years of 1935 to 1947 and particularly the results obtained by Inuvialuit ancestors for 1945, the peak year for white-fox pelts when their value was \$36.00 each (p. 35).

For Inuvialuit, then, trading transactions yielded them new trade goods that enhanced their fur-trapping lifestyles. In this period “cotton tents and whaling schooners replaced hide tents and umiaks ... cotton-clothing and western style log cabins were adopted ... although old ways continued and old skills persisted” (2000, Sect 6; Twentieth Century). Inuvialuit began to construct semi-permanent housing near or on their traplines. Secondary housing opportunities beckoned as Inuvialuit began to settle around the trading posts and missions, which began to spring up across the western

Arctic. “In the 1920s, an Anglican mission and school were built at Shingle Point on the Yukon Arctic coast. In 1936, it moved to Aklavik. Further east ... settlements [began] at Tuktoyaktuk, Stanton, Baillie Island, and Paulatuk” (Morrison, 2000, Section 6).

The 1920s brought a number of technological developments (both products and programs) into the western and central Arctic, which was cause of new IAL experiences. With each trading post usually having a radio transmission tower and a radio receiving set to pick up broadcasts from the south or Coppermine (HBC, 1938), Inuvialuit and Inuinait, during fur-trade transactions, could hear these broadcasts and were, therefore, increasingly aware of the outside (western, Euro-Canadian) world. Water travel was improved by motorboats and so there was increased mail service to the north. “By 1926, 80,000 pounds of mail were carried into the District of Mackenzie. In the summer, Aklavik had up to five deliveries by river steamboats, such as the Distributer, but in the winter, they had only two deliveries, since the Fort McMurray, AB, pick-up point for mail to Aklavik required a 3,332 mile round trip to Aklavik by dog-team with 150 mile stretches between settlements (Zaslow, 1988, p. 177). This system changed with the arrival of airplane service, so that in the winter of 1929-30, Aklavik received 23 airmail deliveries, and by the end of the 1930s, Edmonton-based Mackenzie Air began to offer a weekly scheduled air service from Edmonton to Aklavik. Other charter airline companies soon set up services to companies, government officials and government inspectors, all representatives of a new social order that the Government of Canada was beginning to implement as part of its effort to establish Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic (p. 188). Improved access to the western and central Arctic, and good fur prices in the late 1920s “attracted White trappers and fur traders, while the increasing scale of government

activity brought more policemen, administrators, medical and missionary personnel” (p. 176). The 1931 western Arctic census listed 1,007 non-native (White and Metis) out of the 9,316 native population (4,615 Indian population; 4,701 Inuit) (p. 176). The airplanes also brought prospectors to the north, particularly into the regions west of Hudson Bay-Great Bear Lake areas, and soon copper, cobalt, gold and silver-pitchblende and radium deposits were surveyed. “Imperial Oil reactivated its oil wells and refinery at Norman Wells in 1932 to supply the fuel and power requirements of the new [mining] establishments” (p. 182).

These findings on the history of Inuvialuit trade technology application prior to 1935 as a particular form of adult learning noted that the Inuvialuit era of wealth through trapping of white-fox furs that began in 1908 would wind down by the end of the 1940s.

Fur prices were high during World War II, reaching their all-time peak in constant dollars in 1945-46. But outside forces were conspiring to bring about the end of trapping as a way of life within a generation. The two most important factors were not unrelated: an unstable and generally declining market for furs, and the increasing attraction of town life and wage employment. (Alunik, 2003, p. 128)

More will be learned about that peak year 1945-1946 and the range and degree of Inuvialuit trade transactions at Cape Krusenstern in the review of findings in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION # 2

As a study on the adult learning skill of fur-trade technology application by select Inuvialuit ancestors during 1935 to 1947, what can we learn about the time, place and types of fur traded as well as the type of goods and ideas received in exchange by Inuvialuit who traded at the Semmler trading post at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (Nunavut)?

Section (6.1.) provides an overview of the time, place and people in the Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) area. In (6.2) I describe Agnes and Lawrence “Slim” Semmler, the owners of Semmler’s trading post at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) and summarize the two original fur-trade journals from their trading post for this research timeframe. Section (6.3) consists of an examination of goods selected by five Inuvialuit ancestors in exchange for furs traded during the 1942-1947 period. Closing comments are contained in Section (6.4).

6.1. Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU): the time, the place and the people

As the Inuvialuit leaders, authors and historians Alunik (2003), Nuligak [Cockney] (Metayer, 1966), Cournoyea (1976, 1997, 1998), French (1977, 1992), Kolousok (2003), and Pokiak (1991) have documented in textual format, many of the present-day Inuvialuit families are descendents of Inuinnait from the Dolphin Union, Coronation Gulf area. Abrahamson’s data from his 1963 study of Tuktoyaktuk and Cape Perry areas of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region states that 24 Tuktoyaktuk residents and 17 Cape Perry residents listed Coppermine-Victoria Island as their place of birth (Abrahamson, 1963, p. 10). Individual and family oral memories that have been documented contain references to travel and trade by Inuvialuit at Cape Krusenstern and nearby Read Island, two

prominent meeting places on the Inuit trade route that traverses Inuinnait territory. Up to this time, due to the lack of any textual or historical records, nothing has been documented about examples of adult learning by these Inuvialuit ancestors through the application of trade technology at Cape Krusenstern.

In fact, with the end of the bowhead whaling era and the adoption of fur-trade technology application, this transition serves as a demarcation between the end of the early-aboriginal era and the beginning of the contact-traditional period. It was the establishment of Point-of-Trade centers in all areas of the Arctic that “made trade goods accessible to all or nearly all Central Eskimo [Inuinnait]. It was regularized trade, especially in arctic-fox pelts which distinguished the contact-traditional era from earlier periods” (Damas, 1988b, p. 106). As a result, through the selection of new trade goods, the Inuvialuit and Inuinnait ancestors experienced “transformations in subsistence technology and techniques” (1988b, p. 120). In turn, these technologies changed the people, creating a need for and even a dependency on trading-post supplies and equipment, in order that to enjoy enhanced economic security (p. 120). The opportunities to trade were numerous. From 1925 to 1929, “there were 217 trading posts at 139 locations in the Northwest Territories” (Usher, 1971d, p. 28).

For the most part during the period 1935-1947, the Inuvialuit and their eastern neighbours, the Inuinnait, continued to live a traditional subsistence hunting, fishing and trapping lifestyle (Freeman, 1992; Burwash, 1931). Adult learning was supervised by community leaders (elders), governed by traditional Inuit values of sharing and cooperation and predominantly confined to adult learning within their respective family and community or cultural roles. The adoption of long traplines altered the time and place

for gatherings because the Inuvialuit and Inuinait began to devote more time to trapping, and limited their group gatherings to major trading sites at major Christian celebrations, Christmas and Easter.

Inuvialuit travel into the Cape Krusenstern area in 1935-47 was not new. Archaeological evidence has shown Alaskan influence that dated back to earlier Thule migration. Inuinait ancestors who came from this area very likely lived a subsistence existence that was relatively unchanged for centuries. Morrison (1983) stated that through faunal analysis of Clachan and Nuvuk (Cape Krusenstern) sites, it was revealed that the occupants had subsistence patterns typical to their area, a winter reliance on ringed seal hunted from their snow-house communities out on the ice, and summer inland caribou hunting by groups of “twenty people or less” (Morrison, 1983, p. 246). The months November and December provided a “winter holiday break” from their winter and summer lifestyles.

The summer micro-bands coalesced into groups of up to a hundred at coastal locations, and subsistence was based on food stored from the late summer.

Accommodation was provided by tents or snow houses depending on snow conditions. Women sewed winter clothing, men repaired their sealing gear, and all waited for the sea ice to form and stabilize. (Jenness 1922, pp. 110-111; Morrison, 1983, p. 247)

By mid-December, when ice conditions and people were ready, the winter subsistence phase began. Moving out onto the sea ice, “people lived in large snow house communities averaging about a hundred people” (1983, p. 247) where they hunted at breathing-holes through the ice and “communities moved several times over the course of

a winter, as local seal populations became depleted” (p. 247). This was the most difficult time of the year in providing for basic needs. It would explain why Inuit of that time and that place might adopt white-fox-fur trapping and trading in order to relieve the pressure of traditional winter-subsistence food gathering. Morrison (1983) noted that the Inuinait were lacking two other technologies common to other Thule sub-cultures.

All other Eskimo had sea-going kayaks (and umiaks) and engaged in open-water and ice-edge sea mammal hunting ... and [as well] other coastal Eskimo had access to larger sea mammals, particularly walrus and small whales, and in some areas, bowhead. (p. 248)

This area was just becoming repopulated after the mini-ice Age of 1600 to 1850. The absence of other Inuit technologies might explain that while they used traditional technology and were a people of simple wants, the adoption of fur-trade technology eased the environmental hardship of traditional subsistence sea- and land-use activities.

Morrison noted a reason why Inuvialuit ancestors and other Inuinait (and seals) would be attracted to the Cape Krusenstern peninsula.

Historic groups were entirely dependent upon the breathing-hole hunting of ringed seals, and hence lived on the fast ice. Thule groups [Inuvialuit and Inuinait ancestors] by contrast lived on the coast At the Clachan and Beulah sites [the latter is situated on the tip of the Cape Krusenstern peninsula], settlements appear to have been located to take advantage not of fast ice, but of open water ... the Cape Krusenstern peninsula ... takes advantage of the Dolphin and Union polynyas, which is then kept open much of the winter by strong

currents flowing into the Coronation Gulf. (Smith & Rigby, 1981, p. 27. in Morrison, 1983, p. 251)

Reflecting an earlier western Inuit influence, the Clachan and Beulah sites seemed to have been situated “for some form of ice-edge or open-water hunting, and not for breathing-hole hunting” (Morrison, 1983, p. 252). In speaking about the Cape Krusenstern (Nuvuk) trading site, Morrison speculated that, at most, there would have been only 10 houses with a nuclear family of four or five people in each. He wondered why people would have occupied the site where Semmler’s trading post building was abandoned, since it was located almost a “kilometre from the coast and 10 metres above present sea level” (1983, p. 251). He did conjecture that since it was the smallest of the three Thule sites in the area, it “was not located to take advantage of any long-term resource” (p. 252). Interestingly for this research, Morrison concluded that the western Coronation Gulf Thule culture “is not a carbon-copy of the western Thule culture of Alaska or the Mackenzie Delta” (p. 271). This implies that the identified Inuvialuit ancestors reflect “a regional variant of the Thule culture extending from Cape Perry to the Coronation Gulf, a variant which may be analogous to an ethnographic “tribe” (McGhee, 1974, p. 57).

As mentioned earlier in this research, the end of bowhead whaling and the adoption of fur-trade technology in the early 1900s meant the Inuit no longer spent December to March at their traditional multi-family gathering places within their settlement region. “The traditional social units of band and hunting group gave way to the trading community and the hunting-trapping base camp”(Damas, 1988, p. 130).

At the same time, conversion efforts by Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries led to the introduction of Judeo-Christian teachings, and a particular emphasis on the importance of Easter and Christmas gatherings. Missionaries moved across the Arctic following the traditional trade routes and setting up camps at major trading posts. Later, with the establishment of permanent trading posts required by a 1931 Government of Canada law (Usher, 1965), the missionaries began to build permanent church structures at the larger trading sites. The RCMP eventually began to construct buildings at the same trading sites, creating the first modern settlements in the Arctic. In this contact-traditional era, a more individualistic, independent learning journey began for the Inuvialuit. As I show later in this research, it was the beginning of a time when Inuvialuit and Inuinait bought goods “as much for what they mean, or represent, as for what they do” (Globe & Mail, Report on Business Weekend, Wells, Feb 9, 2008, B4, ¶ Class Bang). In his 1924 Arctic journey, Rasmussen (1924) had stopped at Cape Krusenstern, but then proceeded west towards Alaska. At journey’s end, in his notes on the Mackenzie (Inuvialuit) Eskimos, he observed that their language, dwellings, and hunting practices reminded him of his home Greenland (Ostermann, 1942, p. 51). Observing the Inuvialuit success in trading their furs, taking advantage of the high prices being offered due to competition between the Hudson’s Bay Company posts and those of private traders, Rasmussen made the following journal entry about the Mackenzie Eskimos. “They naturally believed that they had only to trade and live as the white men do, to become like them in every other respect” (Ostermann, 1942, p. 52). Thus, the contact-traditional era Cape Krusenstern fur trappers displayed signs of selecting trade goods that would give them the experience of being a Whiteman.

The adoption of white-fox trapping technology, bringing with it new adult learning, changed the people's application of the traditional adult learning about lifestyle practices. With increased white-fox trapping, the traditional multi-family Inuit gatherings out on the ice for seal-breathing-hole hunting were replaced by a new custom that saw one or two families build semi-permanent housing on the coast, and commit to prolonged, almost confining, November to April daily activities of travel to and along their trapline to gather furs. Pokiak (1991) reported the sense of loss Inuvialuit felt particularly when the large gatherings no longer occurred. With the gradual falling away of the large gatherings, came a sense of loss and a reduction of their historical-cultural cohesion. In terms of this research, it was also a loss of opportunity for adult learning to strengthen community and cultural ties (Kawalilak, 2004). Thus, once the fur-trade technology application had been adopted by the majority of the Inuvialuit families and they were no longer guided, restrained or supported by their large community and cultural gatherings, individual Inuvialuit trappers and families settled into semi-permanent houses near their trapline. In doing so, they had to get used to the loss of the physiological, spiritual, and even mental health benefits derived from their earlier nomadic ways and multi-seasonal large family gatherings.

In this new era, there were only two main opportunities for travel: late December Christmas celebrations and mid-April Easter worship. Still relying on their summer and winter subsistence efforts inland and on the ice, the trappers realized that life would be easier if they could obtain more of the time- and labour-saving trade goods, and gain insight into the "White" world which was steadily encroaching the Arctic regions with new regulations and new attractions. However, not trapping meant no furs. No furs meant

no future trade goods. As a result, individuals realized they had to continue modified subsistence trapping or escalate their efforts (with trade goods as a reward) and undertake large-scale trapping. During this period, trappers increasingly spent days out on the trapline, using any local meat and fish for food for themselves and their dogs. This marked an era in Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït adult learning where they had to learn to conserve the precious trade goods (tea, coffee, cigarettes) and stock pile white-fox-fur pelts until such time as Christmas and Easter, when they could travel to pre-arranged meeting or trading sites for all Inuit in a particular area.

The oral memories of today's Inuvialuit (Nagy, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1994, 1999, 2000) often contain references to *qauyi*, when the person first “became aware, learned” or “first started remembering” (Nagy, in Stern, 2006, p. 80) the excitement people felt as children, when the entire family packed up and travelled at Christmas and Easter to the nearest large trading post. Their historic nomadic tendencies were to travel and explore the land and waterways, but during the contract-traditional era, Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït were also being encouraged by the missionaries to come and worship at these times of the year to hear the word of God and enjoy Christian fellowship. Again, people were motivated to take new adult-learning opportunities by buying goods “as much for what they mean, or represent, as for what they do” (Globe & Mail, Report on Business Weekend, Wells, Feb 9, 2008, B4, ¶ Class Bang).

According to the textual and media sources available, most of the Inuvialuit ancestors are Inuinnaït and, through intermarriage, became forebears of Inuvialuit families of today. We know that “during the 1930s and 1940s, the Banks Island schooner fleet increased in size and even started exploiting trapping areas on Victoria Island, where

the western Inuit trappers [came] into repeated contact with the Copper Inuit of north-western Victoria Island” (Usher, 1971d, p. 91). For that reason, it is important that I leave this examination of the role fur-trade technology has played in Inuvialuit history and examine the role of fur-trade technology among the Inuinnait people. This is relevant because, as mentioned earlier, two of the five Inuvialuit predecessors were of Inuinnait ancestry. An understanding of their formative adult learning process, particularly the differences to the more advanced Inuvialuit practices of the era, illuminates our understanding of Cape Krusenstern during this period.

From Rasmussen’s *Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24 Field Journal* notes for Jan 30, 1924, the day he arrived at Cape Krusenstern, he wrote:

In a small cove almost right over by the north shore of the cape, we came up to a large camp where the inhabitants called themselves Nuvungmiut [after Cape Krusenstern’s Eskimo name: Nuvuk]—very impudent and lively people—presumptuous and brazen: the first we met, some breathing-hole hunters returning to camp, literally threw themselves over us, even jumping onto our sledges, regardless of the tiredness of our dogs after the long and wearying trek through the pack ice—but they were delightfully high-spirited. (Ostermann, 1942, p. 13) January 31. Studied the people while Leo Hansen busied himself with his camera. Brisk trading in sealskins for dog feed; they are very smart businessmen, these people, but usually content with what they get for their wares. (Ostermann, 1942, p. 15)

In 1938, Godsell observed that the local Inuinnait were not at all like the Inuvialuit relations, the “sophisticated Nunatagmuits of the Mackenzie Delta, with their

motor schooners, their high-powered rifles, their binoculars and their radios” (Godsell, 1938, p. 297). Godsell described the “stone age Cogmollocks,” stating, “[S]till, to a large extent, [they] preserve their early customs and modes of living” (1938, p. 297).

Speaking about the adoption of trade-technology application by Inuinnait, Godsell observed that the “Eskimos ... wanted little the White man had to offer, and seemed quite satisfied with their own particular mode of life” (Godsell, 1938, p. 274). But, Godsell stated, “From the Whiteman’s point of view they [Cogmollocks or Inuinnait] needed to be educated into wanting quite a lot of things before they would be ripe for commercial exploitation” (1938, p. 274) of massive numbers of bowhead whales, and later white foxes. It was only by creating such desires for flour, tea, and other foodstuffs, as well as store clothing, that the Eskimos could be bent to the Whiteman’s will, and “so be enmeshed in the web of Caucasian commerce” (p. 274). In speaking about white-fox trapping for trade-technology application, Godsell noted that once again the western Arctic Inuvialuit relations, the Nunatagmuits, were ingenious in trapping at a commercial level, even going as far as to feed the white fox, scattering seal carcasses here and there in the land they intended to trap (p. 280). Mackenzie Delta Eskimos received as much as \$40.00 to \$50.00 per white-fox pelt, enabling them to purchase the most modern of technological items like schooners and rifles, resulting from Inuvialuit initiative where “a single family will frequently make thousands of dollars in the course of a season from trapping” (p. 281). However, the Inuinnait were described by Godsell as being less fortunate in their trapping returns.

There was at first little strong competition, and their wants were comparatively few. Consequently, the price they received for a white fox was often negligible: a

cheap cigarette lighter, a box of cartridges, a tin kettle, a powder compact or a knife, while in 1923, it required twenty white-fox skins—worth about \$800.00 in London, England—to purchase a Winchester rifle which cost originally about twenty-five dollars. In fact, the white fox became the currency and medium of trade in the Arctic. (Godsell, 1938, p. 281)

Thus for the Inuinnait who were Inuvialuit relatives, they conducted adult learning within a worldview that placed a greater emphasis on the need to learn and follow the traditional rules and taboos. They placed a higher priority on adult learning for community, cultural and social connections rather than individual achievement and the maintenance of property and personal possessions. During this contact-traditional era, they “had no concept of the value of money, or the care required for the proper maintenance of the Whiteman’s implements” (Usher, 1965, p. 63). As for all Inuit, people of that period conducted a values-based adult learning process through listening to oral histories, legends, and tales of recent land and marine travel as well as learning to take direction from elders and leaders. The primary purpose of this process was the strengthening of community and cultural ties. A secondary aim during that process was on adult learning of subsistence hunting and gathering skills, as well as, the skilful acquisition, and later maintenance, of trade goods. The Inuinnait soon began to find themselves consuming material goods, although as Godsell (1938) and others reported, their needs were minimal and confined to a few specific product groups. Thus, whether it was through Inuinnait casual disinterest, or perhaps a lack of attractive trade goods being offered by the trader, Inuinnait slowly began to mix white fox fur trapping and trading into their customary subsistence practices. What has been reported for this period was

how Inuinnait adult learning about specific trade goods was often restricted because some fur traders passed over the product but not necessarily any knowledge of the use or care of that product. This was supposedly done in order that they might resell the same goods more often. Godsell (1938) wrote, "From the very first, the rifle had proved the best seller, but at least each Eskimo had one and the trade had reached the saturation point, a fact deplored by all" (Godsell, 1938, p. 273). The Cape Krusenstern post expenses journal for 1942 to 1946 showed no rifles being taken in trade exchanges, thereby confirming the commonly held belief that in the central Arctic, by 1915, every Inuit hunter possessed a rifle. As a result, as can be seen from the Cape Krusenstern data for 1935-1947, the trader carried a full range of rifle shells, but did not have to bother stocking rifles, since his customers already owned guns. Godsell (1938) continued:

It was Captain Klinkenberg who rose to the occasion in a characteristic manner by importing hard steel ramrods, giving them to the natives and telling them to scrape the inside of their rifle barrels freely to take the powder out. This, of course, soon ruined the rifling so that the guns would not shoot straight, and the erstwhile trade in rifles was soon resumed. (p. 273)

The Cape Krusenstern trading post records show a trapper selecting in trade two steel rods, perhaps for the practice of this new adult learning, albeit misleading, that was circulating as new information to maintain the new technology (Cape Krusenstern Journal # 2, Kauyaktok, p. 80). Remembering that technology can be defined as both the product and the knowledge that accompanies it, then the withholding of the knowledge, (that is, the proper rifle-maintenance procedures and tools) by the trader inevitably lead Inuvialuit being forced into a planned obsolescence. Lacking the new adult learning on

how to maintain and care for the rifle, the trapper may actually wear out the rifle unnecessarily early and therefore, require purchasing a new one from the trader.

The above discussion leads logically to another situation common to many private traders of that time, the underpayment of price per white-fox pelt compared to prices paid in the Mackenzie Delta, and the overcharging for trade goods thereby causing the trapper to spend their fur-credit dollars quickly. I did not examine the Cape Krusenstern data to determine if such a practice was common. However, Inuvialuit tell of a time at an unnamed Hudson's Bay post when their lack of knowledge of the value of trade goods, or the prices of such items, led to situations in which they were exploited. The telling and retelling of the story was, for many Inuvialuit, a prime motivator that they acquire the White man's skills and understanding of business so that they would not be exploited. At that time, Inuvialuit who wanted a rifle that the trader was holding butt up on the trading-post counter were expected to stack the fur pelts to the height of the rifle in order to get it in exchange. Usher (1965) said that maybe the reference to Klengenberg's provision of rods was unfounded, but it was known that, in those days, many traders in the Inuinait region robbed the Inuit trappers. "In 1923, when a white fox brought \$40.00 in London, the price of a \$25.00 Winchester rifle was, for the Copper Eskimos, twenty pelts" (Usher, 1965, p. 63.).

6.2 The Semmler trading post, Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)

Lawrence Fredrick Semmler or "Slim" as he was known to most northerners, and his wife, Agnes Louise (Norberg) Semmler operated an extensive network of trading posts throughout the Coronation Gulf region of Canada's central Arctic during the years 1930 to 1946 (Condon, 1996, p. 94). Slim Semmler was born on August 4, 1900 in

Newberg, Oregon. Leaving home in his early twenties, he worked his way up into Canada, first homesteading in the St. Paul, Alberta area. In 1930, he moved to Herschel Island, Northwest Territories, in the western Arctic, where he set up as a private fur trader. Not long after, he expanded his trading operations eastward into the Coronation Gulf-Coppermine area where, in later that same year, at Bernard Harbour he met, and married, the daughter of local fur trader Peter Norberg.

Looking at the map, he [Slim] was attracted to the area near Kuglugtuk in the Eastern Arctic because it was so remote. And, as he put it later with a wide smile, "I wasn't scared of the cold, I wasn't scared of nothing."

Slim spent 20 years there, becoming one of the area's most successful trappers. One of his catches was his wife Agnes, whom he met after walking into a tent in Bernard Harbour one year.

"She was eating Jell-O, so I sat down and ate Jell-O with her," he would recall later. "I've been eating Jell-O ever since."

(Elliot, Ian. (1998, March 20). Saying so long to Slim – Legendary trapper, trader dies aged 97. *Northern News Services*).

Agnes Louise (Norberg) Semmler was born at Rampart House, Yukon, on April 17, 1911 to Pete Norberg, a Swedish trapper, and Dora Kwa'atlatt, a Vuntut Gwich'in woman from Old Crow. "After nine years at a mission school, she joined her father, a Hudson Bay Company scout in the western Arctic ... She considers herself an Eskimo, because they raised her until she turned five, after her mother died" (North Natives "Lack

Housing” 1967, n.d. *Canadian Press Release*, Ottawa (CP). Agnes used her residential school skills to assist her father in his role as a Scout for the Hudson’s Bay Company. She travelled extensively with him on the company ships as he travelled from trading post to trading post along the Beaufort Sea and into Canada’s central Arctic.

Her father, well-known trader Peter Norberg, opened isolated trading posts for the Hudson’s Bay Company at Tree River, King William Island and Bernard Harbour in the 1920’s. When Mrs. Semmler married, her connection with the northern fur trade continued; she and her husband opened a managed a small trading post at Cape Krusenstern, sixty miles northeast of Coppermine. Mrs. Semmler looked after the welfare and medical needs of the Eskimo population with only a first aid course and medical handbook to go on. Her work won the trust and respect of the Eskimo people throughout the region; they came as far away as Coppermine, sometimes on crutches, to seek her help. When flu epidemics struck, the Semmler’s looked after the population and “never lost a soul.”

(Mrs. Agnes Semmler – North’s “Woman of the Century” (1967, October 20) *Kenora Daily Miner and News*).

For those who knew them as a couple, it could be said that Slim was a man of few words and a tremendous entrepreneurial vision, while Agnes was a woman of many words with a tremendous humanitarian vision. Her vision was the betterment of northern living conditions and the provision of education opportunities suited to northern native people.

The fireball behind the burgeoning Northwest Territories Native Rights Movement is a plumb middle-aged Indian woman who plots assaults on federal

policies from the incongruous confines of a government-operated handicrafts shop. Agnes Semmler ...is also president of the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement, a 500-member coalition of Eskimos, Indians and Métis formed this spring to force changes in Ottawa's northern development policies.

(Indian woman works for the rights of Eskimos in the N.W.T. (1970, July)

Canadian Press, Inuvik, NWT).

The Town of Inuvik was only 12 years old in 1970, but already then Inuvialuit, like many other Indian and Inuit northerners, were becoming aware that the outside interests of national resource companies (oil and gas, minerals) and the respective Government of the Northwest Territories and Government of Canada were making plans for people and resource development in traditional landuse areas and little to no attempt was being made to consult with the people who had been living there for centuries. Even then, Inuvialuit realized that present and future generations of Inuvialuit would have to be prepared to undergo new adult learning in higher education institutions, workplace-training programs and in the communities so that they would be masters in their own lands.

About 22,000 of the 33,000 people living in the 1, 300,000 square miles of the Northwest Territories are of pure native extraction or mixed blood, with the 11,000 Eskimos forming the largest single ethnic unit. Mrs Semmler is a rare blend of hardheaded businesswoman and reformer. She has profited well from the status quo and yet she is the leader of the first civil rights organization in territorial history.

"I was born an Indian in the Yukon, but I've spent most of my life living among Eskimos in the Northwest Territories," she said in an interview. "I think I'm more

Eskimo than Indian now.”

Mrs Semmler spelled out a few of the realities of being a stone-age Eskimo in 20th century Canada.

“The natives who have moved to Inuvik and the other towns have forgotten how to live off the land,” she said. “Now they’re all more or less on welfare: they’ve lost their boats, their hunting equipment and their traps.”

The Eskimos have traded living off the land for welfare cheques, the freedom of roaming the tundra for better education and improved health standards.

Unemployment is the rule rather than the exception.” The problem is that the overwhelming majority of adults have little or no education at all and adult education efforts at the best are sporadic.

Mrs Semmler says that because of the educational gap, the Eskimos by and large are getting little or nothing out of the current oil exploration boom in the Arctic. The companies, many of them operating out of Inuvik, are spending \$50 million this year.

She said she is deeply concerned that by the time educated Eskimo children come out of the schools, the oil boom will be over and there won’t be anything to take its place.

(Indian woman works for the rights of Eskimos in the N.W.T. (1970, July)

Canadian Press, Inuvik, NWT).

Throughout her life, Agnes was a woman of good humour, never taking herself, or most situations too seriously. Her recollection of meeting her future husband for the

first time was somewhat different from Slim's. "Mr. Semmler came along looking for a wife, and he thought I'd make a good fox skinner" (Honour for North's Woman of Century. (1967, June 5). *Edmonton Journal*, Monday, June 5. In an 1967 interview Agnes provided further insights into those fur trading years in the central Arctic.

Survival itself becomes a major accomplishment in the Far North. Illnesses doctored from a medical book and a Bible for prayer helped Mrs. Semmler surmount overwhelming odds.

"When influenza struck throughout the Eskimo population, we never lost a soul. Just lucky I guess," she says modestly.

Recalling her early days at Coppermine River, she points out: "It was all primitive living. We stayed in snow houses while travelling from place to place lighted by kerosene and gas lamps. I made sourdough hot cakes, sourdough bread, cooked northern meat, seal meat, fox and any kind of meat running around. I look at the irons today, pink and blue ones, and I remember my little sad iron heated on the stove.

(Visiting Her Daughter in Tacoma (1967, n.d.) *News Tribune*, Tacoma, WA).

She assisted him in the operation of an extensive trading post network at the following locations throughout the Coronation Gulf region: Stapylton Bay (1930-32); Cape Krusenstern (1932-48; Usher says 1946); Basil Bay (1934-38); Mackenzie River, Victoria Island (1946-48); Read Island (1938-48); Cambridge Bay (1939-43) (Usher, *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories 1870-1970*, 1971d, pp. 104-117).

6.3. Trade transactions of five Inuvialuit ancestors, Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)

Examination of goods selected by five Inuvialuit forebears in exchange for furs traded during the 1942-1947 period.

Archaeologists, and a few venturesome anthropologists, are accustomed to exploring the midden of Arctic habitation sites in the hopes of finding artefacts representative of the material culture of the local inhabitants. So it seems ironic that it was in the Town of Inuvik's midden—the dump—that myself and as I was to learn later, many other town residents (Roy Ipana, Personal Communication, 2007) should find some important textual records relating to Inuvialuit and Inuinnait (Copper Eskimo) history. When I came across them, they were lying inside an open box and being eyed by some ravenous ravens. Around and about were numerous other half-filled cardboard boxes, some of their contents spilling out on the ground. After an initial glance, they seemed to be literally a paper trail of store inventory lists and old business correspondence. From the information on the correspondence lying nearby, these boxes were from once the Slim Semmler's trading post, which just that summer had closed down. Curious, I rescued some of the records then continued with my original reason for coming to the dump, the endless search for bicycle parts so some of our kids could fix their bikes. That summer, at age 83, Slim and Agnes Semmler had closed down their trading post, Inuvik's first trading post even before the Hudson's Bay, and had sold the property to local developers. With no room to store things in the small 512 (sq ft) house that he and Agnes had occupied since their 1950s move to the new townsite of Inuvik, as it became known later, he decided to take everything to the dump. That summer I salvaged three store inventory books and two trading post ledgers, one of which was labelled Cape Krusenstern, NWT,

1933, and I know other “researchers” took away ledgers and journals. The two ledgers are the primary source documents for this research. For the record, I took the five items back to town and a few weeks later I called in at Slim’s house. Finding him home I showed him the journals and asked if he had really thrown this out and asked whether he want them back. In his inimitable way, he growled at me, “The’yre in the dump for a reason.” I then asked and received his permission to keep them, and I promised him I would use them for future research on the north.

At the time of this writing, few Inuvialuit elders could recall much about the 1935 to 1947 period, let alone this long-abandoned trading site in the central Arctic, since most were just small children back then and most of these were descendants of Alaskan Inupiat families that had relocated to the Mackenzie Delta during the 1920s. Thus, my task became one of mining the trading post records for insights about the Inuvialuit and Inuinait trading practices during that period.

The significance of trading records as a source of first-hand information about the people, place and period was noted by Ross (1975) in his work on an earlier Arctic era—the traditional (1860-1915), and another Inuit subsistence practice—whaling. In noting the importance of the records of whaling captains and ships, he noted:

In the North American Arctic—where the frontier of whaling antedated by a long period the establishment of organized systems of government responsibility, trading posts and missionary activities—whaling records constitute the only important source, other than exploration material, of first-hand information on the early stages of culture contact. They cannot, therefore, be neglected. (Ross, 1975, Introduction)

Thus, it has been my belief that the Semmler trading post records are important for our understanding of the historical record of Inuvialuit in the western Coronation Gulf region during the contact-traditional era. As researcher, I am the holder of these two fur-trade journals, having been given permission from Lawrance Semmler in 1982 to use them as a basis for Arctic research. The two ledgers or journals are labelled on the front with the following titles, *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern, N.W.T. 1934 to 193-*, and *Post Expenses Ect [sic] CASH*, hereafter referred to as Journal #1, and Journal #2 respectively. The first journal contains a chronological list of the names of the trappers, the types of fur (white fox, wolverine, etc.), and the prices earned, covering all fur-trade transactions for 1935-1947. It does not show any trade goods selected by the trappers. Fortunately, the second journal provides us with a list of trappers and, of importance to this research, the list of trade goods selected, but only for the years 1942-1946. Data from this second journal confirms the first journal entry for the case of the identified Inuvialuit ancestors. For the purpose of this research, numerical data were derived from both journals.

From the *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern, NWT 1934 to 193-* (referred to as Journal # 1), I identified a list of 16 trappers' names as being forebears (European, Inuvialuit and Inuinait) of contemporary Inuvialuit families (See Table 2).

I made this conclusion because the surnames are used by present-day Inuvialuit. The trader, sometimes Slim Semmler but on most occasions, his employee, usually entered a single Inuit name for the trapper. From the numerical data calculated in Journal # 1, I was able to compile the total number of white-fox-fur trade transactions conducted by the Inuvialuit over a 12-year period (See Table 2). Multiple spellings of the individual trapper's name were found in the journals and I assume that it depended on the

enunciation of the Inuit speaker and perhaps the ear of the listener, the non-Inuit Cape Krusenstern Semmler trading post employee. For the purpose of this research, I chose the spelling most like that in use by modern Inuvialuit.

From Journal # 1, I was able to identify the following names as being Inuvialuit forebears who traded at Cape Krusenstern: Amos Paul, Avakanna, Haogak, Kauyaktok, Nekimayak, Nuligak, and Papak. The journal includes two Inuinait trappers whom I identify as forebears: Kailek and Kuptana. Finally, the following trappers of mixed blood (Inupiat, Métis, etc.) or Europeans (i.e., White) can also be described as Inuvialuit forebears: Andreason, Anderson, the Klengenbergs (Danish and Inupiat), Norberg (Métis) and Storr. I can state that these names recorded in Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading-post journals correspond to Inuvialuit family names today and that some Inuvialuit families have relations who used a similar name (Inuvialuit Enrolment Coordinator, personal communication, 2007).

From Journal #2, I derived the primary data on all trade goods selected by five of the 16 identified Inuvialuit ancestors. I chose only five because the data shown in the Inuvialuit Total Furs list (Table 2) listed them as the top five Inuit trappers in terms of the number of white fox traded during the research timeframe. All the data on the trade goods selected are shown in the spreadsheets or tables that accompany the text on the Inuvialuit relation being reviewed. However, due to time constraints, I have reviewed only some of the trade goods chosen by each trapper, followed by a discussion. When discussing the object(s) the trapper selected, I cite in brackets behind the object the journal page number. This allows the reader to go back to the tables to confirm my discussion and see the larger trading context.

The five Inuvialuit ancestors selected were Avakanna (6.3.1), Nekimayak (6.3.2), Kauyaktok (6.3.3), Kailek (6.3.4) and Haogak (6.3.5). Two explanatory points need to be made. First, the spelling of their names is the spelling found in the fur-trade records, but it should be noted that their descendants might use different spellings today. Second, I determined the five trappers to be Inuvialuit forebears (as per the 2008 Inuvialuit Beneficiaries Enrolment list), because some contemporary Inuvialuit beneficiaries share last names that are similar to (or the same as) the five Cape Krusenstern trappers. In the introduction to each Inuvialuit relation, I present some of the present-day Inuvialuit beneficiaries who share the trapper's surname and a hypothesis on the possible connection.

Some Notes of Clarification

Note # 1. The calendar date was frequently omitted beside the fur-trade transaction, because calculating time in such finite measures was not an Inuit trait; perhaps it was not beneficial to know the date for the trading post manager living in isolation and faced with eight months of winter. For data organization and listing a date, I backtracked in the trading post journal to locate the closest month and then, in the absence of a date within that month, I assigned the 1st day of the month to the transaction. Thus, for many transactions, it will appear as if the trapper arrived promptly at the trading post on the first day of each month but that was not the case.

Note # 2. From the data presented in each of the following tables, it will be apparent that the Inuvialuit selected limited amounts of food basics (flour, tea, sugar). This could be due to either individual choice or the limited supplies available at Semmler's trading post. Regardless of the reason, the numerical data show an IAL

process where the Innuvialuit selected limited amounts of these trade goods. This conscious decision lends support to another conclusion that the trapper continued to practise traditional Inuit food technologies by seasonal subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering. Anecdotal evidence shared with this researcher and confirmed by archaeological records show that the Cape Krusenstern settlement site was popular for its prime fish, and not just for fur-trade exchange. The historical record shows that Cape Krusenstern residents thrived on the high-quality fish found at small inland lakes immediately to the west of the site (Farquharson, in Freeman, 1976, p. 40). Cape Krusenstern residents had very likely stockpiled seasonal foods such as caribou, fowl, dry fish and berries that had been accumulated the previous summer and fall. Historically, they were known to transport last summer's catch out to their winter seal gathering camps, to lend some daily variety. After 1916, however, with the wholesale adoption of fur-trade technology from Bernard Harbour down to the Dismal Lakes area (See Map 2, p. 8), this area became the "regional centre of trade, travel and culture for the whole Coppermine region" (Farquharson, in Freeman, 1976, p. 39). A further result was the moving away from gatherings at their winter sealing camps out on the ice of the Coronation Gulf or Dolphin and Union Strait in order to "establish more permanent winter camps on the coast, out of which they trapped" (Farquharson, in Freeman, 1976, p. 39). I am unsure if the introduction of chocolate can be considered a technological innovation. Central Arctic Inuit adopted sugar in their diet in 1916 when the Hudson's Bay Company first began to offer it at their trading posts. Regardless, the chocolate bars would have been a treat for the trapper and his family, since natural "sweet" things (apart from August low-bush blueberries) are not found in the marine or land food supplies they

subsisted upon. If sugar and chocolate were a technology, it should be noted that the Cape Krusenstern records provide a snapshot of the gradual acceptance of sugar products by local Inuit in their diet. Such a snapshot represents a “before” picture in contrast to the modern “after” snapshot of Inuit who are suffering from high levels of sugar diabetes.

INUVIALUIT ANCESTORS - CAPE KRUSENSTERN FUR JOURNAL #1
Total WHITE FOX furs traded 1935-1947

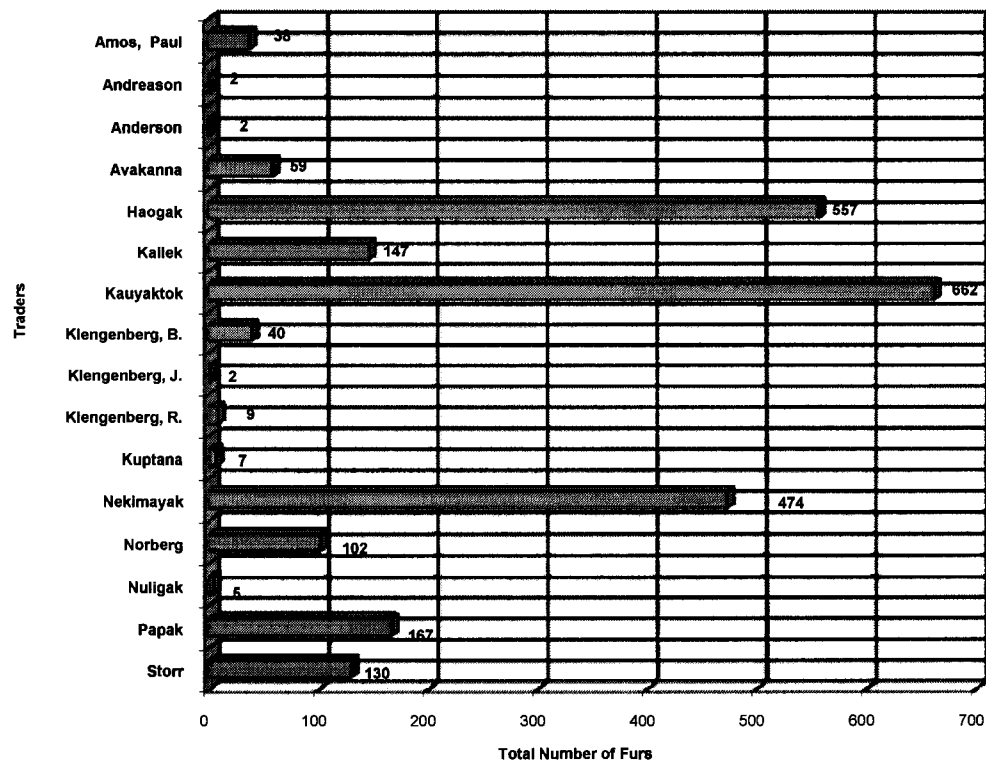


Table 2. Sixteen Inuvialuit Forebears—Total White-Fox Furs Traded 1935-1947

6.3.1. Avakanna

The Cape Krusenstern trading post managers, all non-Inuit, often used spelling variations when writing down what they heard as the trapper's name. The spelling of the trapper's name "Avakanna" does not resemble an Inuinait name but does closely resemble the Inuvialuit family name "Aviugana." Perhaps this Avakanna is related to Inuvialuk Johnny (Emma) Aviugana, who had three sons, Alex, Donald and Rudolph Aviugana. Alternatively, perhaps he is an ancestor to Jane "Avingkukpak" Aviugan who, with Esau Avingakpaq, were the parents of Winnie Elanik. Could this Avakanna be an ancestor to Elizabeth Aviugana (Agipaaluk), daughter of Tom Elanik and Nellie "Paniguluk" Elanik? Her father, Tom Elanik, owned a boat called "Nipailutaurak," which he used in the open-water season to carry family and neighbours to Kendal Island, NWT to hunt beluga whales.

Below is a list of the number of fur-trade transactions that Avakanna conducted at Semmler's trading post from 1940 to 1944. The severe drop in white-fox-fur pelts trapped after 1940 may mean a peak year for fur supply; alternatively, 1940 was the year he decided to give commercial trapping a try. In 1941 and thereafter, there might have been a scarcity of white fox; perhaps he chose to conduct more leisurely subsistence trapping as and when white foxes appeared.

**Furs Traded by Avakanna Journal # 1 – Furs Journal 1934-1947
Cape Krusenstern, N.W.T. (1940 - 1944)**

Date	Furs Journal page #	Number of furs purchased	Price per pelt	Credit received
4/1/1940	81	40	\$14.00	\$560.00
3/1/1941	62	5	\$10.00	\$50.00
3/1/1941	62	2	\$15.00	\$30.00
5/1/1941	64	3	\$15.00	\$45.00
1/1/1942	68	5	\$13.60	\$68.00
6/1/1944	94	4	\$18.00	\$72.00

Table 3. Furs traded by Avakanna 1940-1944

Avakanna made a point of returning to Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) each January like clockwork, arriving January 4, 1940, January 3, 1941, January 1, 1942, and two years later January 6, 1944. In 1940, he had his largest catch ever of 40 white-fox fur, for which he received credit of \$14.00 each (total \$560.00). Thereafter, either his interest or the white-fox supply fell off drastically so that in 1941, he brought in 10 white fox, while in 1942 and 1944 he brought in 5 and then 4 pelts respectively.

Journal #2 provided the only list of the trade goods that Avakanna selected; the data were only for 1944 (Table 3). Like most trappers, he would have traded his white-fox furs and accumulated a trading post credit, which he could draw on immediately or save for a return visit to Cape Krusenstern. On January 11, 1944, he selected the following trade goods: a 2-cell flashlight (\$2.00) and 1 dozen batteries (\$4.00) (Journal #2, p. 90), 1 large rasp and 15 packs of Players cigarettes (\$7.50) and 1 carton of cigarettes (\$9.00). He also chose 1 leather jacket (\$20.00) and 1 eiderdown (\$58.00).

On March 4, 1944, he returned to the post where he selected 5 boxes of 30-30 shells, two wolverine hides, 11 harness rings and 1 dog line. (The dog line is a long thick

rope that is stretched out on the ground. Once both ends are staked into the ground, the circular metal rings are tied into the rope, placed equidistant. When not out on the trail working or pulling their heavy loads, the dog line is strung out and each sled dog is hooked to one of the rings. Each dog would have between three and four feet of chain hooked from the dog line to their dog collar. The hook-up rings were spaced far enough apart so that one sled dog could not touch or bite a neighbouring dog.

On March 15, 1944, he again went shopping. He selected a number of trade goods that day but most noticeably 20 lb of corn meal (\$6.00) and 4 chocolate bars (Journal #2, p. 114).

On March 16, 1944, he used his credit to select 24 reels of silk thread (\$2.00) (Journal #2, p. 116), 6 nipples (\$1.75), and two vests (2.00), 2 socks (1.00), 2 child mitts (\$1.50) and 1 hair barrette (.50 cents). Their diet must have consisted mostly of country food, no doubt fish from nearby lakes and land game, but on that visit, he chose to purchase 4 chocolate bars (.50 cents) and 6 lb of pilot biscuits (\$3.00) (Journal #2, p. 119).

It is important to discuss the Inuvialuit preferences in trade goods. Avakanna's selection of 20 lb of corn meal was most likely to provide dog food when out on the trapline. In the selection of this food product, easily carried on a *komatik* (sled), he would be saving time and energy normally used in finding food for both dogs and family through ice fishing or hunting seals or land game. This selection reflects the trapper's awareness of trading as labour saving, a feature that has been the key to technological invention since time began.

Avakanna's selection of 5 boxes of 30-30 [shotgun] shells (Journal # 2, p. 107) indicate that, like Inuit families of that time, he had adopted the new technology and owned a modern high-powered rifle. He would ration these shells, making every shot worth something as he and his family proceeded inland to hunt caribou. The two wolverine pelts that he received in trade is an indicator that his wife continued to use traditional Inuit clothing technology by constructing parka hoods for family members and lining the hood with wolverine because frost from a person's breath does not stick to wolverine.

Furs traded and goods selected by Avakanna - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses Ect CASH (1944)													
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (sleep Food, native foot)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides, Caribou, Deer	Misc
1/11/1944	90.					flashlight 2 cell							
1/11/1944	90.					1 doz batteries							\$2.00
1/11/1944	90.		unknown?										\$4.00
1/11/1944	90.		1 large rasp?										\$8.00
1/11/1944	90.		2 1/2 lb roak? long 3/4										\$2.00
1/11/1944	90.		15 pack players cigs										\$2.50
1/11/1944	90.		1 carton cigs?										\$7.50
1/11/1944	90.				1 leather jacket								\$9.00
1/11/1944	90.												\$20.00
1/11/1944	90.		1 lb oats										\$2.00
1/11/1944	90.		1 eiderdown										\$58.00
1/11/1944	92.	1 dark wolf											\$10.00
3/4/1944	107.						5 boxes 30-30						\$10.00
3/4/1944	47											2 wolverines	\$80.00
3/4/1944	47					1 funnel columan							\$2.50
3/4/1944	47		11 harness rings										\$1.50
3/4/1944	47		1 dog line?										\$14.00
3/4/1944	47		?										\$72.00
3/4/1944	47					1 pocket knife							\$3.50
3/4/1944	47					2 snow knife							\$6.00
3/4/1944	47											cash	\$50.00
3/4/1944	49				1 rubbers								\$3.00
3/15/1944	114.			20 lb corn meal									\$6.00
3/15/1944	114.									2 gal coal oil			\$4.00
3/15/1944	114.			1/2 lb tobacco									\$1.50
3/15/1944	114.		1 pack cigs.										\$0.50
3/15/1944	114.					8" wrench							\$2.00
3/15/1944	114.					6" wrench							\$1.50
3/15/1944	114.			4 chocolate bar									\$0.50
3/15/1944	114.				1 pr drawers pennans								\$2.50
3/15/1944	114.					6 nipples							\$1.75
3/16/1944	116										24 silk		\$2.00
3/16/1944	116										2 braud		\$1.00
3/16/1944	116				2 vests								\$2.00
3/16/1944	116				2 socks								\$1.00
3/16/1944	116				2 mitts child								\$1.50
3/16/1944	116				1 hair barette								\$0.50
3/16/1944	119			6 lb pilot biscuits									\$3.00
3/16/1944	119											cash	\$3.00
4/20/1945	155	4 fox white											\$
													\$ 72.00

Table 4. Furs traded and goods selected by Avakanna in 1944

6.3.2. Nekimayak

Sometimes the Cape Krusenstern trading post manager entered this trapper's name with different spellings, the most common variation being "e" used interchangeably with "a."

Thus, the spelling was often variations on either Nakimayak or Nekimayak. I assume that Cape Krusenstern Nekimayak appears to be a relation of Jonah or Herb Nakimayak, Paulatuk, NWT.

**Furs Traded by Nekimayak Journal # 1 – Furs Journal 1934-1947
Cape Krusenstern, N.W.T. (1940 - 1946)**

Date	Furs Journal Page #	Number of Furs Purchased	Price Per Pelt	Total Value
2/8/1940	55	1	\$7.00	\$7.00
3/31/1940	56	3	\$7.00	\$21.00
4/1/1940	84	7	\$14.00	\$98.00
5/14/1940	58	11	\$7.00	\$77.00
11/24/1940	59	3	\$7.33	\$22.00
11/24/1940	59	4	\$7.00	\$28.00
12/11/1940	59	27	\$6.44	\$174.00
1/12/1941	60	2	\$1.00	\$2.00
1/12/1941	60	1	\$8.00	\$8.00
1/12/1941	60	3	\$7.67	\$23.00
2/22/1941	61	1	\$10.00	\$10.00
3/1/1941	62	4	\$8.25	\$33.00
3/1/1941	62	2	\$15.00	\$30.00
3/1/1941	62	23	\$10.00	\$230.00
5/1/1941	65	1	\$8.00	\$8.00
12/1/1941	66	28	\$10.96	\$307.00
3/1/1942	70	22	\$10.66	\$234.50
3/1/1942	70	16	\$14.00	\$224.00
3/1/1942	70	9	\$12.97	\$116.75
3/1/1942	71	12	\$14.00	\$168.00
12/1/1942	74	7	\$6.00	\$42.00
1/1/1943	76	29	\$12.00	\$348.00
11/1/1943	89	33	\$20.00	\$660.00
11/1/1943	89	2	\$20.00	\$40.00
6/1/1944	95	9	\$15.00	\$135.00
6/1/1944	95	4	\$15.00	\$60.00
6/1/1944	95	1	\$15.00	\$15.00
1/1/1945	96	11	\$16.18	\$178.00
1/1/1945	99	3	\$18.00	\$54.00
11/1/1945	102	14	\$15.00	\$210.00
11/1/1945	102	48	\$15.88	\$762.00
1/1/1946	103	40	\$15.80	\$632.00
1/1/1946	103	5	\$16.00	\$80.00
1/1/1946	103	5	\$13.00	\$65.00
1/1/1946	103	3	\$7.00	\$21.00

Table 5. Furs traded by Nekimayak 1940 - 1946

As can be seen from Table 5 using data derived from Journal # 1 *Furs Journal*, Cape Krusenstern, NWT, between 1940 and 1946 Nekimayak made frequent trips to Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading post each year where he traded white-fox pelts.

Indeed, it can be said that he arrived each time loaded with currency. While cash was being used more frequently by the people (perhaps for gambling and more for what it represented about White power), Inuit across the Arctic continued to use the white-fox pelt as the major form of currency (Joe Teddy, personal communication; Godsell, 1938, p. 281). In 1940, Nekimayak obviously did not feel confined to Christmas and Easter trading because in that year alone, he conducted seven separate trading transactions cashing in 51 white-fox pelts. He received about \$7.00 each for most pelts but on one occasion, he received \$14.00 each for 7 prime white-fox pelts. That year he received a total cash credit of \$427.00.

Fur-trade transaction data for the other years are as follows:

1941: Nine different fur-trading transactions were conducted; the lowest price per pelt that he received was \$1.00 each for 2 white-fox pelts and the highest price was \$15.00 each, also for 2 white-fox pelts. Total cash credit received that year: \$651.00.

1942: Five trading transactions; the lowest price was \$6.00 and highest price \$14.00 per pelt. Total cash credit received that year: \$784.

1943: Three trading transactions; the lowest price was \$12.00 each for 29 pelts and highest price \$20.00 each for 35 pelts. Total cash credit received that year \$1,048.00.

1944: Three trading transactions; the lowest and highest price was \$15.00 each for 14 pelts. He received a total cash credit that year for \$210.00.

1945: Four trading transactions; the lowest price was \$15.00 each for 14 pelts while the highest received was \$18.00 each for 3 pelts. This was his best fur catch year, with one other important trade being \$15.88 for 48 pelts that he brought in on November 1, 1945. That year he received a total cash credit of \$1,204.00.

1946: Four trading transactions; lowest price received was \$7.00 each for 3 pelts while the highest received was \$16.00 each for 5 pelts. However, as per the year before, he had another good catch, receiving on November 1, 1946, \$15.80 each for 40 white-fox pelts. His total white-fox-fur trade income for that year was \$798.00.

In the second Semmler source, Journal #2, Post Expenses Ect CASH I was able to locate a list of goods Nekimayak selected (Table 6) at the same time on his January 11, 1944 visit to Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU).

The goods he selected (Table 6, Journal #2, p. 93) might reflect a scarcity of local country food or his desire for variety, which would spur him on to trying new adult-learning experiences with new foods. His selections represent a snapshot of the type and amount of processed or manufactured foods entering the diet of western Coronation Gulf Inuvialuit. He selected 12 tins of beans (\$9.00), 27 tins of sardines (6.75), 2 prunes ((\$3.00), and 2 Mayo spread (\$3.00). If some of the above reflect a dietary preference for fish products, and items ranging from oily to tart, then the other purchases of 1 box of chocolate (\$3.00), 4 condensed milk (\$2.00), 2 sweet biscuits (\$1.50), butter (\$1.00) and 8 chocolate bars (\$1.00) perhaps reflects an increasing interest in sweet products. One wonders if the desire for chocolate or store goods in general was a prime motivator in setting longer traplines and working harder to have more adult-learning experiences in selecting more and more of the exotic trading-post goods.

In the category of "trade items for household or hunting and trapping," he selected 1 sled runner (\$20.00), 1 hammer (\$2.50, 1 file 10" (\$2.00), 2 boxes of 30-30 shotgun shells (\$1.50) and 4 of coal oil (\$8.00).

Table 6, Journal #2, p. 105, shows that he exchanged 2 white-fox pelts and received \$20.00 credit for each, a sizeable sum in relation to the cost of the selected trade goods. With the essentials of house and livelihood achieved, perhaps he decided to choose some items that provide creature comfort. The selection of 1 dog toy (\$1.00) confirms how most Inuit children had puppies as playmates until the dogs were old enough to train in the dog team, while the shoreline rocks substituted as their toys and dolls (Sarah Kuptana, personal communication, 1986). As was the custom, he selected 4 cigarette packs (\$1.00) and 1 cigarette lighter (\$1.50).

The following trade items might reflect new adult learning, the lure of new technology or even the changing identity of individuals and families. The purchase of a woman's ring (\$4.00) and 2 "hair barrette goods" (\$1.00) are indicators of changing concepts of female decoration or beauty for the Inuit of this area at this time. Was the ring for ornament or did Nekimayak select it as a surprise for his woman and perhaps a declaration of marriage?

Nekimayak selected "one mouthorgan" (\$1.50) [harmonica] (Table 6, Journal #2, p. 93). One can only imagine that this technological item reflected his interest in music and appealed to his natural preference for kinaesthetic learning.

Furs traded and goods selected by Nekimayak - as per Journal # 2 -
Past Expenses For CASH (1944)

Date	Post Expense Journal Page	Fur type traded	Items	Food (leave for native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and Ammo	Fishing gear	Schoner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Stove, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add info
1/11/1944	93.			12 lbs beans										\$9.00			
1/11/1944	93.		27 lbs sardines											\$6.75			
1/11/1944	93.		3 box mantles											\$3.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 cig lighter											\$1.50			
1/11/1944	93.		Kaslo											\$0.50			
1/11/1944	93.		1 dog boy											\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 corks											\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.			1 pr mitts shim?										\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.												1 mouth organ	\$1.50			
1/11/1944	93.					1 hammer								\$2.50			
1/11/1944	93.										3 yds calico text?			\$5.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 pr stock black knicker ballets?											\$4.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 rubber water balloon?											\$2.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 fly pan											\$2.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 thermos bottle											\$4.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 prunes											\$3.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 sayo spread											\$3.00			
1/11/1944	93.		2 hair barrette good											\$3.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 ring ladies											\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 ring ladies											\$4.00			
1/11/1944	93.		8 pk needles											\$4.50			
1/11/1944	93.		2 dills 1 small											\$1.50			
1/11/1944	93.		1 box chocolate											\$3.00			
1/11/1944	93.		4 cig. pk											\$2.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 generator											\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.			1 pr mitts boys										\$1.50			
1/11/1944	93.					1 file 10"								\$1.00			
1/11/1944	93.		4 milk condensed											\$2.00			
1/11/1944	93.		1 sled runner wood											\$20.00			
1/11/1944	93.			1 pr rubber boots boys										\$2.50			
1/11/1944	93.			2 pr hose										\$3.00			
1/11/1944	105.		2 white fox											\$40.00			
1/11/1944	105.						2 box 30-30							\$4.00			
1/11/1944	105.			2 sweet biscuits										\$1.50			
1/11/1944	105.			4 meat butter						4 gal coal oil				\$5.00			
1/11/1944	105.													\$3.00			
1/11/1944	105.													\$1.00			
1/11/1944	105.													\$0.80			
1/11/1944	105.			2 cig. holder										\$2.00			
1/11/1944	105.			30 lb rice										\$9.00			
1/11/1944	105.			4 lbs oats										\$5.00			
1/11/1944	105.													\$20.00			
1/11/1944	105.			1 pr mitts										\$3.00			
1/11/1944	105.			1 wood mitts										\$1.50			
1/11/1944	105.			8 chocolate bars										\$1.00			

Table 6. Furs traded and goods selected by Nekimayak for 1944

6.3.3. Kauyaktok

Paul (Mary) Kayotuk moved from Alaska into the Inuvialuit settlement region in the early 1920s. The trapper Kauyaktok is possibly a relation of present-day Inuvialuit beneficiary Ricky Don Kauyoktuk.

**Furs Traded by Kauyaktok Journal # 1 – Furs Journal 1934-1947
Cape Krusenstern, N.W.T. (1941 - 1945)**

Date	Furs Journal page #	Number of furs purchased	Price per pelt	Credit received
12/1/1941	66	35	\$9.07	\$317.50
1/1/1942	68	25	\$12.16	\$304.00
2/1/1942	69	6	\$14.00	\$84.00
2/1/1942	69	5	\$12.40	\$62.00
3/1/1942	70	9	\$13.33	\$120.00
3/1/1942	71	1	\$14.00	\$14.00
4/1/1942	72	100	\$1.34	\$133.50
12/1/1942	75	99	\$11.24	\$1,113.25
1/1/1943	76	51	\$11.85	\$604.50
3/1/1943	78	12	\$12.00	\$144.00
11/1/1943	89	22	\$18.66	\$410.50
11/1/1943	89	8	\$20.00	\$160.00
11/1/1943	89	100	\$2.00	\$200.00
3/1/1944	91	3	\$20.00	\$60.00
3/1/1944	91	3	\$20.00	\$60.00
3/1/1944	91	1	\$20.00	\$20.00
6/1/1944	94	1	\$18.00	\$18.00
6/1/1944	94	3	\$13.33	\$40.00
1/1/1945	99	3	\$14.67	\$44.00

Table 7. Furs traded by Kauyaktok 1941-1945

Table 2 showed data that contain the number of fur-trade exchanges as calculated from Journal #1. From this we learn that of all the Inuvialuit forebears identified, Kauyaktok traded the most white-fox pelts between 1935 and 1947 (662). Table 7 shows the annual number of fur-trade transactions from 1941 to 1945.

The only known record of Kauyaktok's selection of trade goods was found in the Semmler Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH*. It provides a wealth of numerical and

item selection data, only part of which could be dealt with here, for the years 1942 (Table 8), 1943 (Table 9, 9a) and 1944-1945 (Table 10, 10a). *Note:* Regarding the entries in the Date column of the tables, the spreadsheet data was entered to show month, day and year of transaction. Inuit in those days would not have measured time by seconds, hours or even days, thus the trading journal entries show the month and year. Because the exact calendar date was not often entered, I went through the journal to find the latest month recorded and then used that information. Second, in the absence of an exact calendar date, I chose to enter the first day of the month when the transaction occurred. However, it cannot be stated that the transaction occurred exactly on the first day of each month.

Table 7 contains the exact Journal # 1 *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern* entries for the number of white-fox-fur trade transactions by Kauyaktok from 1941 to 1945. A year-by-year analysis follows below.

1941: As we can see from Table 7, in December 1941, he traded in 66 white-fox pelts (Journal # 1, p. 66) receiving a credit of \$9.07 each for a total of \$317.50 credit. For the following years, his white-fox-fur trade exchanges were as follows:

1942: He made a single visit to Cape Krusenstern each in January, February, March and April but did not return until December of that year. The total number of furs exchanged over the year was 245. The lowest price per pelt was \$1.34 (Journal # 1, p. 72) each for 100 pelts in April that year, and the highest price he received was \$14.00 each (February, 6 pelts and March, 1 pelt) (Journal # 1, pp. 69-71). It is noteworthy that on his December visit in 1942, he exchanged 99 white-fox pelts at \$11.24 each, receiving a credit of \$1,113.25 making his total cash credit for 1942 \$1,839.75.

1943: He travelled to Cape Krusenstern once in January and March but did not return until November that year when he made conducted 3 white-fox-fur trades. The lowest price received was \$2.00 per pelt x 100 (Journal # 1, p. 89) while the highest price he received was \$20.00 per pelt x 8 pelts (Journal # 1, p. 89). The total cash credit he received for that year was \$1,519.00.

1944: It has always been an Inuit fact-of-life that when furs are scarce, the prices paid per pelt are higher. That year, fur was so scarce that when he had accumulated only a few fox pelts, and was possibly running low on basic foodstuffs and tobacco, he travelled to Cape Krusenstern to stock up on trade goods. The lowest price Kauyaktok received was \$13.33 each for 3 white fox (Journal # 1, p. 94) in June of that year, but he received a high of \$20.00 each for a total of 7 white fox (Journal # 1, p. 91). The journal ledger shows this latter total resulted out of three separate trade transactions. The total cash credit he received for that year was \$198.00.

1945: In January of that year, he traded in 3 white fox, receiving \$14.67 each for a total of \$44.00 (Journal # 1, p. 99).

To review a list of some of the trade goods Kauyaktok selected, the only source of such data is found in Semmler Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH*. We gain further knowledge of Kauyaktok's character through his trade selections. Few opportunities for wage employment existed in the western Coronation Gulf region, except at trading posts. A sign of Kauyaktok's industriousness was revealed in the Table 8a (Journal #2, p. 14), which shows that in December 1942, he received \$40.00 credit for wages earned "last spring" for working for Semmler.

One rarely gets a textual source that illustrates the transition between technologies, in this case the transition from Inuit literacy to English literacy. Tables 8 and 8a (1942 trade transactions) show that the Semmler trading post manager possessed Inuit language reading and writing literacy. However, in 2007, when shown these Tables 8 and 8a list of items in its Inuit-spelling format, the representative from the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) stated that she did not recognize the terms and the spelling as being one of the three Inuvialuktun dialects (ICRC representative, personal communication, February 2007). As a result, we do not know what some of these goods were. However, as Tables 9 and 9a (1943) reveal, by the next year, 1943, the use of Inuit terminology had been abandoned in favour of all-English language entries (Journal # 2, pp. 33, 66, and 69). One explanation may be that Semmler employed a new Cape Krusenstern manager who perhaps came from the south and did not understand any of the Inuit dialects. Still, it makes for an interesting view of language-technology transition.

From an examination of the trade goods selected in 1942 that were entered in English (Table 8 and 8a, 1942), we see for that year that Kauyaktok selected only the simplest of foodstuffs: coffee, ½ lb of tea, syrup, 4 lb of baking powder, and an unusual 40 lb of sugar. The 4 lb of baking powder at \$4.00 (Table 8, Journal #2, p. 2) was undoubtedly used to make their flour-bread, or bannock, as northerners call it. The 40 lb of sugar, since it was out of proportion to the half pound of tea he routinely bought, was used for family consumption or to trade with other trappers back on the coastal traplines. Another explanation for the quantity selected was that it might have been for personal consumption in the making of a popular northern beverage, home brew.

That same year, in the way of tools, he took a \$1.00 lighter (Table 8, Journal #2, p. 1), 4 boxes of 22 shot (\$20.00), one smokeless powder (\$5.00), one \$15.00 blanket (Journal # 2, p. 13), and \$30.00 cash (p. 2). From the items taken in credit, one wonders if his trapline was one of the extra long ones that some Inuvialuit developed (Freeman, 1976) or whether he had learned some new skills in locating white fox. Trappers began to take cash during this era but in the absence of stores at which to spend that cash, and with no accompanying explanation left to history, one can only speculate whether he used the cash to purchase things at another trading post, which they may have frequented elsewhere throughout the year? Perhaps Kauyaktok took cash because he was a man of simple needs (Godsell, 1938, p. 281) and did not need other trade goods. Perhaps he wanted to travel light and avoid loading down his sled to conserve his dog team's energy. Perhaps he took cash for use in playing card games because they had been introduced to Inuvialuit many years earlier. Another possibility (recalling my earlier observation that people buy goods not just for their technological marvels and their time- and labour-saving potential) is that some goods are valued for what they represent. In this case, Inuit all over the Arctic were aware of how the White man prized cash and that the possession of cash (in paper or coins, the latter called "silvers" by most Inuvialuit of that time) meant the possession of authority and respect. By not requiring many trade goods, Kauyaktok took his remaining credit in cash, which he would save up to buy some of the larger items, like boats or schooners, that were Inuvialuit symbols of success and leadership authority. An Inuvialuit leader was known as an *umialik*, which also translates as "one who owns an *umiak* or boat" (Pokiak, 1989).

Tables 9 and 9a (1943) had the data entered in English, so we can obtain a better understanding of the broad range of goods, i.e., technologies, that Kauyaktok selected.

He chose the usual food basics (Table 9, Journal #2, p. 33): 100 lb flour (\$20.00), 2 yeast cakes (.50 cents), 1 box chocolate (\$3.00), and a rare fresh-produce purchase, 3 lb of apples (\$2.00).

For hunting gear, he chose 22 short shells and smokeless powder (Table 9, Journal #2, p. 2), 6 boxes of 30-30 [shells] (p. 33), 3 boxes of 25-20 (p. 33), 2 boxes of 22 (p. 66), proving he hunted regularly.

His selection of "100 trap chain" (Table 9, Journal # 2, p. 33) leads me to believe that he may have had a lengthy trapline or was planning to extend his trapline.

Other notable trade goods revealed that he and his family were choosing time- and labour-saving technological items. He purchased a \$12.00 stove (Table 9, Journal # 2, p. 33) and one \$5.00 teapot large, thereby eliminating the fuss of cooking on a *kudlik* (seal-oil lamp) or open fire.

On two separate occasions, he selected 10 gallons of coal oil and drums, no doubt to burn to keep his house warm, thereby decreasing the need to hunt seals for seal oil to heat and cook in the *kudlik* (soapstone lamp).

Perhaps the biggest measure of his 1943 purchases, which would have saved time and labour particularly for his wife, was in the clothing and fabric goods selected. He purchased 5 yards of calico (Table 9a, Journal #2, p. 66) and 7 yards of flannel (p. 33), along with a .35 cent package of sewing machine needles (p. 33), no doubt for a sewing machine he already owned. While not abandoning traditional patterns of Inuit clothing, it is apparent that Inuvialuit were relying less on clothing from caribou skins and *kamiqs*

(waterproof boots) from sealskin, and trading furs for store-bought clothing and footwear. That year, Kauyaktok selected one \$6.00 pair rubber boots, size 7 (Journal # 2, p. 33), one \$1.50 braces, one \$4.00 khaki pants, one \$2.50 pair of leather mitts, one \$1.50 pair wool mitts, one \$3.00 ladies' overalls, one \$1.50 pair of stockings, one \$2.00 pair of bloomers, one \$3.00 shirt, and one \$1.00 undershirt.

In Tables 10 and 10a (1944-45), Kauyaktok continued his usual pattern of stocking up on foodstuff and household goods by choosing the known (flour, sugar) but adding new trade products to his list. Again, this represents the transition from country foods with a marine diet heavy in oil and fat to store-bought goods such as lard, butter and cod-liver oil, which would appeal to his traditional tastes. Notice, however, that sugar in other forms such as sweetened manufactured products (jam) is beginning to reflect Kauyaktok's emerging adult interest in acquiring and learning more about sweet goods.

An earlier reference was made to the trader Klengenberg giving Inuit steel rods to "clean" the bore of their rifles. I note that Kauyaktok took "2 cleaning rods" (Table 10, Journal #2 p. 80).

Once again, he made purchases of cloth, which we can assume his wife would prepare using her hand-operated sewing machine; 1 yard of b. [broad] cloth (p. 80), 4 yards of b. cloth (p. 80) for parka covers.

Like most Inuit of that time, Kauyaktok no longer made his fish nets out of caribou skin but instead, as can be seen this year, purchased manufactured \$12.00 three-pound cotton fishnet. It should be noted that Inuvialuit adapted this trade technology from a marine snare to a land snare (Frank Cockney, personal communication, 1986). If not tired of fish and seal or near starvation due to limited caribou or marine catches, the

Inuvialuit trapper would be spurred on to chase on foot the ever-elusive ptarmigan. When close, they would throw the net over the flock of birds. Because the net was weighted down with rocks woven in along its outer edge, it became a flying trap when thrown. This is one example of Inuvialuit successfully adapting a European technology to Inuvialuit technology.

Similarly, Kauyaktok's purchase of an \$80.00 canvas tent (Table 10a, p. 98) and a \$90.00 eiderdown (Table 10, p. 80) reveal a transition. The traditional Inuvialuit technologies of caribou-skin tents (or snow houses) or muskox and polar bear hides for blankets were still in common usage but were being added to due to his financial capability to buy store-bought or manufactured goods to supplement earlier Inuvialuit technologies. In 1944, he purchased the new technology of a store-bought (\$90.00) eiderdown blanket (Table 10, Journal # 2, p. 80). On April 20, 1945, he selected "1 sleeping skin" for (\$1.00) (Table 10a, Journal #2, p. 154), thereby proving his support of traditional Inuvialuit technologies. This was usually a fall caribou, shot at this time because the short hair made it more manageable to cut and sew into parka tops and pant bottoms, or to use as a simple mattress.

In 1944, Kauyaktok also purchased a number of trade goods that would not only require or spur on new adult learning, but also reflect a transition in the Inuvialuit sense of the world. In Figure 10a, we see that he selected a second mouthorgan (\$2.50) (Table 10a, Journal # 2, p. 99). He purchased one earlier in 1943 (Table 9a, Journal #2, p. 69 for \$1.00). This shows his interest in music and that perhaps, his musical skills and confidence were developing and he decided to treat himself to a better or larger mouthorgan. Their historical fondness for the music of drum-dance songs and chants

obviously established a foundation for Inuvialuit to enjoy music through the new technologies of mouthorgan and gramophone.

We can conclude that 1944 represents a transitional time in the Cape Krusenstern area, where Inuit had been introduced to European music through gramophone records, but had not yet been bombarded by the new media of radio. Canada's involvement in World War II probably meant that there was a shortage of such technological items. I conclude that from the items selected (mouthorgan and gramophone records) that the Inuvialuit forebears at Cape Krusenstern were anchored by their traditional customs and practices and continuing with their historical practice of controlled selection of new or emerging technologies.

Kauyaktok selected a number of items that would mean an end to the labour intensive Inuvialuit technologies. He purchased an \$80.00 canvas tent (12' x 14') (Table 10a, Journal #2, p. 98). He also bought 2 bottles of perfume (p. 98) and 2 cans of talc powder, which from their adjacent entries, may have meant that they were for a woman in his family. On the other hand, reflecting another example of Indigenous adult learning adapting European trade goods, many Inuit and Dene trappers had heard (learned) that perfume put on the trap as bait drew the animal to come and sniff out the curious smell. It is said that Chanel No. 5 drives the wolverine crazy and right into a man's trap.

I will conclude this review of Kauyaktok's 1944 fur-trade exchanges by noting two other selections he made: 1 ring (finger) (Table 10a, Journal #2, p. 98) and 1 watch (Table 10a, Journal #2, p. 99). Many of his trade selections are indicators that Kauyaktok is anchored in traditional practices, customs and technologies. These last two selections, however, lead me to believe that change was underway in the western Coronation gulf

region. One wonders why he bought a watch and a finger ring. Were they for himself or was the ring for his wife and the watch for him? Was the ring for adornment or did it signal a marital commitment in the manner of the Euro-Canadian custom of exchanging wedding bands? A point I made earlier in this paper may also be relevant here in that people will choose goods not just for what they do, but for what they represent. It is appropriate to question whether Kauyaktok selected these items to obtain the experience of being a Whiteman. Did the important Euro-Canadian people, always Whitemen, who were trading post managers, RCMP staff and church ministers, wear jewelry such as a watch or ring? Did he feel that possessing such an item would give him a feature of adult learning—power and authority? Alternatively, did he choose the watch because he liked the metallic finish? I can only state that Kauyaktok did not choose the watch as a tool to measure time in seconds, minutes and hours. Such a concrete action was unheard of by Inuit at that time, who believed that thinking too much could drive you mad. Even to modern times, they believe clock-watching is characteristic on the Whiteman's habit. I can only conclude that he selected it as an ornament, and to enjoy the ultimate Whiteman's experience, wearing the watch, a symbol of being like a Whiteman. Less interested in actually what the watch does (measure time), perhaps he bought it as an ornament of the White culture and as a symbol of status and connectivity? Just as the White traders excitedly purchased Inuit-made carvings, clothing and other goods as home ornaments, so Kauyaktok could have selected the watch and ring as symbols and a connection to the steadily evolving White presence in the north.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses Etc CASH (1942)												
Date	Post Expenses Journal page	Fur type traded	Item	Food (not native food)	Chasing	Tool	Gun, and ammo	Fishing gear	Skin, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Fabric	Value of all furs traded	Added to
1/1/1942	1		Kauyaktok								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	1		Renon								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	1		Wapiti			White					\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		Inkenmoyo								\$3.00	
1/1/1942	2		4 lbs - pure lard								\$3.00	
1/1/1942	2		4 lbs - baking powder lb								\$4.00	
1/1/1942	2		4 - alukoyak needles								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - box sig								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - syrop								\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - kapogoon								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	2		3 - kakhak								\$4.50	
1/1/1942	2		1 - shag								\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		2 - kakhakoon								\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - yos								\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		kapogoon								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		stikim								\$30.00	\$30 - cash
1/1/1942	2		2 - shag								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	2		1 - kstovik								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - kstovik								\$1.50	
1/1/1942	2		1 - coffee								\$1.50	
1/1/1942	2		1 - tea								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		4 boxes - 22 shot								\$5.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - shag								\$4.00	
1/1/1942	2		4 - shag								\$4.00	
1/1/1942	2		3 - dukun (Kokeshi)								\$2.25	
1/1/1942	2		stikimikna mon								\$3.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - shagkha								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	2		1 - inkik								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	2											
1/1/1942	2										\$5.00	
1/1/1942	2		40 lbs sugar								\$4.50	
1/1/1942	2		1/2 yds kuknagito								\$12.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - kalikok angum on								\$5.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - akupgask								\$3.00	
1/1/1942	2		1 - shagk								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	2		8 1/2 yds shagk								\$1.00	
1/1/1942	2		2 shikim								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		angum								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	2		2 - shagk								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	13		1 - kapogoon								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	13		2 - kstovik								\$2.00	
1/1/1942	13		mmuk								\$3.00	
1/1/1942	13		1 - shagk								\$0.50	
1/1/1942	13		1 - shag								\$0.75	
1/1/1942	13		1/2 lb - tea								\$15.00	
1/1/1942	13		1 blanket									

Table 8. Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok in 1942, p. 1.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses For CASH (1942)													
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food store food, native food	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boat, Canoe	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Misc.
												Total cash value of all furs traded	Total cash value of all goods received
1/1/1942	13			1/2 lb - baking powder									\$0.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - hokulauyak										\$0.75
1/1/1942	13			10 lb. - sugar									\$3.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - okottak										\$3.50
1/1/1942	13			1 pouch - tobacco									\$2.00
1/1/1942	13			1/2 lb - tea									\$0.75
1/1/1942	13			1 lb. - coffee									\$1.50
1/1/1942	13			3 lb. - baking powder									\$3.00
1/1/1942	13		2 - elakin angen										\$2.00
1/1/1942	13		6 - imion anogakon										\$2.00
1/1/1942	13		3 - imion opngiyasomn on										\$1.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - pok. mirkuk aniak										\$0.75
1/1/1942	13		1 - piyanak										\$1.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - klapok nipilgen										\$0.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - kalikokhak angenmon										\$4.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - ketauyak. kekragllok										\$12.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - kaktyasom										\$0.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - opngiyasom kavie										\$0.50
1/1/1942	13		12 pok. 22 short										\$6.00
1/1/1942	13			2 lb. - baking powder lb									\$2.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - minkun										\$0.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - okottak										\$1.50
1/1/1942	13		1 - minkoid aluktoyamun										\$1.00
1/1/1942	13						1 - box 22 short						\$5.00
1/1/1942	13		1 - ligitkuk. mikkok										\$1.00
1/1/1942	13			6 lbs - pure lard									\$3.00
1/1/1942	13			1/2 lb - tobacco									\$2.00
1/1/1942	14												\$40 credit for working last spring

Table 8a. Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok in 1942, p. 2.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok - as per Journal # 2 -
Post Expenses Ect CASH (1943)

Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (store food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boat, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add info
1/1/1943	33				1 pr rubber boots size 7									\$6.00			
1/1/1943	33				10 gal coal oil and drums									\$23.00			
1/1/1943	33												tea pot large	\$5.00			
1/1/1943	33		stove								hail twine			\$1.50			
1/1/1943	33												putty	\$12.00			
1/1/1943	33													\$0.50			
1/1/1943	33			100 lb flour										\$20.00			
1/1/1943	33			2 yeast cake										\$0.50			
1/1/1943	33			1 box choc										\$3.00			
1/1/1943	33		6 tea spoon sewing machine											\$3.00			
1/1/1943	33													\$0.35			
1/1/1943	33					2.5 lb rope								\$2.50			
1/1/1943	33			3 lb apples										\$2.00			
1/1/1943	33		4 cups granite											\$3.00			
1/1/1943	33			1 lb tobacco									cash	\$3.00			20
1/1/1943	33		chain											\$1.00			
1/1/1943	33			2 pr socks										\$5.00			
1/1/1943	33			1 pr hose										\$1.50			
1/1/1943	33										7 yds flannel acadia			\$5.25			
1/1/1943	33				1 braces									\$1.50			
1/1/1943	33				pants kaiki 1 pr									\$4.00			
1/1/1943	33	wolverine											cash	\$40.00			20
1/1/1943	33													\$12.00			
1/1/1943	33					6 box 30-30								\$6.00			
1/1/1943	33					3 box 25-20								\$2.50			
1/1/1943	33				mitts leather 1 pr									\$1.50			
1/1/1943	33				1 pr mitts wool									\$0.75			
1/1/1943	33					1 funnel								\$0.75			
1/1/1943	33					3 flashlight cells								\$3.00			
1/1/1943	33				ladies overalls									\$0.50			
1/1/1943	33						talc powder							\$25.00			
1/1/1943	33					100 trap chain								\$3.00			
1/1/1943	33					hunting axe								\$2.50			
1/1/1943	33					paint brush								\$3.00			
1/1/1943	34		drum														

Table 9. Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok in 1943, p. 1.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok - as per Journal # 2 -
Post Expenses Et CASH (1943)

Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (meat, food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Cans and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all goods traded	Cash Received	Add info
1/1/1943	66	13 white fox													\$260.00		
1/1/1943	66	1 white fox		100 lb flour										\$20.00	\$20.00		
1/1/1943	66									10 gal. coal oil				\$20.00	\$20.00		
1/1/1943	66	1 fox white									5 yds calico			\$5.00			
1/1/1943	66													\$1.50			
1/1/1943	66				1 pr. stocking									\$2.00			
1/1/1943	66				1 blonniers									\$3.00			
1/1/1943	66				1 shirt									\$2.50			
1/1/1943	66				1 undershirt									\$1.00			
1/1/1943	66	1 fox white		1 lb. butter										\$15.00	\$15.00		
1/1/1943	66	1 fox white												\$18.00	\$18.00		
1/1/1943	66	4 fox white												\$30.00	\$30.00		
1/1/1943	66				1 pants									\$14.00			
1/1/1943	66	1 can										1/4 moosesskin		\$2.50			
1/1/1943	66													\$4.50			
1/1/1943	66									2 yd canvas				\$1.50			
1/1/1943	66	1 fox white												\$5.00	\$5.00		
1/1/1943	66			20 lb sugar										\$6.00			
1/1/1943	66			8 lb jam													
1/1/1943	66				1 work shirt									\$1.50			
1/1/1943	66				2 mitts									\$3.00			
1/1/1943	66						2 box 22					1 fox white		\$20.00			
1/1/1943	66											1 fox white		\$12.50			
1/1/1943	66	1 clives?												\$0.50			
1/1/1943	66				1 coat									\$8.00			
1/1/1943	66										3 yds kaeki			\$1.50			
1/1/1943	66													\$2.50			
1/1/1943	66	1 gun?			1 pr rubber									\$3.00			
1/1/1943	69			2 tin tobacco									1 mouth organ	\$3.00			
1/1/1943	69													\$1.00			
1/1/1943	69	1 dog hills?												\$5.00			
1/1/1943	69	1 comb												\$0.50			
1/1/1943	69			2 ralsine										\$1.00			
1/1/1943	69			1 mits bays?										\$1.00			
1/1/1943	69			1 rape										\$3.00			
1/1/1943	69					1 flash light batteries								\$4.00			
1/1/1943	69													\$1.00			
1/1/1943	69	2 bluba?												\$0.75			
1/1/1943	69					1 file								\$3.00			
1/1/1943	69					1 knife											
1/1/1943	69	1 gramophone									1 yd table cloth			\$1.50			
1/1/1943	69													\$0.50			

Table 9a. Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok in 1943, p. 2.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok - as per Journal # 2 -

Post Expenses Ect CASH (1944 - 1945)

Date	Post Expenses Journal page	Fur type traded	Items	Food (store food)	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boat, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Caribou, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add Info
1/1/1944	80.			1 slab bacon									\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			5 lb bacon tin									\$6.00			
1/1/1944	80.												\$3.00			
1/1/1944	80.		2 dog chains										\$8.00			
1/1/1944	80.			50 lb flour									\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			1 baking powder									\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			2 lb tallow									\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			40 lb sugar									\$10.00			
1/1/1944	80.				14 swivel snaps 2 cleaning rod								\$7.00			
1/1/1944	80.												\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			3 lb baking powder 4 yeast cakes									\$3.00			
1/1/1944	80.												\$1.00			
1/1/1944	80.			6 tins milk						3 lb fishnet cotton			\$12.00			
1/1/1944	80.								1 case coal oil				\$3.00			
1/1/1944	80.			3 lb lard									\$16.00			
1/1/1944	80.												\$1.50			
1/1/1944	80.		2 dog chains										\$3.00			
1/1/1944	80.			2 tin jams									\$8.00			
1/1/1944	80.			6 lb butter									\$5.00			
1/1/1944	80.				1 axe								\$5.00			
1/1/1944	80.									5 1/2 yd ?			\$4.00			
1/1/1944	80.				1 pr bloomers								\$2.00			
1/1/1944	80.												\$0.50			
1/1/1944	80.									1 yd b. cloth			\$2.00			
1/1/1944	80.									4 yd b. cloth			\$2.00			
1/1/1944	80.		1 box thread										\$2.00			
1/1/1944	80.		24 candles										\$4.00			
1/1/1944	80.		3 lb tea										\$4.00			
1/1/1944	80.		4 1/2 lb soap										\$2.50			
1/1/1944	80.		1 lb 30 cod liver?										\$1.50			
1/1/1944	80.				1 pocket knife								\$4.00			
1/1/1944	80.		3/4 lb soap										\$0.50			
1/1/1944	80.				flashlight 2 cell								\$5.00			
1/1/1944	80.		batteries										\$3.00			
1/1/1944	80.		dry batteries										\$4.00			
1/1/1944	80.		2 trak										\$2.00			
1/1/1944	80.									eliderdown			\$80.00			
1/1/1944	80.			1 pec soda									\$2.00			

Table 10. Furs traded and goods selected by Kauyaktok in 1944-1945, p. 1.

Table 10a. Furs traded and goods selected by Kayuyaktok in 1944-1945, p. 2.

6.3.4. Kailek

Kailek, often spelled Kailik in the Cape Krusenstern journals, is an Inuinait surname. Born in Coppermine in 1919 (Eskimo Disk List, 1969, Western Arctic Division, District W-3 Inuvik, NWT, p. 22). In his youth, he married and raised a family in the Coppermine-Cambridge Bay area. However, in his middle years, he moved to the Mackenzie Delta Inuvialuit Settlement Region where he started another family, raising children Clara, Mary Jane, Paul, H. Anna and Bonnie Kailek (1969, p. 22). In his later years, he formed a union with Mary Anikina Kaglik (d.o.b. Dec 5, 1920 at Baillie Island – children Archie, Ruby and Herman Kaglik) (p. 22). Therefore, it can be asserted that he is related to the Inuvialuit Kailek and Kaglik families of today. In 2001, Buster moved back to Coppermine, NU.

**Furs Traded by Kailek Journal # 1 – Furs Journal 1934-1947
Cape Krusenstern, N.W.T. (1940 - 1946)**

Date	Furs Journal page #	Number of furs purchased	Price per pelt	Credit received
4/1/1940	80	56	\$13.25	\$742.00
2/1/1942	69	1	\$14.00	\$14.00
11/1/1943	89	24	\$18.75	\$450.00
3/1/1944	90	4	\$20.00	\$80.00
3/1/1944	92	3	\$20.00	\$60.00
6/1/1944	94	2	\$15.00	\$30.00
6/1/1944	94	1	\$15.00	\$15.00
6/1/1944	94	2	\$12.50	\$25.00
6/1/1944	94	6	\$14.00	\$84.00
6/1/1944	95	1	\$15.00	\$15.00
9/26/1946	112	29	\$9.83	\$285.00

Table 11. Furs traded by Kailek 1940-1946

As can be seen from Table 11, representing only the data from Journal # 1, Kailek travelled to Cape Krusenstern to trade his furs for goods and cash every year between

1940 and 1946. The years 1940, 1943 and 1946 were his best years, trading 56 (\$13.25 each = \$742.00), 24 (\$18.75 each = 450.00) and 29 (\$9.83 each = \$285.00) white foxes respectively. One might wonder it was the hospitality he received there or the fact that Semmler was known like many private fur traders, to give both a better price per pelt than the Hudson's' Bay traders, and better trade-account credit.

Again, as has been the pattern, it is from Semmler trading post Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH* that I was able to derive a list of trade goods Kailek selected from Semmler's trading post. From Tables 12 and 12a, we can see that he made two trips in October and December 1943, to pick up supplies. On his October 21 visit, very likely in preparation for a long winter and perhaps because he had a large family, he selected: 200 lb of flour (Table 12, Journal #2, p. 57), 200 lb of sugar, 100 lb of rice, 12 lb of butter and 20 lb of tea. On the same date, he selected 10 boxes of 25-20 cartridges (\$30.00) and a 10-gal gas drum (\$23.00) (Journal # 2, p. 57).

From Table 12, we see that his next visit was eight weeks later on December 24, 1943 (p. 77). In Table 12 (Journal #2, p. 77), we can see that he carried out some additional trades of not just white fox but the less prized red fox. (The additional white-fox-fur trades that are shown are in addition to the number of transactions reflected in Table 13, which represents data derived only from Semmler Journal #1, *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern, NWT*). For 21 high quality white-fox pelts, at \$20.00 each, he received \$420.00 credit. For 3 poorer grade white fox, he received a credit of \$30.00 and for the 4 less-in-demand red fox he received another \$40.00 credit. For the red-fox fur gathered that October to December 1943 season, he traded 1 red-fox pelt (\$3.00), another red-fox pelt (\$6.00) and for the 4 top-quality red fox furs he received (\$40.00) in total.

Trade transactions being properly noted and recorded by Semmler's post manager, Kailek immediately went Christmas shopping. As was the custom with each visit to a trading site, food basics were the first to be selected. Having picked up 200 lb of flour and sugar on his earlier October visit, it looks as if he worried about running out, so chose to top up his existing home supplies by purchasing 24 lb more of flour (\$4.00) (Journal #2, p. 76). He also bought some new food products: 1 lb of tallow (50 cents), 1 lb of baking powder (\$1.00), 1 lb of tea (\$1.50), 2 cases of pilot biscuits (\$25.00) (Journal #2, p. 77). It is interesting that Kailek has acquired a taste for table salt (Journal #2, p. 78) perhaps shaped by the salty tart taste of his principal marine (fish, seal) diet. Purchasing the pilot biscuits, also known as hard tack, would mean valuable savings in time and labour. Kailek could spend days travelling his trap line by dog team. The pilot biscuits were that era's version of fast food technology and meant he could quickly make camp and make a fire to boil up a pot of bush tea, but not have to bother making frying-pan bannock. He also selected 5 five-gallon pails of lard (\$7.50), and 8 lb of butter (\$8.00) (Journal # 2, p. 77). Reflecting an emerging "sweet tooth" preference by all Inuit, he selected a number of sweet treats. He chose: 3 tins of jam (\$9.00), 1 jar syrup (\$1.50), 1 box of gum (\$2.50), 1 box of chocolates (\$3.00) (Journal #2, p. 78). What is notable is Kailek's appreciation of fresh fruit (2 packages of apples @ \$ 42.00), which leads to the question of how they got the apples to Cape Krusenstern without their freezing. Finally, it is interesting to note that while plenty of marine country food (fish, seal) existed in the western Coronation Gulf region, his traditional desire for fish products seemingly motivated him to choose Inuit-made country foods (45 lb of dryfish @ \$11.25, described

as Eskimo popcorn for its snack food choice). He also bought new manufactured fish products (20 tins of sardines @ \$3.25) (Journal #2, p. 77).

With essential foodstuffs out of the way, Kailek selected other items to enhance his household lifestyle or make his hunting and trapping subsistence less strenuous and time consuming. His choice of 2 sleeping skins (\$3.00) (Journal #2, p. 79) reveals his support for traditional Inuvialuit technologies. Nothing man-made can provide an effective barrier between the cold snow and your bedroll, compared with sleeping on fur hides. In this case, they may have been fall caribou hides, which do not lose their winter growth or it could even have been a muskox hide. In Table 11 (Journal # 2, pp. 77-78) he purchased 1½ dozen mantles (for gas lamps or primus stove lamps) (\$3.00), 2 generators (\$2.00) for same, 1 Primus burner (\$2.50) (Journal #2, p. 156) and 1 lantern (\$9.00) (Journal #2, p. 77). At midwinter, the western Coronation Gulf would be experiencing over 20 hours of darkness each day so to have an extra lantern would be quite a treat. Kailek also used some of his fur credit to purchase some essential tools: 1 pocket knife (\$4.00), and 1 pair of scissors (\$3.50). He might have been thinking of expanding his fur-trapping efforts by setting traps over a longer range. To travel such distances, he would need a strong team of dogs: 1 dog collar (\$5.00), 5 yards of webbing to make a dog harness (\$1.25) and 2 rings, 1 snap (.25 cents) reveal that on an as/when basis, he would repair aging dog harnesses. I wonder whether his purchase of 60-chain track (\$15.00), 60 S links (\$1.50) and an additional 60 traps (\$45.00) was an indication of his desire to escalate his white-fox-fur trapping and trading efforts to a small business on a commercial scale. In evidence, Damas (1988b) reported, "The general increases in dog populations ... can be attributed to an expanded subsistence economy which was made

possible by the regular supply of guns, ammunition, gill nets, and wooden boats that were brought into the country during the fur trade era” (Damas, 1988b, p. 110).

After acquiring food and tool basics, it seems that Kailek went on to select some items as creature-comfort treats, perhaps to celebrate the Christmas season and to be given out as gifts. From Table 12a (Journal #2, p. 77), I note that he most likely had a young family back at the camp. He selected 2 child hose (\$1.25), 1 child pants (\$2.25), 1 child dress - girl (\$2.00), 1 child pants – girl’s flower (.75 cents) and 3 toys (\$2.25) (Journal #2, p. 78). For the adults he bought the following: 1 pair gloves - leather men’s (\$3.00), 1 pair of gloves – ladies’ (\$3.00), 1 house dress, ladies’ (\$3.00), 1 scarf (\$2.00) and 1 neck tie (\$1.00). One can only imagine what new adult learning Kailek was experiencing through this selection of a necktie (Table 12a, p. 78) not likely for what it was intended for but probably for what it represented. Was it the beginning of his understanding and the emergence in the north of a new men’s fashion? Was it to be his own display of power and authority because perhaps all the powerful hite men he had met had worn neckties? Perhaps he was a bit of a dandy and liked to dress up, selecting it just for its colour. I wonder if it was going to be ornamental rather than practical, whether as in the instance of men the world over, he took it home only to hang it on a hook.

In the discussion and analysis of these last items, we can see signs of new adult learning. Christmas was an exciting time for Kailek and the people who were gathering at trading posts across the Arctic. One can only wonder whether it was impulse buying that led to his final purchase on that day before Christmas: 1 Big Ben chimes clock (\$12.00) (Table 12, Journal #2, p. 77). In a world of Inuit timelessness, the calendar had only six seasons. The arrival of the Whiteman brought a sense of seconds, minutes, hours, days,

months and years, but why would Kailek buy a Big Ben clock? Had he first heard Big Ben chiming in the background of a radio broadcast as he and other trappers gathered around the only trading site radio, the one in the trading post. Radio in those days came from nearby Coppermine or far off Edmonton, weather conditions permitting. Buster Kailek might have had his first experience with wage employment where, very likely to his Inuit amusement, the White boss pointed to a clock and told him that work starts at such and such a time?

Table 13 reveals an interesting fact that leads to questions about both Kailek and Semmler's trading post operations. As seen in Table 13, Kailek did not travel to Cape Krusenstern in 1945 and conduct any trades. Was Kailek ill that year or was Semmler's trading post closed down? Perhaps Kailek had returned to Cambridge Bay and spent the year over there, thereby trading his 1945 white-fox catch with traders over there. While there is no record of 1945 fur-trade transactions, nonetheless, from Table 13 (Journal #2) we see that April 20, 1945, he did call in at Cape Krusenstern and pick up some food basics: jam, butter, tins of milk, tea and 1 tin of tobacco. In the absence of any recorded fur trades on that April 20, 1945 visit, perhaps Kailek had credit built up at Semmler's post. However, it is very likely that this is tangible proof of the store credit Semmler was known to give trappers to get them over the times when fur supplies were sparse. "Slim had grubstaked a lot of the local and outlying trappers during the hard times. Slim very rarely turned any trapper away" (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Inuvik Community Conservation Plan, January 1993, p.1). Grubstaking trappers meant they would make return visits and continue to patronize the Semmler post rather than those operated by his competitors such as the Canalaska Company or the Hudson's Bay Company. In the

absence of tangible proof, one statement can be made about the adult-learned trait of honesty and keeping one's word: Inuvialuit trappers were known, in most instances, as being reliable and could be counted on to repay any credit granted at Semmler's trading post (Slim Semmler, personal communication, 1976).

Furs traded and goods selected by Kallek - as per Journal # 2 -																	
Post Expenses For CASH (1943)																	
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (store food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schreiber, Hosts, Cuspes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Cariboo, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add info
10/21/1943	57						10 box 25/20 cartridges							\$30.00			
10/21/1943	57			200 lb flour										\$32.00			
10/21/1943	57			200 lb sugar										\$60.00			
10/21/1943	57		10 gal. gas drum											\$23.00			
10/21/1943	57			100 lb rice										\$30.00			
10/21/1943	57			12 lb butter										\$15.00			
10/21/1943	57			20 lb tea										\$45.00			
12/24/1943	76			24 lb flour										\$4.00			
12/24/1943	76			1 lb tallow										0.5			
12/24/1943	76			1 lb baking powder										1			
12/24/1943	76			1 lb tea								1 mouth organ		1.5			
12/24/1943	76													1			
12/24/1943	77			1/2 lb tobacco										\$ 1.50			
12/24/1943	77	4 fox												\$ 80.00			
12/24/1943	77	3 white fox												\$ 30.00			
12/24/1943	77	17 white fox												\$ 340.00			
12/24/1943	77	1 red fox												\$ 3.00			
12/24/1943	77	1 red fox												\$ 6.00			
12/24/1943	77	4 red fox												\$ 40.00			
12/24/1943	77					1 1/2 dozen mantles				1 only gas tank				\$ 20.00			
12/24/1943	77					2 generators								\$ 3.00			
12/24/1943	77		2 lantern globes											\$ 2.00			
12/24/1943	77					1 copper plate tea kettle								\$ 1.00			
12/24/1943	77													\$ 6.00			
12/24/1943	77			2 cases pilot biscuits										\$ 25.00			
12/24/1943	77			5 pails lard 15 lb						1 case coal oil				\$ 6.00			
12/24/1943	77													\$ 7.50			
12/24/1943	77			3 tins jam		1 lantern								\$ 5.00			
12/24/1943	77			8 lb butter										\$ 9.00			
12/24/1943	77													\$ 8.00			
12/24/1943	77			2 pac apples										\$ 2.00			
12/24/1943	77			20 tins sardines										\$ 3.25			
12/24/1943	77			2 tins onions										\$ 3.75			
12/24/1943	77			2 lb cheese										\$ 2.00			
12/24/1943	77			4 1/2 lb tobacco										\$ 13.50			
12/24/1943	77			8 pk yeast cakes										\$ 2.00			
12/24/1943	77													\$ 1.25			
12/24/1943	77		5 pearl soap											\$ 1.50			
12/24/1943	77		3 lifebuoy											\$ 1.50			
12/24/1943	77		3 7 Soap											\$ 0.75			
12/24/1943	77			1/2 lb tea									1 big ben chimes	\$ 12.00			
12/24/1943	77																

Table 12. Furs traded and goods selected by Kailek in 1943, p. 1.

Table 12a. Furs traded and goods selected by Kailek in 1943, p. 2.

Furs traded and goods selected by Kailek - as per Journal # 2 -

Post Expenses Ect CASH (1945)																	
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (store food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Cariboo, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add'l info
4/20/1945	156			1 tin jam 4lb										\$2.00			
4/20/1945	156			1 lb butter										\$1.00			
4/20/1945	156					1 primus burner								\$2.50			
4/20/1945	156			2 tins milk										\$1.00			
4/20/1945	156			1 tin tobacco										\$1.00			
4/20/1945	156			1/2 lb tea										\$1.50			
4/20/1945	157										5 yd webbing			\$1.25			
4/20/1945	157												1 dog collar	\$5.00			
4/20/1945	157					2 rings 1 snap								\$0.25			

Table 13. Furs traded and goods selected by Kailek in 1945

6.3.5. Haogak

It is possible that the Haogak who traded at Semmler's trading post at Cape Krusenstern was Philip Haogak or a relative. Alternatively, this Haogak may be the father-in-law to Inuvialuit beneficiary Edith Palunayak Haogak (d.o.b. 1932, Coppermine) currently residing at Sachs Harbour, Banks Island, NWT. If such is the case, this Haogak is a relative of the present-day beneficiaries and Edith's children: Jean Pigaluk, Mona Poko, Eileen Kagonak, Charlie Kowdluak (deceased) and grand-daughter Bonnie Rose Margaret Haogak (Northern Administration, DIAND, 1969) Eskimo Disc List, 1969, Western Arctic Division, District W-3, Inuvik, p. 19).

Table 14, which was compiled from data found in Semmler's Journal #1 *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern, NWT*, contains a list of the total number of white-fox-fur trades made by Haogak for the period 1937 to 1946 with the absence of 1944. (Oral histories report that from July 1944 to September 1945, the Semmler Cape Krusenstern trading post was closed because Slim, Agnes and their children had moved to Tuktoyaktuk and the Mackenzie Delta in order to scout out the market for an expansion of their business operations.) As we can see, he completed 559 white-fox trade transactions. The data on the number of white-fox pelts trade transactions he completed on a year-by-year basis are noted below. In the bracketed information that follows the year, the first dollar figure represents the lowest price per white-fox pelt and quantity of pelts, while the latter figure is the highest price per white-fox pelt and the quantity of pelts that he received in that calendar year. The remaining pelts, not shown, were purchased for prices between these two figures. The underlined number represents the best earnings at a onetime trade of white-fox pelts for that calendar year.

1937 – 6 white fox trades (\$14.50 x 6 pelts)

1938 – 29 white fox trades (\$9.79 x 20 pelts; \$10.00 x 9 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$9.79 \times 20 \text{ pelts} = \$195.75]}$$

1939 – 45 white fox trades (\$8.60 x 10 pelts; \$13.00 x 1 pelt)

$$\underline{[\$10.00 \times 14 \text{ pelts} = \$140.00]}$$

1940 – 27 white fox trades (\$7.00 x 3 pelts; \$14.00 x 13 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$10.67 \times 9 \text{ pelts} = \$96.00]}$$

1941 – 51 white fox trades (\$7.00 x 9 pelts; \$15.00 x 6 pelts)

$$[\$10.68 \times 22 = \$235.00]$$

1942 – 50 white fox trades (\$11.20 x 5 pelts; \$14.00 x 23 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$12.07 \times 14 \text{ pelts} = \$169.00]}$$

1943 – 190 white fox trades (\$12.00 x 32 pelts; \$20.00 x 13 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$14.00 \times 145 \text{ pelts} = \$2030.00]}$$

1944 – Trading post not in operation

1945 – 73 white fox trades (\$11.79 x 19 pelts; \$18.00 x 3 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$15.52 \times 29 \text{ pelts} = \$450.00]}$$

1946 – 86 white fox trades (\$12.68 x 22 pelts; \$13.00 x 61 pelts)

$$\underline{[\$13.00 \times 61 \text{ pelts} = 793.00]}$$

The above data provide numerical clarification of both the supply of white foxes to be trapped as well as the fluctuating price paid per pelt. The year 1943 saw a fourfold higher supply of white foxes than the annual fur harvest in the years 1937 to 1942. Unusual in the fur market supply-demand model, while there were record amounts of white foxes to be trapped and sold, the trapper also received the highest per pelt price (\$20.00) for 1943.

Haogak's trading transaction history (Table 14) reveals that, in comparison to the trade transactions of other Inuvialuit ancestors for that same period, he was more than just a subsistence white-fox trapper but had undertaken a small business or commercial pursuit of white-fox-fur trapping and trading. From the dollar amounts recieved, one wonders what he would have done with the financial rewards of such industriousness. As has been the pattern of this research, I located in Semmler's Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH*, a partial list of trade goods selected by him for the following years: Tables 15, 15a and 15b (1942); Table 16 for 1943 and Table 17 for 1944. (Please note that in the entries in all Tables from 15 to 17 there were additional white-fox trades completed by Haogak at Semmler's post.) As has been stated for the four earlier Inuvialuit ancestors reviewed, because these Journal #2 trade transactions were few and far between, they were not included in the calculation used to compile Table 14 (below), which was derived from the data found only in the Semmler Journal #1, *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern, NWT*.) A review and discussion of some of Haogak's trade goods selections for each of these three years follows.

**Furs traded by Haogak - as per Journal # 1 - Furs Journal Cape
Krusenstern, NWT 1934 to 193- (1937 - 1946)**

Date	Furs Journal page #	# of White Fox Fur	Price Per Pelt	Total Value		
5/6/1937	30	6	\$14.50	\$87.00		
4/15/1938	40	1	\$10.00	\$10.00		
4/22/1938	40	3	\$10.00	\$30.00		
4/23/1938	40	1	\$10.00	\$10.00		
5/16/1938	41	4	\$10.00	\$40.00		
12/5/1938	44	20	\$9.79	\$195.75		
1/14/1939	45	14	\$10.00	\$140.00		
1/24/1939	45	2	\$9.00	\$18.00		
2/3/1939	45	1	\$13.00	\$13.00		
2/20/1939	45	6	\$9.67	\$58.00		
3/5/1939	46	10	\$9.40	\$94.00		
3/23/1939	46	2	\$10.00	\$20.00		
4/22/1939	48	10	\$8.60	\$86.00		
1/3/1940	55	2	\$7.00	\$14.00		
2/28/1940	55	1	\$7.00	\$7.00		
4/1/1940	81	3	\$14.00	\$42.00		
4/1/1940	81	2	\$14.00	\$28.00		
4/1/1940	82	8	\$14.00	\$112.00		
4/1/1940	84	9	\$10.67	\$96.00		
12/11/1940	59	2	\$8.00	\$16.00		
2/22/1941	61	4	\$10.00	\$40.00		
4/1/1941	63	9	\$13.22	\$119.00		
5/1/1941	64	6	\$15.00	\$90.00		
5/1/1941	64	3	\$12.33	\$37.00		
11/1/1941	66	9	\$7.00	\$63.00		
12/1/1941	66	22	\$10.68	\$235.00		
1/1/1942	68	5	\$11.20	\$56.00		
1/1/1942	68	14	\$12.07	\$169.00		
1/1/1942	68	3	\$14.00	\$42.00		
1/1/1942	68	2	\$14.00	\$28.00		
02/01/42	69	3	\$14.00	\$42.00		
02/01/42	69	5	\$14.00	\$70.00		
02/01/42	69	7	\$14.00	\$98.00		
03/01/42	71	1	\$14.00	\$14.00		
03/01/42	71	2	\$14.00	\$28.00		
03/01/42	71	8	\$13.63	\$109.00		
01/01/43	76	3	\$12.00	\$36.00		
03/01/43	78	3	\$12.00	\$36.00		
03/01/43	78	26	\$12.00	\$312.00		
07/01/43	89	7	\$20.00	\$140.00		
07/01/43	89	6	\$20.00	\$120.00		
07/01/43	89	145	\$14.00	\$2,030.00		
01/01/45	99	29	\$15.52	\$450.00		
01/01/45	99	3	\$18.00	\$54.00		
11/1/1945	102	19	\$11.79	\$224.00		
11/1/1945	102	20	\$15.70	\$314.00		
11/1/1945	102	2	\$16.00	\$32.00		
3/1/1946	106	22	\$12.68	\$279.00		
3/1/1946	108	61	\$13.00	\$793.00		
3/1/1946	106	3	\$13.00	\$39.00		

Table 14. Furs traded by Haogak 1937-1946

From Table 14, derived from data in Semmler Journal #1, *Furs Journal Cape Krusenstern*, we learned that Haogak travelled to Cape Krusenstern once a month beginning in January 1942 (Journal #1, pp. 68, 69, 71) obtaining a store credit from Semmler's trading post manager of \$656.00. I was unable to find any journal entries for the period that indicated Haogak selected trade goods at that time. However, the data derived from Semmler Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH*, shows that he did return to Cape Krusenstern later that year in August and October, when conceivably he spent the trading post credit he had accrued earlier in 1942.

Tables 15, 15a and 15b contain the list of trade goods selected by Haogak in 1942. As mentioned earlier in this research, some of the journal entries are in an Inuit dialect that does not resemble any of the three Inuvialuktun dialects and therefore leads me to conclude that an Inuinait dialect is being used. As I was not able to obtain a translation of these entries, the following data review is based only on data entered into the journal in English.

On his August 30, 1942 visit to Cape Krusenstern, he stocked up on basic food supplies, choosing a blend of both country foods as well as manufactured or store-bought foods that Semmler would have brought in from the south. He showed his support for traditional Inuvialuit food technologies in his selection of caribou dry meat (\$15.00) (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 23. *mipky, mipku*) but as can be seen from the data, he continued with the common practice of selecting food basics that would supplement his country food diet of seasonal game or marine species. It is interesting that on this shopping expedition, he did *not* pick up large quantities of flour and sugar, but selected processed items and additional fast-food items popular at that time. In addition, like all Canadians

of that era, Haogak chose some of the fresh produce that Semmler had brought in from Edmonton, some 3,000 miles to the south, and which for Haogak would have been a rare treat. It may have been an opportunity to explore new adult learning through the selection of new food supplies being offered to him.

Table 15 (Journal #2, pp.23-38) shows that he selected the following goods: 7 lb of coffee (\$13.50), 5 lb of tea (\$7.50), 10 lb of butter (\$10.00), and 4 lb of crackers (\$3.00).

From Table 15a, we can see that he selected 11 lb of bacon for \$11.25 (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 38), 11 lb of syrup (\$5.50), 8 lb of prunes (\$6.00), 2 lb of peaches (\$1.50), and 3 lb of apples (\$2.00). In addition, he took 3 lb of lard (\$2.50), 2½ lb of baking powder (\$2.50), and some unknown quantity of butter (\$1.00), condensed canned milk (\$1.00) and potatoes (\$10.00).

Also from Table 15a, Haogak's selection of 11 fawn skins (\$16.50) (Journal #2, p. 39), and one-half moose skin (\$9.00) (Journal #2, p. 49) shows that traditional Inuvialuit clothing construction technology was still being maintained using seal and caribou skin, but with increasing use of store-bought fabrics. This is apparent in his selection of 21 yards of calico (\$16.50) (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 38); 5 yards of blue denim (\$5.00) (Table 15a, Journal #2, pp. 38-39) thereby bringing a new durability and look to the parka, and Mother Hubbards (i.e., calf-length, full coat that women wore) that his wife would make with these raw materials.

While traditional Inuvialuit clothing patterns and technologies were still being used, it is obvious that Haogak and his wife were attracted to manufactured clothing which would save on hunting labour and time for him and sewing labour time for his

wife. From Semmler Table 15 for 1942 selections (Journal #2, pp. 23, 38, 39) we learn that he selected the following manufactured clothing for him and his family: 4 pair gloves (\$1.00) (p. 23), 1 pair pants, tweed (\$8.00) (p. 38), and 2 shirts, grey flannel (\$8.00) (p. 38).

From Table 15a (Journal #2) we see that he selected the following: 4 pair leather gloves (\$12.00) (p. 39), 1 pair leather mitts (\$2.50) (p. 39), 1 pair bloomers (\$2.00) (p. 39), 3 pairs socks (\$4.50) (p. 39) and one pair of black leather shoes (\$8.00) (p. 39).

Besides the labour- and time-saving returns to Haogak and his family, the selection of the pair of men's black leather shoes indicates an awareness of evolving men's fashion and of course, in time, would force him to learn new skills on how to keep leather clean and dry if worn in spring mud or winter snow seasons. It further illustrates their transition to semi-permanent housing (away from summer skin tents or winter igloos), where such fine leatherware could be kept dry and mud-free.

At that time, possessing some effective tools would add greatly to one's survivability not to mention the quality of life. Semmler stocked the goods for him to choose from and perhaps Haogak recalled visiting homes of business or government leaders. Whatever the reason, Haogak chose to purchase a range of goods both for their utility and for what they represented. By experience, I mean that in the possession of such European or White goods, Haogak demonstrates his comprehension of the emerging Euro-Canadian or "Whiteman" experience that these goods represent. One such obvious example is his selection of four china plates (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 38). The selection of time- and labour-saving tools, as shown in the list below, would have added a new degree of creature comfort or lifestyle change. Of course, he purchased shotgun shells (10

boxes of 25-20 (\$30.00) and 30-30 shells (\$20.00) (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 38), indicating that he owned two rifles at least and would be taking care of them, otherwise it meant a return to using a bow and arrow. From the following selections, we obtain indicators that Haogak lived in a semi-permanent dwelling that contained some wood. He owned some machinery which required maintenance tools: 1 tap (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 38), 2 knives - 10" (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 38); 1 pocket knife (\$3.50), 1 six-inch crescent wrench (\$2.50); 1 four-inch crescent wrench (\$2.00); 2 files (\$1.50), and 2 generators (\$2.00), as well as materials (1 gal white paint (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 39). The quality of his home life would surely have been changed by his selection of 1 cook stove (\$80.00) (Table 15a, Journal #20, p. 38), 3 boxes of needles (\$1.50) and 2 records (\$3.00) (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 39) for a gramophone they had obviously acquired through earlier fur trades.

The Semmler Journal #2 trade selection data show that he selected other creature comforts too. These included 1 box of matches for \$1.50 (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 38), 2 lighter fluids for \$1.00 (Table 15a, p. 39), 1 box of cigarette papers 25's for a \$4.50 value (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 38), 2 cartons and 4 packages of cigarettes (\$20.00) (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 39). This indicated that he smoked roll-your-own as well as having the luxury of tailor-made cigarettes. The selection of the following items reveals that earlier in his trapping career he had acquired new European technologies, and in doing so, learned maintenance and good care, as well as planning ahead for recharge supplies. From Table 15 we can see those items were thermos bottles (\$10.00), 4 thermos refills (\$12.00), 1 two-cell flashlight (\$2.00) and a box of flashlight batteries (\$3.00) (Journal #2, p. 38).

The ultimate selection on that August visit to Cape Krusenstern is revealed in the August 30, 1942 (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 36) entry of “1 schooner with engine.” Haogak traded 145 white-fox pelts, receiving a credit of \$2,100 towards the purchase of that schooner. This purchase shows he chose a technology which was new and would increase his fur trapping and trading efficiency, but also was representative of something old and Inuvialuit traditional, because in owning a boat, other Inuvialuit would view him as a leader, a *Umialik* or “one who owns a *umiaq* (boat).”

From Table 15b, we can see that in October 1942, he returned to Cape Krusenstern and exchanged two prized furs (wolverine) for \$80.00. The fur was used for parka trim on northern clothing (Journal #2, p. 53). On his August 1942 trip, he did not select any flour or sugar, perhaps having plenty from the year before. In this October trip, he selected exceptionally large amounts of foodstuffs and goods. This leads me to conjecture that this was a form of new adult learning. Because of the increasing availability of white fox and other furs, he had decided to escalate his efforts and acquire supplies so that he could return to the land or go along the coast. When encountering Inuit along the way, he would be able to trade foods and goods to them and thereby acquire more white-fox furs without the labour of trapping. In Table 15b (Journal #2, p. 53), we learn that he selected the following: 16 lb of fruit (\$12.00), 400 lb of flour (\$64.00), 100 lb of rice (\$30.00), 100 lb of sugar (\$30.00), 36 lb of butter (\$36.00), 1 case of hardtack biscuits - 25 (\$50.00), 1 case of baking powder - 24s (\$24.00), 1 can of marmalade (\$1.00), 10 bags of rolled oats (\$20.00), and 60 lb of tallow (\$30.00). Whether for personal use or trade, the selection of such items as tea and coffee would not be new, because they had been introduced with the Hudson’s Bay opening of their first

western Coronation Gulf trading post in Coppermine in 1916. However, the selection of additional store-bought items shows that Inuvialuit and Inuinait in the western Coronation Gulf area were becoming more accustomed to such items in their diet. Certainly, Semmler Journals # 1 and #2 hold a wealth of data that would warrant a corresponding study to illuminate Inuvialuit and Inuinait trade technology application in 1935-47.

From Table 15b (1942), we see that he chose one pair of sled runners (\$20.00) (Journal #2, p. 53), and 7 lb of rope (\$7.00). He eliminated historical technology but also the time- and labour-intensive practice of making his own runners out of fish rolled up in caribou skins, dipped in water and shaped into long, thin planks, which, upon freezing, made perfectly good sled runners (Morrison et al., 1995, p. 118). Prior to the arrival of hemp or plastic ropes, most Inuit would take a thick-skinned marine mammal, preferably a walrus, and starting an inch inside the outer edge, follow the edge around towards the inner circle, thereby creating a continuous a 1-2"-wide walrus rope (Jimmy Gordon, personal communication, 2004).

I surmised from the goods selected on his August 1942 visit that Haogak probably had a permanent house, dug into the ground and four drift logs high, like the western Inuit (Inuvialuit and Inupiat) tradition. Morrison (1983) reported that Nuvuk (Cape Krusenstern), Clachan and Beulah archaeological excavation sites revealed evidence indicating that the residents had an historical affiliation to western Thule (Alaskan) rather than eastern Thule. He reported that while they enjoyed freshwater fish from nearby lakes, the subsistence patterns revealed an overwhelming dependence on ringed seal, but

some evidence shows an economic orientation that was quite different from that of the historic Copper Eskimo of the area (Morrison, 1983).

As one would expect, with a large Semmler trading post credit, Haogak chose some more creature-comfort items for his home: 6 sacks of coal (\$36.00) (Journal #2, p. 53), 1 eiderdown (\$100.00) (Journal #2, p. 53), 2 lamp chimneys (\$1.00) (Table 15b, Journal #2, p. 53), 1 bed spring (\$25.00) (p. 53), which he undoubtedly selected for his semi-permanent home. Burning coal meant a lot more warmth than burning sand-logged driftwood or soft spruce.

We can see from one purchase, 1 pencil (\$1.50) (Table 15b, Journal #2, p. 53) that Haogak possessed both literacy and an interest in practicing writing. If he had attended any of the schools at Herschel Island (1900-1927), Shingle Point (1927-1934) or at Aklavik Anglican Residential School (1934-1959) or Aklavik Roman Catholic Residential School (1925-59) in youth or early adulthood, he would have been exposed to basic literacy lessons. Of course, we do not know if Haogak wanted the pencil because he had learned to write and read Inuvialuktun syllabics or the English language alphabet. However, we do know from the Inuvialuit oral memories and histories that both skills were held in high esteem (Pokiak, 1991; Kirby, 1994a, 1994b, 2005).

Purchasing one schooner with engine in August 1942 (Table 15, Journal #2, p. 36) was momentous enough in a family and an area where such costly items as motorized vessels were scarce. In October 1942, he had so much trading post credit to spare that he selected two more marine vessels: 1 16-foot canoe (\$200.00) and 1 motor boat with engine (\$850.00) (Table 15b, Journal #2, p. 59). With these three trade selections we see in Haogak not just a desire for better marine transportation but a confirmation of a

particular Inuvialuit trait, that is perhaps demonstrable today—a cautious, controlled introduction of new technologies. A similar Inuvialuit pattern has been identified from the archaeological record of Inuvialuit who traded at Herschel Island, Qikiqtaruk. In an excavation of two sod houses from the 1890s to 1900, it was noted that “there were two main categories of imported trade goods, indicating that Inuvialuit of this period were highly selective, trading only for those materials which could enhance their already successful lifestyle” (Government of the Yukon, 2007 ¶ 7). Surely, proof of Haogak’s Inuvialuit ancestry is in the record of the modest and simple trade goods selected, reflecting the known need of Inuit of this area (Godsell, 1938) but with three new boats to enhance his lifestyle.

From an adult-learning perspective, the 1942 fur trapping year and the application of fur-trade technology enabled Haogak to acquire new technological items that not only changed his life completely but sent him down a path that meant he would have to learn new skills to maintain such items. In turn, the acquisition of the marine technology would change him (Blakely, personal communication, 2006). The new trade technologies acquired from his fur trapping and harvesting efforts and application of fur trade technology would have led to a new beginning in his trapping and trading activities. Not only would he benefit from the saving in time and labour that such vessels would provide, but he would also experience the greater efficiency. I would argue that the result would cause Haogak to contemplate what further trade goods and experiences he might gather in the future.

From the numerical data on the quantities of goods selected, it can be concluded that, besides running his own trapline, Haogak probably applied fur-trade technology to

such a degree that he acquired enough supplies to set himself up in his own fur-trading business. This was common, because all Inuit had a history of trading furs or Inuit-made goods for new goods or materials not found in their area. They did so out of their sleds as they travelled, monitoring their traplines or travelling to meet other Inuit at pre-arranged gathering places. Those Inuit in permanent housing would stockpile supplies and trade directly from their camp. Knowing that not all Inuit families had the desire or a large enough dogteam to travel long distances to trading sites but did pursue subsistence, perhaps Haogak used his summer schooner to trade supplies directly from his vessel? We know from Table #2 that not all the early Inuvialuit pursued white-fox trapping to the degree that is characterized by the data record on Kauyaktok, Nekimayak and Haogak. For most Inuvialuit and Inuinnait, it could be said that they were content with casual subsistence white-fox trapping as they encountered opportunities to do so along their traditional migratory routes where Inuvialuit and other Inuit had pre-set times and meeting places (Pokiak, 1991). Having extra trade goods to trade with others in summer or winter periods meant that Haogak could use this advantage to acquire white-fox pelts at a good price, without having to undertake his own trapping. Godsell (1938) stated that the Inuvialuit ancestors, the Nunatagmuits, were ingenious in commercial trapping even going as far as to feed the white fox, scattering seal carcasses here and there in the area they intended to trap (Godsell, 1938, p. 280). Godsell also noted that this mindset (a blend of industriousness and new adult-learning opportunities) encouraged the Inuvialuit around the Mackenzie Delta, who had (through the commercial exploitation of bowhead whales (1890-1906) and later white-fox trapping) become “enmeshed in the web of Caucasian commerce” (1938, p. 274). Godsell stated of the Inuit of the western

Coronation Gulf region whom the Inuvialuit called the Cogmollocks [Inuinnait], at Cape Krusenstern, that these people possessed simple wants and “from the Whiteman’s point of view, they [Cogmollocks] needed to be educated into wanting quite a lot of things before they would be ripe for commercial exploitation” (1938, p. 274).

In my opinion, the data on Haogak illustrate his adoption of trading technology application for a larger commercial venture. Further, it can be said that, considering the amount of credit Haogak had accumulated in 1942 and from the items selected, it represents what heads-of-the-household have been doing for centuries. They have been making decisions to barter, trade, and in recent times, buy things that would bring additional functionality, comfort, ease and even ornament to their lives. In many instances, the new-to-the-Haogak family purchases of technology such as soap, flashlights, thermos bottles, and a wood stove would create new adult desires, needs or wants. In time, this would require new adult learning on how to continue to acquire them on a regular basis as well as care for and preserve such items. Further, once accustomed to the lifestyle return of such items, they would be reluctant to return to an earlier have-not situation. Resulting from new adult learning and the selection of new technologies, Haogak would have been changed and perhaps motivated to increase fur-trade technology application.

With the selection of three different marine vessels (1 schooner with engine, 1 canoe, and 1 boat with motor), acquired in the same year through white-fox-fur trading, one can only assume that Haogak and his Inuvialuit neighbours understood that he was a leader, an *Umialik*, or “one who owns a boat” (Pokiak, 1989).

Table 16 describes the Semmler Journal #2 *Post Expenses Ect CASH* data, illustrating not only additional furs that he had trapped and traded on August 27, 1943 but the trade goods he selected. Shown as three separate trade entries, in all he traded 13 white fox, receiving \$20.00 for each (an all-time high record of price per pelt) (\$260) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 34), 2 wolverine (\$60.00), and 1 wolf (\$30.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35).

As can be seen from Table 16, Haogak's returns from white-fox trading were as plentiful as the year before, except for food supplies where the journal indicates none were chosen. Increasingly accustomed to and perhaps dependent upon store or manufactured goods, possibly due to the fluctuation of seasonal marine and wildlife availability (Freeman, 1976) for both food and trapping, Haogak continued his escalated white-fox trapping and trading.

From Table 16, we can see that he conducted the following exchanges. The records show that he selected local animal and marine pelts: 1 deerskin (\$10.00) (p. 30); 7 sealskins (\$5.00) (p. 34), and 4 deerskins (\$4.00) (p. 34). This illustrated his customary support for traditional Inuvialuit technologies, which use such skins for either clothing (deerskin) or footwear (sealskin *mukluks* or *kamiks*). He did purchase 1 pair of locally made moccasins (\$2.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35) but also another pair of manufactured leather shoes: "one pair shoes-Romeos" (p. 34). As he has done in previous years, he selected various manufactured fabrics (6 yards rayon, four and one-half yards khaki and 1 box of thread (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 34).

Already possessing two motor-powered vessels (1 schooner with engine (Table 15, p. 36) & 1 motor boat with engine (Table 15b, p. 59), he had to purchase ever larger

amounts of fuel products: 10 gal coal oil for a \$20.00 value (Table 16, Journal # 2, p. 30); 45 gal gasoline (\$90.00) on two separate occasions (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 30, p. 35); 3 drums of coal oil (\$60.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35); 3 empty drums (\$9.00); 2 gas drums (\$16.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35). Introduced to primus fuel in the 1920s for their portable primus stoves selected in fur-trade exchanges, the Inuvialuit nonetheless relied on their old technologies of harvesting local marine-based oil products from seals, whales, and walruses to meet their subsistence needs. That said, the 1940s selections of oil products by Haogak could be evidence of yet another moment on the continuum, illustrating their gradual move away from traditional marine-based oil products and technologies (seals, whales and walrus) towards a reliance on outsider-produced petroleum-based products.

Haogak chose some creature comforts in selecting the following: one tin of tobacco (\$1.50) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 34), 12 Ronson flints (\$6.00), one lighter, bullet (\$1.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35) and one package of razor blades (\$1.50) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 30). The latter purchase should make us pause a moment while we contemplate why we would bother to shave in an igloo. Historically, Inuit men wore shoulder-length hair and did not shave facial or body hair (Murdoch, 1892; Karklins, 1992). (To this day, men possess only sparse body hair on arms, legs and chest, and are either content to look traditional with just a feathering of chin hairs or go modern. That being said, there is a northern saying, “There is no sweat in the Arctic!” which has layers of meaning depending on your generation. Obviously, long ago, large expanses of body hair could have increased the chance of hypothermia since sweat gathers in areas of body hair and could freeze, lowering one’s body temperature. Considering the risk body hair

posed, it might explain a rarely known fact of Inuit physiology: Inuit people today have most of their sweat glands confined to their face (Angus Cockney, North Pole Adventurer, personal communication, 1996). Returning to Haogak's selection of razor blades, presuming they were to be used for shaving facial hair, this may be an indication that he was undergoing new adult learning, resulting from his observation that western images of style and masculinity were, at that time, being adopted by northern Inuvialuit. Haogak might have chosen the razor blades as a response to new adult learning. Either he wanted to mimic the appearance of European leaders and business people that he came in contact with and who were clean shaven, or he wanted to be seen as a successful leader but with a modern face. Perhaps he just needed a sharper cutting tool than his previously acquired pocketknife (Table 15a, Journal #2, p. 38).

From Table 16 (1943) some other household comforts that he selected were as follows: one lamp (\$2.00) (Journal #2, p. 30), 12 cups of granite "black tea" \$9.00 (Journal #2, p. 34), one kettle (\$3.00), 2 caps for \$8.00 (Journal #2, p. 35), one box of batteries (\$3.00), one flashlight (\$3.00), and one wash basin (\$2.50).

A year earlier (Table 15b, Oct 10, 1942), he selected one bundle of lumber (p. 53) for a \$14.00 value. Cape Krusenstern sits in a taiga zone where stunted trees would not be suitable for house renovations or construction. Still, one wonders whether a year later, in 1943, Haogak must have been painting the final home renovation project he had completed with that earlier bundle of lumber, since he acquired one \$4.00 gallon of white paint and one and a half quarts of blue paint (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35). For household tools, he selected a dollar box of rivets (Journal #2, p. 35), 12 hacksaw blades

for \$3.00 (p. 35) and, perhaps because his trapline was being bothered by poaching polar bears, he selected a 32-pound leghold trap (\$20.00)(Journal #2, p. 35).

It was becoming the custom not just for himself but also for other local trappers (Table 16) to add manufactured clothing to his shopping needs. On that visit, he selected the following: 3 pair socks (\$5.00) (Journal #2, p. 30), 2 pairs of gloves (\$6.00)(Journal #2, p. 34), 1 braces (\$1.50) (Journal #2, p. 35) and 1 pair of rubber boots, men (\$6.00) (Table 16, Journal #2, p. 35). The latter purchase might mark the end of one of his wife's labour-of-love chores, making *kamiks*. Labour-of-love tasks were those that each wife and mother gladly carried out so that her family members would be appropriately clothed and attired, and in the eyes of the Inuit community, would then see her as a "good woman." Selecting manufactured rubber boots marked the beginning of a period of choice, where Inuvialuit could choose between buying the new or making the time for the manmade Inuit technology, *kamik* (meaning boot or shoe). To be more exact, the Inuvialuit referred to these sealskin, waterproof boots as *atungalik*, meaning "a boot with a bearded skin sole" (Lowe, Basic Siglit Inuvialuit Eskimo Dictionary, 1984b, p. 8). This traditional Inuit-made boot required the woman's hunter to travel to the ice flow edge or hunt through a seal breathing hole in order to spear or shoot a bearded seal. Then the woman of the household would skin the seal and clean the seal fur off the hide. She would cut out of the hide the various parts of a *mukluk* or boot print. Finally, when the bearded seal (*ugyuk*) sole of the boot is still wet, she begins to shape the outline of the boot, folding over the edge of the wet sealskin into pleats, stitching them in place at both the heel and the toe (Lowe, Basic Uummarmiut Eskimo Dictionary, 1984, p. 208).

With the lure of trade goods as both functional utility but representative of experience, the simple entries of Haogak's selection data do not offer any insight into his thinking behind such selections. It does lead to many unanswered questions. Perhaps Haogak's selection of a razor and a pair of Romeo shoes resulted from new adult learning, meaning he had a sense of European fashion, or perhaps it meant that some women liked men to be clean-shaven.

One trade transaction holds no mystery behind the motivation and proof that Haogak had an constant interest in his reading and writing literacy. His selection of one book (.50 cents) (Journal #2, p. 35), one bottle of ink (.50 cents) and one package of envelopes (.50 cents) can only mean that he was not only literate but that he knew other Inuit and non-Inuit with whom he could correspond.

Table 17 (from Journal #2, *Post Expenses Ect CASH*) contains the list of trade goods Haogak selected in 1944. As has been stated earlier, Semmler closed the Cape Krusenstern trading post from July 1944 to July 1945, so Haogak would most likely have taken his trapped furs to nearby trading posts at Read Island or Coppermine. However, on a March 16, 1944 visit, it would seem that Haogak returned to Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading post. In the absence of any entries of furs being traded, he probably used up the unspent balance of his fur credit from earlier years. The pattern of his selections was like that of previous years, selecting manufactured clothing, tools, and coal oil. With a full larder at home due to his seasonal hunting and fishing efforts, he selected only a few items, mostly treats; 6 lb of oats (\$2.00) (Table 17, Journal #2, p. 117), ½ box of chocolate bars (\$1.50) of gum (\$2.50), and 10 chocolate bars (\$1.25). I

can only wonder what type of adult learning experience with each taste of all those chocolate and candy purchases?

He also purchased the following items: 4 bottles of perfume (\$2.00) (Table 17, Journal #2, p. 117), 2 pairs of glasses (\$5.50), 1 pocket knife (\$3.00), 2 packs of cigarettes (\$1.00), and 1 cigarette case, metal (\$2.00). Readers of a certain age will know that such metal cigarette holders were the fashion in World War II, proving again that Haogak was choosing not only a utilitarian item, but perhaps basking in the new experience of being a man of high fashion. In closing, it would seem that through his selections, he was enjoying the technologies and the best of both worlds.

Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak - as per Journal # 2 -															
Post Expenses Ect CASH (1942)															
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (stere food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, fides (Cariboo, Paws)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded
1942	23		1 pog. mupky (gast?)											\$15.00	
1942	23		2 - minkun											\$1.00	
1942	23		1 - algak											\$3.00	
1942	23		1 - bigaw											\$0.50	
			1 - puk soap. opugiyoon											\$3.00	
1942	23		4 - aliagoyak											\$3.00	
1942	23				4 pair gloves									\$1.00	
1942	23		2 atakin. angon											\$3.00	
1942	23		1 aduk											\$1.00	
1942	23		2 olligauyak mikikok												
1942	23		1 pivanak											\$1.00	
			1 havik. mikrok.												
1942	23		polik											\$2.50	
1942	23		2 ikukhak											\$0.50	
			1 ahak. haonilgi											\$3.00	
1942	23		4 paon											\$3.00	
			1 apol potolik											\$3.00	
1942	23		4 paon											\$0.50	
1942	23		1 kota												\$98
			8 kikiak												
1942	23		kpioktalik											\$14.00	
1942	23		1 antaktang											\$6.00	
1942	23		4 atakin											\$6.00	
1942	23		3 kalan cesolia											\$1.00	
1942	23		2 yd kalik											\$1.00	
1942	23		1 paip											\$1.00	
1942	23		1 nipyakutak											\$1.50	
8/30/1942	36								1 schooner with engine					\$2,100.00	
8/30/1942	36	145 white foxes					10 boxes 25-20							\$30.00	\$2,030.00
8/30/1942	36						10 boxes 30-30							\$20.00	
8/30/1942	36										tablecloth n 2 yds			\$2.00	
8/30/1942	36												cash	\$25.00	
8/30/1942	36		5 dog collars										cash \$1	\$2.50	
8/30/1942	36					1 axe hunting							1 tap	\$4.00	
8/30/1942	36					1 funnel coleman								\$2.50	
8/30/1942	36		4 china plates											\$3.00	
8/30/1942	36		2 plates											\$1.50	
8/30/1942	36		4 thermos refills											\$12.00	
8/30/1942	36		2 thermos bottles											\$10.00	
8/30/1942	36		48 tins tobacco											\$72.50	
8/30/1942	36		10 pk matches											\$5.00	
8/30/1942	36									1 can oil				\$1.00	
8/30/1942	36		box cig paper 25's											\$4.50	
8/30/1942	36		box fl batteries											\$3.00	
8/30/1942	36		flight 2 cell											\$2.00	
8/30/1942	36										21 yd calico			\$16.50	
8/30/1942	36					pants tweed pr								\$8.00	
8/30/1942	36					2 shirts grey flannel								\$8.00	
8/30/1942	36		coffee 7 lb											\$13.50	
8/30/1942	36		tea 5 lb											\$7.50	
8/30/1942	36		butter 10 lb											\$10.00	
8/30/1942	36		4 lifebuoy soap											\$2.00	
8/30/1942	36		2 boxes thread											\$4.00	
8/30/1942	36					frying pan ?								\$0.50	
8/30/1942	36		4 lb lada? crackers											\$3.00	

Table 15. Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak in 1942, p. 1.

Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses Excl CASH (1942)													
Date	Fur type Exchanged Journal page #	Items Traded	Food (olive food, no food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Shoes, Hats, Carries	Fuel	Fabric	Shawls, Mitts (Carries, Dues)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods sent traded
8/30/1942	38		bacon 11 lb										\$11.25
8/30/1942	38		syrop 11 lb										\$6.00
8/30/1942	38				2 knives 10"								\$1.50
8/30/1942	38	box matches											\$6.00
8/30/1942	38		prunes 8 lb										\$1.50
8/30/1942	38		peaches 2 lb										\$1.50
8/30/1942	38		apples 3 lb									cash	\$2.00
8/30/1942	38												\$3.50
8/30/1942	38	1 new hays and 1 handle stove cook			pocket knife								\$6.00
8/30/1942	38											cash	\$50.00
8/30/1942	38		lard 3 lb									cash	\$2.50
8/30/1942	38										11 fawn skins		\$16.50
8/30/1942	39		2 1/2 lb b. powder										\$2.50
8/30/1942	39	white paint 1 gal oil linseed											\$12.00
8/30/1942	39	2 record											\$3.00
8/30/1942	39		butter										\$1.00
8/30/1942	39		milk con.										\$1.00
8/30/1942	39	3 boxes granophone records											\$1.50
8/30/1942	39		potatoes?									2 cartons + 4 pkcs cig	\$10.00
8/30/1942	39												\$20.00
8/30/1942	39				crenset green 6"								\$2.50
8/30/1942	39				crenset wrench 4"								\$2.00
8/30/1942	39				2 files								\$1.50
8/30/1942	39				2 generators								\$2.00
8/30/1942	39											2 lighter fluid	\$1.00
8/30/1942	39	6 snaps swivel											\$3.00
8/30/1942	39	6 snaps											\$2.00
8/30/1942	39	6 soap laundry											\$2.00
8/30/1942	39			4 pr leather gloves leather									\$12.00
8/30/1942	39			1 pr bloomers									\$2.50
8/30/1942	39	2 boxes broad											\$2.00
8/30/1942	39	yds 7								5 yds blue denim			\$4.00
8/30/1942	39	3 socks pr											\$4.00
8/30/1942	39	faucet											\$4.00
8/30/1942	39									4 yds calico			\$3.75
8/30/1942	39			black shoes mens pr									\$8.00
8/30/1942	39	2 soap 1/2 moosaskin											\$1.00
10/3/1942	49												\$9.00

Table 15a. Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak in 1942, p. 2.

Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses Ect CASH (1942)																	
Date	Post Expenses Journal page #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (store food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Cariboo, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Advt info
10/10/1942	53			16 lb fruit										\$12.00			
10/10/1942	53	2 wolverine												\$80.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 siderdown 12X84											\$100.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 jakacaan											\$60.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 pr sled runners											\$20.00			
10/10/1942	53			400 lb flour										\$64.00			
10/10/1942	53			100 lb rice										\$30.00			
10/10/1942	53			100 lb sugar										\$30.00			
10/10/1942	53			36 lb butter										\$36.00			
10/10/1942	53			8 candles										\$6.50			
10/10/1942	53			hardtack 25										\$50.00			
				1 case baking powder 24s													
10/10/1942	53													\$24.00			
10/10/1942	53			1 can mammalade?										\$1.00			
10/10/1942	53												cash	\$1.00			
10/10/1942	53		7 lb rope										cash	\$7.00			
10/10/1942	53		2 lamp chimney											\$7.00			
10/10/1942	53													\$1.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 pr pants tweed boys											\$6.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 pencil											\$5.00			
10/10/1942	53			10 bags rolled oats		31 bolts 2"								\$1.50			
10/10/1942	53													\$20.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 bed spring											\$25.00			
10/10/1942	53		1 bundle lumber											\$14.00			
10/10/1942	53					1 sled shoeing heavy											
10/10/1942	53													\$80.00			
10/10/1942	53			60 lb tallow										\$30.00			
10/10/1942	53									6 sk coal				\$36.00			
10/20/1942	59								16 ft canoe					\$200.00			
10/20/1942	59								1 motor boat with engine					\$	\$50.00		

Table 15b. Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak in 1942, p. 3.

Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak - as per Journal # 2 - Post Expenses Ect CASH (1943)																
Date	Post Expense Journal page	Fur type traded	Item	Food (native food, native food)	Clothing	Toys	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boat, Canoe	Fuel	Fabrics	Stim. Hides (Cariboo, Doe)	Misc	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add'l Info
8/27/1943	30													\$10.00		
8/27/1943	30									10 gal coal oil		1 deerskin artificial bays?		\$20.00		
8/27/1943	30									45 gal gasoline				\$90.00		
8/27/1943	30												1 snug bag	\$25.00		
8/27/1943	30												12 roman firts phg	\$2.00		
8/27/1943	30												1 razor	\$6.00		
8/27/1943	30												1000s phg	\$0.50		
8/27/1943	30				3 socks pr							1 sealskin		\$5.00		
8/27/1943	34											1 sealskin		\$1.00		
8/27/1943	34											2 sealskin				
8/27/1943	34											3 sealskins				
8/27/1943	34											4 sealskins		\$4.00		
8/27/1943	34											2 sealskins				
8/27/1943	34		12 granite cups											\$9.00		
8/27/1943	34												cash			
8/27/1943	34												cash			
8/27/1943	34	6 white foxes												\$120.00		
8/27/1943	34		knife								6 yd rayon			\$6.00		
8/27/1943	34				2 pr gloves									\$3.00		
8/27/1943	34		1 kn tobacco		1 pr shoes canoe									\$1.50		
8/27/1943	34													\$3.00		
8/27/1943	34										4 1/2 yds kelfg			\$4.00		
8/27/1943	34		1 box thread											\$2.00		
8/27/1943	35	2 wolverines												\$80.00		
8/27/1943	35		tent 6x6											\$24.00		
8/27/1943	35		2 cups		1 braces									\$1.50		
8/27/1943	35												cash	\$6.00		
8/27/1943	35				inoculins pr									\$2.00		
8/27/1943	35		1 box batteries 7 L											\$3.00		
8/27/1943	35		1 flashlight										cash	\$3.00		
8/27/1943	35					1 box rivets								\$3.00		
8/27/1943	35												1 book	\$1.00		
8/27/1943	35												1 book	\$0.50		
8/27/1943	35												wick 1 yd	\$0.50		
8/27/1943	35												envelopes	\$0.50		
8/27/1943	35					12 hook saw handles								\$3.00		
8/27/1943	35												cash			
8/27/1943	35												3 drums coal oil	\$60.00		
8/27/1943	35												3 drums	\$9.00		
8/27/1943	35	Wolf												\$30.00		
8/27/1943	35	3 white fox												\$60.00		
8/27/1943	35		wash basin										lighter bullet	\$2.50		
8/27/1943	35												cash	\$10.00		
8/27/1943	35				1 pr rubber boots mtns									\$6.00		
8/27/1943	35	4 white fox												\$80.00		
8/27/1943	35					trap 32 lb								\$20.00		
8/27/1943	35												1 1/2 qt blue paint	\$6.00		
8/27/1943	35												45 gal gasoline	\$4.00		
8/27/1943	35													\$90.00		
8/27/1943	35													\$16.00		

Table 16. Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak in 1943.

Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak - as per Journal # 2 -																	
Post Expenses Ect CASH (1944)																	
Date	Post Expenses Journal #	Fur type traded	Items	Food (more food, native food)	Clothing	Tools	Guns and shells	Fishing gear	Schooner, Boats, Canoes	Fuel	Fabrics	Skins, Hides (Cariboo, Deer)	Misc	Total cash value of all goods received	Total cash value of all furs traded	Cash Received	Add'l Info
3/16/1944	116				4 pr heavy socks						20 yd prints			\$12.80			
3/16/1944	116				4 pr serge pants									\$6.00			
3/16/1944	116				3 pr kanki pants									\$36.00			
3/16/1944	116													\$12.00			
3/16/1944	116				4 pr drawers ladies									\$10.00			
3/16/1944	116				4 vests ladies									\$10.00			
3/16/1944	116				2 pr bloomers									\$4.00			
3/16/1944	116				5 towels singles									\$5.00			
3/16/1944	116				3 dress shirts	6 scissors								\$9.00			
3/16/1944	116				2 pr leather gloves									\$9.00			
3/16/1944	116				3 tams									\$6.00			
3/16/1944	116				2 pr thin hose									\$3.00			
3/16/1944	116													\$3.00			
3/16/1944	116		4 bottle perfume		2 pr rib hose									\$10.00			
3/16/1944	117													\$2.00			
3/16/1944	117				1 pr glasses sun									\$3.50			
3/16/1944	117				1 pr glasses sun									\$2.00			
3/16/1944	117				1 pocket knife									\$3.00			
3/16/1944	117			6 lb cuts										\$2.00			
3/16/1944	117			1/2 box chocolate bars										\$1.50			
3/16/1944	117					2 primus needle Lac								\$0.50			
3/16/1944	117					1 cig case metal								\$2.00			
3/16/1944	117				1 pk cig blank									\$0.50			
3/16/1944	117				2 pk cig									\$1.00			
3/16/1944	117													\$2.50			
3/16/1944	117			1 box gum										\$2.50			
3/16/1944	117			3 lb cuts										\$1.00			
3/16/1944	117			10 chocolate bars										\$1.25			

Table 17. Furs traded and goods selected by Haogak in 1944.

6.4 Closing comments on trade transactions

It is important to reiterate Godsell's earlier description of the Inuinnait or Cogmollocks of the Coronation Gulf region whose wants were comparatively few. As we can see from the trade goods taken in exchange, these five Inuvialuit forebears shared the same Inuinnait trait. Living through traditional technologies and predominantly off country food, the data seems to prove that the Inuvialuit were satisfied with food basics, (tea, sugar and flour) and were increasingly acquiring store-bought clothing, thereby being educated into wanting things. This was the first stage, according to Godsell, towards increased commercial exploitation by the Europeans. Such data further illustrates how IAL for this contact-traditional period falls under the category of social constructionism, where meaning is constructed within the traditional Inuit social context. However, as we can see by the independent decisions of some Inuvialuit fur traders, the Cape Krusenstern Inuvialuit had already begun a shift from social constructionism to the independent state of social constructivism where the individual takes responsibility for interpretation and of meaning, relying less on the opinion of Inuvialuit elders and leaders.

Godsell mentioned that Inuinnait used up the store credit by selecting such items as cigarette cases and jack knives and other ornamental items. The data for these five individuals illustrate a priority in their shopping list. First, they selected simple foodstuffs, then clothing and tools-for-living. Next, they selected gear and equipment, what older Inuvialuit used to term "junk" (Jimmy Gordon, personal communication, 1979) for dog team and trapline enterprises. The final priority was buying gas, oil and

other fuel products. Once those needs were met, the data reveal that treats like chocolate, candy, and tobacco were popular, together with ornamental items.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION # 3

What is the relationship between trade technology, involving the exchange of goods and ideas, and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) from 1935 to 1947?

This chapter summarizes the Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) process (7.1.), linking it culturally to Cape Krusenstern. Second, the chapter describes the positive and negative implications of Inuvialuit trade transactions (7.2.). More specifically, I pose the question, “What is the relationship between trade technologies and Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)?”

7.1. Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL)

IAL is a holistic process of adaptation to their social and physical environment, primarily experiential, and one where “learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience” (Kolb, 1993, p. 155). Knowledge is particular to a geographic area. Concepts are both derived from and modified by an individual’s experience. “No two thoughts are ever the same, since experience always intervenes Learning is an emergent process whose outcomes represent only historical knowledge, not knowledge of the future” (1993, p. 144). It is at Inuvialuit “knowing places,” the Inuvialuit landscapes and environments (Collignon, 2006), that Inuvialuit use adult-learning skills for individual skill development and maintenance of community and cultural ties (Kawalilak, 2004). The IAL process is lifelong, arising out of life-cycle roles (Tenant, 1993, p. 120) historically assigned to them by the elders and leaders. In modern times, it results from their individual choices. In addition to these life-cycle stages, IAL results from a dialectical process between “the changing or developing person and the

changing and evolving society” (Tenant, 1993, p. 133). Thus, it can be said that since their origins, and resulting from their historical bartering and trading practice, Inuvialuit have undergone new adult learning. This constant relearning process grew out of the “effects of social, economic and technological change” (p. 121). Over time, traditional IAL methods are strengthened through the addition of new ways of knowing or new adult-learning skills. This regenerative process is a form of recurrent education (p. 121), brought on by their openness to new goods and ideas through trading and bartering. It has led to a blend of traditional and Euro-Canadian adult-learning skills. In turn, the intersecting worldviews (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, *Intersecting Worldviews*, ¶ 7) have led to a new common ground of Inuvialuit knowledge. This intersection of worldviews also illustrates my earlier point that IAL has been in transition from those earlier generations where learning and knowledge was conceived in a directive from the elders and leaders, as per the sociological dictates of Inuvialuit customs and practices. However, with increasing exposure to new technology products Inuvialuit were exposed to new western or Euro-Canadian concepts and ways of thinking and learning. The data shown within illustrates the Inuvialuit transition to social constructivism, where the emphasis falls on the individual Inuvialuit to take responsibility for generating meaning. What remains to be clarified is whether Inuvialuit common ground is based on the retention of the best of constructionism and constructivism theories?

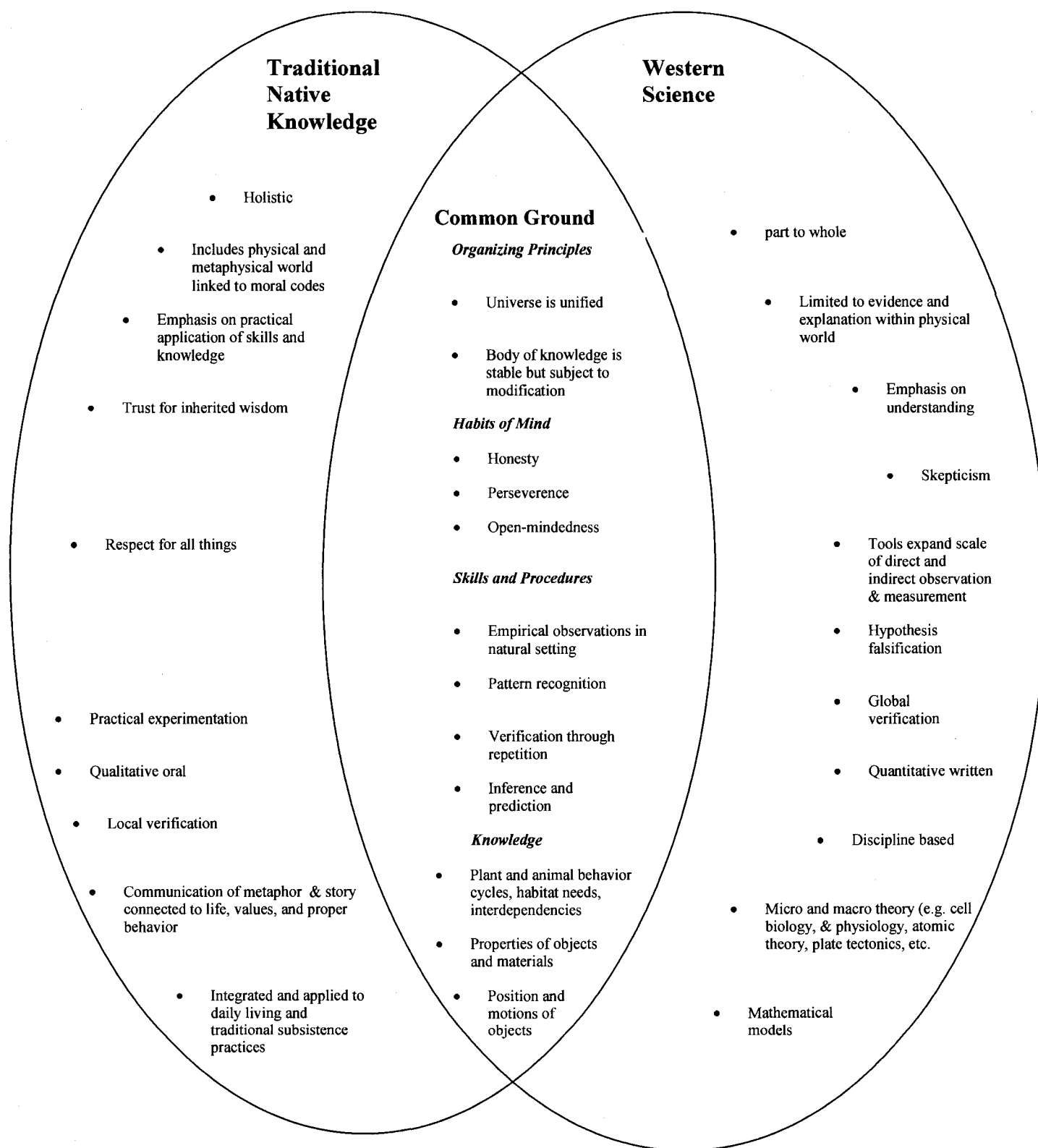


Figure 2. Intersecting Worldviews. Adapted from Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005, Diagram 1
Qualities associated with Traditional Knowledge and western Science

Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU), although in Inuinnait territory, was one such Inuvialuit knowing place. It was a knowledge that few present-day Inuvialuit possess. “From the beginnings of the contact-traditional period, the trade in arctic fox fur ... brought on and sustained technological changes, which in turn strongly affected subsistence practices and, indirectly, settlement pattern” (Damas, 1988b, p. 130). In contrast to their centuries-old nomadic pattern, “contact-traditional settlement focused for longer periods of each year at cache sites from which hunting and trapping excursions emanated” (1988b, p. 130). In 1935-1947, both traditional subsistence economies and trapping economies were supported and changed by Inuvialuit and Inuinnait selection of supplies and equipment at Semmler’s trading post.

Because of the limited data available, we cannot gain any accurate knowledge of the mindset of the Inuvialuit forebears while making their selections. There were no doubt sheer survival needs, but perhaps an entrepreneurial drive led them to maximize their white-fox catches at a time when individual fur-pelt prices were high. This accumulation of gathering more than a single’s days sustenance would have assured them of a protective cushion between them and the rigours of the Arctic environment. We do know that Inuvialuit believed that some things in life must be stoically survived. Inuvialuit author and researcher Abe (Allen) Okpik (1960) termed this mindset as being *ayorama* or “can’t be helped.” Roman Catholic Oblate missionary DeCoccola (1954) worked closely with the Inuvialuit and provided an even deeper level of meaning for *ayorama*, saying that it meant “life is like that, literally, because I am helpless” (DeCoccola, 1954, p. 314). This provides insight into the IAL context wherein the individual needs and learning (i.e., self-esteem) is minimized in favour of the importance

of maintaining the group needs and learning for community and cultural strengths. Further, since much of life cannot be helped or changed, and having simple wants and needs, why should one undergo new adult learning, skill training, or learn new adult human intervention behaviours about controlling your emotions, since life cannot be helped.

It is important to observe here that the opposite side of *ayorama* is another rarely discussed feature of IAL, resiliency. This is best reflected in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region community of Aklavik motto, “Never say die.”

Regarding *ayorama* and resiliency, I can say that over my lifetime as a “citizen-observer” among the Inuvialuit, I have observed this context in IAL. Until recent times, a pattern has emerged where Inuvialuit are reluctant to undergo adult learning to change things, or even to have things (because families share), or for job-skill training to work in their own companies, in spite of the best efforts of today’s Inuvialuit leaders through the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC). It is possibly the reason why those Inuvialuit who are anchored in *ayorama* and a stoic, resilient mindset, choose a range of different community learning opportunities as part of their belief in “the times must be right” and that learning is lifelong. Such adult-learning opportunities are found in their churches, with their employers, and through belonging to Arctic sports or drum and dance groups. Programs are run by government agencies such as the Town of Inuvik, Inuvik Works Program, or by the Government of the Northwest Territories. Alternative secondary school programs are offered for young adults between 16 and 21 years of age, Caribou Outreach or through the Continuing Ed courses of Aurora Campus, Aurora College. That is only true, however, when Aurora Campus offers courses that really appeal to the

Inuvialuit mindset and that reflect the learning of individual cultural skills as well as learning for developing Inuvialuit historical knowledge, and community and cultural bonds.

I identify the encroachment of technology as being controlled by the Inuvialuit and gradual, but other researchers such as Usher see the era differently. Usher (1965) concluded that the adoption of trade technology by the Eskimos had a negative effect. Today, after a 40-year career as a visiting researcher and author, he has produced a wealth of research material that has provided deep insights into the Inuvialuit people and the north at large. Still, I wonder if his 1965 position that technology had a negative effect was the result of the southern attitudes of a visitor to the north, who had not lived through a succession of cold winters. Inuvialuit, and other Inuit, motivated by the will to live and presented with few options, migrated across the territory of Inuvialuit and Inuinait because of their will to survive. Their situation made the adoption of trade technology application one of necessity rather than a conscious selection of a short list of lifestyle options. As mentioned earlier in this text, a person chooses a technology and then, after a while, the technology changes the person. In the North, however, the trade records show that Inuvialuit forebears controlled the degree and amount of technological purchases and adoption of technology; therefore, technology was not a negative influence.

Usher (1965) stated:

The traders came in search of furs, particularly the white fox, which the Eskimo had hardly used hitherto. The traders supplied the Eskimos with steel traps, and offered them rifles, knives, cloth, tobacco and other sundries in exchange for their

furs. The Eskimos were most happy to trade fox pelts, so valueless in their eyes, for the marvellous goods of the traders. To do this, however, they had to pay attention to their traplines all winter, which left them little time to hunt for seals, their main food source during that season. (p. 61)

Technology changed the Inuit because the gradual acquisition of larger and larger dog teams forced Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït to set longer traplines in anticipation of greater white-fox returns in trading post credit. Usher (1965) continued:

This problem was compounded by the fact that the average dog team increased in size with the introduction of fur trapping. Fifty years ago a family might have owned three dogs; the wealthiest man might have owned six. Six dogs per family is now practically the minimum [due to the longer trapline] ... [Thus] the Eskimo, then, had a greater food requirement and less time in which to obtain it. (p. 61)

This situation forced adult learning in the form of two new technologies, the rifle and the fishnet, which enabled them to get the maximum amount of products in a shorter period. Reflecting his position that these technologies were negative, Usher (1965) noted that the outcome was the “Eskimo developed a taste for tea, tobacco, flour, sugar, and even [canned] bully beef ... [And in a very quick time] the Eskimo became completely dependent upon the wares of the trader” (1965, p. 62).

Usher likened the relationship of the Eskimo to the trader [as] being that of a bonded servant (1965, p. 62). Because the trapper started with no gear, the trader would provide him with traps, rifle and other trapping gear. “Having no means to pay for this outfit, he went into ‘debt’ to the trader, and settled his account the following spring by bringing in his catch of furs” (1965, p. 62). Since the supply of white fox went in cycles

and the market fluctuated, the price paid per pelt was never fixed. Even allowing for the unscrupulous prices some traders charged for goods, in some years, trappers were unable to pay off their trading post debt account.

Recalling the evolution of Inuit culture from its origins in the eastern Siberian and Alaskan Arctic, Morrison (1983) said of the Cape Krusenstern people that they were a stylistic variant of the Thule Eskimo and that the Clachan possessed western Inuit characteristics (p. 225). He noted, "Stylistic changes in the Alaskan sequence are mirrored locally [in the Clachan occupation south of Cape Krusenstern trading site], dating and reflecting adult-learning transfer through trading contact with other tribes from at least as late as the fifteenth century" (1983, p. 225). Morrison described close contact with the west, "contact that involved the flow of goods (amber, ivory, copper), ideas (stylistic change) and presumably people" (p. 225). Further, he stated that the western Coronation Gulf Thule acted as a "bridge for the transmission of certain eastern (Hudson's Bay, Greenland) stylistic innovations to the west, such as drilled lashing holes on harpoon heads and spurred tangs on arrowheads" (p. 225). That being said, Morrison (1983) stated that, based on archaeological evidence, "throughout most of the Thule period the inhabitants of western Coronation Gulf looked west rather than east" (p. 225). In the early 1900s, it is fitting that that the Inuvialuit conducted trade technology applications as a product of new adult learning and in a gradual and controlled manner described by observers such as Godsell (1938). They did so because of the influence of their centuries-old Thule contact with western Inuit such as the Inuvialuit and the Inupiat.

7.2. Positive and Negative Implications of Inuvialuit Trade Transactions

In Chapter 6, I reviewed the individual trade transactions made by five Inuvialuit ancestors. The following is an examination of the categories of goods and a discussion of both positive and negative implications for adult learning by the Inuvialuit in making this selection process.

Foods: From the data reviewed on a select group of Inuvialuit ancestors who conducted trade technology applications at Cape Krusenstern, we see that Inuvialuit consistently purchased basic foodstuffs as tea, coffee, sugar, flour and tobacco in small amounts. The absence of other food items indicates their belief in the value of country food technologies, the harvesting of seasonal land (caribou and wildfowl) and marine (seal, char) food.

Clothing: The purchase of new clothing, however, shows that the previous labour-intensive and time-consuming technology of making caribou skin clothing was gradually being replaced by the convenience of store-bought clothing. From the purchase of sewing machines and fabrics, we can conclude that traditional patterns for Mother Hubbards (women's exterior coat) and parkas were still followed but instead of caribou, seal and muskrat skins, they readily adjusted to the convenience of cloth.

Boats: Finally Haogak's purchase of a canoe, speedboat and schooner within a two-year period shows that Inuvialuit determination and initiative pays off ... and that as a trapper, Haogak would surely be admired as being a leader, an *Umialik*, "one owns a boat."

Through fur-trade technology application and the simple wants of the local people, we can see that the selection of new items and the resulting technology (product

plus knowledge) did not appear to overwhelm or radically alter existing customs and practices. Goods seem to fit a conscious need to ease subsistence living, much as any other goods and “tools for living” have done for other people in other cultures. Therefore, it can be said that a positive effect of trade technology is that it eases the burden of the traditional laborious subsistence food-gathering technologies. While Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït take this positive position, viewing the adaptation to fur-trade technology as being a timely one for the circumstances, some non-Inuit describe the introduction of fur-trade technology as invasive, stating that the adoption of fur trade technology led to the decline of historic Inuit technologies such as traditional tool and clothing construction.

While open to new technologies like the Coronation Gulf people, they continued to live a traditional lifestyle. One could argue that short forays to the trading post did not leave the Inuvialuit ancestors open to the wholesale assimilation of new technologies being promoted by agents of the big three: the church, the Hudson’s Bay Company and the RCMP. They could return to their modified but traditional community and cultural practices. The process of fur-trade exchanges at Cape Krusenstern Semmler trading post does not reveal a pattern that would indicate that Inuvialuit ancestors abandoned their traditional values of sharing and cooperation for over-consumption, hoarding and acquisition of excessive ornamental and trade goods. The purchase of raw goods (flour, sugar, and calico), tools and gear were modest. They would not suggest that their acquisition would have led to abandoning traditional technologies. For that matter, the trade transactions give no indication that such a practice would have involved a paradigm shift in their worldview. Inuvialuit historian Abe [Allen] Okpik (1960, p. 40) reported that *ayorama*, the understanding that some things in life “can’t be helped,” guided Inupiat

and then IAL assisted them in prioritizing the new technologies as to whether they would be worth adopting.

Ayorama is intimately linked with an animistic indigenous worldview (indigenous being a complete integration of the social with the natural environment), a necessary integration of spirit and physical world. *Ayorama* was carried over into new economic, political and cultural ways of being, such as those being established by the Canadian government during the 1920s and 1930s, then exploding with the Inuit resettlement program of the 1950s. It can be seen by non-Inuit outsiders as an explanation or cause of Inuit disinterest or even a lack of ability for Inuit to learn new adult ways. It was another new adult-learning approach, but a long-held Inuit taboo, the intervention in the individual adult-learning process. *Ayorama* is not perfectly integrated with the western worldview wherein adult learning is guided by a “better safe than sorry” model. Maturity is defined in terms of individual ability to control behaviour, some of the most promoted controls being for alcohol use and sexual behaviour. Western or Euro-Canadian and Euro-American adult learning believes that the citizen should abandon any tribal survival ties (which immigrants might bring with them to Canada) in favour of adopting survival through wage earning or small-business technology application.

In Chapter 6, I stated that during this contact-traditional era, Inuit were embarking on the new adult-learning skill of English-language literacy. Inuvialuit had been exposed to formal education programs at church-run schools at Herschel Island and Shingle Point. Since most of their teachers were European and the language of instruction was English, many Inuvialuit had learned the basics of English grammar, reading and even writing with the English alphabet. We learned earlier in this research on Pokiak that the

Inuvialuit who were descendents of European fur traders often became the future leaders due to their basic grasp of the English language, not to mention other ways of the Whiteman. In choosing a technology like English literacy, Inuvialuit were changed by the technology. Note that Haogak took paper, pen and ink in trade, so he must have had someone to write to. The adoption of English-language literacy created a change in the process and led to Inuvialuit developing an interest in mathematics and counting, which further strengthened their skill and ability in fur-trade technology application.

Thus, in a very limited way and based on the Cape Krusenstern Semmler trading post data available, we can say that fur-trade-technology application changed the circumstances of IAL. Compared to the earlier historical record of 1910, reported at the opening of this section, Inuvialuit and Inuinnait began a pattern of visiting trading posts three or four times a year in order to practise white-fox fur-trade technology application.

The traders placed their posts wherever the best opportunities for trade existed, with the reservation that resupply by schooner required in every case a coast location. These locations tended to be places where the Eskimos traditionally came to the coast in the spring or well-known fishing areas such as the Coppermine River The missionaries to some extent encouraged the Eskimos to live nearby [the trading posts] and to worship at church on Sundays, although it must be said that the missionaries who entered the Coronation Gulf area were far more peripatetic than were those of earlier years in the Mackenzie Valley. (Usher, 1965, p. 59)

At trading sites such as Cape Krusenstern, Inuvialuit were exposed to the evolving messages of modernity through exposure to the concentration of goods, services

and people (the Big Three) associated with central trading sites. It could be said that their historical ethnocentrism fell away as they realized that other more powerful knowledge bases existed. It could represent the early stages of development of the common ground area of knowledge, a concept first proposed by Alaskan Indigenous scholars, Barnhardt and Kawagley. This concept stated that (resulting from the blended traditional ways of knowing and western learning skills and the intersecting of traditional indigenous and western worldviews) in recent times Inuit have begun to create a new common ground of principles, habits of mind, skills and processes and knowledge (See Fig. 2).

Consider the information that can be obtained from the Cape Krusenstern trading post records when we examine 1930-40 technologies that were *not* acquired in fur exchanges. The records for the five Inuvialuit ancestors show that they took gramophones, mouth organs, cook stoves as well as dog-team gear and boats. These particular Inuvialuit did not take radios, cameras, or even a larger range of canned or bottled foodstuffs, representative of other technologies of the era. In the absence of textual records and anecdotal statements about this trading post, we do not know whether the cause was Inuvialuit disinterest or whether Semmler's trading post did not offer such goods. No rifles were taken in exchange during this 1935-1947 period, but shells were acquired, so it could be assumed that each family already possessed one or two rifles. No radios or binoculars were taken in exchange. Few medicines were selected. This naturally leads to wonder whether they lacked the desire or the knowledge of such trade goods.

Other negative aspects of the fur trade process will be discussed below. Usher stated that during the contact-traditional period, a continued dependence on the fur trader began and "the relationship of the Eskimo to the trader became virtually that of a bonded

servant” (Usher, 1965, p. 62). Usher explained that the Inuvialuit trapper, not having start-up funds, would need to go into debt with the trader for traps, a rifle and gear. “Having no means to pay for this outfit, he went into ‘debt’ to the trader and settled his account the following spring by bringing in his catch of furs” (p. 62). The supply of white foxes and the market price fluctuated, so some years the Inuvialuit trapper had more debt than credit on the trading post journals. Usher uses strong language such as bonded servant, and obviously views debt from a middle-class Canadian perspective, when it could also be viewed as just the cost of doing the trapping business. I wonder if Inuvialuit who were always indebted to the spirit worlds and the forces out of their control would take a more neutral position of *ayorama* or “it can’t be helped.” Perhaps they would accept such circumstances as part of the everyday risk of fur-trade economy.

In summary, it can be said that outside the experiential land and marine learning environments that enabled Inuvialuit to practise traditional technologies, it was only through attendance at the trading sites that the Inuvialuit and other Inuit might encounter the new learning opportunities offered by missionaries, government agents and traders. By the late 1940s, the Inuvialuit in the Coronation Region were getting their first glimpse of an era of new technology that would eventually replace fur trading—government safety net features (1946 Child Allowance benefits, welfare, adult education and adult training) and the introduction of the wage economy. The latter was driven home once word was received in the Coppermine region of Esso Resources’ post-war interest in the oil and gas pipeline development of their Norman Wells, NWT area. The introduction of the new technologies along with the reduced demand for coloured furs must have marked

the beginning of a never-ending decline in subsistence living through fur-trade technology application.

The anecdotal record for the 1935 to 1947 era, as revealed through oral memories of individual Inuvialuit, shows that Inuvialuit and Inuinnaït viewed with scepticism some of the new knowledge and authority being imposed on them by outsiders. However, it can be said that the Inuvialuit felt comfortable with fur-trade technology applications as part of their subsistence lifestyle. At the very worst, some of the limitations of fur-trade technology were met with their *ayorama* perspective—some things cannot be helped.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In (8.1.), I present my conclusions on specific trade technology applications by five Inuvialuit forebears at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) in 1935-1947. Section (8.2.) contains my conclusions about the relationship between Inuvialuit fur-trade technology application and the acquisition of new goods and ideas, showing that Inuvialuit have always been open to new technologies. This learn and then relearn behaviour led them to a pattern where their traditional values and practices remained constant, but earlier Inuit technologies were comfortably replaced with new technologies, usually western (i.e., when the canoe replaced the kayak, and the sail and engine-powered schooner replaced the *umiak*), resulting in their gradual exposure and acquisition of western or Euro-Canadian adult-learning skills. In (8.3.), I provide a conclusion about Inuvialuit trade technology application as part of the larger Inuvialuit adult-learning process, showing that after a hundred years of fur-trade practice (1900-2008), Inuvialuit have contributed steadily to the development of their common ground (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005) of Inuvialuit knowledge. In (8.4.), in keeping with the Inuvialuit (Inuit) tradition of place-based knowledge, I provide a summary that suggests cross-over implications for IAL, while applicable only to the Inuvialuit who practised fur-trade technology at Cape Krusenstern,(NU). The chapter ends with suggestions and implications for future research (8.5.).

8.1. Inuvialuit Fur-Trading Application at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU)

What follows is a summary of my findings on the role of trade technologies in adult learning by a specific group of Inuvialuit who traded at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) during the period 1935-1947.

First, from the data reviewed, fur-trade technology application by the Inuvialuit at Cape Krusenstern provided opportunities to support the maintenance of traditional technologies (i.e., their purchase of deerskins, traditional foods) but also to acquire new technologies. “The [caribou] skin was used as clothing or for barter, trading it for animal oil to use for lighting [soapstone] lamps. The first time Martha saw a coal-oil lamp, she was terrified of it because the boys told her it was the re-incarnation of the medicine man who had died” (Taylor, 1954, p. 17). While the acquisition of new technologies through trade goods affected old knowledge and initially caused confusion, nonetheless, Inuvialuit to the present day have been open to new adult learning. From the data reviewed for 16 Inuvialuit ancestors (see Table 2), 13 Inuvialuit ancestors practised fur-trade technology application as part of their traditional subsistence lifestyles. In the small sample of five Inuvialuit (reviewed in Chapter 6), as evidenced by the small numbers of white fox traded during that period, it seems as if two of the five practised fur trapping as part of their historical, subsistence living patterns. However, the other three Inuvialuit (Haogak; Figs. 14 to 17; Kauyaktok, Figs. 7 to 10; Kailek, Figs. 11 to 13) seemed to have conducted fur-trade application on a larger scale, as a small business or an industrial market economy initiative. In this new learning process, it is important to make the point, on their behalf, that the new technology is used as part of individual skill development. Rarely does such skill training affect their long-standing values-based adult learning for

traditional community-cultural ties (Kawalilak, 2004). From the data on trade goods chosen in exchange, we can see that all Cape Krusenstern Inuvialuit chose trade goods that reflected their simple wants and needs, a feature common to the western Coronation Gulf Inuit. This fact was observed by Godsell (1938) and preserved in the oral histories by other Inuinait subgroups. Besides taking furs for traditional clothing technologies, the Inuvialuit were selecting new fabrics and store-bought clothing. The amount and type of foods selected was limited mainly to tea, flour, sugar, and occasionally the new technology of sweets, in the form of candy and chocolate. It reveals that the Inuvialuit continued seasonal subsistence hunting, trapping and fishing from which they derived their prized foods of choice—country meat such as caribou and marine treats such as seals. The Inuvialuit did not seem prone to excessive consumption, selecting trade goods just to spend their fur credit, as evidenced by my calculations that many Inuvialuit carried over trade credit from one visit to Cape Krusenstern to another.

Second, it should be noted that these particular Inuvialuit may or may not be considered part of a seventh Mackenzie Inuit trade group (Morrison, 1983); therefore, the data provided in my research may show rare unknown insights into this particular group of people. Much remains for future discussion by archaeologists or researchers with expertise in this period.

8.2. The Relationship between Fur Trade Technology Application and Acquisition of New Goods and Ideas

The data described in Chapter 7 shows that some items were selected in trade that would have exposed the Inuvialuit to new adult-learning opportunities. In the initial

indoor adult-learning skill of bartering a fur pelt, was this trading process marked by an increased heartbeat and the adrenalin rush once felt in their historical outdoor hunting and gathering? When basic food and tool needs were satisfied, I wonder if some Inuvialuit had already chosen other items based on their awareness of new ideas from the “White” world, such as excessive material wealth, ornamentation, and the need to wear a symbol or “badge of authority” like a necktie.

The acquisition of such goods as a Big Ben clock, a necktie and 1 schooner with engine, meant that Inuvialuit became exposed to new concepts: time measured in seconds and minutes, clothing as a symbol of power and prestige, and the increased return of a lotto-win abundance of trade goods and prestige that comes with possessing an engine-powered schooner. We do not know whether the knowledge preceded the product, or whether after its acquisition, new adult learning arose. Surely, in the selection of an engine-powered schooner (Haogak), the technology became a cause for new adult learning. Besides prestige, the acquisition of the schooner would give the Inuvialuit trapper greater success in seasonal subsistence practices. On the downside, the Inuvialuit would migrate within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region less often and would have to go to trading sites to stock up on engine oil and gasoline. The acquisition of the engine-powered schooner would enable the Inuvialuit to indulge in their favourite warm-weather seasonal practice, not to mention their number one Inuvialuit mental-health coping strategy—packing up and getting away. Inuvialuit have never let technology interrupt their desire to travel for subsistence, seasonal food gathering, and meeting to strengthen community-cultural ties. The lure of “young” waters and far-off opportunities to trade with other Inuit in their camps or at major trading posts motivated Inuvialuit down

through the generations to perfect many forms of transportation. They walked with pack dogs, paddled, (kayak, umiaq, canoe), dog sledded, sailed, travelled by schooner (wind or engine powered), to the modern “boat and kicker” (outboard motor).

Two historical motivators for Inuvialuit nomadicism were (a) getting away from the pressures of social living, and (b) easing the pressures of subsistence living. The adoption of fur-trade technology added a further excuse for seasonal nomadic behaviour to attend trading sites (historic and new) and leave one’s troubles behind. During the contact-traditional era, the Inuvialuit who adopted large-scale long traplines could no longer travel to the historic trading and games sites, such as held earlier at Kittigazuit. The loss of the opportunity to attend the gatherings meant increased fur trade application, distance from community-cultural ties, and a movement towards adult learning for greater subsistence. Thus, during this contract-traditional era, Inuvialuit had adopted the new practice of gathering at major trading sites to participate in the Christian ceremonies of Christmas and Easter. In doing so, they could overcome the isolation caused by their commitment to winter trapping.

Beyond the initial trade rush and the flush of new ownership, new adult learning would result once the individual realized that the item would require care and maintenance. Anecdotes abound in Inuvialuit families about their first experience with new technological items that did not come with an operator’s or a maintenance manual. Note this story from Inupiat Martha Manolli (translated by Alice Dillon):

In those days, the Eskimo were always on the move—in winter hunting caribou and in summer walrus, seal and whale. Martha remembers her introduction to Whiteman’s food. Her father had done well with his furs and he bought five

hundred pounds of flour. He was told that to prepare the flour, he must let his womenfolk mix it with water and cook it. Her mother thought it was for making soup so they mixed with water and put it to boil in a copper kettle. They did not much like the result, so next time they mixed the uncooked flour with oil and molasses. It was not until they met people who had eaten bread that they learnt the proper way to use flour. (Taylor, 1954, p. 78)

The absence of printed manual on the care and maintenance of trade goods and the limited English of the Inuvialuit would explain why, until recent times, generations of Inuvialuit used open-ended, experiential learning about the use, range and operation of their technological items. Fortunately, while large group gatherings were not as long as their historic (November to March) ones at Kittigazuit, during the contract-traditional period Inuvialuit continued to look forward to frequent trips to trading sites to strengthen community-cultural ties and to enter into communal adult-learning experience. Through stories and songs about feats of bravery or foolishness, Inuvialuit at gatherings small and large passed on the adult learning from their individual experiences, with or without technology. They saved many fellow Inuvialuit travellers from trial and error experiences.

In short, fur-trade technology application began around 1900 and grew to a peak in the late 1940s (when coloured fur supplies took a sharp drop) enabling Inuvialuit to conduct a controlled, steady adoption of new technologies acquired through fur trading. The fur-trade exchanges at Cape Krusenstern by the five Inuvialuit forebears revealed choices arising from simple subsistence needs. The data revealed that other major technologies of the 1920s and 1930s were *not* chosen. Semmler may not have stocked a

large array of goods, or perhaps it arose from Inuvialuit ancestors knowing of such items, but not considering them important enough to own. Thus, the Cape Krusenstern Inuvialuit, in their fur trade exchanges, did not select rifles, although it is speculated that by 1915, the Inuinait and Inuvialuit of the western Coronation Gulf region all owned a rifle. The numerous shell types taken in exchange at Cape Krusenstern are proof of such ownership. Further, the Inuvialuit ancestors did not seem to be lured by the ownership of two prominent technologies of the period: the camera and the radio receiver set. Nevertheless, the Inuvialuit were acquiring aspects of the emerging modernity.

8.3. The conclusion about Inuvialuit trade technology application as part of Inuvialuit Adult Learning (IAL) at Cape Krusenstern, NWT (NU) during 1935-47

This study reviewed the times and types of furs traded, and the type of goods selected in exchange for furs by a group of five Inuvialuit ancestors. Artefact analysis of Semmler's Cape Krusenstern trading post records showed that, in keeping with their needs, Inuvialuit traded white-fox furs in varying numbers, but always selected a limited amount of foodstuffs, tools, trapping gear and household items to save time and labour. Table 2 and the data for the 16 Inuvialuit who traded at Cape Krusenstern show that 13 of them practised modest white-fox-fur trade exchanges and received in exchange modest trade goods. The simplicity of such data leads me to the conclusion that their fur-trade technology was in keeping with their normal seasonal, subsistence practices. They trapped the foxes as they migrated through their traditional land use area, and when trade supplies ran low (even though plenty of local, country food might have been available), they travelled to Cape Krusenstern (and other Inuit trading sites) to exchanged white-fox

pelts (between 2 and 10 pelts at a time). In exchange, they selected goods that reflect a slow maturing in understanding materials appropriate to sustained and successful dog-team travel and trapping technology. As the goods became known to the Inuvialuit and available through Semmler's or other trading posts, their adult-learning process widened to include new technologies.

For Haogak, Kauyaktok and Nekimayak, their trade transactions stand out because they conducted a volume of trade five times that of the Inuvialuit subsistence trappers. Perhaps these Inuvialuit are representative of earlier generations of Inuvialuit who became involved in large-scale bowhead whaling commercial transactions from 1890 to 1905.

As one would expect, with more trade credit to work with due to large numbers of white-fox furs being traded, these Inuvialuit selected a larger volume of goods. The excessive amounts of foodstuffs (flour, sugar, tea, tobacco) suggests that they left the Cape Krusenstern trading site and used the goods to trade with other Inuit who neither had the interest nor the means to travel long distances to trading sites. The data show that whether large amounts or small, the goods selected, and the technologies accompanying them, were more practical than ornamental, and more indicative of sustained subsistence rather than excessive consumerism. Finally, it seems reasonable to state that the items selected by all five Inuvialuit ancestors could not be seen as technological items that were invasive or representative of a larger altered technological impact, as often stated about the Inuit trading practice during the contact-traditional era in the Coronation Gulf region.

The 1935-1947 contact-traditional era was an intermediary phase between the initial contact era and the centralized era. In the former, the Inuit used a controlled,

practical set of technologies, adding fur-trade technology application to the list in a model that supported adult learning for traditional “family and social connection” and which strengthened them, bringing little other social change. However, the latter era, the centralized era (Damas, 1988a, p. 142) of the 1950s and the 1960s was a time of great upset for the Inuit. The collapse of fur supplies and a falling demand by global markets meant that Inuvialuit and other Inuit had to look for new technologies to support their traditional subsistence living. However, this era is marked by Inuvialuit (and all Inuit) as one in which their power of political determination was lost to the new technology of the Government of Canada intervention. Because of heavy-handed, non-consultative policies and actions of both the Government of Canada during the 1950s, and later in the 1970s, through the federal government’s agent, the Government of the Northwest Territories, Inuvialuit became strangers in their homeland. The centralized era involved Inuvialuit losing their historical independence and decision-making powers and becoming “wards of the state.” They had to face coercive government policies such as movement from the land into settlement living, where it was expected that new adult learning would be required.

Did Inuvialuit intentionally conduct a judicious and cautious selection of trade goods that brought with them new technologies, perhaps arising out of their natural tendency to guard against too much, too quick technological change? Certainly, since the late 1960s, I have witnessed Inuvialuit participation as they ride the choppy waters in the wake of western institutions and ways of learning. No doubt, they have done so in the manner of *ayorama* (DeCoccola & King, 1955, p. 314). However, the unspoken understanding is that there will be some behaviours and practices not worth learning,

because change cannot be brought about. The deeper meaning of *ayorama* beyond “it can’t be helped” is “because I am helpless.” This explains why Inuvialuit and perhaps other indigenous tribes do not embrace adult change prized in the western worldview of independent skill development and the controlling of personal impulse behaviours, because they feel that to attempt to control such impulses is a valueless cause because life cannot be changed or helped. It is important to note that in Inuvialuit cosmology, individualism (which is the foundation of western institutions, western models of participation, governance and progress with emphasis on “self-esteem”) was minimized and hence had little bearing on individual self-esteem. Individual adult learning was experiential, intuitive (Murdoch, 1973) and stoically maintained as the hunter and family went about spring, summer and early fall family migration and food gathering. However, in the Inuvialuit cosmology, as for other Inuit sub-tribes, during the winter months and the gatherings at places like Kittigazuit and other Inuvialuit trading sites, IAL was primarily for the development and maintenance of community-cultural ties. Under close supervision of the elders and the leaders, Inuvialuit of all ages learned their oral histories and practised their roles and responsibilities in anticipation of future roles assigned to them throughout their life. The sole Inuvialuk (plural, Inuvialuit) going it alone could not survive against the Arctic elements. That said, increasingly in the post 1950’s years with the adoption of western technologies, the move into communities and the wage-earning model of providing for basic needs, individual Inuvialuit are increasingly able to be independently, self-supporting. While the deeper meaning of *ayorama* which is “because I am helpless” against the natural elements, led to the evolution of a collective, cultural

structure that assured not just survival, but a rich, subsistence lifestyle, contemporary Inuvialuit are learning that individual survival is possible.

8.4. A Summative Statement

The IAL process demonstrated by the Inuvialuit ancestors at Cape Krusenstern, with their modest adoption of subsistence fur-trade technology and selection of limited trade goods, is a glimpse of the Inuvialuit response. When we add this to the data from the historical record (Morrison) which reported a controlled use of material technology, we have reason to believe that Inuvialuit have used controlled response to technology (the product and the accompanying knowledge or ideas) as one of their principal coping methods in dealing with change or encroaching modernity. Proof of this statement can be found in the archaeological record of the Mackenzie Inuit, the forebears of the Inuvialuit. Movement by Thule ancestors into the Mackenzie Delta region was characterized by an adjustment period where Thule fine-tuned their technologies and resource-acquisition strategies to maximize the riches of their new environment. This has been described earlier in this paper as recurrent learning.

The sequence as a whole is interpreted as one in which an already-specialized Thule Inuit society arrived in a relatively rich environment and, after perhaps two centuries of experimentation, rapidly diversified its resource base. This in turn led to conditions of increasing populations and the emergence of the very successful Mackenzie Inuit society, which maintained its specialized and diversified economic system well into the nineteenth century. (Betts et al., 2004, p. 379)

From the data reviewed for the 1935-1947 period, we can see how, through fur trapping and trade technology application, the Inuvialuit were continuing an adult-

learning process that began centuries earlier with their Mackenzie Inuit ancestors.

Inuvialuit were exposed to new technologies through the goods they selected. The goods were seemingly innocuous but essential, and only some (tie, Big Ben clock, paper and pencil) suggest a socially symbolic indicator of the Inuvialuit's newly discovered place in the world, a world full of technological threats as well as opportunity. Fur-trade technology application by Inuvialuit was a continuation not of using technologies, but integrating them (albeit symbolically at first) into their world and being integrated into a broader Canadian and global society. Their grasp of the trading process early in their evolution began with trading familiar traditional technologies. Over time, it involved a willingness to acquire new technologies and the development of the IAL pattern: a future-oriented, gradual adoption (adaptation) of new technologies along with new facts and ideas. The data shows a segment of a much longer timeline including (a) the practical adoption of goods, (b) symbolic integration, and (c) fundamental social, economic, political and cultural change. It left untouched the traditional Inuvialuit values of sharing and cooperation for individual and community-cultural learning and survival.

This data was gathered through the lens of Constructivism learning theory and the perspective that IAL was conducted within social constructionism. The data reveal a snapshot of one period of the larger continuum. It illustrates that the Inuvialuit, exposed to new technologies through of fur-trade technology application, experience a snapshot of their shift towards social constructivism, where the emphasis is not on the elders and the group but on the individual to make their own interpretation of meaning. Now post research, I am more confident that Inuvialuit need to know of this shift and take heart that the transition in adult-learning patterns and the abandonment of the familiar traditional,

in-the-blood ways, may explain some of their initial disinterest in undertaking adult learning with western organizations and institutions and their social constructivism features. Like other researchers, I would point out that Inuvialuit should have hope in their new evolving common ground.

This research contains evidence of the adult-learning pattern of the Inuvialuit, conducted with their characteristic self-assuredness, confidence, and openness to the controlled admission of new technologies. This was apparent in their 1970s approach when the Inuvialuit began to adapt their success with trading to visualizing a trade-off of historical Inuvialuit rights for control over the land, the resources and the destiny of their people. From 1970 to 1983, a collective leadership arose in which Inuvialuit from all generations, believing in the common cause of self-determination, brought their individual and collective adult-learning skills together to reach an inevitable determination. As one would expect, some leaders from that period were elders, who saw that the path included traditional concepts, values and adult-learning skills. However, other leaders of that period were the younger, residential-school-trained Inuvialuit, who brought the self-confidence of youth with an ease in western adult-learning methods and an understanding of linear western institutions. Together the generations met on common ground. After 14 long years, in 1984, the Inuvialuit completed the ultimate trade-technology negotiation, the signing of the Western Arctic Claim, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement describes the details of that controlled trade, resulting from the Inuvialuit adult-learning (IAL) process. They could see trade technology application from both a traditional and western perspective. The signing of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement provided a legal covenant in perpetuity that provides for

both the subsistence and the large-scale market economy needs and ambitions of Inuvialuit for generations to come. With that agreement, Inuvialuit committed to undertake the ultimate government capacity-building initiative, not only for themselves but for all northern indigenous peoples. From a blended elder-youth leadership by Inuvialuit and by using departmental structures established in the IFA, overseen by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the Inuvialuit organization continues to be a blend of both traditional and western adult learning.

From the evidence provided, it is apparent that Inuvialuit Adult Learning will continue to evolve and equip the Inuvialuit to confront and adapt to future technology. In a reference to IAL skills, whose historical foundations are in the blood (Mustonen, 2004, p. 68) and of the land, there exists today among the Inuvialuit a desire to maintain adult-learning skills for living on the land and in the bush, however uneconomical an undertaking this might seem in western eyes. I hope that the Inuvialuit leaders never forget that besides being open to new technology, they should provide tangible opportunities for adult learning for those Inuvialuit wishing to continue embodied cognition through living “in the bush” or “on the land.” Supporting both types of adult learning promotes individual skill development and assures ongoing development of Inuvialuit identity through maintenance of their historical community-cultural ties.

8.5 Suggestions and implications for future research

1. A study examining a set of trading transactions from approximately same time period involving a different indigenous group in a different area of the Canada/Alaska/Greenland/Siberia polar regions, for comparative purposes.

2. A study of another set of trading transactions from an earlier (pre-1930) or later (post-1948) period involving an indigenous group from an Arctic area, again for comparative purposes.
3. A study of a set of trading transactions from a comparable period, involving indigenous people (Australian aborigines-Kalahari bushmen-Amazon tribesmen) for comparative purposes.

Some implications of my research are as follows:

1. Any historical study of Indigenous ways of knowing or indigenous adult learning or indigenous accommodation and or assimilation could reference this study.
2. Any politico-cultural study on the contexts of individualism and communitarianism could reference this study.
3. This is a capsule overview of only one narrative of the many within the colonial Arctic contact-traditional experience and therefore would be essential to anyone researching and commenting on colonialism.
4. This research provides a snapshot of the interaction of the Mackenzie (Inuvialuit) and Inuinait (Copper) Inuit during the contact-traditional period, while neighbours who share a common ancestry have been distinct socially and culturally throughout Inuit history.

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