



The Aivilingmiut people of Repulse Bay (*Naujaat*), Canada

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to provide an account of the enterprising Aivilingmiut people of Repulse Bay (*Naujaat*), formerly a hub of the now-defunct whaling industry.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper is based on literature spanning 185 years from 1825 to 2009.

Findings – Throughout history, the Aivilingmiut people appear to have been an enterprising community, adapting well to change. Nowadays, however, the absence of business infrastructure may be a significant barrier to the development of small business opportunities in Repulse Bay.

Practical implications – Regardless of how enterprising a community is, the absence of business infrastructure can impede entrepreneurship.

Originality/value – There is no similar paper about the Aivilingmiut people of Repulse Bay.

Keywords Ethnic groups, Business enterprise, Small enterprises, Canada

Paper type Literature review

Introduction

Damas (1975) compared cultural groups living in the Canadian Arctic. Different cultural groups of Nunavut are: the Baffinland Inuit; the Caribou Inuit[1] living on the barren grounds along the west coast of Hudson Bay; the Copper Inuit[2] traditionally living east of the Mackenzie; the Iglulik (including the Aivilingmiut, the Iglulingmiut of the island of Igloodik and the Tununirmiut (Rowley, 1996) of the northern coast of Baffin Island); and the Netsilik Inuit[3], known as the Netsilingmiut or the people of the seal, concentrated in Gjoa Haven and Kugaaruk (the latter formerly known as Pelly Bay).

Inuit is the cultural designation used across Canada for speakers of the Inuit-Inupiaq (Eastern Eskimo) branch of the Eskimo-Aleut language family (Woodbury, 1984).

The authors would like to thank Chris Baer (Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts) and Sue Thompson (University of Canterbury) for helping locate rare documents. The authors also thank Leonie Aissaoui (Government of Nunavut) and Jeff Hunter (Kivalliq Regional Project Management Office) for their kind assistance. The authors would also like to thank Debra Gill (Diocese of the Arctic), Louis McComber (Serpentine Communications), Ludger Müller-Wille (McGill University) and David F. Pelly (former Director of the Kitikmeot Heritage Society) for verification of facts. As well, many thanks are due to the reviewers who provided constructive criticism of an earlier version of this paper.



Dorais (1995) suggested that cultural identity and ethnic identity are different and that language plays a crucial role within contemporary Inuit culture. Inuit tongues include: Inuinnaqtun (spoken in western Nunavut); and Inuktitut (spoken on Baffin Island and in the Kivalliq region); Inuttitit (spoken in Nunavik, Quebec); Inuttut (spoken in Labrador); and Inuvialuktun (spoken in the Northwest Territories).

This paper focuses on the Aivilingmiut, a people who has traditionally lived in the vicinity of Repulse Bay, located on the Arctic Circle (Plate 1), at the base of Melville Peninsula. Travelling throughout the area, the Aivilingmiut traditionally lived from caribou, polar bears, seals, walrus and whales; as elsewhere among Inuit, food was shared[4]. Seven decades ago, these people were referred to in the literature as Aivaliks (Bennett, 1940). Later, Dunning (1966, p. 216) used an “i” instead of an “a” to spell “Aivilik” to denote the plural. Balikci (1970) used the term Aivilik Eskimos. Culturally, these people belong to the Iglulik Inuit group, the focus of Mathiassen (1928) and Damas (1963).

In Inuktitut, Repulse Bay is known as *Naujaat*, meaning “nesting place for seagulls”, and so named after a cliff about 5 kilometres north of Repulse Bay, where seagulls nest every June (Irniq, 2004). Non-Inuit – called *Qallumaaq*[5] in the singular and *Qallumaat* in the plural – are a minority here. Before the creation of Nunavut, in 1999, this area was a part of the District of Keewatin, one of three districts in the Northwest Territories.

Repulse Bay (Plate 2) is the most northerly of the seven communities in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. The others are: Arviat (formerly Eskimo Point); Baker Lake; Chesterfield Inlet (*Igluligaarjuk*, in Inuktitut); Coral Harbour (Meis-Mason *et al.*, 2008); Rankin Inlet (Meis-Mason *et al.*, 2009); and Whale Cove (*Tikirarjuaq*, in Inuktitut). There are no roads between these communities; neither is the region linked by roads to anywhere else. Yet, the Aivilingmiut were able to travel far, even before the arrival of



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 1.
The Arctic circle marker
in Repulse Bay

Plate 2.

Repulse Bay in 2009, including the Health Centre (long building by the shore), the Catholic church (to the right of it), the *Naujat* Co-op store (on far left with curved roof), and adjacent cylinder shaped co-op warehouse (in the centre)



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

new technologies; during the nineteenth century, Iglulingmiut intermarried with Baffin Island Inuit and Netsilingmiut (Balikci, 1970). Irniq (2004) confirmed that the Aivilingmiut travelled to and from the Amitturmiut, the people from Igloolik and Hall Beach (*Sanirajak*, in Inuktitut) resulting in many marriages.

The region has a rich history of whaling and trading with the Europeans. As the whaling industry declined, whalers diversified into trading for furs, and walrus ivory. Between 1903 and 1910, the Ernest William served as a floating station at Repulse Bay (Eber, 1989). As the Hudson's Bay Company faced increased competition from traders in the south, the enterprise moved north and promoted white fox trapping among the Inuit, an activity not considered traditional among these people. The Hudson's Bay Company opened a trading post at Repulse Bay in 1916, and during the 1920s there was extensive trading of Arctic fox pelts. The Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921-1924 found that Iglulik culture differed from that of other Inuit groups; the standard of living was relatively high here, thanks to the abundance of walrus and whales. In 1932, a Roman Catholic mission was built here.

Repulse Bay in the literature

Repulse Bay has long occurred in the literature. Lyon (1825) wrote of his unsuccessful attempt to land there. At Repulse Bay, John Rae was the first European to winter in the high Arctic while relying on his own resources (Rae, 1850). Rae (1866, p. 139) wrote about two seasons (1846-1847 and 1853-1854) spent at Repulse Bay; he explained that from June to September people lived in tents and "their principal and favourite food is venison and musk ox beef, the latter being preferred [...] usually eaten raw". He described the women of Repulse Bay as having "very fine teeth" (Rae, 1866, p. 139).

With regards to hunting, Rae (1866, pp. 140-1) wrote:

The musk ox, after being brought to bay by dogs, is either speared or shot with bows and arrows. The reindeer (sic), on which they place their principal reliance, both for food and clothing, is killed in three ways. During the southern migration in autumn, they are chased in kayaks and speared whilst swimming across lakes. In this manner great numbers are obtained, sufficient for the whole winter's stock of provisions, as was the case in 1846-7, if the frost does not set in too early, for in that case the lakes freeze over during the migrating season, and the deer are able to cross the lakes on the ice. They are also shot with bows and arrows, and many are caught in pitfalls dug in the snow, which are neatly covered with thin slabs of the same material. The deer are attracted to these pits by tufts of moss placed to windward, the wind being principally from west or north west. I may here notice that the wolf is also caught in pitfalls, but made much deeper, which after being covered over, is surrounded by a low wall over which the wolf has to leap before he can get to a bait placed inside, when his weight breaks through the thin covering and he tumbles in. Were the walls not built, the wolf, in his low, cautious approach, would, by the hollow sound underneath, become aware of his danger and avoid it.

Rae (1866, p. 141) also wrote about seal hunting: "In spring, after the seals come up on the ice, they are approached in a most ingenious manner and killed with a spear or harpoon". Rae (1866, p. 141) elaborated, "The Repulse Bay natives do not usually kill the seal in winter, unless forced to do so by their not having made a successful deer-hunt in the autumn".

Probably confusing Arctic char for salmon, Rae (1866, p. 141) wrote about fishing:

In July the sea ice breaks up near shore, and then salmon for a time form the chief food of the natives. These they enclose by building a slight wall of stones at about half tide mark round the outlet of a small stream, to which these fish resort at high water. When the tide ebbs they remain enclosed, and are then speared, sometimes in great quantities.

Rae (1866, p. 141) elaborated on the summer diet at Repulse Bay:

During the summer they subsist on wild fowl, deer, and musk cattle, and occasionally bear, walrus, and whale. For killing the two latter, heavy harpoons and extra strong lines are prepared. They generally eat fish, venison, and musk ox beef raw, but prefer seal or walrus flesh cooked [...] Whenever the seal, walrus, and whale are killed, their flesh can be cooked by burning their own oil, but neither reindeer or musk ox are generally fat enough for this purpose.

Kumlien (1880, p. 86) wrote:

Infanticide is not practiced among the Cumberland Eskimo [...] Among the natives of Repulse Bay, and those living on the north shores of Hudson's Straits, it is practiced to a considerable extent [...] The practice is confined almost entirely to female children, the reason being, they tell us, that they are unable to hunt, and consequently of little account.

The subject of infanticide was revisited by Balikci (1967) who suggested that the ratio of men to women approached 1:1 over time, as drowning and polar bears took their toll. Damas (1975, p. 254) wrote, "It appears to be fairly clear that the practice of female infanticide among Caribou, Netsilik and Copper Eskimo groups conspired against exogamic practices which were viable among the Iglulik Eskimo."

During the late nineteenth century, Repulse Bay was among the most popular wintering sites for whalers, who provided some jobs to Inuit. Turner (1894, p. 238) wrote about whaling and sealing during the late nineteenth century:

The spear used for white whales and large seals consists of a wooden shaft of 6 or 8 feet in length, having a projection on the side, made of ivory and shaped like the fin of a fish.

Fossett (2001) discussed the interaction between whalers and Inuit families.

In 1902, according to Weyer (1932), there were 27 Aivilingmiut boys but only 15 Aivilingmiut girls. Munn (1922, p. 272) reported that during "1919-20 a number of Nechilling natives died of starvation in the Repulse Bay country."

About Inuit coming to the trading post at Repulse Bay, Cleveland and Littman (1924, p. 25) wrote, "Among the Eskimos who arrive daily at the post are some who have come hundreds of miles, like the Natilicks from King William's land. They make the journey once a year." There was no bargaining as the price of every sort of skin was set by the Hudson's Bay Company. A blue fox brought \$15, while an ermine yielded 25 cents (Cleveland and Littman, 1924). The Inuit bought ammunition, clothing, dolls, matches, sweets and tobacco for their entire families.

Cleveland described his experience:

There are really no facilities for laundering Irish linen at Repulse Bay, even though Keedluk and Kayah and their wives do my personal laundry and the other chores of the place [. . .] The real freight trip is made in July and August. The year's catch of furs are taken from the storehouse, where they have been carefully guarded against smoke or dust which might mar their snowy whiteness and stowed aboard the schooner. The collections of walrus ivory, mica, and Eskimo garments are packed in beside them. With a sizeable Eskimo crew aboard, the boat ploughs south at a speed that mocks our slow pace on the inter trip. Built to breast the lee, it makes the journey in two days and a night if the channel is reasonably clear. Under adverse conditions it has taken us three weeks to crawl the distance through thick floes. We unload at Chesterfield and await the arrival of the ship from Montreal. When it comes, we draw up alongside and take on the year's supplies for Baker Lake, working with a will, for the summer is short and we have much to do before we can go home. The Baker Lake manager returns with us, at Chesterfield we pick up the post manager there, and hurry south as a passenger boat to Churchill to transact our business. In a week, if we have luck, we are back again to drop the two managers at Chesterfield and take on my precious load [. . .] bags of coal that cost \$40 a ton by the time they reach Repulse Bay [. . .] (Cleveland and Littman, 1924, p. 26).

That same decade, Jenness (1925, p. 428) wrote of three distinct cultures in the region of Hudson Bay:

[. . .] there is the culture of the inland, or Caribou, Eskimos, bound to lakes and rivers; the ancient culture of the coast, associated with houses of stone and whalebones and a population of whale hunters; and the culture of the coast Eskimos of the present day.

Jenness (1925, p. 428) elaborated that Repulse Bay was "now inhabited by seminomadic Eskimos who spend the winter in snow huts." According to Jenness (1925, p. 437), "the ruins that Mathiassen excavated in Repulse Bay were more ancient than the rest and may predate any settlement of the Cape Dorset culture."

A few years later, Binney (1929, p. 16) wrote:

Ranging north from Chesterfield to Repulse Bay, at the southern end of the Melville Peninsula, are the Aivilliks, who in days gone formed the crews of whaling vessels and have retained their sea-calling [. . .] For sheer zest of living, for care-free disposition, and for friendly spirit it would be difficult to match the Eskimo character [. . .]

Binney (1929, p. 17) elaborated:

They make splendid mechanics, and where a white mechanic would be held up by the lack of spare parts and necessary tools, the Eskimo will go to work with infinite patience and fashion a new part from a piece of waste metal with the aid of a small file. The new part, when completed, will be the equal in every respect of the broken one.

Binney (1929, p. 16) also wrote about Iglulingmiut, whom he considered the most remote Baffin Islanders, and noted, “sometimes they cross Fury and Hecla Strait to trade at Repulse Bay.” (Fury and Hecla Strait is a narrow channel of water between Baffin Island and Melville Peninsula.)

Jeness (1932) suggested that Inuit religion brought little comfort, as the majority dreaded a sea-goddess reputed to control the weather and supply of seals; he suggested that people feared[6] that the soul of hunted animals would take offence if the hunter failed to observe the time-honoured rituals and taboos that related to game. Chitty and Chitty (1941) wrote about the severe 1938-1939 pandemic of dog disease at Repulse Bay.

During the 1940s, the carving of ivory, soapstone and whalebone became important. Irniq (2004) named some of the best carvers from Repulse Bay: Lucy Agalakti, Paul Akuarjuk, Mariano Aupilardjuk, Irene Katak, John Kaunak, Madeline Isiqtuq, Kringayak, Paul Maliki, Celina Putulik, Bernadette Saunik, Christine Aalu Sivaniqtuq, Bernadette Iguttaq Tungilik, Marc Tungilik and Athanasi Ulikattaq.

Müller-Wille (1978, p. 101) presented data collected at Repulse Bay, analysing the cost of hunting in a modernised context. Aivilingmiut were travelling “up to 240 km north and south, up to 200 km east and up to 100 km from the settlement.” The hunters killed the following, for food, clothing and for the sale of skins or other products: Arctic hare (*Lepus arcticus*); bearded seals (*Erignathus barbatus*); beluga whales (*Delphinapterus leucas*); bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*); caribou (*Rangifer tarandus*); foxes (*Vulpes fulva*); harbour seals (*Phoca vitulina*); harp seals (*Pagophilus groenlandicus*); lynx (*Lynx canadensis*); narwhals (*Monodon monoceros*); polar bears (*Thalarctos maritimus*); ringed seals (*Pusa hispida*); walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*); wolverines (*Gulo luscus*) and wolves (*Canis lupus*). Birds and fish were also caught.

Eber (1989, p. 23) described the Aivilik people as “mighty hunters, great whalers, who became the principal helpers of the foreign whalers [...]” Eber (1989, p. 25) elaborated:

The Aivilik and members of their tribes soon put their skills at the whalers’ disposal, in return for weapons, ammunition, and material goods, whaling with them in summer, camping near the vessels in winter [...]

Irniq (2004) noted that the Amitturmiut converted to the Anglican religion, settling mostly near the trading post on the west side of Repulse Bay, while Roman Catholics, consisting of Netsilingmiut from Pelly Bay (as Kugaaruk was then known) as well as Aivilingmiut, settled on the east side. Oosten (2006) pointed out that the Aivilingmiut were influenced by the Akunnirmiut and the Qainirmiut.

A permanent settlement

In 1916, Captain George G. Cleveland, whaler and trader, established a trading post at Repulse Bay, for the Hudson’s Bay Company. This was the farthest north outpost of western civilisation between Greenland and the Beaufort Sea. Competition arrived in 1923, when Revillon Frères established a post at Repulse Bay (Rowley, 1996). The Parisian firm

Revillon Frères, which had retailed furs since 1723, diversified into wholesaling in the nineteenth century and in 1899 opened a warehouse in Edmonton, when Alberta was not yet a province of Canada. Plate 3 shows the Revillon Frères post of Repulse Bay, in June 1926. This post was later taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1935, the Convention for the Regulation of Whaling considered the bowhead whale – *arviq* in Inuktitut – a protected species.

Until 1964, the Inuit of the area lived in small camps surrounding Repulse Bay, and came to the centre for supplies and to trade at the Hudson's Bay store, next to the Roman Catholic Mission building. The first houses of Repulse Bay were built in 1964; they were small and referred to as "matchbox houses."

The first snowmobile in Repulse Bay was introduced during the winter of 1967-1968 (Müller-Wille, 1978). (Recently, they are the norm, as shown in Plate 4, along with all-terrain vehicles such as that in Plate 5). In 1968, the Government of Canada introduced the Eskimo Rental Housing Programme. The (federal) Department of Indian and Northern Affairs launched a building campaign, including a power plant, bulk oil storage tanks (see Plate 6 for tanks today), and 20 larger homes for resident Inuit people along with three staff houses for sojourning government employees. Almost all of the area's Inuit settled in Repulse Bay (Irniq, 2004). A co-operative was opened that year. Tusarvik School was also built in 1968, and subsequently enlarged; English was gradually introduced to the students (Plate 7) here.

In 1978, the hamlet of Repulse Bay was incorporated. In 1979, the bowhead whale was listed as an endangered species; slow moving and therefore an easy target for hunters, the bowhead whale had been the most intensely hunted of whale species in the Arctic.



Plate 3.
Revillon Frères post of
Repulse Bay, in June 1926

Source: Photo by Major Lachlin T. Burwash



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 4.
Three generations on
a snowmobile



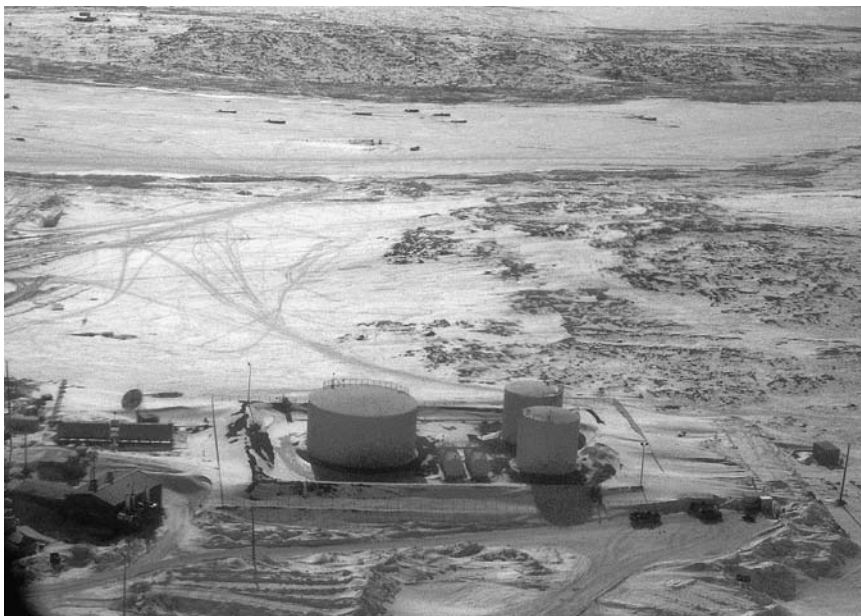
Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 5.
All-terrain vehicle in the
snow in Repulse Bay,
during month of May

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Plate 6.
Fuel tanks with the bay
in the background



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 7.
Children in Repulse Bay



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

In 1979, subsistence bowhead whaling became restricted in the eastern Arctic (Anderson, 2008).

The Hudson's Bay store became the Northern store in 1989. About Repulse Bay in 1989, Eber (1989, p. 95) wrote:

Repulse Bay today is remote, even with modern transport, as it was in the whalers' time. Its small community has grown around the Hudson's Bay Company trading post on the shores of a protected bay into which pods of white whales venture.

In 1996, a bowhead whale was harvested at Repulse Bay.

Repulse Bay today

In 2009, Repulse Bay had 97 houses (Plates 8 and 9), up from 63 in 1973 (Müller-Wille, 1978). There are three churches here: Anglican, Glad Tidings and Roman Catholic (Plate 10). The community is also home to an arena; Arctic College; a fire station with two bays; government offices (Plate 11); the new hamlet building (replacing that which burnt in 2002); a detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; and a social services office. There is no bank here, and this lack of business infrastructure may be a significant barrier to the development of small business opportunities in Repulse Bay.

Economic activity tends to be traditional self-employment and includes fishing, hunting, sealing, and trapping as well as the carving of stones, mammal bones, and walrus ivory, given the existence of walrus in the surrounding waters[7]. Walrus sink when shot, so the traditional harpoon is still used, attached to a float.

Formal enterprise in Repulse Bay includes two stores (the *Naujat* Co-op that was built in 2003, and a new Northern constructed in 2004), a post office (open only during afternoons), and a hotel. *Naujat* Co-operative Limited, incorporated in 1968, and



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 8.
Residential area
in Repulse Bay

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Plate 9.
Typical home



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 10.
Our Lady of Snows, the
Roman Catholic church,
visible to the left of house



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 11.
Government offices in
centre, with new hamlet
hall under construction to
the left beside the hamlet
building

affiliated with Arctic Co-operatives Limited, operates the local *Naujat* Inns North Hotel, through a subsidiary. The co-operative operates its general store, a restaurant and cable television services. The co-op also supplies heating fuel for homes.

The Nunavut Power Corporation supplies the hamlet with electricity derived from diesel fuel. Heating oil and drinking water are delivered to each home by truck. Septic tanks are pumped out every other day, for a fee.

Now that Air Manitoba and its predecessor Nunasi-Northland Airlines (Dana, 1996) are defunct, the airport (Plate 12) of Repulse Bay (YUT) is served by Thompson-based Calm Air (Plate 13) and Winnipeg-based Kivalliq Air (Plate 14). The airport is equipped with a row of fuel tanks (Plate 15).

Tourism here is limited. For tourists who do come, attractions include the stone house of Dr John Rae (mentioned above) built at the North Pole River in 1846, and an old Hudson's Bay Company building. In the vicinity of Repulse Bay are the *Naujat* Thule Site and the Ships Harbour Islands, a former wintering site for whalers[8]. Although there is a traditional trail connecting Repulse Bay with Iglulik (Aporta, 2009), there are no roads between Repulse Bay and other communities.

A 2008 publication of the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development states:

Inuit have identified several barriers significant to the development of small business opportunities in their communities, including the small size of many communities and their lack of business infrastructure, like banks and other financial institutions; the remoteness of communities from large urban centres and the lack of road connections between communities; the high costs and taxes associated with transporting goods to and between northern communities; the extreme northern climate and dominance of the traditional language within communities; and the lack of an available post-secondary educated or specially trained workforce. Inuit are committed to developing the business potential of their communities [...] (Anderson, 2008, p. 101).

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Plate 12.
Repulse Bay Airport
(YUT)

Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana



Plate 13.
Calm Air Hawker Siddeley
HS-748 Freighter

Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

As pointed out by Tulloch (2009), it should be noted that as a result of the federal government settlement policy, several dialects of Inuktitut[9] are spoken in Repulse Bay, where “different groups of Inuit were brought in or ‘encouraged’ to settle in a single community (Tulloch, 2009, p. 54).” As a result, English is widely spoken in Repulse Bay.



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 14.
Kivalliq Air Beechcraft
1900



Source: Photo by Leo Paul Dana

Plate 15.
Row of tanks for aviation
fuel at the airport of
Repulse Bay

Tulloch (2009, p. 54) explained, “Difficulty navigating communication between dialects is partly contributing to use of English as a default language”:

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami is seeking federal assistance in four areas to promote the development of renewable and non-renewable resource industries in northern Canada.

The ITK priorities for federal economic development assistance are federal amendments to procurement policies, which would allow Inuit companies an advantage in competitions for government contracts providing goods, services and construction; improving the ratio of Inuit/non-Inuit public service employees; ensuring that regulatory processes allow Inuit to access renewable resources for commercial harvesting; and improving international regulations to increase Inuit access to international markets for their renewable resource goods (Anderson, 2008, p. 101).

Much has been done, but there is yet much more to accomplish.

Conclusion

Based on literature spanning 185 years from 1825 to 2009, this paper has provided an account of the Aivilingmiut people of Repulse Bay. Long before *Qallunaat* were able to land here, the Aivilingmiut developed Indigenous knowledge using local renewable resources to make a living in harsh weather conditions; from their vessels, hunters would harpoon bowhead whales. When *Qallunaat* whalers arrived, Inuit helped them prosper and Repulse Bay became a hub of the industry. When whaling declined and the Hudson's Bay Company requested furs, local people trapped white foxes and sold these to the company. In 1964, the federal government began encouraging Inuit to reside in small "matchbox houses" in Repulse Bay; a cash economy with wage employment came into existence where Aivilingmiut had been self-sufficient from the land. Again, the people of the region adapted to change.

Repulse Bay has been home to great carvers and this craft continues along with fishing, hunting, sealing and trapping. Inuit, today, are committed to developing the business potential of their communities. However, among significant barriers to the development of entrepreneurship or small business opportunities in Repulse Bay, is the lack of business infrastructure. Regardless of how assiduous people are, the absence of business infrastructure can impede entrepreneurship.

Notes

1. The five groups of Barren Ground Caribou Inuit are the: Ahiarmiut; Hauniqtuurmiut; Harvaqtuurmiut; Paallirmiut and Qairnirmiut. Manning (1948) compared the Aivilingmiut of Repulse Bay with Caribou Inuit.
2. The Copper Inuit were called Killinirmiut by their Netsilik neighbours. See Jenness (1922).
3. The Aivilingmiut had contact with the Netsilik Inuit; Balicki (1970) noted that during the early twentieth century over 160 Netsilik emigrated to the coast of Repulse Bay or even further south.
4. For a discussion on food sharing see: Damas (1972), Hunt (2000), and Wenzel (2005).
5. In Inuktitut, *qallu* means "eyebrows" and *naaq* means "belly." White people were so named for their big brows and big bellies.
6. Pelly (2001) suggested that these notions of "fear" and "dread" are misplaced, perhaps a reflection of a more colonial time.
7. Outridge *et al.* (2003) studied walrus here.
8. For a discussion of whalers and Ships Harbour Islands, see Eber (1989).
9. For a discussion of Inuit dialects, see Dorais (1990).

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