Qikiqtani Truth Commission

Community Histories 1950–1975

Qikiqtarjuaq

Qikiqtani Inuit Association

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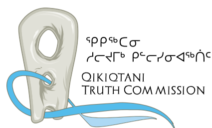

Canada

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: Earlier, the more southerly groups were sometimes called Padlimiut for their use of the area around Padle Fiord, or Akudnirmiut, a broader regional term for people further north.

p. 11: A peculiarity of the Padlimiut and the Akudnirmiut is their more decidedly migratory character as compared with the Oqomiut [of Cumberland Sound]. They do not spend every winter at the same place, but are more inclined to visit, in turn, the different winter stations of their country.

p. 11: It seems typical that, in 1927, a family settled in one particular area might meet another group travelling from north to south to hunt, and a third party travelling in the opposite direction.

P. 12: Inuit legends talk about their ancestors’ encounters with an earlier people, the Tuniit. They describe them as large and gentle, and great hunters of seals.

p. 15: Ross's contribution to Qikiqtaaluk history was to open the Baffin Island coast to European whalers who had already been hunting the area around Greenland for a century.

p. 15: Shortly afterwards, vessels of the amateurish Sabellum Trading Company began to visit Kivitoo, and in 1916 installed the prefabricated house and sheds that later generations called a whaling station.

p. 18: and Kingait Fiords, or through Akshayuk Pass, to trade their furs and skins at Pangnirtung, and the RCMP made an annual patrol by dogsled across the peninsula each winter.

p. 20: RCMP members continued to visit annually, and expressed concerns that women were at risk and that Inuit were becoming dependent on "handouts" of food and on unreliable short-term employment.

p. 27: Once evacuated, most of the homes were bulldozed to the ground and the contents were buried, probably by DEW Line personnel. In 2008, Eliyah Kopalie spoke about this experience.

p. 32: This provided Qikiqtarjuarmiut women with their first source of formal cash earnings. In 1973, the local community co-operative, the Tulugak Co-op, was formed. The establishment of this co-op demonstrates adjustments made by Qikiqtarjuarmiut to the larger Canadian economy. The co-op began to provide for many aspects of community life, including property rental, cable television, and gas and retail goods. It also broke the HBC monopoly on the local sale of necessary goods.

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 Qikiqtarjuaq
Davis Strait
Qikiqtarjuaq
BAFFIN ISLAND
Cumberland Peninsula
Foxe Basin
Nettilling Lake
Cumberland Sound
Pangnirtung
0 25 50 75 100 K
Projection: Lambert Conformal Conic
Datum: NAD 83
Data supplied by QIA
Map produced by Strata360

Qikiqtarjuaq

The hamlet of Qikiqtarjuaq is located on Broughton Island, 2.5 kilometres off the east coast of Cumberland Peninsula on Baffin Island. The community, formerly known as Broughton Island, was renamed Qikiqtarjuaq or "big island" in 1998. Today the people of Qikiqtarjuaq are known as Qikiqtarjuarmiut and are sometimes considered part of the larger regional group of Uqqurmiut. Earlier, the more southerly groups were sometimes called Padlimiut for their use of the area around Padle Fiord or Akudnirmiut, a broader regional term for people further north. While the hamlet's separate history generally begins in 1955 with the construction of a DEW Line auxiliary site, the history of the area includes many other populated places, such as Kivitoo and Paallavvik. In a lightly populated area, with a mobile population, these places were important locations for ilagiit nunagivaktangit.

The traditional land-use area of people now living at Qikiqtarjuaq has some of the most dramatic terrain in Canada. Mountains of many shapes

Qikiqtarjuaq
TIM KALUSHA

tower above fiords with sides that plunge into the sea, and icebergs are abundant. The community's land-use area is generally considered to start in the north at Alexander Bay (near Cape Henry Kater) and to end in the southeast, near Cape Dyer and Exeter Bay. In the northern part of the district, Home Bay is studded with islands. The middle of the coast around Kivitoo has bold headlands and deep fiords and includes part of Auyuittuq National Park. Qikiqtarjuaq itself is close to North Pangnirtung Fiord, a water entrance to the Park. Further south lays Padle Fiord, a traditional sledding route towards Pangnirtung, and Merchants Bay with the splendid sea cliffs of Nuvuttiq (Cape Searle). Beyond this narrowly defined territory, people have long hunted caribou inland to the west of Home Bay. To the southeast, a large floe edge offers winter hunting into Davis Strait and beyond Cape Dyer. Approximate distances are 175 kilometres from Alexander

Bay to Kivitoo, 145 kilometres from Kivitoo to Nuvuttiq (Cape Searle) at the mouth of Merchants Bay, and a further 80 kilometres from Nuvuttiq to Cape Dyer. Qikiqtarjuaq is near the midway point along this section of the coast.

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

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

Franz Boas said much the same in 1884, when he compared the Padlimiut and the Akudnirmiut to their neighbours.

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

For generations, people lived with their kin in a number of ilagiit nunagivaktangit that were carefully sited, moved and organized to take advantage of local wildlife conditions. For much of the year, people stayed on the coast and islands and avoided the inhospitable interior. It seems typical that, in 1927, a family settled in one particular area might meet another group travelling from north to south to hunt, and another party travelling in the opposite direction.

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

In August 1979, Qikiqtarjuaq received hamlet status. Today, the population is 520, and Qikiqtarjuaq is home to the Tulugak Co-op and Minnguq Sewing Group. Tourism is welcomed, and some claim Qikiqtarjuaq is the iceberg capital of the world. The hamlet also serves as a starting point for adventurers travelling through Auyuittuq National Park looking to climb Auyuittuq's peaks, hike the Akshayuk Pass, or ski on the park's pristine ice fields.

Taissumani Nunamiutautilluta

ILAGIIT NUNAGIVAKTANGIT

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

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

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

Polar bears were hunted from Brodie Bay south to Kangert Fiord, west of Merchants Bay, while caribou were found in the fiords and valleys of the Broughton Island area. Fish were never plentiful along the coast, so Inuit walked long distances overland to lakes on Narpaing Fiord in the summer and Nudlung Fiord in the fall. Belugas, narwhal, and walrus were also hunted around Home Bay. Traditionally, Paallavvik was known as an important walrus-hunting area, but this changed with the construction of a weather station there in the 1940s. Since the 1970s, however, there have been reports of walrus returning to the area.

EARLY CONTACTS

The name Broughton Island dates back to 1818, when a passing Royal Navy explorer, John Ross, named many of the features along the west side of Baffin Bay and Davis Strait to honour naval and political figures in Britain. The original purpose of his expedition was to search for a Northwest Passage

but, while surveying Baffin Bay, Ross missed the main entrance to the passage at Lancaster Sound and hurried home along the Baffin coast, mapping the coastline very roughly and making little effort to contact Inuit or study conditions on shore.

Ross's contribution to Qikiqtaaluk history was to open the west shore to European whalers who had already been hunting the area around Greenland for a century. Once Ross showed a way to avoid the Middle Ice, whalers broke through to Pond Inlet. Soon remarkable encounters were taking place between Inuit and the whaling fleet off Merchants Bay in 1824 and 1825 and steadily from then on until the 1840s.

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

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit hunters with sled dogs
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Bartering along this coast remained seasonal, sporadic, and competitive until 1908, when a Dundee firm placed a Qallunaat trader with a shed and a small stock of goods at Aggijjat (Durban Island). Shortly afterwards, vessels of the amateurish Sabellum Trading and Gold Company began to visit Kivitoo, and in 1916 installed the prefabricated house and sheds that later generations called a whaling station. For most of its existence, Inuit were in charge of the post, but it was not re-supplied after 1925. Outsiders' perceptions of the post were distorted by a tragedy in 1922 when the trader, a strong leader named Niaqutiaq, became mentally ill. In the disturbance

that followed, several hunters died, leaving the little community with too few hunters for the number of women and children. His widow, Kowna, remained in charge of the station for as long as it had any goods to trade, but Inuit continued to live in the trading post until 1963.

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

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit unloading walrus meat at Broughton Island, NWT, September 1959
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

From 1926 to 1955, the Qikiqtarjuaq region was as isolated from contact as any other inhabited part of the region east of Pelly Bay. It had no trading post, no resident missionary, and only the most sporadic contact with medical personnel. Yearly visits from whalers had ended long before, and the annual government and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) supply vessels steamed past without stopping. Once a year, hunters—possibly travelling without their wives—made the hard trip through the mountains via Padle

and Kingait Fiords to trade their furs and skins at Pangnirtung, and the RCMP made an annual patrol by dogsled across the peninsula each winter. Aside from the RCMP, only a few rare visits of a travelling doctor or scientist would break the isolation until 1941, when a wartime weather station was established at Paallavvik in the southern part of the region. A few innovations survived from the whaling era and the Sabellum Company decade: most people were now Anglicans and they continued to be competent trappers and knowledgeable consumers of manufactured goods. Otherwise, much of their daily lives and seasonal rounds continued to follow those of their ancestors.

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

Sangussaqtauliqtilluta, 1955–1958

The daily and seasonal routines of Qikiqtarjuarmiut changed dramatically and almost instantly in 1955 when the island was chosen as the site for an auxiliary DEW Line station. With that choice, the federal government

gradually yielded to the necessity of providing services to Inuit, similar to those existing or starting to emerge in more settled communities around Qikiqtaaluk.

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

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

Also typical was a short (1,300–1,400 metres) gravel runway that was located at Qikiqtarjuaq. Similar to other nearby stations in this mountainous territory, the runway was located at a "lower base" near sea level, while most of the installations were located at an "upper base" atop a nearby mountain.

The Broughton Island station, code-named FOX-5 and known during construction as Site 39, became a main transportation hub to and from Iqaluit and the administrative centre for the Cumberland Peninsula's north coast. Large quantities of materials and resources, and many Qallunaat, constantly moved into and out of the area. It gained a clear advantage over the other DEW Line sites in the Qikiqtarjuaq area. Three of those had little social impact; they were the highly secret Main station atop Cape Dyer, and two sites in Home Bay—a second auxiliary station at Cape Hooper, and an

intermediate station (I-site) abandoned in 1963 after surveillance technology improved at Ekalugad Fiord. More important for Inuit was the I-site at Kivitoo and another at Aggijjat. However, Qikiqtarjuaq became the dominant place in the area.

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

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

In addition to potential employment and trade opportunities, many Qikiqtarjuarmiut probably stayed around the DEW Line out of curiosity, to see what the station personnel were planning to do. Just as naturally, they would have assumed that strangers who made this dramatic intrusion onto their land would share their abundant foodstuffs as the whalers had done.

The Inuit were also willing to turn their hands to whatever labour needed to be done. In the following years, Qikiqtarjuarmiut would continue to settle in the area around the DEW Line, drawing the attention of the Canadian government.

Nunalinnguqtitauliqtilluta, 1958–1975

AGENDAS AND PROMISES

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

Despite the non-fraternization and anti-loitering policies, Inuit around the Broughton Island station were caught up in the government's hesitant moves to centralize populations at a few locations. Late in 1959,

the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (now Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, AANDC) began to pressure the HBC to solve an apparent problem of keeping the people supplied with trade goods. Four heads of families who worked for the DEW Line at Broughton Island could not make their usual yearly trip over the mountains to Pangnirtung. To meet their needs, the AANDC wanted to import over a ton of food to the Broughton Island area, some for "bona fide relief cases" and the rest for sale. The HBC took the hint and early in 1960, approved the construction of a new store alongside a new government school. Initially this was at a site 12 kilometres from the present one, but in 1961, the US Air Force and the Federal Electric Company gave the HBC permission to build beside the runway. In 1962, both the school and the HBC store were relocated to the more convenient site, and by autumn, there was a basis for a modern settlement around the runway.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit women and children with an RCMP officer on Broughton Island, 1979 NWT ARCHIVES

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

Up until this point, records are incomplete on the level of health care provided to Inuit in the Davis Strait region. It is likely that they received medical attention at St. Luke's Hospital when they travelled there to trade. RCMP and military personnel may also have provided some rudimentary medical care on Davis Strait. However, the influx of Qallunaat into the region led to an increase in infectious diseases against which the Inuit had no immunization. Polio was reported in 1959, while four deaths due to

whooping cough were recorded in 1960. Tuberculosis caused the evacuation of several persons each year, and in 1966, a severe pneumonia epidemic caused at least two deaths in Qikiqtarjuaq. It was not until 1967 that a nursing station was established at the settlement.

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

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

Settlement living also required infrastructure. An airstrip and power generators had been available since the establishment of the DEW Line station in 1955. Rough gravel roads were completed to link the administrative buildings with the HBC and airstrip. In 1964, an Anglican church was built in Qikiqtarjuaq. Although a 1965 town planning report had recommended improved water and power distribution, as well as proper waste and sewage

treatment, many inhabitants were still collecting water from icebergs and depositing "honey bags" in the dump and the bay as late as 1977. The town did not receive a community centre and freezer until 1974.

SHAPING COMMUNITY LIFE

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

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

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

Enticements to move included promises of housing and health care. Many Qikiqtarjuarmiut have since admitted that they felt coerced into

relocating. They were told that if they stayed on the land they would not receive emergency medical care, that their children would suffer without a proper education, or that their food rations would not be delivered. In many cases, Qikiqtarjuarmiut testified that their qimmiit were slaughtered in order to tie people forcibly to the settlement. Nuqingaq also talked of this kind of experience.

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

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

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

Many families resisted moving, so after a while stronger actions were undertaken to compel relocation to Qikiqtarjuaq. In January 1963, the Pangnirtung RCMP were notified that four hunters had gone missing from Kivitoo. Sixty-three-year-old Nowyakbik, leader of the community at Kivitoo, had visited Qikiqtarjuaq to trade. With his son Peterosee and sons-in-law Poisey and Joanasee, he hit foul weather and poor ice conditions on the way home. RCMP officers were dispatched to search for the missing hunters and tracked their route by plane and foot. They found a cold and frightened

Joanasee near the remains of Nowyakbik. Joanasee was flown to Iqaluit to have his legs amputated. The remains of the rest of that party were later discovered. The Canadian government, under the notion that the community could not survive the loss of these men, relocated the remainder of the Kivitoo Inuit to Qikiqtarjuaq. The RCMP reassured the relocating families that they would be allowed to return, so many left their belongings behind. Once evacuated, most of the homes were bulldozed to the ground and the contents were buried. In 2008, Eliyah Kopalie spoke about this experience.

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

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

The relocations had a lasting impact on the Qikiqtarjuaq community. For Inuit, the loss of home is more than the loss of a dwelling—it is a disruption of a critical relationship of people with the land and animals. It represents the loss of independence and replacement of a way of life. The government failed to address the social and psychological impact of moves on the people. Even today, many Qikiqtarjuarmiut suffer from feelings of

displacement and loss. Billy Mikualik remembers seeing the impact of relocation on his step-parents. “I could see the frustration and unhappiness [in] my step-parents, my step-mother always yearned to go back to Paallavvik, I could see her unhappiness [because] she missed her home so much.”

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

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

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit boy inside house, Broughton Island, 1979
NWT ARCHIVES

The Inuit population at Qikiqtarjuaq, approximately 70 in 1961, had reached 200 by 1966. By 1967, the community of Qikiqtarjuaq had 250 people, including a dozen non-Inuit working as teachers, an administrator, and an HBC clerk. Centralization brought together into close quarters many more Inuit and their qimmiit. Disease could now spread more easily among qimmiit populations, and concerns over potential qimmiit-human conflict rose. Stricter enforcement of the Ordinance Respecting Dogs eventually turned more people towards the use of snowmobiles.

Qimmiit played a large role in conflict between Inuit and incomers, and fear of disease encouraged the authorities to intervene strongly. In 1964, sickness among qimmiit at Paallavvik decimated the population, spreading to Qikiqtarjuaq in 1965. At the same time, RCMP had begun shooting

qimmiit under the authority of the Ordinance. Kakudluk, a member of one of the seven families relocated from Paallavvik, recalled how strictly the Ordinance was enforced in Qikiqtarjuaq. She had travelled to the area by qimmiit team with her family. "Once they got there, the dogs were shot, she said, because dogs were not allowed in Qikiqtarjuaq."

By this time, snowmobiles were on the market. An RCMP report on Qikiqtarjuaq in March 1965 reported ten snowmobiles in the area and claimed that the increase was due to the people's inability to restore the qimmiit population. Later in the year, F.J. Williams and Associates, an engineering company hired by the AANDC to assess the settlement plan for Qikiqtarjuaq, reported twenty snowmobiles. This report also noted the speed and convenience of the snowmobiles, but agreed that they were being adopted because of a shortage of qimmiit after "the decimation of the dog population in 1963–1964." The increase of snowmobiles to forty by 1968 demonstrates a spreading change in the way Qikiqtarjuarmiut travelled to hunt.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Inuit men, women, and children stand outside houses on Broughton Island, 1979
NWT ARCHIVES

In spite of the conveniences provided by snowmobiles, Qikiqtarjuarmiut also recognized that snowmobiles could be unreliable and dangerous to run on the ice. Owners were now fully dependent on imports for fuel and replacement parts. Eliyah Kopalie described some of the issues with snowmobiles in his testimony. "When the weather was bad, the dogs knew exactly what to do. Even if there was no land outside, they were totally different than a Ski-Doo, they don't break down." Despite these reservations, by the 1970s, the community had accepted the snowmobile and effectively moved away from the use of qimmiit teams.

Hunting patterns were also affected by falling prices for sealskins in the second half of the 1960s. Sales, primarily to the HBC, continued to plummet into the 1970s, from seven thousand in 1971 to a little over four thousand in 1972. A levelling off followed this decrease. Researcher John D. Jacobs linked this fall to the cost of imported fuel, indicative of the increased reliance of Inuit in the region on goods imported from the south. Qikiqtarjuaq

lifestyles were changing from a "subsistence economy supplemented by the trading of furs and skins" to "really absolute dependence" on outside sources for food, supplies, and money to obtain them. By the 1970s, many full-time hunters had turned to regular settlement jobs. Wage labour grew as a percentage of total economic activity. Nonetheless, the importance of hunting both to the table and to Qikiqtarjuarmiut identity persisted. Hunting skills continued to be taught to youth as part of formal educational programs, and permanent cabins were erected on the land for hunters to use. Hunter and trapper associations were also formed to monitor game and negotiate rights and quotas with the territorial government.

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

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

Qikiqtaaluk Communities
ELLESMERE
ISLAND
Grise Fiord
Resolute
DEVON ISLAND
Baffin
Bay
Lancaster Sound
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Clyde River
BAFFIN ISLAND
Davis Strait
Qikiqtarjuaq
Taloyoak
Igloolik
Hall Beach
Gjoa Haven
Kugaarjuk
Pangnirtung
Foxe
Basin
Cumberland Snd.
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
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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.