




Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Community Histories 1950–1975

Pangnirtung

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

Published by Inhabit Media Inc.
www.inhabitmedia.com

Inhabit Media Inc. (Iqaluit), P.O. Box 11125, Iqaluit, Nunavut, X0A 1H0
(Toronto), 146A Orchard View Blvd., Toronto, Ontario, M4R 1C3

Originally published in *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950–1975* by Qikiqtani Inuit Association, April 2014.

ISBN 978-1-927095-62-1

We acknowledge the support of the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage Canada Book Fund program.

We acknowledge the support of the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program.

Please contact QIA for more information:
Qikiqtani Inuit Association
PO Box 1340, Iqaluit, Nunavut, X0A 0H0
Telephone: (867) 975-8400
Toll-free: 1-800-667-2742
Fax: (867) 979-3238
Email: info@qia.ca

ᕿᑭᖅᑕᓂ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑲᑐᔾᔨᖃᑎᒌᖏᑦ
Qikiqtani Inuit Association

ᕿᑭᖅᑕᓂ ᓱᓕᔪᒥᒃ ᑮᓇᔪᐃᓂᐊᖅᑏᑦ
QIKIQTANI TRUTH COMMISSION

Canada

Canadian Heritage Patrimoine canadien

Errata

Despite best efforts on the part of the author, mistakes happen.
The following corrections should be noted when using this report:

Administration in Qikiqtaaluk was the responsibility of one or more federal departments prior to 1967 when the Government of the Northwest Territories was became responsible for the provision of almost all direct services. The term "the government" should replace all references to NANR, AANDC, GNWT, DIAND.

p. 9: It grew around a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post that attracted the RCMP in 1923, an Anglican Mission in 1926, and a government-assisted hospital in 1931.

p. 12: For much of the twentieth century, the population could be described as comprising two groups, each attached until 1921 to one of two main whaling stations—Kekerten (Qikiqtat) and Blacklead Island (Umanaqjuaq).

p. 13: They can be taken year-round in open water, at the floe edge, from breathing holes on the land-fast ice, and at saqbut, which never freeze over.

p. 17: There were two stations near the mouth of Frobisher Bay, one at Blacklead Island, one at Ushualuk, one at Kekerten Island, and another at Saumia (Cape Mercy).

p. 18: In the Pangnirtung trading area, the contact–traditional phase lasted from 1921 to 1962.

p. 27: Constable Johnson described in 1955 how “most of the natives take part in the whale hunts and all benefit to some extent through the sale of oil and hides. The meat of the whales is divided among the camp members and is most useful as dog feed.”

p. 34: Yet, at Kimmirut two years earlier, when the RCMP allowed Inuit to deal with this qimmiit disease in their own way, people fed themselves despite a loss of qimmiit and even managed to tend their traplines.

p. 34: People from near the head of Cumberland Sound began to resettle in Pangnirtung, from where they could reach their most familiar hunting places.

p. 38: This was boosted by a new housing plan in 1965, when the government sensibly began “requesting the comments of the local people concerning the siting of their housing units.”

p. 40: After 1964, however, the shift of families away from the land accompanied expansion of schooling for children as well, and by 1966, Pangnirtung had a four-room school.

p. 43: Caption: opposite page: Three young men sit outside carving whale bone, antler and stone with wood and canvas tents behind, Pangnirtung, 1967

p. 44: In a brief biography of his friend Jim Kilabuk, Keith Crowe stated that during the qimmiit epidemic of 1962 the senior Inuit employees of the southern agencies in Pangnirtung made huge contributions to maintaining relative calm.

Dedication

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

Foreword

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

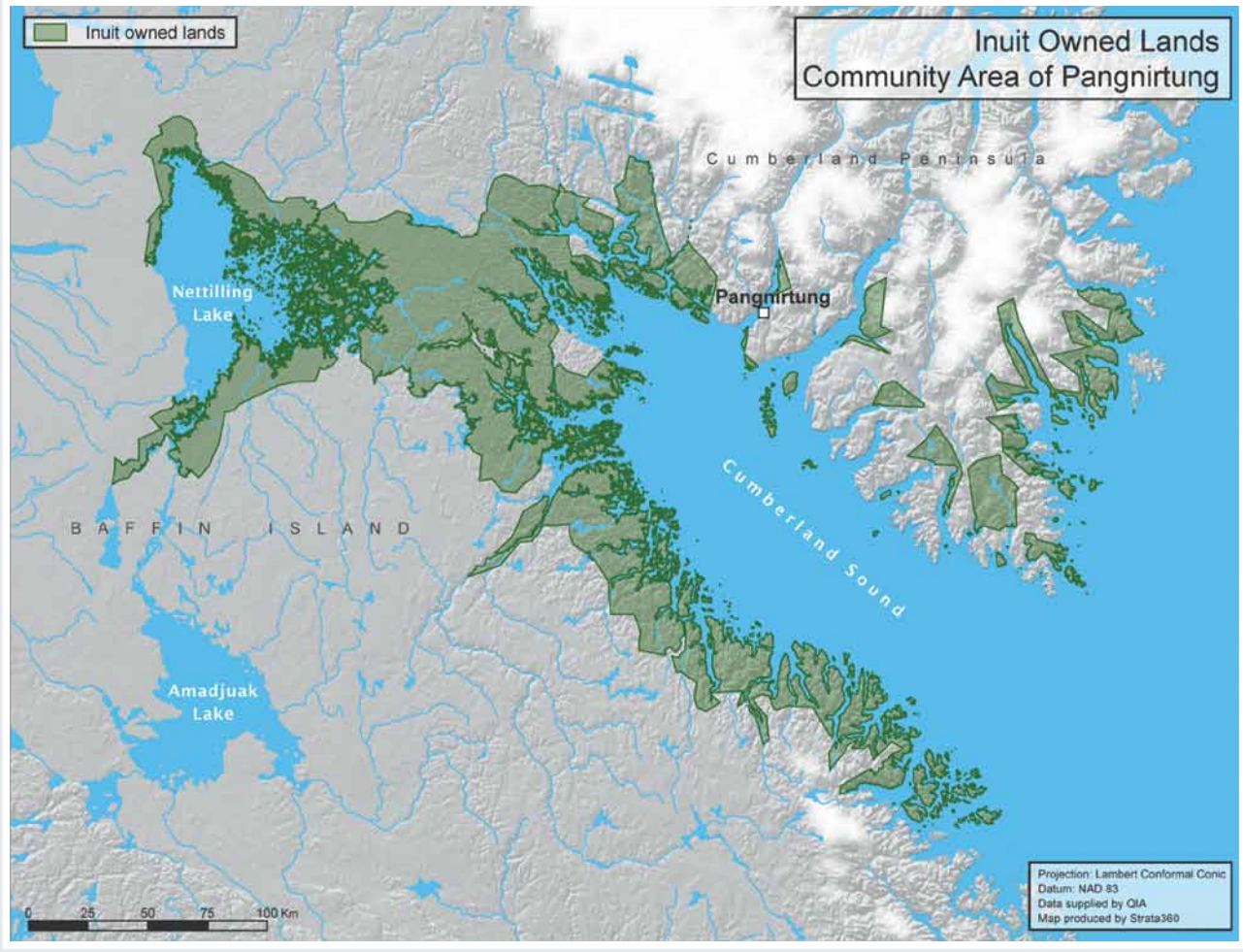
they can understand what our family has experienced; and it is also for the young people of Canada, so that they will also understand our story.

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
Iqaluit, Nunavut
2013


Inuit owned lands
Inuit Owned Lands
Community Area of Pangnirtung
Cumberland Peninsula
Nettilling Lake
Pangnirtung
BAFFIN ISLAND
Cumberland Sound
Amadjuak Lake
0 25 50 75 100 Km
Projection: Lambert Conformal Conic
Datum: NAD 83
Data supplied by QIA
Map produced by Strata360

Pangnirtung

Pannigtuuq

Pangnirtung, with a population of more than 1,300 people, is the third-largest community in Qikiqtaaluk. The hamlet is near the centre of a particularly rich habitat for marine mammals. Historically, people lived quite densely around all the islands and shorelines ringing Cumberland Sound, from Cape Edwards in the southwest to Cape Mercy in the southeast. The hamlet, however, has only seen permanent habitation since 1921. It grew around a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post that attracted the RCMP in 1923, an Anglican Mission in 1926, and a government hospital in 1930.

The history of Cumberland Sound is unique in Qikiqtaaluk. Its people lived through three waves of economic and demographic change since 1824. The first was the whaling era, from 1824 to 1919. During this period, around 1860, Scottish and American whalers established permanent stations in Cumberland Sound. Material and cultural changes were accompanied by huge losses of population to disease, and by the near extinction of the bowhead whale. The second wave of change began in 1921, when the

Hauling white whale hides, Pangnirtung, August 1929
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

population scattered into ilagiit nunagivaktangit, mostly around sites that their ancestors occupied before 1840. From there they hunted all types of seal and caribou as before, took beluga whale and walrus seasonally, and trapped white foxes. They traded these, along with sealskins and seal oil, for imported food and manufactured goods at Pangnirtung at least once a year, or more often if they lived close to the trading post. This economy remained the basis of most people's annual routine until 1962, when a growing number of government officials and services at Pangnirtung drove a third wave of change. This change disrupted the hunting and trapping economy and put great pressure on individuals to relocate permanently to the settlement. This re-settlement was virtually complete by 1970.

Large group of Inuit departing by boat, likely for a whale hunt, 1926 or 1927
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta

ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT

The Uqqumiut are the people of the Lee Side, an ancient and very broad regional description covering the southeastern part of Baffin Island from Clyde River on Baffin Bay, almost to the mouth of Frobisher Bay. Although broken up by mountains and glaciers, this is a very rich environment for marine mammals, caribou, and char. For centuries, people thrived here on their harvest of wildlife. Caribou and ringed seal, in particular, provided

food and materials for clothing and shelter, as did the enormous bowhead whales.

Up to the 1840s, four local groups occupied the shores and islands of Cumberland Sound itself. According to information collected in 1883, they were the Talirpingmiut on the southwest coast; the Qinguamiut around the head of the Sound from Immigen to Ushualuk; the Kingnaitmiut along the coast where high mountains back the northeast shore; and the Saumingmiut around Cape Mercy at the mouth of the Sound. Over the years, the pull of the whaling industry and the loss of population to diseases apparently reduced the distinct identities of these groups. For much of the twentieth century, the population could be described as comprising two groups, each attached until 1921 to one of two main whaling stations—Kekerton (Qikiqtat) and Blacklead Island (Umanaqjuaq). The people from these groups, with very few exceptions, now live in Pangnirtung.

Hills around the hamlet rise abruptly to almost 1,000 metres, and views that are more distant are dominated by even higher mountains of about 2,500 metres that surround the Penny Ice Cap. Elevations in the south and northwest are lower. The Sound's principal geographical features, in terms of Inuit hunting and harvesting, are deep fiords, hundreds of islands separated by narrow saltwater channels, and the winter and spring land-fast ice and its floe edge.

The ringed seal and the caribou are essential to Inuit life on the land, but larger seals and small whales are also hunted. The enormous Greenland or bowhead whale was culturally and economically important both before and after the region became a famous destination for whaling ships from Great Britain and New England.

The ringed seal provides meat for people and qimmiit as well as skins for traditional clothing and tent coverings. For much of the twentieth century, sealskins also provided significant export earnings. They can be taken year-round in open water, at the floe edge, from breathing holes on the land-fast ice, and at saqbut, which never freezes over. The harp seal and

bearded seal are sometimes available and are valued for their larger skins and greater amount of meat. The bearded seal provides the best leather for harnesses and for boot soles.

Beluga or white whales feed throughout Cumberland Sound during the short season of open water. They congregate in late summer in shallow waters, where commercial whale drives were carried out as recently as 1964. The skin makes soft, strong leather. There is plenty of meat and blubber, and the maqtaq (outer skin) is a delicacy. The single-tusked narwhal is found in limited numbers in Cumberland Sound and occasionally in Pangnirtung Fiord itself.

The bowhead or arvik, which can grow to more than 20 metres in length, is still seen quite often in Cumberland Sound. Organized annual whale hunts ended by 1919, though an unexpected catch occurred near the head of the sound in 1946. Uqqurmiut still know how to hunt this marine mammal. The legal harvest of bowhead in 1998 kept this tradition alive in spite of international criticism.

The caribou became an extremely important source of both meat and skins. Small herds roam the Cumberland Peninsula and Hall Peninsula, and a large migratory herd calves further north on the edge of the Barnes Ice Cap and migrates south and west in summer. Many Inuit leave the coasts each autumn to hunt inland. Walrus is hunted on the Leybourne Islands at the mouth of Cumberland Sound in autumn, and the polar bear is most often found towards the mouth of the Sound. Its skin, formerly used for clothing, has also been a valuable trade item for many years. The white or Arctic fox has little or no food value but commercial trapping of this animal boomed from 1921 through the 1950s. It is less common around Pangnirtung than in other parts of southern Baffin Island, and it generally earned the Uqqurmiut less than their trade in sealskins. The main food fish is the Arctic char, traditionally taken at stone weirs during the August migration from salt to fresh water. Some were also taken at inland lakes.

The Uqqurmiut of Cumberland Sound lived for most of each year in some of the largest, most continuously occupied ilagiit nunagivaktangit in the whole of Qikiqtaaluk. Until the 1960s, around a dozen of these large dwelling-places typically served as a base for several families. The yearly cycle followed the migration of animals and fish, as well as the making and breaking of the huge sheets of ice that offered highways across the Sound. Long-term change was driven by the adoption of firearms and wooden boats in the 1860s, by the seasonal concentration of people around the whaling stations from 1880 until 1921, and by the re-concentration in Pangnirtung after 1962. The description here is focused on 1930–62.

A typical winter routine began in October or November when ice formed. Ice would put an end to seal hunting in open water from kayaks and boats, and was often hazardous until it was firm enough to allow hunters to approach the sina or floe edge from the landward side, or to wait for seals at their breathing holes. Ringed seals were taken year-round by methods that changed with the seasons. In March and April, whole villages of people moved onto the ice to harvest "white-coats" for domestic use or trade. The break-up of the land-fast ice at the end of June, or in early July, at one time signalled the hunt for bowhead whales that often crowded its retreating edge. Once the ice goes out of the head of the Sound in July, beluga whales also become abundant. Around the end of August, people travelled inland to hunt caribou for food and a supply of winter skins. On their return from the caribou hunt, families again prepared for the stormy period of broken ice that preceded the winter sealing.

After 1921, the annual routine began including visits to the HBC trading post at Pangnirtung. Depending on how close people lived to the post, they might visit every month or as seldom as once a year. Generally, around late September a large number of people would gather at Pangnirtung to help unload the annual supply ship. Many would also return to celebrate Christmas at the post. Less frequent visits were more typical for those who lived at distant ilagiit nunagivaktangit such as Tuvakjuaq, on the south

coast facing the Labrador Sea. Their route to Pangnirtung led them across mountains to Kekerten, where they often stopped for the white-coat seal hunt. People who hunted around the mouth of Pangnirtung Fiord had the easiest access to the post for medical care or frequent trade. The Uqqumiut resisted HBC pressure to move to the best trapping grounds and continued to make their homes where the hunting was best.

EARLY CONTACTS

British explorers first entered Cumberland Sound in 1583, but soon realized the area was not part of a Northwest Passage. Regular contact did not begin until 1824, when British whalers appeared along the Davis Strait shore north of Pangnirtung. At that time, some Cumberland Sound Uqqurmiut moved north to trade with them, and began encouraging the whalers to sail around Cape Dyer to enter the ice-clogged waters of the Sound. In 1839–40, a young man from Kingmiksok, Inuluapik, convinced a Scottish whaler to enter Cumberland Sound, and Uqqumiut began flocking to the area to trade with the ships and to work. They sometimes suffered from the uncertainty of the whaling ships' arrivals and departures or became tragically familiar with viral and bacterial diseases, which made heavy inroads before 1860.

A new phase of contact began with the frequent visits by whalers to Cumberland Sound after 1840, and ran until 1872, when declines in whale stocks caused a corresponding fall in the number of vessels wintering in the area. During this period, Inuit acquired firearms and wooden boats and began a long tradition of working seasonally or year-round for whalers on the ships or at the year-round stations. At the same time, traditional harvesting activities continued from the stations, where one hundred or more people congregated at certain times each year. During this time, the year-round Qallunaat population remained very small but stable.

After the First World War, the annual routine of the bowhead whale hunt ended, but furs, skins, walrus ivory, and seal oil were still collected by a handful of small Scottish and English firms. Their trading posts or stations were typically managed by Inuit or by long-term Qallunaat residents. There were four stations near the mouth of Frobisher Bay, one at Blacklead Island, one at Ushualuk, one at Kekerten Island, and another at Saumia (Cape Mercy). On Davis Strait, whalers regularly visited anchorages at Aggidjen (Durban Harbour) and Kivitoo. With the arrival of the HBC in 1921, these stations could not compete with the powerful HBC monopoly.

Other than whalers, the most important Qallunaaq to live in the region was Reverend Edmund Peck, the Anglican missionary who introduced Christianity to Qikiqtaaluk in 1894 and translated biblical texts into the new syllabic system of writing Inuktitut. Syllabic literacy spread rapidly, and new religious practices challenged traditional belief systems and cultural practices.

Another noteworthy figure was the German geographer and anthropologist Franz Boas, who collected Inuit knowledge at Kekerten and published it in 1888 in his book, *The Central Eskimo*. Another German visitor was the ornithologist Bernhard Hantszch, whose exploration of the coast of Foxe Basin ended with his death there in 1911. In the 1920s, Canadian government explorers used Pangnirtung as a base for scientific surveys. All these individuals and parties employed Inuit to carry out their objectives. Most of these transient visitors did not disrupt the annual cycle of harvesting country food to supplement whatever was available at the stations. In fact, country food, chiefly caribou but also fish and seal meat, became an important part of the diet of visiting Qallunaat, though some made heavier demands on Inuit than they were able to repay. The 1920s saw a major reorganization of where people lived and how they took part in external trade.

Angmallik distributing biscuits to Inuit who unloaded Hudson's Bay Company supplies from RMS *Nascopie*
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

After the First World War, the HBC pounced on the small British firms trading around Baffin Island. In 1921, the SS *Bay Chimo* imported buildings and supplies to establish an HBC trading post near the mouth of Nettilling Fiord, northwest of all the rival stations in Cumberland Sound. After wasting two days searching for a site, the HBC party allowed an Inuk from Kekerten, Attagoyuk, to lead them up Pangnirtung Fiord. Here, one passenger called "Pangniatook [Pangnirtung] . . . possibly one of the most beautiful fiords I have seen," but the captain initially rejected Attagoyuk's first choice—the community's present site—because the anchorage was too windy and too deep. The next site inspected was even worse, however, so the *Bay Chimo* unloaded its cargo where the community now stands. While the chosen place for Netchilik Post was not ideal, better sites along the Sound were already occupied by the competition, and the navigation season was ending. With help from three boatloads of Inuit, the first buildings and cargo went ashore on September 9 and the vessel sailed away before dawn on the twelfth. In 1923, the RCMP also established a detachment at the same site and renamed the place Pangnirtung.

This establishment launched the beginning of a phase that many social scientists call contact–traditional. In Cumberland Sound, this type of contact endured from 1921 to 1962. This way of looking at the history of the Canadian North labels the periods since first contact according to the amount of influence incomers had on Aboriginal people. The first stage is called aboriginal (minimal contact between Inuit and explorers and other travelling Qallunaat). It is followed by transitional (more contact and frequent but irregular trade), then contact–traditional (a hunting life with dependable trade at fixed locations and some wage employment), and finally centralized (people clustered in a few places for trade and all services). In the Pangnirtung trading area, the contact–traditional phase lasted from 1921 to 1966.

By 1930, the depletion of bowhead whales and the opportunity to exchange fox furs for imported food, clothing, hunting tools, and luxuries, marked two significant differences from life a century earlier. The Inuit population at the Pangnirtung post grew slowly, limited to hired employees and a handful of Elders and a few others who could not hunt. In 1928, the RCMP and traders sent the aged and infirm out to their relatives in ilagiit nunagivaktangit, relieving the government and the HBC of the cost of feeding them.

The HBC was more interested in fox furs than whale products or sealskins, and for twenty years struggled to make Uqqurmiut focus more on trapping. This was difficult, partly because of mistrust. The HBC had abandoned the long-term reciprocal sharing that prevailed in whaling days and instituted a straight barter system. Inuit also complained of being cheated when they had to pay for things they were convinced they had been offered as gifts or had already paid for. HBC managers frequently complained that Inuit wanted to hunt, not trap, and that many fox skins were lost by lack of effort. On the other hand, Inuit hunters wanted to ensure that they and their relatives obtained the essentials of life, namely meat and oil, before shifting their effort to trap foxes.

In 1930, about half the population of the Sound could reportedly reach Pangnirtung in a day's travel. Many trade items were incorporated into the hunting economy—the people of Cumberland Sound retained their strong preference for sturdy wooden boats and high-powered rifles, and the HBC introduced nets for sealing in 1921. In other respects, however, the land economy and yearly routine of Uqqurmiut from 1921 to 1961 was remarkably similar to what the government still favoured as "traditional" Inuit life. For the time being, the government and HBC had succeeded in slowing and indeed reversing economic change in Cumberland Sound.

POPULATION OF ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT IN PANGNIRTUNG AREA, 1954

Location	Place Name	Population	Comments
Pangnirtung Fiord	Pangnirtung	80	Not a camp; main trading post in district
Cumberland Sound	Avatuktu	20	
	Noonata	12	
	Tesseralik	30	
	Kekerten	23	Pre-1921 whaling station (Angmarlik)
	Ooshooaluk	30	Pre-1921 trading post (Duval)
	Bon Accord	34	Also Illungajut
	Imigen	37	
	Sowic	37	Not identified
	Kreepishaw	40	Inhabited until 1984
	Kingniksoon	30	
	Abraham Bay	30	Former trading post (Kanaka)
	Noonigen	35	Not identified
	Kingnait Fiord	16	
	Touack Fiord	20	East of mouth of Cumberland Sound
Davis Strait	Padloping	60	Weather station on Davis Strait
	Kivitoo	60	Former trading post (Niaqutsiaq)
	Broughton Island	9	DEW Line site established in 1955
	Padlei Fiord	6	
Total		609	394 people lived in ilagiit nunagivaktangit on Cumberland Sound, 135 on Davis Strait, and 80 in Pangnirtung.

Table 1: Place names are printed as given in the original Qallunaat source. The comments above are not found in the original source.

Dog team delivering drinking water to St. Luke's Mission Hospital, August 1946

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

In 1930–31 the government and the Anglican Church collaborated in building and staffing St. Luke's hospital at Pangnirtung. With a year-round resident doctor and four southern nurses, it was the Qikiqtaaluk region's only hospital for over thirty years. The medical officer's assistant, Etuangat, convinced Inuit to use the medical services and taught successive doctors to understand and respect their patients. Several doctors at Pangnirtung in the 1930s were aware of the inroads of tuberculosis (TB) in the district, and challenged the conventional medical opinion that these were miscellaneous chest infections and not TB at all. In 1939, Dr. Orford designed a proposal to isolate TB patients in "model camps" where they would rest, eat country food, and stay in contact with their families. This proposal, so different from the evacuation program of the 1950s, was never adopted. Medical officers were also tragically unable to do anything about the viral infections that followed the visit of each year's supply vessel. Many Inuit who helped unload the ship became infected, and frequently some would die.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit women in new parkas awaiting the arrival of passengers from RMS *Nascopie*, August 1946
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

In 1941, the RMS *Nascopie* brought a disease, thought to be paratyphoid (a salmonella infection), which killed forty-two people. This was a disaster on a scale not seen since the 1850s, and worse than anything that followed. By the end of the Second World War, the settlement of Pangnirtung had a population centred on the hospital staff (a doctor and four nurses), an RCMP detachment, an Anglican mission, and the HBC staff. Some Qallunaat were married with families, and all employed at least one Inuk to hunt and assist on journeys. The families of hired Inuit, the patients in the hospital, and up to eighty elderly or infirm people in an "industrial home" made up a larger Inuit population than any other enclave of this kind in the region. Far more numerous were about three hundred people in the families who traded into Pangnirtung. There they also worshipped at Christmas and received from the RCMP the discs that identified them as inhabitants of the E-6 district, and bore the numbers by which all Inuit were identified in the official records. Most of these people passed at least a few days a year around the trading post, but their yearly routine was still centred on the land.

Inuit woman looking past tupik and qarmat towards *C.D. Howe* anchored in Pangnirtung Fiord, July 1951

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Until the end of the Second World War, the HBC was the dominant economic force in Pangnirtung, and the Mission had great cultural influence. The RCMP made patrols and were respected and feared, especially for their influence over the issue of relief to invalids and poor hunters. Unique to Pangnirtung, a Government doctor had services as well as trade goods to provide, but he often competed with other Qallunaat agencies for prestige. Overall, however, the balance of power was evident in transport and communications—it was the HBC that imported government supplies from 1932 to 1947 and controlled the messages going out on the settlement's only radio transmitter.

The balance of power and prestige began to tilt towards government in 1945, when Parliament passed the Family Allowance Act. This universal program gave a big boost to money incomes of Inuit. In 1947, the HBC lost prestige with the sinking of the annual supply vessel, the *Nascopie*. In 1949, the government launched its own Arctic freighter, the *C.D. Howe*. It also served as a hospital ship, intervening forcibly to remove sick Inuit from their homes for TB treatment in southern sanatoria. Another well-meant intrusion was the passage of the Game Acts, setting quotas on a number of species and giving the police authority to issue tags and monitor trade of species such as polar bears. Finally, schools were established throughout the Arctic, and while Pangnirtung had a kind of day school since 1936, teachers after 1950 carried the job title of welfare teachers and involved themselves in much of the people's affairs. The direct involvement of civil servants, as well as the RCMP, in the lives of Inuit was becoming remarkably visible.

Seven students posing in a classroom in Pangnirtung
NWT ARCHIVES

The measured financial aspects of Inuit life at this time, which excluded the considerable value of country food and skins consumed locally, is captured in a table prepared for the administrators on the Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP).

SOURCES OF INCOME OF CUMBERLAND SOUND INUIT IN 1950–1951

Source of Income	Pangnirtung		Total of Eight Surveyed Communities	
	$	**% of total**	**$**	**% of total**
Furs, etc.	8,140	19.2	75,727	29
Handicrafts	0	0	0	0
Labour, etc.	3,828	9.07	38,971	14.9
Family allowances	22,691	53.9	97,961	37.5
Government relief	1,887	4.4	13,780	5.3
Trader relief	65	0.1	788	0.3
Unpaid debts	918	2.1	1,625	0.6
Old Age Pension	921	2.1	1,738	0.7
Other	3,730	8.8	29,610	11.3
Total	**$42,180**	**99.67%**	**$260,000**	**99.60%**

Table 2: The eight communities in the survey were Southampton Island, Cape Dorset, Kimmirut, Iqaluit, Pangnirtung, Clyde River, Pond Inlet, and Arctic Bay.

Here, more than anywhere else in Qikiqtaaluk, seals were an important part of the trading economy. In peak years in the 1930s, the HBC accepted more than three thousand sealskins in trade.

Another significant part of the annual round of activities was a collective white whale drive carried out by boats from most of the ilagiit nunagivaktangit. Since 1927, the HBC had facilities at Pangnirtung to chop and render whale blubber quickly and to prepare the skins for export. When the HBC stopped organizing the annual white whale drive, a number of groups co-operated in running one themselves, earning about $2,500 a year. Constable Johnson described in 1955 how "most of the natives take part in the whale hunts and all benefit to some extent through the sale of oil and hides. The meat of the whales is divided among the camp members and is most useful as qimmiit feed." Constable Jenkin provided more detail in 1959.

> Presently at Pangnirtung, the Hudson's Bay Company is operating a whaling station especially for the processing of white whales . . . The processing amounts to taking the pure oil from the fat of the whale, and the hide is pickled for shipment to England where it is made into boot laces of the finest quality. The average white whale brings between $25.00 to $30.00 to an Eskimo and he is allowed to keep the meat.

In 1964–65, the market for oil and hides collapsed. It did not recover, and since then beluga have been taken in smaller numbers and for subsistence.

There is evidence that the RCMP and traders were ready to stifle any initiative by individual Inuit to spend more time at the settlement, and to dictate where they lived and when they moved. Constable H. A. Johnson's annual report for 1954 hinted at his power. He reported that Ushualuk had been "evacuated" in the summer because game had been judged scarce and the people were visiting the trading post monthly to buy food on Family Allowance. Ushualuk was normally considered a rich game area, and the move away from it may have been involuntary—"the Eskimos there were asked to move to a better location" where they would limit their visits to

the settlement to twice a year. Johnson next turned his attention to another nearby camp that he claimed attracted "bums and scroungers," who were likely to make demands on his relief budget.

> [T]hese natives are able-bodied but have no ambition. They were informed during their visit to the settlement that unless they moved from this location they would receive no further Family Allowance, they were further advised that relief assistance to all members of that camp had been discontinued. All the natives of this camp agreed to move. In most cases they will return to their old camps and will be transported there on the Police Peterhead this summer.

Johnson's report shows hard-nosed attitudes towards family allowance, a universal social program and an entitlement of anyone with children, and "relief," social assistance available to those in genuine need. Inuit who came to trade were not welcome to stay after they transacted their business. Johnson's successor, G. C. Barr, reported that, "Some of the poorer types of Eskimo have been trying to move into Pangnirtung and loiter away the summer months, but all the Natives have been told that they cannot live in Pangnirtung unless they are employed by one of the White Concerns . . . Loitering around the Settlement is not permitted." Inuit were Canadians with the right to live where they pleased, but the RCMP, traders, and missionaries made the settlement an unwelcoming place except for people who were on business or were in obvious need due to poor health or old age.

There were other pressures forcing Inuit to conform to Qallunaat expectations about loitering. These included threats to kill visitors' qimmiit, as Pangnirtung resident Levi Evic recalled for the QTC in 2008. About 1956 a police officer threatened to kill his family's qimmiit while they were staying in Pangnirtung with Levi's aunt. One evening a police officer, accompanied by the HBC manager, visited the qammaq of Annie Okalik, Jaco Evic's

sister, where Jaco was staying with his wife and their son Levi, then aged nine or ten. Levi testified:

> Someone came over and told my father [Jaco Evic] that they were going to shoot his dogs tomorrow, kill all his dogs. It was winter at that time. In the middle of the night when it was dark, really cold, we left this community. He did not want his dogs to be shot. So in the middle of the night they took off, towards our home . . . They were planning to shoot our dogs if we were still here at morning.

According to Levi Eric, the police officer made demands in English, which were then interpreted into Inuktitut, "the way it is today." On other occasions when he was present, qimmiit actually were shot in similar circumstances. Incidents like this were very humiliating to the people concerned, and would not have been reported back to Ottawa by either perpetrators or the victims.

In 1960, the National Film Board (NFB) issued a short documentary on Pangnirtung, portraying an isolated place with an almost uninterrupted connection to the past. The reality was somewhat different, as there had been constant changes in both annual routines and material belongings of the Uqqurmiut compared even to fifty years earlier. Boats were bigger and were powered by gasoline, qamutiks were probably longer and pulled by more qimmiit, doctors and nurses were nearby, and tents and qammaat were bigger and more comfortable. People travelled to Frobisher Bay to experience the amazing changes occurring there, and others spent years in hospital in Ontario or Quebec. In their own ways, both Inuit and Qallunaat on Cumberland Sound were accepting some kinds of change while trying to avoid others. The disruption, which began early in the 1960s, would be sudden, unplanned, and traumatic.

Sangussaqtauliqtilluta, 1962–1966

The winter of 1961–62 was a turning point in the history of Cumberland Sound. Most of the qimmiit in the region died of disease or were shot to prevent its spread, and almost all the people were temporarily but forcibly evacuated to a settlement that was not prepared to shelter them. Just as in 1840–52 and 1921–23, old patterns of life were shattered and new ones began to appear.

The start of this disruption was the sudden arrival of an epidemic disease, later diagnosed in Ottawa as canine hepatitis, which gradually spread from the west. In December 1961, dog teams brought the disease overland from Iqaluit to Kingmiksok and from there it spread to all the ilagiit nunagivaktangit who traded at Pangnirtung.

News and the virus spread together, and scenes that were common two years earlier around Kimmirut were repeated here—hunters travelled on foot from camp to the floe edge, or pooled a few remaining qimmiit and took turns using much-reduced teams. The difference in Cumberland Sound in 1962, though, was the readiness of Qallunaat officials, assisted by the Inuit they employed, to forcefully move people to a settlement. The local authorities also called on reinforcements from Iqaluit—an RCMP aircraft and senior federal officials from the northern administration office in Iqaluit. Before winter ended, they even flew in an autoboggan, the first motorized sled seen in Cumberland Sound.

In February, these agents visited the ilagiit nunagivaktangit they could reach and concluded that the population was extremely vulnerable. The qimmiit population had fallen by about three-quarters, and snow and ice conditions were unusually hard for travel for the weak teams that remained. While the authorities left rations with families who insisted on staying on the land, five of the thirteen remote ilagiit nunagivaktangit were completely

evacuated and more than half the population was quickly brought into the settlement by the first week of March. Here they found preparations were inadequate. Raigalee Angnakok remembered in 2008:

> The RCMP came to take us, just up and they moved us. I am not sure why or how we got there. I remember that we were living in a tent in the middle of winter. It was so cold . . . [T]he only things we had from then was a little bit of heating oil and little bit of minced meat in a can. Those were the only things we survived on. We were moved from our camp without taking anything, just us wives and the children. And I can say that within three days of being moved, looking back, it is comical, ridiculous. It was that cold in the tent that when we woke up in the morning we had frost on our eyebrows and hairy areas. And when I look back; they treated us like nothing . . . Underlings. They treated us so bad compared to what we have today . . . We had hardly anything when they moved us as all our equipment and our bedding was left in our camp when they just took us and moved us. They put us in tents that were very cold. They did that to us.

Pangnirtung at this time was tiny—barely twenty buildings for the RCMP, HBC shop and warehouses, mission, and hospital, and a few new houses for southerners and their Inuit employees. There was nowhere to put more than two hundred people, so they set to work building canvas-covered qammaat, colder and less substantial than the ones they had left behind. Years later, administrator Keith Crowe wrote of the contributions of two year-round residents.

> Kilabuk was the ideal person to handle the welter of emergencies, innovations and sensitivities. From the first day, he and his friend Etooangat, who was employed by the Department of Health and

> Welfare, gave me help and encouragement. They taught me the local dialect, explained the complexities of Inuit kinship and camp affiliations and described the now-disrupted seasonal economy. They spent much unrewarded time arranging and attending meetings, dealing with community problems and advising me and other Qallunaat on our various plans. Their patience, humour and diplomacy had been finely tuned during decades of handling transient employers, and these qualities, together with their knowledge, contributed immensely to the peace and progress of all.

Many Panniqtuumiut spoke to the QTC about these times. Constant themes were the lack of any sort of preparation or explanation for the evacuations by the unilingual Qallunaat who visited each community in the RCMP's recently acquired airplane. People were pressured to leave with very few belongings, and families were often split. Elijah Kakkee told the QTC that at Tuvakjuak a couple of hunters were returning home, saw the plane circle, land and leave, and reached their ilagiit nunagivaktangit to find it almost empty:

> Once I arrived in our camp . . . the tent on the porch area. It was no longer there. Nobody came out from the qarmaqs. Only one person approaching from my uncle's qarmaq . . . The people were picked up by the airplane. There's only four of us left. "What are we going to do?" They didn't bring anything—only bedding. All the contents in the qarmaq were left. We were told the airplane would come at 8 am for us. I didn't know what to do. Only four of men couldn't live in the camp. There were some still-not-dry polar bear skins. We were store them [*sic*] and some fox skins stored in the same place. There was no discussion. We were not told. There was just Spam and butter. That's what we got from the RCMP—butter and Spam. They didn't bring kettles. We didn't see them again.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit woman stoops to fill kettle from water tap outside small house in Pangnirtung, 1967
NWT ARCHIVES

After all were removed, they never lived at Tuvakjuak again. Medical authorities in Pangnirtung, expressing concern for the oldest family member, prevented the family from ever returning to this remote and most independent of the little settlements on the land.

Officials described the events as an important humanitarian rescue of a population facing starvation. Yet, at Kimmirut two years earlier, when the RCMP allowed Inuit to deal with this qimmiit disease in their own way, people were fed themselves despite a loss of qimmiit and even managed to tend their traplines. At Pangnirtung, however, only the very hardy and most confident were able to resist pressure to be evacuated to the settlement.

Many Panniqtuumiut have spoken of the evacuations as the beginning of the end of life on the land, but it was not a simple case of just staying in the settlement forever after the evacuations. About two-thirds of the families were back in their ilagiit nunagivaktangit before freeze-up in 1962. The administrators in Pangnirtung, who did not want to see another winter without adequate housing, welcomed their departure. The RCMP and Northern Affairs quickly imported healthy qimmiit from other districts, and by summer 1964, most teams were up to strength again. At the same time, the attachment of people to the land was being undermined by other government actions. The first places to be abandoned were the remotest ones around Cape Mercy. People from near the mouth of Cumberland Sound began to resettle in Pangnirtung, from where they could reach their most familiar hunting places. This combination of government effort to shore up the existing economy with the promotion of centralization appears incoherent, but was consistent with a general government policy stated in 1957. The policy called for accelerating change only where Inuit society was already under stress, while "in remote areas . . . relatively free from contact with white civilization, it is planned to leave their present economy as undisturbed as possible." Gradually the south side of the Sound was depopulated too until, by 1969, only three ilagiit nunagivaktangit remained.

What Inuit wanted in this period varied a good deal, but most moved to Pangnirtung with regret; later, many felt the government did not live up to the promises and inducements made to encourage people to resettle, especially promises of adequate and inexpensive housing and forecasts that schooling would lead to jobs. In testimonies to the QTC and in various oral history projects since the 1980s, Panniqtuumiut have talked about the pressures they were under to leave the land. Although only the settlement offered the advantages of schooling for children and medical care for all ages, the difficulties included distance from familiar hunting places, reduced access to country food, and the loss of traditional roles for all, especially Elders and men.

A confusing element in the history of this period is that federal authorities, despite new housing policies implemented in 1956 and 1959, still felt that places like Pangnirtung (as well as Igloolik) might be able to prolong their hunting and trapping well into the future. This optimism was encouraged by an economy that enjoyed a strong boost from high prices for sealskins. Constable M. J. McPhee described 1963, an exceptionally good year.

> Very rarely are any [ringed seal skins] retained for domestic purposes by the Eskimo in view of their values. In the past a large amount of clothing, particularly footwear, was manufactured from seal skins, however, in the present day commercial clothing is evidently preferred . . . with the exception of seal skin boots or kamiks worn during cold or wet weather. As the price of their skins has increased sharply from the previous period, the seal forms the basic element of the native economy, also serving as the prime source of food . . . In a minor way, blubber is still rendered for use in native oil lamps, but gradually, commercial sources of heat are replacing seal oil.

High prices were not stable, but the sealskin trade remained an important part of the local economy until a European boycott ended it suddenly in 1984.

One significant change was the increasing use of snowmobiles, which were first seen in Pangnirtung in 1962. The 1964 sealift brought fourteen snowmobiles to the HBC store, and half were snapped up by employed Inuit in the settlement and seven more by hunters still living on the land. An even larger shipment the next year also sold out within days, many being bought by hunters.

Nevertheless, the qimmiit population in the settlement continued to rise. As Pangnirtung grew, the RCMP constable on the spot became seriously alarmed about qimmiit running at large, and he had about 250 destroyed in 1966, encouraged the Inuit to kill many of their own, and made plans for a further slaughter in 1967. His superiors in Ottawa felt he might be overreacting, but the report for 1967 showed more reductions, along with sixty snowmobiles, and seventy the following year. In 1968, the RCMP abandoned qimmiit travel and, as a result, discontinued their annual autumn trip to hunt walrus. In the spring of the same year there were only three teams remaining. Some of them were already engaged in the growing business of guiding tourists.

Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta, 1966–1975

AGENDAS AND PROMISES

In the 1960s, Pangnirtung moved from being one of the most developed of the permanent Qallunaat establishments to its present status as one of Qikiqtaaluk's thirteen communities. Symbolically, the development—in

Ottawa—of a town plan for Pangnirtung in 1961–62 could be seen as the beginning of the modern era, as the government applied technological solutions to the settlement's problems, such as permafrost, poor drainage, and isolation from markets and service centres. Modernization dominated the community's life by 1966, with the centralization in one place of more than half the people of the Pangnirtung trading area, the launch of a major government housing program, construction of a tank farm and diesel generator, a freshwater reservoir, and a year-round gravel runway to replace uncertain landings on the ice or water of Pangnirtung Fiord.

This brief period of modernization also saw the establishment of telephone and broadcast connections to the south through the Anik satellite (1973), the development throughout the Inuit regions of a government-fostered co-operative movement, the designation of a large National Park just north of Pangnirtung to channel and encourage the growing tourism business, and further encouragement for the production and marketing of the work of the community's artists. Each step in this process brought Pangnirtung into closer contact with the larger political and economic communities of the Northwest Territories and of Canada, and demanded new skills and new organizations for Inuit so that these changes could be managed for their benefit. Modernization was therefore not simply an upgrading of infrastructure—it demanded significant changes in the daily lives of individuals.

In common with other Qikiqtaaluk communities, Pangnirtung had to absorb a young and rapidly growing population. In February 1965, the area had a reported population of about 568 Inuit living in family units averaging 5 people. Of the total, a remarkable 313 were under the age of twenty-one. Between 1970 and 1980, the population of the Pangnirtung district increased further, from 690 to 839. One ilagiit nunagivaktangit, Kipisa, was continuously occupied until 1984 and another, Opingivik, was re-established in the late 1970s by Lypa Pitsiulak, who invested earnings from his work as an artist to re-establish a foothold on a more traditional

life than was possible in the settlement. In 1981, Pangnirtung was one of the five biggest communities in what is now Nunavut and second only to Iqaluit in Qikiqtaaluk.

Before 1950, in the ilagiit nunagivaktangit, abundant building materials from ships and shore stations allowed qammaat to develop beyond the modest size possible with pre-contact building materials into large double-walled shelters, timber-framed and covered at least partly with canvas or duck. Within Pangnirtung itself, this semi-permanent type of shelter was occasionally used by people employed around the settlements or by the elderly or disabled receiving rations. Also in Pangnirtung, the RCMP provided a wooden house for their special constable.

When more than two hundred Inuit were evacuated to Pangnirtung during the emergency in 1962, there was practically nowhere to house them. Until then, Iqaluit and Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites were top priorities for the government's Inuit housing programs, so by 1962 only one "Eskimo House" (along with seven staff houses and three eight-bed student hostels) had been assembled in Pangnirtung. Orthodox town planning had just begun—an as-built plan of the settlement was on Ottawa's drafting tables at the end of 1961—and Pangnirtung had to take its turn with eight other communities as housing production increased. This was boosted by a new housing plan in 1965, when the government sensibly began "requesting the comments of the local people concerning the sitting of their housing units." In 1969, the subcommittee making the choice for ten new house sites consisted of John Dialla, Jim Kilabuk, Adam Pudloo, Amosee Etooangat, Simo Veevee, and Peterossee Karpik. (These names, as recorded by a Qallunaaq, show that Pangnirtung had already moved to a system of Inuit surnames, earlier than the rest of Qikiqtaaluk.)

Housing programs were transferred to the Government of the Northwest Territories in the late 1960s and building continued to try to keep up with resettlement and the natural increase of population. After the oil crisis of 1973, the GNWT Housing Corporation introduced multi-family dwellings,

Preparing foundations for new houses at Pangnirtung, 1967
NWT ARCHIVES

and eighteen duplex units were installed in Pangnirtung in 1978. That same year, a pilot project saw six Pangnirtung trainees erect a "stick-built" house (i.e., not prefabricated). Despite this versatility and sense of urgency, in the mid-1980s, many homes were crowded and a few families still lived in qammaat on the edge of the community.

Part of the pressure to expand school facilities in the 1960s came from government promotion of adult education. The focus of adult education was very much on the transition from ilagiit nunagivaktangit to settlement

and included, for example, cooking classes for young women. After 1964, however, the shift of families away from the land demanded expansion of schooling for children as well, and by 1966, Pangnirtung had a four-room school. It also had three of the now-standard small eight-bed hostels for children whose parents remained on the land. By 1976, Pangnirtung was offering education from kindergarten up to grade eight.

Group of youth looking at sculptures
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

SHAPING COMMUNITY LIFE

Over a long period, Pangnirtung's hunters produced small ivory carvings for travellers, medical officers, and HBC staff, but the fame of Pangnirtung Inuit art is recent. The major events in developing cultural production as an industry were the establishment of the Pangnirtung co-op in 1967–68, establishment of the Weaving Shop in 1970, and the addition of the Pangnirtung print shop, which published its first collection in 1973.

A regional co-op development officer visited Pangnirtung in December 1967 to prepare for the organization of a provisional Board of Directors for the Pangnirtung Eskimo Co-operative. The development officer felt that the arts and crafts from the community were already of high quality, and that there was high potential to develop a commercial char fishery as well. In 1969, Elijah Irkloo and Tagak Curley visited to give training in Inuktitut to co-op members.

Pangnirtung carvers made abundant use of the whalebone remaining at Thule house sites and nineteenth-century commercial whaling sites throughout Cumberland Sound. This became, in effect, the final harvest from the once-abundant bowhead, and the carvings were distinctive and often large. Soapstone carvings were produced, in spite of a lack of good local stone. From the earliest days, the Pangnirtung printmakers, weavers, and carvers have expressed different themes, including mythical beings, traditional lifeways, and images of more recent experiences including ships, wooden buildings, and the material culture of the recent past.

The community is also a gateway to Auyuittuq National Park of Canada, and as such has many of the facilities visitors look for even in the Arctic, including accommodations, guides, and tour operators. Other exceptional features are the Uqqurmiut Centre for Arts and Crafts, and the headquarters of Pangnirtung Fisheries, a commercial char and turbot operation employing six residents full-time and forty seasonally. The Angmarlik Centre

was built in the 1980s to serve as a library and an Elders' centre, as well as an interpretation centre for visitors to the national park and to the territorial heritage park nearby at the old whaling station on Kekerten Island.

As people collected in larger numbers in Pangnirtung, wage employment became a bigger concern for men and women alike. The traditional

employment opportunities as hunters, guides, and housekeepers, were severely limited even after the Qallunaat population grew in the 1950s, and short seasonal hiring, unloading ships and the like, were similarly no basis for a strong wage economy. After 1962, many jobs in the community contributed to building the physical infrastructure or providing services in government offices. Anthropologist Ann McElroy summed the situation up in the mid-1970s:

> In the period of transition from hunting to dependence on a wage economy, male Inuit took the lead in seeking employment, learning to speak English, and participating in the development of local government and economic cooperatives . . . The primary male model provided in many Inuit households included the roles of truck driver, heavy equipment operator, construction crewman, janitor, carpenter, and similar skilled and semi-skilled occupations. . . . Hunting and fishing were still prestigious activities . . . During the first decade of town living, a woman who continued to be skilled in working skins, in sewing boots and parkas, and in rearing children was assured of considerable esteem.

While this observer was relatively uncritical of government economic policy, others were not. R. G. Mayes painted the government's attitude in bleak tones:

> The programs and projects that local administrators were to implement had their shortcomings. Economic activity received the greatest attention, but change was shackled by Ottawa's determination to create wage paying positions as a replacement, to the exclusion of any attempt to make hunting itself a more viable occupation, whether as the basis or simply one component of the local economy.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Three young men sit outside carving whale bone and stone with wood and canvas tents behind, Pangnirtung, 1967
NWT ARCHIVES

Many Inuit took wage employment in order to buy hunting equipment, especially the new snowmobiles that made it possible to live in Pangnirtung and return to distant points on the land on weekends. Women were adjusting, too. Mayes found that thirty-three men and nineteen women, the women working "as secretaries, store clerks, domestics, or in specialized crafts, such as weaving," held Pangnirtung's fifty-two full- and part-time positions. Mayes judged that men, particularly young men, were increasingly oriented towards wage employment, but that a shortage of jobs was threatening the community with "increased social tension." According to Mayes, the real combined rate of unemployment and underemployment in the village in 1978 was about 42%.

Before the mid-1960s, all major decisions about the government of Pangnirtung and its inhabitants were made by outsiders under direction from Ottawa. This situation had to change after 1962, since increasing numbers of people were living closer together than ever before, and the numerous demands of officials would fail if not accepted and encouraged by leading Inuit. In his testimony to the QTC, Ron Mongeau stated that during the qimmiit epidemic of 1962 the senior employees of the southern agencies in Pangnirtung made huge contributions to maintaining relative calm. In the years to come the same individuals, probably with co-operation from the former leaders of the small communities on the land, served on formal settlement committees and continued their jobs of educating newcomers on local ways. While some southern observers did not trust local Inuit leadership, the participation of Elders and other Inuit opinion leaders was an essential part of local governance. By 1975, Pangnirtung had an elected Council that managed a wide range of public issues, including lobbying the government in Yellowknife. The hamlet's infrastructure consisted of an airstrip with twice-weekly flights to Iqaluit, an RCMP detachment, a nursing station to replace the thirty-bed hospital (closed 1974), a K-8 school, an Anglican church, the Arthur Turner Training School for Anglican clerics, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, "public accommodation"

Anglican congregation outside the hospital, 1941
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

offering basic lodging, three general stores, and the co-op. It was able to host small conferences and regional training courses. Apart from Iqaluit, Pangnirtung was the best-serviced community in Qikiqtaaluk.

As the service centre of a district with abundant and stable game resources, Pangnirtung has always supported a substantial population in


HUDSON'S BAY

reasonable security. As a place of exceptional natural scenery, it also attracted more than its share of outside interest.

In the 1940s, Pangnirtung was one of the most visited, most studied, and best-serviced communities in Qikiqtaaluk. In 1947, the HBC post manager called it "the metropolis of the Eastern Arctic." Yet in 1960 the NFB documentary *Arctic Outpost* showed Pangnirtung as a peaceful and isolated place, scarcely touched by the modern world.

This was an outsider's view. In contrast to the "modern" features of other Arctic communities, Pangnirtung had no airstrip, no military post, no DEW Line, no weather station, and almost no income from carving or printmaking. Within two decades, however, Pangnirtung was the gateway to a national park, its weavers and printmakers were internationally famous, and its people engaged in territorial, regional, and national Inuit politics. Despite its exceptional characteristics, it had reached this point through the same hard transitions in the 1960s as almost every other community in Qikiqtaaluk. Changes were due to a local mixture of the same general causes: health care, compulsory schooling, government housing, the killing of qimmiit and introduction of snowmobiles, and, for some, nine-to-five jobs. By 1975, Pangnirtung had overcome the worst of the disruptions and was beginning to adapt to the new economic and political conditions, while using tourism and art to present an attractive face to the world.

As Pangnirtung received from the government the normal infrastructure of a modern Baffin Island community, the people responded to the challenges and opportunities of living in a much larger community than they had ever known, distant from their traditional hunting places. Present-day Pangnirtung is a product of government investment, international market forces, and the initiative and energy of Panniqtuumiut.

OPPOSITE PAGE:
Meeka Kilabuk and May Akulukjuk outside Hudson's Bay post store at Pangnirtung, 1967
NWT ARCHIVES


Qikiqtaaluk Communities
ELLESMERE
ISLAND
Grise Fiord
Resolute
DEVON ISLAND
Lancaster Sound
Baffin
Bay
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Clyde River
BAFFIN ISLAND
Davis Strait
Taloyoak
Igloolik
Hall Beach
Qikiqtarjuaq
Gjoa Haven
Kugaarjuk
Pangnirtung
Cumberland Snd.
Foxe
Basin
Repulse Bay
Iqaluit
Cape Dorset
Frobisher Bay
Kimmirut
Baker Lake
Coral Harbour
Hudson Strait
Chesterfield Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Whale Cove
Arviat
Hudson
Bay
Sanikiluaq
Qikiqtaaluk Communities
Other Nunavut Communities
Non-Nunavut Communities
1:10,000,000
©Qikiqtani Inuit Association, 2013

Endnotes

- Whaling era to 1919: W. Gillies Ross, *Arctic Whalers, Icy Seas: Narratives of the Davis Strait Whale Fishery* (Toronto, Canada: Irwin Pub, 1985); Philip Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses to Euro-American Contacts: Southeast Baffin Island, 1824-1940," *Historical Papers 1986 Communications Historiques*, pp. 146-172; Marc Stevenson, *Inuit, Whalers, and Cultural Persistence: Structure in Cumberland Sound and Central Inuit Social Organization* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 32-141; and Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology, 1887).
- Healthcare: Emily S. Cowall, "Puvaluqatatiluta, When We Had Tuberculosis: St. Luke's Mission Hospital and the Inuit of the Cumberland Sound Region, 1930-1972" (PhD. Diss., McMaster University, 2011).
- Contact-traditional period, 1920-1962: Stevenson, *Inuit Whalers and Cultural Persistence*, pp. 142-224; Philip P. Goldring, "The Triumvirate in Pangnirtung Career Paths and Cross-Cultural Relations, 1921-1945," Québec City: Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, 1989.
- Physical geography: Area was mapped in the 1880s by Franz Boas. Two important reports by Boas have not been translated into English – *Die Eisverhaltnisse des sudostichen Teiles von Baffin-Land* (Petermanns Mitteilungen, xxxiv, 296-298, Tafel 18). Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1888, 2; and *Baffin-Land Geographische Ergebnisse einer in den Jahren 1883 und 1884 ausgefuhrten Forschungsreise*. von Dr. Franz Boas. Kit zwei Karten und neun Skizzen im Text, Ergetnzungsheft No. 80 zu. (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1885).
- Harvesting: Alvin Haller's contributions to 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),; and Kemp, "Inuit Land Use in South and East Baffin Island" in Milton Freeman Research Limited, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project - Volume 1* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976).

- End of the contact-traditional era: Robert G. Mayes, "The Creation of a Dependent People: The Inuit of Cumberland Sound, Northwest Territories," Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1978; and unpublished sources and oral accounts collected over the past 30 years that are of great importance.
- Local Uqqurmiut groups: Stevenson, *Inuit Whalers and Cultural Persistence*, pp. xvii-xviii and assim.
- Physical geography: Anders et al., *East Coast of Baffin Island*, pp. 7-49 and maps 3-4; and floe edge mapping in Franz Boas, *Die Eisverhaltnisse des sudostichen Teiles von Baffin-Land*, pp. xxxiv and 296-298.
- Inuktitut names: Piruvik Press, *Inuktitut Essentials: A Phrasebook*.
- Biological resources: Anders et al., *East Coast of Baffin Island*, pp. 30-49; and Stevenson, *Inuit Whalers and Cultural Persistence*, pp. 94-100; and Kemp, "Inuit Land Use in South and East Baffin Island," pp. 138-39 and 142
- Population counts, 1923-66: Stevenson, *Inuit Whalers and Cultural Persistence*, pp. 99-100. Uqqurmiut cycle: Kemp, "Inuit Land Use in South and East Baffin Island," pp. 125-51; Franz Boas, *Baffin-Land Geographische Ergebnisse einer in den Jahren 1883 und 1884 ausgefuhrten Forschungsreise*; and Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses," pp. 158-60.
- HBC post in the 1940s and 1950s: QTC, 13 May 2008, Elijah Kakee.
- Overview history to 1945 and decline of whaling: Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses," pp. 146-72, 152 and Table 1.
- Christianity: Bennett, "Whalers, Missionaries, and Inuit in Cumberland Sound," Thesis, Carleton University, 1985.
- Voyage of S.S. Bay Chimo: Library and Archives Canada (LAC), L.J. Jackman Fonds, MG30-B34, Diary [textual record], 1921; Archives

of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B.455/a/1, "Netchelik Post Journal". The journals use the name "Netchilik" until "Pangnirtung" or "Pangnatook" begin to be used in August 1924. (HBCA:B.455/a/5, Pangnirtung Post Journal 1924-25.); HBCA: C.1/5, Log of the Bay Chimo, 1921. The sparse detail in this log includes a note at 05:30 on 8 September, "Anchored at 'Netchelik' ('Pangnirtung Harbour')."

- Contact phases: David Damas developed the model of contact phases in a number of different articles, including Damas, "The Eskimo." For refinements to this model in the whaling era, see Ross, *Whaling and Eskimos*, pp. 137-38 and Goldring, "Inuit Economic Responses," pp. 151-54.
- HBC and other Qallunaat groups in the area: Stevenson, *Inuit Whalers and Cultural Persistence*, and Goldring, "The Triumvirate," pp. 19-20. Wide dispersal with infrequent visits to the trading post was favoured by government officials and missionaries until after 1960. A general description is provided in David Damas, *Arctic Migrants, Arctic Villagers; The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic* (Montréal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), pp. 27-51, "The Policy of Dispersal". See statistic by Dr. A.G. MacKinnon in his annual report to the Director, Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 14 Sept. 1936, in LAC: RG85 vol. 815 file 6954, Health of Natives – Report of Pangnirtung and Ponds Inlet. Population information in Table 1 is from Sivertz to Director, 16 Dec. 1964 and attachments, in LAC: RG85 vol. 362 file 201-1 part 31, Arctic Inspections.
- Annual reports by medical officers: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Volume 815, File 6954, "Health of Natives - Report of Pangnirtung and Ponds Inlet". Dr. Orford's proposal is in his annual report in LAC: RG 85, Vol. 1872 File 552-1 [1], 15 Aug. 1939.
- 1941-42 paratyphoid epidemic: Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985), p. 100.

- Federal policy: R. Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit since the Second World War* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Damas, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers*, pp. 52-186; and Randall Reeves and Ed Mitchell, "White Whale Hunting in Cumberland Sound," *The Beaver*, Vol. 61, No 3 (1981).
- Table 2: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Volume 1207, File 201-1-8 part 3, "Attachment to report of J. Cantley to Acting Chief, 19 Nov. 1952."
- Game conditions in the 1960s: LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG 18, Accession 1985-86, Box 57, RCMP Game Conditions Reports, various years; and see also Reeves and Mitchell, "White Whale Hunting," pp. 42-49.
- RCMP reports to Ottawa: LAC, RG 18 Acc. 1985-86 Box 55, File TA-500-8-1-11, Conditions Among Eskimos, Pangnirtung; H.A. Johnson's report on moving families is dated 1 January 1955; T. Jenkin reported to Ottawa on beluga whaling on 4 August 1959; G.C. Barr wrote about "loitering" on 3 April 1959.
- Levi Evic: QTC, 15 May 2008, Levi Evic.
- John Feeney: Film titled *Arctic Outpost; Pangnirtung NWT* (1960). For a teachers' guide, see www3.nfb.ca/sg/14280.pdf , accessed 10 Jan. 2013.
- Raigalee Angnakok: QTC, 30 September 2008, Raigalee Angnakok.
- Canine hepatitis: QTC testimonies and documentary leads supplied by Dr. Frank Tester from the *Nunavut Social History Data Base*. See also Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), *The RCMP and the Inuit Sled Dogs (Nunavut and Northern Quebec: 1950-1970)*, unpublished report (Ottawa: 2006). Only writers using oral evidence emphasize the suddenness, often bordering on cruelty, of the evacuations. For a popular treatment partly based on departmental records, see Duffy, "The Cumberland Sound Dog Disease", pp. 4-15; Damas, *Arctic Migrants*, pp. 42-49; Knotsch, "Views of the Past"; and Francis Lévesque, "Les Inuit, Leurs Chiens et l'Administration Nordique, de 1950 a 2007: Anthropologie d'une revendication inuit contemporaine," Thesis, Université Laval, 2008, pp. 400-14. A major source of comment from the period is LAC,

RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048, Box 55, File TA-500-8-1-11, Conditions Among Eskimos, Pangnirtung.

- Kilabuk and Etooangat: K. Crowe, "Arctic Profiles: Jim Netsiapik Kilabuk (1902-1985) ," *Arctic,* Vol. 41, No. 3, p. 254.
- Elijah Kakee: QTC, 13 May 2008, Elijah Kakee.
- New economy intentions: Canada, Government Activities in the North, 1953, p. 58: "Where primitive Eskimos in remote areas are relatively free from contact with white civilization, it is planned to leave their present economy as undisturbed as possible." This concern continued to guide the pace of development until about 1965.
- Qimmiit disease in Kimmirut: LAC: RG18 Accession 84-85-1048 vol. 57 file TA500-20-10-13, annual reports by Cst. C. P. Pallister (14 Jan. 1960 and W. H. Canam, 17 Jan. 1961.)
- Resettlement period: Anders et al., *East Coast of Baffin Island*; Mayes, "The Creation of Dependent People"; and Damas, *Arctic Migrants*. (2002). See also remaining Pangnirtung files in the Northern Administration Records (RG85) in LAC, and the RCMP "Conditions Amongst the Eskimos Generally" and "Game Conditions" reports until the end of the 1960s. For these, see LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048, Box 55, File TA-500-8-11 (General) and LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048, Box 57, File TA-50020-10-14 (Game Conditions).
- Const. M. J. McPhee: LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048, Box 57, File TA-50020-10-14 Game Conditions: Pangnirtung, NWT, Memo to OC from M. J. McPhee, re: Annual Report - Game Conditions, 17 July 1964.
- Snowmobiles: LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048, Box 55, File TA-500-8-11 Conditions Among Eskimos, Pangnirtung, Memo to OC from M. J. McPhee, 27 January 1965.
- Events in the late 1960s: LAC, RCMP Fonds, RG18, Accession 1985-86/048 box 57, File TA-500-20-10-14 Game Conditions: Pangnirtung, NWT: Annual Report by P. W. Nowakowski, 21 August 1968, Game

Conditions, by H. Kearley, 13 August 1969; and letter from Insp. A. Huget, Ottawa, to Director, Conservation and Protection Service, Department of Fisheries, 22 October 1968.

- 1965 population: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Accession D.1.a, Volume 1892, File 251-3-18, pt. 13, Experimental Housing for Eskimos, Project Section, Report: Eskimo Housing Survey. Public Housing Section, DNANR Jan-Apr 1965, 1 January 1965, 15, 17.
- Schools: Kemp, "Inuit Land Use in South and East Baffin Island," p. 137.
- Local subject files of importance: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Accession 1997-98/076, Box 29, File 255-5/170, Arts & Crafts - Pangnirtung, NWT. Outside Dates: 1965-1970/01; LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Accession 1997-98/076, Box 43, File 303/170, Part 1, Town Planning - Pangnirtung, NWT. Outside Dates: 1960-1969/12
- Inuit co-ops: LAC, RG85, Accession 1997-98/076, Box 29, File: 255-5/170, Pt. 1 Arts & Crafts - Pangnirtung, NWT. 1965-1970/01; Pangnirtung Print Shop catalogues; *Pangnirtung Eskimo Cooperative, Pangnirtung Print Retrospective: 1973-1986*; Von Finkenstein and Canadian Museum of Civilization, *Nuvisavik*.
- Wage employment: Ann McElroy, "Canadian Arctic Modernization and Change in Female Inuit Role Identification," *American Ethnologist* Vol. 2, no. 4 (1975), pp. 662-686 (quote pp. 662-3); and Mayes, "The Creation of Dependent People," (1978), pp. 295-302 (quote p. 175).
- Local support: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Volume 1382, File 1012-9 pt. 5 Eskimo Affairs Committee (Booklet of Instructions, Minutes and Agendas), Memo to the Director from C.H. Belger, re: Community Development and Local Organization, 5 January 1962. Ron Mongeau's statement regarding the senior employees of southern agencies is from QTC, 15 May 2008, Ron Mongeau.
- Social structure: LAC, Northern Affairs Program, RG85, Accession 1999-01301-8, Box 139, File 2830-0, pt. 1 Town Planning and Community Planning – Policy, Letter and attached report re: the social implications of developing of new towns, by Ken Crassweller, University of British Columbia, School of Regional and Community Planning, 1 Aug. 1974.

Much Canadian writing about the North hides social, cultural, and economic realities behind beautiful photographs, individual achievements, and popular narratives. Commissioned by the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, this historical work and the companion volume of thematic reports weave together testimonies and documents collected during the Qikiqtani Truth Commission.

As communities in the Baffin region face a new wave of changes, these community histories describe and explain events, ideas, policies, and values that are central to understanding Inuit experiences and history in the mid-20th century.

INHABIT COMMUNITY SUPPORT
INHABIT
PILIRIQATIGIIT