Igloolik

Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Community Histories ***1950–1975***

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to the Inuit of the Qikiqtani Region. May our history never be forgotten and our voices be forever strong.

About This Report (2024 Edition)

This report was originally produced by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) from reports drafted by the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) in 2010 and published by QIA in 2013. In 2024, QIA updated the reports by reinstating footnotes, correcting official place names, making minor corrections to grammar and syntax, correcting maps, and changing some images. The Inuktitut versions also added footnotes.

Foreword and Introduction texts from the 2013 edition are found at the end of the 2024 report to provide context about the work of the QTC.

Table of Contents

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Introducing Igloolik

Igloolik, with more than 1,500 residents, is the second-largest community in the Qikiqtani Region, but it was among the last to be firmly called home by its local population. Unlike many other communities across the Arctic, many of Igloolik's families occupied ilagiit nunagivaktangit[i] well into the 1970s.

Igloolik (meaning, "there is a house there") is located on Foxe Basin, south of Fury and Hecla Strait, about 70 km north of Sanirajak, 400 km from Pond Inlet, and 850 km northwest of Iqaluit.[ii] Before the government[iii] concentrated services and people in the present hamlet, Igloolik was the name given to a cluster of large historic Inuit dwellings east of the present community. The name was later applied to Igloolik Point and Igloolik Island. The bay in front of the present hamlet was called Turton Bay by 19th-century visitors on exploratory voyages. It is now known as Ikpiarjuk, "the pocket," in traditional Inuit toponymy.

Today, people who belong to this hamlet are usually known as Iglulingmiut, but an earlier name for part of the region's population is Amitturmiut, a group who frequently travelled to the Pond Inlet area. Those from south of the region, more closely affiliated with Naujaat's people, are among the Aivilingmiut. They are bound to the sea, land, and ice of the region, and to each other, through hunting, language, cultural activities, kinship, and environmental understanding.

The use and occupancy of the area goes back at least four thousand years. Because the land is now rebounding where it was once deeply depressed by ancient glaciers, the region's archaeological sites tell a story of the presence of different human cultures, with remains of the earliest on the highest places. These higher, earlier sites offer evidence of earlier populations whose shelters, tools, and miniature works of art were different from those of Inuit, whose

i The Inuktut term *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* is a more accurate name for places called "camps" in the historical record created by ethnographers, bureaucrats and police. Ilagiit nunagivaktangit were places regularly used for hunting, harvesting and gathering. Inuit groups traditionally had several ilagiit nunagivaktangit, which allowed them to move to follow game.

ii This report uses current geographical place names unless another name is used in quotation or citation.

iii This report uses the term "government" to include all the bodies that existed under Canadian federal legislation to serve and control people, mostly Inuit, in the Qikiqtani Region. These bodies exercised all the powers that were distributed among federal, provincial and municipal orders of government in the rest of Canada. In Ottawa and locally, most government programs in the Qikiqtani Region were delivered by the Northern Affairs Branch and the RCMP. Inuit had no voice in their own government, and there were no legal codes to protect their individual or collective rights.

own ancestors have been here for about a thousand years. Inuit call their immediate predecessors Tuniit. Louis Alianakuluk said to researchers around 1974:

> *Yes, and the Tuniit were here before, but they are gone. They're gone from here, but the house sites are around. They were other people before our ancestors. We are here because our ancestors are real. There will be our descendants who won't be qallunaat [non-Inuit].*[1]

Following the Tuniit, there were several centuries in which Inuit occupied the area and adapted to centuries of climate change. Alianakuluk spoke about this.

> *We live here because our ancestors did before us. If they had not lived here, I don't know what we'd do, we wouldn't have anything. They tried hard to hunt animals in order to live—that's why we are living.*
>
> *Those old places are easy to spot. I've been to many places by dog-team, in the direction of Pond Inlet and others, where I've seen rocks piled one on top of the other [i.e., Inuksuit]. They were fixed like that by Inuit. They are everywhere.*[2]

Not only were Inuit "everywhere," they were living at a crossroads in the network of long travel routes linking different parts of the Qikiqtani Region to places farther south and west. When the first European travelers arrived in 1822, they found that people at Igloolik already had imported metal implements that reached them by trade with their neighbours.

Igloolik is now the main population centre for the people living on northern Foxe Basin, whose traditional territory extends westward across Melville Peninsula, northwards towards Arctic Bay. It also extends around Foxe Basin to the Piling area and south towards Naujaat. The major geographical feature for the Amitturmiut were two areas of open water where two strong currents meet west of Rowley Island, where seals and walrus are especially abundant. Apart from Igloolik, the region has another main population centre nearby at Sanirajak, a community that grew in the 1950s around a DEW Line main station. Although Igloolik is well connected to neighbouring communities by traditional travel routes and modern snowmobile trails, the northern Foxe Basin region is often considered to be divided from its neighbours by coastlines with relatively poor hunting.

Igloolik is a community with strong Inuit traditions. It has been called the cultural epicentre for the Inuit people.[3] If this were at least partly true, it would be because the marine environment has long supported a large population. As a result, the first permanent trading post in the region dates only to 1947. Not surprisingly, the RCMP reported in 1953 that "natives in the Igloolik area appear to adhere more to native ways and clothing"[4] than other Inuit in the North Baffin and Foxe Basin region. The cultural richness of the community is known outside Nunavut through many efforts, including a long-lasting oral history project, dedicated ethnographers, other social scientists, and Igloolik artists.

This community history can only reveal a small part of the vast amount of Inuit knowledge and perspective that has been preserved, revealed, and interpreted to Nunavummiut, to the country and the world at large about the Igloolik area. Igloolik's population is predominantly Inuit. It is both a lively community where Inuit values and practices are integrated into daily life and a modern government town that attracts Inuit and non-Inuit inhabitants from other parts of Canada.

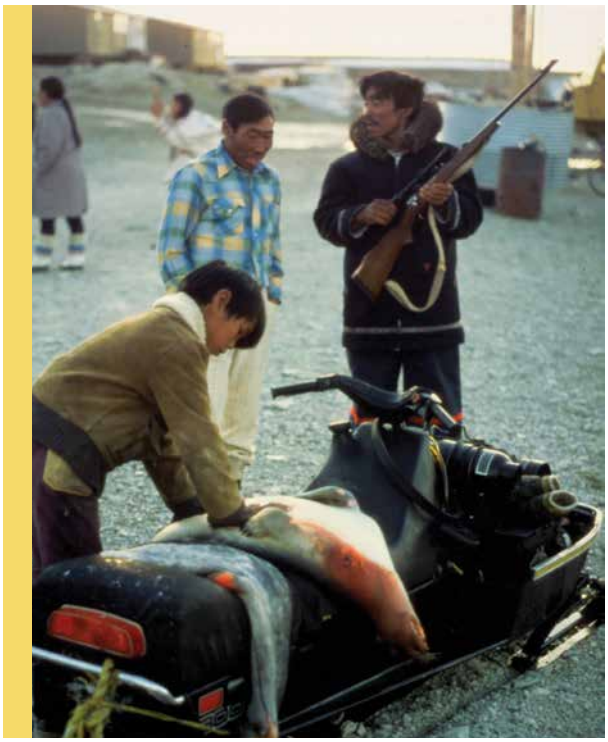
Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta

The term "Taissumani nunamiutautilluta" means "when we lived on the land." It reaches back thousands of years. The end date depends on the community, but it is generally in the 1950s to early 1960s when most Inuit were living in government-chosen settlements and participating in the cash economy. During this time, the Inuktut term *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* is a more accurate expression for the places Inuit called home and qallunaat (non-Inuit) named "camps." Ilagiit nunagivaktangit were places regularly used for hunting, harvesting and gathering. Inuit groups traditionally had several ilagiit nunagivaktangit, which allowed them to move to follow game.

ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT

Foxe Basin is a large body of salt water that, historically, has been covered almost year-round with ice. The island-studded northern end, lying between Melville Peninsula and the coast of Baffin Island, is more fertile and productive of sea life than the more open southern end near Southampton Island and the Foxe Peninsula. The prevailing surface currents flow in from the ice-clogged Fury and Hecla Strait in the northwest, south to a point abreast of the north tip of Southampton Island. From here the current splits—an important stream returns counter-clockwise west of Baffin Island, some flows southwest through Rowe's Welcome Sound, and the remainder pushes south through Foxe Channel to join Hudson Strait.

Sea ice is of paramount importance to the region's settlement and history. Foxe Basin has both land-fast sea ice and drift ice. The land-fast ice extends from some shorelines as much as 10 km into the basin. The drift ice is characterized by its roughness and constant motion. New ice forms during October, and by November, Foxe Basin is almost completely covered in ice. The ice starts melting in May or June, but it's not until August that the ice begins to rapidly disintegrate, with only small patches of loose ice remaining by September.[5]



Igloolik hunters, [1976].
Credit: *NWT Archives / Northwest Territories. Department of Public Works and Services fonds / G-1995-001: 0480.*

Amitturmiut have enjoyed an abundance of sea mammals—seals, walrus and whales—that thrive in the cold waters of Foxe Basin. Amitturmiut territory also extends westward across Melville Peninsula (largely for caribou hunting), where good travel routes exist and are frequently used between Igloolik and northern Baffin Island.

The Amitturmiut followed a seasonal round. In winter, men hunted at seal holes on the thick sea ice. As the days became longer, hunting activity increased. Two sea-ice villages were usually established, one near Igloolik Island and the other north of Sanirajak near Foster Bay. As spring arrived, the families moved to the shoreline, where they continued hunting seal and walrus, and began travelling inland onto Melville Peninsula to hunt caribou.[6] In summer, the inland caribou hunts intensified in the search for hides in prime condition for clothing. In September and October, as the ice began to freeze over and the days became shorter, people finished their preparations for winter and moved into their winter dwellings.[7]

The relationship with the land was not a purely practical thing; it went to the heart of what it meant to be Inuit. As one hunter, Louis Alianakuluk, explained in 1974:

> *If I were asked by a [Qallunaaq], "Are you happy with your land?" I'd tell him that I was very happy with it. It has animals and you can see for miles. It seems barren, but if you travel, you see animals. Seeing live animals gives the greatest joy to Inuit.*[8]

Amitturmiut adapted over centuries to the unique challenges of Foxe Basin. Their understanding of weather patterns, ice, animal activities, and astronomy were integrated into everyday lives through practical instruction of young people as well as through stories, a rich cosmology, and spiritual beliefs.[9] Interaction with nature was based on a great respect and inherent understanding of the need for stewardship of the animals, and of the land and sea. Hubert Amarualik spoke eloquently to researchers in 1993.

> *A land could only be occupied for three years. No one can live on this land beyond the three years … That was the way they lived, always moving to another [place], never occupying one land beyond three winters … The land itself was prevented from "rotting" by this. Should one choose to occupy the land beyond three years, then they are bound to face peril, which might include death, therefore they had to follow this rule.*[10]

This understanding of the region's resources and migration patterns meant Amitturmiut did not inhabit the same winter ilagiit nunagivaktangit year after year but moved in order to give the land time to recuperate. Researchers in the 1960s identified eight main Amitturmiut hunting areas in the period from 1930 to 1966, each consisting of some core settlement locations with a surrounding land-use area. These areas often overlapped slightly with the use areas of neighbours but were strongly associated with particular families.

EARLY CONTACTS

The first documented visit by Europeans to Foxe Basin was from 1822 to 1823, when Captains William Parry and George F. Lyon sailed their Royal Navy vessels, HMS *Fury* and HMS *Hecla*, into the basin. Later, in 1867 and then in 1868, American explorer Charles Hall travelled to the area to investigate the fate of the missing Franklin Expedition.[11] Both times, Hall travelled by dog sled north through Naujaat along the coastline. Few foreign travellers to the area reached northern Foxe Basin overland through Arctic Bay or Pond Inlet because the water route to the area was often dangerous and at times impassable owing to the thick pack ice that formed in the basin. An early Canadian qallunaat encounter occurred in 1913, when Alfred Tremblay, a member of one of Captain Joseph Bernier's expeditions, travelled to northern Foxe Basin from Pond Inlet by dog team while surveying for economic mineral potential. While these explorations demonstrate early points of contact between Inuit and qallunaat, the events also hold as memorable encounters integrated in Amitturmiut stories and histories.[12]

CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

Unlike Inuit in many other parts of Qikiqtani, Amitturmiut had little direct contact with Scottish or American whalers, who were regular visitors at Pond Inlet from 1820 and at Naujaat from 1865. Despite this, Amitturmiut traded for imports by making long trips to meet the whalers, or else they traded with Tununirmiut in northern Baffin Island and Aivilingmiut at Naujaat. The introduction of firearms and whaleboats changed the hunting, settlement, and mobility patterns of the Amitturmiut. Initially, firearms were specialized tools for hunting species under specific conditions, such as during the winter caribou hunt, when the white background and crunchy snow prevented a stealthy stalking of the prey. While the scarcity and high cost of ammunition in the region slowed their adoption, over time guns became more widespread. By the 1930s, the hunting of seals and walrus involved both traditional technologies and rifles.

Amitturmiut acquired whaleboats much later than Aivilingmiut at Naujaat and used umiat (skin boats) instead:

> *People here did get wood to frame their boats. They would use it to tow a walrus, and they made it so that it could carry a number of people. They used skins to cover the frames; they used sealskins and bearded sealskins for covering, and walrus hide when it was torn. That is how it was when they began to use boats.*[13]

The introduction of sturdier wooden whaleboats had a significant impact. The whaleboat "was a great convenience to us compared with the skin boats, right to the time when it got flexible because of long use. It was able to haul in two walrus carcasses … Because we needed a lot of meat to survive, boats were important in the walrus-hunt." The new whaleboats eventually led to the abandonment of the umiat as the whaleboats were more stable, allowed for greater visibility when hunting and travelling, and could carry more hunters and heavier loads.[14]

By the 1890s, some American whaling ships were wintering occasionally at Naujaat, and in 1903 Scottish interests began a regular year-round presence at Naujaat as well as Pond Inlet, both accessible to the Amitturmiut. The expanding Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) took over the established trade at Naujaat in 1919 and at Pond Inlet in 1921 and squeezed other British and Canadian firms out after the First World War. These permanent and well-supplied trading posts reinforced existing patterns of trade and travel and provided Amitturmiut with more stable access to manufactured goods.

The trading posts required people to travel greater distances and further incorporate trapping into their seasonal harvesting cycle to acquire boats, guns and ammunition, foodstuffs, and other imports. One incident of travel of this kind has become famous because it intersected with a great tragedy that

Inuit adults and children gathered in front of the Roman Catholic Mission at Igloolik, [1958].
Credit: *Charles Gimpel / Library and Archives Canada / e004923428.*

befell a party travelling through the region.[15] The story involved a woman named Ataguttaaluk, who with her second husband, Ituksarjuaq, was very prominent in the area in the 1920s. When she was younger, she set off on travels with her first husband and a dozen people. They ran out of food in unusually deep snow in the interior of Baffin Island. Their long absence left other Inuit fearing the worst, and a party including a young Atuat, set out with great misgivings on their own trip along the same route to stock up on ammunition.

As Atuat told the story more than half a century later, his group found Ataguttaaluk in terrible condition surrounded by evidence of cannibalism. They approached her melting and broken iglu where her husband had posed his harpoon, telescopes, and rifles to attract attention.

> *When I reached the edge of the hole, I grabbed my mother's clothing. Ataguttaaluk was there in it. However, what a horrid sight! She was like a bird in its egg. She seemed to have a beak and like some sorts of miserable small wings because she no longer had sleeves, having eaten part of her atigi.*[16]

Rescued by these relatives, Ataguttaaluk returned to Igloolik and regained her health. She was an early convert to Catholicism in the 1930s. Igloolik's Ataguttaaluk Elementary School is named in her memory and honour.

The introduction of western technologies and increased importance of fur trading affected the seasonal migration cycle of Amitturmiut. People cached more food from the summer walrus hunt and were able to live off these caches well into the winter. Anthropologist David Damas states that with the introduction of the whaleboat and firearms the inhabitants of the region went through the "stage of their greatest economic well being from the standpoint of meat production."[17] The rich resources of Foxe Basin attracted people from Pond Inlet and Naujaat during the 1920s and 1930s. According to some estimates, the population of Foxe Basin may have doubled during this period.[18]

The 1920s also brought the Amitturmiut into contact with the RCMP. The RCMP established a detachment at Pond Inlet in 1923, and the first recorded patrol from there to northern Foxe Basin came that same year, when the police came to collect a participant and some witnesses involved in the 1920 killing of trader Robert Janes.[19] After this, RCMP attempted a patrol to the Foxe Basin region annually.[20]

A more significant cultural change crossed from Pond Inlet to the Igloolik area in the early 1920s. This was Christianity, brought by an Inuk named Umik, who preached a crossing of Anglicanism with Inuit spirituality.[21] This was one of the distant offshoots of a mission established in Cumberland Sound in 1896, from which Christianity spread, aided by the printing of gospels in Inuktitut syllabics. Over time, however, many Christian ideas were absorbed into Inuit culture, without completely ending the influence of earlier beliefs or practices. With the later overlay of Christian ideas through Canadian law, many Inuit practices related to marriage and kinship, including spouse exchange, disappeared.[22]

In 1931, Fr. Etienne Bazin, an Oblate missionary, arrived in the region and built a tiny mission at Avvajja, one of the Coxe Islands lying west of Igloolik Island. It soon burned, and in 1937, Fr. Bazin moved east to Igloolik Island. He was joined there by Fr. Jean-Marie Trebaol and the tiny Mission vessel *St. Thérèse*, which brought building materials for a new mission station. This became the first permanent qallunaat establishment in northern Foxe Basin.[23] Initially, this establishment had little impact on the hunting and migration patterns of Amitturmiut, although some Elders and injured or sick Inuit chose to stay near the mission. Additionally, the rivalry between competing Catholic and Anglican missionaries also created serious social divisions among Inuit in the area.[24] The divide was also geographical; the Anglicans were generally living and hunting north or northeast of Igloolik Island, while the Roman Catholic missionaries were mostly found farther south.

In 1939, the qallunaat presence on Igloolik Island was reinforced by the HBC building its first post on Foxe Basin north of Naujaat. Unfavourable ice conditions prevented resupply and forced the post

to close between 1943 and 1947. Its establishment and re-establishment dramatically increased the ability of Inuit to make regular visits to trade, sparing them the long journey by qimuksiq[25] to either Arctic Bay or Naujaat.

Apart from traders and missionaries, the Amitturmiut also had contacts with a wider world through the occasional party of visiting scientists. In 1921, a party of Danish and Greenlandic scientists calling themselves the Fifth Thule Expedition entered northern Foxe Basin as part of their quest to collect Inuit songs and traditions and to pursue their grand ambition to discover the origins of Inuit as a separate people. Their leader, Knud Rasmussen, is still remembered as Kunuti in Igloolik. His companions Therkel Mathiassen (Tikkilik) and Peter Freuchen (Piitarjuaq) are also remembered. Later in this period, a small party of young English scientists, Tom Manning's British Canadian Arctic Expedition, also visited Igloolik to study birds and survey several poorly mapped coastlines. In 1937, Graham Rowley's archaeological excavations at Avvajja confirmed the existence of a distinctive ancient culture in the Foxe Basin that had earlier been named the Dorset culture. In the 1950s, the Danish archaeologist Jorgen Meldgaard, whose work on Igloolik Island and the Fury and Hecla Strait continued the earlier work of Rasmussen and Rowley, explored the rich human history of the region over four millennia.

In the period after 1930 when missionaries and fur traders were becoming established at Igloolik and white fox trapping was most profitable, there was little direct government[26] involvement in assuring a minimum level of well-being for the Amitturmiut. While the RCMP tried to conduct annual patrols from Pond Inlet and distributed a certain amount of food or ammunition as "relief" when they met people who were experiencing hard times, anything to do with medical care or other assistance was handled by the HBC or the missions. The annual government supply ships to the Eastern Arctic never got this far up Foxe Basin, and aircraft, though seen once or twice in the late 1930s, were extremely rare visitors.

This changed suddenly in 1955, when the US Army Air Force established a DEW Line main station at Sanirajak, along with several auxiliary and short-lived intermediate sites across northern Foxe Basin. At this point, the federal government began to play a more sustained role in the southerly parts of the Amitturmiut territories, with inevitable ripples throughout the region. By 1958, there were almost 150 people camped on Igloolik Island, 100 of whom lived at the settlement and hunted at the floe edge, the other 50 living 8 km east at Igloolik Point. The regional Inuit population (including Sanirajak) was considerably larger, well over 600 in 1965.[27]

Sangussaqtauliqtil-luta (1955–1966)

The term "Sangussaqtauliqtilluta" means "the time when we started to be actively persuaded, or made to, detour or switch modes." Combinations of both externally driven and local pressures detached individuals, families and kin groups from life on the land and moved them towards government-directed settlements.

The Amitturmiut region experienced two sudden changes in the period after the Second World War. In the QTC community histories, these sudden changes are called Sangussaqtauliqtilluta, meaning "the time when we started to be actively persuaded, or made to, detour or switch modes." These words underline the fact that people went through enormous changes in a short time. Not all changes were harmful, but all required an effort to adapt traditional ways of thinking and living, to new circumstances. In the earlier period, Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta, a centre like Igloolik existed only to provide trade goods and other imported services to people who continued to live in dispersed settlements around their regions. In the Sangussaqtauliqtilluta period, people became centralized or "sedentary" in the community and moved outwards from it to carry on their traditional activities. In the words of an observer, the people moved from a relationship with the land which was "simple and profound" to a new relationship in which the new settlement was dominated numerically by Inuit, but socially by qallunaat, whose business was "conscious social change."

For the Amitturmiut of northern Foxe Basin, these disruptive events occurred in two stages. The Americans forced the federal government into action in 1954 when plans were finalized to construct the massive radar defence program, known as the Distant Early Warning Line, across the Arctic from Alaska to Greenland. When the US Army Air Force established the FOX-Main DEW site south of Igloolik at Sanirajak, new opportunities for casual employment, medical care, and other attractions were created in the region. Sanirajak quickly acquired a year-round Inuit population.

The second stage was more fully planned and directed by the federal government as part of a general program to bring government services into the north, and to prepare for economic development. With the changes introduced by the DEW Line, the government began to re-examine the former policy of encouraging Inuit to continue hunting and trapping from their widely distributed habitations on the land. In the mid-1950s, official policy was to encourage Inuit to adopt southern ways wherever the impact of contact was already strong, but to buffer the more remote settlements against sudden change. Three important policies cut across all communities, although the government did not seem to understand how big an impact they would have.

The first policy was a major public health initiative to eradicate tuberculosis, which led to the evacuation of sick Inuit to hospitals in the south. For the people of Igloolik this meant evacuation by air. Second was the policy of universal education, usually delivered with rosy promises of jobs in the communities. The third program was Inuit housing, which was meant to provide comfortable and healthy living conditions, which it eventually did, but at a higher cost than promised. These three policies had the somewhat surprising result of producing the speedy relocation of almost every family into a sedentary life in a few centralized settlements. As a result, they can be seen as markers of the Sangussaqtauliqtilluta period, but it would be years before their implications became evident.

The significance of the changes during the 1960s was not fully recognized at the time. The two missions and the HBC were joined by a small school, a nursing station, and some houses for Inuit. In the meantime, the sealskin trade began one of its periodic slumps in 1964.

In this short period, however, more and more children were separated from their parents for health treatments and schooling. Some students lived in the hostel in the settlement but others, especially Catholics, were sent to the Chesterfield Inlet Indian Residential School and its residence, Turquetil Hall. In his autobiography, Paul Quassa describes being picked up at Manittuq by airplane at the age of five or six. In addition to the stories of sexual abuse, he writes about the physical punishment. “There was a lot of strapping,” he writes. “I remember one teacher who actually punched the students.”[28] Young children were separated for long periods of time outside the safety and care of their families. Siblings could see each other from across rooms and outside, but they were not allowed to find solace in the other’s company.

As the population at Igloolik grew, people accustomed to living in small multi-family groups with flexible membership found themselves dealing face to face with literally hundreds of Inuit who were, if not strangers, not close relatives either. Some Elders began living year-round near the nursing station. A co-operative was established to compete with the HBC in retail and fur trade and to help organize the carving industry. The federal administrative machinery mushroomed, with a settlement manager, a social welfare agent, a new RCMP detachment, and Inuit employees for each of these bodies. Each of these changes increased the number and strength of the qallunaat who had power over the lives of Inuit. Some power contributed to the well-being of people and families. Some changes, however, came at a high cost, and others actually caused distress.

Another major change, shared with other Qikiqtani communities at different points in the 1950s or 1960s, was the elimination of dog teams, which were essential to life on the land but difficult to feed or control in large numbers in the settlement. Qimmiit[iv] were among a family's most important asset. Although they bred easily, they represented a major investment in training and feeding. Qimmiit also helped keep their owners safe from polar bear attacks and could sense how to move safely while hunting across ice. Once people made their permanent homes in Igloolik, they were under constant pressure to get rid of their qimmiit and this often led the authorities to shoot loose qimmiit.

Igloolik qimmiit were revered as the finest in the Arctic. Because of their importance to Inuit, qallunaat observers monitored and reported to Ottawa changes in the condition of the region's qimmiit. Disease among qimmiit was reported in the Igloolik region in 1949 and again in 1958 when an infection, probably distemper, killed an estimated three hundred qimmiit.[29]

Louis Uttak told RCMP interviewers that he remembered the area administrator destroying many qimmiit, including another Inuk's entire team. Qimmiit were shot when they were loose, no matter whether they were under the control of their owner or not.

> *When dogs get loose, they would get shot. It was so very bad. There was one particular incident where this person was going to tie his dogs as he was returning, before he had a chance to tie his dog[s], all of his dogs were shot. He had just returned from a trip. You would unharness them, and the dogs would run around before they settle. They would go all over the place for a while, then they will return, close to the dwelling of the owner. That was the way the dogs behaved. I also mentioned that this white man use[d] to shoot the ones that were active, therefore, they were favourable … Very much so, the only thing we depended on for our hunting, when the government came to town, they started shooting off our dogs.*[30]

Gerhard Anders, a visiting researcher in 1965, linked the growth of population at Igloolik to the administrator's concerns about qimmiit.

> *With more people moving into Igloolik and Hall Beach, every attempt has been made to cut down the number of dog teams. This must be based on persuasion on the part of the area administrator of all those whose dog teams have been found superfluous by him after careful investigation of each individual case.*[31]

Anders admitted in the same report that people living on the land still needed their qimmiit as it was their only means of transportation. The snowmobile was still in an early stage of development, and not many Inuit could afford one. Even in the settlement, the dog team was still dominant in 1965.[32] Three years later, in 1968, the RCMP reported that there were almost as many snowmobiles as dog teams but unlike other settlements, the dog teams were not being completely replaced. Well into the 1970s, many Iglulingmiut preferred the dog teams to snowmobiles for safety reasons.[33] The use of qimmiit by Iglulingmiut has never been completely abandoned, as highlighted by their annual participation in the qimmiit race, Nunavut Quest.

iv Qimmiit means *Inuit sled dogs* (singular version of the Inuktitut word is qimmiq).

Inuit pupil receives instruction from her teacher at an Igloolik school, [1965].
Credit: *Kryn Taconis / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada / e004665293.*

Nunalinnguqti-tauliqtilluta (1966–1975)

The term "Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta" means "the time when we were actively (by outside force) formed into communities." Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta conforms to the period when the population the Qikiqtani Region was overwhelmingly concentrated in 13 communities where people worked with little or no continuous time living on the land.

AGENDAS AND PROMISES

The increase in government programs offered at Igloolik during the 1960s forced the community to adapt to changes driven from the south. The programs put more emphasis on employment, market relations, and adaptation to the requirements of the federal administrators. These organizations were based on southern organizational structures rather than on Inuit ways of governance based on structures of kinship and adaptation to the physical environment. One of the results of a more focused government gaze on Igloolik was the arrival of researchers who were now more interested in studying and planning adaptation than in understanding traditional society. In this era of stress and confusion, an outsider, Keith Crowe, left a detailed and optimistic account of how the new way of life was taking shape. Crowe arrived in Igloolik in 1965 to research the area's economy. He had experience in Nunavik and in Pangnirtung, spoke Inuktitut well, and had the academic skills needed to describe and explain the core trends in a fluid situation. Crowe used the term "tutelage" to describe the Inuit situation in Igloolik. As a group, many Inuit were acquiring cross-cultural and business skills, as well as other tools they would need to work more closely with qallunaat. In return, they were led to expect jobs, good health, and material comforts. In his reflections about this same period from an Inuit perspective, James Arvaluk, a prominent politician from Igloolik and an early president of what is now Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami, shares a similar view, but adds that Inuit were expected to provide labour, not leadership. He also describes all the changes and plans as creating a "semi-artificial society" because Inuit could not fully see the "disintegration of Inuit values, Inuit beliefs, or our Inuitness."[34]

Crowe divided the agencies of contact or "tutelage," as they existed at a single time of drastic change, into two categories, government and non-government. The most powerful, and the most strongly dominated by qallunaat, were government agencies.

These government bodies controlled the schools, the housing program, social welfare, and the power plant. The government's area administrator quickly gained the nickname "Angukak," or "chief", in recognition of his control of most of the money flowing into the settlement. Although wage earning in the 1960s was secondary to the business of hunting, jobs were becoming an important part of total earnings, and the government had a great deal of control over who got jobs.

In the 1950s, the government decided to put a school near each trading post in the eastern Arctic, with a small hostel intended for the children of parents who wanted to continue hunting. The first school was built at Igloolik in 1960 and two eight-bed hostels were added in 1961. In 1962, the school had grown to three classrooms, with fifty students in grades one to five.[35] In the mid-1960s, planners in Ottawa forecast that Igloolik would soon need a hundred-bed hostel for all the young people currently living in "small, isolated settlements where it is not practical to establish schools." Many Amitturmiut children, especially Catholics, were already attending residential schools—fifty were at Chesterfield Inlet in 1965, with a handful of older youth at the Churchill Vocational Centre. The Igloolik hostels closed about 1968, because by then almost all the students' families had homes in the settlement.

Inuit demonstrated their concerns for appropriate education, especially for students in the upper grades to be taught in the community, rather than in Iqaluit or Churchill. The Igloolik Community Association petitioned for a secondary and occupational school in 1968. A bureaucrat from the education branch of the government responded and explained very clearly that students needed training in a variety of courses to prepare them for "employment opportunities both locally and elsewhere" and that small communities could not expect to offer these types of courses.

Attendance at Igloolik's primary school was rising in parallel with the growth in the settlement's population. Eight qallunaat teachers for grades one to six taught 187 students in 1970, the same year that authority over education was transferred from the Government of Canada to the Northwest Territories. Inuit leaders continued to press for higher grades to be added to the community schools. In 1979, however, Igloolik's Ataguttaaluk School was still only offering classes up to grade nine, with barely one teacher per grade.[36] With regard to education in their community, Iglulingmiut were taking the lead in identifying general northern problems and proposing solutions. The frustrations of the 1970s came to a head with a petition to the legislature in April 1978 to staff the school in a way that would respect Inuit traditions and prepare young people for life in their own environment. On behalf of Inuit parents, the petition stated:

> *The Igloolik education committee is asking for an Inuk teacher who will teach throughout the school year. The teacher should be classified as a regular teacher and should make the same salary as a qualified teacher. It is quite difficult to survive in the North. Students must be taught this essential skill. I am not saying we are against the white teachers. It is obvious that the students must be taught traditional northern skills and not all students will be able to find employment after they leave school. Students are not getting out on the land often enough. They do not have time to learn survival on the land. When they get a full-time Inuk teacher the opportunity for them to learn how to survive on the land will be much better. The traditional way of life should not be forgotten.*[37]

By the 1980s, pressure from Iglulingmiut and others was succeeding in putting more Inuit teachers and teaching assistants in classrooms, adding higher grades to cut down on both dropouts and residential schooling, organizing community educational councils, and making more learning available on the land. Despite these efforts, many Elders still believed that not enough was being learned, including important knowledge about navigation and place names. Noah Piugaattuk, for example, criticized two young men who got lost twice on their way to Pond Inlet. "I lectured them saying that they were ignorant … They were old enough but they were not trying to know these things."[38]

The greater emphasis on schooling was accompanied by a dramatic increase in housebuilding in Igloolik between 1965 and 1967. A large number of Inuit were enticed to settle in the community with the promise of housing. Only eight houses had been built from 1962 to 1964, while more than sixty were erected from 1965 to 1967.[39] By the time the boom was over, very few families were living outside the settlement.

The program to build houses in Igloolik was part of a larger program. In 1965, the federal government approved a housing program that would ship 1,560 matchbox houses north.[40] That year more than 20 houses were erected in Igloolik, prompting the local RCMP constable to protest against the direction of the current federal policy.

> *I believe that the major problem, which the administrators will have to face in this area in the not too distant future, is one which will arise as a result of the influx of Eskimos to the settlements of Igloolik and Hall Beach, Igloolik in particular. The Eskimos should be encouraged to remain in the camps. If the long range plan is to provide every Eskimo family with a house, then they should be built in the camps where this is applicable. If a closer relationship between the Eskimo and the administrator is desired then the administrator should visit the Eskimo in his camp. This not only applies to the administrator but to any other white person who has an occupation dealing with the people. The idea of keeping the people on the land would benefit them both in the area of morale and economically.*[41]

His perspective was completely out of step with the government's intention to prepare Inuit for development of the north. Another twenty-four homes were erected in 1966. Along with the shipments of houses came a government-sponsored program aimed at teaching Inuit how to live and operate in their new homes, and to live in a community based on southern suburban models.

Long-time resident of Igloolik Eli Amaaq recalled a government administrator coming to his camp with promises of free housing if Inuit moved to the settlement. He stated that housing was one of the main reasons for moving to the settlement.[42] In presenting the option for families to move to Igloolik, administrators rarely, if ever, explained in clear terms what the costs would be, culturally or financially. Once living in the settlement, families had to pay rent and heating from income and social transfers and they found it difficult to engage in many customary social practices, such as maintaining multigenerational households and handling food in the new houses.

Some RCMP were favourably impressed with the housing scheme in Igloolik, at least initially. In the detachment's annual report for 1967 Igloolik RCMP reported that the local housing committee was entirely Inuit in composition and that it had set rent from $2 to $467 per month, depending on the ability to pay. A year later, however, they were reporting that overcrowding was already becoming a concern because there were too few houses.

Until 1969, the government was still responsible for organizing municipal services everywhere in the NWT except Yellowknife, and this was only gradually shifted to the NWT government in the 1970s. In the 1960s, Igloolik was served by a short, rough airstrip suitable for small aircraft. Most passengers and cargo were carried to or from Igloolik via boat or "autoboggan" through Sanirajak, which provided a link to larger centres such as Iqaluit, Winnipeg, and Montreal. Accompanying the 1965–67 housing program was the construction of holding tanks for the oil that heated the homes and trucks to deliver oil, water, and other essentials throughout

the growing community. Water came from lakes on Igloolik Island, trucked in by the co-op and delivered to homes. The co-op was also contracted to collect garbage and honey bags, and to deliver refuse to a dump east of the settlement. Honey bags were plastic bags used in "honey buckets," large pails equipped with toilet seats where household sewage was disposed.

The government also encouraged Inuit to participate in government-organized advisory committees, including an Eskimo Council, a Housing Association, and a Community Development Fund. While the groups were promoted as a means for Inuit voices to be heard, the structure and boundaries of the committees limited their effectiveness and ensured that the government remained in control of major decisions related to rule, regulations, and funding. The housing association, for example, helped householders deal with government, advised government on training programs for people who were new to living in wooden buildings, and ran a regional conference on the theme of education for housing occupancy and management.[43] The Eskimo Council advised administrators on matters particularly affecting the Inuit in the settlement, as well as on priorities for making investments in community improvements through the Community Development Fund.

During the 1960s, the government moved to increase health care services in Igloolik. Prior to this, missionaries and traders were sometimes able to treat minor injuries or ailments. The first professional nurses in the region were assigned to the Hall Beach DEW Line site at Sanirajak in 1956. A small health care centre was established in Igloolik in 1964, which was replaced two years later by the nursing station, staffed by two nurses. In the mid-1960s, formal training for nursing assistants and technicians became available at the Churchill Vocational Centre, while the nurses in Igloolik also provided practical training to young women within the community.

One of the last of the three administrative agencies to set itself up in Igloolik was the RCMP. Until 1964, the RCMP only visited Foxe Basin about once a year from Pond Inlet. In 1960, the rise in the region's population to about five hundred prompted an official in Ottawa to ask, "How have we for years managed to stay out of Igloolik?" He went on, "This is one of the larger settlements in the North and if we have no man there why do we need one in the smaller places?"[44] The RCMP opened the Igloolik detachment in November 1964.[45]

By this time, with the growth of the government field staff, the RCMP had already shifted away from their traditional role of looking after the well-being of Inuit on the land, towards more conventional policing responsibilities. Crime was not a problem in the 1960s, as the annual detachment reports make clear, but drunkenness was a major concern in the settlement. Flights from Iqaluit and trips to Sanirajak gave people access to liquor, and many people knew how to make homebrew.

Iglulingmiut took steps to deal with drunkenness. In 1967, Inuit members of the settlement council met and issued a notice that was tacked to the front door of every house in Igloolik. The RCMP, possibly through the services of the Inuit special constable or Fr. Fournier (who was a member of the council but not invited to the meeting), translated the notice in its annual detachment report. The core sections of the notice stated:

> *We are genuinely concerned that we must do something before somebody is accidentally frozen to death or before somebody is murdered as a result of a drunken brawl. We have all heard of the terrible things that are happening to our people in Frobisher Bay because of liquor. We must control the liquor situation here in Igloolik and in Hall Beach before our communities become another Frobisher Bay.*[46]

The notice asked people to refrain from drunkenness and to keep any liquor out of sight. It demonstrated that the council understood that the desire for alcohol was to be expected, stating:

> *We know that there will always be liquor, that it is used all over the world and that it would be impossible to stop its consumption. There are many white people and Eskimo people who know how to drink properly. We all know that anybody can get drunk if he or she wants to, but we, your Community Council, urge you, let there be no drunkenness in Igloolik.*[47]

The settlement council was diligent in bringing people who were consuming too much alcohol in front of the council to discuss their behaviour.

William Calder at the Hudson's Bay Company post in Igloolik, [c 1950s].
Credit: *Richard Harrington / Library and Archives Canada / PA-189213.*

Concern about alcohol consumption and the lack of control over youth in places where drinking was common led the settlement council to oppose the building of a residential high school in Iqaluit. They argued that the separation of children from their families was wrong and pushed to have high school courses offered in their community.[48]

The RCMP initially reported that the community council was an effective means of dealing with people who became drunk and misbehaved, stating, "So far this method appears to be working for there have not been any repeaters."[49] Senior officers in Ottawa took positive notice of the settlement council's approach, but disturbances connected to alcohol would continue to be a major concern for the community and the RCMP. In the 1970s, marijuana entered the community through employees of the DEW Line, which added to the challenges of dealing with substance abuse. One person who testified to the QTC explained that hashish, marijuana, and alcohol were easily procured by anyone who lived near the bases.[50]

SHAPING COMMUNITY LIFE

In 1966, eight other organizations were present in Igloolik—two churches, two commercial enterprises, two youth groups, a community association, and a small local newspaper. Qallunaat created all of these bodies, but Inuit were gradually taking more interest in them. In Crowe's opinion, four bodies stand out as having influenced and prepared Iglulingmiut for change—the HBC, the Igloolik Co-operative, and two mainstream churches. In his opinion, the level of Inuit leadership was highest in the Anglican Church, followed by the co-op. With hamlet status, Inuit became directly involved in managing local affairs to the extent permitted by law.

The HBC had arrived permanently in Igloolik in 1947, when Inuit purchasing power was being boosted by family allowances (a universal social program of the federal government) but also when fur prices were falling. The HBC was a dominant, monopolistic force in the eastern Arctic during the era when most people lived on the land, and it remained deeply involved in the fur trade and retail trade well into the 1970s. Some Inuit worked for the HBC as clerks or general workers, but the

level of distrust between Inuit and the HBC was sometimes high. James Arvaluk witnessed a very young Inuk who had travelled a full day to the HBC store in the early 1960s to obtain tea, tobacco, and sugar on credit on behalf of his very sick father. The manager handed him two sealed envelopes that Arvaluk could see contained tea bags in one and cigarette butts in the other. Arvaluk wrote that this episode was a "turning point in my life." He wanted to get more education to address the injustices inflicted by authorities, especially the HBC.[51] In 1966, despite depressed fox and sealskin prices, about one-quarter of Inuit income came from furs. Most of this cash, and the larger sums from government wages and social transfers, left the region through purchases at the HBC store.

The Igloolik Co-operative was set up in 1963 as part of the federal government's effort to involve Inuit in the market economy. Fr. Fournier, a Roman Catholic priest who lived in the community for many years, helped the co-op. As a result, initial membership was drawn mainly from the Catholic population of the community. The co-op was originally set up in a surplus DEW Line building that had been shipped from Rowley Island. In 1965, the co-op and its retail store burned, but were quickly rebuilt. By 1970, its income came from many enterprises—handling cargo arriving by ship, erection of houses, municipals services, boat rentals and charters, operation of a post office, retail store sales, and sales of furs and carvings in the rest of Canada.

St. Stephen's Catholic Church was present—first at Avvajja and later at Igloolik—since 1931. The decision of the missionaries to build at Ikpiarjuk in 1937 led to development of the settlement there. The Catholic missionaries converted many Inuit but shared the field with not only the old beliefs and practices associated with shamanism, but with the Anglicans. In a general way, the Catholic Inuit hunted west and south of the community, while the more numerous Anglicans were farther north. The Catholic clergy were, among qallunaat agents, most likely to stay in the community for many years and to speak Inuktitut. Inuit built the remarkable stone church that dominated Igloolik's townscape for a generation under the direction of Fr. Fournier. They hauled stone by dog teams to the site for its construction.

St. Matthias Anglican Parish grew out of the widespread conversion of Inuit to the Anglican faith, which was well established at Pond Inlet before 1930. Long before people began to settle permanently at Igloolik, Anglican missionaries from Pond Inlet and near Arctic Bay included Igloolik in their travels, and in 1959, Noah Nasook established his rectory not far from Siuraarjuk, where he was born in 1916. Nasook had started travelling with missionaries in 1938 and "learned bit by bit about the ministry." He was ordained a deacon at Aklavik in 1962 and was priested in Iqaluit two years later. In between, he built St. Matthias Church at Igloolik, where he continued to serve his congregation until his sudden death in 1990.[52]

Crowe commented on the ways in which religion shaped both how and where people lived around Igloolik. He did not feel that divisions along religious lines were as severe as in other dual religious communities in the Arctic, stating that kinship ties and a sense of regional identity helped to defuse religious disagreements.[53] Some Inuit saw things differently. Paul Quassa described a community and families divided between Anglicans and Catholics.[54] The last of the families came to live in Igloolik from the land in the 1980s.[55] Despite the suddenness of change and some divisions in the population, Iglulingmiut worked hard together to exert as much influence as they could. The reward for this was the willingness of the NWT government to transfer municipal responsibilities in two relatively easy phases. When the last government-appointed settlement manager left in 1971, the council asked that he not be replaced. This left the community council to deal directly with the different government departments that had agents in the community.

The procedure for approving hamlet status for Igloolik in 1975 was "informal." After itemizing the different social and infrastructure programs managed by the current council, the regional manager recommended an early granting of hamlet status.

> *The Council has a good understanding of its responsibilities both as a Settlement and as a Hamlet. Its operating procedures provide for the effective disposal of Council-business and its administration appears capable of functioning at the Hamlet level. The general understanding and involvement of the community is sufficient to ensure the maintenance of democratic processes and continued political development. The Council provides the necessary leadership in the community and represents the various groups within it.*[56]

People were making their own decisions about how to preserve their culture, interpret it to visitors and newcomers, and transfer what was most important down the generations. In 1973, for example, Igloolik voted against having television brought to the community because it was only available in English.

Southerners considered Iglulingmiut to be "traditional Inuit," due in part to the remarkable documentation from explorers, and to the short length of time it took for the settlement to become the organizing influence in the broader area. This made Iglulingmiut an attractive target for scientific investigation. The International Biological Programme Human Adaptability Project, initiated in 1968, studied the physical and cultural traits of the Iglulingmiut and other groups from the Igloolik Scientific Research Laboratory.[57] The mushroom-shaped structure designed by the Montreal firm Étude Papineau Gérin-Lajoie Le Blanc (which also designed Quebec's pavilion at Expo 67) was built from 1973 to 1974. For many years the building was home to the Igloolik Oral History Project. After the original research program ended, Inuit-led research programs took over the building. It remains one of the most intriguing examples of modern architecture in the north.

Among all the formal and informal organizations and networks springing up in Igloolik, none were specifically devoted to passing on Inuit history or traditional knowledge. These types of organizations were, presumably, considered to be the responsibility of every adult. In 1972, however, the Inummariit Society was founded in Igloolik to protect Inuit traditions. One of its first actions was to erect a cement iglu at the Igloolik Cultural Centre to display belongings from ilagiit nunagivaktangat life.[58] Qallunaat visitors to Igloolik were sent to the Igloolik Cultural Centre to learn more about Inuit culture, while Elders recounted memories of their former way of life.

As anthropologist Nancy Wachowich has pointed out, not all Iglulingmiut were happy to see their past packaged and placed on display. One Inuk, upon returning from boarding school, visited the

Roman Catholic Church in Igloolik, [1978]. The igloo-shaped stone church was completed in 1957 with the help of local people, such as Pacome Qulaut, Mark Ijjangiaq and Louis Alianakuluk, who hauled the stones to the site. It was demolished in 2006.
Credit: *NWT Archives/Northwest Territories. Department of Public Works and Services fonds/G-1995-001: 5977.*

centre shortly after it had been built. She found her grandmother's qulliq, a lamp used for heating the home and cooking food, on display. Wachowich described how the woman felt when she saw the display.

> *[She] felt a chill run down her spine when she saw her grandmother's qulliq in the Cultural Centre, sitting cold and positioned beside others of various sizes and shapes on a shelf. Just a few years earlier, she said, she had watched her grandmother carefully tending this same qulliq's flame in their tent.*[59]

The relationship of Inuit to the land and customary practices was intimate, apparent, and continual, not a bygone memory only existing in a museum display.

Arnait Katujjiqatigiit, the Igloolik sewing centre, was founded in 1975. The centre employed thirteen women who made traditional clothing to be sold to local Inuit and the HBC. The importance of sewing to household and community economies for Iglulingmiut has been well documented. The fact that women opened a sewing centre, which may have been a predecessor to the modern Naluat sewing collective, demonstrates the continued significance of sewing in Iglulingmiut culture.[60] The centre suffered financial hardships through its first four years, but was aided by a Canada Works Grant in 1974.[61] Cultural ventures continued to preoccupy people in Igloolik, marked by significant activities like the Elders' oral history project that collected more than five hundred interviews over two decades, and the Igloolik Archaeological Field School, which, for a decade brought professionals and students together to examine Igloolik's distant past. The most recent explosion of interest in traditional culture, life, and stories, has been demonstrated in films from Igloolik's Isuma Productions, with *Atanarjuat* and *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen* sharing with the world both ancient and recent stories of great local importance.

Conclusion

In the 1950 to 1975 period, the Qikiqtani Inuit passed from living in about a hundred small, family-based communities that were fairly mobile, to populating just thirteen sedentary villages. Igloolik became one of the largest of those permanent communities. People born while their parents were living on the land absorbed changes that in other societies took many generations to accept. Many Inuit Elders found powerful words to express this drama. Around 1974, Noah Piugaattuk spoke to the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project about the erosion of the isolation that had protected Igloolik and the Amitturmiut.

> *When I was small, we used to do what we wished, as if we were owners. We had never seen a [Qallunaaq]. I finally saw one when I was growing up. That was about the time Amaq, my brother's namesake, died. That [Qallunaaq] said that Igloolik was like a living person. Some white people had tried to come here but they could not, because it seemed to run away. He said it seemed as if it had died, because it now could be reached by qallunaat.*[62]

One of Igloolik's enduring leaders, Paul Quassa, was a member of the generation that went to residential schools during the 1950s and fought to see Nunavut become a reality in 1999. He gave the following statement about Igloolik during this period.

> *This was when Igloolik already had the HBC, the RCMP, and the Mission here. The only times my uncle or father came here was to get supplies and maybe we would come here for Christmas …*
>
> *Yes, it is changed. There has been a big change in every part of it. We often say that it is not because we don't like the qallunaat. It is not that. In the old days when we were kids, the RCMP would come into the communities. When we saw qallunaat, we would say as if they were big people or scary, we would be taught to be intimidated by the way they talked. Now though, after the change, we can say that qallunaat has arrived. The police are just police, without paliisialuk, without stigmatizing. I think with that, the Inuit now feel more equal to non-Inuit compared to when I was a child. We have more sense of ownership for our land, for our hunters and trappers, and so forth. Through the various land claims boards, Inuit now have a say. Before, it was all done through Ottawa or Yellowknife.*
>
> *I think that is the whole process of what land claims are about. I think that is taking place now … I believe it would probably be for our next generation to be stronger. They never experienced that assimilation process. I think that this generation could be able to have more anticipation in deciding what to do for their people. That is how it is a bit now but we are not in that actual stage yet. We are not really comfortable running our community. My generation and my parents' generation are still holding onto this whole thing that has happened. Even for us who were not there, it is painful. It has to be taken out, hopefully through [the QTC], it will help. We are still carrying it. Hopefully, we don't carry it down to our next generation even though I think that may have happened.*[63]

ENDNOTES

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8 Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Report*, 195.

9 John MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky: Inuit Astronomy, Star Lore, and Legend* (Toronto and Igloolik: Royal Ontario Museum and Nunavut Research Institute, 1998–2000).

10 Bennett and Rowley, *Uqalurait*, 383.

11 W.C.E. Rasing, *'Too Many People': Order and Nonconformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process*. (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit, Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid, 1994), 47–48.

12 Wachowich, *Making a Living*, 45–46; and Rasing, *Too Many People*, 48.

13 Interview with unnamed interviewee, July 13, 1989, in Rasing, *Too Many People*, 53.

14 Rasing, *Too Many People*, 53.

15 Graham Rowley, *Cold Comfort My Love Affair with the Arctic*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 13; and Fr. G. Mary-Rousselière, "History of a Case of Cannibalism in Baffin Land," *Eskimo* 78 (Summer 1968), 9–18.

16 Rowley, *Cold Comfort My Love Affair with the Arctic*, 13; and Mary-Rousselière, "History of a Case of Cannibalism", 9–18.

17 David Damas. *Igluligmiut Kinship and Local Groupings: A Structural Approach*. (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), 28.

18 Damas, *Igluligmiut Kinship and Local Groupings*, 26.

19 RCMP Archives Management Section, File 84-07-05, Annual Report, 1921–1962 (Pond Inlet Wallet-1) and Patrols, 1921–1941 (Pond Inlet Wallet – 2A).

20 These are based on patrol reports obtained by the QTC research team.

21 Rasing, *Too Many People*, 98–99.

22 For a detailed analysis of the impact of Christianity on traditional practices see: Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten. *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

23 Vestey, "Igloolik Eskimo Settlement and Mobility, 1900–1970," 39; See also the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Diocese of Churchill Hudson Bay, "Igloolik", available online at http://www.arcticomi.ca/2igloolik.html (accessed February 2013).

24 Rasing, *Too Many People*, 100–101.

25 Qimuksiq is an Inuktitut term which means to travel by dogsled.

26 This report uses the term "government" to include all the bodies that existed under Canadian federal legislation to serve and control people, mostly Inuit, in the Qikiqtani Region. These bodies exercised all the powers that were distributed among federal, provincial and municipal orders of government in the rest of Canada. In Ottawa and locally, most government programs in the Qikiqtani Region were delivered by the Northern Affairs Branch and the RCMP. Inuit had no voice in their own government, and there were no legal codes to protect their individual or collective rights.

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31 Anders, *Northern Foxe Basin*, 52.

32 Anders, *Northern Foxe Basin*, 80.

33 Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project*, 164.

34 James Arvaluk and Noel McDermott, *That's My Vision: The Life Story of James Arvaluk*. Iqaluit (NU: Nunavut Arctic College, 2008), 9.

35 Norman John Macpherson and Roderick Duncan Macpherson, *Dreams & Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* ([Yellowknife]: Northwest Territories Education, 1991).

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39 Keith Crowe. *A Cultural Geography of Northern Foxe Basin, N.W.T.* (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969), 94.

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Foreword (2013)

As President of the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, I am pleased to present the long-awaited set of reports of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission.

The *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950–1975* and *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Thematic Reports and Special Studies* represent the Inuit experience during this colonial period, as told by Inuit. These reports offer a deeper understanding of the motivations driving government decisions and the effects of those decisions on the lives of Inuit, effects which are still felt today.

This period of recent history is very much alive to Qikiqtaalungmiut, and through testifying at the Commission, Inuit spoke of our experience of that time. These reports and supporting documents are for us. This work builds upon the oral history and foundation Inuit come from as told by Inuit, for Inuit, to Inuit.

On a personal level this is for the grandmother I never knew, because she died in a sanatorium in Hamilton; this is for my grandchildren, so that they can understand what our family has experienced; and it is also for the young people of Canada, so that they will also understand our story.

As it is in my family, so it is with many others in our region.

The Qikiqtani Truth Commission is a legacy project for the people of our region and QIA is proud to have been the steward of this work.

Aingai,

E7-1865

J. Okalik Eegeesiak, President, Qikiqtani Inuit Association

Introduction to the Work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission

This work began with the breaking of a long silence. In the 1990s, Inuit made great strides in taking charge of their own affairs through the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the creation of Nunavut. They were then ready to examine the past, including the harm done during the period of greatest change, from 1950 to 1975. They wanted to understand more about their own lives and those lived by their parents, grandparents, and siblings in an era that was profoundly marked by game laws, residential schools, medical evacuations, substantial population movements, and broken promises about housing and jobs. One especially sensitive source of anguish and disturbing memories was the government's campaign to eliminate qimmiit (Inuit sled dogs) from the settlements. Qimmiit were often shot without warning by the RCMP and others, leaving many people without any means of winter transportation. In a culture where qimmiit were vital to hunting and travel, and valued as companions, this campaign struck very close to the well-being of every Inuit family. The history is still a painful wound for many Inuit in the Qikiqtani Region.

For a long time, many Inuit grieved in silence. Others spoke out in anger, aware that their experiences seemed to follow a pattern that was hard to decipher, but was important for understanding the problems in communities today. These feelings led the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) to interview Elders in 2004 about various issues related to moving into settlements. In 2007, the QIA created the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC), a forum where Inuit could speak openly about difficult events in the decades after the Second World War and understand more about how communities took shape and the true costs of the changes. The QTC's investigation had two closely related activities. The first was to gather testimonies about events between 1950 and 1975 from Inuit who had lived through this difficult period, as well as from their children who continue to remember the suffering of their parents and other relatives. Commissioner Igloliorte and QTC staff travelled to all thirteen communities in the Qikiqtani Region between January 2008 and May 2009, and invited all interested residents to share their memories and feelings about how their lives had changed. They also held hearings for the Inuit community in Ottawa, and paid return visits to all communities in early 2010 to report on findings and ask for comments on proposed recommendations. Including interviews that the QIA had already conducted in 2004, the QTC had testimonies from approximately 350 individuals. Hearings were conducted with more flexibility than normal legal proceedings, but to emphasize the seriousness of the task, Commissioner Igloliorte asked all witnesses to affirm that they would tell the truth to the best of their knowledge. He also respected the decision made by a few individuals to keep their experiences private.

In addition to learning about events and impacts through testimonies, the Qikiqtani Truth Commission also completed an extensive archival research program and interviewed Qallunaat who worked in the region during this period. Among the people interviewed were several retired RCMP officers, government officials, and academic researchers.

The Evidence

THE WITNESSES

The QTC is indebted to the many men and women who attended meetings and opened their homes to give their testimonies. People welcomed the commission warmly into their communities and spoke freely and honestly about their lives. Without their testimonies, the commission would not have been able to fully appreciate what happened to Inuit during this period of immense transition. They also provided very thoughtful and constructive feedback and suggestions regarding the kind of recommendations that would promote reconciliation between Inuit and government. A full list of individuals is included in the List of Witnesses on the QTC website.

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

The QTC's research team collected and reviewed accessible archival and secondary sources for the period in focus, 1950 to 1975. This included examinations of relevant records from Library and Archives Canada, as well as the Archives of the Northwest Territories, the RCMP, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Anglican and Roman Catholic bodies. Thousands of documents were digitized for the QTC's research database.

MAPS

Maps provide important details about how Inuit lived and used the territories surrounding their present-day communities. These maps reject a common idea in the south that the Arctic is "empty." In addition to showing the sites of ilagiit nunagivaktangit, details on twentieth-century maps include place names indicating how Inuit knew and utilized the land, along with their travel routes, and the best places for hunting. This kind of information began to be set down on paper before 1840. However, some of the most thorough maps are those created by Inuit for the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (1976) and the Nunavut Atlas (1992).

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (2024 EDITION)

The reports drafted in 2010 for the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) were prepared under the direction of James Igloliorte, Commissioner, and Madeleine Redfern, Executive Director, QTC. The Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) project managers in 2013 were Bethany Scott, Navarana Beveridge, and Sandra Kownak.

The primary authors of most reports were Julie Harris, Contentworks Inc. and Philip P. Goldring, Ph.D. Writing and research support was provided by Joan Bard Miller, Francis Levésque, Ryan Shackleton, Frank J. Tester, Anna Gilmer, Alice Glaze, Teresa Iacobelli, Natascha Morrison, Linda Radford, Dr. Yvonne Boyer, and Brian Cameron.

The translation team for the reports produced in 2013 included Jay Arnakak, Mali Curley, Julia Demcheson, Veronica Dewar, Elisapee Ikkidluak, Emily Illnik, David Joanasie, Leonie Kappi, Pujjuut Kusugak, Nina Tootoo, and Blandina Tulugarjuk. Additional translation for the 2024 editions was provided by Ruth Kadlutsiak.

The work of the QTC would not have been possible without the financial support of the following organizations: Qikiqtani Inuit Association; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated; Makivik Corporation; Walter & Duncan Gordon Foundation; First Air; Air Inuit; Unaalik Aviation; Kenn Borek Air Ltd.

The 2024 editions of the QTC reports were prepared by Julie Harris, Augatnaaq Eccles, Zarina Laalo and Anne Brazeau of Contentworks Inc. under the direction of Inukshuk Aksalnik, Jennifer Ipirq, and Simon Cuerrier of QIA.

For many years, Inuit Elders in the Qikiqtani (Baffin) Region have been haunted by a deep sense of loss as they remember how their lives changed in the decades after 1950. The thematic reports and special studies in this collection explore themes that emerged during the work of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission. What started as an inquiry into the slaughter of sled dogs quickly grew to include other experiences of profound colonial change.

Commissioner James Igloliorte's Final Report, titled *Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq*, and 22 companion thematic and historical reports published by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association in Inuktitut and English weave together evidence from testimonies and documents collected during the Qikiqtani Truth Commission about the consequential 1950–1975 period.

QTC Report Collection

Aaniajurliriniq: Health Care in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Achieving Saimaqatigiingniq: Final Report of the Commissioner of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Analysis of the RCMP Sled Dog Report

Igluliriniq: Housing in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Illinniarniq: Schooling in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Nuutauniq: Moves in Inuit Life in the Qikiqtani Region to 1975

Paliisikkut: Policing in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Pivalliajuliriniq: Economic Development in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

Qimmiliriniq: Inuit Sled Dogs in the Qikiqtani Region, 1950–1975

The Official Mind of Canadian Colonialism

Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk) Community History, 1950–1975

Clyde River (Kangiqtugaapik) Community History, 1950–1975

Grise Fiord (Ausuittuq) Community History, 1950–1975

Igloolik Community History, 1950–1975

Iqaluit Community History, 1950–1975

Kimmirut Community History, 1950–1975

Kinngait Community History, 1950–1975

Pangnirtung Community History, 1950–1975

Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik) Community History, 1950–1975

Qikiqtarjuaq Community History, 1950–1975

Resolute Community History, 1950–1975

Sanikiluaq Community History, 1950–1975

Sanirajak Community History, 1950–1975