

## An Introduction

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The circumpolar world stretches around the North Pole, cutting across countries and oceans. Though this region is inhabited by diverse peoples, with diverse cultures, they do share many similarities.

The northern latitudes are inhabited by indigenous populations that were colonized by more populous southern peoples and left as indigenous minorities within larger nation-states. The indigenous peoples inhabiting these northern territories inhabited tundra and boreal/taiga ecosystems, territories that were not suitable for extensive and intensive agriculture. However, these territories were coveted for their natural resources: first, furs and whale blubber; later, wood, oil, gas, and—even more recently—diamonds. Long marginalized, the indigenous peoples across the circumpolar world began to organize themselves politically to fight for their rights, notably their inherent right to the traditional lands that had been appropriated from them. Also, as they undertook this long political struggle, a struggle that is far from complete, the indigenous circumpolar peoples also began to seek the tools necessary for their cultural survival. Across the circumpolar regions, there has been a cultural renaissance wherein indigenous peoples buck pressures to conform and assimilate, and choose instead to promote their languages, their values, and their cultures.

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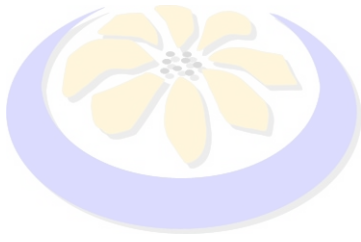
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## Course Objectives/Outcomes

The goal of this course is to examine the primary societies that lived in the circumpolar regions prior to contact with European colonial powers (the pre-contact period). The first modules will review the natural environment of the circumpolar world, and the archaeological, historical, ethnographic, and oral historical records of the North, in order to better understand the circumpolar societies prior to contact and colonization. In the second half of this course, the modules will review the history of colonization and will document the origin and spread of colonialism in the North. The major historical trends will be reviewed to demonstrate how the North was integrated into nation-states and how northern territories became internal colonies under the domination of more populous southern cores of the nation-states that govern the circumpolar regions of the world. At the end of this course, students should better understand the social and cultural composition of the circumpolar world and the factors that shaped its present-day social and political composition.

This course should help you to

1. acquire a broad and basic understanding of the histories and experiences of the peoples of the circumpolar North, as well as the



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- development of northern cultures.
2. develop an understanding of the similarities and differences of northern peoples and cultures, their adaptations to change, and their roles as agents of change.
  3. gain an appreciation of the cultural diversity of the circumpolar North.
  4. develop an understanding of basic research methods and an appreciation of ethical issues confronting contemporary northern researchers.
  5. hone your critical-thinking and writing abilities.
  6. develop the skills necessary to research, write, and critically evaluate academic papers.
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## Overview

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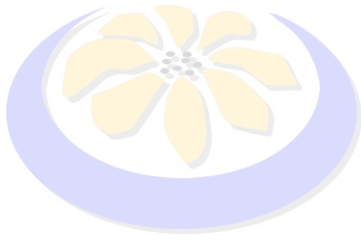
### Characterizing the Circumpolar North

The circumpolar world begins at the North Pole and is shaped by the way the Earth spins around its axis. The Earth completes one rotation over the course of a day; this happens every day of the year. However, the relationship between the Sun and the Earth changes subtly over the year as Earth completes its annual trek around the Sun.

In the northern latitudes during the summer months, Earth's North Pole is tilted towards the Sun, and the northern latitudes receive the Sun's rays constantly; for this reason, we say the Sun never sets during the summer months in the North. At the same time of year, at the South Pole, the Sun does not rise.

In the winter months, the North Pole is tilted away from the Sun, leaving the North in complete darkness. At the North Pole, the Sun does not set for six months in the summer and does not rise once it sets for another six months. Moving south, the days of total light or darkness are less complete; at the Arctic Circle, the Sun does not set for one day on the summer solstice (June 21 or 22) and does not rise on the winter solstice (December 21 or 22). South of the Arctic Circle there are no days of complete light or darkness. Moving towards the equator, these extremes of summer day and winter night fade away, and at the centre of the planet, day length equals night length throughout the year, with little noticeable variation.

The lack of sunlight at the poles affects the climate. Left in darkness, or with little direct sunlight in the spring and fall, the poles are much colder than the equator. Temperatures, however, are not dictated solely by sunlight. The world's oceans regulate temperature. The South Pole region is covered by a land mass, namely the continent of Antarctica; the North Pole region is covered by an ocean. Much of the circumpolar North is far warmer than it would be without the presence of ocean currents that bring



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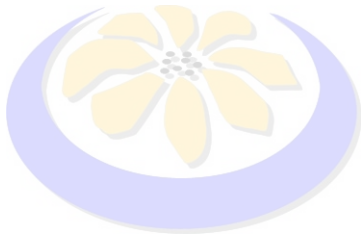
warm water into the Arctic Ocean.

This is certainly the case for northern Europe and Scandinavia. The Gulf Stream's warm water passes the northern coasts of Scotland and Norway (the Norwegian current) into the Arctic Ocean. All of northern Europe benefits from this movement of water, as warm air is pushed far into the northern plains, facing little resistance until it hits the Ural Mountains in Russia. Were it not for this warm ocean, northern Europe would be covered in ice, and this is the primary factor that has been hypothesized as the cause of the ice age.

As will be reviewed in the modules that follow, the Earth has undergone a succession of ice ages, each of which saw the formation and spread of glaciers that covered much of the northern hemisphere. A mere 10,000 years ago, a massive sheet of ice covered most of Canada, and a large glacier was centred in Scandinavia. The glaciers retreated, presumably when the Gulf Stream shifted north, bringing warmer waters and temperatures to Europe. As the ice melted, this led to warmer global temperatures. As the Earth warmed, ecosystems moved northwards; the tundra shifted north, following the retreating glaciers, and forest replaced lichen and grasses as the boreal and deciduous forests pushed north.

The Arctic waters are also warmed by the inflow of warm Pacific water through the Bering Strait. As is the case in northern Europe, the flow of warm currents leaves certain regions of the Arctic much warmer than their latitudes would normally afford. This is certainly the case for the Aleutian Islands, the Kamchatka Peninsula, and much of coastal Alaska and the northwest coastal regions of British Columbia. These areas benefit from the warmth of nearby waters that make for milder—though quite often very foggy and rainy—weather. Even the coastal areas of the Arctic Ocean benefit from the warmth radiated by water. Though the Arctic Ocean is covered by ice most of the year, it is not completely frozen, and the waters below the ice radiate heat through the ice. As a consequence, the air is often much warmer on the ice in the Arctic Ocean, as opposed to territory farther inland that does not benefit from heat coming from the ocean.

The tundra of the High Arctic and the Far North is surrounded by massive stretches of coniferous boreal forests that circle the treeless tundra. The boreal forest or taiga stretches from the interior of Alaska, across the Yukon and most of northern Canada, and into the northern latitudes of the United States, across the northern highlands of Scotland, into Scandinavia, and all through northern Russia. The forests of the boreal forest and the taiga are comprised largely of conifers—spruce, pine, tamarack—and a few species of deciduous trees—notably birch. It is in the boreal forests that the coldest winter temperatures have been recorded, particularly in the Russian Far East where temperatures have dipped down below  $-70^{\circ}\text{C}$  and winter temperatures routinely range from  $-50^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $-60^{\circ}\text{C}$ . The same is true of Canada, where it is on the continent, far from oceans, that winter temperatures tend to dip down farthest in winter. In both regions,



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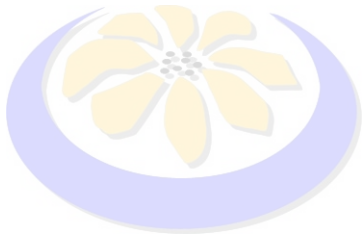
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winter temperatures are shaped by mountain ranges that block the movement of warm air into the continent. In the Russian Far East, high mountain ranges block the movement of warm air from the Pacific in the east, and other mountain chains block the movement of warm air from the west and the south. As a consequence, these territories exhibit continental weather patterns: very intense cold winters, followed by short but very hot summers. In the Russian interior, temperatures can range more than 100 degrees in the course of one year, from lows of  $-70^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the winter to highs exceeding  $30^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the summer.

Though summers can be quite hot, much of the soil remains frozen. This frozen soil, or permafrost, is an integral part of the northern landscape and its ecosystems. In the Far North, the permafrost and the climate do not permit the growth of trees. In these locales a thin layer of active growth will insulate the frozen soil below. The dominant flora in these areas are various mosses, lichens, and dwarf species of trees, such as dwarf willow. The permafrost does not allow water to seep into the soil—as it would in more southern locales—so, pools of water are kept at the surface during the short summer months, leaving the territory covered by a maze of shallow lakes, ponds, and marshes. Though the boggy terrain makes the movement of humans difficult during summer months, it provides rich nesting grounds for numerous species of waterfowl that migrate north to breed. Nonetheless, the northern terrain is the prime summer grazing territory for caribou and reindeer that trek north to get relief from a variety of insects (mosquitoes and flies) and to calve. Not only do species move into the tundra and northern terrain in the summer, but maritime species also migrate north. Many species of whales, for example, swim into the rich northern waters during the summer and swim out to warmer waters in the fall. Likewise, species of fish, such as salmon, swim up coastal rivers far inland to spawn.

In the boreal forest, or taiga, the permafrost is widespread but discontinuous. The permafrost in Russia predominates in the territories east of the Ural Mountains but is insignificant in the northern territories to the west of the mountains. In North America, permafrost is found in the Far North, and discontinuous patches of permafrost stretch to the south.

The permafrost shapes the vegetation. In regions with a thick layer of permafrost, trees survive by keeping roots close to the surface. However, extensive marshlands can form where drainage is poor, as water stays at the surface. The boreal forest, or taiga, maintains itself in such areas; the needles that fall to the soil acidify the soil, killing off potential rival species, such as grasses, that would otherwise compete for light and nutrients. Still, the forest of the boreal forest is not long-lived. As the forest matures, dead wood accumulates, and the highly combustible resins of the boreal forest lead to forest fires that consume the forest every 75–400 years, depending on the type of boreal forest and its composition. Certain species even require a forest fire to reproduce. Jack pine has cones that are “se-



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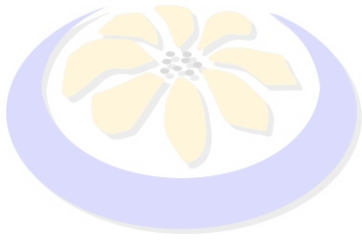
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rotinous” and will not open unless they are exposed to intense heat of at least 50°C—as in a forest fire. Jack pines help to spread a forest fire as its resinous bark and needles serve to spread the fire up into the canopy and through the forest. After the fire clears the forest, certain species of trees, like aspen, will thrive in the burnt landscape before being replaced by species like spruce and pine, which will predominate in the mature forest cover. Forest fires have played a central role in maintaining the ecosystem, and there is evidence that indigenous populations used fire to shape the ecosystems of their traditional territories and that the “wild” forest was the product of a complex interaction between humans, forest, and fire stretching over many millennia.

Deep in the boreal forest, or taiga, the fauna tends to be solitary as opposed to living in large herds. Both woodland caribou and moose—the dominant ungulates of the Canadian boreal forest—live alone most of the year, with the exception of cows with their calves, and only rarely will a cow give birth to twins. In Russia, humans maintain large reindeer herds. In certain regions, indigenous herders move their herds to mountain tundra where their herds find solace from insects. In other regions of the Russian Far East, herders use smudge fires and smoke to drive away biting insects. In northern Russia, herders and their herds travel hundreds of kilometres from the taiga and their winter territory to the tundra and their summer pastures. This cyclical pattern is quite typical of a number of reindeer herders, including the Izhma Komi, who will be examined in greater detail in this course.

Reindeer herding was never practised in North America, though attempts were made in recent history to introduce the practice to the indigenous populations of Alaska. However, reindeer herding, as it is practised in much of northern Scandinavia and Russia, is not necessarily an ancient practice; until a few centuries ago, the indigenous populations relied on the hunting of wild reindeer for their subsistence. Some scholars have hypothesized that herding intensified with colonization. It is argued that, through herding, the indigenous populations of many regions of the North kept their distance from southern colonizers who were exploiting the indigenous populations for furs and other resources.

In the boreal forests of Canada and central Alaska, the indigenous populations relied on careful foraging in their traditional territories for their resources. As will be examined in greater detail, the circumpolar North did not feature large towns or cities. The social organization of the circumpolar North consisted of family units working together to ensure the well-being of the larger community. In the boreal forests of Canada, extended families would congregate during the summer when fish were plentiful. During such periods, groups of a hundred to two hundred people would gather for short periods. During these periods, individuals would cooperate in fishing and hunting, and friendships and alliances would be reinforced, and marriages concluded. In the fall, these large groups would



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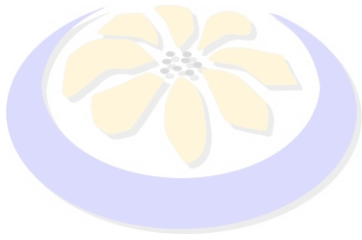
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break into smaller kin groups—usually centred on one nuclear family—that would spread over the territory to pass the winter.

Similar patterns were followed throughout the North, though the times of congregation would vary. In the Canadian Central Arctic, for example, large groups of extended families gathered on the ice in the winter to hunt seals. The relative abundance of seals and the benefits of communal hunting encouraged the concentration of the population into larger groups during the course of the winter as opposed to the summer, when smaller groups would disperse over the territory.

In the circumpolar world, power was neither centralized nor hierarchical, and status was achieved and could be easily lost. Though groups had recognized traditional territories, the exact composition of groups could change over time. In the Arctic, for example, one of the common responses to conflict between individuals was to have larger groups break apart into smaller family units and to have the parties in conflict move away from each other. Such fluidity in social units militates against the emergence of stratified societies where power and authority could be exerted over individuals. Leadership throughout the circumpolar world tended to be achieved and impermanent, as opposed to inherited and entrenched. An individual could achieve status and command respect based on the individual's acknowledged skill, experience, or wisdom, but this authority had to be maintained. An individual could not easily impose authority on others, as decision-making tended to rely on social consensus, and dissenters could often join other social units where they shared ties of kinship. Political power, unlike that in a state or an emerging state, was not centralized; the authority of an individual would rarely extend farther than a particular community or, in the case of the Aleuts, farther than one island.

The question remains as to the origins of the peoples of the circumpolar world. In certain cases, the peopling of a given region is well known. This is certainly the case for Iceland, where a clear historical record recounts the peopling of the island. In other cases, the linguistic and archaeological records provide a relatively clear account of the peopling of a given area. The spread of the Thule 1000 years ago, the ancestors to the modern Inuit, is relatively well documented in archaeological records. The peopling of the Americas and the origins of the North American First Nations, however, are still under debate. As will be discussed in following modules, until quite recently, archaeologists believed that the ancestors to North American First Nations had crossed the Bering Strait on foot roughly 12,000 years ago—following big game—and these hunters would have quickly spread over the continent. However, in recent years, the archaeological, geological, and genetic evidence has become more complex. There is evidence that there were people in the Americas prior to 12,000 years ago, but how long ago is not clear. Some researchers hypothesize that the first people did not walk across the Bering Strait but rather followed the coast, using boats to sail down past the glaciers to the ice-free lands to the south.



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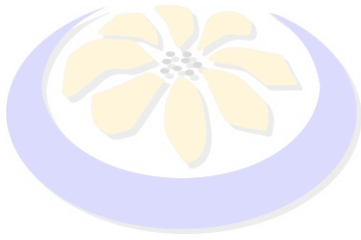
Recent discoveries of skeletal material have blurred the evidence, suggesting that there were several migrations into the Americas. The one thing that is clear is that the ancestors to the modern Inuit and First Nations crossed into the Americas from northeast Asia.<sup>1</sup>

By 1,000 years ago, the circumpolar North was fully populated and inhabited by the ancestors of the indigenous peoples that now live in the North. However, in the centuries to follow, the populations of the circumpolar North suffered the spread of colonial power and the expansion of empires and nation-states into their territories. Prior to the fifteenth century, the circumpolar regions were inhabited by primary societies in which indigenous populations maintained economies that were focused primarily on foraging—hunting and gathering. These societies tended to be quite egalitarian and did not feature the emergence of centralized and hierarchical states. Starting in the fifteenth century, a first wave of European colonization moved northwards. In this period the Swedish, Finnish, Norwegian, and Danish populations expanded north along the coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia and Norway. The fourteenth century marked a northern and eastern push of the Rus'; at the end of the fourteenth century, a Russian priest—Stefan of Perm—set out to convert the Finno-Ugric Perm, the first attempt of the Rus' to extend their religion (and, by extension, their culture) over neighbouring peoples. This was followed by the political expansion of the growing power of Muscovy over the North and into Siberia. This period also saw the expansion of Danes and Icelanders to Greenland and North America. Later, in the sixteenth century, European expansion began in the Americas; the French and the English pushed into northern territories looking for gold and other riches.

Though there are many differences, the pattern of Russian and Scandinavian colonization in the North and East is similar to what occurred in northern Canada and Alaska. As was the case in Russia, the first stages of colonization occurred in a period that is best described as that of mercantilism. European kingdoms were expanding outwards looking for territories, gold, silver, and other goods for trade and commerce. European

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<sup>1</sup> In glacial periods, the shallow waters of this narrow strait would have dried up; as water was trapped in glaciers, waters would have dropped, exposing the floors of shallow ocean areas, such as the Bering Strait and much of the territory surrounding Great Britain and Ireland. A land bridge would have united the two continents of Asia and North America, allowing the movement of plant and animal species between the two areas of the world. Many species that are common to Eurasia actually originated in the Americas, and these include the camel and the horse. It was also presumed that humans would have crossed from Eurasia into the Americas. However, though there is little doubt that the interior of Alaska and the Yukon were hospitable throughout the ice age, the question remains as to how humans would have crossed the continent to the south of the massive glaciers that covered most of Canada. It is known that a land bridge existed between the two main glaciers and at times would have allowed the free movement of animals across this corridor. The problem with the presumed ice-free corridor is the fact that at the time when humans would have allegedly crossed this corridor, geological records indicate that the landscape would have been quite inhospitable, with few animals and other sources of food to maintain a human population, even one that was moving through on its way south.



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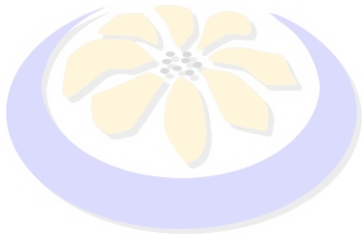
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powers, such as France, England, Spain, and Holland, established colonies in the Americas and controlled the commerce of goods from the colonies to the advantage of the metropolitan centre, be it Paris, London, Madrid, or Amsterdam. In this early period, France and England competed for control of the northern fur trade. Paddling out from New France in the Saint Lawrence River of North America, French traders and soldiers were criss-crossing the continent, trading for furs that could be sold in Europe at profit. They were competing with traders based in New England and later with the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the early stages of colonialism, the European powers, which were secondary societies—agricultural societies—were in a position of relative weakness. The European powers did not have the necessary military power to control the entire continent, and the indigenous populations were needed as allies in the wars that opposed European powers. In this early period, European diseases wreaked havoc among First Nations populations, but the spread of European colonists in the circumpolar North was quite limited. In Canada, for example, the Saint Lawrence valley and the territory surrounding the Great Lakes were colonized; their more temperate climates—and climates better suited for the agricultural practices of the period—facilitated the establishment of European settlers as farmers in the fertile soils of the region.

In the boreal forests and the tundra, European settlements were limited to trading posts and forts. The European traders that ventured into the forests to seek furs for trade and export to European markets relied upon the indigenous communities for their survival. This is reflected in the emergence of the Metis in the nineteenth century. The descendants of French-Canadian and Scottish fur traders who married into indigenous communities—thus gaining access to the hunting grounds of their affined kin—demonstrated the continued sovereignty that the indigenous peoples of the circumpolar world maintained in their traditional territories. Though their cultures had changed since the earlier period of pre-contact, that is, the period predating the arrival of the Europeans, indigenous populations continued to control their territories, even though they had entered into trading relationships with Europeans, and even though European powers claimed these territories as their domain.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the territories of the Canadian and Alaskan circumpolar world were colonized by Canada and the United States. In the case of Canada, the process began with the sale to the newly formed confederation of Canada of the territories that had been granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. These territories, renamed the Northwest Territories, included all the lands to the west and north of Ontario. Soon afterwards, the province of Manitoba was created, and the westward migration of settlers, mainly from Ontario and Great Britain, initiated a new phase of colonialism that would irrevocably change the balance of power between the indigenous populations of what is now



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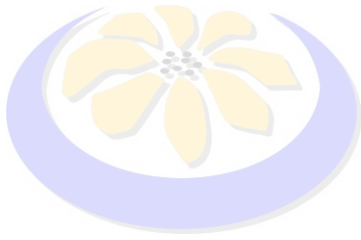
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Canada. The new Canadian state forced the indigenous peoples of these territories to sign treaties, and the indigenous peoples of the Canadian circumpolar North gradually lost their sovereignty, as their populations were relocated to reserves. Treaties were signed when the land was considered to be of value to the interests of Canada; the last treaty to be signed was Treaty 11, signed in 1921 after the discovery of oil and gas in the Mackenzie valley. No treaties were signed with the Inuit, as the Arctic tundra was seen as possessing nothing of value. As treaties were signed and indigenous populations relocated, territories were opened to colonization and provinces were created in the south. In all of these regions, indigenous populations quickly came to be minorities within their traditional territories, and indigenous populations lost their sovereignty over their traditional territories and came to be fiduciaries of the Canadian state.

In Alaska, after the “sale” of the territory to the United States of America by the Russian Empire in the 1867 Treaty of Cession, the United States occupied the territory militarily. There were similarities in the treatment of the Alaskan indigenous groups and the First Nations and Inuit of Canada. In both countries, the state strove to assimilate the indigenous populations, to make them into farmers, and hoped to eventually “civilize” the indigenous populations, swallowing them into the mainstream culture. The reserve (Canada) and reservation (United States) were simply stop-gap measures to help indigenous populations make the transition from “savagery” to “civilization.” To this end, the education system was used as a tool to accelerate assimilation, which led to the creation of residential schools, usually financed by the state, but run by religious organizations. The goal of both the newly industrialized Canadian and the American states was to extinguish the status of indigenous populations and to completely assimilate them into the dominant culture. Though the attempts at assimilation failed, the indigenous communities of both countries were left dislocated and suffering from a number of social problems, such as widespread poverty and illness. Diseases, such as tuberculosis, for example, were much more widespread among indigenous populations than Euro-Canadian and Euro-American populations, largely a consequence of colonization and colonial policies.

A similar pattern was repeated in the Russian North. In the first centuries of Russian expansion, indigenous populations retained much autonomy, though they were integrated into the Russian Empire. Indigenous groups pushed north and east, moving away from Russian settlers and avoiding Russians except for the purposes of trade. In this period, certain populations declined quite drastically while others expanded, occupying the traditional territories of other indigenous groups.

During the Soviet period, despite the early progressive policies that promoted the language and culture of indigenous and minority populations, the Soviet state promoted policies that would disrupt the lives of its northern indigenous populations. In the 1930s, the reindeer herders and their



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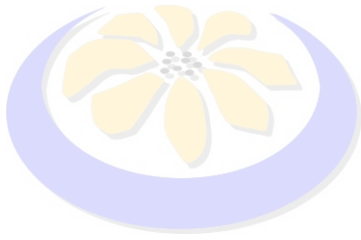
herds were collectivized, drastically changing traditional social organization. Also, in the 1930s onwards, the Soviet state encouraged the migration of workers into northern Russia and the Russian Far East, leading to indigenous populations becoming minorities even in those autonomous territories that had been set aside to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. With the establishment of gulags, large settlements were established in the North, and large numbers of prisoners remained in the North even after their liberation. In addition, the spread of Soviet industry in the North encouraged the migration of workers seeking higher salaries and generous benefits. Not only were the indigenous peoples of Russia becoming minorities in their traditional territories, but also, after the war, the Soviet state pursued the assimilation of the indigenous peoples, though these policies were rarely published or acknowledged.

The fate of the Sami in Scandinavia was not much better than that of other indigenous circumpolar peoples. As elsewhere, the Sami were integrated into nation-states where they were a small minority subjugated to the will of larger, ethnically distinct, populations to the south. Until quite recently, there were strong pressures brought to bear upon the Sami to assimilate. Until the 1960s, being Sami was a social stigma, as the Sami identity was not valued and in many cases was hidden when coming into contact with outsiders from the dominant majority, whether it be Norwegian, Swedish, or Finnish. Similar to the cases of North America and Russia, southern populations in Scandinavia colonized the Sami, as southern settlers and developers in search of farmland, forest for logging, rivers for damming, and minerals for mining encroached upon their territory. This industrialization reduced the Sami to small minorities within their territory, thus undermining their political power and influence in those regions that had traditionally been inhabited by the Sami.

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## Conclusion

The goal of this course is to review the indigenous cultures that inhabited the circumpolar world prior to contact and colonization. In the modules to follow, the traditional culture of the region's indigenous populations will be examined using ethnographic, historical, and archaeological accounts to better understand the traditional economy and social organization of the pre-contact circumpolar world. The physical and natural environment will be reviewed as well as the history of colonization. The first four modules will review the primary societies that inhabited the circumpolar region of the world. The next seven modules will examine the secondary societies, which developed with the colonization of the circumpolar North when southern agricultural and, later, industrial powers expanded northwards and incorporated indigenous territories into the nation-states. The territories served as internal colonies providing resources to satisfy the needs of southern populations and expanding nation-states.



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The goal of the course is to better locate the development of the circumpolar world in light of larger historical trends. The course will examine the history of contact and colonization of the North and will discuss the consequences of this colonization. You should have a better understanding of the cultural diversity that existed in the circumpolar North, and you should also appreciate the similarities that unite the distinct regions, including the fact that all peoples of this region had to face one form or another of colonization within their respective nation-states.

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## Suggested Reading

Minority Rights Group Staff, ed. 1994. *Polar Peoples: Self-determination and Development*. London: Minority Rights Publications.

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## Glossary of Terms

<b>Bog</b>	noun wet, spongy ground.
<b>Boggy</b>	adjective see BOG.
<b>Boreal</b>	<b>1</b> of the North or northern regions. <b>2</b> of the north wind. [from Latin Boreas from Greek Boreas god of the north wind]
<b>Calve</b>	verb give birth to a calf; in glaciology, the fragmentation of a mass of ice from the leading edge of an iceshelf or glacier
<b>Deciduous</b>	(of a tree) shedding its leaves annually.
<b>Entrench</b>	establish firmly.
<b>Fiduciary</b>	<b>1</b> of a trust, trustee, or trusteeship. <b>2</b> held or given in trust. <b>3</b> (of a paper currency) depending for its value on public confidence or securities.
<b>Forage</b>	noun <b>1</b> food for reindeer, horses, cattle, etc., especially hay or grass. <b>2</b> the act or an instance of searching for food. verb go searching (especially for food).
<b>Glaciers</b>	massive sheets of ice that expand and move.
<b>Gulf</b>	a stretch of sea consisting of a deep inlet with a narrow mouth. For example, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
<b>Indigenous</b>	adjective <b>1</b> (esp. of flora and fauna) originating naturally in a region. <b>2</b> (of people) born in a region.
<b>Inhospitable</b>	<b>1</b> not hospitable. <b>2</b> (of a region, coast, etc.) not affording shelter, etc.



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<b>Kin</b>	noun family or relatives
<b>Lichen</b>	any plant organism of the group Lichenes, composed of a fungus and an alga in symbiotic association, usually of green, grey, or yellow tint and growing on and colouring rocks, tree trunks, roofs, walls, etc.
<b>Mercantilism</b>	historical the economic theory that money is the only form of wealth and that a government should accumulated it by promoting exports and restricting imports.
<b>Peninsula</b>	a piece of land almost surrounded by water or projecting far into a sea or lake, etc.
<b>Permafrost</b>	subsoil which remains below freezing point throughout the year, as in polar regions.
<b>Solace</b>	noun comfort in distress, disappointment, or tedium.
<b>Stop-gap</b>	a thing that temporarily supplies a need; a temporary substitute or solution.
<b>Strait</b>	a narrow passage of water connecting two seas or large bodies of water.
<b>Trek</b>	vt <b>1</b> to travel on foot over difficult terrain, or to make one's way arduously, with effort. n. <b>2</b> an organized migration of a body of persons.
<b>Ungulate</b>	adjective hoofed. noun a hoofed mammal.