Qallunology of an Arctic Whaling Encounter:
An Inuk's Transatlantic Voyage, 1839 to 1840

by

Anne-Marie Pearce

Bachelor of Arts, University of Calgary, 2019

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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We acknowledge and respect the lək̓ʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

This thesis borrows the analytical framework of Qallunology to examine a nineteenth-century Arctic whaling encounter between Scottish whalers and an Inuk geographer: Inulluapik. This thesis analyzes the narrative, written by Scottish surgeon Alexander M'Donald, of Inulluapik's transatlantic journey to Aberdeen, Scotland and Tinnujivik (Cumberland Sound) from 1839 to 1840. I show how Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen in 1839, as recorded by M'Donald, provides insight into early Victorian worldviews and perceptions, which I call M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom and Qallunaat-ness. By conducting a Qallunology of M'Donald's description of the historical episode, I examine his early Victorian Qallunaat-dom, which compared Inuit from the eastern Arctic to Scots in Aberdeen through his binary understanding of whaling, gender, and spirituality. M'Donald's interpretation of Inulluapik's experience demonstrated his contrasting views of Inuit and non-Inuit cultures, which intersected with early Victorian ideas of civilization, intelligence, behaviour, appearance, respectability, female domesticity and marital purity, and Indigenous authenticity. In contrast, Inulluapik demonstrated fluid resistance to M'Donald's early Victorian binaries of subsistence versus commercial whaling, rural versus urban, primitive versus advanced, and uncivilized versus civilized, and Indigenous versus non-Indigenous.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee…..ii
Abstract...iii
Table of Contents...iv
List of Illustrations...v
Acknowledgements...vi
Introduction……………………………………………………………………..………1
Organization of Chapters………………..……………………………….……………..…………7
Chapter One: Reviewing the Literature from Eskimology to Qallunology……….…..……..…9
Eskimology……………………………………………………………………….…………12
The Boasian Era……………………………………………………….……….…12
Anti-Racist Racialization…………………………………………………..…18
Eskimology's "Eskimo Problem"…………………………………………….....21
Arctic Sovereignty and Canadian Historiography…………….……………..26
Qallunology ……………………………………………………….…………..……..29
Oral Histories………………………………………………………………..29
Decolonizing the Arctic Archive…………………………………..………33
Whaling…….……..……………………………………………….……………37
Gender…..……..…………………………………………..………………..39
Spirituality…………………………………………………….……….…..……..41
Chapter Two: "A Savage Boy's Experience, Who Had Been Nurtured Amidst the Cheerless Solitudes of an Arctic Clime and Coast:" Qallunology in Aberdeen, The Winter of 1839……………………………………………………….…..……….....43
Whaling in the Eastern Arctic 43
Qallunology in Aberdeen...49
Inulluapik's Transatlantic Voyage…………………………………..………..49
Cultural Incommensurability……………………….…………………….……54
Imitation and Phrenology……………………...…………………………61
Conclusion 66
Chapter Three: "All the same as the Kudloonite:" Qallunology in Tinnujivik, The Summer of 1840...70
Whales Watching People...70
Qallunology in Danish Greenland..74
Gender, Spirituality, and Qallunology in Tinnujivik...78
Inuit Women…………………………………..…………………………..………80
Christianization and a Future Tinnujivik Settlement……….…………….……...88
Inulluapik's Departure…….….. ………………………………….….…..……..93
The Legacy of the Inulluapik-Penny Collaboration …………………..…..……...97
Conclusion………………………………………………………….………...…100
Conclusion...102
Surviving the Alienation of Colonialism…………………………………….…...102
The Relevance of Qallunology……………………………………………………..106
Bibliography..115

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of Davis Strait and Baffin Bay... 46

Figure 2: Inulluapik's Map Published by the British Admiralty, 1839....................................51

Figure 3: Inulluapik in European-Style Clothing..64

Figure 4: Inulluapik's letter to Mr. William Hogarth, *Bon Accord* Owner ……….……….….…94

Figure 5: Whale Hunt, The First in Kingait, A Drawing by Johnny Pootoogook, 2009……...103

Figure 6: The Subsistence and Commercial Binary, A Table Borrowed from Milton

Freeman, 1993……………………………….…………………………………..….….……105

Figure 7: Qiqerten Island Whaling Station, 1897………………………...……….……..…..113

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Thanks to the scientists at the Arctic Institute of North America who inspired this whole endeavour. To Dr. Matthew Eyre, who hired me to transcribe documents and shared your entire collection of whaling logbooks with me. You opened my eyes to a history aboard wooden ships beset in frozen seas that needed to be told.

I acknowledge that I conducted this thesis at the opposite end of the country, far from the Inuit Nunangat. This work is in no way a community-based study, but I appreciate all my friends from the north who I have met along the way. I heard your message clearly that non-Inuit researchers have been careless with your histories. I hope that other southerners start listening to those that have been telling their stories for years without the help of outsiders.

This research was conducted partly on the island, in WSÁNEĆ (Saanich) territories, and on the mainland, in xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), and səlilwətaɬ (Tsleil-Waututh) territories. As an uninvited settler on these beautiful, unceded lands, I acknowledge that I am responsible for respecting, honouring, and upholding the governance and kinship systems that these First Nations have exercised since time immemorial.

Working on this project during a global pandemic was, at times, frustrating and isolating. Thank you to my family and friends for keeping me grounded and reminding me to disconnect. Thanks to my partner for following along on this journey; I could not have done it without you by my side.

Thank you to everyone else who weathered this season of life with me.

Introduction

> This is the study of Qallunaat ways in such fashion as Inuit ways have been the subject of Eskimology. The operative curiosity in Qallunology may not be scholarly in an academic sense, but is no less informative. Nobody has an academic degree in this discipline. None can yet be referred to as "that eminent Qallunologist." But, many Inuit who have been exposed to Qallunaat-dom through deep immersion in their world could write some credible discourses on the subject.[1]
>
> —Zeebedee Nungak, "The Science of Qallunology."

In 2018, I spent the summer researching and transcribing nineteenth-century European and American whaling logbooks. I was mainly looking for entries indicating the climate history of the eastern Arctic. Interestingly, Euro-American whalers had much to say about the weather, ice conditions, and wind direction in their daily logbooks recorded during their whaling expeditions to Baffin Bay. As I was pouring over these nineteenth-century non-Inuit whaling logbooks, I came across entries that described a relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit. Non-Inuit whalers were increasingly interested in the Inuit and commonly made observations of Inuit lifestyles and practices. I sought to establish a record of whaler's early connections with Inuit in the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) region of the Inuit Nunangat (Inuit homelands). However, analytical depth and historical elaboration were lacking from these highly technical logbooks.

[1] In a tongue-in-cheek counterpoint to Eskimology that studied Inuit extensively, Nunavik journalist introduced "Qallunology" and called for increased scholarly attention towards Qallunaat, or white peoples. See Zebedee Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology (Author Proposes Study of 'White Man' that is as Rigorous as that of Inuit Civilization)," *Aboriginal Multi-Media Society of Alberta (AMMSA)* 24:2 (2006): 18-21. This concept will be explained later in this chapter.

During the preliminary research for this thesis in 2019, I came across a plethora of written material about Inuit culture that sprouted from this relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit whalers. Most of this scholarship focused on Inuit prehistory and ignored an exploration of their contact with settlers, much less whalers. This area of research was called Eskimology and has been a professionalized academic specialization since the early twentieth century. I realized that there is no shortage of Inuit history in the Eskimology inventory. As Inuk journalist Zebedee Nungak has said, "To put it bluntly, Inuit have been studied to death."[2] But what was lacking in the predominantly white scholarship was an exploration how the non-Inuit mindsets and worldviews influenced writing about the Inuit. In contrast to Eskimology, I wanted to learn more about what the Inuit thought about non-Inuit perspectives and worldviews, what I came to know as Qallunology.

With an ambitious research proposal, a hearty annotated bibliography of key works, and a human ethics application in hand, I was ready to search for primary source material that I could use to examine Inuit views of nineteenth-century whalers. At first, I wanted to discover what the Inuit thought about these whalers through oral history, a method of examining the past that was sorely lacking in Eskimology. In my vision for this graduate project, I did not account for the global pandemic that was declared in early 2020. After being isolated in Victoria for a few months with no hopes of travelling to the other end of the country, much less Nunavut, I realized that my project had to evolve without oral source material. As a result, I began to re-evaluate the sources I had already encountered with more deliberate intentions of finding meaning behind written non-Inuit and Inuit history. I also reflected on my position as a Qallunaat researcher during this time. I realized that creating new oral material and using it for my personal research

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[2] Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology," 18-21.

gains would not have been productive for the Inuit, who have been constantly taken advantage of by outside researchers. In realizing that Inuit critiques of Qallunaat lifestyles already existed, all I had to do was pay attention.

To frame my new approach, I sought a deeper look into scholarly and historical literature about Inuit written by non-Inuit and how these views and methodologies have changed over time. As I mentioned, there was no shortage of literature focused on Inuit; however, what was lacking were studies that investigated the non-Inuit in the same way. I was drawn to the interventions of Nungak, an early advocate for Qallunology, the study of white people, who argued that Qallunaat-dom, the state of being white, was an understudied area worthy of twenty-first-century scholars' attention. I expand on Nungak's critiques of Eskimology and my use of Qallunology in the following chapter, but his insights frame my methodology from the outset. As I surveyed what has been written about Inuit, I borrowed Nungak's Qallunology to understand the shifting worldviews in the scholarship and discovered that the field was defined by non-Inuit academics until the upheaval of Eskimology in the late-twentieth century by Inuit-led interventions.

After a year of my research impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic, I realized that an existing non-Inuit primary source offered a rich body of material that overlapped with the original topic that I set out to study in my thesis. Coming across Alexander M'Donald's *A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik: A Young Esquimaux, Who Was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship Neptune of Aberdeen* (1840) led me to pivot my research trajectory. In his narrative, M'Donald, a Scottish surgeon aboard the *Neptune,* profiles an Inuk geographer, Inulluapik, and narrates his collaboration with Scottish whaling captain William Penny in expanding non-Inuit whaling activities in the eastern Arctic. M'Donald's record is the

main primary source analyzed in this thesis and offered me an opportunity to apply the methodological framework of Qallunology and examine nineteenth-century relationships between Inuit and non-Inuit.

Nungak's approach inspired my historical analysis and helped frame my investigations into the Qallunaat-dom and Qallunaat-ness that governed M'Donald's and other non-Inuit worldviews at the time. Additionally, I borrowed three methodological questions from feminist scholars Signe Arnfred and Kristen Pederson: Who were the writers of these primary sources of Inuit? Which Qallunaat interests did they represent? What did these non-Inuit historical actors want to achieve?[3] Following this approach, I was inspired by these scholars' efforts to understand the author's point of view rather than the subject of the observations itself. I asked myself how M'Donald wrote about Inulluapik and other Inuit, what influenced his records, and what was his goal in writing about Inulluapik's transatlantic voyage? To answer these methodological queries, the core chapters in this thesis apply the analytical framework of Qallunology to M'Donald's biography of Inulluapik.

M'Donald was a young surgeon, an educated white man in his early twenties hoping to move up the ranks in the medical profession. His interest in writing a biography of Inulluapik's experience was not unusual for the period, as many surgeons and naturalists aboard non-Inuit whalers recorded their experiences with Indigenous peoples they met in their travels. Penny was already established as a well-known Scottish whaling captain and had a reputation for successful whaling ventures. Both actors were tied up in notorious Arctic missions of the era, such as John

[3] See Signe Arnfred and Kristen Bransholm Pedersen, "From Female Shamans to Danish Housewives: Colonial Constructions of Gender in Greenland, 1721 to c. 1970," *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 23:4 (2015), 283.

Franklin's Northwest Passage expedition in 1845. These Scottish, white, educated, upper-class men held a similar interest in common: to expand European knowledge of the eastern Arctic.

Inulluapik was also an explorer, and he was interested in investigating European lifestyles and homelands. While much of his story is unknown, we can glean that the Inuk was highly ambitious, knowledgeable, and, although not self-proclaimed, a Qallunologist. My goal in this thesis was not to focus on Inulluapik's experience, feelings, and thoughts but rather to investigate M'Donald's description of Inulluapik's visit to Aberdeen in 1839 and the subsequent journey back to Tinnujivik in 1840. As a Qallunaat researcher, I did not want to contribute to "studying Inuit to death," rather, taking cues from Qallunology, I sought to explore M'Donald's perceptions and observations of Inulluapik.

My overarching argument in this thesis is that non-Inuit accounts of Inuit in the mid-nineteenth century, such as M'Donald's, are heavily influenced by their binary views and understandings of the world. I show how Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen, as recorded by M'Donald, provides insight into these early Victorian worldviews and perceptions, which I call M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom and Qallunaat-ness. By conducting a Qallunology of M'Donald's description of the historical episode, I examine his early Victorian Qallunaat-dom, which viewed the Inuit from the eastern Arctic and Aberdonians through distinct binaries. M'Donald's interpretation of Inulluapik's experience demonstrated his contrasting views of Inuit and non-Inuit cultures which intersected with early Victorian ideas of civilization, intelligence, behaviour, appearance, respectability, female domesticity and marital purity, and Indigenous authenticity.

My methodology, as mentioned, is borrowed from Nungak's Qallunology, and other scholars who notice the value in dissecting early Victorian European mindsets that influenced records of contact with Indigenous peoples. As I was scouring over M'Donald's narrative of

Inulluapik's visit to Scotland and then back to the eastern Arctic, I was mindful of the audience to whom M'Donald was speaking. As Michael Witgen has said, "Much of what Europeans had to say about the New World had nothing to do with the reality on the ground, but rather was directed at a European audience."[4] Thus in many instances, I investigate where M'Donald may have separated Inulluapik's real experience from his discussion with other Europeans that reflected early Victorian worldviews of his time. My analysis of M'Donald's observations focuses on how his Qallunaat-dom overlapped with the thematic lenses of whaling, gender, and spirituality. I chose these themes because I discovered that they were the most prevalent binaries that governed M'Donald's perspective and comparison of Inuit and non-Inuit cultural identities.

Nineteenth-century whalers' logbooks inspired me to apply an environmental lens to this transatlantic episode by exploring whaling binaries as they surface throughout M'Donald's record of Inulluapik's transatlantic journey. Inulluapik, Penny, and M'Donald's relationship revolved around whales, and the products of whaling were crucial to the culture, economic, and social fabrics of Tinnujivik and Scotland during the period. Whaling in modern discourse, which I discuss in the concluding chapter of this thesis, is commonly viewed by non-Indigenous audiences as taking two starkly opposed forms: commercial and subsistence. Indigenous whaling is relegated to the subsistence category, while non-Indigenous whalers are seen as commercial actors who can influence the marine environments they decimate. This understanding of whaling is noticeable in M'Donald's evaluation of the different whaling cultures in nineteenth-century Tinnujivik and Aberdeen.

Gender fascinated me because it is rarely mentioned in M'Donald's narrative.

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[4] See Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 25-27.

With the few references that M'Donald makes to European and Inuit women, however, inherent Victorian values about gender and sexuality within a patriarchal society become apparent. M'Donald's comments revealed his affiliation with early Victorian gender norms and intersected with his perspective that Inuit beliefs, such as shamanism, was the pagan antithesis of Christianity. Thus, themes of gender and spirituality often overlapped in my analysis of M'Donald's observations.

Spirituality was equally fundamental to Inulluapik, Penny, and M'Donald's relationship, as it became an essential method through which Penny and M'Donald attempted to convey to Inulluapik the superiority of Aberdonian life. M'Donald's comments about religion revealed his and Penny's goals for "civilizing" the Inuit in Tinnujivik by converting them to Christianity. M'Donald's Victorian worldview of religious practices were severely binary, and he often asserted that Inulluapik's belief in shamans impeded his education in the supposedly redeemable Christian faith. Under this view, the Bible was a righteous doctrine and Inuit religions were paganist superstitions. As a result, Penny and M'Donald advocated for a missionary to accompany the establishment of a permanent whaling station in Tinnujivik later in 1857.

Organization of Chapters

The following chapters in this thesis will explore Inuit and non-Inuit relationships in Tinnujivik in the mid-nineteenth century through the whalers' observations of Inuit. The first chapter offers a literature review of crucial works, written mainly by non-Inuit, about Inuit history. I contrast the diverging subjective methodologies between Franz Boas and Zebedee Nungak, as these authors represent the transition in the scholarship from Eskimology to Qallunology. Although whaling, gender, and spirituality were generally understudied in

twentieth-century Eskimology and Canadian Arctic history, I also review several modern pioneering studies that have contributed to my application of these themes in this thesis.

Chapters two and three focus on two key moments: first, the visit of an Inuk geographer, Inulluapik, to Aberdeen in 1839, which marked the beginning of his collaboration with Scottish whaler William Penny; and second, the subsequent journey back to Tinnujivik in 1840. Both chapters draw on a contemporary narrative of the visit written by the ship's surgeon Alexander M'Donald, and I conduct a Qallunology of M'Donald's observations through the thematic lenses of whaling, gender, and spirituality.

I conclude the thesis by evaluating how elements of M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom have transcended centuries and persist in contemporary discourse. By highlighting the recent revival of Inuit whaling in the 1990s and 2000s, the concluding chapter shows how Inuit have always known their history and connection to whaling. To that end, I argue that Qallunaat-ness enforced the duality between commercial and subsistence whaling both in the contemporary discourse and when non-Inuit whalers first arrived in Tinnujivik in 1840.

Chapter One: Reviewing the Literature from Eskimology to Qallunology

> [The Inuit] pursued the monstrous [whales] in all waters with their imperfect weapons, for a single capture supplied them with food for a long time… If, therefore, there is a perceptible diminution in the supply of their food it is due to the fact that the whale fishery has been abandoned by them or rather has been yielded up to Europeans and Americans.[5]
>
> – Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo*.

In 1883, anthropologist Franz Boas recorded that the Inuit population in Tinnujivik (Cumberland Sound) had dropped from 1500 individuals, as estimated by whaling captain and Qiqerten Island whaling station founder William Penny in 1840, to a low of 400.[6] Yet Boas did not relate this decline to a lack of food or changes in Inuit hunting, as he said the Inuit killed animals "without discrimination."[7] Rather, he argued that Euro-American whalers like Penny

[5] Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo* (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1974), 440. The first version was originally published in 1888 by the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, D.C., however, there are many existing versions of this monograph. All references in this thesis are to the 1974 re-publication by Coles Publishing. The pages begin on 401 with the "Table of Contents," and the last page of the "Index" on 675. This is due to the monograph being one part in the Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian in 1884-1885. This version also includes a foreword called "About the Author," in the Editorial Material.

[6] Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 425-427. Boas is quoting a monograph produced by Penny's surgeon during their first voyage to Tinnujivik in 1839 and 1840, as they were led to the area by an Inuk named Inulluapik. M'Donald made many remarks about the Inuit in Tinnujivik, ranging from appearance to population numbers. He also investigated Inulluapik's intellectual level and geographical abilities. See Alexander M'Donald, *A Narrative of some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik: A Young Esquimaux, Who was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship Neptune of Aberdeen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). M'Donald's narrative was originally published in Scotland, see Alexander M'Donald, *Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, a Young Esquimaux, Who was Brought to Britain in 1839, in the Ship "Neptune" of Aberdeen* (Edinburgh: Fraser & Co. and J. Hogg, 1841). In this study, I reference mainly the Cambridge University Press edition from 2011.

[7] Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 427.

had brought diseases that killed many Inuit. In other words, Boas claimed, "the rapid diminution in the population of this country [was] undoubtedly to be found in the diseases which have been taken hither by the whalers."[8]

In the study of Inuit that emerged from his fieldwork, Boas limited his explanation of the influence of whalers to these brief remarks. By ignoring a deeper reflection on socioeconomic issues and Inuit perspectives in the late nineteenth century, Boas's work helped shape the approach of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Eskimology, which scrutinized a purely prehistoric Inuit.[9] An investigation into the whalers' mindsets that caused such decimation of the local population due to the commercial whaling activities did not interest Boas. This singular assumption that diseases introduced by whalers was the principal cause of Inuit population decline fed his anticipation and eagerness to salvage prehistoric Inuit existence in the anthropological record before they disappeared as a population. Regardless, Boas's influence on the scholarship and hints at the effects of commercial whaling efforts on the local Inuit in Tinnujivik point to critical questions explored in this study.[10]

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[8] Ibid., 425-427.

[9] "Eskimology" was coined in the late 1960s by scholars who study Inuit history, culture, language, anthropology, and archeology. The term was initially used to departmentalize scholars studying the Kalaallit (Greenlandic Inuit) at the University of Copenhagen. Although Boas trained in Germany and took up residency as an anthropologist in the United States, he was in close contact with the Department of Eskimology at the University of Copenhagen. See Soren Thuesen, "Eskimology," in *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*, ed. by Mark Nuttall Vol. 1 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 585-586. It is important to note that "Eskimo" is a derogatory term used to describe Inuit or the Indigenous peoples in the Arctic. Despite Inuit asking to be called "Inuit," non-Inuit introduced this term to them from the outset of historical encounters. However, although the plural Inuit and singular Inuk are more appropriate, "Eskimo" continues to be utilized. Scholarly works used "Eskimo" and "Eskimology" to identify Inuit in their studies until the 1990s, when the field pivoted to Inuit Studies. This previous derogatory language has since been expunged from modern Inuit Studies. While the switch from Eskimology to Inuit Studies in scholarly work is an essential step to literary enfranchisement, modern scholars do not seem interested in exploring the worldviews that permitted the use of "Eskimo." A change in descriptor does not undercut the centuries of marginalization of Inuit through words.

[10] The English name "Cumberland Sound" or "Cumberland Strait" used by the non-Inuit whalers derives from John Davis, whom the Davis Strait was named after. The name derived from the Earl of Cumberland in 1585. Elizabethan explorers called passages straits or sounds for their hopes of discovering China. I agree with Arctic historian Gillies Ross who deems the English name an "inaccurate nomenclature of the Elizabethan era." See W. Gillies Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country: A Woman's Winter at Baffin Island, 1857-1858* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xxxi. In this study, I will use Inuit placenames while initially providing the English name in brackets for the reader's ease. In many cases, there are consistent placenames utilized by Inuit, but many larger

Before dissecting M'Donald's nineteenth century narrative, this chapter considers how Qallunaat-dom has influenced scholarly studies about Inuit. It aims to provide a literature review of the key scholarly contributions by non-Inuit that examined Inuit in the Arctic from Franz Boas's Eskimology to the Zeebedee Nungak's Qallunology. In doing so, I trace the major transitions and shifts in the historiography to contextualize the role of colonialism in Arctic studies. I begin by exploring the Boasian era of salvage anthropology, the professionalization of Eskimology, the evolution of contemporary Inuit Studies, and Arctic sovereignty debates. Although I focus mainly on works written by non-Inuit about Inuit, the chapter examines supplementary critiques by Indigenous scholars, activists, journalists, and filmmakers that consider the validity of white scholarship. To identify the gaps and needed interventions in the scholarship I point to recent contributions that call for decolonized methodologies such as Qallunology. In addition, I survey thematic contributions of whaling, gender, and spirituality, written by both Inuit and non-Inuit, that situate the following analysis of mid-nineteenth-century Qallunaat-dom through these lenses.

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expansive geographical areas do not have consistent naming practices. I refer to Baffin Island as the Qikiqtaaluk region, which encompasses various Inuit language groups, and Baffin Island Inuit as Nunatsiarmiut. Additionally, I will use Tinnujivik to refer to Cumberland Sound. I use Kalaallit and their territory Kalaallit Nunaat to reference West Greenland Inuit and the geographical region. The larger geographical areas are harder to distinguish traditional names as they span several communities with differing dialects. Thus, Davis Strait and Baffin Bay will be referred to by their English names. The reader may notice that Inuit names are not italicized. My practice of not italicizing Inuit placenames, words, or expressions is inspired by historian Coll Thrush, who is indebted to Kanaka Maoli scholar Noenoe K. Silva. See Coll Thrush, "The Iceberg and the Cathedral: Encounter, Entanglement, and Isuma in Inuit London," *Journal of British Studies* 53:1 (2014): 59–79; Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betreayed: Native Hawaiian Resistence in American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004). For more information about Inuit placenames and geographical regions, see Keith Hay et al. *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study*, (Iqaluit: Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and the Qiqitani Truth Commission, 2000), 13.

Eskimology

The Boasian Era

Despite being formally trained in geology, Boas became an anthropologist of "Eskimos" after publishing one of the first extensive studies that contributed to the "first established science tradition" of studying Inuit.[11] Contrary to pre-Boas literature, also called pre-nineteenth century "Arctic exploration science," which deemed Inuit as mere features in the Arctic landscape, Boas focused his work on Inuit.[12] His later work established him as the "father of American

[11] Igor Krupnik, "From Boas to Burch: Eskimology Transitions," in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s* ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016), 4. According to Krupnik, Boas shared these attempts to mainstream Eskimology with a small cohort of colonial administrators, naturalists, surveyors, and museum collectors. This cohort included pioneering glaciologist Hinrich Rink, naturalist explorer William H. Dall, naturalist and surveyor Edward W. Nelson, collector and ethnologist Lucien Turner, and Arctic naturalist and ethnologist John Murdoch. Krupnik argues that although publications existed pre-Boas, this group of white upper-class European men influenced by international scholarship and collaboration across the geophysical sciences led to the first recognized scientific tradition in, what Krupnik calls, "Early Inuit Studies." For an array of works from this cohort that influenced the Boasian era of early Eskimology, see H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974) and William Healey Dall, "On the Origin of the Innuit," in *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest: Contributions to North American Ethnology* ed. George Gibbs and William Healey Dall, Vol 1. (Washington: Department of the Interior, United States Government Printing Office, 1877), 93-106. Introducing the "Eskimo Problem" to a late nineteenth-century readership, Dall discussed the possible migration of Inuit and their ancestral origins. American scholarly affiliations or government projects sponsored many early Eskimology's publications. See Edward William Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983). For a more recent publication of what is known as an Eskimology classic, see Lucien M. Turner, *Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). Noticing the cultural connection between Inuit and fishing in the Western Arctic, Murdoch, innovative in his era, provided a summary of how current fishing practices are essential to the longevity of Inuit culture, see John Murdoch, "Fish and Fishing at Point Barrow, Arctic Alaska," *Transactions of the American Fisheries Society (1900)* 13:1 (1884): 111-115.

[12] For pre-Boasian Arctic contributions: Captain Martin Frobisher, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher: In Search of a Passage to Cathaia and India by the North-West, A.D. 1576-8* ed. Richard Collinson and George Best Vol. 38 (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1867). In Frobisher's work, the first interactions between Inuit and non-Inuit produced intrigue and terror in both groups. See Frobisher, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher,* xiv-3. Another oft-quoted Arctic exploration scientist and Arctic whaler is William Scoresby who produced chronicles of whaling adventures to the eastern Arctic in 1817, 1818, and 1820. See William Scoresby, *The Arctic Whaling Journals of William Scoresby the Younger* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2003). Scoresby's monograph is mentioned as an influence on Melville's 1851 novel, see Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: Or, the Whale* Digital Original Ed., (Minneapolis: First Avenue Editions, 2013). Scoresby's name also appears in more recent American and British scholarly reviews of whaling history, such as Basil Lubbock, *The Arctic Whalers* (Glasgow: Nautical Press, 1955) and Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2005). For a catelog of British Arctic whaling ships from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries, see Sidney Brown et al., "British Arctic Whaling Logbooks and Journals: A Provisional Listing," *Polar Record* 44:4 (2008): 311-320. For a survey of American whaling, see Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery: from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876* (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, 1964). For Scottish whaling, see Chelsey Sanger, *Scottish Arctic Whaling* (Edinburgh: John Donald, an imprint of Birlinn Ltd, 2016)

anthropology," and his first contribution introduced a new methodology that disrupted late-nineteenth-century scientific and cultural anthropology with a new theory of cultural relativism.[13]

Boas's anti-racist rhetoric, colonization theories, and questioning of racial and cultural hierarchy distinguished him from his contemporaries in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century science and anthropology. His view of race is summarized in his influential *Mind of a Primitive Man* (1911):

> In short, historical events appear to have been much more potent in leading races to civilization than [the superiority of] their faculty [of their mind and body], and it follows that achievements of races do not warrant us in assuming that one race is more highly gifted than the other... It follows from this, that differences between the white race and other races must not be interpreted to mean superiority of the former, inferiority of the latter, unless this relation can be proved by anatomical or physiological considerations.[14]

Contrary to the prevalent scientific racism of his time, these conclusions demonstrate his "progressionist" understanding of colonization or the spread of white civilization.[15] He argued

and Malcolm Archibald, *The Dundee Whaling Fleet: Ships, Masters, and Men*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

[13] What set Boas's work apart from other scientific and cultural anthropologists of the mid-nineteenth century was his notion of cultural relativism, also referred to as historical particularism. To that end, he acknowledged cultural diversity while negating any ideas of racial or cultural superiority. In other words, he theorized that all cultures developed equally and delineated differences in stages of development towards "civilization" to differing social, historical, and geographical contexts. See Boas, *Mind of a Primitive Man* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916). Boas disagreed with Victorian scientific evolutionists, or "universalists," who ranked cultures according to their progress towards a Western Euro-centric idea of civilization. According to recent scholarly critique, Boas thought it would be racist and "scientifically misleading to rank other cultures according to a Western, ethnocentric typology gauging 'levels of development." See Thomas H. Eriksen, "History of Anthropology," in *International Encyclopedia of Social & Behavioral Sciences* ed. James D. Wright, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd., 2015), 766-767. For other accounts that credit Boas with introducing "cultural relativity" to mainstream anthropology, see Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, *Franz Boas: The Emergence of the Anthropologist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019); Michael F. Brown "Cultural Relativism 2.0.," *Current Anthropology* 49:3 (2008): 363-383; and Tobias F. Rotheli, "A Theory of Relativity of Cultures, Incomes and Happiness," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics* 33:1 (2021): 54-73.

[14] Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 17. As a result of a series of lectures he gave to the Lowell Institute in Boston and the National University of Mexico in 1910-1911, Boas first published this monograph with the New York-based MacMillan Company in 1916. I use the MacMillan version; however, the Free Press published a revised edition in 1965.

[15] For a comprehensive analysis of the nineteenth and twentieth-century scientific racism in eugenics, social Darwinism, and phrenology, see Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, *Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). According to Levine, the new Darwinian concept of evolution divided anthropologists into two camps: progressionists and degenerationists. The former theorized that all humans eventually progress, and the latter group believed that disease and "savage-state" peoples equate to a lesser stage of evolution. However, as Levine expertly notices, both camps were intent on studying "savage" cultures, and they

that the rapid dissemination of colonial civilization was successful because of a slew of favourable conditions, including social and legal inequality, as well as the spread of diseases by colonizers.[16] He thus condemned the notion that cultures were categorically and intellectually superior according to their progress towards a Western view of "civilization."

In 1888, Boas first applied his theoretical framework of cultural relativity and egalitarian anthropologic methods to the Inuit. In *The Central Eskimo* (1888), he reported an impressive, indexed catalogue of eastern Arctic Inuit communities according to social structure, place names, tools, religious beliefs, and cultural practices. Although non-Inuit exploratory scientists charted the Arctic and named places after themselves, Boas argued that Inuit knew the land differently. He used Inuktitut place and community names to show the unique Inuit relationship to home and their seasonal migratory patterns.[17] This helped him categorize the diversity of Inuit across the Arctic along with their cultural and linguistic particularities relative to their prehistoric ancestral migration. His efforts laid the foundations of later Eskimology that focused on Inuit culture, material items, knowledge, and language before contact with outsiders.[18]

Boas's far-reaching influence over anthropology was felt long into the twentieth century and throughout his appointment at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), which

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both focused on primitive practices in a prehistoric vacuum away from the impending cultural destructions of colonialism and assimilation. See Ibid., 2. I draw from this fundamental piece in this thesis to inform my explanation of nineteenth and twentieth century anthropology of Indigenous peoples. I am indebted to the Levine's argument that colonization and the social sciences were interconnected, and anthropology and naturalism were projects to justify European imperialism and measure the civilization of colonized peoples. See, Philippa Levine in "Anthropology, Colonialism, and Eugenics," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, ed. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-20. References to phrenology's prominence in Victorian medicine, which I will discuss in the core chapters. See, Diane B. Paul and James Moore, "The Darwinian Context: Evolution and Inheritance," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, ed. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 27-42. I am inspired by another vital contribution that explored scientific racism in anthropology and the fascination with prehistory in museum collections. See Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[16] Boas, *Mind of a Primitive Man,* 16.

[17] Boas, *The Central Eskimo,* 419.

[18] Ibid., Editorial Material. The editor refers to Boas as the "Father of Anthropology."

allowed him to become an avid collector of Inuit artifacts. As he transitioned to studying other Indigenous communities, he remained in contact with Arctic explorers and whalers who helped expand his collections and further his inquiries into Inuit prehistory.[19] An example of this is his collaboration with whaling captain James Mutch who provided him with an abundance of first-hand information about the Inuit.[20] In January 1900, Mutch sent Boas hundreds of samplings accumulated during his whaling winters in Tinnujivik and interactions with the local Inuit.[21] Boas acknowledged his indebtedness to whalers, and he attributed the uniqueness of the AMNH Inuit collections to the whalers' assistance in collecting them.[22]

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[19] "Prehistory" is a contested term in contemporary scholarship as it tends to acknowledge contact as the defining event in Indigenous lives and romanticizes the history of North American settlement by Europeans and the establishment of colonies in the "New World." See also A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Terminology of Prehistory," *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 1: 4 (1946): 91–100.

[20] Scottish Arctic whaler James Mutch reigned as a late nineteenth-century whaling captain at Penny's Qiqerten Island Whaling Station and later Scottish Noble's Blacklead Island Whaling Station, both in Tinnujivik. Mutch deflected Boas's incessant requests to scour Inuit graves for artifacts and human remains. At one point, Mutch claimed that uncovering Inuit graves would be immoral. See Kenn Harper, "Collecting from a Distance: The Boas-Mutch-Cromer Collaboration," in in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s* ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016), 92-94. In what Redman refers to as another faucet of scientific racism and primitivizing Indigenous cultures, collecting human remains was another pillar of the salvage project in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century anthropology and museum studies. See Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 69. Redman also critiqued an early twentieth-century article in which Boas defended the importance of collecting human remains for scientific study. Ibid., 58-61. In a contemporary evaluation of Boas's research ethics, and the museum's push to acquire human remains, Friedrich Pöhl deduced that Boas's insistence to salvage burial sites was due to the need for skulls in the popular study of phrenology, the determination of intelligence via cranial circumferences. See Friedrich Pöhl, "Assessing Franz Boas's Ethics in His Arctic and Later Anthropological Fieldwork," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 32:2 (2008): 40. This science was influential in the nineteenth century and will intersect with my analysis of M'Donald's narrative later in this thesis.

[21] Harper, "Collecting from a Distance," 93. Harper recognizes James Mutch and another American whaling captain, George Cromer, for their hearty contributions to Boas's collections at the AMNH, Ibid., 92-94. For more information about Cromer's involvement in collecting artifacts in Hudson Bay, most notably on Southampton Island, see Gillies W. Ross, "George Comer, Franz Boas, and the American Museum of Natural History," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 8:1 (1984): 145-164. Cromer's work with AMNH, specifically in creating face masks and portrait photography of Inuit are captured in Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad, "Call Me Angakkuq: Captain George Comer and the Inuit of Qatiktalik," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 42:1 (2018), 61-86. Engelstad noted that Cromer was called an Angakkuq, or shaman, by many Inuit because of his capabilities with a camera.

[22] Harper, "Collecting from a Distance," 94. Harper quotes a letter from Boas in 1902 in which he exudes that with the consistent help of whalers, the AMNH Eastern Arctic Inuit collections would be unmatched. Ibid., 94. In two publications in 1901 and 1907, Boas celebrates his three main collaborators and their immense influence on his work. See Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay: From Notes Collected by George Comer, James S. Mutch, and E J. Peck, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. 1 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1901), 1-370 and Boas, *Second Report on The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay: From Notes Collected by George Comer, James S. Mutch, and E J. Peck, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. 2 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1907), 371-570. See Ludger Muller-Wille,

Boas benefited significantly from the close relationship between whalers and Inuit in the nineteenth century. This collaboration emphasized that whalers were connected to publicizing and recording Inuit history, as whalers' close quarters with Inuit allowed a unique position for collecting objects, transcribing information, and taking photographs. As modern scholars have pointed out, although Boas used the whalers' and later missionaries' photographs and syllabicated Inuktitut languages to further his study of Inuit, he did not critique the Qallunaat methods in these written records, collections, or biases behind the camera.[23] As art historian Janet Catherine Berlo recently explained,

> For the past one hundred years these bits and pieces, facts and objects, have been arranged and re-arranged in a changing mosaic in which we have constructed an image we claim represents Native American art and culture. We now realize that this image tells us at least as much about the collectors as it does about the materials collected… [Boas and his contemporaries] sought out the "oldest" and the "most authentic." They saw that Indian culture was in peril, and believed that they should save its vestiges for science.[24]

"Franz Boas's English Publications on Inuit and the Arctic (1884-1926): A Bibliographical Survey," in in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s* ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016), 83-89.

[23] See Igor Krupnik, "Franz Boas and the Inuit: Beyond the Baffin Island Years One Field Season and 50-Year Career: Franz Boas and Early Eskimology," in *Early Inuit Studies*: *Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s*, ed. Igor Krupnik, 78-79. and Kenn Harper "Collecting From a Distance," 96, 97, 98. Harper explains that this beneficial relationship between Boas and non-Inuit Arctic whalers extended into the new colonization era in the twentieth century when missionaries replaced whalers, and syllabizing Inuktitut was a church-led initiative. Missionaries captured Inuit in a crucial transition period, converting from traditional shamanism to Christianity, in extensive photographs and written records of their religious beliefs. A notorious photographer, ethnographer, and missionary Edmund James Peck produced probably the most extensive collection and samplings from Tinnujivik Inuit during this period. For an exploration of Peck's work see Jarich G. Oosten, François Trudel, and Frédéric Laugrand, *Apostle to the Inuit: The Journals and Ethnographic Notes of Edmund James Peck, the Baffin Years, 1894-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

[24] Janet Catherine Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 3. In an impressive overview of Native American Art History as seen by outsiders, Berlo points out that often these collections were accompanied by written explanations and transcriptions of cultural knowledge. A pointed example is when Boas received a collection from Mutch in 1900 accompanied by 860 pages of transcribed Inuit intellectual culture. In one letter to Boas, Mutch writes, "You will find many religious ideas in [the collections]. To me the whole of these stories forms their religion… I tried, in every case, to give the story as told, to assist the one, whoeve[r] that one might be, to get the right sense of it. (Mutch to Boas, February 28, 1900, DAA, Acc. No. 1900-5)." See Harper, "The Boas-Mutch-Cromer Collaboration," 93. This tendency to seek out the oldest specimens in salvage anthropology contributed to the idea that Indigenous cultures were primitive and thus inferior in their progress towards civilization. See William Rubin, *"Primitivism" in Twentieth Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984).

Furthermore, the cultural objects—such as art, face masks, and tools— displaced from the stories that should accompany them and organized by non-Inuit in Southern museums have contributed to a romanticized image of Inuit.[25]

Collecting thousands of Inuit artifacts for the AMNH, Boas added to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century phenomenon that contemporary scholars call "salvage anthropology."[26] In other words, Western researchers believed Indigenous peoples would eventually be assimilated to Euro-American "civilization" and their cultures erased because of the rapidity of colonization in North America. As a result, Boas and other anthropologists studying Indigenous North Americans scrambled to save information on Indigenous cultures before they disappeared or assimilated beyond their "pure" pre-contact, primitive state.[27] Although Boas advocated for anti-racism in his theories of colonization and civilization, his eager collecting habits contributed to racializing the Inuit and strengthened the belief that Inuit culture would eventually cease to exist.

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[25] According to Samuel J. Redman, this salvage project phenomenon lacked current cultural information and made Inuit artifacts seem stagnant rather than objects representing a diverse, alive culture. See Samuel J. Redman, *Prophets and Ghosts: The Story of Salvage Anthropology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021), 43. For a cinematic portrayal of the disconnection between five popular museums housing thousands of specimens in collections and the Inuit knowledge that can decipher said pieces, see *Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit*, directed by Zacharias Kunuk and Bernadette Dean (Igloolik, Nunavut: Igloolik Isuma Productions, 2006), Documentary.

[26] Berlo draws a roadmap of ethnology's height and decline and its restructure into anthropology led by the culture of collecting in the mid to late nineteenth century. Most significantly, the Smithsonian Institution was founded in 1849, and the American Museum of Natural History shortly after in 1869, which launched ethnology. At its peak of scholarly influence, during the 1870s and 1880s, the Bureau of Ethnology and the Smithsonian conducted what Berlo calls the "first large-scale collecting expedition," scavenging for specimens across pueblos in New Mexico and Arizona. Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History,* 2-3. Historians have pointed out that the Bureau of Ethnology had exited scholarly discourse by the 1900s. However, the "salvage paradigm" in ethnology helped restructure into anthropology, referred to as ethnology's successor, and guided research in the social sciences into the twentieth century. See Samual J. Redman "The Birth of Salvage Anthropology in the Nineteenth Century," in *Prophets and Ghosts*, 43. See also Levine, "Anthropology, Colonialism, and Eugenics," in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, 2.

[27] Levine, "Anthropology, Colonialism, and Eugenics," 1-20. As Levine points out, anthropology evolved from the colonial imperialist expansion and the idea that colonization would inevitably assimilate Indigenous peoples. I agree with Levine's statement that, "One of the main tasks of anthropology was to define and measure civilization—and its absence—as a justification for and of imperial expansion." Ibid., 2.

Anti-Racist Racialization

Modern evaluations of Boas's work point out problematic elements of early Eskimology and the twentieth-century field of anthropology that he helped pioneer. Scholars regard Boas's interest in race and primitiveness as inherently racist, and many critics have argued that his focus on Inuit prehistory and material culture placed Inuit in a prehistoric time-capsule.[28] I concur that despite his progressive investigations into race and civilization, a by-product of his argument of Inuit cultural relativism, his work racialized Inuit.

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[28] As Indigenous critiques of his work have shown, Boas's investigations into race are inherently histories of racial classification and racism. Even as he condemned the practice of measuring Indigenous skin complexion to preserve and enforce white supremacy, Boas contributed to the early twentieth-century fascination with the skin colour of non-whites. See Martha Hodes, "Utter Confusion and Contradiction: Franz Boas and the Problem of Human Complexion," in *Indigenous Visions: Rediscovering the World of Franz Boas* ed. Ned Blackhawk and Isaiah Lorado Wilner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 186, 189, 190. While he was a progressive voice for anti-racial typology in *The Mind of a Primitive Man*, Hodes explains that Boas was both challenging the scientific racist beliefs of his contemporaries and was "trapped" by those ideas. Ibid., 199. In an analysis of Boas's anti-racist theories in his other works, another scholar shows how his racial typology of Blacks and immigrants in the continental United States and his encouragement to lighten their complexion promoted assimilation and white supremacy: see Lee D. Baker, "The Racist Anti-Racism of American Anthropology," *Transforming Anthropology*, 29:2 (2021) 127-142. I recognize Redman's reasoning that: "In the face of a rapid onslaught of political, social, economic, and cultural changes, many involved in the project of salvaging culture willfully ignored the people who were actually in front of them. Instead, they searched for an idyllic, heavily romanticized, and apparently already bygone era of un-corrupted primitive societies mostly observed at arm's length. The work further cemented into language the pervasive notions of cultural evolution and Western cultural superiority." See Redman, *Prophets and Ghosts*, 43. This romanticized image of the Inuit in twentieth-century salvage anthropology yielded to non-Inuit ideas of how Inuit looked and acted. As Christopher Trott argued, the non-Inuit image of Inuit was "exotic" and did not visually construct a deep understanding of Inuit culture. See Christopher G. Trott, "The Dialectics of "Us" and "Other": Anglican Missionary Photographs of the Inuit," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31:1/2 (2001): 173. One of the first films to depict the Inuit image as content was the silent film *Nanook of the North,* which follows an Inuit community's life in the Arctic, with voice-over narration by a white filmmaker. The film's opening credits read, "the most cheerful people in all the world—the fearless, loving, happy-go-lucky Eskimo." See *Nanook of the North,* directed by Robert J. Flaherty (New York: Pathe Exchange, 1922), Short Film. In a critique of Flaherty's film, Michelle Raheja argues that the scenes induce a comedic reaction from the audience as Flaherty mocks Inuit as "unfamiliar to Western technology" and "primitive." See Michelle H. Raheja, "Reading Nanook's Smile: Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Revisions of Ethnography, and Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner)," *American Quarterly* 59:4 (2007): 1159. Even in the late twentieth century, non-Inuit imagination of Inuit culture created a "traditional Eskimo," "frozen in time," and "static-themed." See Robert P. Wheelersburg, "National Geographic Magazine and the Eskimo Stereotype: A Photographic Analysis, 1949-1990," *Polar Geography* 40:1 (2017): 35-37. Similarly, Joan Sangster maintained that idealized images of Inuit re-enforced "the romanticized image of stoic but happy Inuit, facing environmental adversity and unending cheerfulness." See Joan Sangster, *The Iconic North: Cultural Constructions of Aboriginal Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016), 10. I agree with Wheelersburg, Redman, Trott, Raheja, and Sangster that the romanticized image of Inuit, re-enforced by museum collections, photography, and film, ignored the complexities and hardships in Inuit life and further displaced their voices from their image. This neglect of oral history in early Inuit Studies will be discussed later in the chapter.

Boas's works racialized his research subjects through his focus on Inuit physical features, live exhibits, and human remains.[29] For example, in 1897, Boas's interest in the Inuit appearance piqued when he commissioned a live exhibit of six Inuit in New York City, brought to the AMNH by Arctic whalers. The tragic result of the exhibition was the racialization and dehumanization of these Inuit, as the 30,000 spectators fed them candy until they were sick.[30] Two Inuit died of tuberculosis shortly after this visit, one named Qisuk, for whom the AMNH commissioned a "mock funeral" with a fake corpse to deceive his son, Minik, and retain Qisuk's remains for scientific study.[31] In a later exhibit, Boas displayed plaster casts of Inuit faces, made by American whaling captain George Cromer during an Arctic whaling overwintering.[32] These face masks, displayed at the AMNH, exoticized the Inuit appearance without considering the subjects' agency. These instances, as contemporary scholars have argued, show that although Boas was intent on disproving white supremacy and cultural evolution theories, he utilized his power as a member of the white race to racialize and exploit the Inuit for his professional purposes.[33]

As noted earlier, Boas commented on the lasting effects of the economic boom of the whaling station on Qiqerten Island, although he quickly glazed over indications of an Inuit

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[29] The experience of Inuit brought to the AMNH in 1897 is examined in Kenn Harper, "The Minik Affair: The Role of the American Museum of Natural History," *Polar Geography* 26:1 (2002): 39-52. The article was based on Harper's earlier book Kenn Harper, *Give Me My Father's Body: The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo* (Vermont: Steerforth Press, 2000). For an exploration of the practice of using Indigenous peoples as living exhibits, not exclusive to Boas exhibits of Inuit, see Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). I draw heavily on Raibmon's arguments later in my thesis.
[30] Harper, *Give Me My Father's Body,* 22. There is additional speculation that the captain of the ship Robert E. Peary, who brought the Inuit to New York, refused to immunize the Inuit for smallpox. See Pöhl, "Assessing Franz Boas's Ethics in His Arctic and Later Anthropological Fieldwork," 47.
[31] Pöhl, "Assessing Franz Boas's Ethics in His Arctic and Later Anthropological Fieldwork," 46. As Pöhl notes, Minik petitioned the AMNH to return his father's remains to the Kalaallit Nunaat, which the museum did not honour until 1993.
[32] Engelstad, "Call Me Angakkuq," 62.
[33] Pöhl, "Assessing Franz Boas's Ethics in His Arctic and Later Anthropological Fieldwork," 38.

famine to discuss their ethnology. During his fieldwork at Qiqerten Island, he noticed that the Inuit were experiencing famine because of their contact with whalers. Pondering the rate of deaths amongst Inuit, he noted that:

> The opinion that the Eskimo are dying out on account of an insufficient supply of food is erroneous, for, even though the natives slaughter the seals without discrimination or forethought, they do not kill enough to cause any considerable diminution in numbers.[34]

As mentioned earlier, Boas explained that the population decline was not due to lack of food but to the diseases brought by whalers. Boas limited his comments regarding socioeconomic issues that the Inuit faced and instead focused on their pre-contact history, reflecting the status quo of anthropology of his time that sought a supposedly "pure" pre-contact culture.

While these problematic elements appeared in his work, Boas was still one of the few progressive voices for anti-racism and the negative aspects of colonization. He had an influential hold over the Indigenous North American scholarly community and helped launch several scholars' careers, including supervising several female researchers.[35] As a testament to Boas's disruption of twentieth-century scientific racism, current studies credit his authority in anthropology to his insistence on cultural relativity. Yet his early work was influenced by late nineteenth-century salvage anthropology that tended to seek evidence of a "pure" Indigenous pre-contact culture without engaging in their contemporary cultural development. As a result,

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[34] Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 427.

[35] This cohort of female researchers studying under Boas included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Cora Dubois, Ruth Landes, and Frederica de Laguna. One of the most influential female scholars who aligned with the "original Boasian credo" in the post-Boasian era and deemed the last 'universalist' in twentieth-century Eskimology, was Frederica de Laguna. De Laguna examined Inuit prehistory and debated the "Eskimo Problem" from the perspective of archeology. As recent inventories of de Laguna's work have shown, "Hardly any significant monograph on Eskimo archeology appeared without a de Laguna review pointing out its significance or faults." See William W. Fitzhugh, "Frederica de Laguna: The Last Arctic Universalist and Bridge to the Future," in in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s* ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016), 228, 235. The longevity of de Laguna's work is her innovative credit, although, as an outlier practicing Boasian methodology in the twentieth century, she represented a shift away from the Boasian era towards globalized Eskimology.

Boasian studies concentrated on debating the origins of prehistoric Inuit, which became the focal point of subsequent "Eskimo Problem" debates in Eskimology, rather than examining the socioeconomic hardships arising out of contact.

Eskimology's "Eskimo Problem"

Early Eskimology morphed as new contributions influenced its development in the mid-twentieth century. These scholars were influenced by significant Arctic archeological findings in the period and sought to bridge the gap between Inuit prehistoric archeology and the Boasian collections. As the number of scholars interested in Inuit prehistory grew, the disproportionate scholarly attention concerning the pre versus post-contact periods widened the gap in the scholarship. Leading Eskimologists, such as Diamond Jenness and Knud Rasmussen, and Arctic archeologists, such as Frederica de Leguna, scrutinized Inuit culture, language, and social organization in their "pure" form before contact with Europeans. As they show in their contributions, much of the scholarly work in the early twentieth century did not examine the contemporary socioeconomic issues Inuit were facing nor delve into their oral histories extensively. This is due to most scholars being interested in exploring the Inuit origination in the Arctic through the lens of prehistoric archeology and anthropology. This paradigm became known as the "Eskimo Problem" and sparked a heated scholarly debate over how, where, and why Inuit survived in the Arctic for over 2000 years, exclusive of outside interventions.[36]

Like Boas, Arctic researcher Diamond Jenness was fascinated with the prehistoric Inuit and marvelled at their "untouched" civilization separate from the influence of Euro-Americans. To that end, he became the first person to link archeological evidence of copper deposits to the

[36] Diamond Jenness, "Canada's Eskimo Problem," *Queen's Quarterly* 32:4 (1924): 317-330. Krupnik, "From Boas to Burch: Eskimology Transitions," 7-8.

traditional practices of a local Inuit community known as the "Copper Eskimos."[37] Because the community had not been involved in commercial pursuits with whalers or fur traders, these Inuit fascinated anthropologists like Jenness.[38] The preface of Jenness's *The People of the Twilight* (1959) refers to these Inuit as "charming peoples of happy children, not yet stung by the venom of our culture, not burdened by the intricate problems and the acid dissatisfaction of our society."[39] While in *Life of the Copper Eskimos* (1922)*,* Jenness argued these Inuit exhibited incredible innovation in their salvaging of copper tools, he contrasted their behaviour as undeveloped and primitive.[40] Jenness was adamant on their cultural distinction from other North American Indigenous groups as he opposed the 1939 Supreme Court of Canada decision that declared Inuit "Indians" under the Canadian constitution.[41] That said, Jenness was an innovator in Eskimology, and his work mirrored Boas's cultural relativity.

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[37] After the first Canadian Arctic Expedition in 1916, Jenness made these conclusions about the group previously known as the "Blond Eskimos," or more aptly the Innuinait from the Central Arctic, and instead called them the "Copper Eskimos," a name that subsequently became widespread in Eskimology and popular discourse. See Diamond Jenness, *The Life of the Copper Eskimos* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2015), 41-42. According to non-Inuit scholars, this description went beyond Inuit cultures and included their unique appearance. The group was previously known as the "Blond Eskimos" by non-Inuit explorers, whalers, and scholars because their appearance was apparently "European-like." See Vilhjalmur Stefansson, "Across Arctic America, Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition by Knud Rasmussen, and: Fra Grɸnland Til Stillehavet; Rejser Og Mennesker. Fra 5. Thule-Expedition, 1921–24 by Knud Rasmussen (Review)," *The Canadian Historical Review* 8:3 (1927): 248-249. In this review of Rasmussen's work, Stefansson takes issue with Rasmussen's use of "Blond Eskimo" rather than the more appropriate "Copper Eskimo." Ibid., 249. See also G.F. MacDonald, "Diamond Jenness (1886-1969)," *Bulletin (Canadian Archaeological Association)* 1 (1969): 43–45 and Béatrice Collignon, "The Variations of a Land Use Pattern: Seasonal Movements and Cultural Change among the Copper Inuit," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 17:1 (1993): 71–89.

[38] Diamond Jenness, *The People of the Twilight* Vol. 32 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 248. Barnett Richling, *In Twilight and in Dawn: A Biography of Diamond Jenness* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 91.

[39] Fridtjof Nansen, "Preface," in *People of the Twilight* by Diamond Jenness Vol. 32 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), v-vi. The author mentioned that these Inuit suffer from starvation, though he argued that because these periods did not last long, "[Inuit] life is laughing happiness with no sorrows of the past and none for the morrow." This romanticized version of a "silent," "happy" Inuit re-enforced the trope in popular culture in the 1920s that probably influenced Jenness's interests. For example, please see the reference earlier in this chapter to *Nanook of the North* (1922).

[40] Richling, "Kiss of the White Man," 92. Richling quotes a Jenness diary from 1914 and published anecdotes from Jenness, *The People of the Twilight*, 46.

[41] Inuit were still not considered part of the *Indian Act* under this decision. See Richard J. Diubaldo, "The Absurd Little Mouse: When Eskimos Became Indians," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16:2 (1981): 34. See also Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: vol. II* (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 40.

Adding to the field, Arctic explorer Knud Rasmussen became known as the "father of Eskimology" for his celebrated and critiqued work conducted during an expedition across the Arctic in 1924.[42] Although he was not a trained anthropologist or archeologist, Rasmussen had extensive knowledge of Inuit culture and language due to his upbringing in Danish colonies in the Kalaallit Nunaat (West Greenland). In a sense, Rasmussen was a product of Danish colonization, and his expertise in Inuit dialects allowed him an academic edge. Demonstrated in multiple publications*,* he had a far-reaching effect on Arctic researchers for his emphasis on Inuit individuality and explanations for the Caribou Inuit lifestyles.[43] Rasmussen's historical methods, however, have been critiqued by other scholars as "incompetent" because of his ignorance of the contemporary Inuit struggles and failure to contribute anything original to the historiography.[44] Yet his recording of Inuit oral traditions and spirituality has since been analyzed by Inuit to reclaim their version of this Eskimology classic.[45] I agree with the assessment that Rasmussen was not trained as a professional ethnographer or historian and that his focus on uncovering an "original Inuit" in the Mackenzie Delta romanticized and enforced a "primitive" notion of Inuit

[42] Jean Malaurie, *The Last Kings of Thule: With the Polar Eskimos, as they Face their Destiny* (New York: Dutton, 1982).
[43] His findings were drawn from an extensive fieldwork trip across the Arctic, commonly referred to as the Fifth Thule Expedition, See Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America, Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927). Additionally, two reprints of his work can be found in Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* Vol. 1 (New York: AMS Press, 1976); Rasmussen, *Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts* Vol. 2 (New York: AMS Press, 1976).
[44]Anthropologist Earnest Burch argued that Rasmussen was vehemently incorrect in his conclusions about Inuit origination and theorization of the "Eskimo Problem." See Earnest S. Burch, "Knud Rasmussen and the "Original" Inland Eskimos of Southern Keewatin," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 12:1-2 (1988), 81-100. Kristen Hastrup, "Knud Rasmussen: Explorer, Ethnographer, and Narrator," in in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s-1980s* ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016), 122. Hastrup refers to a comment made by Burch concerning Rasmussen's neglect to acknowledge the people he was studying were struggling. Hastrup, however, disagreed with Burch and argued that Rasmussen's few attempts to listen to Inuit oral history about hunting and spirituality did prove his hypothesis of the existence of "new" information. Ibid., 123.
[45] For an Inuit-led film that explores the Inuit oral history captured in Rasmussen's journals during his fieldwork, see *Journals of Knud Rasmussen: Le Journal De Knud Rasmussen*, Directed by Norman Cohn and Zacharias Kunuk, (Montréal: Alliance Atlantis, 2007), Drama. For an Inuit-led analysis of the oral history in specific excerpts from Rasmussen's journals, see Gillian Robinson, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-definition Inuit Storytelling* (Montreal: Isuma Distribution International, 2008), 7-10.

culture.[46] In addition, Rasmussen contributed to the notion that, eventually, Inuit traditions would vanish.[47] Like Jenness, Rasmussen demonstrated the tone of 1920s Eskimology that sought to preserve Inuit traditions before they disappeared due to their perceived inevitable assimilation to settler colonial constructs of "civilization".

From 1920 to 1970, the geopolitical atmosphere influenced the growth of Eskimology, making it an umbrella term for interdisciplinary and international subfields of Inuit Studies.[48] During the Second World War and the Cold War, border politics in the Arctic intensified, and nationalist histories separated Inuit Studies by region and country.[49] As a result, new scholars began to explore the political status of Inuit lands and Inuit socioeconomic issues. Continuing the narrative of the "vanishing Indian," scholars began to acknowledge the hardships that Inuit were facing globally and politically, although they were still interested in Inuit prehistory. This era of scholarship brought the "Eskimo Problem" into the mid-twentieth century, with crucial contributions to archeology.

Significant advancements in Arctic archeology in this period were led by Arctic anthropologist Frederica de Laguna, a student who had studied under Boas. Known as the last Boasian anthropologist, de Laguna signalled a new phenomenon: a shift from the old Boasian Eskimology toward modern Inuit Studies with a global outlook. As one of the only females in her field during a tumultuous geopolitical era, she, like her teacher, contributed significantly to

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[46] Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America,* vii. See also Burch, "Knud Rasmussen and the "Original" Inland Eskimos of Southern Keewatin," 82.
[47] As Cree artist Floyd Favel argued, "The purpose of Rasmussen's expedition [was] to record as much as possible the traditions of Inuit before they disappeared." Floyd Favel, "Spirit Being Dialogue," in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-definition Inuit Storytelling*, ed. Gillian Robinson (Montreal: Isuma Distribution International, 2008), 13.
[48] Krupnik, "From Boas to Burch," 10.
[49] Ibid., 12.

the "Eskimo Problem" debate.[50] Her most well-known contribution to this debate is *The Prehistory of Northern North America as Seen from the Yukon* (1974), which contextualizes Inuit prehistory against the backdrop of global advancements in archeology and anthropology.[51] De Laguna's career coincided with technological developments in archeology, such as radiocarbon dating, and her monographs on the Inuit prehistory in Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound are regarded as classics.[52]

Even as the scholarship grew and became a distinguished field, Eskimology peaked in the 1960s but began declining in the 1970s.[53] Eskimologists and Arctic archeologists continued to debate the "Eskimo Problem," and they studied Inuit art and artifacts to determine prehistoric migration patterns and anthropological developments. Jenness, Rasmussen, and De Laguna's work emphasized the divide in the chronological periods of Eskimology, pre and post-contact history, with imbalanced attention given to the former.

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[50] Fitzhugh demonstrated that the "Eskimo Problem" debate had significantly changed since Jenness and Rasmussen, encompassing new debates about the connections between Dorset and Thule prehistoric Inuit migrations and interactions. See Fitzhugh, "Frederica de Laguna," 228-229. Other scholars are quick to notice de Leguna's influence in the field. See Wallace M. Olson, "Frederica de Laguna (1906-2004)," *Arctic* 58:1 (2005): 89 and Kory H. Cooper, "Copper and Social Complexity: Frederica de Laguna's Contribution to Our Understanding of the Role of Metals in Native Alaskan Society," *Arctic Anthropology* 43:2 (2006): 148–63.

[51] The original version was published in 1947 by the Society for American Archeology, however, I reference the reprint version Frederica De Leguna, *The Prehistory of Northern North America as Seen from the Yukon* (New York: AMS Press, 1980).

[52] De Leguna, *Report on Archeological Investigations in the Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet Districts, Alaska, June-October 1930* (Philadelphia: University Museum Archives, University of Pennsylvania, 1930). See also William B. Workman, "Pioneer and Contemporary: Frederica de Laguna's Contributions to the Anthropology of Southcentral Alaska," *Arctic Anthropology* 43:2 (2006), 89.

[53] During the negotiation of the 1971 Natives Claims Settlement Act in Alaska in the United States and the construction of a pipeline through Indigenous territories in Alaska induced significant attention from scholars interested in Inuit lands, traditional cultures, and archeology. Although De Leguna and Collins were leaders in the field at the time, there were other significant scholarly contributions to the field. See Margaret Lantis, and Robert E. Ackerman *Ethnohistory in Southwestern Alaska and the Southern Yukon: Method and Content* Vol. 7 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970).

Arctic Sovereignty and Canadian Historiography

The expanding global influence in Eskimology exposed the uncertain nature of Arctic sovereignty, as Canada had yet to assert its jurisdiction over the eastern Arctic since receiving the archipelago post-confederation.[54] In addition, a globalizing scholarship revealed gaps in Canadian Arctic history due to the lack of Canadianists' attention to the region. This disparity was due to Inuit prehistory being attributed to anthropologists, and post-contact history being accompanied by uncertainty over Canada's sovereignty in the region.[55] Nonetheless, in the 1970s and 1980s, Canadian historians, who had generally neglected the Arctic in Canadian historiography, began discussing Arctic ownership and security issues, without considering that the Inuit could be the governing authority of their lands.

[54] Gordon W. Smith, *Territorial Sovereignty in the Canadian North: A Historical Outline of the Problem* (Ottawa: Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963). Rather than the possibility of Inuit asserting sovereignty over their territories, as they have since time immemorial, this report considered the activities of explorers, whalers, and miners as the main actors of Canadian sovereignty over Qikiqtaaluk region. The report argues that the region had "no permanent white population and only a scattering of wandering Eskimos." Ibid., 3.

[55] Arctic historian Shelagh Grant's 1998 overview of Arctic historiography distinguished traditional Eskimology and Canadian Arctic history, where the former obsessed over Inuit prehistory and the latter believed in the Eurocentric idea that no important history occurred before white men had arrived. Grant importantly notes that attitudes had changed towards Indigenous histories in the 1990s, but a comprehensive Arctic history scholarship had yet to be developed. This chapter is indebted to her argument that post-contact Arctic history is significantly lacking. See Shelagh Grant, "Point-Counterpoint: Arctic Historiography: Current Status and Blueprints for the Future," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33:1 (1998): 145-154. Only seven years earlier, Richard White critiqued the popular method of chronologically defining North American History as twofold, pre-contact and post-contact. He insisted on revisiting Indigenous-settler histories by considering a 'middle ground' rather than a binary understanding of colonized and colonizer, and the inevitability of colonialism, or the romanticization of Indigenous life pre-contact, which is fundamental to my understanding. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxv-xxvi. This thesis is indebted to Grant and White's necessary revision of the binary chronologies. White opens with a quote from his contemporary, James Clifford: "Stories of cultural contact and change have been structured by a pervasive dichotomy: absorption by the other or resistance to the other. A fear of lost identity, a Puritan taboo on mixing beliefs and bodies, hangs over the process. Yet what if identity is conceived not as boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interaction must then be more complex, less linear and teleological." Ibid., xxv. For the original, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 344.

Adding to the debate, Arctic historian W. Gillies Ross argued that the federal government had asserted sovereignty during a government-sponsored Arctic expedition in 1903.[56] As Ross summarized, this assertion occurred when a Canadian official told the local Inuit that, "There was a big chief over them all who had many tribes of different colours and how this big chief, who was King Edward VII, had the welfare of all his peoples at heart."[57] Ross argued that the friction between American whalers and Canadian government officials initiated a growing discomfort with American activities in "Canada's north." He claimed that unmonitored whaling activities had interwoven the socioeconomic fabric of Euro-American and Inuit life in the eastern Arctic, and Canada needed to make this assertion to protect its political interest in the region and the wellbeing of the Inuit.[58] As Ross showed in his article, the federal discomfort with the perceived negative influence of American whalers led to the increased federal presence after the 1903 declaration.

Fellow historian William Morrison further contributed to the expansion of post-contact Arctic historiography, as he explored the Inuit relationship with the RCMP while noticing the significance of the preceding whaling era. In *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North 1894-1925* (1985), Morrison pointed out that government authority, demonstrated through a stronger police presence, effectively changed the Inuit-settler

[56] Gillies W. Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The 'Neptune' Expedition of 1903-04," *Arctic* 29:2 (1976): 87-104. Ross agrees with Jenness's statement that prior to the *Neptune* was an era of government ignorance. See Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: vol. II*, 7. Marking this shift, Ross examines an overlapping tenancy of an American whaler *Era*, captained by George Cromer, and the Canadian expedition *Neptune* carting government officials to Hudson Bay in 1903-1904. Most interesting are Ross's investigations into how the whaler's "debauchery" was becoming frowned upon by the Canadian public. Relying heavily on Canadian official Robert Borden's account of his experience during the voyage, Ross mentions that Inuit women wore "civilized dress" and fornicated with whalers throughout the whaler's residency in Hudson Bay. Ross notes that Borden goes so far as to indicate that whalers lived with Inuit women and fathered children with them in the winters. Nonetheless, Ross notes the degrees of not only sovereignty but also Canadian identity that were exampled in the officials' insistence on the cult of respectability and anti-Americanism.
[57] Ross, "Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic," 100.
[58] Ibid., 102-103. Ross recognizes the whaling period as a neglected period of Arctic history, and he explores the effect that non-Inuit whaling had on the Inuit population in his article.

dynamic in the north. He importantly explained that this encouraged a coherent Arctic defence plan, connected the north to Ottawa, and brought the eastern Arctic under the same laws and regulations as the rest of Canada. That said, as Morrison wrote, the police "did not 'develop' the northern frontier;" instead, missionaries, whalers, and other commercial actors in the nineteenth century all had a hand in "developing" the eastern Arctic.[59] However, this historical period and contact zone was not the focus of Morrison's study.

These opening studies by Ross and Morrison marked a growing curiosity towards early contact episodes, such as the whaling era, in Canadian Arctic history and a shift away from scholars viewing Arctic studies as a branch of Eskimology. While sovereignty debates extended Canadian historical interest to the Arctic, a similar Eskimology trope frequented this debate: the neglect of Inuit voices, which inherently displaced their perspectives in explorations of their histories. Assertions that attempted to explain or generalize the Inuit experience with outside governments were, at times, inaccurate.[60] As Eskimology gave way to the new and improved

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[59] William Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North 1894-1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), xviii.

[60] For instance, Morrison incorrectly stated that, "In the north, white prejudices and the demands of southern authority were not present to the same extent because its continuing marginality convinced the federal government that there was no need to adopt harsh policies towards the northern Natives." See Ibid., xv. This statement disregards the RCMP's forced relocation of Inuit, sled dog killings, and the government renaming programme that occurred over the mid-twentieth century. The relocation schemes in the 1950s and 1960s are referred to by scholars as the "government era" and the defining period of "colonial encounter." See Michael J. Kral, "Postcolonial Suicide Amongst Inuit in Arctic Canada," *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 36 (2012): 311. A discussion about how the Inuit relocation schemes affected the Qikiqtaaluk region can be found in David Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). The sled dog massacre has been explored intently in Inuit-led films and oral testimony in the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC). The QTC funded an investigation into the sled dog massacre after the Canadian government refused to investigate the allegations made by Inuit sled dog owners. The QTC held a public forum and encouraged all Inuit affected by the sled dog slaughter to come forward from 2004 to 2006. Initially, over 300 Inuit testified, but only 130 interviews were recorded, and roughly fifteen of these tapes were used in the film *Qimmit: A Clash of Two Truths*. The investigation findings were published in Qikiqtani Inuit Association, *Qikiqtani Truth Commission, Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq Thematic Reports and Special Studies 1950–1975*, (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media Inc. 2013). See *Qimmit: A Clash of Two Truths,* directed by Ole Gjerstad and Joelie Sanguya (2010), Documentary. See also *Echo of the Last Howl*, directed by Guy Fradette (2014), Documentary. In 2010, the Government of Quebec released a statement recognizing that the Canadian government, stating that the RCMP "knew or should have known and understood the central place that dogs occupied in Inuit culture in the 1950s and 1960s." This statement is found in Jean-Jacques Croteau, *Regarding the Allegations Concerning the Slaughter of Inuit Sled Dogs in Nunavik (1950 –*

Inuit Studies in the 1990s, scholars could no longer ignore Inuit critiques and perspectives. As a new millennium approached, Inuit-led studies filled gaps in our historical understanding and the neglected Inuit perspectives and oral testimony finally came to the forefront of the scholarly consciousness.

Qallunology

Oral Histories

A primary critique of Eskimology is that its leaders did not examine their methodologies and preferences for written testimony, and their historical, anthropological, and archeological methods roadblocked Inuit from controlling records of their past. Equally damaging was the enduring presumption that putting quill to parchment, punches to a typewriter, and now fingers to laptop keyboards are the pre-eminent methods of recording history. Furthermore, English-based publications and debates circulating in southern universities did not reconnect Inuit with their ancestral knowledge.[61] For these reasons, oral histories were commonly neglected in the Arctic archive, which displaced Inuit perspectives from advancements in early Eskimology.[62]

As attitudes towards Inuit shifted and Eskimology entered its more recent phase in the 1970s and 1980s, Indigenous issues were moving to the forefront of public views. As a result,

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1970) (Montreal: Government of Quebec, 2010). The Government of Canada officially apologized in 2019 for the mass killings of the sled dogs. See Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations, *Government of Canada's Apology to Qikiqtani Inuit* (Ottawa: Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, 2019). My argument is indebted to the QTC and Philip Goldring, who wrote an article that offers a tool to scholars interested in utilizing a decolonial approach to studying past wrongdoings in the Arctic. See Philip Goldring, "Historians and Inuit: Learning from the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2007–2010," *Canadian Journal of History* 50:3 (2015): 492-523.

[61] Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology," 24. The phenomenon of non-Indigenous-led "community-based" studies may have further displaced Inuit history from the Inuit Nunangat. For an Indigenous-led version of "community-based" studies, see John Bennett and Susan Diana Mary Rowley, *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Anja Kannigeiser and Zoe Todd, "From Environmental Case Study to Environmental Kin Study," *History and Theory* 59:3 (2020): 385-393; and Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie, *Place in Research: Theory, Methodology, and Methods* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[62] Dorothy Harley Eber, "Rumours of Franklin: The Strength of the Inuit Oral Tradition," *The Beaver* 76:3 (1996): 4.

surveys of the field acknowledged the changing attitudes towards Inuit and the fading popularity of Eskimology's techniques.[63] There were two camps: scholars intent on preserving Eskimology's traditions through the insistent use of the autonym "Eskimo," and those who challenged the existing literature by using "Inuit." In the Arctic section of *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978)*,* volume editor David Damas nodded to these new trends in the 1970s and 1980s Eskimology and explained his view through semantics. Damas acknowledged the shift from the use of "Eskimo" to "Inuit" in the 1970s but questioned using 'Inuit' because of its unconfirmed language affiliations to prehistoric archeological cultures, insisting that his use of 'Eskimo' was not derogatory.[64] Although Damas was intent on preserving Eskimology's traditional methodology, he could not ignore that the Inuit were gaining their voice in the media and in political, governmental, and scientific discourse.[65]

In the same volume, Bernard Saladin D'Anglure stood out among the other scholars for his use of "Inuit" instead of "Eskimo."[66] D'Anglure became known as an advocate for Inuit enfranchisement in literature and subsequently founded a new journal called *Études/Inuit/Studies* in 1977, encouraging submissions to include transcriptions of Inuit languages and "original source documents."[67] In this new journal, his first article explored fresh topics related to Inuit

[63] David Damas, *Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic*, ed. David Damas Vol. 5 (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 7. Raymond Gagne, "Towards a Canadian Eskimo Orthography and Literature," *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 8:1 (1962): 33-40. Alex Spalding, *Learning to Speak Inuktitut: A Grammar of Northern Baffin Dialects* (London: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages at the University of Western Ontario, 1979). Spalding produced a comprehensive Inuktitut phrasebook.
[64] Damas, *Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic*, 5:4, 7. Damas claims that in Aleut and Yupik dialects, the term "Inuit" does not appear in their vocabularies. Terminology remains a contested issue as Indigenous peoples in Alaska and Northern USA are called Eskimos. However, Yupik is most used to identify Indigenous peoples living in so-called Alaska as their primary name, Yupik singular for "real person," and yuk meaning "person."
[65] Damas, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 5.
[66] Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, "Inuit of Quebec," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic*, ed. David Damas Vol. 5 (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 476-507.
[67] In this first volume and edition of *Études/Inuit/Studies*, the editorial pledges to "accord a special priority to the specific interests of the Inuit in putting at their disposition materials which they may use according to their own particular preoccupations." See D'Anglure, "Editorial," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 1:1 (1977): 4.

sexuality, spirituality, queer identities, and women's stories about menstruation and rebirth.[68] Most importantly, he utilized Inuit testimony and oral interviews to conduct his research. D'Anglure drew attention to Inuit oral knowledge systems and argued that oral history revealed complexities in the Inuit experience.[69] As a result, D'Anglure insisted that Inuit had stories to tell and that their memories and reminiscing could prompt a new cultural, literary genre of Inuit studies.[70]

One of the most influential publications in the new cultural, literary genre was Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk's novel written in syllabic Inuktitut, later translated by D'Anglure.[71] The book takes shape not only as a memorialization of Inuit phrases but as a vessel of storytelling and Inuit knowledge—a printed oral history. Critically acclaimed as a "creative and critical intervention into the process of representing Inuit experience," Nappaaluk's *Sanaaq* (1987) disrupted the status quo and the limited literature, consisting of mainly the Bible and prayer books, available in Inuktitut and explored the internal conflicts that Inuit faced when converting to Christianity.[72] Through exploring the character's internal struggle between traditional Inuit shamanism and Christianity, Nappaaluk considered the importance of oral histories:

> Without elders the Inuit are nothing, for there is much knowledge that the elders alone possess! My knowledge comes not from me but from my ancestors. It seems to be mine but, in fact, it comes to me from people who preceded me. I pass it on to all of you, to all your descendants and all of your kinfolk![73]

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[68] D'Anglure, "Iqallijuq: Ou Les Reminiscences D'une Ame-Nom Inuit," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 1:1 (1977): 33–63.
[69] Ibid., 34. Despite the controversy over Rasmussen's methods, D'Anglure was indebted to Rasmussen's catalogue of Inuit oral histories transcribed in his journals during the fifth Thule expedition mentioned earlier in the chapter.
[70] Ibid., 36.
[71] Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk, *Sanaaq,* trans. Bernard Saladin D'Anglure and Peter Frost (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014). In the mid-twentieth century, Nappaaluk began developing the novel when tasked by a missionary to write an Inuktitut phrasebook to assist with the local church officials learning of the language. The novel was first published in 1987 and D'Anglure translated the novel in 2000.
[72] Keavy Martin notes that while it is important to notice the gaps in Canadian literature beyond the English and French works, scholars should refrain from canonizing Indigenous additions and notice contributions outside those deemed accepted by the academy. Keavy Martin, "Arctic Solitude: Mitiarjuk's *Sanaaq* and the Politics of Translation in Inuit Literature," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 35:2 (2010): 13, 16.
[73] Nappaaluk, *Sanaaq*, 112.

To that end, the author disrupted popular ways of recording history and demonstrated the value of intergenerational Inuit knowledge while conducting a Qallunology of early twentieth-century missionaries. While Nappaaluk emphasized the importance of preserving oral testimony, they also conveyed the struggles of contemporary Inuit life during contact with outsiders, a subject that Eskimology had commonly overlooked.[74] As D'Anglure explains, the mass conversion of Inuit to Christianity in the 1920s coincided with the passing of a generation of shamans, which caused shamanism to live in Inuit memory and oral histories.[75]

As this chapter has shown, the urgency of early Eskimology was driven by the impression that Inuit would inevitably lose their connections with their prehistoric traditions as a result of contact. Yet Inuit dispute this notion that they deviated from the state of being distinctly "Inuit." Instead, they affirm that their culture and traditions are dynamic as they critically evaluate outside influences and embrace change. In addition, Inuit scholars, filmmakers, journalists, and activists argue that their knowledge is well-preserved in oral history, storytelling, rituals, and material culture. [76] In the film *Qallunaat: Why White People Are Funny* (2006), former president of the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut Paul Quassa asserted that, in Inuit eyes, oral history is more objective than written history: [77]

> When you are talking, it's very important for you to tell the truth. And in our [Inuit] oral history, something you say carries more weight than anything you put on paper. Because

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[74] Nappaaluk identified as a member of the third sex; therefore, "they" in this sentence refers to the singular author. D'Anglure, "Forword," in *Sanaaq,* by Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk and trans. by Bernard Saladin D'Anglure and Peter Frost (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), vii.

[75] Ibid., xv.

[76] *Qallunaat: Why White People are Funny,* directed by Mark Sandiford, (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2006), Documentary.

[77] As Cree historian Neal McLeod said, "Great stories challenge the status quo. They challenge the social space around us, and the way society structures the world. Great stories urge us to rethink the social space. Storytelling is a subversive act that causes people to question the society around them. Storytellers hold the core of a counter memory and offer another political possibility." See Neal McLeod, *Cree Narrative Memory* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing 2007), 99-100. In another Inuit-led film, an interview with former president of the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut Paul Quassa explained engravings on an Iglulik whaling tool: "It may not be in words, but these pictures show what makes us who we are." *Arviq: Bowhead!* directed by Zacharias Kunuk, (Igloolik, Nunavut: Igloolik Isuma Productions Inc, 2002), Documentary.

> if you write something, it can have all kinds of meanings. But if you actually speak it, it's supposed to come from the heart, from you as a person.[78]

This perspective exposes the ironies in the Western idea that their written history is superior and urges Qallunaat to evaluate their methods for preserving information. In addition, while non-Inuit did not keep an extensive record of Inuit oral histories, Inuit argue that these knowledge systems and generational storytelling continues to exist.

This posed the usefulness of Qallunology: Inuit stories told by outsiders disregarded the Inuit perspective and prevented the advancement of Inuit self-determination and agency in their literature. Additionally, the intensive microscope applied to Inuit by Eskimologists was not held up to the non-Inuit in the same way. As Derek Rasmussen argued, "It's the Euro-American way of life that needs to be put under the microscope."[79] Qallunology also exposes the gaps in our current understanding of Arctic contact histories and urges a revisit to the perceived mythology in existing primary and secondary literature that settlers were the saviors of the north. As writer Gillian Robinson once said, "Memory comes up like water from an underground spring—undeniable and living, full of sustenance and life. Indigenous memory is the most dangerous of all to a colonizing system intent on controlling history."[80]

Decolonizing the Arctic Archive

The shifting political framework of the 1990s and the surge in Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholarly membership dramatically altered the landscape of Eskimology. Propelling this advancement was Canada's shifting approach to addressing Indigenous self-government by

[78] *Qallunaat: Why White People are Funny* (2006).
[79] Derek Rasmussen, "Qallunology: A Pedagogy for the Oppressor," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 25:2 (2001): 113.
[80] Gillian Robinson, *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen*, 10.

expanding the federal government's capacity to settle modern treaties with Indigenous peoples.[81] To that end, the formative year of 1999 marked the effective date of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (NLCA)*,* while the *Nunavut Act* established the territory of Nunavut and extended self-governance to Inuit on their Inuit Nunangat. Simultaneously, the United Nations Declaration of Rights for Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 1999 pushed Indigenous rights to the forefront of global responsibility. As a result, Arctic scholarship officially shifted from "Eskimology" to "Inuit Studies," and the field became more inclusive to Inuit researchers and their ways of knowing.[82] The shift in the industry culminated at the seventh annual Inuit Studies Conference in 1990, where a new generation of scholars was intent on showcasing Inuit oral histories, art, and contemporary concerns.[83] Most formatively, however, was that Inuit-led literature exposed conspicuous gaps in the historiography of the Arctic and the lack of non-Inuit scholars that specialized in analyzing Qallunaat methods, or Qallunology.

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[81] According to Christa Scholtz, Canada officially invited Indigenous nations to enter the "modern treaty process" in 1973. An overview of the federal government's evolving approach toward land claims, litigation, and eventually treaties can be found in Christa Sieglinde Scholtz, *Negotiating Claims: The Emergence of Indigenous Land Claim Negotiation Policies in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006). However, until the 1990s, the federal government entered negotiations with a limited capacity for files. After the 1990s, the modern treaty approach expanded and became an emblem of self-governance, recognition of Indigenous rights and title on their territories, land back via the transfers of Crown land, and defining ownership and jurisdiction. For Inuit living in Nunavut, gaining control of their lands, values, and people's well-being were the main topics in negotiations with the federal government. See Christopher Alcantara and Adrienne Davidson, "Negotiating Aboriginal Self-Government Agreements in Canada: An Analysis of the Inuvialuit Experience," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48:3 (2015): 553–75. After the 1993 signature of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NCLA), Nunavut separated from the Northwest Territories. The NCLA became known as the most comprehensive example of Indigenous self-governance in their traditional territories. See Andre Legare, "Canada's Experiment with Aboriginal Self-Determination in Nunavut: From Vision to Illusion," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15:2-3 (2008): 335-367.

[82] Krupnik, "From Boas to Burch," 14.

[83] Mark Nuttall, "The Seventh Inuit Studies Conference 1990," *Anthropology Today* 6:6 (1990): 19-20. To that end, Nungak pointed out that while the Inuit Studies Conferences perceivably increased its awareness of Inuit issues, the same Qallunaat-dom existed in the remaining Eskimologist camp, intent on preserving earlier styles of academic exclusivity. For instance, when describing the thirteenth annual Inuit Studies Conference in Anchorage in 2002, Nungak argues, "This event is a gathering of Eskimologists galore, who talk about having been in Sugluk in '58, Koartak in '66, or Igloolik in '83. Many are experts tending their accumulated expertise; some are there for the sake of being seen there by fellow Eskimologists. Many are old Arctic hands doing some serious handing around, eager to try out the tattered remnants of their Inuktitut on the few Inuit who might actually show up." As a counterpoint to the annual Inuit Studies Conference, Nungak noticed that Qallunologists have yet to organize a Qallunaat Studies Conference. See Nungak, "Qallunology: The Inuit Study of Qallunaat Part II," *Inuktitut* 91 (2002): 94.

Another problem is that non-Indigenous scholars and historical actors have attempted to interpret cultural meaning in Indigenous history. I can acknowledge that, as an outsider, it is impossible to apply non-Inuit meaning to Inuit history. In this spirit, I am indebted to scholars that have introduced a decolonial methodology toolkit that encourages scholars to acknowledge the colonial mindsets prevalent in primary and secondary source material.[84] As Indigenous scholar and author Jeanette Armstrong notes:

> Imagine how you as writers from the dominant society might turn over some of the rocks in your own garden for examination. Imagine ... courageously questioning and examining the values that allow the dehumanizing of peoples through domination ... Imagine writing in honesty, free from the romantic bias about the courageous 'pioneering spirit' of colonialist practise and imperialist process. Imagine interpreting for us your own people's thinking toward us, instead of interpreting for us, our thinking, our lives, our stories.[85]

This statement encourages non-Indigenous scholars to embark on a self-reflective journey and poses the usefulness of exploring the neglected study of non-Inuit worldviews. In addition, it highlights the Inuit-led critiques that have urged scholars to apply the same anthropological lens used in Eskimology in studies of the non-Inuit. I argue in this thesis that a decolonial

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[84] The benefits of decolonizing academic research are outlined expertly in a seminal study and a handbook for non-Indigenous scholars seeking to research historical events and actors that intersected with Indigenous peoples. See Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* 3rd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2021). Indebted to Linda Smith's approach in *Decolonizing Methodologies,* this chapter has outlined the missing Inuit interventions in the Arctic's historical record and pointed to the ones that have already been made by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ), or what Inuit have always known to be true. A full translation and breakdown of IQ can be found in Joe Karetak, Frank J. Tester, and Shirley Tagalik, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: What Inuit have always Known to be True* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017), 1-19. For a study that expertly distinguished IQ from Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and that argues IQ is "still a part of Inuit practice" in both ecological and cultural realms, see George W. Wenzel "From TEK to IQ: Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and Inuit Cultural Ecology," *Arctic Anthropology* 41:4 (2004): 248.

[85] This quote can be found in some of the most path-making decolonizing works of the last decade, including Emilie Cameron, *Far off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Makings of the Contemporary Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 3. See Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 234-235. The original conference address was published in Jeanette Armstrong, "Literary Disempowerment," in *First Encounters: Native Voices on the Coming of the Europeans* by Howard B. Leavitt (Westport: Greenwood, 2010), 149. A member of the Sylix nation, Jeannette Armstrong authored several critically acclaimed novels and histories. As an Indigenous Studies professor at the University of British Columbia, she continues to decolonize the university space and create Indigenous empowerment work focused on poetry and art. *Slash*, a novel about an Indigenous group coming to terms with climate change movements, is considered the first novel published by an Indigenous woman. See Jeannette Armstrong, *slash* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1985).

methodology, such as Qallunology, can be used to investigate the implications behind non-Inuit views of Inuit in both scholarly literature and in historical episodes.

What is Qallunology? When defining Eskimology from the Inuit perspective, journalist Zebedee Nungak had an innovative take:

> Eskimology: the study, by others, of Inuit traditions, customs, and languages. Anthropologists the world over have earned eminent reputations and compiled huge volumes of works from their studies of how Inuit live in all corners of the Arctic. Numerous universities and museums around the world possess great collections of Inuit artifacts and stories. To put it bluntly, Inuit have been studied to death.[86]

As a counterpoint to Eskimology, he introduced the "Science of Qallunology," or the study of Qallunaat (white people).[87] He and other Inuit scholars have called for an overhaul of the scholarship and presented areas where white scholars need to turn to inward examination.[88] While introducing a serious intervention in the scholarship, Nungak clarifies that his evaluations of Qallunaat are "Focused, vivid, and delivered in good humour!"[89] Instead of using reverse racism methods, Qallunology calls for Qallunaat to internally investigate how their destructive behaviour has impacted and blocked Inuit perspectives.[90] This thesis is indebted to the approach outlined by Nungak and other scholars, and I borrow his methodology to conduct a Qallunology of whalers in the mid-nineteenth century who's Qallunaat-ness and Qallunaat-dom thematically intersects with whaling, gender, and spirituality.

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[86] Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology," 18-21.
[87] Ibid., 18-21.
[88] See Mini Aodla Freeman, *Life Among The Qallunaat* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015).
[89] Nungak, "Qallunology: The Inuit Study of Qallunaat Part II," 94.
[90] Ibid., 94. Nungak disagrees that his approach is racist and instead argues that where Eskimology has constantly misrepresented Inuit perspectives, Qallunology applies a humoristic lens to the Qallunaat-ness and Qallunaat-dom that strike Inuit as peculiar. Derek Rasmussen further explains how Qallunology is an opportunity for Qallunaat to understand that their ways of life are not superior to those of the Inuit. Rasmussen, "Qallunology: A Pedagogy for the Oppressor," 113.

Whaling

After the politicization of Indigenous issues in the 1990s, scholars seemed interested in exploring socioeconomic issues that the Inuit were experiencing, explicitly relating to how whaling practices have changed over time. While not many Inuit had hunted whales after the non-Inuit abandoned the Arctic industrial expansion in the early twentieth century, the International Whaling Committee's (IWC) commercial whaling ban and anti-whaling activists pressured many Indigenous whalers to confine their limited hunts to subsistence.[91] The politicized atmosphere contributed to the binaries within whaling discourse that viewed Indigenous as "subsistence" hunters and non-Indigenous as "commercial" whalers. Many scholars have noticed that these notions have impeded Indigenous enfranchisement in modern socioeconomic contexts. Regardless, there was a resurgence of Inuit bowhead whaling in the 1990s, and Inuit activists, scholars, filmmakers, and journalists began to speak up for Indigenous

[91] The International Whaling Commission (IWC) is an internationally recognized environmental regulatory body founded in 1946. The IWC set out not only to conserve whale stocks but to ensure an "orderly development of the whaling industry," as outlined on the foundation's website. The IWC also regulates scientific or recreational whale watching activities. See The International Whaling Commission, "History and Purpose," *The International Whaling Commission*, Accessed March 2022, https://iwc.int/history-and-purpose. The Canadian government initially did not support the IWC's sweeping measures to ban whaling, such as those introduced by the IWC in 1980 that proposed a zero quota for 'commercial' whaling. However, after the then Canadian Whaling Commissioner indicated that these regulations should not affect Inuit subsistence hunts for cultural reasons, the federal government soon voted in favour. As the Canadian Commissioner wrote, "In allocating fisheries resources (which include all cetacean resources) it is the Canadian government's policy to give first priority to aboriginal subsistence, thereby ensuring that the traditional and cultural needs of the aborigines are adequately safeguarded. In this regard, Canadian Whaling Regulations are without prejudice to the aboriginal rights of Canadian Inuit." See M. C. Mercer, Commissioner, *Canadian Delegation Report 32nd Annual Meeting International Whaling Commission July 21-26, 1980* (Ottawa: Ministry of Fisheries and Oceans, 1980), Appendix 4, page 2. The Indigenous and the non-Indigenous public criticized the IWC for the ambiguous definitions of Indigenous whaling within these regulatory measures. A paper from a 1986 symposium called "Whales and Whaling: Current Problems and Future Prospects" highlights the implications of ambiguous definitions of "subsistence" and "commercial" whaling. See Nancy Doubleday, "Aboriginal Subsistance Whaling: The Right of Inuit to Hunt Whales and Implications for International Environmental Law," *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy* 17:2 (1989). See also William Aron, William Burke, and Milton M. R. Freeman, "The Whaling Issue," *Marine Policy* 24:3 (2000): 179-191. In an Inuit-made film, the aftermath of a 1994 Iglulik hunt is portrayed see *Arviq! Bowhead!* (2002). I will address the consequences that evolved from these ambigeous definitions and as a result the revivial of Indigenous whaling practices in the 1990s later in this thesis.

whaling rights, notwithstanding if they hunted for “subsistence” or “commercial” reasons.[92] Because of this modern problem, it is important to acknowledge Inuit as active participants in whaling debates, and, instead of ascribing the cultural meanings behind Inuit whaling, scholars should evaluate the non-Inuit notion of why Inuit whaling is bound to a “subsistence” category in contemporary and historical socioeconomic contexts.[93]

Exemplifying the noticeable shift in the scholarship, Dorothy Eber's *When the Whalers Were Up North* (1989) was one of the first works to use Inuit oral history and stories to describe the link between Inuit's long ancestral history of whaling and commercial non-Inuit whaling.[94] Eber’s work features an array of Inuit stories about non-Inuit whalers, touching on various themes that intersect the topic and the historical era of this thesis. Eber’s work is most influential

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[92] Inuit receive relentless pressure from anti-sealing campaigns and anti-Indigenous animal rights groups. However, Inuit filmmakers are pioneers in advancing conversations on Inuit hunting rights and creating “visual sovereignty.” See *Angry Inuk,* directed by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril et al. (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 2017), Documentary. See Julie Burelle, “Inuit Visual and Sensate Sovereignty in Alethea Arnaquq-Baril’s Angry Inuk,” *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 29:1 (2020): 146. Michelle H. Raheja, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 197. See Mary Simon and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, “Inuit on Sealing: We Want Your Mind Not Your Money,” YouTube video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecF3qXR3htM March 6, 2009. Journalist Jim Bell dubbed the environmentalists “Animal Rights Fascists” and environmental organizations, such as Sea Shepard and Greenpeace, a “plague of wasps.” See Jim Bell, “Animal Rights Fascism,” *Nunatsiaq News*, 10:10 (1997). In 2000, the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board released a pivotal document that assessed the livelihood of bowhead whales in the Arctic from an Inuit perspective. By using Inuit oral testimony, the conclusions made in the report are foundational to environmental science and the conservation of bowhead whales and other Arctic species. See Hay, *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study*, 9. The impactful observations on the bowhead whale stock and climate change in the *Final Report* caused the Canadian government to revisit the scientific data in the eastern Arctic and, most importantly, to appreciate Inuit knowledge about the Arctic Sea. See G. Kuehl and Canadian Science Advisory Secretariat, *Assessment of Eastern Arctic Bowhead Whales (Balaena mysticetus) Science Advisory Report 2007/053* (Ottawa: Central and Arctic Region, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2007).

[93] Consequently, many studies from the 2000s onwards celebrated Inuit cultural revival and critiqued the methodological status quo of silencing Inuit voices and perspectives. The following scholars began exploring the many ways that Inuit were empowered by reviving their survival practices and telling their whaling stories. See Jens Dahl, Jack Hicks, and Peter Jull, *Nunavut: Inuit Regain Control of their Lands and their Lives* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2000). See Sheila Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold: One Woman's Fight to Protect the Arctic and Save the Planet from Climate Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018). See Igor Krupnik and Dyanna Jolly, *The Earth is Faster Now: Indigenous Observations of Arctic Environment Change* (Fairbanks: Arctic Research Consortium of the United States, 2002). See Marc G. Stevenson, *Inuit, Whaling, and Cultural Persistence: Structure in Cumberland Sound and Central Inuit Social Organization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[94] Dorothy Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

in using photographs to conduct oral history about whaling episodes in early contact. For instance, she utilized images to retrieve oral testimony:

> Particularly fascinating to most people in the west-coast communities of Hudson Bay were the extraordinary photographs taken by the great American whaling master George Cromer, aboard and from the *Era* and the *A.T. Grifford*. They were wonderful stimulants of memory. They stirred talk about the Inuit whaling bosses, Scotch Tom and Harry, and about the two Scottish whaling captains.[95]

Interestingly, these Inuit stories about whalers were evoked using the same photographs used by non-Inuit anthropologists and Eskimologists, namely Boas, to dissect Inuit culture. The work also shows the whalers' impact on the Inuit and their current socioeconomic issues. As a result, Eber's attention to current Inuit concerns is apparent in a discussion about the book's topic with her host during her Arctic fieldwork: "[Eber's Inuk hostesses] suggested, "How about change in the North?" This book is about the start of change. The whalers were the start of change."[96] The merging of Inuit and non-Inuit whaling dramatically impacted the environment, whaling practices, and the well-being of Inuit and stood out as a formative era in the history of the eastern Arctic. In the following chapters, I build on this contribution to explore how Inuit "subsistence" and non-Inuit "commercial" whaling history are inherently linked in Tinnujivik.

Gender

Qallunology urges a closer examination of the reinforcement of colonial views of gender in celebrated works in Eskimology and in primary sources from nineteenth-century whalers.[97]

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[95] Ibid., xv.
[96] Ibid., xvii.
[97] In a seminal study, the tradition in Indigenous-settler histories to attribute the entire Indigenous communal experience to one Indigenous high-ranking male voice is identified as the problematic "Big Chief" trope. This phenomenon, as a Haudenosaunee scholar has alluded to, has evaded the experiences of the collective Indigenous communities, including the voices of Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirited individuals. Susan M. Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 2-3.

Nineteenth-century records that reference gender encouraged a heterosexual explanation for expressions of gender and sexuality, which ignored the complex meanings and differing cultural constructs. For example, Barbara Bodenhorn's critique of traditional Eskimology focuses on disrupting male-centric stories that "naturalize" gender in hunter-gatherer Inuit histories.[98] She argues that reinforcing the Western gender binary minimizes the significance of Inuit men's and women's interchanging roles and relationships beyond the hunter-gatherer construct. Thus, a gender-based analysis can reveal the role that sexuality, gender binary, and the body played in outsiders' perspectives of Inuit and the power dynamics in contact zones between Euro-Americans and Inuit.

Due to Bodenhorn's approach, scholars began applying a gender-based analysis to the nineteenth and early twentieth century whaling period. For example, Heather Davis-Fisch argued that gender performance played a crucial role in personal relationships and community events in Inuit interactions with whalers.[99] She and other scholars have pointed out that the sexualization of Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour was a pillar in the colonial era, influencing the non-Inuit whalers' interactions with Inuit women.[100] While I do not attempt to interpret Inuit gender identity, this thesis argues that Inuit women played a significant role in developing non-Inuit ideas of Inuit gender, sexuality, culture, and practices. In doing so, this thesis seeks to understand

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[98] Barbara Bodenhorn, ""I'm Not the Great Hunter, My Wife is:" Iñupiat and Anthropological Models of Gender," *Inuit Studies* 14:1-2 (1990): 57. For an Inuit-led film that dissects the heterosexual filters that commonly accompany non-Inuit masculine explorations of twentieth-century Inuit lifestyles, see *Aviliaq: Entwined*, Directed by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, (Toronto: ImagineNATIVE Film, 2014) Drama.

[99] Heather Davis-Fisch, "Girls in "White" Dresses, Pretend Fathers: Interracial Sexuality and Intercultural Community in the Canadian Arctic," *Theatre Research in Canada* 32:1 (2011): 84-106.

[100] Influenced by Michel Foucault, Ann Laura Stoler is the leading scholar in this field. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See the preceding Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Duke University Press: 1995). See Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*: *Volume I: An Introduction* Trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Random House Inc., 1978). See Anne McClintock *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

how the predominantly male-written non-Inuit records of Inuit women were heavily influenced by their ideas of a "naturalized" gender binary and early Victorian values of female respectability and domesticity.[101]

Spirituality

The broadening scholarly efforts in twenty-first-century Inuit Studies marked a readiness to explore the confrontation between Inuit shamanism and Christianity in contemporary Inuit beliefs. Recent scholarly contributions illuminated the correlation between the Christianization of Inuit and salvage anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which had benefited Eskimologists. The contemporary scholarship exposed the wide gap in Eskimology and the non-Inuit understandings of Inuit spiritual connections to their cultural and survival practices.

In *The Sea Woman* (2008), Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten's exploration of the spiritual connection to whales in Inuit culture is at the forefront of new studies on Inuit spirituality.[102] They show how stories of Sedna, the sea goddess, appears in contemporary Inuit art, carvings, and oral histories.[103] I agree with their statement that, "Neither should Inuit carvings be considered as mythological symbols of a traditional past. They are, rather, an expression of a living tradition shaping Inuit views of the present as well as the past."[104] Accordingly, the co-authors regard the resurgence of Inuit whaling in the 1990s as a crucial step towards "[getting] back with their ancestors" and reclaiming their spiritual relationship with

[101] Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, *Inuit Stories of Being and Rebirth: Gender, Shamanism, and the Third Sex* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018).
[102] Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, *The Sea Woman: Sedna in Inuit Shamanism and Art in the Eastern Arctic* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008).
[103] Laugrand and Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).
[104] Laugrand and Oosten, *The Sea Woman,* 131.

animals.[105] Yet their contribution relies heavily on 1840s to 1920s non-Inuit recordings of Inuit spirituality, ranging from Boas to Rasmussen. A closer look at these sources reveals the importance of evaluating the biases and influences that were undoubtedly steeped in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century non-Inuit records of Inuit spirituality. By considering these contributions, this thesis explores why non-Inuit viewed shamanism as the conflicting counterpoint to Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century.

[105] Laugrand and Oosten, "We're Back with Our Ancestors: Inuit Bowhead Whaling in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," *Anthropos* 108:2 (2013): 431-43.

Chapter Two: "A Savage Boy's Experience, Who Had Been Nurtured Amidst the Cheerless Solitudes of an Arctic Clime and Coast:" Qallunology in Aberdeen, The Winter of 1839

> The history of [Inulluapik's] early years is a matter of uncertainty; but we may suppose that beyond the simple incidents of a savage boy's experience, who had been nurtured amidst the cheerless solitudes of an arctic clime and coast, there would be little to record or commemorate, even although we possessed the necessary information.[106]
>
> —Alexander M'Donald, *A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik.*

Whaling in the Eastern Arctic

Often you can hear a whale breathing before seeing a hint of its immensity. In the case of the *Balaena mysticetus*, or bowhead, you may hear the foraging head, accounting for two-thirds of its body, break through a small hole in the pack ice before exhaling its odorous nutrient-rich breath.[107] Bowheads move according to sea ice, often sheltering themselves from predators by swimming under the thick floe edge, making it extremely difficult for humans to hunt them. In

[106] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 4.
[107] The bowhead whale, named *Baleana mysticus* by taxonomist Carl Linneas in 1784, evolved with a jawbone skeletal feature more prominent than other baleen whales. Bowheads roam mainly Arctic and Antarctic waters feeding on zooplankton and avoiding predators. See Susanna B. Blackwell et al., "Bowhead Whale (Balaena Mysticetus) Migration and Calling Behaviour in the Alaskan Beaufort Sea, Autumn 2001-04: An Acoustic Localization Study," *Arctic* 60:3 (2007): 255-70. While bowhead whales usually migrate solo, scientists have discovered specific stock identities per the specific waters that groups of bowheads reside. For a study about the various stocks of bowhead whales in the North Atlantic, see David J. Rugh et al., "A review of bowhead whale (Balaena mysticetus) stock identity," *Journal of Cetacean Research and Management* 5:3 (2003): 267-279. For an exploration of how ice impacts bowhead whales, see Elizabeth S. Alter et al., "Gene Flow on Ice: The Role of Sea Ice and Whaling in Shaping Holarctic Genetic Diversity and Population Differentiation in Bowhead Whales (Balaena Mysticetus)," *Ecology and Evolution* 2:11 (2012): 2895-2911.

the Arctic, the Inuit hunt bowhead whales at the floe edge when the land ice melts closer to shore in the late summer and early fall.[108] Known to the Inuit as Arviq, the whales have been part of their lives since time immemorial.

Because of the size of the marine mammal, the large amounts of blubber rendered vast quantities of oil, and the jawbone and baleen filters were akin to a plastic-like material, which proved valuable for Indigenous hunters and Euro-American commercial whalers alike.[109] Scholars agree that European commercial bowhead whaling began in the North Atlantic with Basque whalers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[110] These non-Inuit whalers hunted whales off the coast of the Labrador Sea and Belle Isle Strait and became some of the first to interact with Labrador Inuit (Labradormuit) and Innu. Due to the overhunting of the subarctic whales, eventually Europeans turned northwardly to Arctic waters in the late seventeenth and

[108] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Indigenous scholars, artists, novelists, and filmmakers have shown that hunting whales meant far more than satisfying hunger. For an introduction to the cultural importance of whales in Indigenous communities, see Martha Black, et al., *Spirits of the Coast: Orcas in Science, Art, and History* (Victoria: The Royal BC Museum 2020). Perhaps most germane to the conclusions drawn in this thesis, and a piece that will be expanded on later, see *Arviq: Bowhead!* (1998).
[109] Euro-Americans used the oil for light before the invention of electricity and the baleen as a plastic-like material in various material items, such as corsets, umbrellas, and hoop skirts.
[110] While these commercial whaling operations were initially offshore, the construction of the on-shore Red Bay Whaling Station led to consistent encounters between Labradormuit and Basque whalers in the early sixteenth century. As a result of this success at this whaling station, French, Dutch, German, and British whalers began to arrive in the North Atlantic in the late-seventeenth century. For pioneering scholarly work that explores Basque whaling in the North Atlantic. see Selma M. Barkham et al., "Bowhead Whales, and Not Right Whales, Were the Primary Target of 16th to 17th Century Basque Whalers in the Western North Atlantic," *Arctic* 61:1 (2008). For another work exploring European competition in the North Atlantic, see Peter E. Pope, "Bretons, Basques, and Inuit in Labrador and Northern Newfoundland: The Control of Maritime Resources in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 39:1 (2015): 15-36. For a government-led assessment of the commercial whaling efforts up until the mid-nineteenth-century that argued Basques, Dutch, Americans, and British whalers were the dominant groups during the period, see Jean-Pierre, Proulx, *Whaling in the North Atlantic From Earliest Times to the Mid-19th Century* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada and Parks Canada: 1986), 6. Though there are some mention in this literature of the Labradormuit's role in the commercial whaling efforts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Red Bay Whaling Station, this area of research requires significant expansion. To that end, scholars have yet to emphasize the knowledge and expertise in hunting the Labradormuit already exhibited before the non-Inuit arrived and how the non-Inuit utilized this wealth of knowledge about on-shore whaling to expand their industry. Further work is required to discover the early history of the Inuit involvement in the commercial whaling industry across the Arctic and Sub-Arctic. For instance, M'Donald's mention about the Tinnujivik Inuit travelling as far as the Labrador Sea to trade with the Labradormuit suggests that those Inuit closer to the Arctic circle knew of non-Inuit commercial whaling endeavours in the south long before Penny arrived in Tinnujivik. See M'Donald, *Narrative,* 120.

early eighteenth centuries, where they met and established relationships with the local Inuit in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait.[111]

Difficulties navigating the ice and the nature of hunting bowheads north of the sixty-sixth parallel confirmed the value of seeking information from the Inuit about whales and the Arctic environment. As a result, as non-Inuit whalers moved through Davis Strait and into Baffin Bay, they relied extensively on Inuit intelligence, trade, and employment to catch whales in the mid-nineteenth century.[112] Whalers' logbook entries indicated that Inuit imparted essential information about whales and other marine mammals, such as, "Natives report having a very mild winter, their seal catch very small," and "[Inuit] report having seen five whales."[113] In addition, whalers often acknowledged that the Inuit gave "all the intelligence" to the whalers.[114] In many cases, "bartering with the natives" and hosting the "natives onboard" the ship was a

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[111] For an environmental assessment of the impact of over-extraction in the Arctic, see Louwrens Hacquebord, "Three Centuries of Whaling and Walrus Hunting in Svalbard and Its Impact on the Arctic Ecosystem," *Environment and History* 7:2 (2001): 169-185. In an important environmental study about historical bowhead stocks, scholars agree that there were 52,000 bowhead whales accounted for in the Greenland and Spitzbergen stock before they were brought to "virtual extinction" by 1911: See Robert C. Allen and Ian Keay, "Bowhead Whales in the Eastern Arctic, 1611-1911: Population Reconstruction with Historical Whaling Records," *Environment and History* 12:1 (2006): 89-90. The Danes were the most influential colonial enterprise during seventeenth and eighteenth-century commercial whaling pursuits on the coast of the Kalaallit Nunaat. In conjunction with the Moravian Church, the Danish colonial government began integrating the local Inuit into the fabric of colonies, where they used Inuit for knowledge, labour, and trade. For an essential dissection of the Danish presence in the southwestern regions of Kalaallit Nunaat, see Søren T. Thuesen, "Local Identity and History of a Greenlandic Town: The Making of the Town of Sisimiut (Holsteinsborg) from the 18th to the 20th Century," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 23:1-2 (1999): 55-67. As the Danish further colonized the Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish government deployed Moravian missionaries to convert the local Inuit to Christianity. For an overview of the Moravian missionary presence in the Danish colonies of Kalaallit Nunaat, see Peter Andreas Toft, "Moravian and Inuit Encounters: Transculturation of Landscapes and Material Culture in West Greenland," *Arctic* 69:5 (2016): 1-13.

[112] For a pioneering study about the essentiality of Inuit knowledge in the non-Inuit whaler's commercial success in the Arctic environment, see Karen Routledge, *Do You See Ice? Inuit and Americans at Home and Away* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 10. See also Bathsheba Demuth, "Men, Ice, and Failure: New Histories of Arctic Exploration," *Reviews in American History* 45:4 (2017): 539-544.

[113] *Esquimaux,* May 30, 1872; *Esquimaux,* August 21, 1890. Transcribed by Dr. Matthew Eyre at the Arctic Institute of North America (AINA). More information about these logbooks can be found in the bibliography.

[114] See Alexander Smith, *An Account of a Voyage to Greenland Aboard the Whaler S. S. Camperdown in the Year 1861*, National Archives of United Kingdom (NRA 42626 Dundee Central Library), 75. More information on this logbook can be found in the bibliography.

common occurrence for mid-nineteenth-century commercial whalers.[115] These recordings proved Inuit from both sides of Davis Strait became a crucial source of knowledge of whales, and whalers utilized their expertise as a tool for their commercial success in the Arctic.

Figure 1: Map of Davis Strait and Baffin Bay[116]

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[115] Contact with Inuit remained consistent throughout the Arctic whaling industry, especially in the later decades of the 19th century, as whales' behaviour was becoming harder to predict and overwintering a common practice. For example, on August 5, 1867, the whaling crew on the *Isabel* conversed with the Inuit for several hours near Salisbury Island in Hudson's Strait: "As it was very nearly calm, [the Inuit are] alongside and around us [whalers] until near ten o'clock trading their skins and skin clothing with the crew for rifles. When a breeze sprung up and [the Inuit] left us [whalers] for the shore, many of them in an almost nude state, but no doubt highly elated with their trades. I succeeded myself in getting four fine narwhal tusks." For mentions of "bartering with the natives" in whalers' logbooks see: *Resolute,* June 3, 1882; *Esquimaux,* August 19, 1891; *Esquimaux,* June 1, 1895; *Esquimaux,* July 25, 1899; *Diana,* June 1, 1904. As for records of whalers hosting the Inuit groups onboard see: *Viewforth*, May 20, 1835; *Princess Charlotte,* August 14, 1843; *Polynia,* June 28, 1862; *Narwhal* July 1, 1874; *Nova Zembla,* August 22, 1884; *Polynia,* May 28, 1885; *Esquimaux,* September 1, 1886; *Esquimaux,* August 21, 1891; *Eclipse Julia,* August 16, 1894; *Esquimaux,* June 1-2, 1895; *Diana,* June 4, 1898; *Esquimaux,* May 23, 1899; *Diana,* July 21, 1900; *Active,* July 30, 1902; *Diana,* August 28, 1903; *Active,* July 4, 1903; *Diana,* July 19,1904; *Morning,* July 2, 1905; *Morning,* May 26, 1906; *Active,* July 27, 1908; *Morning,* June 21, 1909. Transcribed by Dr. Matthew Eyre at AINA. More information about these logbooks can be found in the bibliography.

[116] Kristin Laidre, "Map of West Greenland with Melville Bay shown in a red box," Ocean Explorer: Mission Plan, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, United States Department of Commerce, December 31, 2012: https://oceanexplorer.noaa.gov/explorations/06arctic/background/plan/plan.html.

At first glance, the relationship between the Inuit and non-Inuit appeared collaborative. Yet while scholars have acknowledged the use of Indigenous intelligence in non-Indigenous commercial success during early contacts, less is known about Inuit contributions to geography and environmental knowledge in these whaling pursuits. Even less is known about the role of Qallunaat-dom that influenced non-Inuit records of Inuit intelligence, changing Arctic environments, and whaling during the nineteenth century.[117] To explore one Inuk's experience with whalers and understand his enormous contribution to the non-Inuit Arctic whaling industry, I will dissect the lasting record of Inulluapik's experience and analyze the outsiders' prejudices that saturate the document.

By surveying the Inuk's contributions to the expansion of the Arctic whaling industry, this chapter explores the relationship between Inulluapik and whaling captain William Penny, whose collaborations began in the winter of 1839 when Inulluapik visited Aberdeen. This transatlantic journey was recorded by Alexander M'Donald, a trained surgeon commissioned as the physician aboard Penny's whaling ship. M'Donald's account of this historical episode provides a wealth of information about M'Donald's worldviews and perceptions. Because of this, M'Donald's narrative is the basis for my Qallunology of his early Victorian Qallunaat-dom that influenced his record of Inulluapik's experience.

Most of M'Donald's narrative was based on suppositions and assumptions about Inulluapik's perceived "uncivilized" nature and M'Donald's binary descriptions of Inuit and non-Inuit cultures and environments. Nonetheless, Inulluapik's story, as told by M'Donald, provided insight into how the two individuals grappled with cultural differences relating to geography, climates, entertainment, appearances, hygiene, food, and etiquette during interactions

[117] Nungak used the phrase "trademarks of being in Qallunaat-dom" to explain the state of being Qallunaat. See Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology."

with European women. Overall, I argue that M'Donald's interpretation was influenced by early Victorian ideas of civilization, intelligence, behaviour, appearance, respectability, and Indigenous authenticity. Through the analysis of Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen in 1839 as Penny's live exhibit of Inuit intelligence, the chapter explores the influences whereby M'Donald engaged in early Victorian scientific thought that measured the redeemability of Indigenous peoples, their refinement by intellectual education, and their progress towards a Western idea of civilization.

Although I analyze M'Donald's worldviews apparent in his narrative, Inulluapik's remarks during his visit to Aberdeen offers a fresh view of the landscapes, cultural practices, and livelihoods in mid-nineteenth century Scotland. While his personal opinions are impossible to glean through M'Donald's interpretation, his visit offers a unique example of an Indigenous experience in the provincial town of Aberdeen. His presence was celebrated by Aberdonians as he was incorporated into social life in Aberdeen during the winter of 1839. As modern scholars have shown, Inulluapik was not the first Inuk to see or comment on the homelands of non-Inuit. I am indebted to the work of Coll Thrush, Karen Routledge, and Kenn Harper for their contributions that evaluate the Inuit experience in Qallunaat homelands in the nineteenth century.[118] This chapter, however, stands on its own as an evaluation of both Inuit and non-Inuit

[118] Two scholars guiding my analysis are Coll Thrush and Karen Routledge, for their impressive accounts of Inuit and non-Inuit experiences at home and away during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thrush's work stands out amongst other historical surveys of Inuit voyages abroad as he utilizes the Inuit concept of Isuma or "to think" to describe the experiences of a group of Inuit visitors' visit to London in the eighteenth century. Rather than place Inuit in these historical backgrounds without agency, Thrush brings Inuit critical thought processes to light. His approach inspired me to consider cases when Inulluapik thought critically about his surroundings and behaviour in non-Inuit settings. See Thrush, "The Iceberg and the Cathedral," 59–79. I am also grateful for Routledge's work as she employed a two-fold methodology that analyzed both the Inuit and the whalers' experiences as they visited each other's homelands. Her recognition of the perilous experiences of whalers has guided me to examine non-Inuit experiences in the Arctic, which will be the focus of the latter part of this chapter. See Routledge, *Do You See Ice.* While topically different from this chapter, I am indebted to Harper's work that analyzed Minik's experience as one of Boas's live exhibits at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in the late nineteenth century. Harper's approach influenced my consideration of M'Donald and Penny's use of Inulluapik as a live exhibit to show onlookers the most "authentic" version of an Inuk. See Harper, *Give Me My Father's Body*. Also influential to the historiography are two scholars

experiences in each other's lands through the filters of M'Donald's observations and assumptions about Inuit inexperience with Qallunaat.

While Inulluapik contributed significantly to Qallunology, the focus of this chapter is not simply to describe Inulluapik's experience but to further identify the Qallunaat-ness within the subjective filters of M'Donald's observations. As Indigenous-settler historian Allan Greer argued, histories of Indigenous-settler contact zones must treat the non-Indigenous actors with the same "sympathetic ethnographic imagination" applied to Indigenous subjects of ethnography and anthropology.[119] Because of M'Donald's in-depth observations of Inuit in Tinnujivik, late nineteenth-century anthropologists and early Eskimologists like Boas have utilized M'Donald's narrative to expand Inuit ethnographies. In turn, I argue that M'Donald's narrative offers a glimpse into early Victorian worldviews and culture. I utilize a decolonial methodology inspired by Nungak's Qallunology to examine the early Victorian attitudes that underline M'Donald's ethnography of Inulluapik. In doing so, I argue that Europeans' ideas of subsistence, survival, and environment became intertwined with and reliant upon Inuit knowledge, even as Europeans vehemently ridiculed the Inuit as uncivilized.

Qallunology in Aberdeen

Inulluapik's Transatlantic Voyage

In 1839, Inulluapik met William Penny when the whaler was visiting Aqqijjat (Durban Island) to trade with the local Inuit. According to M'Donald, Inulluapik's family originated from

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who explored Inuit visits to Britain from the sixteenth century onwards. For insights into an involuntary capture of Inuit and their tour to England in the sixteenth century that resulted in Inuit dealth, see Robert McGhee, "Inuit in England," in *Arctic Voyages of Martin Frobisher: An Elizabethan Adventure*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). For a historical survey of Indigenous peoples that visited Europe until the late eighteenth century, see Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[119] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), x.

Qimmisut in Tinnujivik prior to moving to Aqqijjat on the Southeast coast of Qikiqtaaluk when Inulluapik was ten years of age. As an onlooker who had difficulties navigating the Arctic Sea ice, Penny was impressed that Inulluapik had managed to navigate the treacherous journey from Tinnujivik and thus believed Inulluapik exhibited capabilities as a geographer.[120] Yet M'Donald referred to Inulluapik's method of transportation on this journey as nothing more than a "frail oomaik," which arguably demeaned Inuit technology as lesser than that of the non-Inuit whalers. Due to the diminishing Davis Strait bowhead stock, Penny was particularly interested in the Inuk's homelands, in a place he called "Tenudiackbeek," or Tinnujivik, which Inulluapik said hosted plentiful whales.

Soon after their meeting, Inulluapik drew Penny a map indicating the waterway's mouth at the southern tip of Qikiqtaaluk.[121] According to M'Donald, Inulluapik's ability to produce a map and identify his homelands primarily from his memory of the journey to Aqqijjat from

[120] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 4-5.
[121] Inulluapik's cartographic abilities are widely celebrated in scholarly literature, and modern scholars have underlined Inulluapik's impressive contributions to Arctic cartography archeology, geography, and Inuit ethnography. In one of the first references of Inulluapik's knowledge in scholarly literature, anthropologist Franz Boas mentioned Inulluapik's maps in his overview of ethnographic development and the influence of whalers in Tinnujivik. Inulluapik's knowledge was mainly used by Eskimologists, anthropologists, and historians to assess the anthropological distinction between Tinnujivik Inuit settlements. See Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 410, 425, 464. Responding directly to Boas's claims about the population distribution in Tinnujivik, anthropologist Marc G. Stevenson utilized Inulluapik's maps to illustrate archeological findings of sod houses in comparison to Boas's claims and Inulluapik's locations of the mid-nineteenth-century Inuit population distribution in Tinnujivik. Stevenson argues that Inulluapik's maps of Inuit social organization in Tinnujivik should be treasured by historians, calling for an increased scholarly appreciation of Inulluapik's contributions as a geographer. See Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence,* 59-63. In one of the more recent scholarly dissections of Inulluapik's talents, H.G. Jones also notes that M'Donald's account is probably the only biography of an Inuk that was written and published during the subject's lifetime as well, as one of the better examples of Inuit geographical knowledge. See H. G. Jones, "The Inuit as Geographers: The Case of Eenoolooapik," *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 28:2 (2004): 57-58. These claims about Inulluapik's geographic knowledge were underlined by environmental historian Kristen Hastrup, who applied Jones's findings in her study about changing Inuit social ontology and hunting patterns due to climate change in the Arctic. Hastrup argues that Inulluapik's ability to transfer his knowledge to drawn maps for Penny was remarkable. Hastrup coined Inulluapik's contributions to Arctic cartography as the first instance of the supposedly "generic Inuit facility" to draw maps. See Kristen Hastrup, "Anticipation on Thin Ice: Diagrammatic Reasoning in the High Arctic," in *The Social Life of Climate Change Models*, ed. Hastrup, Kirsten and Martin Skrydstrup (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2013), 83.

Tinnujivik proved his geographical intelligence.[122] Even later during Inulluapik's visit to Aberdeen, the Admiralty published a copy of the Inuk's map of Tinnujivik.[123] However, although the information posed difficulty to Penny, as ice and weather variability restricted the Arctic whaling season to the summer, he convinced Inulluapik to accompany him to Aberdeen to expand on his knowledge of the geography and ecology of Tinnujivik. Penny intended to display Inulluapik's knowledge as evidence to industrial whaling investors and the Admiralty to endorse and finance a permanent overwintering whaling station in Tinnujivik.

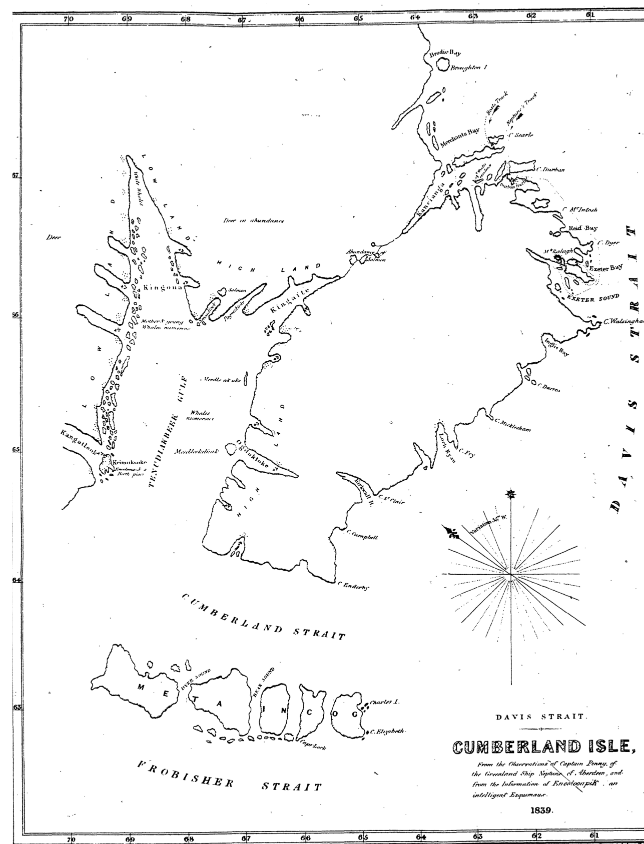

Figure 2: Inulluapik's Map Published by the British Admiralty, 1839[124]

[122] See M'Donald, *Narrative,* 6.

[123] See Admiralty Hydrographic Office, *Davis Strait Cumberland Isle from the Observations of Captain Penny of the Greenland Ship Neptune of Aberdeen and From the Information of Enooloopeek, an Intelligent Esquimaux 1839* (London: Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, 1840), Library and Archives Canada (LAC) NMC 59335.

[124] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Admiralty Fonds and Charts. NMC (Microfiche) 59335, ID (Identification) Number 3674424, Map of Tinnujivik, "Davis Strait Cumberland Isle from the Observations of Captain Penny of the Greenland Ship Neptune of Aberdeen and From the Information of Enooloopeek, an

Intent on studying the life of the Qallunaat, Inulluapik agreed to accompany Penny and the *Neptune* headed to Scotland in the early fall of 1839.[125] In his narrative of Inulluapik's journey to Aberdeen, M'Donald often projected his ideas about what Inulluapik may have been thinking during the voyage.[126] M'Donald's reflections drew on early Victorian attitudes that viewed Western civilization as the highest level of human "development" and was evidence of European intellectual superiority. This worldview also subscribed to a ranking system that examined Indigenous populations and their progress towards their ideal form of civilization and intellectual improvement. Attempting to make sense of Inulluapik's eagerness to visit Scotland, M'Donald indicated, "It may well be supposed, that the equipment of the vessels, and the superiority of all their arrangements, would fill the inexperienced mind of the savage with sublime conceptions of the intelligence of the *Kudloonite* [Qallunaat]."[127] In other words, M'Donald claimed that Inulluapik knew nothing of the world beyond the eastern Arctic and was ignorant of the supposedly superior civilizations in Britain.

The assertion that Inuit were oblivious, or in M'Donald's words, had "no idea" of other lifestyles beyond subsistence, ignored the diverse relationship and meanings behind survival that

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Intelligent Esquimaux 1839," Originally Published by (London: Admiralty Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, February 12, 1840).

[125] Inulluapik is referred to as Eenoolooapik or Eenoo by M'Donald and Penny and in some scholarly works. In this study and according to the Inuktitut alphabet, I refer to Eenoolooapik as Inulluapik. For more bibliographic information about Inulluapik, see Susan Rowley, "Eenoolooapik (Ca. 1820-1847)," *Arctic* 39:2 (1986): 182-183. For a biographical note about Alexander M'Donald, see Ian Barrie, "Alexander M'Donald L.R.C.S.E (1817 – c. 1848)," *Arctic* 62:2 (2009): 239 – 240. In the publication notes of the Cambridge University Press version of M'Donald's narrative, the publisher mentions that the work was probably the first biography of an Inuk's experience, both in non-Inuit and Inuit homelands. See Alexander M'Donald, *Narrative,* x. When M'Donald's narrative was first published, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal published excerpts from the book. The local newspaper encouraged the public to take notice of Inulluapik's experience and appearance when adhering to British ideas of cleanliness. See William Chambers and Robert Chambers, "Eenoolooapik, the Esquimaux," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* no. 481 (1841): 99-100.

[126] As quoted in the epigraph, M'Donald argues that Inulluapik's life before contact with Penny was decidedly devoid of value and relegated Inulluapik's pre-Aberdeen history to simple, cheerless, and of little significance or commemoration. See M'Donald, *Narrative*, 3-4.

[127] In many of M'Donald's passages, he utilizes the phrase "It may well be supposed…" to preface his explanation of Inulluapik's experience. See M'Donald, *Narrative*, 5.

Inuit had refined over thousands of years.[128] It also overlooked that Nunatsiarmiut (Baffin Island Inuit) had been trading with non-Inuit at Aqqijjat since the non-Inuit whalers took up residency in Davis Strait. For instance, Inulluapik's family had travelled to Aqqijjat long before he met Penny, as Inuit knew the location as a regular non-Inuit whaler meeting place. As a result of these connections with non-Inuit whalers at Aqqijjat, the Inuit became aware of the material differences in non-Inuit lifestyles, and they named these outsiders Qallunaat.

Contemporary Qallunologies explain that Inuit ideas of white people, or Qallunaat, have changed throughout contact, garnering a range of meanings such as "those who tamper with nature" or "those who pamper their eyebrows."[129] In a contemporary Qallunology, Mini Aodla Freeman argued that the former meaning of Qallunaat was the most direct translation. In other words, Freeman argued that Inuit considered Qallunaat as "very respectable, avaricious, materialistic" humans "who could do anything with material."[130] To that end, as Nungak argued, Inuit were never oblivious to non-Inuit ways of life but "could not relate to how [non-Inuit]

[128] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 32. For a scholarly review of this biased notion, Inuit do not have meaning behind their livelihoods beyond surviving, see Renee Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit of the Central Artic 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001).
[129] "Qallunaat" means white peoples or southerners, a word relative of stranger or outsider. In a memoir exploring an Inuk's experience living and working in Ottawa in the mid 20th century, Mini Aodla Freeman considers the various definitions of Qallunaat in English. Freeman claims that this terminology is not related to skin-colour but capture the Qallunaat's materially influenced customs. Freeman establishes her work as a contribution to Qallunology, and the title of her work directly responds to Bernhard Adolph Hantzsch's *My Life Among the Eskimos*. Freeman argues that "Eskimo" was never a word Inuit used to identify themselves. Instead, Freeman shows how Qallunaat founded the word by combining Cree words "escee" (disgusting) and "mau" (human) to describe the Inuit custom of eating raw meat. Freeman argues that Inuit have always called themselves Inuit (humans), or Inuk (human), to separate themselves from the natural world and animals. See Freeman, *Life Among The Qallunaat*, 7, 86, 87. For Hantzsch's work, see Leslie H. Neatby, *My Life among the Eskimos: Baffinland Journeys in the Years 1909 to 1911* Vol. 3 (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1977). Even though Inulluapik always referred to himself and his people as "Innuit," M'Donald still used the word "Esquimaux," which demonstrates how the semantics of language intersected Qallunollogy and their continuous subordination of Inuit in the literature. M'Donald, *Narrative*, 102, 104.
[130] Because of different historical contexts where vanity was of lesser importance, Freeman believes that Qallunaat referred to the materialistic aspects of Qallunaat-dom rather than their eyebrow care. See Freeman, *Life Among the Qallunaat*, 87.

lived."[131] Bearing differing contexts and definitions in mind, Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen in 1839 exemplifies how the Inuit critically considered both differentiations and likenesses between other cultures and often incorporated new practices and traditions. In contrast, M'Donald's Qallunaat-ness showed he focused on the differences between Aberdeen and the Arctic, as well as himself and Inulluapik, and exhibited a dogmatic notion of cultural incommensurability.[132]

Cultural Incommensurability

Through the lens of Qallunology, M'Donald's record of Inulluapik's experience displayed the integral elements of his early Victorian Qallunaat-dom. M'Donald's interpretation of the so-called stark difference in lifestyles in Aberdeen versus Tinnujivik revealed the biases in his thought process that regarded Inuit lifestyles as characteristically primitive.[133] Inulluapik's remarks, while buried in M'Donald's prejudicial view that Inuit were unaware of differing lifestyles, showed how the Inuk was critically evaluating his surroundings. According to M'Donald, upon reaching Scotland:

> [Inulluapik] remarked the distance of the houses from the water; a circumstance which surprised him so much, that he expressed great astonishment that people could live in such situations. He seemed, as yet to have had no idea of the possibility of deriving the means of subsistence from any other source than the sea. Nor is it wonderful that he

[131] For an informative visual portrayal of why Inuit believe Qallunaat are oblivious to other lifestyles and for astute observations on the dominant white society, see *Qallunaat! Why White People are Funny*, (2006). Nungak, "Introducing the Science of Qallunology," 24.

[132] For an oft-quoted dissection of the concept of cultural incommensurability that was developed in East-West studies through noticing solely differences across cultures rather than similarities, see Zhang Longxi, "The Fallacy of Cultural Incommensurability," in *Unexpected Affinities: Reading Across Cultures,* ed. Zhang Longxi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 3-26. For a scholarly contextualization of the concept within the school of anthropology, see Richard Handler, "The Uses of Incommensurability in Anthropology," *New Literary History* 40:3 (2009): 627–647.

[133] Jones makes only one reference to the biased lens of M'Donald in his account of Inulluapik's experiences. Jones admits, "Eenoolooapik's biographer probably revealed more about himself than he did of Eenoo" when considering M'Donald's argument that the Arctic environment had not prepared Inulluapik for the "refined" society in Aberdeen. See Jones, "The Inuit as Geographers," 60. See the original passage that Jones references, M'Donald, *Narrative,* 24.

> should have held this opinion, for his experience had been gathered from his own barren land, which produces little fitted for the purposes of man, save the moss for his winter's lamp.[134]

M'Donald assumed that Inulluapik's environment limited his ability to progress towards a European ideal of civilization, and his feelings towards Inulluapik garnered sympathy for his lack of knowledge of "advanced" societies such as Aberdeen. Again, from their arrival in Aberdeen, M'Donald assumed that Inulluapik, or Inuit from Tinnujivik at large, had "no idea" of outsiders. M'Donald's interpretation of Inulluapik's comments were shaped by this romanticization of his "primitive isolation" that led to exaggerations in Inulluapik's knowledge and analytical judgements of outsiders.

Once Inulluapik was settled in, he became a popular attraction in Aberdeen simply because the Inuk fit the non-Inuit mould of the Aberdonian idea of an authentic "uncivilized" Inuk that possessed "redeemable" qualities.[135] M'Donald claimed that the news of Inulluapik's arrival caused a stir of interest, equivalent to the excitement over a museum exhibit.[136] On one occasion, Penny insisted that Inulluapik wear his traditional clothing and demonstrate his kayak skills on the River Dee to an audience. However, according to M'Donald, Inulluapik "despised" his conspicuous display:

> At the urgent solicitations of his numerous friends, [Penny] allowed Eenoolooapik to display his dexterity in the management of his canoe on the river Dee. On this occasion he was with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon to exhibit himself in his native costume; but so changed were his opinions on the subject of dress, that he only did so, on being assured that he would never be asked to put it on again.[137]

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[134] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 13-14. In other Qallunologies, comments on Qallunaat idiosyncrasies by Inuit related to landscaping inform this analysis. For example, in Freeman's memoir, she references the Qallunaat practice of not walking on manicured lawns and owning land for aesthetic purposes. See Freeman, *Life Among the Qallunaat*, 48. In another Qallunology, an Inuit-led film produced by Mark Sandiford makes similar comments about how the modern Qallunaat practice of camping in government-maintained parks with neatly landscaped individual campsites strikes the Inuit as peculiar. See *Qallunaat! Why White People are Funny* (2006).
[135] Chambers, "Eenoolooapik, the Esquimaux," 99-100. M'Donald, *Narrative*, 4.
[136] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 19-20.
[137] Ibid., 25-28. Inuit studies scholar Jones argues that Inulluapik's reluctance to Penny's insistence was due to his newfound appreciation for European clothing and customs and his supposed dislike for his "conspicuous"

As a result of this strenuous activity in the heat of an Aberdonian summer, Inulluapik fell extremely ill and, according to M'Donald, almost died of pulmonary infection.[138] Perhaps the most important revelation from this circumstance was Penny's insistence on Inulluapik's performance, notwithstanding Inulluapik's keenness or well-being. This display revealed how valuable Inulluapik was to Penny's attempts at stirring interest amongst Western audiences towards the exceptionality of Inuit from Tinnujivik.[139]

When examining why Inulluapik's visit stirred local curiosity akin to a museum exhibition, it is important to consider the role of exaggerated authenticity and primitiveness in the Western view of Indigenous peoples during the period. As Paige Raibmon has shown, displaying an "authentically primitive" Indigenous person through a live exhibit was not uncommon in Western public spheres.[140] Following Raibmon's argument, this live exhibit of Inulluapik was an example of settler colonial ethnocentricity and an incidence of salvage anthropology to display said supposedly "uncivilized" and "primitive" cultures. In doing so, Inulluapik's performance on the River Dee provided the framework for non-Inuit ideas of an

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appearance. While Jones and M'Donald recognize that the weather on that day was unusually mild, it is more probable that it was too hot in Scotland, even in winter, to wear clothes fit for an Arctic climate. Jones, "The Inuit as Geographers," 61. Inulluapik's performance as an authentic Inuk was described in a literary discussion of Arctic settler colonialism as "putting himself on display." See Robert Ruby, *Unknown Shore, The Lost History of England's Arctic Colony* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2014).

[138] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 26.

[139] This chapter is indebted to Raibmon's argument that live exhibits were a pillar of settler colonial ethnocentricity and used as a tool by early salvage anthropologists to display supposedly uncivilized primitive cultures. In doing so, instances such as Inulluapik's performance on the River Dee formulated the non-Inuit idea of exaggerated authenticity and the framework for non-Inuit ideas of Inuit-ness. Furthermore, this circumstance proves Raibmon's hypotheses that "life exhibits were tools for asserting ruling-class authority." For further review of this scholarly dissection of performance and authenticity in the live exhibition of various Indigenous peoples to Western audiences, see Raibmon's, *Authentic Indians*, 5, 45. For another scholarly exploration of how the line between ethnology and entertainment blended during the display of Indigenous peoples for Western audiences, see Judith McKay and Paul Memmott, "Staged Savagery: Archibald Meston and His Indigenous Exhibits," *Aboriginal History* 40 (2016): 181–203. McKay and Memmott importantly distinguish the exaggerated nature of these exhibits as being increasingly sensationalist rather than accurate representations of Indigenous cultures.

[140] Raibmon, *Authentic Indians,* 5, 45.

exaggerated authentic Inuk and asserted a power dynamic that considered Inulluapik "primitive" and the Aberdonian spectators as "advanced." Furthermore, M'Donald and Penny used Inulluapik's performance as a tool to assert "ruling-class authority."[141]

M'Donald specified that Inulluapik's audience was particularly fascinated by Inulluapik and the environment in which he was raised. In M'Donald's eyes, Inulluapik's redemption was farfetched because the Arctic "could have done little to prepare Eenoolooapik's mind for the refinement into which he had been ushered [at Aberdeen]."[142] In contrast to Inulluapik's Arctic residence, M'Donald romanticized Indigenous development closer to the equator in what he considered more favourable environments:

> The isles of the Pacific have sent of their sons to see the father-land of the faithful missionary,—the dark children of Africa have come to behold and bless the birth-place of liberty to the captive negro,—the simple Hindoo, and the stern Indian, may have trod our soil and wondered at our science,—but all these had the remembrance of much that was lovely and luxuriant in their own fair and fertile homes. Eenoolooapik's memory had no such beautiful resting-places on which to repose and expand itself. In the climes of the south, nature is prodigal of her favours, and lavish of her loveliness, and little would the inhabitants of such regions care for our richest landscapes, if destitute of the decorations and trophies of art.[143]

While M'Donald argued that Inulluapik's isolation in the Arctic climate limited his intellect, he also expressed sympathy that the Inuk was decidedly devoid of cultural complexities such as architecture, art, dress, or cuisine. M'Donald believed these elements of "adornment" accompanied sophisticated Indigenous peoples closer to the equator.[144] Through the lens of

[141] For further review of this scholarly dissection of performance and authenticity in the live exhibition of various Indigenous peoples to Western audience, see Raibmon, *Authentic Indians,* 5, 45.
[142] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 24.
[143] Ibid., 24.
[144] For a scholarly examination of this common European practice that viewed Indigenous peoples less as historical actors than as part of their natural setting, see Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 4. This non-Inuit objectification of Indigenous peoples in their climates was extended to Inuit in the Arctic by Gabrielle Moser, who argued that twentieth-century government photography often displaced Inuit to the background rather than the foreground of photographs and, as a result, they became "objects embedded in the landscape." See Gabrielle Moser, "Object Lessons: Visualizing Displacement in the Canadian Arctic," *Photography and Culture* 11:1 (2018): 92. Based on Trigger and Moser's

Qallunology, M'Donald appeared to be ranking peoples from exotic places according to how closely they paralleled European standards of civilization. That said, M'Donald distinguished Inulluapik's progress towards redemption as lesser than those other Indigenous peoples from warmer climates because the Inuk came from a bleak, desolate environment.[145] As M'Donald compared the differences between Indigenous peoples and Inulluapik, the Scot revealed his commitment to cultural incommensurability and lack of an appreciation towards the Arctic environment's ability to nurture civilization.

M'Donald's emphasis on the fundamental differences between Inuit and European homelands also demonstrated an extension of his cultural incommensurability. Applying modern scholar Zhang Longxi's analysis of cultural incommensurability and the "fallacies in the concept" proves valuable in analyzing M'Donald's Qallunaat-ness. For example, when observing Inulluapik's enjoyment at a performance in a Scottish theatre, M'Donald wrote, "For it seemed as if he fully comprehended the exhibitions and could judge of the assumed character and language of the various performers." Although Inulluapik had mentioned that Inuit partook in similar activities, M'Donald added, "but of course [those pastimes] were on a more diminutive and less refined scale."[146] While M'Donald appreciated Inulluapik's intellectual capabilities to draw comparisons between Inuit and European cultures, M'Donald seemed intent on disproving

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arguments, what the reader might glean from M'Donald's romanticization of Indigenous peoples in their environments is an early development of the trope known by contemporary scholars as the "ecological Indian." This stereotype was enforced by settler-colonial ideas emphasizing the idealization of Indigenous peoples' harmony with nature. For a scholarly foray into how non-Indigenous peoples modernly and historically romanticized Indigenous harmony with the environment, see Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*, 1st ed, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 15-16. The reader might also draw similarities between M'Donald's argument and the 20th century "Eskimo Problem" in Eskimology, discussed earlier in this thesis, which scrutinized Inuit survival in the Arctic climate. For a scholarly overview of the "Eskimo Problem" in twentieth-century Eskimology, see William W. Fitshugh, "Solving the "Eskimo Problem," 165-192. In the "ecological Indian" trope and the "Eskimo Problem," the Arctic environment plays the main role in outsiders' explanation for Inuit survival over thousands of years without outside intervention.

[145] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 24.

[146] Ibid., 35.

any proposed similarities between Inuit and non-Inuit pastimes. Cultural incommensurability offered M'Donald a safeguard for maintaining his hierarchy of cultures, and he neglected a deliberate inspection of their shared ideas, practices, or meanings. As Longxi might suggest, it would have been uncomfortable for M'Donald to appreciate cultural similarities since comparisons would "obscure borderlines and complicate the picture of neatly defined identities."[147]

In non-Inuit settings, Inulluapik was faced with racialized comments from M'Donald that, through the lens of Qallunology, revealed the prejudices within his idea of redemption from the savage state in which he considered the Inuit to be confined. For example, littering his biography with cultural comparisons, M'Donald recorded everything Inulluapik did and ate.[148] In one case, although M'Donald had subscribed to a racialized image of Inuit, he was surprised that Inulluapik did not eat in the "engorging" way he had imagined.[149] According to M'Donald, Inulluapik initially insisted on eating raw meat, but "in a short time his taste in this respect underwent a complete change, and he refused it."[150] Arguably, M'Donald's racial profile of Inulluapik had more to do with his pre-disposed notion that the Inuit were the cultural antithesis of his notion of "civilized" society and thus unequivocally unredeemable. Additionally, despite M'Donald's estimation of Inulluapik's humble background, Inulluapik appeared to integrate into Scottish society. As a result, M'Donald exhibited his surprise when Inulluapik demonstrated

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[147] Longxi, "The Fallacy of Cultural Incommensurability," x-xi.
[148] Food and food preparation have always been associated with non-Inuit stereotyping of Inuit cultural identity. For a scholarly review of how food has shaped outsiders and Inuit perceptions of identity, see Edmund Searles, "Food and the Making of Modern Inuit Identities," *Food & Foodways* 10: 1-2 (2002): 55-78. For a journalistic piece that explores how the historic Eskimo Problem has morphed into a contemporary health fascination of Inuit foodways, see Patricia Gadsby, "The Inuit Paradox," *Discover* 25:10 (2004): 185-188.
[149] Later in his account, M'Donald described this preconceived notion about the Inuit engorging style of eating after witnessing a meal amongst Inuit in Tinnujivik. Revealing his Qallunaat-ness that believed advanced persons practiced temperance and manners during meals, M'Donald argued that these Inuit showed no respectability as they engorged at a rate that would exhaust their supply of seal meat exceptionally quickly. See M'Donald, *Narrative,* 90.
[150] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 36.

potential for intellectual improvement in the presence of a "refined" environment, which encouraged him to inquire more profoundly into Inulluapik's mind and intellect.

Although M'Donald equated the Aberdonian interest in Inulluapik to a similar curiosity in an animal in a zoo, he emphasized that this reaction was mixed with a degree of compassion because of Inulluapik's supposed stunted intellectual qualities. In addition, M'Donald asserted that Inulluapik's popularity was attributed to his humanity. Inulluapik's lack of opportunities to interact with civilized society due to his "desolate" upbringing also triggered sympathy amongst his audience. When explaining this fascination, M'Donald reflected,

> There is a feeling of romantic interest associated in the minds of most people with the arrival of "strangers and foreigners" on our shores; and this principle of curiosity, as it is sometimes called, is heightened if the visitants be of a rude, uncivilized race. If it is not the same, it seems to be akin to the motive which induces us to visit a menagerie or a museum; although, when we gaze upon a fellow mortal in the uncouth aspect of barbarism, there may be more of *sympathy* mingled with the feeling than when we study the habits and instincts of the natural denizens of the forest.[151]

According to M'Donald, Inulluapik's humanity and advanced intellect, beyond that of non-human animals, influenced his interest in Inulluapik's intellectual capacities. Additionally, M'Donald's early Victorian mindset filtered his observations of Inulluapik's intelligence that regarded formal education as a marker of intelligence and, by virtue, Inulluapik expressed "untutored reason."[152] This notion was consistent with the early nineteenth century colonial idea that used a Western model of education as a method for assimilating Indigenous peoples to "civilization."

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[151] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 19.
[152] Ibid., 19.

Imitation and Phrenology

M'Donald's praise of Inulluapik's ability to imitate civilized customs exposed his ethnocentric concepts of intelligence, mirroring the influential theories on imitation and phrenology espoused by his scientific contemporaries. For example, M'Donald directly referenced phrenology, an early nineteenth-century science, in his assessment of Inulluapik's capabilities: "Indeed, [Inulluapik] seemed to possess in a high degree those faculties of mind which phrenologists have adduced as finding their legitimate exercise in the observation of the relative situation, extent, and peculiar appearances, of places."[153] M'Donald utilized phrenology to attribute Inulluapik's awareness of new surroundings and fluency in geography as the basis for delineating his intelligence and the Inuk's potential for redemption from ignorance.[154]

According to mid-nineteenth-century phrenologist thinking, imitation was the leading faculty of displaying intellectual aptitudes. In this theory, imitation signalled children's development, which M'Donald extended to explain Inulluapik's cognitive progress as child-like.[155] These influences further revealed M'Donald's ethnocentric explanation of Inulluapik's intelligence and solidified his assumption that Inuit intellectual development was inferior to that of Europeans. M'Donald often reduced Inulluapik to a child-like state of intelligence while

[153] Ibid., 72.
[154] Ibid., 72. This theory, contemporarily known as pseudoscience, was developed by phrenologists in the early to mid-nineteenth century who claimed that the conformation of the skull indicated mental capabilities. For a basic overview of the history and the pitfalls of phrenology that led to the development of contemporary neuroscience, see D. Simpson, "Phrenology and the Neurosciences: Contributions of F.J. Gall and J.G. Spurzheim," *ANZ Journal of Surgery* 7:6 (2005): 475. James Poskett called phrenology the most influential Euro-American mental science in the Victorian period, pointing to evidence that phrenologist George Combe's *The Constitution of Man* exceeded the sales of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* by the early twentieth-century. Poskett also utilizes examples of grave theft in the Arctic by explorers William Parry and George Lyon, who took Inuit skulls to show the wide-reaching evidence and verity of phrenology in the Arctic. As scholars point out, this incident concept links salvage anthropology and phrenology. See James Poskett, *Materials of the Mind: Phrenology, Race, and the Global History of Science, 1815-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 1-13, 20, 41-42, 46.
[155] Influenced by fellow scholars in the phrenological field, nineteenth-century theologian Daniel Morse Welton critiqued imitation as having various imperfections and abuses of power. See Daniel Morse Welton, *Imitative Faculty, Its Use and Abuse: A Lecture Delivered Before the Acadia Lyceum, Wolfville, N.S. Feb. 2, 1858* (Halifax: Christian Messenger Office, 1858), CIHM/ICMH microfiche series; FC 02 0203 no. 42771, 6.

affirming his evaluation of Inulluapik's "faculties of the mind." As modern scholars have shown, imitation was celebrated in settler colonial environments as it promoted the assimilation of Black, Indigenous, and Peoples of Colour in colonies and reinforced a power dynamic of the superiority of Euro-Americans over colonized and racialized subjects. This confirms contemporary race theorist Kurt Wilson's assertion that white Euro-Americans viewed imitation as not only the method of assimilation, but also the verification of ethnocentricity and the imitator's inferiority. Following Wilson's model, M'Donald considered Inulluapik's ability to imitate as a marker of child-like intelligence, and he diminished the Inuk in his "criterion for racial categorization."[156]

To this end, M'Donald argued that Inulluapik consistently proved his intellectual capacity by modifying his appearance and imitating non-Inuit customs. For instance, because of the Inuk's brief stay in Aberdeen, M'Donald suggested that Inulluapik had acquired "habits of extreme cleanliness."[157] When considering this supposed hygiene development by Inulluapik, M'Donald remained surprised and contended,

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[156] Kirt H. Wilson, "The Racial Politics of Imitation in the Nineteenth Century," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89:2 (2003): 89. Wilson offers a thoughtful exploration of the nuances of power dynamics in Victorian era settler colonialism and the use of imitation to establish superiority over colonized and racialized subjects. I am indebted to Wilson's argument that white Euro-Americans viewed imitation as the verification of their advanced civility and the imitator's primitiveness, thus establishing the "other" as inferior. My conclusions about Inulluapik's resistance to M'Donald's binary Qallunaat-ness are inspir3ed by Wilson's analysis of how Black Americans utilized imitation as a tool to exert their rights and take power back from slave-owners in Antebellum-era southern United States. In another important contribution to Qallunology, Native Studies Scholar Christopher G. Trott argues that the changing axis of "othering" Inuit by non-Inuit does not mirror how Inuit represent themselves during these periods of contact and neglected contemporary Inuit concerns. See Christopher G. Trott, "The Dialectics of "Us" and "Other," 171-190.

[157] Due to the confines of his middle-class mindset, M'Donald fails to mention that not more than a decade prior, Edinburg, Haddington, and Glasgow had massive cholera outbreaks described as an epidemic in 1831 and 1832, disproportionately infecting the working-class population. For a first-hand medical explanation of the history of cholera in Britain, see Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, "History and Medical Treatment of Cholera, as it Appeared in Sunderland in 1831. Illustrated by Numerous Cases and Dissections," *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* 38:112 (1832): 87-136. For an interesting article about how the medical misinformation during the period stirred a civil uprising, see Sean Burrell and Geoffrey Gill, "The Liverpool Cholera Epidemic of 1832 and Anatomical Dissection—Medical Mistrust and Civil Unrest," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60:4 (2005): 478-498. For a contemporary medical science historical overview of the cholera epidemic in Europe during the 1830s, see Samuel K. Cohn Jr., "Cholera's First European Tour," in *Epidemics: Hate and*

> The Esquimaux are generally inattentive in that respect; but so complete was the revolution which [Inulluapik's] ideas underwent on this point of propriety, that in a short time he shewed an inclination to be rather fastidious than negligent. [158]

M'Donald also marvelled at how Inulluapik emerged from the "gloom of savage ignorance" and exchanged the familiar furs that kept him warm in the Arctic with a European style of dressing.[159] M'Donald was impressed and even claimed that Inulluapik's keen adjustment to life in Aberdeen showed that it was conceivable to "improve the physical appearance of the Esquimaux."[160] Furthermore, Inulluapik proved his redeemable nature, in M'Donald's eyes, by altering his demeanour to fit in the civilized society of Aberdeen.

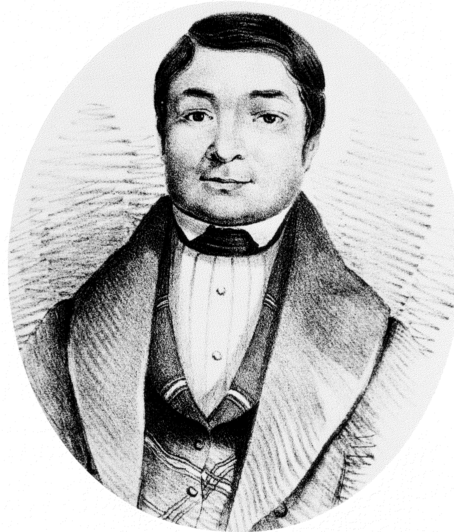
Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS By Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 163-179.

[158] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 11.

[159] Ibid., 10. As mentioned earlier, it is more probable that Inulluapik adapted to the warmer weather by copying the attire of the locals, showing his awareness of not only the environment but also class and culture. Inulluapik showed his understanding of differing survival methods within different climates, food, and peoples, which was sometimes a foreign concept for whalers who often died of frostbite and scurvy in the Arctic. In addition to his explanation for Inulluapik's discomfort with performing on the River Dee, Jones explains that Inulluapik's preference for European-style dress was due to Inulluapik's awareness of his conspicuousness. See Jones, "The Inuit as Geographers," 61. However, this extrapolation benefits the Qallunaat idea that dressing in European-style clothing proved the Inuit redeemable nature. This redeemable Inuk model was also extended to Inuit women. In 1860, when Taqulittuq (Tookoolitoo), Inulluapik's sister, assisted the *Polaris* and became the guide for the non-Inuit expedition, her ability to imitate non-Inuit women was highly regarded. In one instance, Hall wrote that Taqulittuq wore "*crinoline,* heavy flounces, an attenuated toga, and an immensely expanded 'kiss-me-quick' bonnet." See Charles Francis Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux: The Narrative of Captain Charles Francis Hall of the Whaling Barque George Henry from the 29th May, 1860, to the 13th September, 1862* Vol. 2 (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Martson, 1864), 163. Taqulittuq also visited England and met Queen Victoria during her two-year stay in 1855. See Sheila Nickerson*,* *Midnight to the North: The Untold Story of the Inuit Woman Who Saved the Polaris Expedition* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2002), 15. During her initial visit to England between whaling seasons, Taqulittuq met and interacted with William Penny and his wife, Margaret Penny. Later, during the winter that Penny was constructing the permanent Qiqerten Island whaling in 1857, Taqulittuq reconnected with the Penny's and exchanged non-Inuit fashion items with Margaret. The exchange represented the influence of non-Inuit and Inuit women on the whaling station economy. Ball gowns, fancy hats, and garments had a "strong purchasing power," as Inuit women desired these commodities. See Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country*, 28, 138. Heather Davis-Fisch is a pioneering scholar who explored the elements of gender, performance, and sexuality that influenced this cross-cultural dressing in Inuit and non-Inuit whaling contact zones during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Heather Davis-Fisch, "Girls in 'White' Dresses, Pretend Fathers," 84–106. Davis-Fisch's argument is indebted to other scholars that have pointed out that by encouraging Inuit women to wear European-style dress, non-Inuit whalers engaged in a notion of Victorian Qallunaat-ness that sexualized Black, Indigenous, and Women of Colour. Such as Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 6, 190, 207; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* 14-15.

[160] M'Donald, *Narrative*, iii. In the preface of the narrative, M'Donald includes an engraving of Inulluapik wearing European-style dress in Aberdeen, as a testament to the potential for improving the Inuit appearance. See Figure 3.

Eenoolooapik (ca. 1820-1847)



From Alexander M'Donald's *A Narrative of Some Passages in the History of Eenoolooapik, a Young Esquimaux.*

Figure 3: Inulluapik in European-Style Clothing[161]

Through M'Donald's lens of mid-nineteenth-century Victorian ideas of respectability and decorum, Inulluapik conducted himself in a manner acceptable by M'Donald in the presence of European women. For instance, M'Donald claimed, "[Inulluapik] shewed none of those fierce and ungovernable passions which characterise man in his savage condition;" instead, Inulluapik was "mild and gentle in his nature, and modest, and even delicate, in his intercourse with female society."[162] Therefore, when referring to Inulluapik's alignment with Victorian principles, M'Donald indicated that "the propriety of Eenoo's behaviour [with women] depended

[161] Ibid., iii.

[162] Ibid., 37. In a literary mention of the Inuk's experience in Aberdeen, Inulluapik's reaction and posture amongst Scots in Aberdeen was regarded by author Robert Ruby as particularly surprising alongside M'Donald, as the Inuk apparently "knew nothing" of the boundaries of class or differing determinants for standards of living. In contrast, I believe Inulluapik knew very much of class and stature in an Inuit community, for instance, M'Donald's reference of how Inulluapik's family rose in class ranking at Aqqijjat shortly after their arrival. Inulluapik may not have known the nuances of a Scottish class system, but to suggest he knew nothing about the structure of society or believed it was not essential to Inuit communities is an oversight. See Ruby, *Unknown Shore.*

principally on his power of imitation."[163] Inulluapik's decorum in the presence of European women, paired with his constant smile, bow, and gesture, encouraged M'Donald's ideas of the Inuk as redeemable by imitation.

These insights into Inulluapik's ability to adapt to new surroundings encouraged M'Donald to inquire further into Inuk's responsiveness, which revealed M'Donald's interest in testing Inulluapik's mental sensitivity. For example, at a dinner party with M'Donald and Penny's peers, the Scots attempted to assess Inulluapik's alertness to the negative qualities of the faculty of imitation:

> One of the gentlemen at the party purposely committed a breach of etiquette, and was immediately followed to the very letter, in his unusual course, by Eenoolooapik. But, being made aware of his error, and of the imposition which was practising upon him, without allowing his self-possession to be at all disturbed, he looked around, and after consulting the countenances of the various individuals, he readily concluded who he ought to imitate.[164]

As a result, M'Donald was pleasantly impressed by Inulluapik's evaluation of the appropriate instances for imitation and celebrated his adherence to the superior aspects of early Victorian respectability. As nineteenth-century theologian Daniel Morse Welton argued, although Victorian scientific thought held that imitation was as universal as humanity, humans were not perfect and, therefore, devoted imitation would inevitably lead to copying negative behaviours.[165] Consequently, through these mental tests, M'Donald divulged his interest in dissecting Inulluapik's mind to determine his susceptibility to the negative aspects of civilized life.

[163] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 22.
[164] Ibid., 22.
[165] Welton, "Imitative Faculty, Its Use and Abuse," 6. These conclusions emphasize M'Donald's interest in testing Inulluapik to determine his vulnerability to copy negative influences and vices.

Conclusion

This chapter contextualized Penny's initial collaboration with Inulluapik in the mid-nineteenth century and the importance of Inuit knowledge in whalers' commercial expansion and success in the eastern Arctic. As whales lured European whalers to the eastern Arctic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these whalers quickly began relying on Inuit knowledge and created economic contacts they established with communities such as those at Aqqijjat. When Inulluapik met Penny at Aqqijjat in 1839, the Nunatsiarmiut had already experienced contact with whalers for several decades, making them keenly aware of nineteenth-century Qallunaat lifestyles. As a result, Inulluapik, far from being the first Inuk to visit non-Inuit homelands, was intent on studying the Qallunaat in Aberdeen and willingly set off on a journey to expand his knowledge of M'Donald's and Penny's homelands. In contrast, revealing his early Victorian Qallunaat-ness and prejudices towards Indigenous peoples, M'Donald made assumptions about Inulluapik's life and curiosity for faraway places, arguing that Inulluapik had no context for understanding non-Inuit cultures.

By conducting a Qallunology of M'Donald's narrative of Inulluapik's transatlantic voyage to Aberdeen, this chapter has argued that M'Donald was heavily influenced by early Victorian opinions of Indigenous peoples. M'Donald's assumptions about Inulluapik's awareness and evaluation of his surroundings in Aberdeen revealed M'Donald's undeniable belief in cultural incommensurability. As revealed by his phrenology of Inulluapik, M'Donald was influenced by scientific racism, which advocated for "primitive mind" theories, shown through his keen interested in understanding Inulluapik's psyche. Aberdonian interest in Inulluapik's "authentic" performance in Aberdeen exposed the non-Inuit mid-nineteenth century practice of ranking Indigenous peoples and measuring their progress towards a Western notion of

civilization. However, Inulluapik's ability to imitate and respond to M'Donald's mental sensitivity testing led to the belief that Inulluapik intellect could be refined and educated about Western civilization.

On the other hand, Inulluapik's perceptions of Aberdonian cultures and his ability to compare Aberdeen lifestyles with those of Inuit offered a fresh view of northeast Scotland. Inulluapik's trip to Aberdeen confronted the colonial construct that defined urban cities as "civilized spaces," in contrast to Indigenous rural or "uncivilized" dwellings. His experience marked a distinct moment in Scottish urban history, albeit in a more provincial northeastern town, similar to other Indigenous peoples' experiences who visited major British cities like London.[166] In Aberdeen, Inulluapik encountered similar instances of racism, empathetic interest akin to an animal in a zoo, a desire to see him perform on the River Dee, and underwent M'Donald and Penny's intellectual testing at upper-class dinner parties. Meanwhile, Inulluapik was the centre of Aberdonian curiosity, and his talent as a geographer was so celebrated that local newspapers discussed his proficiency in imitation and the Admiralty published his maps. Despite M'Donald's suggestions that Inulluapik's "primitive" upbringing represented the antithesis of Aberdonian modernity, Inulluapik demonstrated fluid resistance to M'Donald's divided beliefs and binary ideas of cultural identity. Inulluapik's visit represented the blending of worlds between Inuit and non-Inuit, as well as Aberdeen and Tinnujivik. Because of this, Inulluapik's presence created an "Indigenous Aberdeen," and the public fascination, articles in newspapers, and published hand-drawn maps of Southern Qikiqtaaluk region indicate his lasting mark in the history of Aberdeen during the winter of 1839 to 1840.

[166] Coll Thrush*, Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen represented a new era in Inuit-non-Inuit relationships, as M'Donald came to believe that the whaling industry would benefit from a continued relationship with Inulluapik and expansion into Tinnujivik. Using Inulluapik as a prototype for a redeemable Inuk, M'Donald argued that in addition to accessing an untouched whale stock, an increased European presence in Tinnujivik would provide a positive influence on the Inuit population in the area through contact with civilized people.

The next chapter will analyze Inulluapik's return to his homelands in 1840, and Penny and M'Donald's introduction to Inulluapik's community in Tinnujivik, a place he promised hosted an abundance of whales. After spending the winter in Aberdeen, M'Donald, Penny, and Inulluapik prepared to set sail towards a body of water that hosted plentiful bowheads. During this subsequent journey, Inulluapik proved that Inuit knowledge was essential for the whaler's success in Tinnujivik and for expanding outsiders' views of the Inuit. M'Donald continued to educate Inulluapik in reading and writing in English and further assisted the Inuk in his interest in cartography.[167] During some of these lessons, M'Donald often quizzed Inulluapik on religion and the spiritual world, whereas Penny probed him relentlessly about the whales in Tinnujivik.[168] The expedition seemed to be hinged on determining whether Inulluapik's intelligence was reliable enough to support whaling endeavours and assist in expanding on non-Inuit geographical knowledge of Qikiqtaaluk.[169] While the whalers were intimate with Baffin Bay and the Danish

[167] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 41-42. M'Donald noted that Inulluapik's lengthy and deadly illness often prevented his education in the Christian religion back in Aberdeen. However, during the journey back to the ice, Inulluapik's condition improved immensely. M'Donald interestingly noted that Inulluapik said there is "too much cough" in Britain compared to the Arctic.

[168] Ibid., 74. This concept of educating the Inuit in the Christian religion and debasing their spirituality as paganism will be explored further in chapter three.

[169] At this point, non-Inuit were unaware that Qikiqtaaluk was an island separate from the North American coast besides Martin Frobisher's remarks from his Northwest passage journey in the sixteenth century. For a contemporary survey of Frobisher's journey, see James McDermott, *The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island, 1578* Vol 6 (London: Hakluyt Society: 2001).

colonial settlements in the Kalaallit Nunaat territories, M'Donald and Penny acknowledged their ignorance of Inulluapik's homelands. Throughout the summer spent north of the sixty-sixth parallel in Baffin Bay, Inulluapik, Penny, and M'Donald's adventures exposed how the non-Inuit compared the Nunatsiarmiut to those the Kalaallit (West Greenland Inuit).

Chapter Three: "All the same as the Kudloonite:" Qallunology in Tinnujivik, The Summer of 1840

> The time was now come when Eenoolooapik must forego the pleasures of civilized life, and exchange the comfort and gaiety, in which he had for some time lived, for the rude hut of the Esquimaux, and the equally rude companionship of its inhabitants. But these considerations, if they occurred to him at all, were counteracted by other and more powerful feelings; for he now shewed considerable anxiety to depart.[170]
>
> —M'Donald, *Narrative*.

Whales Watching People

Based on interviews with Inuit, some scholars have suggested that bowhead whales distinguish between human hunters, choosing to offer its body based on their judgement of humans. According to this Inuit understanding, "[The] whales watched people from their own country, or nunat. 'Those who feed the poor and the old, we'll go to,' the whales would say. 'We'll give them our meat. They made this choice based on the moral worth and ceremonial care of the people who ate them."[171] As environmental historian Bathsheba Demuth has summarized,

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[170] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 41.
[171] Bathsheba Demuth, *Floating Coast: An Environmental History of Bering Strait* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2019), 20. I borrow this concept from Demuth's seminal study on the environmental history of Bering Strait, which explored the prominence of whaling in the area. I am inspired by her argument that the natural world is as much of a character enacting agency in historical episodes as humans, as she states, "With no hard line between humans and other persons, land and seas are alive with sentience, judgement, and perilous whims." In many cases throughout her work, which I engage with in this chapter, Demuth argues that materialistic and non-spiritual hunters of the whale did not understand the animal's judgement, spiritual essence, or language. According to this Inuit understanding, summarized by Demuth, the Inuit hunter's spiritual connection to the whale transcends gender and spirituality, "Women spoke with the whales through solitary ritual, where the tongue of a particularly powerful shaman transformed into a whale's tail. On Sivuqaq [St. Lawrence Island], Yupik brought meat to the sea, to feed the

these Inuit perspectives claim, "Whales lingered among the ice floes to watch, to judge, and to discuss with their families whether—and to whom—they would give over their bodies."[172] I agree with Demuth's argument that demonstrates how Indigenous and non-Indigenous hunters have incommensurate understandings of the fluidity between humans and whales, whale values, and the future of their peoples and whales. However, this evidence also reflects the deep Inuit understanding, knowledge, and spiritual and cultural connection with whales. During the summer of 1840 in Tinnujivik, it was more likely that the bowhead whales responded to the shifting geography of danger that began to include non-Inuit hunters, hiding under the ice as they had done to evade Inuit hunters. In Tinnujivik, Inuit were experts at whale hunting, and non-Inuit relied on this fluency with the whale's behaviour. At the same time, it was the commercial whalers who perceived themselves differently in scale, ideology, and understanding of their ecological impact compared to Inuit hunters.

After spending the winter in Aberdeen, Inulluapik guided Penny and M'Donald towards Tinnujivik in the summer of 1840, a place where Inulluapik knew the whales were abundant and provided a dependable food source to Inuit hunters. Penny, the non-Inuit whaler, hoped he would find an abundance of whales and a potential bowhead stock that could sustain a permanent

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bowheads that feed them, while singing in low voices. Without these preparations, the whales would tell each other that the humans were not ready, morally, or practically. Unwilling to die for the unworthily, they would keep to their own country." See Demuth, *Floating Coast,* 20-21. Demuth further elaborated on her theory that whales judge humans during a lecture at Harvard University in 2019. See Bathsheba Demuth, "Do Whales Judge Us? Interspecies History and Ethics (Lecture at The Environment Forum at the Mahindra Center/Harvard University)," YouTube video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yh_kJA0Naug December 5, 2019. While these claims highlight the role of whales in Indigenous worldviews, I can appreciate that this concept can be an oversimplification in practice. It does not account for the Euro-American industrial enterprise that reigned for hundreds of years and slaughtered an indefinite number of whales. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Inuit communities have attributed the near extinction of bowhead whales that Inuit relied on to non-Inuit commercial whalers. In addition, I respect the Indigenous knowledge, narratives, and understandings of the natural world, and the concept of Indigenous reciprocity with the natural world via their shared languages with flora and fauna is not a new concept. See Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013).

[172] Demuth, *Floating Coast*, 264.

British settlement. After they spent the summer mooring in the coastal inlets of the Kalaallit Nunaat and later Tinnujivik, Penny began to rely on Inuit knowledge and understanding of bowheads. M'Donald noticed that, by contrast to the non-Inuit that season, the Inuit in Tinnujivik had no trouble securing a copious number of whales, as he saw the shores were littered with whale carcasses. In addition to the remnants of successful Inuit whale hunts, the non-Inuit hunters found a complex culture in Tinnujivik based on a deep understanding of the behaviour and availability of whales. Because of this connection and Inulluapik's willingness to translate information about whales, the non-Inuit showed their reliance on Inuit but also constructed ideas of how they differed from Inuit hunters. As he did with Inulluapik in Aberdeen, M'Donald made suppositions and assumptions about these Tinnujivik Inuit connections to the whale. Based on his notion of cultural incommensurability, M'Donald's comments revealed the boundaries in his binary ideas of Inuit as subsistence and non-Inuit as commercial whalers while ignoring the Inuit cultural and spiritual understanding of the animal.

This chapter will follow Inulluapik, Penny, and M'Donald on the first non-Inuit whaling expedition to Tinnujivik in 1840 to consider M'Donald's survey of Inulluapik's homelands and his fellow Inuit. The analysis begins with an interlude where Penny, Inulluapik, and M'Donald spent time with the Kalaallit and Danes in the Danish colonies along the Kalaallit Nunaat before heading to Tinnujivik. M'Donald's interpretation of Inulluapik's experience meeting these Inuit further solidified the idea that the Inuit in Tinnujivik, led by Inulluapik, could be "civilized" as the Kalaallit had been by the Danes. By that, I argue that the Danish colonization of the Kalaallit Nunaat served as a model for Penny and M'Donald's strategy to bring civilization to Tinnujivik Inuit by way of a permanent whaling station and extending Christian missionary efforts to the region. To that end, I argue that the non-Inuit created the distinction between non-Inuit whalers

as commercial and Inuit as subsistence whalers as an extension of their binaries between civilized and uncivilized. But in reality, subsistence and commercial whaling efforts were blended and influenced by each other in mid-nineteenth century Tinnujivik, indicated by Penny's use of Inulluapik's knowledge, geographical expertise, and kinship networks.

Borrowing Nungak's analytical lens of Qallunology, I explore how M'Donald's experience in Tinnujivik revealed the intricacies of his European Qallunaat-ness, especially as it pertained to gender and spirituality. My analysis is inspired by Haudenosaunee scholar Susan M. Hill's "Big Chief" theory that argues Western histories of Indigenous peoples focused on one presumably high-class male Indigenous person, sometimes of equivalent nobility such as a chief, as evidence of possible assimilation of Indigenous peoples.[173] Considering this, M'Donald's summer in Tinnujivik confirmed that conversion to Christianity was essential in his model for "civilizing" the Tinnujivik Inuit, and he proposed that Inulluapik could prepare his countryfolk for the reception of the Bible. Following Hill's argument that these "Big Chief" narratives ignored Indigenous women's experiences, I will analyze the gendered notions in M'Donald's idea that Inulluapik, an Inuk male, would lead the Inuit in Tinnujivik towards "civilized" acculturation. M'Donald's interpretation of the Tinnujivik Inuit and their supposedly extreme reactions, ignorance, and apathy emphasized M'Donald's lack of understanding of a culture of reciprocity and differing customs. His later anecdotes about the Inuit women also emphasized his adherence to Christian respectability and Victorian ideas of women's role in society. Because of this, I argue that M'Donald's remarks about domesticity, menstruation, marriage, facial tattoos, and shamanism revealed a paternalistic dynamic to his Qallunaat-dom.

[173] Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of,* 2-3.

This chapter concludes by exploring the legacy of the Inulluapik and Penny's relationship in the decades that followed their collaboration from 1839 to 1840. After spending the immediate seven years on sequential whaling voyages to reunite with Inulluapik in Tinnujivik, Penny finally constructed a permanent whaling station on Qiqerten Island in 1857. Although Inulluapik had died ten years earlier, Penny still employed various Inuit during that first year at the station and spent the winter laying the foundations for an economic system informed by his familiarity with the Danish colonies and his Christian faith. Among the crew was Moravian missionary Matthaus Warmow, who was responsible for assessing the feasibility of a missionary effort in Tinnujivik. Warmow's perceptions of Inuit at Qiqerten Island in 1857 differed from M'Donald's observations of Inulluapik and Tinnujivik in 1840, which revealed that Victorian Qallunaat-dom was ever-shifting and adapting to differing concepts of the redeemable Inuk.

Qallunology in Danish Greenland

As the *Bon Accord* reached the icy waters of Davis Strait in early May 1840, Penny did not head directly for Inulluapik's homeland in Tinnujivik but proceeded north following the whaling route along the east side of Baffin Bay.[174] As the ship anchored in various Danish settlements, such as Qeqertarsuaq (Leively on Disko Island) and Kalaallisut (Upernavik), M'Donald noted Inulluapik's excitement about discovering the east side of Baffin Bay, where Inulluapik observed the similarity of the topography with that of the west side of the bay.[175] The ship spent much of the summer entertaining the residents of various Danish colonial settlements

[174] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 49. M'Donald explains Penny's rationale for proceeding to Kalaallit Nunaat was to capture a full cargo of whaling spoils in the usual whaling Baffin Bay whaling grounds. Then, Penny planned to proceed to Tinnujivik to evaluate Inulluapik's intelligence about whales. Another option was to leave the ship anchored at Aqqijjat and proceed to Tinnujivik overland via an isthmus.
[175] Ibid., 50.

on the southwest coast of Kalaallit Nunaat, where M'Donald, Penny, and Inulluapik encountered the Kalaallit who had been in close contact with Danish colonizers and Moravian missionaries.[176]

After passing the sixty-sixth parallel on May 18th, Inulluapik met his first group of Kalaallit from a Danish settlement near Sisimiut (Holsteinborg).[177] As Penny invited the group of Kalaallit onboard, M'Donald noticed,

> Eenoo appeared to be considerably excited when he heard of their coming, and, as soon as they were sufficiently near, he hailed them in his native language. On their coming on board, he examined their canoes and fishing implements with a practised eye, and declared them excellent.[178]

M'Donald explained that Inulluapik was delighted to converse with them in a similar dialect.[179] Yet while M'Donald noticed the ease with which Inulluapik interacted with these Inuit, M'Donald also emphasized the differences between Inulluapik and Kalaallit. M'Donald went so far as to infer that Inulluapik considered these Kalaallit "Much inferior in point of personal

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[176] Danish colonization and Moravian missionary efforts in the Kalaallit Nunaat are captured extensively in scholarly literature. See Peter Andreas Toft, "Moravian and Inuit Encounters: Transculturation of Landscapes and Material Culture in West Greenland," *Arctic* 69:5 (2016): 1-13; Beatrix Arendt, "Caribou to Cod: Moravian Missionary Influence on Inuit Subsistence Strategies," *Historical Archaeology* 44:3 (2016): 81-101; Thea Olsthoorn, "Healing Body and Soul in Labrador: The Practice of Medicine by Early Moravian Missionaries," *Journal of Moravian History* 19:2 (2019): 156-181; Ian Randall, "Early Moravian Spirituality and Missionary Vision," *Wesley and Methodist Studies* 9:2 (2017): 123-140; Claire McLisky, ""A Hook Fast in His Heart:" Emotion and "True Christian Knowledge" in Disputes Over Conversion between Lutheran and Moravian Missionaries in Early Colonial Greenland," *Journal of Religious History* 39:4 (2015): 575-594.
[177] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 49-50. M'Donald mentions that the *Bon Accord* reached the sixty-second parallel on May 12th, and subsequently passed the sixty-sixth parallel two days later. Due to weather, the ship idled close to the land. On May 18th they entertained this group of Inuit probably somewhere near the town of Sisimiut, known by whalers as Holsteinborg, a Danish settlement close to the sixty-sixth parallel. Some whalers regarded Sisimiut as one of the "finest cultivated and best civilized settlements in Davis Strait," due to the Danish establishment of Christian missions, and the enforcement of Danish systems that governed and extracted knowledge and labor from the Inuit. When the *Camperdown* passed the settlement in 1861, the whaler's chief engineer Alexander Smith advised that in Sisimiut, Inuit are subject to Danish laws through the authority of the governor and the priest, who cultivate a high commission and salary. In Sisimiut, the Danish governor and priest "[collect] all the skins and blubber of these animals from the natives at a mere nominal price, giving them in exchange Danish paper money, and this in return for any trifling article they may require." See Smith, *An Account of a Voyage to Greenland Aboard the Whaler S. S. Camperdown in the Year 1861*, 81. In a scholarly review of the history of whaling in Sisimiut, Soren Thuesen argues that the eighteenth-century shift to wage labour in the Danish colony caused dramatic social ramifications amongst the Inuit community. See Thuesen, "Local identity and History of a Greenlandic Town," 60.
[178] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 50.
[179] Ibid., 50.

appearance to their brethren of the west side."[180] Inulluapik's declaration surprised M'Donald as he regarded the Inuit residing in Danish colonies, such as Sisimiut, as "civilized" and the Nunatsiarmiut as "wild."

As the *Bon Accord* steamed further north along the Kalaallit Nunaat, Inulluapik met Danish colonizers at Qeqertarsuaq.[181] Major Fasting, the Danish inspector responsible for the Danish settlement, engaged a similar Qallunaat-ness to M'Donald, especially in their shared interest in improving the Inuit intellectual capacity through Western models of education. For instance, M'Donald commended Fasting for sending Inuit to Denmark to be educated and later employed at the settlement as clergymen and schoolmasters. Like M'Donald, Fasting believed "the mental capabilities of the Esquimaux were such as to encourage the hope that they would attain proficiency in any of these professions."[182] Fasting took an interest in Inulluapik's beliefs, habits, and opinions. According to Fasting, Inulluapik was an example of an Inuk from the "uncolonized" shores of Qikiqtaaluk who possessed "redeemable" mental qualities like those of the Kalaallit.[183] M'Donald visualized the Kalaallit as "civilized" Inuit and thought Inuit from Inulluapik's homelands in Tinnujivik would require the same interaction with settler civilization to rise from wildness to refinement. Through the lens of Qallunology, M'Donald's narrative of the interactions between Inulluapik and the Inuit and Danes in Kalaallit Nunaat showed his tendency to rank Indigenous peoples according to their progress and assimilation to a Western notion of civilization.

[180] Ibid., 50.
[181] M'Donald explains that this settlement was the flagship settlement in the early days of Danish colonization of the Kalaallit Nunaat. However, when Inulluapik visited, M'Donald states that other Danish settlements farther south had already surpassed Qeqertarsuaq in colonial importance.
[182] Ibid., 53.
[183] Ibid., 53.

M'Donald attributed the Kalaallit's redeemability and improved intellectual development to their exposure to Christianity through missionaries deployed by the Moravian Church in the Danish colonies. Because of this, M'Donald argued that the Kalaallit possessed a substantial advantage in developing the "faculties of the mind" compared to Inulluapik's alleged elementary level. For instance, M'Donald was particularly delighted when some of the resident Kalaallit recited passages from a text that M'Donald referred to as the "Esquimaux Bible."[184] According to M'Donald, in response to their Bible reading, Inulluapik showed the Kalaallit his geographical drawings, which M'Donald suggested was an effort to prove his "elementary" intellect.[185] Still confined by his ethnocentric Qallunaat-dom, M'Donald regarded these Kalaallit as less intelligent than Europeans and maintained that, by way of their lifestyle and environment, "[They] are almost precluded from improving [themselves] by cultivation."[186] Nonetheless, the Danish colony model laid the foundations of M'Donald and Penny's idea that Britain should extend the same Christian missionary efforts in Tinnujivik to advance civilization and redeem the Inuit.

Despite spending almost three months scouring the coastal territories of the Kalaallit Nunaat, Penny had found no whales. Consequently, the *Bon Accord* sailed the treacherous path across Baffin Bay, searching for the entrance to Tinnujivik to test Inulluapik's intelligence that

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[184] Ibid., 50. This "Esquimaux Bible" was probably used by the Moravian Church in the Danish and Labradorian colonies to convey Christian teachings to the Indigenous populations. For an early nineteenth-century version of this Bible see Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren at Nain, Okkak, and Hopedale, *The Acts of the Apostles: Translated into the Language of the Esquimaux Indians on the Coast of Labrador* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1816). A new translation appeared in the late nineteenth century when Anglican Missionary Edmund James Peck was deployed to convert Nunatsiarmiut to Christianity. Peck took an interest in syllabizing the Bible according to Inuit orthography and printed this version for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. See E. J. Peck, *Portions of the Holy Scripture for the Use of the Esquimaux: On the Northern and Eastern Shores of Hudson's Bay* (Printed for the Society for London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1878). Contemporary scholars recently examined Peck's journals and Christian missionary work in Qikiqtaaluk. See Laugrand, Oosten, and Trudel, *Apostle to the Inuit.* As these scholars point out, much more work is required in investigating the missionary presence on Qikiqtaaluk.

[185] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 50.

[186] Ibid., 51.

the waterway hosted plentiful whales.[187] In Tinnujivik, M'Donald's observations of Inulluapik's countryfolk presented further indications of his Qallunaat-dom filtered through his Victorian notions of gender and spirituality.

Gender, Spirituality, and Qallunology in Tinnujivik

In the late summer of 1840, the *Bon Accord* finally entered Tinnujivik with the help of Inulluapik's guidance, and Penny and M'Donald encountered their first Inuit in Inulluapik's homelands. In one of these introductions, the ship came across two Inuit, one of whom Inulluapik recognized from Aqqijjat and the other who, according to M'Donald, had apparently "Never before seen a human-being differing from his own tribe."[188] Upon inviting the pair onboard, the latter Inuk began shouting and leaping, and M'Donald noted, "Eenoo not relishing this behaviour on the part of his countryman, recommended him to desist."[189] After being presented with a gift, however, the visiting Inuk became incredibly expressive. In response, Inulluapik seemingly tried to rectify the situation and "instructed him to thank Captain Penny, which he did, uttering the word *Quinameek* with such frequency and force, that we were fain to put a stop to this expression of his gratitude."[190] Returning to his idea of social etiquette, M'Donald revealed his Victorian Qallunaat-ness by suggesting the visiting Inuk's overly grateful

[187] Ibid., 76.
[188] Ibid., 79.
[189] Ibid., 80.
[190] Ibid., 80. M'Donald's embarrassment on behalf of Inulluapik due to this overt gratitude revealed M'Donald's adherence to the Victorian custom of social respectability. This Qallunaat-ness regarded those who defied social etiquettes as inferior or of a lesser class and cultivated mind. According to this cult of respectability that informed M'Donald's Victorian Qallunaat-ness, "Manners, with some, are the gracious legacy of inheritance, education and environment." See Maud C. Cooke, *Social Etiquette, Or, Manners and Customs of Polite Society: Containing Rules of Etiquette for all Occasions* Vol. 92:92 (London: McDermid & Logan, 1896), 17-18. In these meetings with Tinnujivik Inuit, M'Donald and Penny claimed that, on occasion, Inuit stole from the ship. While it is hard to discern the circumstances that evolved during these supposed robberies, it is essential to note that the culture of reciprocity by way of gifting was a ritual in non-Inuit and Inuit Arctic encounters. See Jérôme Rousseau, "Brief Encounter: Reciprocity between Inuit Hunters and Martin Frobisher," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 29:1 (2009): 60–67.

behaviour mocked Penny's authority and that Inulluapik's distaste for the situation was proof of his elevated intellect. Applying Hill's "Big Chief" framework confirms that this first meeting between Penny and M'Donald and the Inuit from Tinnujivik demonstrated their sense of Inulluapik's potential for leading his fellow Inuit towards the proper behaviour in the presence of non-Inuit. As Inulluapik presented his fellow countryfolk with gifts, they began to express gratitude in the same manner. Yet M'Donald remarked, "Eenoo was considerably displeased at their want of decorum, and instantly interfered to repress their extravagance."[191] M'Donald's dogmatic notion of cultural incommensurability could not comprehend differing cultural customs and reciprocity in inter-cultural relations, as was custom between earlier non-Inuit visitors and Inuit.

As the ship passed by Inulluapik's birthplace, Qimmisut, they encountered two of his immediate relatives. According to M'Donald, Inulluapik remained quiet as they approached. "One of them, however, quickly recognized him, and called out Eenoolooapik!" M'Donald explained that these Inuit "were aware of Eenoo's having visited Britain, but they shewed not the slightest emotion on meeting him, and no greeting of any kind passed between them, farther than what we have described."[192] To M'Donald, their disinterest in the "superior" civilizations in Scotland indicated Inulluapik's and his cousins' apathy toward others. While M'Donald considered Inulluapik as evidence of well-adjusted acculturation with European society, he supposedly shared with his cousins this overwhelming level of "obtuseness" to other people outside of their community.[193] Regardless, Inulluapik recounted his journey to his cousins, focusing on "The manner in which the Esquimaux of the east-land spoke," and told his fellow

[191] M'Donald, *Narrative,* 83.
[192] Ibid., 81.
[193] Ibid., 110.

Inuit that he could speak with the Kalaallit in a similar dialect.[194] Again, revealing his ethnocentric Qallunaat-dom, M'Donald was astonished that Inulluapik did not at once describe the Qallunaat lands nor depict in detail his experience in Aberdeen to his cousins.

Following Hill's "Big Chief" hypothesis, M'Donald and Penny's had high regard for Inulluapik's capabilities to imitate the non-Inuit customs in interactions with other Inuit and acculturate to a respectable level of Qallunaat-ness.[195] In addition, Inulluapik's knowledge of whales and ability to translate during meetings with the Inuit in Tinnujivik were perceived by Penny as invaluable assets as Penny was anxious about the *Bon Accord's* empty casks having yet to catch a whale that season. Thus, when Inulluapik tried to depart the ship with his cousins, Penny did not permit him to leave as he "had further occasion for [Inulluapik's] services."[196] With Penny's focus on proving the region's economic viability for a permanent whaling station in Tinnujivik, he relied heavily on Inulluapik's knowledge to understand the behaviour of the resident bowheads.

Inuit Women

Before they arrived in Tinnujivik, M'Donald's observations were exclusively focused on one male Inuk and entirely neglected the experiences or presence of Inuit women. His only reference to Inuit women was his explanation of Inulluapik's father's supposed rejection of Inulluapik's mother due to her "fading beauty" to espouse the new "fair daughter of the land" once Inulluapik's family arrived in Aqqijjat prior to their meeting. M'Donald claimed Inulluapik's father's ability to navigate a new class system in Aqqijjat through marriage was an

[194] Ibid., 83.
[195] Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of*, 2-3.
[196] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 83.

assertion of his "patriarchal prerogative."[197] Throughout August 1840, however, the *Bon Accord* travelled extensively in Tinnujivik, and M'Donald commented more expansively on the Inuit women he encountered. His views of Inuit women in Tinnujivik were shaped by gender, class, and race, filtered by his Victorian Qallunaat-dom, and dependent on his perception of Inulluapik as a "Big Chief."

In his homelands, M'Donald noticed that Inulluapik was again the "centre of attraction" and drew interest from the residents of an Inuit settlement who came aboard the *Bon Accord*—one of whom was Coonook, an Inuk woman.[198] Influenced by the Victorian notion that women modified their appearance to attract the male gaze, M'Donald implied that Coonook won the affections of Inulluapik simply because she had undergone some measures of hygiene. Illuminating this Qallunaat-ness, M'Donald wrote,

> The features of this girl were naturally of a pleasant cast, and on this occasion they were more than ordinarily attractive. Since coming on board her face had been washed, her jet-black hair combed, braided, and decorated with ribands; and, in short, she displayed such a profusion of charms as immediately won the regard of Eenoo.[199]

While the precise details of Coonook's visit to the *Bon Accord* remain unknown, what is most interesting is that M'Donald noticed her appearance had changed upon coming onboard and that M'Donald perceived this effort as aimed at the benefit of the Inuit and non-Inuit men. M'Donald

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[197] Ibid., 4-5. While an analysis of class is not the focus of this chapter, simply due to M'Donald's lack of mention, class undoubtedly played a significant role in M'Donald's views as an upper-class, educated male practicing medicine in Britain. Class hierarchy was integral to early Victorian Qallunaat-ness. Similarly, as Nungak has argued, the Qallunaat categorization of peoples according to class transcends periods: "There are the poor (yes, there *are* poor Qallunaat!), the lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, upper class, and many variations of sub-descriptions for their wealthy… Whole sections of towns and cities tend to cluster people by their station in life, or economic status." See Nungak, "Qallunology: The Inuit Study of Qallunaat Part II," 90. To that end, we can assume that most of Inulluapik's interactions with Qallunaat in Aberdeen were with middle and upper-class Scots like Penny and M'Donald.

[198] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 85-87. In these instances, Penny and M'Donald relied heavily on Inulluapik to interpret their interactions with Inuit.

[199] Ibid., 87.

also connects this supposedly respectable level of cleanliness as a reason why Coonook caught Inulluapik's romantic interest.

When explaining Inulluapik's infatuation with Coonook, M'Donald disclosed his subscription to a Victorian idea of class mobility and marital purity. As the couple rubbed their noses together, which M'Donald suggested was the style in which "the Esquimaux testify their affection towards each other," the "love-sick" Inulluapik asked M'Donald to marry the couple "*all the same as the Kudloonite [Qallunaat]*."[200] Despite Coonook being engaged to another Inuk, M'Donald stated, "The importance which Eenoolooapik had acquired by his visit to Britain was considered sufficient to nullify any previous engagement."[201] M'Donald argued that Inulluapik's visit to Aberdeen was a justifiable excuse for Coonook to end her impending nuptials, emphasizing Inulluapik's persona as a "Big Chief," or the embodiment of noble acculturation. In other words, Inulluapik's nobility and signs of assimilation to a European-style class hierarchy were sufficient to reverse any of Coonook's previous commitments in M'Donald's eyes. This inference that Coonook could not resist the charms of Inulluapik because he visited a "civilized" society may also have been a projection of M'Donald's patriarchal concepts of class mobility by marriage.[202]

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[200] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 87-88. "Qallunaat" is the modern spelling for the frequently used "Kudloonite" in nineteenth-century records. M'Donald notes that Coonook's influence over Inulluapik was so powerful that Inulluapik would have happily given Coonook his canoe. However, M'Donald said that Penny did not "consent" to this. This was one of several instances where M'Donald mentions the requirement of Penny's consent in the matter of Inulluapik's actions, which suggests that while Inulluapik resided on the *Bon Accord*, his actions were restricted by Penny.

[201] Ibid., 88.

[202] Ibid., 88. As contemporary scholars Signe Arnfred and Kristen Bransholm Pederson have argued, European written accounts of female life, such as M'Donald's, were heavily influenced by Biblical concepts of gender and sexuality. These mindsets included the belief that men were dominant, and women were subordinate, motherhood was sacred, monogamist marriage was virtuous, and female sexuality outside marriage was a sin. See Signe Arnfred and Kristen Bransholm Pedersen, "From Female Shamans to Danish Housewives: Colonial Constructions of Gender in Greenland, 1721 to c. 1970," *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 23:4 (2015), 283. These scholars rely heavily on the concept of "genderlessness" introduced by Inuk scholar Karla Jessen Williamson. Jessen Williamson importantly argues that gender fluidity in Inuit societies is separate from non-Inuit constructs of gender hierarchies and detached from contemporary feminist theories of gender equality. My approach in this chapter is

Revealing his Victorian ideas of respectability and female propriety, M'Donald took inventory of Coonook, her purity, and her practices that he regarded as redeemable. In one instance, he found Coonook alone in a tent isolated from the rest of the village, and as he approached her, the other local Inuit attempted to deter him from bothering her. Trying to explain the occurrence, M'Donald was immediately impressed by the thought that Coonook was "under a periodical separation" for menstruation, "like that recorded of the Jewish females in Sacred Writ."[203] Despite having no evidence or confirmation from Coonook, M'Donald speculated that: "It appeared to me somewhat singular that a custom forming part of the prescribed ordinances of the Mosaic economy should also obtain among the unenlightened savages of the Arctic Zone."[204] M'Donald respected this act of propriety from Coonook and showed his surprise that these Inuit in Tinnujivik expressed such female respectability.[205] M'Donald was noticeably uncomfortable by this interaction with Coonook and possibly

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guided by Jessen Williamson's argument that Inuit hunter-gatherer communities were based not on egalitarianism but, rather, on the fluidity between gender roles. See Karla Jessen Williamson, *Inherit My Heaven: Kalaallit Gender Relations* (Nuuk: Inussuk, 2011). On the other hand, M'Donald's inferences that Coonook had ended her previous engagement also assumed that Inulluapik and Coonook were strictly following M'Donald's biblical ideas of monogamy, and that expressions of female sexuality were only permitted within the confines of marriage. See Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, "The Shaman's Share, or Inuit Sexual Communism in the Canadian Central Arctic," trans. Jane Philibert, *Anthropologica* 35:1 (1993): 59–103.

[203] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 91. For a scholarly overview of Jewish practices related to menstruation and female ritual, see S. J. Siegel, "The Effect of Culture on How Women Experience Menstruation: Jewish Women and Mikvah," *Women Health* 10:4 (1985): 63-74; Rahel R. Wasserfall, *Women and Water: Menstruation in Jewish Life and Law* (London: Brandeis University Press, 1999).

[204] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 91.

[205] According to Sheila Nickerson, female separation during menstruation was common in Inuit nomadic societies. Nickerson explained: "Menstruating women were forbidden to have contact with hunters. They must stay by themselves and eat by themselves – and only what was permitted. The hands of menstruating women appear red to the animals of the sea, and a vapour rises from them, which is distasteful. Anyone who comes in to contact with a bleeding woman gives rise to this vapour and frightens off the seals. Sedna becomes angry. A bleeding woman must announce herself and keep her distance." See Nickerson, *Midnight to the North,* 84. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Demuth addressed this concept more holistically: "Women spoke with the whales through solitary ritual, where the tongue of a particularly powerful shaman transformed into a whale's tail." See Demuth, *Floating Coast*, 30. For other references to Inuit female separation during menstruation, see Edith Turner, "American Eskimos Celebrate the Whale: Structural Dichotomies and Spirit Identities among the Inupiat of Alaska," *The Drama Review 37*:1(1988), 98–114, 100; Thomas Stone, "Making Law for the Spirits: Angakkuit, Revelation, and Rulemaking in the Canadian Arctic," *Numen* 57: 2 (2010): 130. More work is needed on how Euro-American biographers inserted their own opinions of Inuit practices, especially those conducted by Inuit women. While some scholars have addressed menstruation, we may never know the motivations or meanings behind Inuit women's rituals.

interacting with her during her menstrual period and was relieved when another male Inuk beckoned him back towards the main group. As M'Donald had spent most of the journey evaluating Inulluapik, a male Inuk, his brief reflections about Coonook showed another gendered avenue of his Victorian Qallunaat-ness that considered a discussion of female reproductive cycles as taboo.[206]

M'Donald's observations of Inuit women's cultural practices, such as face tattooing, further exposed his early Victorian influences as he projected his notions of female marital purity onto these Inuit. M'Donald observed that because Inuit women supposedly practiced face tattooing after puberty, non-Inuit whalers "Had no difficulty in distinguishing those [Inuit women] who had been at the Hymeneal altar."[207] While he was ignorant of the cultural meanings behind facial tattooing, M'Donald explained that facial tattoos conjured a signal to men that Inuit

[206] It is important to note that as a trained surgeon, M'Donald's influences also were defined by nineteenth-century scholarly discourse in medicine, an upper-class male-dominated field at the time. The status of medical knowledge about the female reproductive system and menstruation was relatively slim during the period. For example, one nineteenth-century medical opinion considered sex during female menstruation as a possible cause for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, such as gonorrhea. See Vern Bullough and Martha Voght, "Women, Menstruation, and Nineteenth-Century Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 47:1 (1973): 66.

[207] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 91-92. According to M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom, women's expressions of sexuality or womanhood in their appearance, such as facial tattoos, were solely to attract the male gaze. Inuit feminist research has shown that face tattooing was a rite of passage for Inuit women as they matured into adolescence. While Inuit acknowledge that facial tattoos sparked their partner's attraction, this custom was ultimately governed by women and were expressions of femininity beyond the male gaze. Alethea Arnaquq-Baril provided valuable oral histories from Inuit men and women about the meanings behind facial tattooing. See *Tunniit: Retracing the Lines of Inuit Tattoos,* directed by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril and Peter Aaju, (Nunavut: Unikkaat Studios Inc., 2011), Documentary. See Arnaquq-Baril, "Tunniit: Retracing The Lines of Inuit Tattoos," *Inuktitut* 109 (2010): 42; Jamie Jelinski, "Without Restriction? Inuit Tattooing and the Dr. Wyn Rhys-Jones Photograph Collection at the NWT Archives," *Visual Anthropology* 30:4 (2017): 344–367. The twenty-first-century revival of facial tattooing amongst Inuit women has made waves across Arctic journalism. One journalist noticed, the introduction an Inuktitut Bible by Anglican Missionary E.J. Peck in the late nineteenth century influenced the non-Inuit perceptions of the tattooing practice. The adoption of the Bible and the conversion of many Inuit, mainly Inuit women in the early days, led to the gradual disappearance of facial tattoos from Inuit practice. The verse, known as Leviticus 19:28, was the most direct reference to the discouragement of tattooing in the Bible: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print or tattoo any marks upon you: I am the Lord." See Ashleigh Gaul, "Between the Lines Tracing the Controversial History and Recent Revival of Inuit Facial Tattoos," *Up Here* (2014); Lisa Milosavljevic, "Iqaluit Celebrates Inuit Women's Tattoo Culture at Piujut Arnaqsiutit," *Nunatsiaq News* (February 19, 2020); Jana Angulalik, "Behind the Inuit Tattoo Revival: Once Banned now the Ancient Markings are Making a Comeback," *National Post* (April 21, 2021); Heather Campbell, "Tunniit/Tattoos: The Complicated History of Photographing Inuit Tattoos," *Discover Library and Archives Blog* (January 14, 2021).

women had reached maturity. In other words, M'Donald extended his assumption that Inuit women would be married once they reached maturity, as was the practice in Victorian Europe, and facial tattoos were a marker of that milestone.[208] Consequently, through this Victorian ethnographic lens, M'Donald explained that facial tattooing signalled the passage of Inuit females to marriageable status.

Furthermore, through his Victorian patriarchal Qallunaat-ness, M'Donald explained that the cultural practices of Inuit women, such as facial tattooing, did not fit his mould of the ideal female appearance. For example, he clarified his stance on the practice: "Whatever notions the Esquimaux might attach to [face tattoos] in respect to its adding charms to their female partners, [face tattoos had] a very opposite tendency even in youth, and in old age it is perfectly frightful."[209] Although M'Donald knew nothing of the meanings attached to facial tattoos among Inuit women, his comments revealed his gendered Qallunaat-ness. Through his commentary about Inuit women's appearance and his perceived indications of their marital status to male society, M'Donald revealed the elements in his Qallunaat-dom that intersected with gender and spirituality.

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[208] Other published accounts within M'Donald's era of influence noted their observation that Inuit women married young. As nineteenth-century ethnographer Richard Cull wrote, "It is common for [the Inuit] to marry at the early age of fourteen. One young woman, shall I say, or girl, named Annonapike, married when she was between twelve and thirteen, and was confined before she was thirteen and a-half years of age. Girls in general (from Dr. Sutherland's tables) seem to marry at fourteen, and the boys at sixteen; but then they appear, like those I am describing, to be much older, and doubtless are really mature at an earlier age than English people." See Richard Cull, "A Description of Three Esquimaux from Kinnooksook, Hogarth Sound, Cumberland Strait," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 4 (1856): 216. Cull was influenced by the physician Peter Cormack Sutherland's findings during his winter aboard Penny's overwintering voyage to Tinnujivik from 1850 to 1852. See Peter Cormack Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits in the Years 1850–1851: Performed by H.M. ShipsLady Franklin and Sophia Under the Command of Mr. William Penny in Search of the Missing Crews of H.M. Ships Erebus and Terror* Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[209] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 92.

Despite drawing on their appreciation of the "civilized" Inuit in the Danish colonies, M'Donald described the role of Inuit women in Tinnujivik as solely as domestic nurturers.[210] This is in stark contrast to the emphasis in a mid-nineteenth century whaler's logbook placed on the role of women at the Danish colony of Sisimiut.[211] In the *Camperdown* logbook from 1861 written by Alexander Smith, Inuit women played an essential role in the colony's functioning and their laws:

> The lords of the creation in this rare country, show their prerogative by making the [Inuit] women or [word underlined] Coonas do all the labor part of the [business]. They skin the seals, prep the skins, carry the burdens, cook the meat, but that is easily done considering they only get warm making the clothes, build the huts and make the tents.[212]

This egalitarian, albeit littered with a gender binary, description of Sisimiut considered the crucial role of Inuit women, but it also noted the importance of Danish marriage law in protecting colonial interests. For instance, "If a Dane marry a Huskey or Esquimaux, [it is] in all probability they will end their days in Davis Straits, as the law requires a large sum of money as a ransom."[213] In other words, a Danish man would have to pay a fortune to divorce an Inuit woman, which caused the couple to be bound to the "very soil on which the ceremony was performed," resulting in "precious little chance of wife desertion."[214] Despite this description of the role of Inuit women in Danish colonies which M'Donald would have witnessed earlier in the

[210] This argument is inspired by Anne McClintock's seminal work that examined the gendered experiences of men and women throughout colonization. McClintock argued that colonized women experienced different outcomes than colonized men since they experienced a power imbalance with both male colonizers and colonized. Here, I borrow her "cult of domesticity" analytical framework and apply it to M'Donald's Victorian-era writings about womanhood and his patriarchal ideas about Inuit women's domestic role in Tinnujivik. As McClintock said, "the cult of domesticity was crucial, if concealed, dimension of male as well as female identities—shifting and unstable as these were—and an indispensable element both of the industrial market and the imperial enterprise." Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 5-6.
[211] As previously mentioned, the role of Inuit women in Danish colonies has been the topic of interest of a select cohort of scholars. See Arnfred and Bransholm Pedersen, "From Female Shamans to Danish Housewives," 282-302.
[212] "Coonas" in nineteenth-century non-Inuit records commonly refers to Inuit women. Smith, *An Account of a Voyage to Greenland Aboard the Whaler S. S. Camperdown in the Year 1861*, 81-82.
[213] Ibid., 80.
[214] Ibid., 80.

summer, M'Donald used his Victorian Qallunaat-ness to explain the role of Inuit women in Tinnujivik.

Re-emphasizing his binary notions of gender that rendered motherhood and childrearing as women's primary contribution to Victorian society, M'Donald regarded the Inuit women in Tinnujivik as redeemable in that respect:

> The women are treated with kindness, and the affection which subsists between a mother and her offspring, is, if possible, stronger than what obtains in civilized communities. Her whole attention is bestowed upon her infant, and the punishment of a child is altogether unknown.[215]

Thus, in his Victorian colonial constructs of gender and Christian ideas of womanhood, M'Donald saw that Inuit women in Tinnujivik showed signs of **"**civility**"** by their attentiveness to children.[216] Applying feminist scholar Maria Lugones's concept of "the coloniality of gender" to M'Donald's comments reveals that he relegated Inuit women's roles in the economic and whaling success of in Tinnujivik to domestic child nurturers.[217] While M'Donald saw Tinnujivik

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[215] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 118. According to Lugones, the "coloniality" of gender coincides with the axis of power in colonial societies, where the reproductive biology of individuals defines their gender and restrains their sexuality. Within these guidelines, womanhood is defined by their ability to bear children rather than self-expression of their sexuality. See Maria Lugones, "The Coloniality of Gender," *Worlds & Knowledges Otherwise* (2008): 5-6.

[216] This non-Inuit view that regarded Inuit women's capabilities in child rearing as evidence of their potential redemption is mirrored in other Euro-American writing in the same era. For example, American Arctic explorer Charles Francis Hall observed that Inuit women's maternal nature was beyond that of Euro-American women. In particular, he wrote about Inuit women's practice of carrying their babies in their parka hoods across great distances: "Ye mothers of America! What say you to taking an infant, besides an additional pack of fifty pounds on your back, and starting off on a tramp of several miles—such was the distance to Puto's home—with the thermometer 40° or 45° below the freezing point?" See Charles Francis Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux: The Narrative of Captain Charles Francis Hall of the Whaling Barque George Henry from the 29th May, 1860, to the 13th September, 1862* Vol. 1 (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), 189. During the construction of the Tinnujivik whaling station in 1857, Margaret Penny also praised the local Inuit community's fondness for children and their benevolent practice of taking care of orphans. See Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country*, 39, 98.

[217] M'Donald's disregard for the integral role of Inuit women in the Danish colonies and Tinnujivik ignores a deeper reflection on the gender fluidity between Inuit men and women in whaling communities. In contrast, applying Jessen Williamson's concept of "genderlessness," contemporary scholar Barbara Bodenhorn argued that Inuit women and men relied on each other for their survival and that a reciprocal relationship allowed for looser restrictions and blended Inuit gender roles and responsibilities. For example, Bodenhorn argues that Inuit women often assumed the responsibility of sewing proper hunting clothing and preparing the meat, both of which were essential to the hunter's success. Bodenhorn and Jennessen Williamson also argued that a whale would consider whether a hunter had been in a reciprocal relationship with their partner when offering itself. In harmony with Demuth's explanation that the whale's judgment extends to human constructs of gender and spirituality, Jessen Williamson and Bodenhorn's explained, "The hunters in Alaska believe that the animals give themselves up to men. But animals differentiate and

as a successfully "subsistent" whaling community, he disregarded the complex Inuit gender fluidity and spiritual systems that evolved around their whaling culture to maintain their efficient whale hunts.

Christianization and a Future Tinnujivik Settlement

The longer the *Bon Accord* anchored in Tinnujivik, the more Inuit reported the whales had been abundant that season. Additionally, the ample whalebone and walrus tusks that littered the Tinnujivik villages were physical evidence of the bounteous whale presence.[218] For instance, as some Inuit passed by the whaler*,* M'Donald noticed, "Their canoes were loaded with whalebone, which seemed to be from an animal very recently killed."[219] In addition, the non-Inuit whalers noticed that the greasy and odorous nature of the water indicated that Tinnujivik had recently housed bowhead whales in great numbers.[220] By late August, however, Penny was anxious that he had yet to capture a whale in Tinnujivik.[221] To borrow Demuth's theoretical framework based on her summary of Inuit understandings of whale behaviour, the whales were not offering themselves to these hunters.

Because they perceived that the Inuit did not kill whales beyond "subsistence," Penny and M'Donald deemed Tinnujivik a promising setting for both an overwintering whaling site and a permanent whaling settlement. Because of Inulluapik's strict adherence to his knowledge about whales, M'Donald respected that his intellectual capacity was evidence that a permanent whaling

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prefer to give themselves to specific men 'whose wives are generous and skillful.'" See Barbara Bodenhorn, "I'm Not the Great Hunter, My Wife Is": Iñupiat and Anthropological Models of Gender," 55–74; Jessen Williamson, *Inherit My Heaven,* 136.

[218] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 80.

[219] Ibid., 86.

[220] Ibid., 112. The particularly greenish appearance and the smell of the water was a tell-tale indication, according to Euro-American whalers, that whales were nearby. Known as "animalculea," M'Donald quotes William Scoresby as the inventor of this concept.

[221] Ibid., 84.

settlement would benefit from the help of Inuit, whom he argued were "practically acquainted with the art of whaling, [and] would prove powerful auxiliaries."[222] For example**,** M'Donald argued that the Tinnujivik ecology could sustain other commercial endeavours and that the non-Inuit economy in the area "[needs] not consist of oil and whalebone alone" since furs, game, and ermines were plentiful.[223] After witnessing how the Danish government ran their colonies in the Kalaallit Nunaat, M'Donald and Penny viewed that the "commercial" economy of a potential Tinnujivik settlement would be complemented by Inuit "subsistence" hunters—mainly male Inuit.

Inulluapik had proved to Penny and M'Donald that Inuit intelligence regarding whales was invaluable, but M'Donald still considered Inuit whaling inherently primitive. In other words, M'Donald claimed non-Inuit hunters' supreme commercial capabilities distinguished their whaling practices' scale, ideology, and imagined ecological impact in contrast to Inuit "subsistence" whaling. For example, although M'Donald believed that the Inuit indulged in food ceaselessly when he considered the possibility of the Tinnujivik bowhead stock becoming "fished out" at the hands of Inuit whalers, M'Donald and Penny reasoned that "beyond the few which the [Inuit] kill, the fish are entirely undisturbed" and thus will "fall easy prey to [non-Inuit] fishermen." [224] M'Donald attributed this abundance of whales to the primitive nature of Inuit whaling and "the puny nature of [their] weapons."[225] In other words, Inulluapik's contributions toward the advancement of the whaling industry did not outweigh the foreign whalers' perceptions of themselves as primary drivers of economic and environmental change in Tinnujivik.

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[222] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 132.
[223] Ibid., 131.
[224] Ibid., 126.
[225]Ibid., 127.

A significant component in M'Donald and Penny's plans for a permanent settlement in Tinnujivik was to expand the Moravian Church's missionary efforts to the region. In doing so, M'Donald praises the work of the Moravian Church with Kalaallit and argues that "Missionary efforts have effected a great change in the moral improvement and general comfort of the [East Coast of Baffin Bay]; while, on the western coast [of Baffin Bay], nothing has as yet been done to reclaim the poor benighted savages from their rude and debasing superstitions."[226] Revealing his Qallunaat-dom that viewed Christian missionary work as an extension of civilized philanthropy and a vital foil to European colonization, M'Donald argued:

> There are motives of a far higher character than the mere accumulation of wealth by commercial speculation, to urge philanthropic and enterprising men to make trial of such a scheme. And surely it must be cheering to every enlightened mind to think, that the moral darkness which overspreads those regions with more deep and dreary gloom than even their own long polar night discloses, is destined to be dispelled by the genial rays of the Sun of Righteousness.[227]

M'Donald advised that establishing a permanent settlement in Tinnujivik would incalculably benefit the Inuit and advance the spread of Christianity to the region.

M'Donald felt that specific unredeemable characteristics, such as Inulluapik's adherence to shamanism and his supposed apathy towards others, could be reformed by exposure to Christianity. While he considered Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen as evidence of his well-adjusted acculturation with European society, M'Donald argued that he and his countryfolk shared an overwhelming level of "obtuseness" or "indifference on the happiness or misery of all others around them."[228] M'Donald assumed Inulluapik's indifference towards others opposed early Victorian ideas of Christian missions as saviours. For example:

[226] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 132.
[227] Ibid., 132.
[228] Ibid., 110. Hall also explored this notion of apathy through his observations of Taqulittuq, who served as his guide during his journeys in the eastern Arctic and the United States from 1860 to 1869 and later joined Hall on a Franklin recovery expedition *Polaris* in 1871. When Taqulittuq and Hall visited an Inuk woman named Nukertou as

> [Inulluapik] had evinced many commendable qualities, and, on the whole, had much that was amiable about him; and, perhaps, had his intercourse with society, where the higher sentiments are cultivated, been of longer duration, this apathetic disposition might have been modified.[229]

Through the lens of Qallunology, we see that M'Donald regarded Inuit spirituality as a pagan superstitious religion and attributed their beliefs to Christianity's apathetic antithesis.

M'Donald also viewed Inulluapik's belief in shamans, known by Inuit as angakkuq, as an indication of his spiritual apathy. M'Donald believed that shamanism was an impeding belief system that prohibited Inulluapik's advancement towards the perceived righteous Christian faith. For instance, upon sharing Bible verses and instructing Inulluapik in the Christian faith, M'Donald noticed that Inulluapik "would not be convinced that the Angkuts [angakkuq] were impostors."[230] Nonetheless, M'Donald was confident that some elements of "civilized" religion had permeated Inulluapik's consciousness and noted:

> This appeared to me to be an indication that he had some vague apprehension of its nature, and, had time and proper assistance been allowed him, I have little doubt but the mists of superstition which clouded his mind would have yielded to the purifying and enlightening influences which accompany the reception of Christianity into the soul.[231]

Thus, as per M'Donald's insistent requests, "[Inulluapik] stated that he would speak of it to the Angkuts."[232] Exploring why Indigenous religions were considered paganistic in European writing, historian David Petts argues that "Local religions are defined in opposition to privileged 'world religions'; they become everything that world religions are not, rather than being exposed

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she passed away in 1860, Hall had an argument with Taqulittuq about her insistence to leave Nukertou confined to her "iglu tomb" to pass alone. This isolation during death went against Hall's knowledge of the Bible, which taught disciples to attend to the "sick, the afflicted, the widow, the helpless, the poor." Since Hall had gifted Taqulittuq a Bible on Christmas Day the year before, he was unimpressed by Taqulittuq's reverence for her Inuk traditions. Hall wrote of his frustrations with Taqulittuq: "Kindly I proceeded, to the best of my poor ability, to show [Taqulittuq] wherein it was wrong thus to leave the sick—the dying. [Taqulittuq's] astonishment at what I said seemed as great to her as was mine at her recorded remark." See Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux,* 201-202.

229 M'Donald, *Narrative*, 110.

230 Ibid., 105.

231 Ibid., 105.

232 Ibid., 105.

as a subject in their own right."[233] Applying Petts's argument to M'Donald's praise for Inulluapik's ability to evaluate Christian doctrine through a shamanist lens showed how M'Donald "attempted to translate Indigenous religious practices into terms that could be either assimilated or rejected by the church, according to their similarity to Christianity."[234] Because of this, M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom considered Inuit shamanism as a "pagan" apathetic antithesis to the "advanced" morality of European Christianity.

M'Donald believed that Inulluapik would prepare the Inuit in Tinnujivik for the reception of Christ. M'Donald was delighted as he explained that Inulluapik could be a vessel for the spread of Christianity:

> Ay, and it is an honour well worth aspiring after, to share in aiding the progress of truth over the earth. And who can tell but Eenoolooapik may contribute towards preparing his countrymen for the reception of the gospel, for he has now had a proof of their sad degradation, and can tell them of the land where the Bible is believed; so that, trifling as his visit to Britain may appear, it may be the germ whence civilization may spring and overspread even that dreary wilderness of snow.[235]

M'Donald's Qallunaat-ness regarded the Arctic environment as devoid of intellectual opportunities and believed that Christianity would undoubtedly elevate the Inuit consciousness. Revealing his colonial ideas about the Inuit religions, M'Donald claimed that Inulluapik understood Christianity and "assented generally to [non-Inuit] superior intelligence."[236] Nonetheless, despite M'Donald's trust in Inulluapik for his advocation for the "righteous" qualities of Christianity in his community, M'Donald still believed that this religious improvement could only be achieved by intervention from "civilized" people.[237]

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[233] David Petts, *Pagan and Christian: Religious Change in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011), 31.
[234] Petts, *Pagan and Christian*, 31.
[235] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 132-133.
[236] Ibid., 105.
[237] M'Donald's idea that Inulluapik would prepare his fellow Inuit for the reception of Christianity, believing that Inulluapik could not fully uplift them to an elevated "civilized" religion, was alike Hall attempts to convert Taqulittuq to Christianity. Hall was frustrated when he wrote, "In my arguments with [Taqulittuq,] I told her it was

Inulluapik's Departure

On August 20, 1840, the *Bon Accord* steamed closer to Qimmisut for a final visit, where M'Donald displayed his fondness towards Inulluapik as a "Big Chief," and considered his redeemability to reflect positively on his fellow community members. While entertaining around sixty Inuit, many of whom were Inulluapik's relatives, M'Donald emphasized that these Inuit "were the finest tribe we had hitherto seen; and Eenoo's near relations in particular were much superior in point of personal appearance to the rest."[238] As a parting gift, Inulluapik wrote a letter to the *Bon Accord* owner William Hogarth:

> Mr. Hogarth, Eenoolooapik has arrived in Tenudiackbeek, and intends to remain in Keimooksook. The Innuit say that for many suns the whales were very numerous, but before the ship came, they had all disappeared. They also say that the whales will return when the sun becomes low. Captain Penny has been very kind to me and to many Innuit, who all thank him. Next to him you were kindest to me when I was with you.[239]

Although he expressed high respect for Inulluapik's family and community, M'Donald was particularly surprised by Inulluapik's decision to stay in Qimmisut and not return to Aberdeen, given the contrast between the "filthy habits of the Esquimaux and the miserable huts" in the eastern Arctic compared to the "elegance and comfort" of living quarters in Aberdeen.[240] According to M'Donald, Inulluapik was fully aware of the sacrifice he was making. M'Donald found Inulluapik's decision a "strange and unnatural predilection" to forego "the advantages of civilized life, and return to the barren haunts of his early childhood."[241] It did not occur in M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom that Inulluapik would reject life in Aberdeen, and he reasoned that this decision must have been due to the maternal connection to his homelands.[242]

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not to be wondered at that she and her people believed many unreasonable things when there had been no one to teach them better—no one to tell them of the Bible." Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, 202.

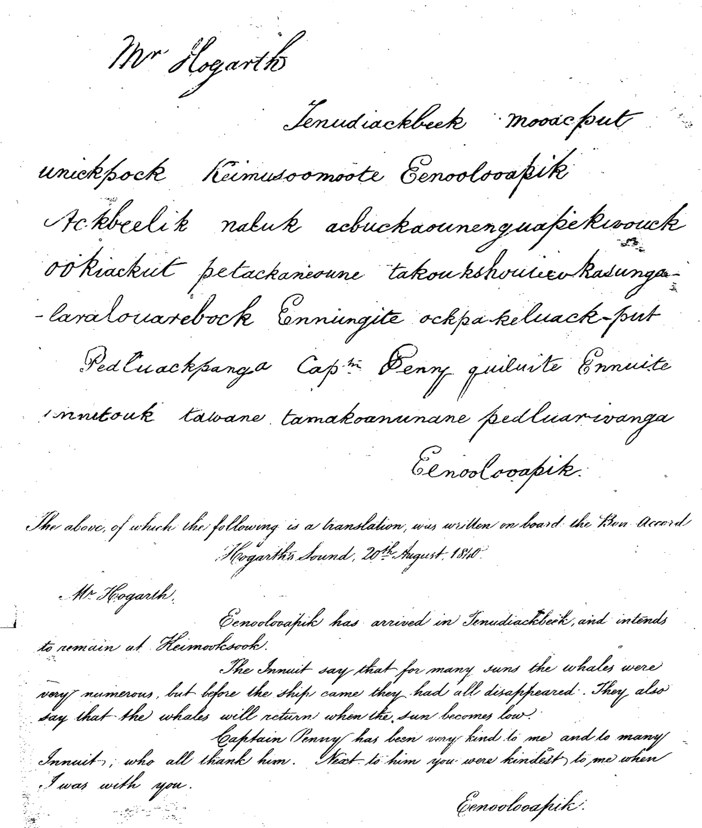
[238] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 101.

[239] Ibid., 102. See Figure 4.

[240] Ibid., 102-103.

[241] Ibid., 103.

[242] Ibid., 103.



Mr Hogarth

Tenudiackbeek mooacput unickpock Keimusoomoote Eenoolooapik Ackbeelik naluk acbuckaounenguapekiwouck ookiackut petackaneoune takoukshouieeo kasunga-laralouarebock Enniungite ockpakeluack-put Pedluackpanga Captn Penny quiluite Ennuite innitouk tawane tamakoanunane pedluarivanga

Eenoolooapik.

The above, of which the following is a translation, was written on board the Bon Accord Hogarth's Sound, 20th August 1840.

Mr Hogarth,

Eenoolooapik has arrived in Tenudiackbeek, and intends to remain at Keimooksook.

The Innuit say that for many suns the whales were very numerous, but before the ship came they had all disappeared. They also say that the whales will return when the sun becomes low.

Captain Penny has been very kind to me and to many Innuit, who all thank him. Next to him you were kindest to me when I was with you.

Eenoolooapik.

Figure 4: Inulluapik's letter to Mr. William Hogarth, *Bon Accord* Owner[243]

Upon Inulluapik's departure, M'Donald and Penny gave Inulluapik various gifts and material items he acquired during his time in Aberdeen, symbolizing their intentions and further plans for a future settlement at Tinnujivik. Among the offerings were copies of Bible scriptures translated into Inuktitut, given to Inulluapik by Aberdonians that re-emphasized his education in European customs during his visit.[244] For instance, one Bible verse M'Donald shared with Inulluapik, translated from English to Inuktitut, was Matthew 1:19, "Joseph, by and by her husband, a very good man, wanted to put her away [where] nobody see."[245] M'Donald argued

[243] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 104.
[244] Ibid., 103-104. M'Donald noted his shortcomings in Inuktitut and advised his reader that Inulluapik's illness prevented further instruction on Christianity. M'Donald is not clear about which Bible he uses during Inulluapik's lessons in Christianity. However, M'Donald mentions that he instructed Inulluapik to translate various Bible verses from Inuktitut to English. Thus, we can gather that the Bible M'Donald used was the Inuktitut version used in the Danish colonies discussed earlier in this chapter.
[245] Ibid., 104-105.

that Western education and further exposure to "civilized" religions would be necessary for Inuit like Inulluapik to move beyond his so-called superstitious beliefs and primitive nature. Nonetheless, M'Donald believed that Inulluapik's "Big Chief" persona showed how he possessed redeemable qualities that could lead other Inuit in Tinnujivik in converting to Christianity.

As the *Bon Accord* prepared to leave Tinnujivik, M'Donald reflected on the value of Inulluapik's visit to Aberdeen and made claims about Inuit and their progress towards Western civilization that reflected his Qallunaat-ness. Primarily, M'Donald argued that Inulluapik's exposure to his idea of a civilized environment had furthered his intellectual capacity. For instance, even though Inulluapik's adventure to Aberdeen had caused a severe pulmonary disease, M'Donald was pleased that:

> In visiting [Britain], [Inulluapik] has learned nothing that will tend to degrade him. On the contrary, we may hope that his residence among us may have imbued his mind with some noble principles which may tend to soften the remaining barbarity of his nature, and in the evolution of Time's dark mysteries, become subservient to the good of the hyperborean races.[246]

While M'Donald credited Inulluapik for his redeemable qualities, such as the ability to imitate, his astute sense of geography, and leadership amongst his countryfolk, M'Donald argued that these characteristics had been encouraged by Inulluapik's proximity to non-Inuit.

Additionally, revealing his Qallunaat-dom that considered the Arctic barren and desolate, lacking any adornment, and disregarding any other relationships Inuit may have had to their environment, M'Donald argued that it was solely Inulluapik's experience in the moderate climate and exposure to refined cultures in Aberdeen that furthered his intellectual development. Given Inulluapik's proficiency in imitation, M'Donald assumed that a longer tenure in Aberdeen

[246] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 110.

would have led to a further elevation beyond primitiveness, specifically in advancing his awareness of Christianity. Thus, according to M'Donald, Inulluapik required a pro-longed acquaintance with lifestyles beyond the Arctic environment, which M'Donald imagined had suppressed Inulluapik's advancement.[247] To that end, M'Donald's Qallunaat-ness relied intrinsically upon the idea that the Arctic environment could not cultivate the proper intellectual development; thus, assimilation to "civilized" lifestyles was necessary for saving these Inuit from "barbarity."

When considering why Inuit settlements did not reflect his idea of progress towards civilization, M'Donald claimed that the Arctic climate and its harshness required Inuit lifestyles to revolve around survival. Thus, so long that Inuit remained closely tied to their nomadic survival methods in the harsh Arctic environment, as M'Donald deduced that their environment impeded their intellectual development, it remained difficult for non-Inuit to change them completely. M'Donald, on the other hand, remained closely tied to the theory developed by phrenologists and mental scientists of the period that believed Western education could improve the "faculties of the mind:"

> If, as is said, the mind of man has a close and intimate connection with his cerebral organization, and deficiency of development marks inferiority of intellect, —then the savage, unaided, cannot advance beyond a state of barbarism, nor will any education, however elaborate, raise him at once to the condition of civilization.[248]

Because of this, M'Donald concluded, "Though the Esquimaux are incapable of elevating themselves, yet, upon the proper impulse being given, they are susceptible of great

[247] As previously mentioned in chapter one, the Arctic environment became a key pillar of Eskimology's "Eskimo Problem" in the twentieth century, as scholars attempted to grapple with Inuit survival in what they considered an unforgiving environment. Recent critiques have shown that by considering the environment as the sole socioeconomic determinant of Inuit survival, the theory bypasses cultural meaning and detaches Inuit agency from their immediate livelihoods within their environment. See Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence,* xvi.
[248] M'Donald, *Narrative*, 120.

improvement."[249] In other words, M'Donald believed that Inuit could be "civilized", but this could only be achieved by the intervention of settler colonization and Christian missionary philanthropy.[250]

The Legacy of the Inulluapik-Penny Collaboration

After the *Bon Accord* arrived back in Aberdeen in October 1840, the Inulluapik and Penny collaboration's legacy guided the eastern Arctic whaling industry's success throughout the following decades. Despite the lack of whales secured in the summer of 1840, Penny frequently returned to Tinnujivik during sequential whaling seasons in the 1840s and 1850s. For instance, in late spring 1845, Penny found himself in Tinnujivik, reunited with Inulluapik. By the fall of that year, Penny had returned to Scotland with eighteen whales, the equivalent of 150 tons of oil, tripling the whalers' spoils from the previous year and proving Penny's commercial relationship with Inulluapik a success.[251] Inulluapik's legacy in investigating Qallunaat lifestyles and his

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[249] Ibid., 121.

[250] M'Donald's idea of "civilizing" the Inuit in Tinnujivik is consistent with the early to mid-nineteenth century civilization project in British Canada that sought to assimilate Indigenous peoples into "settler Canada" through the instillment of sedentarism, education, and Christianization. This colonial project of "reclaiming" Indigenous peoples in Canada such as residential schools resulted in segregation, genocide, and disenfranchisement. See, Alain Beaulieu, "'Gradually Reclaiming Them from a State of Barbarism': Emergence of and Ambivalence in the Aboriginal Civilization Project in Canada (1815–1857)," In *Enlightened Colonialism: Civilization Narratives and Imperial Politics in the Age of Reason*, ed. Damien Tricoire (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 159-177.

[251] In May 1845, M'Donald embarked on an adventure aboard John Franklin's *Erebus* and *Terror*, where his medical services were commissioned for the Northwest Passage (NWP) expedition. In 1846, the ships became lost to the ice off the northwest tip of Qikiqtaaluk, simultaneously launching the notorious century-long search for the missing crew. To Penny, the disappearance of the *Erebus* and *Terror* in 1845 offered an incentive and an economic mechanism for wintering and whaling in the eastern Arctic. He later became the captain of *Lady Franklin* and *Sophia*, two ships that Lady Franklin and her daughter commissioned to retrieve the crew. See W. Gillies Ross, *Hunters on the Track: William Penny and the Search for Franklin*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press: 2019), 19-25. See Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence,* 72-104. The missing ships almost immediately captured British and American admiralties' hearts, minds, and finances. According to Hall, over the following fifteen years and up until the mid-1860s, Franklin search parties expended around two million pounds sterling, a modern equivalent of roughly 440 million Canadian dollars adjusted for inflation. See Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux: A Narrative of Arctic Experience in Search of Survivors of Sir John Franklin's Expedition: by Charles Francis Hall* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1865), 2.

contributions to the non-Inuit geographical and environmental knowledge in the Arctic are undeniable. Inulluapik's value to Penny revealed that Inuit knowledge, skills, and survival methods were essential for the diversification and spread of the commercial whaling industry to Tinnujivik. Because of this, Inulluapik made a lasting mark on the non-Inuit whalers and led Penny to establish the first permanent non-Inuit settlement in Tinnujivik in 1857. In addition, Inulluapik and Penny's partnership revealed that the commercial eastern Arctic whaling industry hinged on Inuit subsistence whaling in the mid-nineteenth century, proving that Inuit "subsistence" and non-Inuit "commercial" whaling were interchangeable and reliant on each other.

Once M'Donald and Penny returned to Scotland in 1840, Penny submitted a proposal to the British Colonial Office and requested a missionary from the Moravian Church to aid in the establishment of a permanent whaling settlement in Tinnujivik. Yet when the overwintering station was finally constructed at Qiqerten Island in the winter of 1857, Moravian missionary Matthaus Warmow had differing ideas compared to M'Donald's praise for Inuit imitation and proximity to "civilized" settlers. For example, Warmow expressed his sorrow for Inuit fluency with imitation, "I am always sorry to see the Esquimaux ... imitating the Europeans in all respects… [The Inuit] were undoubtedly better off in their original state… [and] more likely to be gained for the kingdom of God."[252] Warmow explained his rationale: "When [the Inuit] begin to copy our mode of life, they are neither properly Europeans or Esquimaux and will speedily die out, in consequence of the change."[253] Warmow's views were in stark contrast to M'Donald's earlier assumptions that spreading civilization to Tinnujivik would incalculably benefit the Inuit. Warmow represented a shift in Qallunaat-dom in the late 1850s that seemed to regard the heavy

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[252] Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country,* 108.
[253] Ibid., 108.

influence of whaling activities with regret and credited the whalers with the potential extinction of the Inuit and their redeemably "primitive" qualities.[254]

Ultimately, after his brief winter at the Qiqerten Island whaling station in 1857, Warmow advised the Moravian Church against establishing a missionary chapter at Tinnujivik. Contra to M'Donald's belittling of the eastern Arctic for its lack of adornment, the reason for Warmow's hesitation was that because of the frequent interaction with whalers since 1840, the Inuit no longer lived a "simple, unadorned life."[255] In contrast, Warmow claimed, "The frequent intercourse of the Esquimaux with Europeans had, to a considerable extent, weaned them from their original habits, and created artificial wants."[256] In Warmow's view, the deterioration and imitation of non-Inuit appearances caused the Inuit to no longer embody the "transnational image of a redeemable savage."[257]

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the establishment of a permanent whaling settlement altered the Inuit and non-Inuit relationship, economy, and the ecology of the region. Due to the consistent contact between Inuit and non-Inuit whalers, the expansion of the establishment of the Qiqerten Island whaling station led to two dramatic consequences for Tinnujivik Inuit: the introduction of disease and the rise of famine.[258] Non-Inuit diseases was particularly detrimental

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[254] This is similar to Boas's reference to the whalers as the source of the rapid diminution in population in 1883, as mentioned in chapter one of this thesis.
[255] Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country,* 206.
[256] Ibid., 206.
[257] See C. L. Higham, "Saviors and Scientists: North American Protestant Missionaries and the Development of Anthropology," *Pacific Historical Review* 72:4 (2003): 534. As modern assessments of Christian missionary work have pointed out, though missionaries were intent on spreading Christianity across the globe, they often had a particular vision of Indigenous peoples and contributed heavily to the "redeemable savage" trope in their writing. According to Ross, the Moravian church favoured an "uncorrupted" Indigenous population, and by 1857, Qiqerten Island had been influenced negatively by the whalers. Because the Inuit population at Qiqerten Island was ungoverned by a colonial body and interdependent on the whalers, this bypassed the Moravian preference for a "paternalistic socio-economic milieu in which the native population was protected from the perceived evils of foreign influence." in Ross, *This Distant and Unsurveyed*, 205.
[258] Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence,* 74.

to the population and Inulluapik personally, as he died of pulmonary disease in 1847.[259] From 1857 to 1880, the over-extraction of whales due to this commercial enterprise in Tinnujivik caused the bowhead stock to diminish exponentially.[260] By the late-nineteenth century, the commercial industry began to shift to fur trading and sealing, and the number of successful whale hunts never exceeded more than a few whales per season. Soon after, non-Inuit had abandoned commercial whale hunting in Tinnujivik completely, and seldom of a few Inuit whale hunts, whaling no longer defined commerce in the region. Again, the commercial whalers had pushed a resident bowhead stock to the brink of extinction, in the process decimating the whaling economy of the Inuit who relied on them.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that M'Donald's Victorian Qallunaat identity profoundly shaped his perception of Inuit gender and spirituality. According to the "Big Chief" trope, M'Donald perceived that Inulluapik, a male Inuk of nobility due to his extended stay in Aberdeen, could guide his fellow Inuit to salvation and encourage their assimilation to European principles such

[259] Inulluapik and Taqulittuq died of tuberculosis, possibly due to their intimate contact with Europeans and their respective journeys to Euro-America. See Cull, "A Description of Three Esquimaux from Kinnooksook, Hogarth Sound, Cumberland Strait," 215; Nancy Wachowich, "Taqulittuq (Hannah Tookoolitoo, c. 1839-76)," In *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History* ed. Gerald Hallowell (Oxford, Oxford University Press Canada, 2006), 606. In 1850, Penny's physician aboard the *Lady Franklin* and *Sophia* Peter Cormack Sutherland observed the onset of these perils after only a decade of contact with whalers in Tinnujivik. According to Sutherland, Inulluapik told Penny that the Inuit in Tinnujivik do not get over the whaler's summertime visits quickly in the autumn and remain burdened by illnesses long after their interactions. See Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits in the Years 1850–1851,* 327. Sutherland's attribution to the deterioration of Inuit health to whalers draws similarities to Boas's late nineteenth-century observations mentioned in the first chapter. Cull explained the short lifespan of Inulluapik and Taqulittuq and other Inuit because of the "inhospitable" Arctic climate, their "inadequate" diet, their lack of cleanliness, and the lack of ventilation in their living quarters. See Cull, "A Description of Three Esquimaux from Kinnooksook, Hogarth Sound, Cumberland Strait," 218.
[260] Stevenson sketches the number of non-Inuit overwintering ships in Tinnujivik from 1851 to 1880 in an informative table. See Table Three in Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence*, 78. Stevenson also shows the vast disparity between the quantity of successful whale catches compared to seals from 1883 to 1903, demonstrating that the whaling station at Qiqerten Island never exceeded more than three whales per season.

as Christianity in Tinnujivik. While left out of his early observations about Inulluapik, M'Donald's later comments about Inuit women, marriage, and domesticity in Tinnujivik also revealed a unique component in M'Donald's gendered Qallunaat-dom. Despite his suppositions about Inuit spiritual lifestyles, M'Donald did not investigate the Inuit perceptions and meanings behind whaling, facial tattoos, menstruation, class, or shamanism. Instead, M'Donald often projected his early Victorian ideas of gender and spirituality in his attempts to explain Inuit cultural practices.

Inulluapik, M'Donald, and Penny's introduction of non-Inuit whaling in Tinnujivik in 1840 initiated dramatic changes among the Inuit, and the overlapping cultures of Inuit and non-Inuit prove useful to examine through the lens of Qallunology. Imitation, once celebrated by M'Donald in 1839 and 1840 as a testament to Inulluapik's intellectual capacity in Aberdeen, later became regarded by Moravian missionaries such as Warmow as the bane of contact and reflected the harmful vices of civilized society. M'Donald's 1840 endorsement of an increased Christian presence in Tinnujivik was in stark contrast to Warmow's discouragement to the Moravian Church in 1857, mainly because he condemned the Inuit imitation of European practices and their interdependence on whalers. Nonetheless, through the Penny and Inulluapik's initial collaboration and by sharing the language of the whales with non-Inuit hunters, Inuit and non-Inuit whaling became intrinsically linked in Tinnujivik in 1840.

Conclusion

> I assume that, before the arrival of the commercial whalers [in Tinnujivik], the bowhead whale was in great abundance. The bowhead whale population was so high before, for there are whalebones littered around the old [Inuit] sod houses, where no one today can spot a bowhead whale in that area. …the great bowhead whale was drastically reduced in numbers, since the commercial whalers arrived. [And is today still not nearly as numerous as in the time before commercial whaling.][261]
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> — Pauloosie Kooneeliusie, *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study.*

Surviving the Alienation of Colonization

In the early fall of 1994, Inuit from Igluilik killed a bowhead whale despite the controversial regulations set by the IWC that limited Inuit whaling to subsistent quotas. Recorded in an Inuit-made film, the aftermath of the hunt evokes a joyous atmosphere in which locals are shown gathering on the beach, talking, laughing, and eating the fresh maqtaq (whale skin).[262] As the film interviews each Inuk involved in the hunt, the collective sentiment is excitement and disbelief to taste what their ancestors had once relied on as a food source.[263] Although outsiders protested the hunt, feelings of happiness and excitement amongst the Inuit

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[261] Pauloosie Kooneeliusie, "Results and Discussion: Inuit Knowledge of Population Ecology," in *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study* ed. by Keith Hay et al., (Iqaluit: Nunavut Wildlife Management Board and the Qiqitani Truth Commission, 2000), 9.

[262] *Arviq! Bowhead!* (2002).

[263] Many scholars develop theses that argue Indigenous revival of traditional practices, such as whaling, is an expression of cultural tenacity in the face of colonial systems that tried to assimilate and eliminate the Indians. From an Indigenous scholar's perspective, whaling was not just about socioeconomic gain or subsistence; it was the foundations of Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth "worldviews, identities, and cultures." See Charlotte Cote, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah & Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2010), 41. Other scholars have pointed out that whaling should not be considered an expression of "ethnic identity," instead, they state that the communities should determine the spiritual, cultural, and social meanings behind Inuit whale hunting. Laugrand and Oosten, "We're Back with our Ancestors," 432.

community were palpable and surpassed the nagging anxiety of non-Inuit opinions on whether their hunt was within the boundaries of "subsistence."[264] After this successful hunt, a ripple of subsequent bowhead hunts by Inuit communities across the Arctic occurred into the early 2000s.[265] The determination to hunt cetaceans across the Inuit Nunangat echoed what Inuit knew since time immemorial, "Inuit have always hunted the whale for survival."[266]

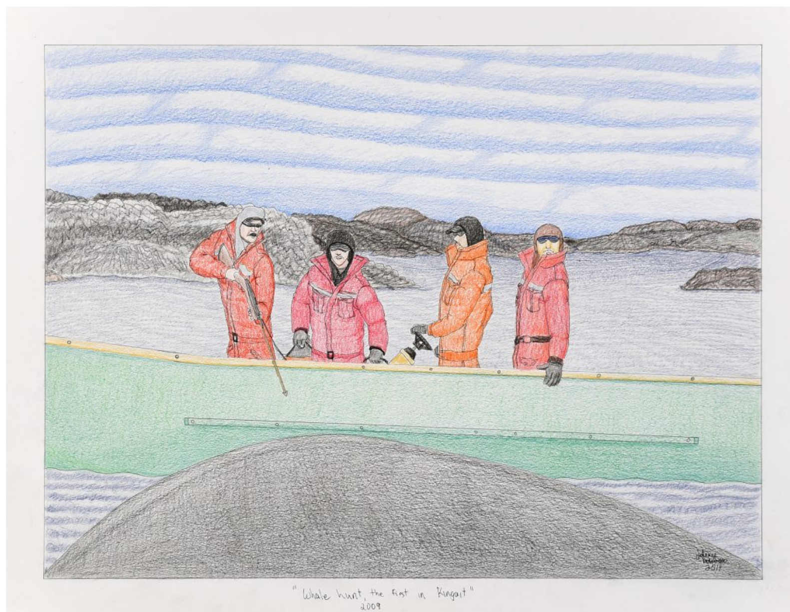

Figure 5: Whale Hunt, The First in Kingait, A Drawing by Johnny Pootoogook, 2009[267]

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[264] Most importantly, the conclusions made in the *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study* by the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board produced foundational environmental science and conservation recommendations for bowhead whales and other Arctic species through Inuit oral testimony. See Hay, *Final Report of the Inuit Bowhead Knowledge Study.* These impactful Inuit observations on not only the bowhead whale stock but also climate change caused the Canadian government to revisit the scientific data on bowhead whale stocks in the eastern Arctic and, most importantly, to appreciate Inuit knowledge about the Arctic Sea. See G. Kuehl and Canadian Science Advisory Secretariat, *Assessment of Eastern Arctic Bowhead Whales.*

[265] Local newspapers celebrated subsequent Inuit bowhead hunts. See Nunatsiaq News, "Whale Hunt: A Mix of Sadness, Joy for Lead Harpooner," *Nunatsiaq News* August 31, 2009; "Maktaaq season is here: Naujaat finally lands a bowhead," *Nunatsiaq News* September 17, 2009; "Cape Dorset Hunters Get Their Bowhead (Nunavut Community's First Legal Bowhead in More Than 100 Years)," *Nunatsiaq News* September 30, 2015. In a more recent article, journalist Dustin Patar argued that modern science is finally catching up to Inuit knowledge: "Hunters, fishers and whalers have seen, and told stories about, bowhead whales inhabiting Cumberland Sound year-round, going back hundreds of years. Now, science can support that." See Dustin Patar, "Cumberland Sound Bowhead Whales May be Able to Adapt to Habitat Changes: Study," *Nunatsiaq News*, August 31, 2020.

[266] *Arviq! Bowhead!* (2002).

[267] Johnny Pootoogook, "Whale Hunt, The First in Kingait," Feheley Fine Arts Gallery, The Wonders of Baleen, https://feheleyfinearts.com/the-wonders-of-baleen/, 2009.

As Inuit have reclaimed the practices of a whaling culture that has, to borrow a phrase from Demuth, "survived the alienation of colonialism," the binary views of Inuit whaling as "subsistence" and non-Inuit whaling as "commercial" continue to live in non-Indigenous discourse.[268] During the 1990s, the revival of Indigenous whaling practices across North America confronted these persistent binary understandings. Yet the Indigenous communities were often met with racist protests by those who ignored Indigenous agency to determine what their practices meant.[269] The non-Inuit that considered Inuit whaling as confined to the boundaries of "subsistence" limited the Inuit and their movement beyond non-Inuit definitions of "primitiveness." According to this non-Inuit discourse, subsistent lifestyles are synonymous with Indigeneity. In other words, non-Indigenous notions of Indigenous subsistence were defined by "bare existence or a livelihood that only provides in minimal degree life's necessities."[270] Similarly, as Demuth puts it:

> [Indigenous whalers] are then judged from a state [of natural harmony] that never existed… if they are poor it is temporary; or if they assert customary relationships with, say, the bowhead, they cannot be real relationships because modernity corrupts tradition. A whale cannot give itself to people in a motorboat.[271]

In this narrative, Inuit have either progressed too slowly towards "modernization" or deviated far beyond what the non-Inuit view as the authentically redeemable Inuk.

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[268] Demuth, *Floating Coast*, 313.
[269] My argument is inspired by Raibmon's reflections on the anti-whaling rhetoric in the context of the revival of whaling traditions by the Makah in Cape Flattery. While assessing the public outcry that surfaced because of the Makah's whale hunts in the 1999s, Raibmon pointed out that their dissent focused on the fact that these hunts blended the non-Indigenous binary of "subsistence" versus "commercial" because their so-called "traditional" hunt used "modern" weapons. In other words, Raibmon showed that according to this judgement, the Makah did not fit into the ethnic confines of "subsistence" with their use of supposedly non-traditional and, more notably, non-Indigenous methods. Because of this, the non-Indigenous onlookers regarded the Makah as "greedy, opportunistic, and arbitrary." Raibmon argued, "There was hardly a stronger assertion of difference from white society than [Indigenous] whale hunting," in the context of twentieth-century counter-culture environmentalism on the west coast. See Raibmon, *Authentic Indians,* 1-3.
[270] Milton Freeman, "The International Whaling Commission, Small-Type Whaling, and Coming to Terms with Subsistence," *Human Organization* 52:3 (1993): 244.
[271] Ibid., 313.

TABLE 1 Criteria Used to Distinguish between Aboriginal and Non-aboriginal Whaling

	Aboriginal whalers	Non-aboriginal whalers
Technology	Primitive	Modern
Social and political systems	Simple	Complex
"Culture" (see Note 3)	Traditional	Non-traditional
Economy	Non-commercial	Commercial
Economic transactions	Non-monetized	Monetized
Scale of operations	Small-scale	Large-scale
Resource capture and consumption	Local	Non-local

Figure 6: The Subsistence and Commercial Binary, A Table Borrowed from Milton Freeman, 1993[272]

Scholars have noticed the problematic nature of non-Indigenous protest and their ignorance of Indigenous treaty rights, pointing to the indefiniteness of "Indigenous" and "non-Indigenous" commerce, environment, and culture in historical episodes. As historian Joshua Reid argues in his seminal work that introduced a decolonialized approach to borderlands, many Indigenous peoples viewed their "sea as their country," which they considered an extension to their sociocultural networks.[273] In episodes of contact, the borderlands between sea and land blended, as they have in many Indigenous and settler encounters in coastal settings, and differing concepts of capital, trade, kinship, and identity became entwined.[274] As colonization progressed, Indigenous resistance to colonial ideas of borders and defined nation-states often took place in maritime spaces, and, as a result, these "maritime borderlines" became, as Reid puts it, "messy social creations of amalgamation, accommodation, and contention."[275]

[272] Freeman, "The International Whaling Commission, Small-Type Whaling, and Coming to Terms with Subsistence," 244.
[273] Joshua L. Reid, *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, an Indigenous Borderlands People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 13-14.
[274] Reid, *The Sea Is My Country*, 14.
[275] Ibid., 14.

Inspired by Reid's approach, I sought to understand the fluidity of maritime spaces, cultures, and economies in Tinnujivik when leaders of the "subsistence" and "commercial" whaling camps entwined. Through an examination of Inulluapik, Penny, and M'Donald's shared experience in Aberdeen and Tinnujivik, I argued that there was fluidity between the non-Inuit imposed boundaries of whaling practices in the mid-nineteenth century. Inulluapik represented the merging of commercial and subsistence whale hunting, as Penny's commercial expansion in the Arctic depended on Inulluapik's knowledge of the Arctic geography and whales' behaviour. Furthermore, by applying the analytical lens of Qallunology to M'Donald's perceived divide in whaling economies, this thesis has confronted the cultural, gendered, and spiritual non-Inuit early written accounts of whaling are steeped in biases and Inulluapik represented a resistance to those views.

The Relevance of Qallunology

Focusing on an Arctic whaling encounter in Tinnujivik in the mid-nineteenth century, I conducted a Qallunology of non-Inuit observations of Inuit to explore the Qallunaat-dom that subscribed to these prejudicial binary worldviews. The introductory chapter grounded my analysis and surveyed the academic literature that addresses Inuit and non-Inuit relationships in the Arctic from 1888 to the present. To situate my use of Qallunology, I traced the major transitions and shifts in the historiography from the professionalization of Eskimology by Franz Boas, the evolution of Inuit Studies, the sovereignty debates in Arctic-focused works, and recent decolonial interventions. I showed how twentieth-century Eskimology that focused on examining the "Eskimo Problem," or the prehistoric explanation for Inuit survival, ignored the socioeconomic issues that Inuit were facing in the present and the dynamisms of their cultures.

As Inuit Studies began including Inuit perspectives and oral history in the 1990s, however, contributions shaped a new understanding of Inuit and non-Inuit shared history post-contact. Recent thematic works that explored Inuit and non-Inuit cultural encounters through whaling, gender, and spirituality deepened our awareness of the ethnocentric binaries that existed in scholarly research and the historical record.

In addition, I foregrounded the Indigenous critiques, such as Nungak's Qallunology, Armstrong, and Smith's decolonial methodologies, that claim non-Indigenous biases littered in histories of contact are worth exploring. Inspiring my analytical framework, Nungak's recent introduction of Qallunology into the scholarship, serving as a contrast to twentieth-century Eskimology, defines its purpose of exploring non-Inuit worldviews. While Nungak introduced Qallunology as a good-hearted critique of Eskimology, his intervention draws on genuine evaluations of the non-Inuit superiority complex in scholarly works and their records of historical encounters. I have also indicated how Inuit analyses of Qallunaat lifestyles have changed over time as Qallunology has shifted in the past and contemporary era. As Nungak argued, "In Qallunaat life, not much is communal and very little of life's essentials are shared. General life is based upon competition and going to great lengths to 'get ahead' while amassing what you gain for yourself. People around you may be in need, but that is their problem."[276] There is more work to be done to study the layers of Qallunaat-dom beyond these general observations. Nonetheless, I agree with his sentiment that the Qallunaat worldviews are worthy of scrutinization to the same extent that the Inuit have been evaluated by anthropologists and Eskimologists. Thus, I am methodologically indebted to these recent scholarly interventions, such as those by Nungak, Armstrong, and Smith, that call for an exploration of colonizer

[276] Nungak, "Qallunology: The Inuit Study of Qallunaat Part II," 88.

mindsets and epistemologies that influenced evaluations of the historical and contemporary Inuit-settler relationship.

Using Qallunology to analyze M'Donald's observations of Inulluapik in the two core chapters, I argued that M'Donald's narrative was steeped in binaries. By conducting a Qallunology of M'Donald's description of the historical episode, I examined his early Victorian Qallunaat-dom, which compared Inuit in Tinnujivik, Scots in Aberdeen, and Kalaallit through the lens of his binary understanding of whaling, gender, and spirituality. According to these binaries, M'Donald viewed Inuit in Tinnujivik as primitive, apathetic pagans, uncivilized, uneducated, uncultured, and subsistent hunters. On the other hand, M'Donald regarded non-Inuit and colonized Inuit as advanced, civilized, educated, cultured, righteous Christian followers and commercial actors. In addition, Inuit women were domestic nurturers, and Inuit men were hunters within this binary ideology.

Opening with Inulluapik and Penny's introduction at Aqqijjat, I showed how Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen in 1839, as recorded by M'Donald, provides insight into early Victorian worldviews and perceptions, which I call M'Donald's Qallunaat-dom and Qallunaat-ness. M'Donald's interpretation of Inulluapik's experience demonstrated his contrasting views of Inuit and non-Inuit cultures which intersected with early Victorian ideas of civilization, intelligence, behaviour, appearance, respectability, and Indigenous authenticity. I emphasized that M'Donald was heavily influenced by the early Victorian practice of ranking Indigenous peoples by their advancement towards a non-Inuit ideal of civilization. However, Inulluapik's ability to imitate Scottish Victorian culture, dress, and behaviour posed a challenge to M'Donald's binary worldview that considered Inuit as "primitive" and Europeans as "advanced." Through early Victorian scientific ideas of imitation, phrenology, and intellectual testing, M'Donald sought to

improve Inulluapik's intellectual refinement by educating him about Western civilization. By analyzing his ideas of Inulluapik's redeemability, I argued that M'Donald's dismissal of Inulluapik's opinions and assessments of Aberdonian cultures highlighted M'Donald's cultural incommensurability.

I delved further into analyzing Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen as his visit posed a unique addition to the slew of Indigenous travelers that had visited Britain during colonial expansion. While the Inuk embarked on a familiar transatlantic voyage, Inulluapik did not tour London at the "centre of the empire," nor did he hold court with Queen Victoria at Buckingham palace. His experience appears as a blip in the history of a working-class provincial city on the northeast coast of Scotland, off the radar of the empirical eye. As with other Indigenous visitors, Inulluapik's experience may be considered what Coll Thrush calls a "secret history" in a British urban city, but at the time, the Inuk's presence marked an undeniable moment in Aberdonian popular culture.[277] I built on Thrush's critique of the standing colonial imperialist notion that metropolitan cities were created as distinctly "civilized" non-Indigenous spaces, and Indigenous villages were "uncivilized" places. In Aberdeen, Inulluapik encountered similar instances of racism, empathetic interest in his "savagery," and a desire to see him perform, as other Indigenous peoples experienced in their visits. As such, Inulluapik was the centre of Aberdonian curiosity, and his intellect stirred sentiments of empathy from non-Inuit who crossed his path, either during his live exhibit on the River Dee, his night at the theatre, or his guest appearance at upper-class dinner parties. His capabilities as a geographer were celebrated as his maps were

[277] Thrush, *Indigenous London*, 13. This concept of a "secret Indigenous history" or "removing Indigeneity" from a city's mainstream history is not new. See Jean Barman, "Erasing Indigenous Indigeneity in Vancouver," *BC Studies* 155 (2007), 3-30. As celebrated Indigenous scholar Glen Coulthard claimed, "Canadian cities were conceived of in the colonial imagination as explicitly non-Native spaces—as civilized spaces—and urban planners and Indian policy makers went through great efforts to expunge urban centers of Native presence." See Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 173-174.

published by the Admiralty, and Penny utilized his knowledge to attract investors in funding a permanent whaling settlement in Tinnujivik. Because of these instances, I argued that Inulluapik's presence was not hidden but was part of the fabric of social life in Aberdeen for a moment in time. The public fascination, articles in newspapers, and published hand-drawn maps of Qikiqtaaluk indicate his lasting mark in the history of Aberdeen during the winter of 1839 to 1840.

In addition to making his mark in Aberdeen's history, Inulluapik offered a fresh view of the landscape, culture, and lifestyles in northeast Scotland. While his talent as a geographer was celebrated, Inulluapik's opinions on non-Inuit people, cities, and homelands are harder to glean from M'Donald's sparse interpretations. Inulluapik's personal views and Qallunologies may remain as what Thrush calls a "silenced memory," though I draw portions of his comments from M'Donald's record to highlight Inulluapik's agency in Aberdeen and interactions with Aberdonians'.[278] Inulluapik's references to the landscapes, the sickness he acquired during his stay, and the similarities he saw in cultural practices showed how critically he was interpreting and analyzing his experience. Whereas binaries governed M'Donald's narrative of the Inuk's experience, Inulluapik could compare, contrast, and find similarities between the Aberdeen world and his life back in Qikiqtaaluk. In these episodes, Inulluapik was not unaware of other cultures, as M'Donald suggests. Instead, I argue that Inulluapik was an active participant in the blending of worlds between Inuit and non-Inuit, as well as Aberdeen and Tinnujivik. Although M'Donald thought that Inulluapik's primitive upbringing represented the antithesis of Aberdonian modernity, Inulluapik demonstrated fluid resistance to M'Donald's divided beliefs. Inulluapik challenged the early Victorian binaries of subsistence versus commercial whaling,

[278] Thrush, *Indigenous London*, 5-6.

rural versus urban, primitive versus advanced, uncivilized versus civilized, and Indigenous versus non-Indigenous.[279] Overall, Inulluapik's experience in Aberdeen bridged what Thrush refers to as the "narrative estrangement of urban and Indigenous histories."[280]

In the next chapter, I investigated M'Donald's reflections on the Inuit in Kalaallit Nunaat and Tinnujivik through the thematic lenses of gender and spirituality. M'Donald considered the Kalaallit to be civilized due to their contact with the Danes and, in contrast, the Nunatsiarmiut were uncivilized Inuit without a substantial connection to Western civilization. M'Donald used the Kalaallit supposed enthusiastic acceptance of Christianity through their interaction with the Moravian Church and Danish colonizers to justify his ideas that Inulluapik and other Inuit in Tinnujivik could be saved from their "pagan" shamanistic beliefs. Drawing on Hill's "Big Chief" trope, I examined M'Donald's argument that Inulluapik's visit to Aberdeen had supplied the male Inuk with a higher sense of nobility and could thus guide his fellow Inuit to Christian salvation and encourage their assimilation to European principles.

M'Donald's remarks about Inuit women also revealed a gendered avenue of his ideas of refining and "civilizing" the Inuit in Tinnujivik. Through his early Victorian gendered lens that viewed man as a hunter and woman as a nurturer, M'Donald considered the role of Inuit women in Tinnujivik as childrearing domestic spouses. While M'Donald did not know of the meanings Inuit women attributed to marriage status, menstruation, facial tattoos, or spirituality, he often used his notions of early Victorian and Christian gender and spirituality conformity, respectability, and domesticity to explain these practices. M'Donald's comments indicated areas where he thought Inuit women demonstrated acceptable and unacceptable values and practices,

[279] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 13.
[280] Ibid., 14.

such as face tattooing, that would integrate well into his idea for Inuit women's role in the model for "civilizing" the Inuit in Tinnujivik.

I later observed that Inulluapik, M'Donald, and Penny's introduction of non-Inuit whaling in Tinnujivik in 1840 induced dramatic changes among the Inuit and the relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit. Imitation, while celebrated by M'Donald in 1839 and 1840 as a testament of Inulluapik's intellectual capacity in Aberdeen, later became regarded by Moravian missionaries such as Matthaus Warmow as the curse of contact with whalers. M'Donald's 1840 endorsement of a missionary division in Tinnujivik was in stark contrast to Warmow's discouragement in 1857. In contrast to M'Donald's view, Warmow regarded the Inuit imitation of European practices and their interdependence on whalers as immoral. Thus, even though M'Donald advocated for an increased Christian presence based on the Moravian missionary involvement in Kalaallit Nunaat, a mission was never established in Tinnujivik.[281]

Although the Moravian church was disinterested in branching to Tinnujivik, Inulluapik and Penny's collaboration led to the establishment of the Qiqerten Island whaling station and transformed the relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit. The station allowed for not only continuous contact and trade, but also the introduction of disease, dependant survival methods, and the intermingling of spiritual beliefs. Designated as a National History Site in 1985, Qiqerten Island whaling station is recognized as one of the most vital and influential commerce sites in late-nineteenth century Tinnujivik as it represents a distinguishable moment in the region's history where Inuit and non-Inuit economies and cultures overlapped and entwined.[282]

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[281] It was not until 1894 that a formal missionary presence was established in Tinnujivik when missionaries E. J. Peck and J. C. Parker led an Anglican mission at Blacklead Island. See Laugrand, Oosten, and Trudel, *Apostle to the Inuit*; Stevenson, *Inuit, Whaling, and Cultural Persistence*, 88-90.
[282] Library and Archives Canada, "Kekerten Island Whaling Station National Historic Site of Canada," Library and Archives Canada, Designations of National Historic Site Significance, Accessed January 2021, https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=330.

Figure 7: Qiqerten Island Whaling Station, 1897[283]

Non-Inuit narratives such as M'Donald's contributed to early polarized views of Inuit and a displacement of Inuit agency in the histories of these encounters. In early Eskimology and the twentieth-century historiography of contact in the north, Inuit were constantly portrayed as defenceless to socioeconomic changes and cultural loss. In addition, non-Inuit observations, such as Boas's argument in 1888 that the Inuit in Tinnujivik killed animals "without discrimination or forethought," have failed to acknowledge the Inuit capacity to tell their stories that explain their diverse connections with non-humans.[284]

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[283] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), [Wakeham Expedition] Album p. 76, Arctic Images, C-084687. ID Number 3407016, Accession number: 1975-235 NPC, Box number: A 0031, Photograph by Graham Drinkwater, "(Whaling) Station House, Kickerton [Kekerten]," 1897.

[284] Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 427. Existing Inuit oral history is in direct opposition to Boas's perception. As Inuk Buster Kailek said, "The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls. All the creatures that we have to kill and eat, all those that we have to strike down and destroy to make clothes for ourselves, have souls, like we have, souls that do not perish with the body, and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking their bodies." Inuit spirituality is intrinsically linked to the understanding and respect of the non-human realm. To honour the spirits that inhabit the animals that Inuit kill, Kailek explained that "In the old days Inuit were not allowed to brag about their catch because the animals' spirits were listening ... You weren't allowed to brag about your catch of any wildlife, or even talk while eating, and you always had to share your catch with another." Similar to Demuth's theory, the phenomenon of animals offering themselves to an Inuk hunter is an extension of their diverse knowledge of animal spirits and the creation story. See Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait,* 43.

In contrast, the case of Inulluapik shows that Inuit were constantly engaged in Qallunology and asserted agency in their connections with non-Inuit whalers and whales. Penny's collaboration with Inulluapik and the Inuk's geographical, environmental, and Arctic survival expertise proved that the Inuit knowledge was integral to the success of industrial whaling in the eastern Arctic. As a result, this thesis has confronted the prejudices within early written accounts of whaling and discerned the Qallunaat-dom that regarded Inuit and non-Inuit whaling practices as separate entities, despite commercial whalers' reliance on Inuit knowledge.

Modern whaling discourse continues to pigeonhole Inuit whaling within the category of "subsistence" hunting, while non-Inuit whaling is always described as "commercial" or "scientific." These biases contributed to the frequent vilification of Indigenous people by the anti-Indigenous whaling movement and influenced the mid-nineteenth century white saviour complex that centred on saving the primitive Inuit from the confines of "savagery." In contrast, I argued that the binary descriptions that divide Indigenous and non-Indigenous whaling ignored the intertwined nature of Inuit and non-Inuit practices in the past and the contemporary era. I have shown that Inulluapik was an agent of change in mid-nineteenth century Tinnujivik, and he represented the fluidity between the binaries that influenced M'Donald's narrative, early Victorian Qallunaat-dom, and contemporary non-Inuit worldviews that confine Inuit whaling to the boundaries of subsistence.

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