



Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Community Histories 1950-1975

Sanikiluaq



Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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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. 24: During the decade that the Mid-Canada Line station operated at Kuujjuarapik, some Sanikiluarmit were employed directly by the station or found seasonal work there.

p. 29: So did his travelling companion, Simonie Michael, the Eastern Arctic member of the NWT Council. Michael urged the federal government to provide twenty permanent houses at once.

p. 30: People at South Camp were likely reconciled to moving to Sanikiluaq because they knew the government would not want to spend money to duplicate schools, airstrips, co-ops, and other types of infrastructure for such a small population.

p. 33: Few other sources of income, other than social benefits and casual labour, were available in Sanikiluaq for the families that settled in the community.

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 Community Area of Sanikiluaq

Inuit owned lands



0 10 20 30 40 Km

Projection: Lambert Conformal Conic
Datum: NAD 83
Data supplied by OIA
Map produced by Strata360

Sanikiluaq



Sanikiluaq, named North Camp until 1975, is located on Hudson’s Bay, north of James Bay. The hamlet, with a population just over eight hundred, sits on Eskimo Harbour at the northern end of Flaherty Island, the largest of the Belcher Islands. It is the southernmost community in Nunavut and is located only 150 kilometres from the west coast of Nunavik.

The Belchers consist of a set of about 1,500 rocky islands that rarely reach above 125 metres in elevation. They stretch approximately 90 kilometres north to south and 75 kilometres east to west, with Flaherty Island winding through the core of the area. The community itself is named after the leader of an *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* that was located there.

The people call themselves Sanikiluarmiut, meaning “people of the islands.” They have had a relatively short history of direct Qallunaat involvement in their affairs and share a long history with Quebec Inuit. Until the early twentieth century, Sanikiluarmiut travelled great distances to the Ungava region of Quebec to trade at the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) post

and socialize. This pattern became less prevalent when the HBC set up a post on the Belchers and the caribou herds declined in numbers around James Bay and further north on the Ungava Peninsula. Anthropologists have also documented that some Quebec Inuit likely retreated to the Belchers at various times in earlier periods to avoid conflicts with Cree.

For most of the twentieth century, the people of the Belcher Islands numbered less than two hundred. Following the disappearance of the islands' caribou herd during a particularly difficult winter, Sanikiluarmit learned to use eider ducks, which live year-round on the islands, as a source of food, clothing, and materials, but ringed seals, walrus, and beluga whales continued to be of importance.

Sanikiluaq

TIM KALUSHA



Sanikiluarmit lived independent lives with few contacts with explorers or whalers until the early twentieth century when the HBC sent representatives to the islands to investigate trade and economic mineral possibilities. In 1928, the HBC opened a seasonal post on Flaherty Island, and four years later the RCMP began to patrol the Belchers from Quebec. The introduction of government services happened in a haphazard way, as officials considered whether everyone in the Belchers should be forced or enticed to move off the islands, or if a townsite should be constructed somewhere on the islands. In the meantime, with no opportunities for meaningful input into the decisions, Sanikiluarmit continued to navigate through a bewildering set of changing rules concerning housing, health services, and education. In 1970, the government consolidated all services and moved everyone to Sanikiluaq, at the north end of the islands. Throughout the study period—1950 to 1975—many Sanikiluarmit also spent part of their lives in Quebec for schooling or work, or to be near relatives.

Today, the population of this Inuit community depends on an economy based on subsistence hunting, fishing, soapstone carving, basket making, and tourism. Individuals are also employed or involved in ecological research to study how the marine environment changed after major rivers near the Quebec coast were dammed in the 1970s.

Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta

ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT

The archipelago of the Belcher Islands consists of numerous long, thin peninsulas and almost 1,500 islands divided by narrow straits of saltwater and speckled with countless freshwater lakes. The islands occupy about 5,000 square kilometres of sea. The uneven folding of layers of hard and soft rocks

caused the rock formations that make up the islands. The softer rocks eroded away, while the hard ones formed ribbons of land that reach as high as 125 metres above sea level. Geologists who have studied these islands note that there is nothing else like it in Canada. The sparse vegetation found on the islands includes lyme grass, which is used locally for handcrafted baskets sold across Canada.

Two economic minerals have been found on the islands—iron ore and soapstone. Iron ore attracted the attention of the government and private companies from 1914 to the 1950s, but was never successfully mined on a commercial basis. Soapstone (technically a soft-talc serpentine) is quarried on Tukarak Island, and is the basis of a successful local carving industry.

In winter, strong winds and temperatures typically range from -23 to -10 degrees Celsius. Summer temperatures average around 10 degrees Celsius, but wind, rain, fog, and overcast skies are common. These meteorological conditions influence subsistence activities, since wind alone can often keep people from travelling by boat.

Sea ice is an essential part of the environment for several months each year. In late winter, the ice provides a firm platform for Sanikiluarmitut to travel up to 50 kilometres west of the islands, and north, towards the King George and Sleeper Islands. Extensive land-fast ice also forms to the south and southeast. This ice enabled people in the past to travel to trading posts on the mainland in Quebec and to hunt ringed seals for many months over a wide area. It also facilitated specialized hunting activities, such as taking beluga whales in ice cracks during the spring. Since the 1980s, Sanikiluarmitut have observed that the currents in the southern part of Hudson Bay are not as strong as they were before the rivers were modified on the Quebec side. Spring weather is also cooler and the ice lasts longer.

The Belcher Islands abound with wildlife, with some species staying on the islands through the winter. The relatively southern latitude and large number of freshwater ponds and lakes provides an excellent habitat for geese and ducks. Foxes are found across the island. Arctic char breed in the

OPPOSITE PAGE:
Inuit man wearing
bird-skin clothing,
1949.

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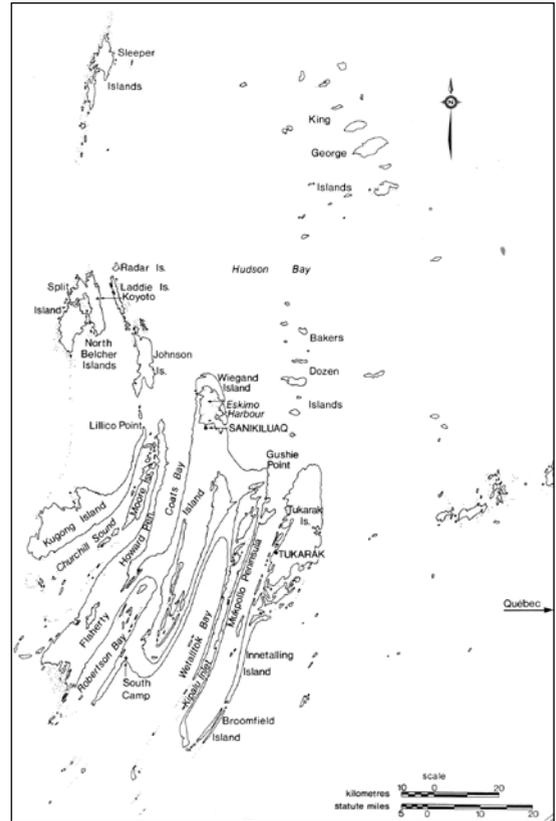
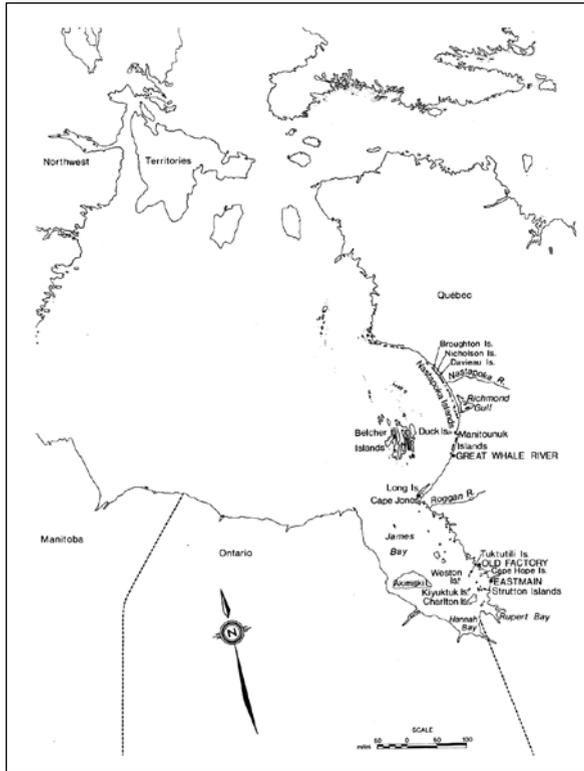
OPPOSITE PAGE,
LEFT TO RIGHT:
Map of James Bay
area, Belcher Islands;
Map of the Belcher
Islands
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numerous freshwater lakes, where they are fished through the ice or after break-up in nets. Whitefish are also harvested in freshwater, and Arctic cod are caught in saltwater. Kasegalik Lake, the largest freshwater lake on the islands, is of particular importance. It is roughly U-shaped and nearly 113 kilometres in length from tip to tip. This lake harbours the rare freshwater black seal, after which it is named. The abundance of country food from marine sources was an important reason why the federal government decided to continue providing services to people on the Belcher Islands, and at times even considered relocating Inuit from Quebec and other areas to the islands.

Until the late nineteenth century, a herd of caribou lived on the Belcher Islands. Around 1880, these animals disappeared during a single winter when ice covered their feeding grounds. As a result, Sanikiluarmit are unique among Inuit because they learned to live completely without caribou by taking full advantage of eider ducks for clothing, food, and some tools. A parka requiring up to twenty-five bird skins is as warm as caribou skin, but twice as heavy, and requires sinew, which is usually traded on the mainland in the winter. Ringed seals and eider ducks continue to be a staple for Sanikiluarmit.

EARLY CONTACTS

Sanikiluarmit have inhabited the Belcher Islands for centuries, and archaeological sites show evidence of use by the Dorset and Thule cultures as well. English navigator Henry Hudson first spotted the islands in 1610. About one hundred years later, European mapmakers likely named the islands after James Belcher, the captain of an HBC supply ship. Beginning around 1749, many Sanikiluarmit would make yearly visits to the HBC post on the Quebec mainland at Kuukkuarapik to trade and socialize, using qimmiit and qamutiik to cross the winter ice. More rarely, they travelled across the dangerous waters by qajaq in the summer. Sealskins were normally their



primary trading good, as they were not fully engaged in trapping. Since trade often occurred only once a year, Sanikiluarmit were also careful not to become too dependent on rifles and the ammunition they required.

Prolonged visits to the Belchers by Qallunaat before the second half of the twentieth century were relatively rare. This was likely because it was difficult to approach or land safely on the islands using sailing vessels. Permanent Anglican missions established on the Quebec side of Hudson Bay provided instruction in Christianity. From 1847 to 1849, the HBC surveyed the islands, but determined that a trading post was not profitable. Nevertheless, HBC prospector Robert Flaherty (the creator of the film *Nanook*

of the North) visited the islands via the ship *Laddie* in 1914, and wintered over in 1915. During his visit, he spent many hours filming Sanikiluarmit. Sadly, almost all of the film footage was lost. The RCMP spent some time in the Belchers during 1921 while investigating reported murders, but only included the area in regular annual patrols after 1932. It was not until 1928 that the HBC opened a seasonal outpost at the south end of Flaherty Island. In 1933, this post was moved to Tukarak Island and kept open year-round until 1943, when it was closed. During this decade, some families moved their *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* to be closer to the post. Unfortunately, hunting around the post was poor, so life was often difficult. Instead, game was particularly plentiful in the northern part of the islands.

In 1941, the Belchers were in the national press. That year, people whose previous and subsequent lives gave no indication of their potential for violence killed nine members of an extended family group. At the time, their actions were explained as being the result of religious delusions and temporary insanity, but it also appears that the affected families were suffering through a particularly difficult winter and poor hunting conditions. The murders occurred on two different days. One of the people involved in the first incident, Peter Sala, was so upset by his actions that he spoke to others about what he had done. The HBC trader informed the RCMP, who dispatched officers and a coroner to the Belchers. Unfortunately, by the time they arrived, another set of murders had occurred involving some of the same people.

In the end, five men and two women were accused. A trial was held in the Belchers, rather than in Moose Factory or another southern location, because the government believed that it would help demonstrate the importance of Canadian laws to the local residents. A tent was set up near the HBC post on Tukarak Island, and two newspaper reporters and the HBC trader were appointed as jurors. During the trial, people watching and some of the accused became very sick with influenza brought back to the Belchers from Moose Factory by the prisoners. One of the five men found guilty was

ordered to use his hunting skills to provide for the families of those who were sent to prison. None of those convicted stayed in prison for more than a year. One man died of tuberculosis and others were sent to live in Nunavik under the watch of the RCMP in Kuujjuarapik.

Sala's family accompanied him to Nunavik following his release from prison. In the following years, the RCMP in Kuujjuarapik reported that he was a good hunter, and they even used his services as a boat pilot for some charters. Despite this, Sala's banishment to Nunavik had a profound effect on his children. His son, Markossie Sala Sr., explained in his testimony to the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (QTC) in 2010 some of the social difficulties experienced by his family's isolation.

As I was growing up as a child, we didn't have neighbours. We lived mostly alone as a camp with our parents. That is what I remember ... Since we mostly kept to ourselves and because I didn't grow up with other people around me I am bothered by other people around. That is why I am affected by a lot of people. I don't want to be like that.

Markossie went on to explain how the killing of his qimmiit in 1965 further affected his life and the lives of his children.

Because of these things, my children have been affected. They are mostly into drugs and alcohol because of these hurts that happened in the past. That is all they do nowadays because what they have heard from the past has affected them.

Eventually, at the very end of his life, Peter Sala and some members of his family returned to Sanikiluaq.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

A special government patrol of the Eastern Arctic by aircraft in August 1949 provides a snapshot of conditions in the Belcher Islands, albeit from a Qallunaat perspective without a clear indication of who provided the information. The total population of the islands was only 165, with families distributed among six main *ilagiit nunagivaktangit*. One community, made up of five *qarmaqs*, was on the west side of Tukarak Island. Three others were located on the northern rim of the islands—Eskimo Harbour (near present-day Sanikiluaq), Howard Point, and Lillico Point. Some smaller groups lived farther south at O’Leary Island and French Island. The patrol found people in good health after a good year of fox trapping and reported that trade goods supplemented the usual abundant country food. The report also noted that family allowance credits were accumulating and a few carvers were producing ivory figures.

During the 1930s, ’40s, and ’50s, when it was difficult to find or kill animals, Sanikiluarmiut sometimes experienced hunger, as testimonies to the QTC confirm. However, people also understood how to find other sources of nourishment. Johnny Tookalook explained this to the QTC in 2008.

I remember a lot of things from living in the camp because I experienced hunger. When the routes we would usually take were not good, then everything we could get we couldn’t get. We would try to look for other things that had washed up to the beach, looking for food. When plants grew on the land then that is what we would eat and live on. Plants aren’t red meat. We would also eat seafood, mussels, sculpin, [and] seaweed. That is what we lived on in the past . . . it was more difficult in the wintertime when there was no food, when there wasn’t anything available . . . no seals, no heat . . . We used to eat dog meat . . . One dog would be used to try to

feed the whole camp. That is what we experienced. That was our way of life and we were not afraid to live it.

In 1947, during a period when there was no trading post in the Belchers, scientific parties were rare, and Anglican clergy seldom visited, the government gave a Peterhead sailboat to Sanikiluarmit living on the south end of the islands to help them commute to the mainland. In 1950, the HBC post resumed seasonal operations at Tukarak Island. That same year, the Department of Health and Welfare (now Health Canada) sent a doctor, dentist, and X-ray technician to conduct a health survey. They visited Tukarak Island, Eskimo Harbour, and the *ilagiit nunagivaktangat* in Omarolluk Sound.

Unfortunately, in 1951 the Peterhead boat was lost in the ice. This loss led to a lengthy discussion among officials about its replacement. Sanikiluarmit were otherwise reliant on *qajaqs* to reach the mainland, unless they waited until winter to make the long journey by *qimmiit* and *qamutiik*. The discussion focused on whether it would be better to provide the area with two powered boats, one each for the northern and southern groups. This debate was revealing about government perceptions of daily life on the islands. Some felt that the absence of a year-round HBC post, and the staffing of the seasonal post by an Inuk trader, were reasons why Sanikiluarmit had been slow to adopt new technologies, such as motorboats and high-powered rifles. However, it is also likely that the costs of acquiring these technologies through the HBC were just too high for a population that was not firmly rooted in the trapping and trading economy.

After considerable debate about the need for motorized boats, the government delivered one small boat with an inboard motor to both the south and north ends of the islands. This decision illustrates the tendency on the part of government officials to speak of occupied areas as being divided in a north-south direction—a division that was, in reality, far from obvious on maps produced at the time. Rather, maps showed four concentrations of people, including large ones on the eastern and western parts of the islands.

Additionally, families would group together to form seasonal hunting parties that often included mainland Inuit from Quebec who crossed to the Belchers with powered boats to hunt. Sometimes Inuit from the mainland would winter for a year or two, usually in the outlying northerly Sleeper and King George Islands. The government and HBC did not count these people among the Sanikiluarmit, although there were strong kinship ties among them. In reality, the two boats provided by the government were not enough.

Along with the loss of the first Peterhead boat in 1951, Sanikiluarmit experienced a string of upsets and tragedies during the 1950s. From 1952 to 1953, there was a great shortfall in the seal hunt, possibly as much as a thousand seals, or about 40% of a typical year's hunt. The lack of boats likely added to any weather difficulties faced by the hunters. In the spring of 1954, an influenza epidemic killed ten people, which further hindered hunting and led to the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) dropping 2 tons of food and medicine to the islanders. In the following year, two Inuit assistants tragically drowned while assisting ethnographer and archaeologist Claude Dégoffe from the Université de Montréal. All of this would have had a tremendous impact on the Sanikiluarmit.

In other parts of Qikiqtaaluk, the HBC post might have been able to reduce the impact of epidemics, such as the 1954 influenza outbreak, by providing medical services and relief as per its agreement with the federal government. In the Belchers, however, the HBC post operated only between August and February. On top of this, the trader, a local Inuk named Lucassee Nuvelingah (also spelled Novalinga), did not have the same experience in handling medical emergencies as other Qallunaat HBC traders at the time. It was also difficult for outsiders to react quickly to events. News from the Belchers was generally sent out only twice a year, either when the islanders visited Kuujjuarapik or when the HBC resupply vessel arrived each summer. A plan to provide the Belchers with a radio and to set up weekly scheduled reports was put forward in 1950, but was halted because Nuvelingah

only spoke Inuktitut, while the people within range in Moose Factory only spoke English and Cree.

In the mid-1950s, the HBC calculated that trade on the island was not enough that they could afford to run a year-round post and provide services on behalf of the federal government. In good years, the islands' entire fox trade was worth only about \$1,500. Other items, such as sealskin boots sold to the Cree around Moose Factory, might net another \$1,000. Even with family-allowance entitlements of \$4,500, a total cash economy of \$7,000 a year for the entire population of the Belcher Islands was not enough to make a year-round post profitable. The bedrock of the Sanikiluarmit economy lay with the sea mammals and birds whose value must have greatly exceeded the small returns from trapping, trade, and social transfers. Country food, however, did not generate the cash needed to acquire and maintain new hunting equipment, generally obtained through trade with the HBC. As a result, by the 1950s, Sanikiluarmit were not yet on the brink of a period of externally driven social or technological change. They still relied very heavily on locally available resources.

If the HBC was barely present on the Belchers during the 1950s, the Anglican Church and the RCMP were even less so. Although the people were nominally Anglican, there was no place of worship closer than Kuujjuarapik in Quebec, and the missionaries did not always manage to accompany the supply vessel that visited each year. While RCMP patrols from Moose Factory visited about once a year, it was usually only as a side trip from their patrols to Kuujjuarapik.

The limited Qallunaat presence on the Belcher Islands often resulted in bureaucrats perceiving them as isolated and potentially vulnerable to privation. In reality, while food could at times be harder to find, this was often part of normal seasonal and migration patterns. For Sanikiluarmit, sea mammals and eider ducks provided them with access to materials for garments, hats, and footwear year-round. Ilagiit nunagivaktangit were small, and their membership and location fluctuated depending on the

seasons and year-to-year choices reflecting either environmental or social reasons.

In 1950, a health survey of the Belcher Islands conducted by the federal government noted that, “native food [was] plentiful and the islanders were by far the healthiest group visited.” This assessment likely played a role in the decision to temporarily move Inuit from Quebec to the King George and Sleeper Islands at the northern tip of the Belcher archipelago during the early 1950s. Inuit hunters from Inukjuak were persuaded to move to the islands during the fall months in order to diminish pressure on local game in Quebec. Although no reliable reports at the time could confirm how well the relocated families were doing, Alexander Stevenson, the federal administrator of the Arctic for the northern administration branch, declared the “experiment” to be “a success” in 1953. He said that third-party information confirmed that people were “doing fairly well” and added that problems in other parts of the islands were likely due to “poor organizing and a lack of leadership.”

It is difficult to understand how Stevenson and others were able to blame problems on Inuit. Other cases make it clear that Inuit were enticed to make moves that turned out badly due to poor planning on the part of the government or the HBC. Margery Hinds, one of the original federal teachers providing local schooling to Inuit in Quebec and Qikiqtaaluk, interviewed Jimmy Koodloolook, who lived in the Belchers, in August 1953. Koodloolook described the difficulties families faced due to poor hunting conditions. They had moved their winter *ilagiit nunagivaktangat* to a place near the HBC post on Tukarak Island because they were told by the trader that supplies would be coming in by plane with mining prospectors. It also appears that people reasonably expected to find work supplying or guiding the miners. Koodloolook explained, “No planes came and ever so many people were there.” Eventually the miners arrived, but they only brought four bags of flour with them and almost no other food. By the spring of 1953, everyone, including the miners, were eating *qimmiit* and anything else they could find. In fact, as Koodloolook revealed:

The white people would have starved if the Eskimos hadn't look [*sic*] after them when they ran out of food. Whenever Eskimos killed a seal, they shared it with the white people just the way they share among themselves. The Eskimos often talked among themselves wondering why white people were there without food.

Hunting around the HBC post had always been poorer than areas further to the north. Koodloalook regretted taking the advice to set up a winter camp at Tukarak Island and noted that only one Inuk was hired to work with the miners.

Until the middle of the 1950s, almost everyone, other than the traders on Tukarak Island, were living in *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* spread around the islands to take advantage of good hunting conditions.

Sangussaqtauliqtilluta, 1954–1968

Before 1954, few outsiders had visited the Belcher Islands other than annual RCMP patrols, the occasional scientific or prospecting parties, and annual visitors accompanying the supply and medical ships. In 1954, prospectors arrived to investigate iron ore bodies that were initially reported by the HBC prospector and filmmaker Robert Flaherty in 1915 to 1916. Sanikiluarmit living near the HBC post on Tukarak Island assisted with the prospecting, which led to a short-lived jump in income and spending when Consolidated Halliwell opened the iron mine about 20 kilometres south of Sanikiluaq at Haig Inlet. Even with the arrival of the mining group, no effective *Qallunaat* institutions were established on the Belcher Islands during most of the 1950s.

In late 1954, the federal government explained.

The construction of the mid-Canada Line in northern Quebec and the interest being taken in iron ore deposits on the Belcher Islands would probably create new problems in these areas. It had therefore been decided to have a representative of the department placed at Great Whale River [Kuujjuarapik] to supervise the employment of natives and to assist them in adapting themselves to the changes that these developments will bring about.

The almost complete lack of government services in the Belchers stemmed, in part, from uncertainty about the intentions and respective roles of the HBC and the federal government, as well as debates about the types of services that should be provided. Sometimes the federal government considered resettling people from Nunavik to the Belchers, while at other times it even considered withdrawing the requirement for an annual supply ship to the islands altogether.

During the decade that the Mid-Canada Line station operated, some Sanikiluarmit were employed directly by the station or found seasonal work there. The base attracted many families, which then led to the expansion of schooling. By the mid-1950s, schooling had become an extremely high priority for southern administrators and, to varying degrees, for Inuit parents. Planning for a school in the Belchers began around 1956, and as was often the case in the history of Qikiqtaaluk, the government used the placement of the school as a means of setting an agenda to concentrate services in a place of its own choosing. In the case of Sanikiluaq, archival records show a dizzying number of decisions, half-decisions, and discussions around potentially offering education services to the Belchers. Some officials were convinced that all Sanikiluarmit could be enticed to move to Quebec, or other areas along the west coast of Hudson Bay, rather than provide services to the Belchers.

In the end, a prefabricated building was set up in the southern part of the islands at South Camp in 1960 to be used as a school. The site was chosen because the government did not want the school to be near the HBC post on Tukarak Island, due to a fear that the area would not be able to support the number of families who would want to live near their children. Obtaining school supplies was a constant problem for the teachers, and fresh water had to be brought by hand and yoke from a nearby lake. Apart from these issues, and the tendency for the windows to leak in the winter, the school was used for about a decade. In 1962, the government began constructing a hostel for students at South Camp, but it was never used, possibly because parents from other parts of the Belchers were more likely to be travelling back and forth from Quebec than moving within the islands themselves.

The lack of a solid educational strategy (location, type of school, and curriculum) affected all Inuit, including Sanikiluarmiut. Generally, parents were told that attendance at school was mandatory. Others were told that benefits would be cut if children did not attend school. Some children learned to read and write while being treated for tuberculosis in Moose Factory or in other southern hospitals. Others went to school in Quebec, usually in Kuujjuarapik. Even when the school opened at South Camp in 1960, parents were still struggling with where to send their children to school. Their decisions often depended on their current situation. Economic or health hardships could lead parents to choose hostel schooling as an option, while other parents may have found it too hard to send their children as far away as Kuujjuarapik. For some, what they had been told by other parents or Qal-lunaat may have played a role. In 1967, for example, some parents reported that the hostel mother in Kuujjuarapik was spanking children and had even tied one to a chair. Stories like this would have raised many concerns among parents who currently had children away attending school. However, after a certain grade, children who wanted to continue their education had to go elsewhere to continue their education.

Some former students were fond of school itself, but they were very aware of the losses they suffered and the heartbreak their absence caused for their parents. Carolyn Niviaxie, in telling her story about her experiences at the school hostel in Kuujjuarapik to the Legacy of Hope Foundation, imagined that parents of the children sent away were always asking, “Where is my daughter? What is happening with her?” Looking back, she said, “They needed us.” Niviaxie’s own story, which covers mistreatment at the hostel, demonstrates the validity of those concerns.

The establishment of the iron ore mine also affected Sanikiluarmit health. During the short time it was open, the mine employed around a dozen local men from three families that moved to Haig Inlet from Tukarak Island. In 1956, an epidemic of whooping cough, which may have been spread by exposure to the miners, afflicted 80% of the Inuit living nearby. During this time, about half the qimmiit were killed for food because men were too sick or unable to hunt. The miners gave whatever help they could and the federal government rushed in a nurse from Moose Factory. The nurse reported that all but a dozen Inuit in the area were suffering from malnutrition, and that the deaths were mainly occurring among the very young. The nurse arranged a massive evacuation to the hospital at Moose Factory. Mary Iqaluk, who was only in her early teens at the time of the evacuation, recalled being sent to Moose Factory and that there were many other people from the Belchers there at the same time.

Iqaluk was certainly not alone in being evacuated to the South for health treatment, especially for tuberculosis (TB). In 1957 alone, more than a quarter of the population were being treated at the Moose Factory hospital.

For many Sanikiluarmit, the heartbreak of seeing a relative sent south for medical reasons, including TB and complications from the flu, was compounded by the lack of news about their condition. In 1967, archival records show that the parents of Winnie Emikotialuk were appealing for any information they could find about their daughter who had been sent south six years earlier. During the QTC hearings, Winnie’s sister,

Annie Appaqaq Arragutainaq, explained that Winnie had become very ill and had to be evacuated south due to multiple complications from her illness. The family was eventually given news about her, but it came through their own efforts.

By the end of the 1960s, the school, an Anglican chapel, a small co-op, and a power plant served as a focus for settlement at South Camp. In her testimony to the QTC in 2008, Lottie Arragutainaq recalled that South Camp was becoming a true community. At the other end of the Belchers, however, Sanikiluaq had become the site of a permanent HBC post, a larger co-op with a trained manager, and the home of the Resident Resource Development officer and various prospecting activities. All of these existing services and businesses created pressure on Sanikiluarmiut living elsewhere in the Belchers, especially near South Camp, to move to Sanikiluaq.

The growing number of people in both communities, South Camp and Sanikiluaq, provides a context for understanding the killing of qimmiit in accordance with the Ordinance Respecting Dogs. QTC testimonies, most often by people who witnessed events as children or were told stories by their parents or grandparents, describe the killing of qimmiit by RCMP and others as happening because qimmiit were loose in contravention of rules or because someone believed they were dangerous. Davidee Uppik recalled that authorities in South Camp killed his father's qimmiit in 1969. It deeply affected his father and other members of his family. They had no other means of transportation. Jacob Uppik explained that his father was a member of the town council in Sanikiluaq and was expected to follow all rules. His father found himself shooting his own qimmiit in 1968 or 1969, even though he needed qimmiit for hunting.

Many Inuit were unaware of all the conditions of the Ordinance. Even authorities charged with carrying out its provisions often ignored the finer details. Jobie Crow explained that RCMP in Sanikiluaq shot his father's qimmiit without any warning in 1967 because they were running loose. His father was completely unaware of the Ordinance at the time. Just as in

other parts of Qikiqtaaluk, the Ordinance was rarely and sometimes never explained properly in Inuktitut, and authorities often did not follow its rules concerning the penning of qimmiit or what constituted a dangerous qimmit.

Some Sanikiluarmit also gave clear accounts of qimmiit dying from inoculations. Johnny Tookalook explained that his father's qimmiit died in 1953 after receiving a vaccine. The government sent the RCMP to settlements to vaccinate against rabies and other diseases. The rabies vaccine appears to have led to serious side effects, such as paralysis of the limbs. Some qimmiit may have recovered, but others died or were killed to relieve their suffering.

When looking back on the 1950s and '60s, Sanikiluarmit who spoke to the QTC described numerous events related to illness, schooling, and killing of qimmiit that made it very difficult for families to set out a clear chronology of their lives. Various family members—parents, children, grandparents, and siblings—were often going or coming back from southern hospitals. Others were away at schools in Quebec, Manitoba, or Ontario, prior to returning to a community where they had not lived before. Other challenges were articulated in a report sent to the federal government by Milton Freeman, which cited cynicism and hostility towards government representatives. It reported money collected from them by a federal administrator without proper paperwork, misplaced accounts by the HBC, broken promises about housing and jobs, annual visits to the Belchers by federal representatives without any results, language problems around medical evacuations, and children neglected while living in foster homes or hostels to attend school. The government would attempt to address some of these problems during the late 1960s, but decided it required the consolidation of all services in Sanikiluaq, effectively closing the small community at South Camp.

Nunalinnguqtitauliqtiluta, 1969–1975

AGENDAS AND PROMISES

The population of the Belchers started to grow in the late 1960s with better access to health services and new types of treatment and prevention. At the same time, people were increasingly likely to be living near South Camp or Sanikiluaq. In spite of the growth, however, housing programs, schools, nurses, and the RCMP came slowly to the Belchers because officials did not recognize an Inuit *ilagiit nunagivaktangit*, even a large one with many families, to be a permanent settlement. In their minds, they were only temporary hunting camps. This label was enough for the government to apply or withhold rules and services as they saw fit.

Housing was a long-standing concern in the Belchers for both the government and residents, as evidenced in the QTC hearings but also in numerous archival documents from the period. Housing rose to the top of government issues in 1969 after the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories visited the Belchers. He immediately wrote to Ottawa about the problems he saw firsthand. So did his travelling companion, Simonie Michel, the Eastern Arctic member of the NWT Council. Michel urged the federal government to provide twenty permanent houses at once. Under this pressure, senior officials in Ottawa admitted that the housing situation on the Belcher Islands was among the worst in the North, partly because all populated places in the Belcher Islands had been classified as hunting camps and were therefore ineligible for rental housing. A study of housing in the area quickly followed. It concluded that “all available houses are seriously overcrowded,” and that an “interim solution [was] needed for the housing shortage.”

The decision to centralize people and services in Sanikiluaq only made it easier for the government to plan housing for the Belchers. In response to the 1969 study, the federal administrator for the Arctic, Alexander Stevenson, proposed sending in materials for small emergency houses that could be converted into storage and shop uses once permanent houses arrived.

The stage for the consolidation of services in Sanikiluaq had been set a couple of years earlier. In 1967, the newly arrived area administrator had discussed local governance, including the controversial issue of centralizing services in one community, with Sanikiluarmit in the settlement. In 1968, the administrator reported that Inuit unanimously agreed that the “creation of one larger community from the present two would solve many problems and hasten progress.” Records about who reported and how they made wishes known are inconsistent. In the same year, the area survey officer, reported to the Department of Northern Affairs that South Camp, the current location of the school, lacked the abundance of marine mammals that a more populated settlement would need. Government officials met in Ottawa in March 1969 to determine where a government-supported settlement should be located in the Belcher Islands and to identify the priorities for development. Without further explanation or consultation, the meeting concluded in a memo that, “All future expansion of facilities would be carried out in [Sanikiluaq].”

People in Sanikiluaq spoke to Commissioner Igloliorte of the QTC about their recollections of the meetings and a “vote” held to determine which community would be developed. Sanikiluaq was known to be the preference of the government, and families already living there outnumbered the population around South Camp. People at South Camp were likely reconciled to moving to Sanikiluaq because they knew the government would not want to spend money to maintain schools, airstrips, co-ops, and other types of infrastructure for such a small population.

By 1969–70, Sanikiluarmit living near South Camp were under enormous pressure to move to Sanikiluaq as soon as possible. Mina Eyaituq told the QTC about how her family was pressured to relocate.

The government officials came to us, social worker came to us. We were living in a tent. Every time I think about it, I shiver. He told us that we were being relocated to North Camp and that if we didn't the government was not going to assist us in any way.

People also recalled that the government provided no assistance for the relocations. Families moved on their own by boat, snowmobile, and dog team. Some groups became separated, while others became stuck in the ice or had to carry a boat over land. With no radios, limited rations, and crowded boats, the moves were dangerous. In addition, when the families arrived in Sanikiluaq there was nowhere for them to live, as the promised housing had not arrived. Many of the relocatees had left what little possessions they had behind, expecting the necessities of life to be provided for them in Sanikiluaq. Lottie Arragatanaq told the Commission about her experience.

I was almost the last one in South Camp. Everybody had moved here [Sanikiluaq] but I refused to move. On the way here we ran out of supplies because of the fog during the day we tried to move here . . . We left our houses with only our clothes that we were wearing, we left everything else behind . . . thinking that we were coming back. When we moved here there was no assistance of any kind. We just walked out of our houses. It was a very sad event for me.

Emily Takatak experienced great uncertainty and confusion about the details of her move.

We didn't even know we were relocating here, we just thought we were coming here for a short time. We didn't take any belongings. Even my babies didn't have anything—nothing to comfort them. During the night, my children were cold. We thought we were

going to go home right away and then we realized we were moving here. They didn't give us any sort of transportation to pick up our belongings. We were put in a homemade shack. In the evening, in that house, we didn't even have a pillow to sleep on, we didn't carry anything. All our belongings we left behind. We took only necessary clothing, changes for the children. We thought we were going back home right away, we didn't know how long we were going to be here, nobody informed us how long we were coming here or why. I felt very poor here. In the evening, when they realized we didn't have anything to sleep on, people gave us stuff to sleep on.

Sanikiluarmiut testified to the QTC about the inappropriate and insufficient number of houses in Sanikiluaq. Once they arrived, many people had to spend the winter in tents or in shacks made from leftover building materials.

For others, the trauma of the move cannot be forgotten. Annie Appaqaq Arragutainaq, who had already lived through a very difficult period when her family was moved to South Camp, recalled that her move in the fall of 1969 was very difficult, but it was also hard seeing what happened to the families who arrived in the spring of 1970. Children were very hungry; one mother who was breastfeeding her own child also had to provide milk for other children on the journey.

Witnesses who testified before the QTC felt they were tricked or pressured into moving quickly. They believe that the government failed to assist them or to explain that South Camp would be closed permanently in order to concentrate the entire population at Sanikiluaq. They also blame the government for forcing them to move in dangerous conditions. In some cases, hunters were compelled to shoot their qimmiit prior to the move because there was no room for them in the canoes. Lottie Cookie told the QTC that when she was fifteen years old she watched her father kill his qimmiit “because he didn't want to leave them there.”

SHAPING COMMUNITY LIFE

Few other of sources income, other than social benefits and casual labour, were available in Sanikiluaq for the families that settled in the community. With the creation of the Mitiq Co-op in 1968, a structure was put in place to find markets for, and organize the production of, handicrafts. Sanikiluaq is famous for its carvings, especially the jadelike soapstone carvings representing the sea mammals, birds, and fish that are an essential part of the food supply. People here have earned income by carving for over sixty years, beginning in the late 1940s with walrus ivory imported by the HBC. Although both the HBC and visitors paid low prices for carvings on the islands, and carvers hesitated about investing too much time for small rewards, quality improved and prices boomed after the Mitiq Co-op was formed. The co-op staked a mineral claim to protect the island's principal soapstone deposit for its members, and developed a warehouse and handling facilities. Aside from carvings, the co-op now also manages a retail store, a hotel and restaurant, and cable television services.

With the strong support that Sanikiluarmit showed for their community, facilities rapidly improved. In 1969, Bell Canada agreed to install a radio telephone near the HBC post at Eskimo Harbour. In 1973, a radio station, CKSN, began broadcasting with its well-known and only presenter, Charlie Crow. In 1974, Sanikiluaq received an upgraded local and long-distance telephone service. By that same year, visitors to the community could observe many of the facilities of a typical Arctic settlement: an airstrip, nursing station, primary school, church, community hall, telephone service, bimonthly postal service, and two general stores. Other changes after 1970 rounded out the typical infrastructure of an Arctic settlement, such as upgrades to the airport.

During this time, game management by the government was mainly a passive process of discouraging people from settling too densely in places where they might exhaust resources. Otherwise, Qallunaat tended to believe

that game was abundant enough to support a larger population, if there was some other source of income to supplement it. However, by the mid-1970s, tensions between Sanikiluarmit and Quebec Inuit over hunting in the Belchers and on Hudson Bay had increased to the extent that the federal and territorial governments set up meetings to hear grievances. Sanikiluarmit were concerned that Quebec Inuit were taking too many polar bears. Government officials offered various explanations for the source of conflict, including the lack of interest on the part of Quebec to enforce game laws and a lack of understanding or respect for administrative boundaries on the part of all groups. The issue came into stark perspective in 1974 when a hunter from Kuujjuarapik was investigated for capturing a live polar bear cub for a Quebec provincial government minister who intended to give it to a zoo. The Government of the Northwest Territories was unable to determine whether they were legally able to charge an Inuk from Quebec with infractions under territorial game laws.

Environmental issues continue to be an important part of life in Sanikiluaq. The community has invested a great deal of effort in documenting environmental change through traditional environmental knowledge (TEK). Rather than dwelling on individual species, the approach developed by the Environmental Committee of Sanikiluaq is used to complement scientifically collected data and amplify the importance cultural impacts. The project *Voices from the Bay: Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Inuit and Cree in the Hudson Bay Bioregion* set a new standard for documenting ecological change, including changes that are the result of the James Bay hydroelectric projects.

Sanikiluaq's history in the mid-twentieth century does not follow the more common trajectory seen elsewhere in Nunavut of increased involvement in the fur trade followed by gradual in-gathering towards an HBC enclave or a government-chosen settlement. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Sanikiluarmit were living in small groups across the islands. On a yearly basis, they travelled to the Quebec mainland to trade and socialize, but very few families were fully engaged in the fur trade. After that, the

biographies of Sanikiluarmiut are very fragmented, especially in the critical period from 1950 to 1970. During this time, parents were separated from their children by residential schooling and illness; families were divided by various moves, including to a mining camp, to South Camp and to Sanikiluaq; and nobody was certain about what the government would require from them once they moved to a new place.

In other parts of Qikiqtaaluk, the Second World War and the subsequent building of facilities during the Cold War propelled the government's involvement in the daily life of Inuit. Without sustained pressure from mining, military bases or transportation projects, however, the government avoided spending money or even time in the Belchers until the 1950s. At that point, the government was determined to provide Inuit with schooling, health services and housing, but it remained cautious with respect to the Belchers. It set up a school and related infrastructure (power, water and a handful of houses) in South Camp and it enforced the Dog Ordinance and other regulations, but the settlement was not deemed to be permanent. Some people moved there, out of choice or pressure, but many other families remained in *ilagiit nunagivaktangit* near present-day Sanikiluaq. Once the government finally decided in the late 1960s that it would not send families to Quebec and that it would provide services in the Belchers, it chose Sanikiluaq as the location. This meant families who had already moved to South Camp from other parts of the island under pressure from officials and with the promise of services suddenly found themselves moving again in the fall of 1969 and spring of 1970. It was a difficult and dangerous move for many people, made even more traumatic by the lack of housing and services on their arrival.

Sanikiluaq became a hamlet in 1976 with a population of 295; today more than 800 people live there. Predictions made by government officials in the 1960s that Sanikiluarmiut would prefer to live elsewhere has proved to be untrue. They have found various ways to build lives and businesses on the islands, while also sharing their vast knowledge of a remarkable environment with the world.

Qikiqtaaluk Communities



Endnotes

- General information: Very useful historical information about Sanikiluaq is found in a set of community history yearbooks published by Paatsaali High School and the community itself. Researcher and photographer Les Guemple visited the Belchers in 1962-63 and 1967. He deposited about 200 photographs to the community in 2000. Milton Freeman has also provided the community with slides from his photograph collection.
- Sanikiluarmit hunting and trading history: M.M.R. Freeman, “An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns among the Belcher Island Eskimo”, *Arctic* 20, No. 3 (1967). pp. 154-75.
- Geology and ecology: J.L. Kirwan, “Belcher Islands, NWT”, *Canadian Geographical Journal* (1954), pp. 84-89; and Milton M.R. Freeman, “An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns”, *Arctic*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1976), pp. 154-175.
- Sea ice: Miriam Anne McDonald, Arragutainaq and Novalinga, *Voices from the Bay: Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Inuit and Cree in the Hudson Bay Bioregion* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Environmental Committee of Municipality of Sanikiluaq, 1997).
- Wildlife: Kirwan, “Belcher Islands, NWT”, pp. 84-89; and Freeman, “An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns”, 154-175.
- Government intervention: Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes); Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic 1939-63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994), p. 39. Similar statements occur throughout government records cited in this study, particularly in the general correspondence files on Belcher Islands. See

- Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1269, File 1000/304, Parts 1 through 8.
- Bird skin clothing: Fred Bruemmer, “The Belcher Islands”, *The Beaver*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Summer, 1971), pp. 4-13.
 - HBC activity: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 265, File 999-252(2), “Belcher Islands Iron Mines Ltd. General File”, Part 2.
 - Geologists: Driscoll and Winnipeg Art Gallery, *Belcher Islands / Sanikiluaq*.
 - Canadian government actions: Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG18, RCMP, Volume 3152, File 558; LAC, RG18, RCMP, Volume 3276, File HQ-681-G-1; and LAC, RG18, RCMP, Volume 3277, File HQ-681-G-2. Also see LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1269, File 1000/304, Parts 1A through 3; LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304, Parts 6 through 8; and LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession 1997-98/076, Volume 145, File 1000/304, Part 9, Port Harrison Area - General File (Includes Povungnituk, Cape Smith, Ivuyivik, Richmond Gulf, Belcher Island & Wakeham Bay). Parts 4 through 5 and parts later than 1969 have not been located.
 - 1941 incident: Richard Foot, “When ‘God’ and ‘Satan’ Battled in a Barren Land,” *CanWest News Service* (7 February 2004); and Hinds, “Mina”, pp. 20-24. In 1998, Ida Watt published a book for youth in Inuktitut about the incident, but it was not located for this report.
 - Markossie Sr. Sala: QTC, April 13, 2010, Markossie Sr. Sala.
 - 1949 patrol: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 2157, File “Eastern Arctic Patrol 1949”, “Summer Inspection Flight, 1949, Report from Mr. S. J. Bailey.”
 - Johnny Tookalook: QTC, March 5, 2008, Johnny Tookalook.
 - Sanikiluarmit, 1950s: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 870, File 8638; Freeman, “An Ecological Study of Mobility and Settlement Patterns”, pp. 159-166; and LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1269, File 1000/304.

- HBC post and radio: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1005, File 16938, “J. H. Davies to Supt. Commanding G Division, Ottawa”, December 12, 1946; LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 107, File 253-2/304 (vol. 2K), “Dr. McKone, Moose Factory, to Director IHS Ottawa”, June 12, 1952; LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1005, File 16938; LAC, RG 18, RCMP, Accession 85-86/048, Box 51, File 7369-3, “Letter from G.W. Rowley, Secretary, ACND to Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, re: attached list of settlements in the Northwest Territories”, November 17, 1954; and Quigley and McBride, “The Structure of an Arctic Microeconomy”, pp. 204-210.
- 1950 health survey: “Tuberculosis Survey: James and Hudson Bays, 1950”, *Northern News* (1951); and LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1207, File 201-1-8, Part 3, Reports re: Arctic Inspections, “Report of Inspection Trip, June - July 1953, by A. Stevenson”, June 1, 1953.
- Temporary relocations and Alexander Stevenson: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1207, File 201-1-8, Part 3, Reports re: Arctic Inspections, “Report of Inspection Trip, June - July 1953, by A. Stevenson”, June 1, 1953.
- Jimmy Koodloolook: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1068, File 163-1, Part 5, Family Allowances - General and Policy, “Interview by E. M. Hinds with Jimmy Koodloolook of Belcher Islands with assistance of an interpreter”, August 20, 1953
- Mining: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304.
- MCL station: LAC, RG 22, Indian and Northern Affairs, Series A-1-a, Volume 270, File 40-8-1, Part 6, Eskimo Affairs - Eskimo General, Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee on Eskimo Affairs”, November 29, 1954.
- NSOs: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession 1884-85 1952, File A-1000/174, Part 1, Belcher Islands, NWT - General File (maps),

“Memorandum for the Director from C.M. Bolger, re: Conditions on the Belcher Islands as reported by Mr. Milton Freeman”, June 12 1961. Anthropologist Milton Freeman returned south from fieldwork in the Belcher Islands and voiced many of the complaints and suspicions of the Inuit in a meeting with departmental officials in Ottawa; see LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304, Part 8.

- School: Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Government Activities in the North, 1962*, p. 151; and Community of Sanikiluaq and Najuqsivik, *Sanikiluaq Community Historical Yearbook, 2007-2008*, p. 239.
- Carolyn Niviaxie: Heather Igloliorte, *We were so far away: the Inuit experience in residential schools* (Ottawa: Legacy of Hope Foundation = Fondation autochtone de l'espoir, 2008), p. 120.
- 1956 epidemic: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304, Part 6; “Stone Age Just North of Moosonee”, *Globe and Mail* (August 16, 1956), 25.
- Nurse: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304, Part 6, “E. G. Caygill RN, Moose Factory, to Medical Superintendent Moose Factory”, August 6, 1956.
- Mary Iqaluk: QTC, March 4, 2008, Mary Iqaluk. No one has conducted detailed research on the outcome of the evacuations and whether people were returned to their homes.
- TB: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000-304; LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession 97-98/076, Box 145; and Community of Sanikiluaq and Najuqsivik, *Sanikiluaq Community Historical Yearbook*. It is unknown if Winnie ever returned home.
- Annie Appaqaq Arragutainaq: QTC, March 5, 2008, Annie Appaqaq Arragutainaq.
- Belchers in the 1960s: Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Government Activities in the North, 1968*, p. 150.
- HBC post: Date provided by the Sanikiluaq Community Director, Peter Kattuk.

- Lottie Arragutainaq: QTC, March 4, 2008, Lottie Arragutainaq.
- Davidee Uppik: QTC, March 6, 2008, Davidee Uppik.
- Jacob Uppik: QTC, March 6, 2008, Jacob Uppik and QTC, January 20, 2009, Jacob Uppik.
- Jobie Crow: QTC, March 4, 2008, Jobie Crow.
- Johnny Tookalook: QTC, March 5, 2008, Johnny Tookalook.
- Sanikiluarmit in the 1950s and 60s: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 1353, File 1000/304, Part 8.
- Yearbook: Community of Sanikiluaq and Najuqsivik, *Sanikiluaq Community Historical Yearbook, 2007-2008*, p. 239.
- Housing: NWT, Collection 279, Canada, Northern Administration Branch, Accession G-1979-003, Box 80, File 3, Town Planning - Belcher Islands [303-174, vol. 1], "Study of Belcher Housing, by E. E. Kemila", June 6, 1969. The quote is taken from the same source.
- Centralization at Sanikiluaq and Stevenson: NWT, Collection 279, Canada, Northern Administration Branch, Accession G-1979-003, Box 80, File 3, Town Planning - Belcher Islands [303-174, vol. 1], "Memo to Regional Admin Arctic Quebec, from A. Stevenson, re: Eskimo Housing - Belcher Islands", June 30, 1969. Also see LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession D-1-A, Volume 1462, File 600-1-1, Part 23, Education, Schools NWT, General and Policy File.
- Site planning: NWT, Collection 279, Canada, Northern Administration Branch, Accession G-1979-003, Box 80, File 3, Town Planning - Belcher Islands [303-174, vol. 1], "Memo to R. G. Armstrong from K. W. Stairs, re: Site Planning - Belcher Islands", March 3, 1968.
- Relocations: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Accession 1997-98/076, Volume 145, File 1000/304, Part 9. See especially correspondence of Bud Orange, MP, to Jean Chrétien, Minister DIAND, April 22, 1969 and action items that follow. Also A. B. Yates, Territorial Relations Branch to Mr. Bergevin, July 11, 1969 of same file.
- Mina Eyaituq: QTC, March 4, 2008, Mina Eyaituq.

- Lottie Arragutainaq: QTC, March 4, 2008, Lottie Arragutainaq.
- Emily Takatak: QTC, March 5, 2008, Emily Takatak.
- Lottie Cookie: QTC, March 5, 2008, Lottie Cookie.
- Economy: LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 107, File 253-2/304; LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Volume 870; Kirwan, “Belcher Islands, NWT”, 84-89; Patricia Sieber, “Lasting Impressions”, in Driscoll, *Belcher Islands / Sanikiluaq*; and Arctic Co-operatives Limited, “Member Co-ops: Mitiq”, available online at <http://www.arcticcoop.com/acl-baffin-region-sanikiluaq.htm> (accessed February 13, 2008).
- Radio: Gabriella Goliger, “Charlie Crow, of CKSN Sanikiluaq”, *Nunatsiaq News* (November 24, 1976), 3, 12. For other infrastructure development, see Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Government Activities in the North, 1977-78* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1978), pp. 156-157, 173; Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, *Government Activities in the North, 1978-79*, p. 161; Kirwan, “Belcher Islands, NWT”.
- Game management: NWT, Collection 301, Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Accession G-2004-014, Box 6, File 60-008-901, Belcher Islands, “Infringement of Polar Bear Regulations in the Belcher Islands, NWT”, September 23, 1974.
- Environmental issues: McDonald, et al, *Voices from the Bay*.

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.

