# Qikiqtarjuaq

## Qikiqtani Truth Commission

*Community Histories* ***1950–1975***

Published by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association

200-922 Sivumugiaq St. Iqaluit, Nunavut, X0A 3H0

Email: info@qia.ca



Originally published in *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950–1975* by Qikiqtani Inuit Association, April 2013.



# 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

# ᖁᑭᖅᑕᓂ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᓂ | Qikiqtani Communities

# Introducing Qikiqtarjuaq

The hamlet of Qikiqtarjuaq[i] (formerly known as Broughton Island) is located on Broughton Island, 2.5 kilometres off the east coast of Cumberland Peninsula on Baffin Island. The community was renamed Qikiqtarjuaq (meaning "big island") in 1998. The people of Qikiqtarjuaq are known as Qikiqtarjuarmiut. Earlier, the more southerly groups were sometimes called Padlimiut for their use of the area around Paddle Fiord, or Akudnirmiut, a broader regional term for people further north. While the hamlet's history is often told as beginning 1955 with the construction of a Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line auxiliary site, Inuit were already living and trading in other populated places, such as Kivitoo and Pallavvik (Padloping Island). In a lightly populated area with a mobile population, these places were important locations for ilagiit nunagivaktangit.[1]

The traditional land-use area of Qikiqtarjuarmiut has some of the most dramatic terrain in Canada. Mountains of many shapes tower above fiords with steep sides plunging into the sea. Icebergs are abundant. The community's land-use area is generally considered to start in the north at Alexander Bay (near Cape Henry Kater) and to end in the southeast, near Cape Dyer and Exeter Bay. In the northern part of the district, Home Bay is studded with islands.[2] The middle of the coast around Kivitoo has bold headlands and deep fiords and includes part of Auyuittuq National Park. Qikiqtarjuaq itself is close to North Pangnirtung Fiord, a water entrance for Auyuittuq National Park. Further south lays Paddle Fiord, a traditional sledding route towards Pangnirtung, and Merchants Bay with the splendid sea cliffs of Nuvuttiq (Cape Searle). Beyond this narrowly defined territory, people have long hunted caribou inland to the west of Home Bay. To the southeast, a large floe edge offers winter hunting into Davis Strait and beyond Cape Dyer. Approximate distances are 175 kilometres from Alexander Bay to Kivitoo, 145 km from Kivitoo to Nuvuttiq (Cape Searle) at the mouth of Merchants Bay, and a further 80 km from Nuvuttiq to Cape Dyer. Qikiqtarjuaq is near the midway point along this section of the coast.[3]

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

The mobility of Inuit is a remarkable feature of this landscape. Jacopie Nuqingaq told the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) in 2008:

> *We never stood still in one place; we were always moving. We lived in an iglu near Clyde River … There is a lot of wildlife up there. Because of the wildlife, we migrated with the wildlife to get the food we needed. In that area, as a child, I went to that camp to hunt. We would come here the following year to Qikiqtarjuaq … my father never stood still. That is how our men were, that was their role.*[4]

More than a century earlier, Franz Boas said much the same in 1884, when he compared the Padlimiut and the Akudnirmiut to their neighbours.

> *A peculiarity of the Padlimiut and the Akudnirmiut is their more decidedly migratory character as compared with the Oqomiut [of Cumberland Sound]. They do not spend every winter at the same place, but are more inclined to visit, in turn, the different winter stations of their country.*[5]

For generations, people lived with their kin in a number of ilagiit nunagivaktangit that were carefully sited, moved and organized to take advantage of local wildlife conditions. For much of the year, people stayed on the coast and islands and avoided the inhospitable interior. It seems typical that a family settled in one particular area might meet another group travelling from north to south to hunt, and a third party travelling in the opposite direction.

Changes in subsistence patterns and material culture were most pronounced in three phases. The first occurred during almost a century of seasonal visits by whalers beginning in July 1824. The second was the change in trade items around 1910 from seal and walrus products to fox furs. Polar bear skins remained a staple in both periods. The third and most complete set of changes occurred in 1955 when six DEW Line sites were built from Ekalugad Fiord to Cape Dyer. By 1970, almost all the area's people were settled near the most central of these, the auxiliary station on Broughton Island, near present-day Qikiqtarjuaq.

In August 1979, Qikiqtarjuaq received hamlet status. The population is steady around 550 people. The community is home to the Tulugak Co-op and Minnguq Sewing Group. Tourism is welcomed, and some claim Qikiqtarjuaq is the iceberg capital of the world. The hamlet also serves as a starting point for adventurers travelling through Auyuittuq National Park looking to climb Auyuittuq's peaks, hike the Akshayuk Pass, or ski on the park's pristine ice fields.

# Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta (On the Land)

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 around 1955 when most Inuit were living in government[ii]-chosen settlements and participating in the cash economy.

Inuit have long lived among the fiords and islands of Davis Strait. Using physical evidence such as tools and shelters, archaeologists argue that a series of migrations took place in the Arctic. The Thule culture, characterized by marine mammal hunting and an elaborate and extensive use of tools, including fishhooks, bows and arrows, knives, and harpoons, preceded modern Inuit. Inuit legends talk about their ancestors' encounters with an earlier people, the Tuniit. They describe them as large and gentle, and great hunters of seals.

## ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT

Hunting groups made up of multiple families were the basic element of community organization among Inuit until 1960. 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 and return seasonally or on a multi-year cycle to these homes. In 1884, Franz Boas assigned regional labels to two sub-groups—the Akudnirmiut located further north of Broughton Island and the Padlimiut centred on Paddle Fiord and Merchants Bay. These were not rigid or exclusive groups, and both used Broughton Island during most seasons. Boas described how some families would leave the island as early as February, while others stayed into the spring. Though familiar with "the big island," they were equally at home at other places along the 400 kilometres of coast.[6]

***Unloading walrus meat at Broughton Island, near Qikiqtarjuaq, [1959].***
***Credit:*** *Library and Archives Canada, K.M. Parks, National Film Board of Canada, Still Photography Division, e002265669.*

Traditionally, seals (ringed, bearded, and harp) were the most important species in the area and the main source of meat. They were hunted where they were seasonally abundant, generally in the fiords in summer, and along the mouths of fiords and on nearby sea ice in winter. After break-up, they could be harpooned while basking on drifting ice pans. Such ice was important, as seals were harder to catch when the landfast ice broke off from the land.[7] Ringed seals were generally available year-round and were hunted along the entire east coast of Baffin Island, from Merchants Bay north to Alexander Bay. Bearded seals, while less abundant, were hunted during the open-water seasons and during the winter along the floe edge. Harp seals were primarily hunted in late summer until freeze-up in November.[8]

ii 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.

Polar bears were hunted from Brodie Bay south to Kangert Fiord, west of Merchants Bay, while caribou were found in the fiords and valleys of the Broughton Island area. Fish were not plentiful along the coast, so Inuit walked long distances overland to lakes on Narpaing Fiord in the summer and Nudlung Fiord in the fall. Belugas, narwhal, and walrus were also hunted around Home Bay. Traditionally, Paallavvik was known as an important walrus-hunting area, but this changed with the construction of a weather station there in the 1940s. Since the 1970s, however, there have been reports of walrus returning to the area.[9]

## EARLY CONTACTS

The name Broughton Island dates back to 1818, when a passing Royal Navy explorer, John Ross, named many of the features along the west side of Baffin Bay and Davis Strait to honour naval and political figures in Britain.[10] The original purpose of his expedition was to search for a Northwest Passage but, while surveying Baffin Bay, Ross missed the main entrance to the passage at Lancaster Sound and hurried home along the Baffin coast, mapping the coastline very roughly and making little effort to contact Inuit or study conditions on shore.

***Unloading walrus meat at Broughton Island, near Qikiqtarjuaq, [1959].***
***Credit:*** *Library and Archives Canada, K.M. Parks, National Film Board of Canada, Still Photography Division, e002265669.*

Ross's contribution to the history of the Qikiqtani Region was to open the Baffin Island coast to European whalers who had already been hunting the area around Greenland for a century.[11] Once Ross showed a way to avoid the area of 'middle ice' in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait, whalers broke through to Pond Inlet. Soon remarkable encounters were taking place between Inuit and the whaling fleet off Merchants Bay in 1824 and 1825 and steadily from then on until the 1840s.

By the mid-19th century, whalers were regularly anchoring late in the season around Nuvuttiq in Merchants Bay and were taking shelter for days at a time at Kivitoo, known to English and Scottish whalers as Hooper Harbour or Yakkie Fiord.[12] This activity attracted many Inuit from farther west to the area. One Inuk, a young man named Inuluapik, visited Great Britain and helped develop charts to guide the whalers from Merchants Bay into Cumberland Sound. In the Qikiqtarjuaq area, casual contacts hardened into annual routines, and when the German anthropologist Franz Boas was preparing to leave Baffin Island in 1884, he was confident that if he travelled to Kivitoo he would meet a ship going south. There he found Inuit on the tenting grounds at Kivitoo, stowing seal blubber in barrels and packing up polar bear skins to trade with whichever ship came along first.[13]

Bartering along this coast remained seasonal, sporadic, and competitive until 1908, when a Dundee firm placed a Qallunaaq trader with a shed and a small stock of goods at Aggijjat (Durban Island). Shortly afterwards, vessels of the small and loosely organized Sabellum Trading Company began to visit Kivitoo, and in 1916 installed the prefabricated house and sheds that later generations called a whaling station.

For most of its existence, Inuit staffed the post, but supplies ceased after 1925. Outsiders' perceptions of the post were distorted by a tragedy in 1922 when the Inuit trader, a strong leader named Niaqutiaq, became mentally ill, possibly from venereal disease that appears to have been circulated in the community from contacts with whalers.[14] In the disturbance that followed, several hunters died, leaving the small community with too few hunters for the number of women and children. His widow, Kowna, remained in charge of the station until the post closed in 1926, but some Inuit continued to live at Kivitoo until 1963.

The presence of whalers and traders allowed Qikiqtarjuarmiut to adopt foreign manufactured goods and technologies into their daily life. Saws, guns, ammunition, fox traps, hatchets, telescopes, pots, sewing machines, and other items led to changes in hunting techniques, diet, and clothing. Musical instruments and tobacco introduced new forms of recreation. Contact with qallunaat, while peaceful, introduced new diseases, such as influenza, measles, and venereal disease, into the Inuit population.[15] Interestingly, some Inuit from this part of Davis Strait occasionally travelled to England or Scotland, where they were exposed to a foreign culture and increased British awareness of the Arctic. The last of these, Nowyakbik, returned home in 1925. He became the principal hunter at Kivitoo, where he enjoyed entertaining visitors with tales of daily trips to the cinema in Dundee and a trip to Harrod's to advise the Sabellum Company on consumer items as potential trade goods. For Nowyakbik and his people, these exposures to the outside world shrank after 1925, and there would be no trading store at Qikiqtarjuaq until 1960.[16]

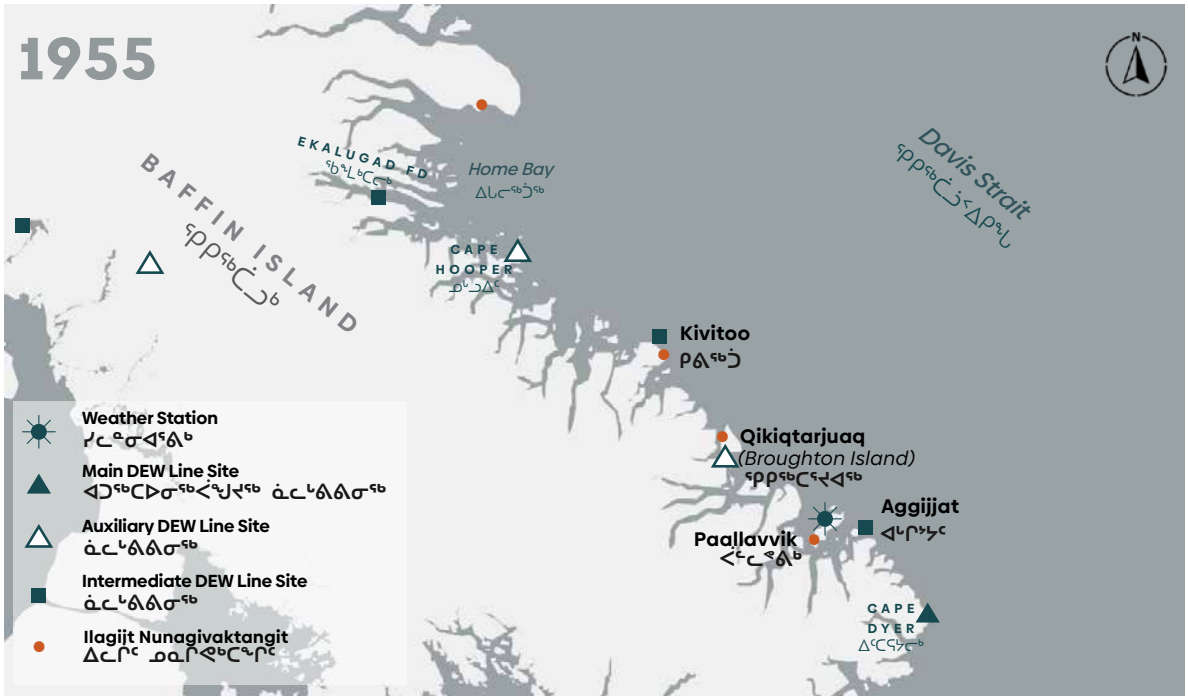
## CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

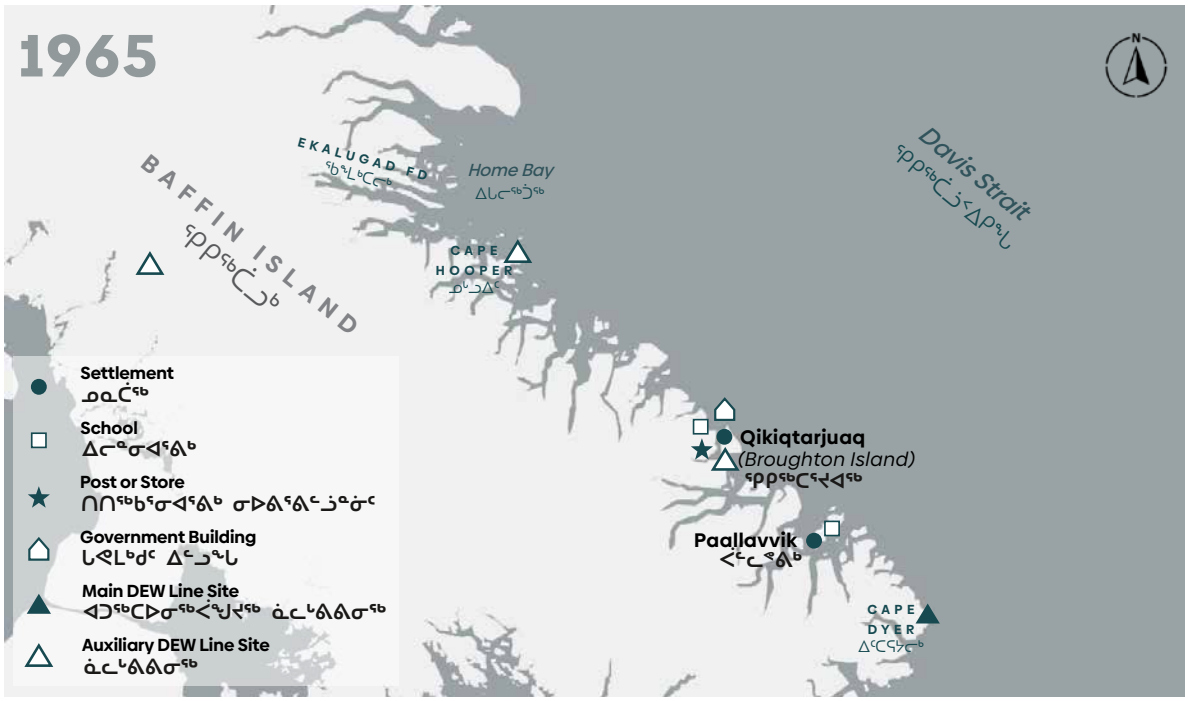
From 1926 to 1955, the Qikiqtarjuaq area was as isolated from contact as any other inhabited part of the region east of Pelly Bay. It had no trading post, no resident missionary, and only the most sporadic contact with medical personnel. Yearly visits from whalers had ended long before, and the annual government and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) supply vessels steamed past without stopping. Once a year, hunters made the hard trip through the mountains via Paddle and Kinngait fiords, or through Akshayuk Pass, to trade their furs and skins at Pangnirtung and the RCMP made an annual patrol by dog sled across the peninsula each winter. Aside from the RCMP, only a few rare visits of a travelling doctor or scientist would break the isolation until 1941, when a wartime weather station was established at Paallavvik in the southern part of the region. A few innovations survived from the whaling era and the Sabellum Company decade: most people were now Anglicans and they continued to be competent trappers and knowledgeable consumers of manufactured goods. Otherwise, much of their daily lives and seasonal rounds continued to follow those of their ancestors.

After 20 years, there was a new, small qallunaat presence. At the end of 1941, the US Army Air Force built a weather station on Paallavvik as part of the Crimson Route. Drawn by potential employment opportunities, three Inuit families arrived to look for work.[17] Over time, other families came too, possibly to take advantage of any excess materials that could be used for shelters or other purposes, or to use the services of the medic.[18] During their 1954 patrol of the area, the RCMP reported that all "camps" at Paallavvik were visited. "No needy circumstances were encountered and [people] appeared to be economically secure."[19] Responsibility for the station was transferred to the Royal Canadian Navy in 1954. Eclipsed by the larger and more widespread operations of the DEW Line, the station closed in 1956.

## ᐃᓄᖅᑲᓂᐅᔨᑦ ᖃᐅᓐᓇᒥ ᓯᓚᖅᐸᓯᓐᓄᓕᓐᓂ [ᓴᐅᒥᐊᓕᐊᓚᐊᖅ] ᑎᓄᐅᖅᓇᓐᒥ, 1955 ᐊᓪᒪ 1965

## Populated Places on the East Coast of Cumberland Peninsula, 1955 and 1965




km 0 20 40

# Sangussaqt-auliqtilluta (1955–1958)

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 daily and seasonal routines of Qikiqtarjuarmiut changed dramatically and almost instantly in 1955 when the island was chosen as the site for an auxiliary DEW Line station. With that choice, the federal government gradually yielded to the necessity of providing services to Inuit, similar to those existing or starting to emerge in more settled communities around the Qikiqtani Region.

The DEW Line was a massive US-led project to build and operate a series of radar sites in the Arctic along the 70th parallel of north latitude from Alaska to Greenland to provide advanced warning of any Soviet bomber attack over the North Pole.[20] Roy Fletcher has described a typical auxiliary station.

> *The most typical DEW Line station [after the intermediate sites closed in 1963] was the auxiliary which had a rotating radar within a 17 m diameter plastic geodesic dome and two Doppler radar antennae … These stations were operated by 10–20 men, mostly ex-RCAF civilians in Canada … There was one long building, the train, composed of 25 pre-fabricated modules which provided electric power and boiler rooms at one end, operational rooms, living quarters and a radome supported on stilts above the roof. Additional buildings were a large warehouse, a garage and a small house for Inuit employees.*

Also typical was a short (about 1,350 metres long) gravel runway, as was built at Qikiqtarjuaq. Similar to other nearby stations in this mountainous territory, the runway was located at a "lower base" near sea level, while most of the installations were located at an "upper base" atop a nearby mountain.[21]

The Broughton Island station, code-named FOX-5 and known during construction as Site 39, became a main transportation hub to and from Iqaluit, as well as the administrative centre for the Cumberland Peninsula's north coast. Large quantities of materials and resources, and many qallunaat, constantly moved into and out of the area. Broughton Island gained a clear advantage over the other DEW Line sites in the Qikiqtarjuaq area. Three of those had little social impact. The highly secret Main station sat remotely atop Cape Dyer, and two sites in Home Bay, being a second auxiliary station at Cape Hooper and an intermediate station (I-site) were abandoned in 1963. More important for Inuit was the I-site at Kivitoo and another at Aggijjat, but the presence of the DEW Line station at Qikiqtarjuaq became the dominant place in the area.[22]

The DEW Line site at Qikiqtarjuaq provided Inuit with opportunities for both steady and ad hoc jobs. As a result, many Inuit arrived to check out possibilities for employment or to gather leftover building materials and surplus food from construction and operations. This movement of Inuit towards the site resulted in a rapid increase in settled population over a short period, with occasional friction between Inuit and the American authorities in charge of the upper and lower bases. Fifteen Inuit were continuously, though briefly, employed during construction, and most probably brought their immediate families and relatives with them.

RCMP continued to visit annually, and expressed concerns that women were at risk and that Inuit were becoming dependent on "hand-outs" of food and on unreliable short-term employment. In their reports, officers used the derogatory term "loitering" to describe time spent by Inuit in settlements unless they had stable employment there. Across the Qikiqtani Region, RCMP actions to stop what they referred to as "loitering", including the killing of qimmiit[iii] or threats about destroying other property owned by Inuit, were hurtful. These actions were also confusing to Inuit, who were asked to stay put in some places and to stay away from others. In the case of DEW Line stations, the policies and actions seemed particularly arbitrary since the stations needed workers. RCMP patrolling near Broughton Island immediately began to raise concerns about loitering whenever Inuit came anywhere near the station, even though they also recognized that the island was normally used as a place to hunt and to establish seasonal ilagiit nunagivaktangit.

In addition to potential employment and trade opportunities, many Qikiqtarjuarmiut probably stayed around the DEW Line out of curiosity, to see what the station personnel were planning to do. Just as naturally, they would have assumed that strangers who made this dramatic intrusion onto their land would share their abundant foodstuffs as the whalers had done. The Inuit were also willing to turn their hands to whatever labour needed to be done.[23] In the following years, Qikiqtarjuarmiut would continue to settle in the area around the DEW Line, drawing the attention of the Canadian government.

# Nunalinnguqti-tauliqtilluta (1958–1975)

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

While most Qikiqtarjuarmiut who settled near the DEW Line stations continued to hunt, trap, and make seasonal trips to the HBC post in Panniqtuuq, the rapid growth of the settlement continued to raise concerns among qallunaat agents, who pushed the Canadian government to bring more services and to exert more control over the Inuit population. Records of the government's effort to supply and formally connect the region with the south provided a number of snapshots on living conditions at the time.[24] For the 170 Inuit living there in 1958, the need for imports was still being met by a single trading expedition each year to Pangnirtung, which lies 240 kilometres by dog team over rugged mountain passes. In spite of the distance and isolation, hunters from this area generated about $20,000 a year in trade for the HBC post, and on average were earning as much as relatives living much closer to that post. At the same time, Inuit employees of the DEW Line could order goods from Iqaluit by air, but those shipments were often bumped because they had low priority compared to official freight.

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

Despite the non-fraternization and anti-loitering policies, Inuit staying near the Broughton Island station were caught up in the government's hesitant and inconsistent position that Inuit needed to centralize in chosen locations. Late in 1959, the government began to pressure the HBC to solve an apparent problem of keeping the people supplied with trade goods. Four heads of families who worked for the DEW Line at Broughton Island could not make their usual yearly trip over the mountains to Pangnirtung. To meet their needs, the government wanted to import over a ton of food to the Broughton Island area, some for "bona fide relief cases" and the rest for sale.[25] The HBC took the hint and early in 1960, approved the construction of a new store alongside a new government school.[26] Initially this was at a site 12 kilometres from the present one, but in 1961, the US Air Force and the Federal Electric Company gave the HBC permission to build beside the runway. In 1962, both the school and the HBC store were relocated to the more convenient site, and by autumn, there was a basis for a modern settlement around the runway.

Anxious to institute a southern-style education in the area, the government also brought in a teacher in late 1959.[27] Federal authorities believed they were doing young Inuit a great service by offering them training that would give them access to the same economic opportunities available to all Canadians.[28] Implicitly, schooling was also considered an efficient way to assimilate the Inuit to broader Canadian society.[29] Vivian Julien was the first teacher in the area. As her quarters and the first school building did not arrive until later, she lived in a tent and provided classes to students wherever she could find space. She also taught for a time in one of the island's very few private homes.[30] In 1962, another school was established at Paallavvik.[31]

Up until this point, records are incomplete on the level of health care provided to Inuit in the area. It is likely that they received medical attention at St. Luke's Hospital in Pangnirtung when they travelled there to trade. RCMP and military personnel may also have provided some rudimentary medical care on Davis Strait.

However, the influx of qallunaat into the region led to an increase in infectious diseases against which the Inuit had no immunization. Polio was reported in 1959, while four deaths due to whooping cough were recorded in 1960. Tuberculosis caused the evacuation of several persons each year, and in 1966, a severe pneumonia epidemic caused at least two deaths in Qikiqtarjuaq. It was not until 1967 that a nursing station was established at the settlement.

A government construction program in 1961 introduced prefabricated houses to Qikiqtarjuaq and Paallavvik. Traditionally, Qikiqtarjuarmiut lived in canvas or sealskin tents. During the winter, two tents with moss between the layers covered dwellings. Snow was piled on all sides for further insulation. Inside, wooden floors and walls were constructed if enough salvaged wood was available. Many Qikiqtarjuarmiut were enticed to move to the settlement with the promise of housing. However, availability rarely matched need. The first prefabricated houses were sent for employed Inuit personnel in 1958, yet by 1965 there were reports of only thirteen low-cost homes in the settlement; many Qikiqtarjuarmiut still lived in tents.[32] At the same time, those who did receive houses were promised low rental costs, only to see them climb considerably as time went on. Leah Nuqingaq recalled for the QTC the broken promises concerning rent.

> *I went over to a person who worked at the office, I told them I wanted to get a house, my husband didn't go with me, I had to do it myself, they told me I had to pay two bucks. It was so easy. I had $2... I paid $2. They told me I had to pay $2 a month. It was so easy. Now I am still alive, now paying over $100 when they told us it was to be two dollars [a month] rent.*[33]

Settlement living also required infrastructure. An airstrip and power generators had been available since the establishment of the DEW Line station in 1955. Rough gravel roads were completed to link the administrative buildings with the HBC and airstrip. In 1964, an Anglican church was built in Qikiqtarjuaq.[34] Although a 1965 town planning report had recommended improved water and power distribution, as well as proper waste and sewage treatment, many inhabitants were still collecting water from icebergs and depositing "honey bags" in the dump and the bay as late as 1977.[35] The town did not receive a community centre and freezer until 1974.

## SHAPING COMMUNITY LIFE

During the 1960s and 1970s, the fate of Qikiqtarjuarmiut families living at Kivitoo, Paallavvik, and Qikiqtarjuaq were closely tied to the agents of government and trade who were trying to address their respective organizations' priorities while also considering the well-being of Inuit. Government policies undertaken during this period worked to consolidate the area's population at Qikiqtarjuaq. Increased centralization led to a rise in concern over the potential of qimmiq-human conflict and increased enforcement of the Ordinance Respecting Dogs. This in turn altered traditional Inuit hunting methods, as more and more Qikiqtarjuarmiut transitioned from dog teams to snowmobiles.

Plans moved ahead in the early 1960s to discourage Inuit from living at Kivitoo, Paallavvik, and other nearby isolated places. Incentives were not especially attractive, because people had deep ties to the outlying places and understood how limited Qikiqtarjuaq was in some ways. Jacopie Nuqingaq contrasted it with nearby Paallavvik for the QTC in 2008.

> *[Paallavvik] was a very good area for wildlife. It had everything—seals, polar bears, marine mammals. There weren't many caribou. But I realized that there was a lot of wildlife, abundance of wildlife … It was a very scenic place. I realized that it was the best place I had ever been.*[36]

Enticements to move included promises of housing and health care. Many Qikiqtarjuarmiut have since admitted that they felt coerced into relocating. They were told that if they stayed on the land they would receive no emergency medical care, that their children would suffer without a proper education, and that food rations would not be delivered.[37] In many cases, Qikiqtarjuarmiut testified that their qimmiit were slaughtered to force people to stay in the settlement. Nuqingaq also talked of this kind of experience.

> *After re-supplies [in Qikiqtarjuaq] we would go back [home], when we still had our route to go back on our team, planning to go back before the ice broke up, then they slaughtered our dogs. I grieved for them, they were our only means of transportation. If I [knew] what I know then, I would never have agreed to come here. They made it impossible for us to go, we were stuck.*[38]

Leah, Jacopie's wife also spoke to the QTC about her experience.

> *When we were starting to go, [the qallunaat] told Jacopie our dogs are going to be shot [because] no dogs allowed in Qikiqtarjuaq. Our dogs were tied out on the ice we were getting ready to go back home, back to [Paallavvik] … I don't remember our response was, we didn't want to talk back … Our dogs were slaughtered. We had no choice but to stay here.*[39]

Many families resisted moving, so stronger actions were undertaken to compel relocation to Qikiqtarjuaq. One tragic incident provided a rationale for ending support of any kind for Kivitoo. In January 1963, the Pangnirtung RCMP detachment was notified about four hunters from Kivitoo that were missing, including 63-year-old Nowyakbik, leader of the community at Kivitoo who had visited Qikiqtarjuaq to trade. With his son Peterosee and sons-in-law Poisey and Joanasee, he hit foul weather and poor ice conditions on the way home. RCMP officers were dispatched to search for the missing hunters and tracked their route by plane and foot. They found a cold and frightened Joanasee near the remains of Nowyakbik. Joanasee was flown to Iqaluit to have his legs amputated. The remains of the rest of that party were later discovered.[40] The Canadian government, under the notion that the community could not survive the loss of these men, relocated the remainder of Kivitoo families to Qikiqtarjuaq.

The RCMP reassured the relocating families from Kivitoo that they would be allowed to return, so many left their belongings behind. Once evacuated, most of the homes were bulldozed to the ground and the contents were buried, probably by DEW Line personnel.[41] In 2008, Eliyah Kopalie spoke about this experience.

> *All our belongings, we had to take only what we can carry, that is what we brought here. Winter came, my father went back to Kivitoo to pick up our belongings, there was nothing left. Not one little bit. They tried to get their belongings, even my father's guns, everything was bulldozed to the ground … everything we had in the qarmaq.*[42]

Paallavvik suffered a similar fate. After several years of encouraging people to move, the government finally made the decision for them by terminating all services in 1968. Federal authorities were convinced that the standard of living in Paallavvik was lower than in Qikiqtarjuaq. However, the statistics supporting this assumption were deceptive, as many people in Paallavvik relied on the land for their living. Historian Kenn Harper argues that the decision to relocate the families was based on a desire for administrative efficiency.[43] As a result, the school closed and seven families were relocated to Qikiqtarjuaq in 1968.[44]

The relocations had a lasting impact on Qikiqtarjuaq. For Inuit, the loss of home is more than the loss of a dwelling—it is a disruption of a critical relationship of people with the land and animals. It represents the loss of independence and replacement of a way of life. The government failed to address the social and psychological impact of moves on the people. Even today, many Qikiqtarjuarmiut suffer from feelings of displacement and loss. Billy Mikualik remembers seeing the impact of relocation on his stepparents. "I could see the frustration and unhappiness [in] my stepparents, my stepmother always yearned to go back to Paallavvik. I could see her unhappiness [because] she missed her home so much."[45]

Relocated Qikiqtarjuarmiut children also had a harder time at school. Many children from Kivitoo had never attended school, and families from Paallavvik were often ridiculed as being poor. As Tina Alookie remembers, they were singled out because of this.

> *One thing in particular, the first time we went to school, was the most unhappiest time … The students who came from Kivitoo had never had any schooling or teaching in their camp, so they had it harder than we did … A lot of times, our peers, adults were unhappy with the way we were, they use to ridicule us. Look at those poor people from [Paallavvik], those people were here in Qikiqtarjuaq. They used to tease us when they were unhappy with us. That hurt us the most. The way we were teased.*[46]

The Inuit population at Qikiqtarjuaq, approximately 70 in 1961, had reached 200 by 1966.[47] By 1967, the community of Qikiqtarjuaq had 250 people, including a dozen non-Inuit working as teachers, an administrator, and an HBC clerk.[48] Centralization brought together into close quarters many more Inuit as well as many more qimmiit. Disease could now spread more easily among qimmiit populations and stricter enforcement of the Ordinance Respecting Dogs eventually turned more people towards the use of snowmobiles rather than retaining qimmiit.

Qimmiit played a large role in conflicts between Inuit and incomers, and fear of disease encouraged the authorities to intervene strongly. In 1964, sickness among qimmiit at Paallavvik decimated the dog population. Disease spread to Qikiqtarjuaq in 1965. At the same time, RCMP had begun shooting qimmiit under the authority of the Ordinance Respecting Dogs. Kakudluk, a member of one of the seven families relocated from Paallavvik, recalled how strictly the Ordinance was enforced in Qikiqtarjuaq. She had travelled to the area by dog team with her family. "Once they got there, the dogs were shot, she said, because dogs were not allowed in Qikiqtarjuaq."[49]

By this time, snowmobiles were on the market. An RCMP report on Qikiqtarjuaq in March 1965 reported ten snowmobiles in the area and claimed that the increase was due to the people's inability to restore the qimmiit population.[50] Later in the year, F. J. Williams and Associates, an engineering company hired by the government to assess the settlement plan for Qikiqtarjuaq, reported 20 snowmobiles. Their report stated that snowmobiles were being adopted because of a shortage of qimmiit after "the decimation of the dog population in 1963–1964."[51] The increase of snowmobiles to 40 by 1968 demonstrates a persistent change in the way Qikiqtarjuarmiut travelled to hunt.

Despite the conveniences provided by snowmobiles, Qikiqtarjuarmiut also recognized that snowmobiles could be unreliable and dangerous to run on the ice. Owners were now fully dependent on imports for fuel and replacement parts. Eliyah Kopalie described some of the issues with snowmobiles in his testimony. "When the weather was bad, the dogs knew exactly what to do. Even if there was no land outside, they were totally different than a Ski-Doo, they don't break down."[52] Despite these reservations, by the 1970s there was few, if any, families using qimmiit for hunting trips.[53]

Hunting patterns were also affected by falling prices for sealskins in the second half of the 1960s.[54] Sales, primarily to the HBC, continued to plummet into the 1970s, from seven thousand in 1971 to a little over four thousand in 1972. A levelling off followed this decrease. Researcher John D. Jacobs linked this fall to the cost of imported fuel, indicative of the increased reliance of Inuit in the region on goods imported from the south. Qikiqtarjuaq lifestyles were changing from a "subsistence economy supplemented by the trading of furs and skins" to "really absolute dependence" on outside sources for food, supplies, and money to obtain them.[55] By the 1970s, many full-time hunters had turned to regular settlement jobs. Wage labour grew as a percentage of total economic activity.[56] Nonetheless,

the importance of hunting persisted. Hunting skills continued to be taught to youth as part of formal educational programs, and permanent cabins were erected on the land for hunters to use. Hunter and trapper associations were also formed to monitor game and negotiate rights and quotas with the territorial government.[57]

In 1968, the government started a carving and handicraft co-operative. This provided the women with their first source of formal cash earnings. In 1973, the local community co-operative, the Tulugak Co-op, was formed.[58] The establishment of this co-op demonstrates adjustments made by Qikiqtarjuarmiut to the larger Canadian economy. The co-op began to provide for many aspects of community life, including property rental, cable television, and gas and retail goods. It also broke the HBC monopoly on the local sale of necessary goods. Constructive initiatives continued, and in the late 1970s, the community began an economic development project called the Minnguq Sewing Group. Started by local Inuit women, the group expanded to provide kammiit (sealskin boots) for the community, and for southerners as well, demonstrating the ongoing capacity of the community to adapt traditional practices to the demands of the wider world.[59] The community of Qikiqtarjuaq had transformed from a land-based economy in the 1950s to a commercial production economy by the end of the 1970s.[60] One researcher estimated, however, that the population between 1971 and 1973 might decline in spite of a high natural birth rate. In those two years, out of an Inuit population of just over three hundred, almost fifty Inuit (noted as "non-hunters") were recorded as having left Qikiqtarjuaq for Iqaluit.[61] The community continued to grow, however, and in August 1979, the community received hamlet status. The population is currently over five hundred persons.[62]

# Conclusion

Qikiqtarjuarmiut have faced numerous challenges over the years as they worked to adapt their traditional lifestyles to a rapidly changing world. While Inuit traded with whalers in the nineteenth century, the establishment of the DEW Line station in 1955 created a year-round settlement on Broughton Island. The influx of qallunaat into the region significantly altered traditional Inuit migratory patterns and land use. The subsequent focus of the Canadian government on Qikiqtarjuaq confirmed it as the primary settlement in the area. Families nearby at Kivitoo and Paallavvik were relocated to Qikiqtarjuaq in the 1960s. Despite its artificial beginnings, Qikiqtarjuaq developed into a resourceful Inuit community, determined and able to adapt and make a place for itself in today's world.

# ENDNOTES

1 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.

2 The physical geography of the Qikiqtarjuaq area is described in Gerhard Anders, Albert A. Haller, Don Charles Foote, and P. D. Cove. *The East Coast of Baffin Island; An Area Economic Survey* (Ottawa: Industrial Division, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967), 7–26.

3 Contentworks, *NTI IIBA for Conservation Areas Cultural Heritage and Interpretative Materials Study: Phase 1: Cultural Heritage Resources Report Areas: Akpait and Qaqulluit National Wildlife Areas*, 15 April 2011], available online at http://www.tunngavik.com/files/2011/10/2011-05-01-nti-phase-1-draft-cultural-resources-report-akpait-qaqulluit-nwa-eng-1.pdf (accessed 25 August 2022).

4 Jacopie Nuqingaq, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 30 September 2008.

5 Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology, 1887), [Reprint edition.], 32.

6 Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 16, 32–34.

7 Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project—Volume 1* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976), 142–143.

8 Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project—Volume 1*, 143.

9 Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project—Volume 1*, 143–145.

10 James White, *Ninth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada 1910*, (Ottawa, 1910), 338.

11 In collaboration with Ernest S. Dodge, "Ross, Sir JOHN (1777–1856)," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, online at http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ross_john_8E.html (accessed 25 August 2022); W. Gillies Ross, *Arctic Whalers, Icy Seas: Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery* (Toronto, Canada: Irwin Pub, 1985); and Don Bissett, *Northern Baffin Island: An Area Economic Survey*, Volume 1. (Ottawa: Industrial Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968), 31–32.

12 For the initial development of Kivitoo and Paallavvik over Broughton Island, see Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 362, File 201-1 Part 31, Arctic Inspections—Eastern Arctic Patrol—Western Arctic Inspections, 1954–1955.

13 P. Goldring, "Kivitoo and the Padlimiut," unpublished report for Parks Canada (1988), 2.1–2.42, 5.14–5.18.

14 Shelagh D. Grant, "Niaqutiaq (Niaqutsiaq, Neahkoteah, Neakuteuk)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed 25 August 2022, online at http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/niaqutiaq_15E.html.

15 Shelagh D. Grant, *Arctic Justice On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923*, (Montreal, Que: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 14.

16 Peter J. Usher, *Fur Trade Posts of the Northwest Territories, 1870–1970*, (Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971), 130.

17 Kenn Harper, "The Passing of Padloping", *North* 18, 4 (July–August 1971), 42–43.

18 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Volume 3668, File G-567-66, Part 2, Patrol Reports, Pangnirtung Detachment, NWT (1956), "Patrol Report, by J. A. L. Daoust, Pangnirtung Detachment to Officer Commanding, G Division, RCMP", 10 April 1953.

19 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Volume 3668, File G-567-66, Part 2, Patrol Reports, Pangnirtung Detachment, NWT (1956), "Patrol Report to Padloping Island, by Constable H. A. Johnson", 21 February 1954.

20 P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Matthew James Farish and Jennifer Arthur-Lackenbauer, *The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line: A Bibliography and Documentary Resource List* ([Calgary]: Arctic Institute of North America, 2005).

21 Roy J. Fletcher, "Military Radar Defence Lines of Northern North America: An Historical Geography", *Polar Record* 26, 159 (1990), 265–76 (quote 271).

22 Harper, "The Passing of Padloping," 42–43; Gerhard Anders, Albert A. Haller, Don Charles Foote, and P. D. Cove. *The East Coast of Baffin Island; An Area Economic Survey* (Ottawa: Industrial Division, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967); Contentworks, *NTI IIBA for Conservation Areas Cultural Heritage and Interpretative Materials Study … Akpait and Qaqulluit National Wildlife Areas*. The construction date is derived from on-the-spot reports by a RCMP from Panniqtuuq. See LAC, RCMP, RG 18 Accession 1985–86/048, Box 55, File TA-500-8-1-11, Conditions Among Eskimos—Pangnirtung, "Memo to Officer Commanding from H. A. Johnson, re: Conditions Amongst Eskimos", 10 March 1956.

23 Philip Goldring, "Discussion Draft: Baffin Island Historical Reports 1985–1988", unpublished report (Environment Canada, Parks), 2–3.

24 See HBCA, RG7/1 file 641, Lands and Buildings, Broughton Island, Letters from B. Sivertz to H.W. Sutherland, 17 Nov. 1959, and from Nichols to General Manager, Rupert's Land Trading Company, 22 Feb. 1960.

25 Various reports found in LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 1985–86/048, Box 55, File TA 500-8-1-11, Conditions Among Eskimos-Pangnirtung, 1953–1969; Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), RG7/1, File 641, Lands and Buildings, Broughton Island, "Letters from B. Sivertz to H. W. Sutherland", 17 November 1959, and "Nichols to General Manager, Rupert's Land Trading Company" 22 February 1960. See also: Information on the teacher sent to the community by the government can be found in F.J. Williams Associates Ltd, *Investigations and Report on Development of Settlement at Broughton Island—Northwest Territories* (Toronto: Northern Administration Branch, 1965).

26 HBCA, SF Posts—Miscellaneous Notes—Brief note on the History of Some Hudson's Bay Company Posts on Baffin and Cornwallis Islands, [c 1972].

27 LAC, RG 85, Volume 1470, File 630/1023-1, Part 1, Government School, Broughton Island, "Memo to the Administrator of the Arctic, Mr. Jacobson and Mr. W. G. Devitt from Vivian Julien", 4 November 1959.

28 Jean Lesage, "Enter the European Among the Eskimos (Part II)", *The Beaver*, 285 (1955), 3–9.

29 Heather E. McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

30 This information was provided by Dr. Frank Tester from his Nunavut Social History Database.

31 Kenn Harper, "Padloping, From a Small Boat", *Nunatsiaq News*, 31 August 2007, online at https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/Padloping_From_a_Small_Boat/ (accessed 24 August 2022). In 1966 Kenn Harper, who would also be settlement administrator, medical dispenser, and the last teacher in Padloping.

32 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 1985–86/048, File TA-500-8-1-11, Conditions among Eskimos—Pangnirtung.

33 Leah Nuqingaq: QTC, September 30, 2008, Leah Nuqingaq.

34 Anja Nicole Stuckenberger, *Community at play: social and religious dynamics in the modern Inuit community of Qikiqtarjuaq = Een Samenleving in het Spel : sociale en religieuze Dynamiek in de moderne Inuit Gemeenschap van Qikiqtarjuaq* (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2005), 66.

35 Honey bags are plastic bags used for disposing of household sewage.

36 Jacopie Nuqingaq, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 30 September 2008.

37 Ann McElroy, *Nunavut Generations and Continuity in Canadian Inuit Communities*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2008), 102.

38 Jacopie Nuqingaq, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 30 September 2008.

39 Leah Nuqingaq, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 30 September 2008.

40 Cpl. C. B. Alexander, "A Journey into Death", *RCMP Quarterly* (January 1965), 43–47.

41 Richard Gleeson, "Reliving the Relocation: Residents Return to Camps They Once Called Home", *Northern News Services*, 2 August 1999; personal correspondence from Joanne Rose and Bert Rose to the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2010.

42 Eliyah Kopalie, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, October 2, 2008.

43 Gleeson, "Reliving the Relocation."

44 Additional information on the school closure and subsequent relocation from Padloping Island is taken from personal communications with the Qikiqtani Truth Commission from Kenn Harper, an historian who taught at Padloping Island until 1968.

45 Billy Mikualik, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2 October 2008.

46 Tina Alookie, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 1 September 2008.

47 Anders et al., *The East Coast of Baffin Island*, 151.

48 Harper, "Padloping, From a Small Boat."

49 Gleeson, "Reliving the Relocation."

50 LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 1985–86/048, File TA-500-8-1-11, Conditions Among Eskimos—Pangnirtung, "Pang-nirtung Detachment—General Conditions, by M. J. McPhee", 1 January 1964.

51 F.J. Williams Associates Ltd. *Investigation and Report on Development of Settlement at Broughton Island—Northwest Territories.* (Toronto: Northern Administration Branch, 1965), 3–2.

52 Eliyah Kopalie, Testimony, Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2 October 2008.

53 Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers, E. Land, D. Murphy, and Parks Canada, "Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers Conference" Lake Harbour, NWT (1973), 5; and John D. Jacobs, "Some Aspects of the Economy of the Eskimo Community at Broughton Island, NWT, Canada, in Relation to Climatic Conditions," *Arctic and Alpine Research* 7, 1 (1975), 72.

54 Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers et al, “Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers Conference.”

55 Jacobs, “Some Aspects of the Economy of the Eskimo Community at Broughton Island,” 69–75.

56 Jacobs, “Some Aspects of the Economy of the Eskimo Community at Broughton Island,” 75.

57 For more information on the concern expressed by the Qikiqtarjuaq HTA see Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers et al, “Baffin Regional Hunters-Trappers Conference.”

58 Jill Oakes, “Climate and Cultural Barrier to Northern Economic Development: A Case Study from Broughton Island, NWT, Canada,” *Climate Research*, 5 (1991), 92.

59 Oakes, “Climate and Cultural Barrier to Northern Economic Development,” 91–98.

60 The terms “land-based economy” and “commercial production economy” were used by Oakes, “Climate and Cultural Barrier to Northern Economic Development,” 92.

61 Jacobs, “Some Aspects of the Economy of the Eskimo Community at Broughton Island,” 75.

62 Statistics Canada. 2012. Qikiqtarjuaq, HAM, 2011 Census. Online at www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=6204010&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&Data=Count&SearchText=qikiqtarjuaq&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1 (accessed March 28, 2012). No Aboriginal/Non-aboriginal identity population data available for 2011.

# 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 Saimaqatiqiingniq: 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

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

QIA

ᖁᑭᖅᑖᓂ ᐅᓪᓗᓈᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᑦ

ᖁᑭᖅᑖᓂ ᑐᓴᕐᕕᒃᓴᓂᖅ

QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION