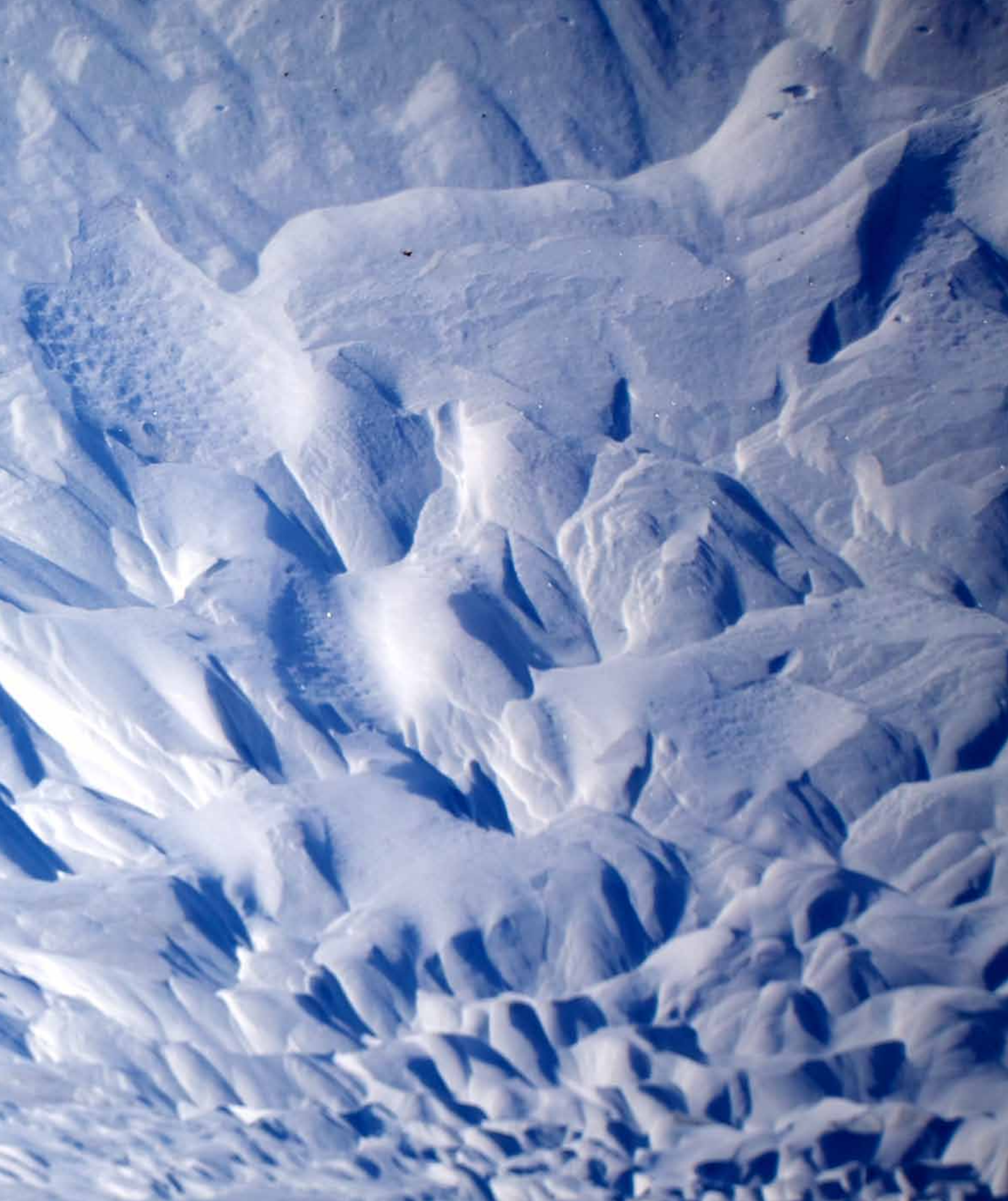
Taimani

At That Time

Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guide

Edited by Charles Arnold, Wendy Stephenson,
Bob Simpson and Zoe Ho

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation



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Foreword

Taimani - At That Time:
Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guide

Taimani has been developed with the contributions of many individuals who have collected information from a number of different sources: publications, archives and not least, those of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre. The purpose of this document is to assist in the promotion of the Inuvialuit Culture to show the immense challenges, changes and resilience of the Inuvialuit - 'Real People' and to celebrate their strength in preserving and developing as a distinct society within a changing world that has made great effort to take their culture away.

Taimani is not intended to report on all aspects of the Inuvialuit history and culture. That should be the work of others when the Inuvialuit establish their own Inuvialuit museum and archives. **Taimani** is intended to be used as a reference and a guide to facilitate the development of education materials to help the next generation understand where they come from, who they are, and build the pride and confidence to continue to support the development of the Inuvialuit as a culture and society.

It is hoped that this compilation of information and resources from different sources will continue to grow, and that there will be periodic editions as more information is collected or provided. We encourage any reader or user of **Taimani** to please contact the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation at the address below if you have suggestions on omissions and wish to contribute information. It is hoped within the next year that **Taimani** will be placed on a web-site for ease of access and use.

To focus on the primary purpose of **Taimani**, education resource people will be developing curriculum material that will be integrated within Northern Studies and Social Studies curriculum. This curriculum material will greatly assist teachers in their instruction and students in their learning.

We hope that you enjoy reading this manuscript and are able to use it as a reference or guide to meet a goal of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement:

"To preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society."

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
Chair and CEO, Nellie Cournoyea

Introduction

INUVIALUIT - The 'Real People'

Photos: (L: top to bottom: Sea ice; map of ISR); (R: top to bottom: Inuvialuit from different time periods. Top: Inuvialuit, circa 1895. (J. Cook/Mystic Seaport/1950_778), Kudlak family, (1958) (R. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0200), contemporary youth going by skidoo to learn trapping at a culture camp. (Zoe Ho/ICS).

About Inuvialuit

(David Stewart/ICS)

Inuvialuit means Real People in Inuvialuktun. The Inuvialuit are the indigenous people of the western Canadian Arctic. They share similar lifestyles, cultures, and languages with Inuit in the rest of arctic Canada and Greenland, with the Inupiat of northern Alaska, and with the Yuit of St. Lawrence Island and Siberia.

Inuvialuit participate fully in modern Canadian society, yet retain strong ties to the land. Travelling and camping on the land are favourite activities, and harvesting wildlife – 'country food' - provides a healthy alternative to store-bought foods. Environmental knowledge and respect for the land and its resources continue to be important elements of modern Inuvialuit culture.

(L): Inuvialuit love and appreciate the land. Although most Inuvialuit live and work in communities, the pull of the land is always strong.

The Inuvialuit Settlement Region

The Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR).

Many of the approximately 5,000 Inuvialuit reside in the communities of Aklavik (Aklarvik), Inuvik (Inuuvik), Paulatuk (Paulatuuq), Sachs Harbour (Ikaahuk), Tuktoyaktuk (Tuktuuyaqtuuk) and Ulukhaktok. In 1984, the Inuvialuit and the Government of Canada signed a comprehensive land claim, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA), which recognized Inuvialuit ownership of lands in their traditional homeland, now known as the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR).

The basic goals of the IFA are to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society; to enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society; and to protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity.

Inuvialuktun

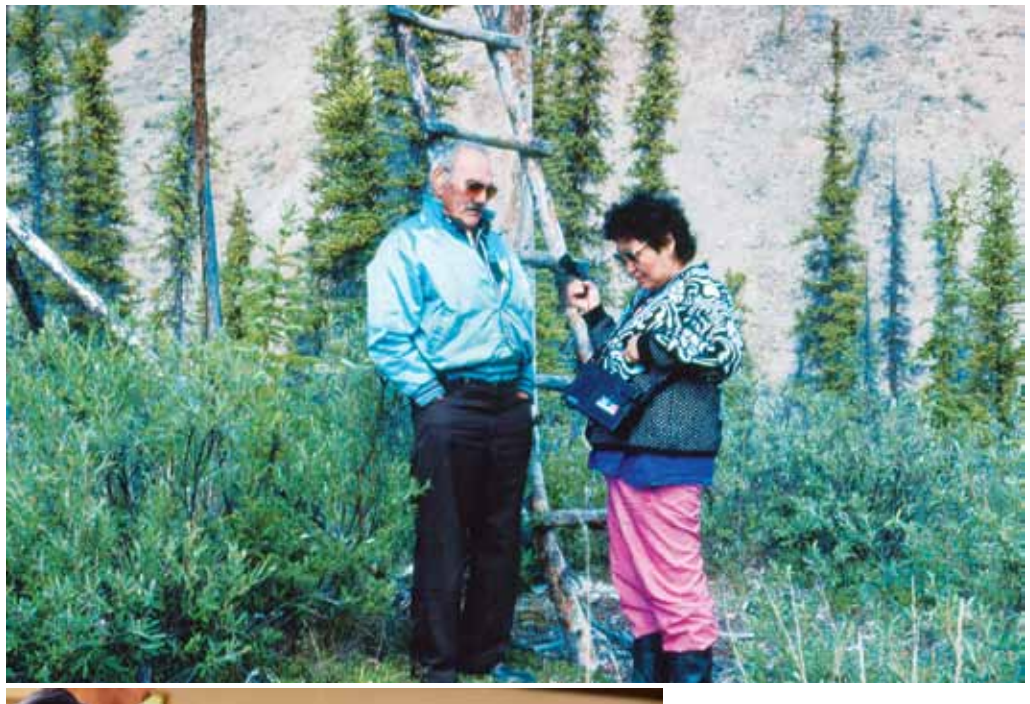
Inuvialuktun language teacher Clara Day shows a student how to make a rabbit snare.

Comparison of words in the three dialects of Inuvialuktun

Language/ Phrase	Uummarmiut	Siglit	Kangiryuarmiut
Hello	atitu	atitu	haluuqtuq
Good Bye	ilaatnilu	ilaannilu/ qakugulu	ublaakun
Good Morning	uvlaami	ublaami	ublaami
Thank You	quyanaq or quyanainni	quyanainni	quana
You're Welcome	amiunniin	amiunniin	nam-maktak
How Are You?	qanuq itpit?	qanuq itpit?	qanuq ipit?
I'm Fine. Good.	nakuurunga	nakuuyumi/ nakuuyumi assi	naammaktunga
Yes	ii	ii	ii
No	naagga	naaggai	imannaq
That's All!	taima or tahamma	taima	taima

The mother tongue of the Inuvialuit is called Inuvialuktun, of which there are three dialects. The Siglit dialect is spoken in the coastal communities of Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk and Sachs Harbour. This may be the most ancient dialect in the area, and the meaning of Siglit has been lost to local memory. People in Uluhaktok, the easternmost community in the ISR, call themselves Kangiryuarmiut – 'People of the large bay' - and speak a dialect known as Inuinnaqtun, which is closely related to the language spoken by Inuit of the Central Arctic and indicates their strong cultural and historical ties to that region. Uumarmiut means 'People of the evergreens and willows'. The Uummarmiut dialect is spoken in Inuvik and Aklavik, communities in the forested Mackenzie River Delta where people from Alaska immigrated starting in the early 1900s. In working together towards their land claim, Siglit, Uummarmiut and Kangiryuarmiut agreed to use the term 'Inuvialuit' to collectively refer to themselves, and 'Inuvialuktun' to refer to their three dialects.

Taimani - 'At That Time'



(ICRC)

(ICS)

Photos: (Top) Elder Alex Gordon (L) tells interviewer Renie Arey (R) about an old meat cache at Sheep Creek.

(L) Inuvialuit Communications Society filming elders recalling traditional dance in Ulukhaktok.

Taimani in English means 'at that time', and is usually the first word said when an Inuvialuit elder tells a story about the past. Elders are the living books of Inuvialuit traditions, legends and history.

Their stories have been passed down over countless generations by word of mouth, and for that reason are called oral histories. Information about Inuvialuit history and traditions is also preserved in photographs and other documents in archives, and in books, some of which were written by Inuvialuit after writing was introduced in the early 1900s.

WHO WE ARE

Nuligak

"I will tell you stories of the olden days…"

(I, Nuligak by Bob Cockney, 1966, p. 13.)

Nuligak (Bob Cockney) was one of the first Inuvialuit to learn to read and to write. His autobiography, ***I, Nuligak*** includes oral histories told by his elders that had never before been recorded in writing.

Nuligak (Bob Cockney).

(Photo courtesy of Roman Catholic Diocese, Yellowknife.)

Inuvialuit Timeline

Inuvialuit have a long, rich history stretching from Ingilranni – 'A time long ago', when Inuvialuit first settled in their traditional homeland, to Quangma – 'Today'.

The stories that comprise this history speak about self-reliance, working together, responding to challenges, and gathering strength. The traditional Inuvialuit calendar was meant for keeping track of where and when animals and other resources were available, not for recording a chronology of historical events. Instead of individual events, the following themes that have shaped the culture and heritage of the Inuvialuit and that interweave over time have been selected in preparing an Inuvialuit Timeline Visual Guide:

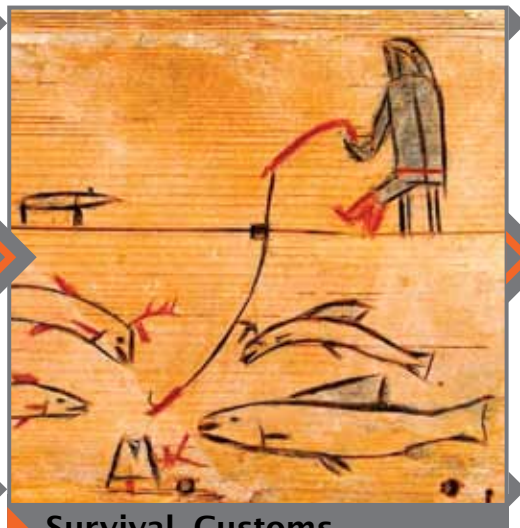
This picture of Inuvialuit on board the steam paddle wheeler SS Wrigley, taken at Peel River about 1900, is one of the earliest photographic images of Inuvialuit.

(C.W. Mathers/NWT Archives/N-1988-039:0027)

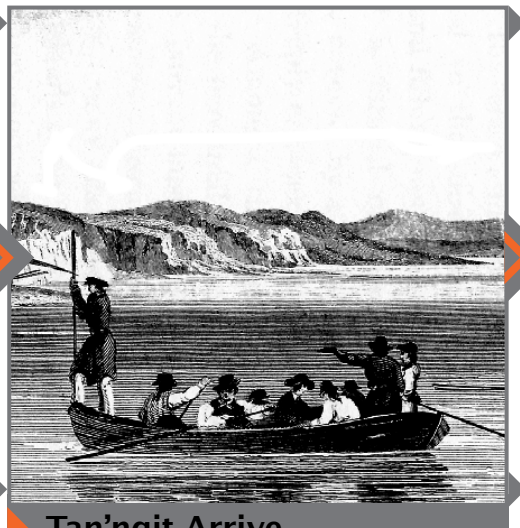
Inuvialuit Timeline

From Ingilranni – Time Immemorial **to Quangma –** Today

Ingilranni - Time Immemorial



Survival, Customs and Traditions
1300s – 1800s

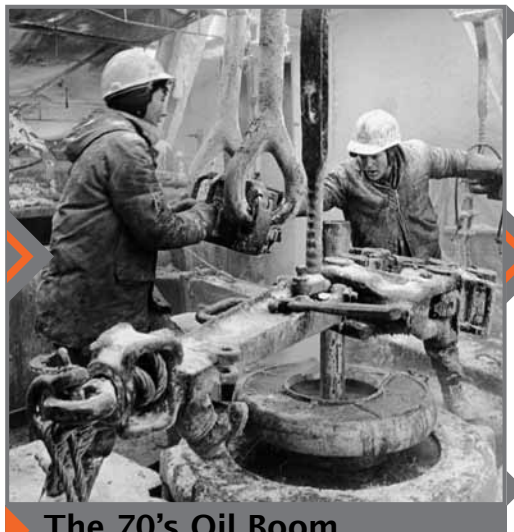


Tan'ngit Arrive
1800s – 1900s

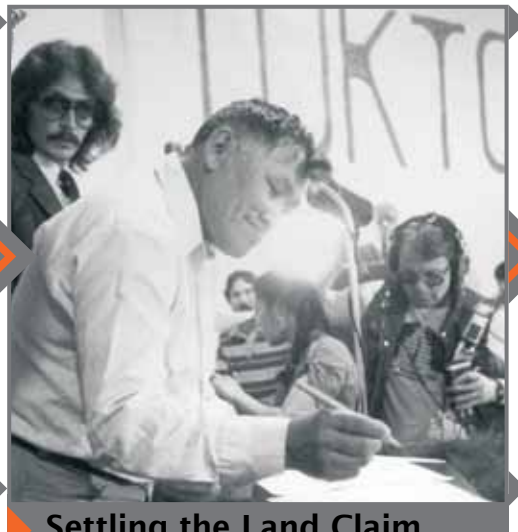
Disease Takes the People
1860 – 1920

The Fur Trade Boom
1920s – 1950s

Church and State
1900-1960s



The 70's Oil Boom
1960s – 1970s



Settling the Land Claim
1970s – 1980s

Implementation of the IFA
1980s – Now

Qangma - Today

INGILRAANI

Time Immemorial

Angusinaoq, a renowned teller of Inuvialuit legends, Baillie Island 1924.

(Hansen/National Museum of Denmark/Fifth Thule Expedition Neg. 2037)

INGILRAANI — Time Immemorial

Many stories told by Inuvialuit elders are set in Ingilraani – 'a long ago time' that is far beyond living memory.

Stories from that era are called unipkat, 'legends' that mingle fantasy and history. In these stories people might change into animals, or choose an animal as a husband or wife.

They are told to entertain, and to communicate Inuvialuit views of the world and how it came to be. Unipkat are also told through art.

Wooden Box Lid.
Inuvialuit drawing circa 1865

(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E002545-08a)

This Inuvialuit drawing on a wooden box lid from the Anderson River area, circa 1865, appears to show people in a boat trying to capture a mystical creature. It may depict a now-lost legend from Ingilranni.

Transformation.
Carving by Bill Nasogaluak

(From the collections of the PWNHC 994.14.1)

This stone sculpture by Inuvialuit artist Bill Nasogaluak has three faces: a woman, a bear and a man. According to the artist, the sculpture depicts a woman who could change into a bear. She could only change back to her human form if she remembered being a human. So that she would not forget her human form, she always kept in her mind a memory of her husband.

"The stories from Ingilraani (a long time ago) are about how our people hunted and survived on this land."

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit
(Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit, GNWT, Dept of Education, p.1, 1991.)

STORY

Beginning Of The Eskimo People

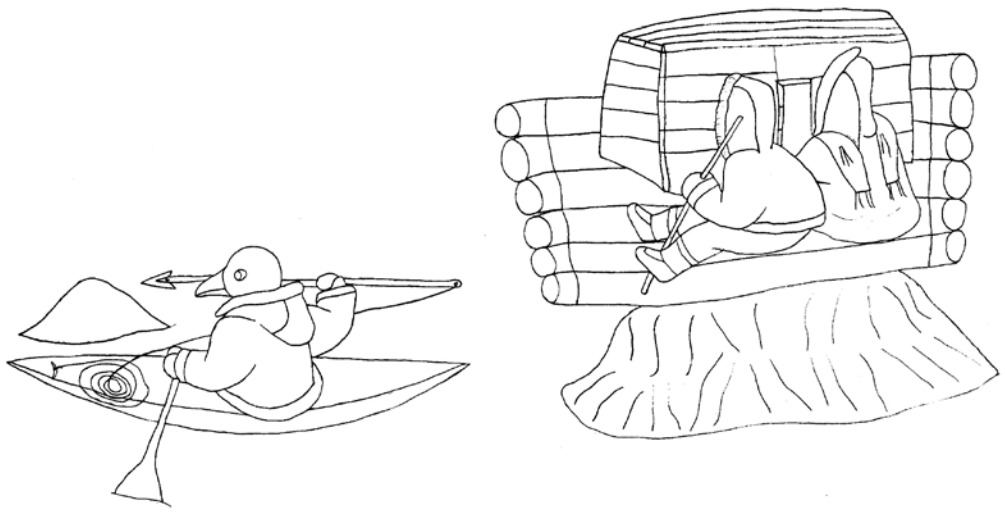


Illustration of the flood story by Mona Ohoveluk.
(Herbert Schwartz, 1970.)

One of the Ingilraani legends tells of a great flood that swept all that went before and renewed the land. Several versions of this story have been recorded. The central figures in most of these stories are a man and his wife, their son who is sometimes spoken of as the spirit of a raven, and an orphan girl.

This version of the flood story was told by **Kenneth Peeloolook**, pictured left.
(Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement/NWT Archives/N-1992-253)

They were a happy family. One morning, the man looked in the distance and saw a black object rising from the horizon. He had never seen such a dark, threatening object in his life before. He looked to the earth and the blackness appeared before him on the ground. He was worried and became afraid of what appeared to be a sign or warning to him. He looked again to see if it might be his mind that was playing tricks on him, but the sign was only clearer. He had experienced many floods in his time but the sky did not tell the tales of such blackness as it did now.

He talked with his wife and explained what he had seen. The wife said it was indeed a sign to him to prepare for a flood that they had never before experienced. From the sign, the danger would be long with them. The couple then began to gather all the material they needed to build a sturdy raft that would carry them through the toughest time of their lives.

The man knew that he must continue to work even though he grew tired. He asked others to help him but they only laughed and told him he was getting excited about the things he did not know about, for how come it was going to happen if it never happened before? After all, why make such a huge raft and on top of it all, make it on the ground? How very foolish and unnecessary. Indeed, what sort of man was this who became excited about such a little matter when everyone was so well off. The man was left alone to work. A young orphan girl was the only other person who would help.

[...] Then the rain began, the black clouds covered the sky and darkened the earth. It rained until the earth gradually disappeared. Those who had not taken the warning cried out for help but it was too late [...]

In some versions of this story, the boy sets off to explore in a kayak. He spies the top of a pingo rising above the water, and spears it with his harpoon, causing the water to recede.

Kenneth Peeloolok concludes this story:

The raft was quiet as they waited until the time they were able to go onto the earth once again. When they felt quite safe, they made a camp and began to live a life with good laws and understanding. The orphan girl and son of the hunter lived together and soon had children of their own. It is said that the Eskimo people began from that time, each year the children became more in number.

The husband and wife advised the young people on how to live, and to make a strong and healthy people.

STORY

The Song That Calmed The Wind

Model of an umiak from the Anderson River area, circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001098_01)

Ingilraani stories and legends often relate how Inuvialuit learned to appease nature in order to ensure their survival.

***Bob Cockney** (circa 1895 – 1966) included this story in his book, **I, Nuligak** (1966).*

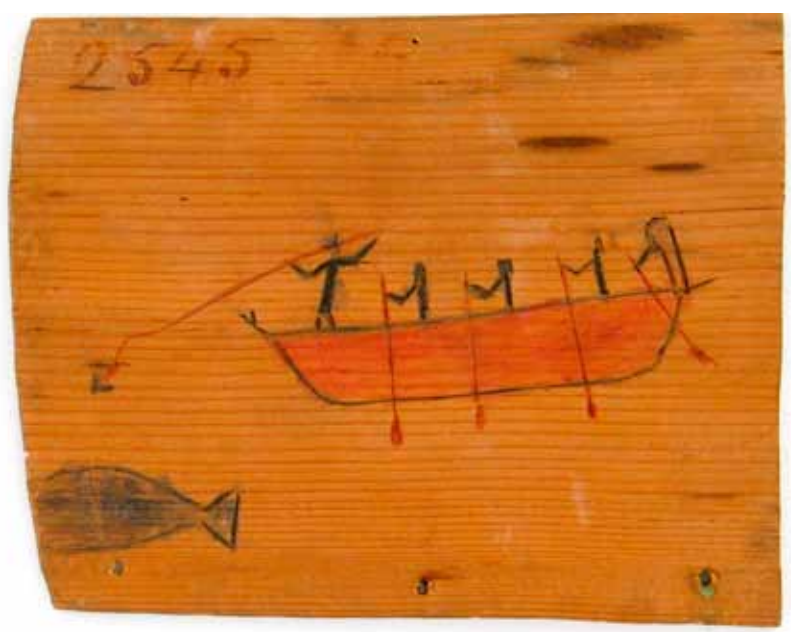
Bob Cockney (Nuligak).

In those days an Inuk who was skirting the shore noticed skin boats, umiaks, towing something along. They were coming in to land. He hid near the shore. It was a fine, calm day, and as they got closer he heard the rowers singing. An old man was at the helm. They were towing a whale and the old man was singing a magic song. Hidden close to shore the Eskimo learned the song and forever remembered it.

"You that we are towing along
Ah, ya ah e ya
Big whale, big whale
Stir up the sea with your tail
E ya ah e ya
Give us fair weather today
So we arrive safe and sound on shore.
E ya ah e ya
Tug – tug along hard
E ya ah e ya
Row – Row"

The boats touched the shore and our Inuk sprang out of his hiding place and ran to them, shouting, "Ah, ah!". The oarsman had pushed back their hoods and rolled up their sleeves. Frightened, without lowering their sleeves or pulling up their hood, they flew away – they were sea-swallows. But because they had forgotten to raise their hoods and lower their sleeves they were transformed from swallows into little sea gulls.

Ever since that day the Abvarmuit, the Baillie people, have used this song whenever they have harpooned a whale.



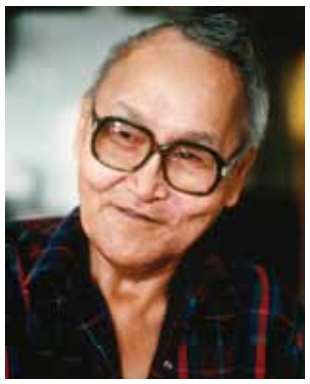
Drawing of Anderson River Inuvialuit hunting a whale from an umiak, circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E002545-01)

STORY

The legend of how Tulugak stole the Sun

Illustration of Tulugak and his friend the snowbird in the legend of how Tulugak stole the sun.

(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, 1998.)



Ishmael Alunik *told a story of how Tulugak, which means 'Raven' in Inuvialuktun, brought the sun to the world. In this story, Tulugak travels to a village that his friend, a snowbird, had told him about. There, he sees a Chief and his daughter getting water from a river.*

Ishmael Alunik (1923-2006).
(ICRC)

Along came the Chief's daughter carrying the pitcher. Feeling alarmed and unsure, Tulugak turned himself into a seed and fell into the water. "If only she'll dip me up with her pitcher," thought Tulugak, "then I might get into her home and be safe till the men go out to hunt." When the Chief's daughter dipped her pitcher into the water, Tulugak found himself floating into it. But when she took a deep drink, try as he might, he could not keep away from her mouth, and suddenly he was swallowed. What was he to do now? "I am a seed," he thought, "so I must find some place to grow."

Presently he was in her womb, and in a few months he heard the Chief ask his daughter if she was pregnant. She said, "How can you speak to me like that? You know I've never even looked at a man, and could never be and never will be pregnant, so stop teasing." Tulugak heard the Chief laugh out loud.

It was not long before the daughter's time came and Tulugak was born as a baby boy. The Chief said, "What a big baby boy for a newborn. I'm sure one day he'll be a great hunter." His daughter said, "I don't at all understand how this happened because I've never known a man, but just the same I am proud to be a mother." The boy grew fast and when he was almost ready to walk, he made a move toward the small light that the Snowbird had told him about. "That's not to play with," said the Chief. But the boy began to scream as loud as he could and his mother said to her father, "You're always so stingy with your lights. You know you don't have a son, and one day your grandson will have them." So the Chief gave in and the boy played with the small light.

Model of a traditional Inuvialuit kayak, paddle and spear.

(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001097)

Time went by fast, and soon the boy was reaching for the bright light. Again his grandfather told him that it was not to play with, and again the boy screamed, and again his grandfather gave in. Now everybody loved the boy, but he always remembered his friend the Snowbird. Everyday he played with the bright light, and said to himself, "Soon I will steal this light and return to my little friend."

One day he kept playing with the light until he got to the door of the house and slipped out. His grandfather ran after him, but he was already in the air with it. He still had the power to turn himself into a Raven, for after all, he was a Raven in the first place. His grandfather tried to follow him, but he couldn't. Tulugak flew higher and higher. At last he heard his grandfather yell, "Grandson, you can have the light. But promise at least to let me see it once a day."

Now Tulugak realized he could fly no higher with the light, so he threw it with all his strength, and it went up and up and grew brighter and brighter. But he kept his promise and now the sun goes down every evening and comes up again each morning. Tulugak flew back to his friend the Snowbird, who was very glad to see him. Now they could both hunt for food in the daylight.

He asked his friend if there was any other land around. The Snowbird said there was a land nearby that kept disappearing into the ocean. It would appear at a certain time of day and almost immediately disappear under the water again before anyone could land on it. Tulugak thought for a long time. Then he made himself a harpoon and started out. He had not gone far when he saw the water moving away in all directions below him. What luck! Soon a piece of land came up, and he threw his harpoon with all his strength and might. When it struck, the land shuddered and shook as if trying to throw the harpoon off. Tulugak held the line as tight as he could. The land stayed still.

He flew down to the land and rested. As he rested, he noticed that plants were already growing where the sun was shining on the ground. Now his friend the Snowbird joined him as more and more land appeared. Finding a kayak, they started to paddle together, talking of whom and what they might find.

An ancient clay pot that could have been used for dipping water, found at the Kuukpak archaeological site.

(PWNHC/989.22.733)

(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, 1998.)

A CLOSER LOOK

The Mysterious Pre-Dorset People

Remains of a campsite (left) and 'kamik' (below) uncovered at a 2,500 year old Pre-Dorset archaeological site on southern Banks Island, NWT. (C. Arnold/ PWNHC)

Around 4,000 years ago people known to archaeologists by the term 'Pre-Dorset' spread from Siberia into Alaska and then across the Arctic regions of North America, where they developed a successful way of life based on the hunting of seals and other small sea mammals, caribou, muskoxen and small game. They lived in temporary settlements of tents and perhaps snowhouses. The Pre-Dorset people disappeared from the western regions of the Canadian Arctic about 2,500 years ago, during a period when the climate seems to have cooled significantly. In the eastern Canadian Arctic and in Greenland Pre-Dorset people adapted to the changing climate and developed into the Dorset culture, which existed for another 1,500 years. Pre-Dorset sites have been found in all parts of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Dorset sites, however, are rare in this area.

Recent DNA studies have shown that the Pre-Dorset people are not the direct ancestors of the Inuvialuit or other Inuit peoples. Their tools and other artifacts are quite different from Inuvialuit types, even though some of them were used for the same purpose. Many Pre-Dorset stone tools are quite small, which may have given rise to Inuvialuit legends of the Inugarullit, or 'little people' who live in holes in the ground. Because of their age, Pre-Dorset sites often are buried in the ground, covered by soil that has accumulated over many centuries.

One of the Ingilraani legends that features Inugarullit tells how the white whale – beluga – came to be.

Kamik ('boot') found at a 2500 year old Pre-Dorset archaeological site on Banks Island. This kamik is very small - the sole is less than 6 inches (17 cm) long.

Illustration by Mona Ohoveluk showing Akłak and the Inugarullit who helped him regain his sight by turning him into a brown (grizzly) bear.

Some legends tell of encounters with little people, known as Inugarullit, who live in holes in the ground. In this story by an anonymous storyteller Inugarullit come to the aid of a boy named Akłaq, 'grizzly bear', whose stepmother, jealous because she cannot have children of her own, casts a spell on him that makes him blind.

For many hours he wandered around aimlessly, worn and tired, until he stumbled over the gnarled root of a tree. There he fell into a deep hole. In vain he tried to climb out. He stumbled into a tunnel, which led him to a large underground cave, and there in the cave Akłaq smelled the most delicious aroma of caribou stew.

This was the habitation of the Inugarllit people, who looked exactly like the Inuvialuit, except that they were bow-legged and very much smaller. They wore little parkas and skin trousers made from caribou and sealskin. But being so small, they were afraid of the Inuvialuit and avoided them at all cost.

However, they took pity on the blind boy. They fed him some of the delicious caribou stew, mended his torn mukluks, and let him rest on a small skin platform. In the morning, by a secret passage, they led him out of the cave.

Great was his surprise as he emerged from the cave [...] he could see perfectly well. He ran to a brook to take a look at himself. And there reflected on the water's surface, he saw a large brown bear –akłaq – his guardian spirit. His stepmother's evil spirit, which applied only to a human being, was gone! As a bear, Akłaq could see perfectly well!

Akłaq eventually resumes his human form, and reunites with his stepmother who no longer recognizes him.

She welcomed him and offered many delicacies. And she was flattered by his attention. So when he suggested that they should go seal hunting in a skin boat, she readily accepted. Once in the open sea, with his spear and harpoons, Akłaq killed many seals and walruses, and his stepmother, delighted with his skill, praised him as a great hunter.

"And that I am," he exclaimed, "as I am Akłaq, your step-son, the greatest hunter of them all. But now I shall punish you for your evil deed." And with these words he tied her up with sinew, and threw her into the sea. And she became the first white whale and in her garrulous creaking voice she has been ranting and raving ever since.

(Herbert Shwarz, ***Elik, and Other Stories of the Mackenzie Eskimos***, 1970, p. 39-41.)

STORY

Orphan and Grandmother

An ancient wooden net float (puktarun) found at the Kuukpak archaeological site.
(PWNHC/986.34.607)

Agnes Nanogak Goose
(1925 - 2005).

Unipkat often emphasize Inuvialuit cultural values, such as the importance for a man to be a good hunter and provider, and for a woman to be a good seamstress, as in the following story told by **Agnes Nanogak Goose**.

A Grandmother and orphan boy lived next door to people who lived around them.

Each evening they worked on their fish net. They made wood floats and soon it was time to set the net. As she talked to her grandson, "I will put some magic on your net so that you may be able to catch some fish." She also made her grandson a seal skin kayak just the right size for him.

One day they set the fish net. The orphan boy watched his fish net all day long but it did not get any fish. Soon it was getting dark and the sun was setting. The orphan boy started to make a tune, asking the current to bring the fish to his net. As he sang he saw one of his floats start to move so he went on his kayak to get the fish out. He had gotten a char. As soon as he got the fish he ran home to his grandmother. His grandmother said, "Oh! Thank you very much." She cooked for the orphan. People started to wonder how the orphan boy got all the char when they could not.

Man's caribou skin clothing from the Cape Bathurst area, late 1800's.

(Collections of the National Museums of Scotland.)

All summer long the old grandmother made dry fish. They had put away more than a winter's supply, but the orphan and grandmother never bragged about their success. They were always thankful - that is how their success continued.

One day the orphan thought to himself, "I wonder if I should ask the rich man if I can marry his daughter." He was a very successful worker by then, especially a good hunter.

She had never wanted anyone for her husband before but when the orphan boy asked her for her hand, she had agreed with no arguing. So they got together. She was very talented in making clothing. She made beautiful clothing for her husband. She was so pleased with him and he took care of his wife very well. She was so happy, she sewed summer caribou parkas, mukluks, and she made beautiful trimmings on them all. They had their own place. She cared for the old grandmother, of course. If it wasn't for the grandmother teaching the grandson, she would never have found a husband to live with for she never wanted to marry anyone before. She said everyone else was too proud or selfish.

(COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253)

STORY

The Magic Drum

An ancient qullik, 'lamp' found at the Kuukpak archaeological site.
(PWNHC/988.98.02)

Helen Kalvak
(1901 - 1984).

The Inuvialuit have a long tradition of using songs, often sung to the beating of drums, to recount legends, stories, and traditions. In this story by **Helen Kalvak** *a drum also has magical attributes. The story begins when a young woman who did not want to marry was visited by two brothers who courted her.*

She followed them outside the igloo. Scarcely were they outside when the two brothers reclothed themselves in the skins which they had left at the door. The woman then recognized tem for what they were – white bears.

They took her away over the ice and forced her to descend into the water through a hole in the ice. For some time she was dragged along through the water, only to be abandoned when the bears came to another opening through which they disappeared.

Left on her own, the young woman was eaten by tiny sea animals, who left her no more than a skeleton. She managed to find her way to the surface of the ice, where she built an igloo. There, she was visited by an old man.

"Make me a drum", she said, "make me a very small drum." When he finished he gave her the instrument. The woman blew out the lamps, took the drum and began to dance. She beat the drum with a stick while repeating a magic incantation. The drum grew larger and the sound of the beat swelled and seemed to fill the air. The dance finished, the lamps were relit, and the man was once more able to see the girl. To his amazement the skeleton was gone; instead a pretty young girl, dressed in superb clothing appeared before him.

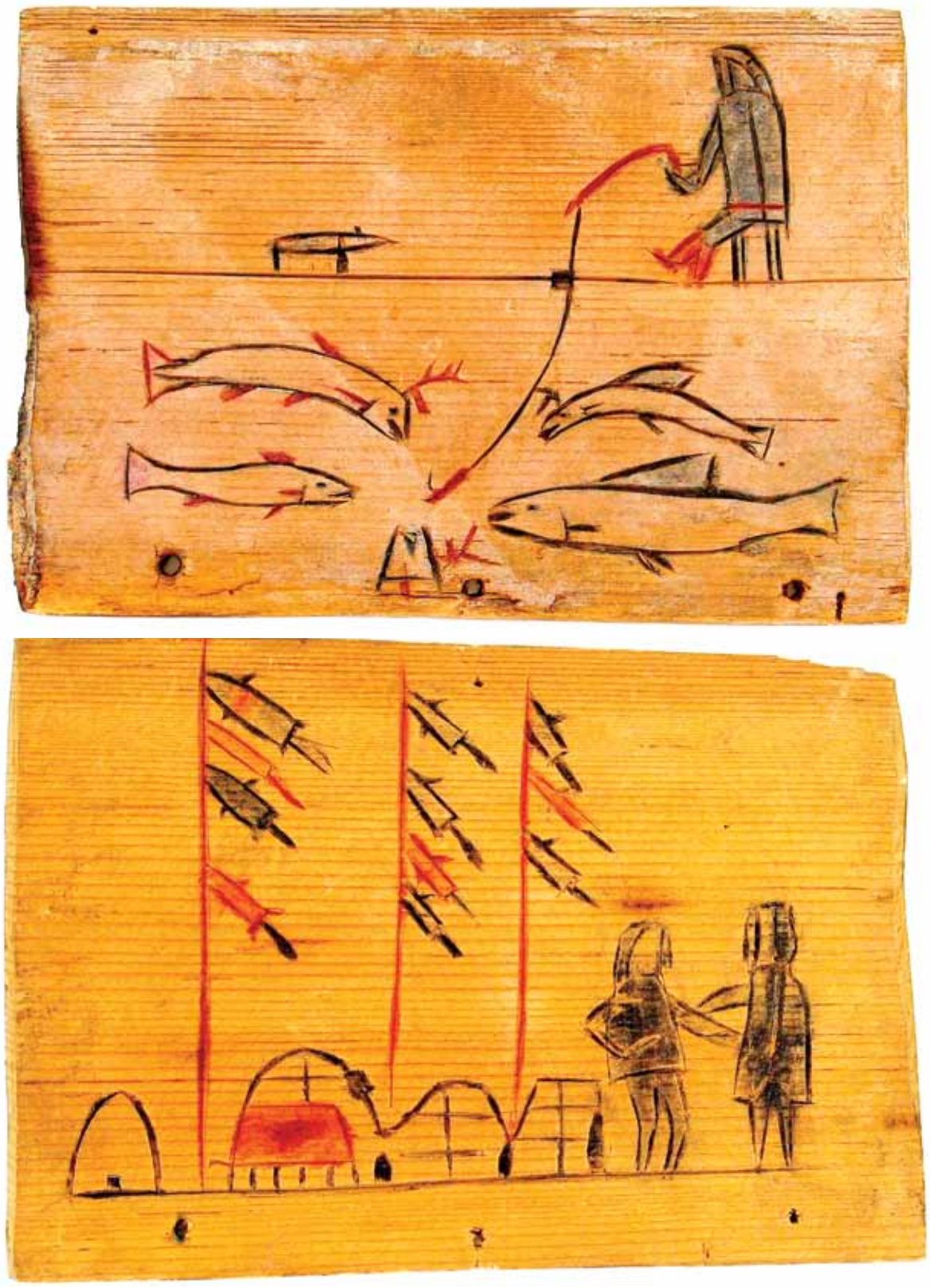
The girl took the drum again, blew out the lamps, and began to dance. After a while she asked her visistor, "Are you all right like that?" With his affirmative reply she relit the lamps. It was no longer an old man who appeared before her, but rather a handsome young man. The magic rhythm of the drum had given him back his youth.

This is how the girl who had not wanted to marry and who had been eaten by beasts of the sea found a husband.

(Maurice Metayer,
Tales from the Igloo, 1972.)

Illustration (R) by Agnes Nanogak of the magic drum in Helen Kalvak's story in '*Tales from the Igloo*'.

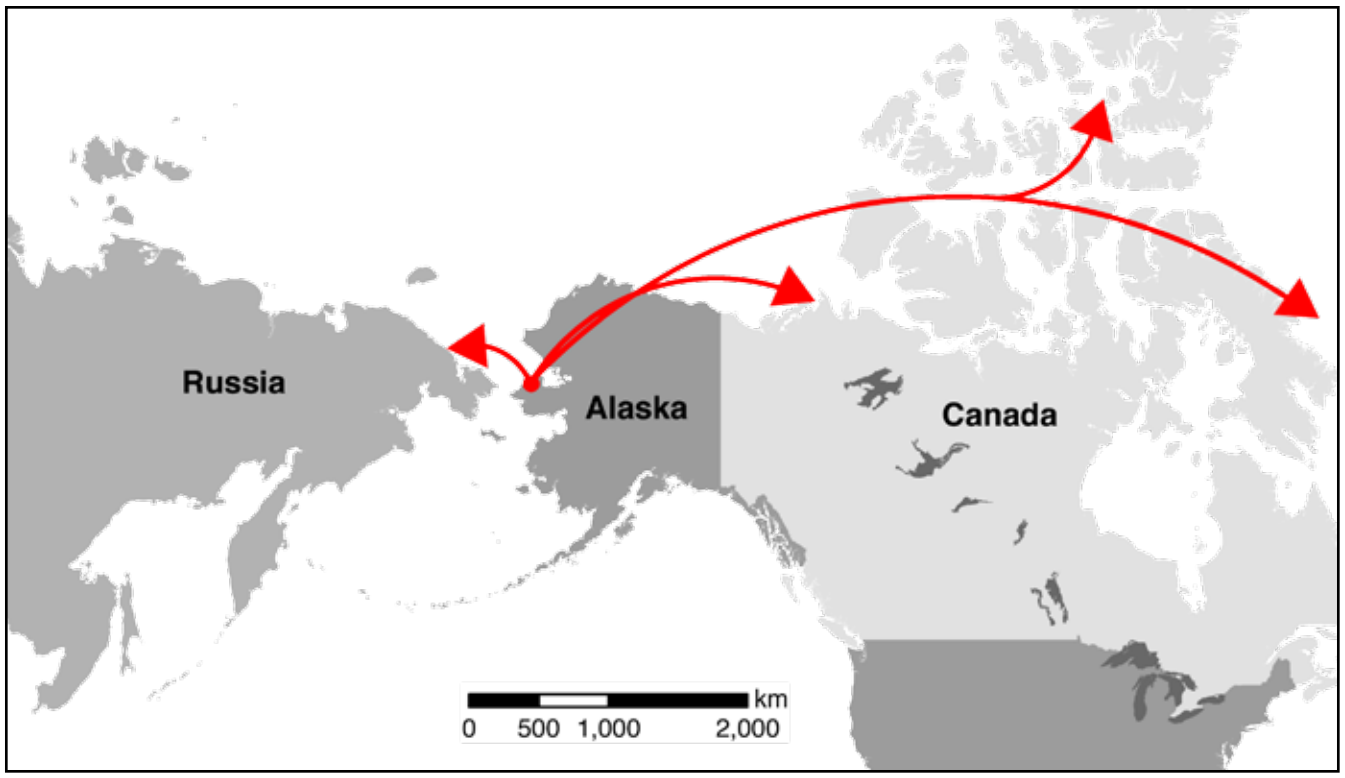
1 Survival, Traditions and Customs 1300s–1800s



Inuvialuit drawings on box lids, circa 1865.

(Top: MacFarlane Collection/SI/AMNH/ E002545-08b;
bottom: MacFarlane Collection/SI/AMNH/ E002545-03b.)

Our Thule Ancestors



Migration routes of Thule people.

Inuvialuit have lived in the western Canadian Arctic since long before living memory. Archaeologists say that the ancestors of the Inuvialuit were the Thule people, who spread eastward from Alaska about 800 years ago.

The migration of the Thule people may have been brought about by an expansion of the summer range of bowhead whales during a period of climate warming that occurred throughout the arctic at that time. Over time the Thule people in Alaska developed into the Inupiaq. Those who migrated eastward adapted to the new lands they found and developed into the Inuvialuit culture of the western Canadian Arctic, and the Inuit cultures of the Central and Eastern Arctic.

"… it is believed that the beginning of the Eskimo people was in the area of Alaska on the southwest coast."

Kenneth Peeloolook

(NWTArchives/COPE/N-1992-253)

Alaskan-style harpoon head found at a Thule archaeological site on Banks Island, circa 1200 AD. (PWNHC/982.40.0611)

STORY

How bowhead whales were hunted at Nuvuraq

Harpoon head for hunting bowhead whales. (PWNHC/2002.41.46)

Felix Nuyaviak.
(H. Schwarz/NWT Archives/N-1979-071-0007)

In some areas, Inuvialuit continued to hunt bowhead whales much as their Thule ancestors did. ***Felix Nuyaviak*** *(1892-1981) tells a story of how bowhead whales were hunted at Nuvuraq, known today as Point Atkinson.*

Now there was one summer when they went to this place called Nuvuraq. They got a sturdy whale boat and they went out hunting the big bowhead whale. They stayed out until they spotted one and then they started the chase [...] they didn't have rifles in those days. They would harpoon the bowhead, and once it was harpooned, they would lengthen the tow line and let the whale drag them until it was tired [...] After the whale was dead, the only way they could tow it was to tow it backwards. They would all get their towlines tied to the tail of the whale and the tow home would start. While they were towing they would be singing and chanting a song at the same time. They would sing and chant until they had the whale at home.

(COPE/NWT Archives/1-14-02)

Thule culture in the ISR

The Thule people lived in small groups, moving together in search of bowhead whales and smaller sea mammals such as walrus and seals. They also hunted caribou and muskox, and fished in rivers and lakes. They used caribou skin tents for their summer dwellings, and in winter they lived in small sod houses with frames made from driftwood and the bones of bowhead whales.

Thule tent ring.
(C. Arnold/PWNHC)

Lena Wolki standing beside the remains of a Thule winter house on southern Bank Island. (C. Arnold/ PWNHC)

WHAT WE USED

Snow goggles.
(PWNHC/982.40.0467)

Bowl made from baleen.
(PWNHC/982.40.0603)

Needle case.
(PWNHC/982.40.0612)

Ladle.
(PWNHC/982.40.0714)

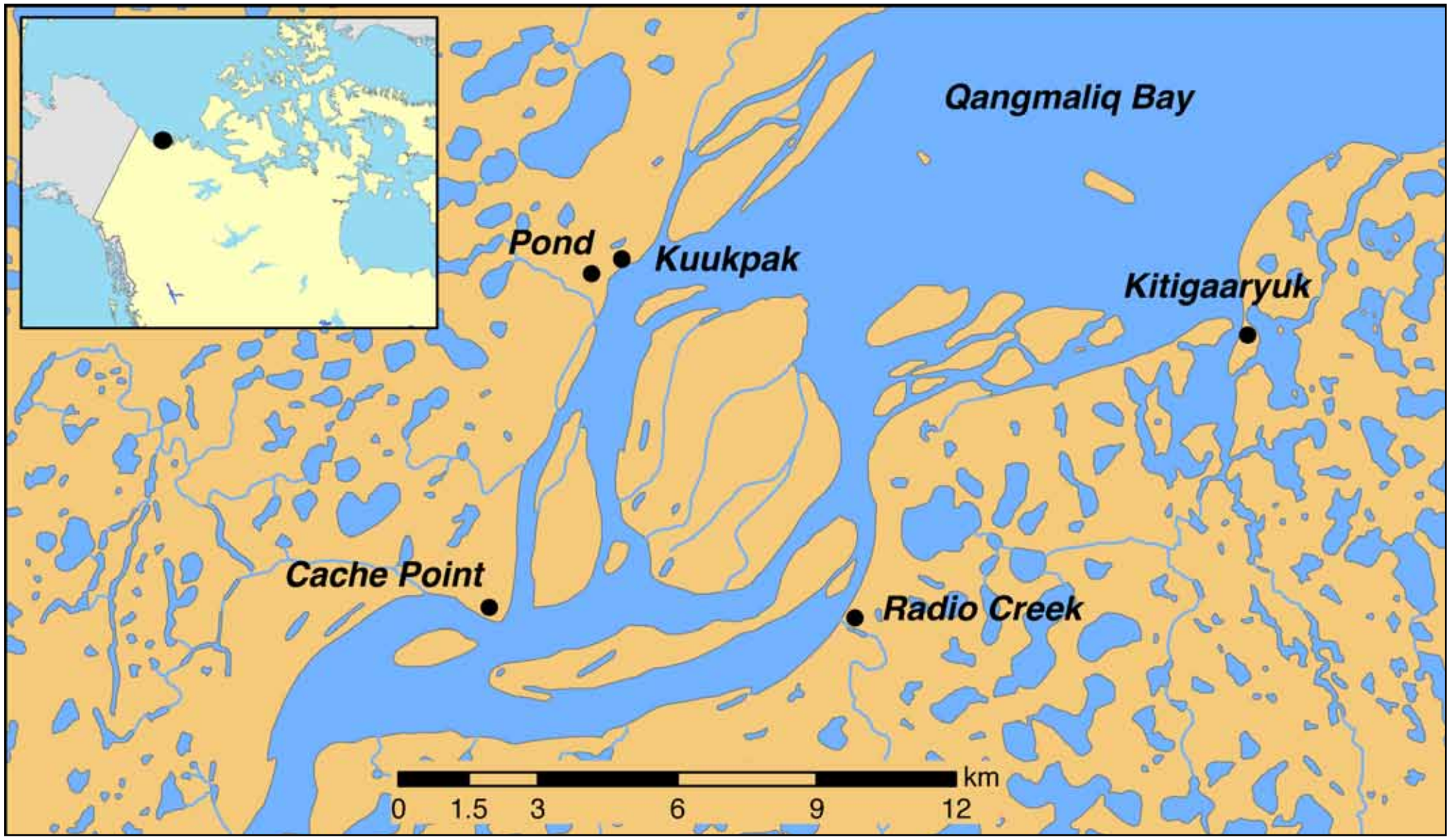
Doll.
(PWNHC/982.40.0905)

Toggle decorated with polar bear faces.
(PWNHC/982.40.0974)

Pendant or amulet.
(PWNHC/982.40.1277)

Harpoon Head.
(PWNHC/982.40.0633)

The Change from Thule to Inuvialuit



Ancestral Inuvialuit archaeological sites near the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

By 1300 AD Thule people began to spread into the area around the mouth of the Mackenzie River. In order to survive they had to develop new technologies and techniques for harvesting the fish and beluga whales that are abundant in that area.

Archaeological studies at Kuukpak and other ancestral Inuvialuit villages reveal that the Inuvialuit culture has its origins in this period of adaptation and change.

(L): Memurana (R), shown with his wife in this photograph from the early 1900s, was born at Kuukpak. Archaeological studies at Kuukpak show that Inuvialuit started living there over 600 years ago.

(CMC/39694)

(Above) John Kudlak holding parts of a bow he found while assisting with archaeological studies at Kuukpak.

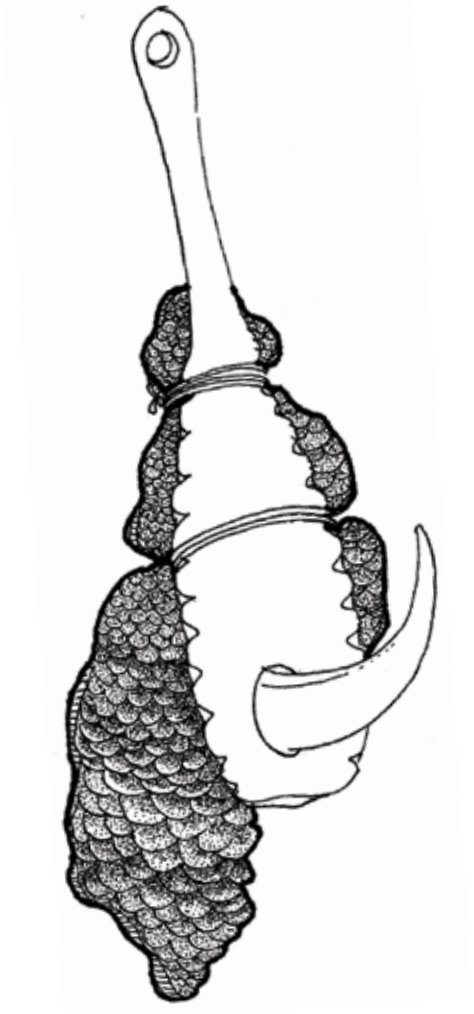
(C. Arnold/PWNHC)

WHAT WE USED

Fishing Artifacts from Kuukpak

Paula Voudrach with a fish hook that she found at the Kuukpak archaeological site, near the mouth of the Mackenzie River. (PWNHC)

Artifacts found at the Kuukpak archaeological site show that net fishing and 'jiggling' were important activities for ancestral Inuvialuit. There is no evidence that earlier Thule peoples used fishing nets, and this may have been a local innovation.

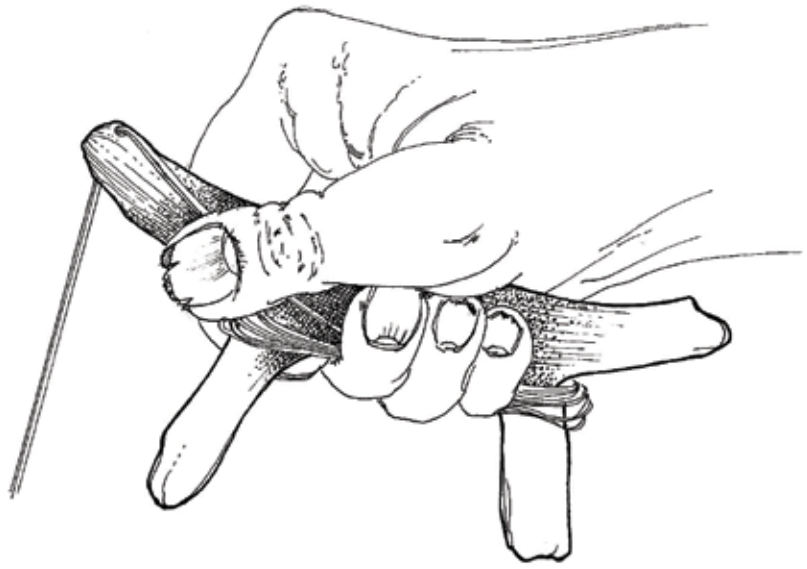


Fish hook illustration.

(T. Pamplin/PWNHC)

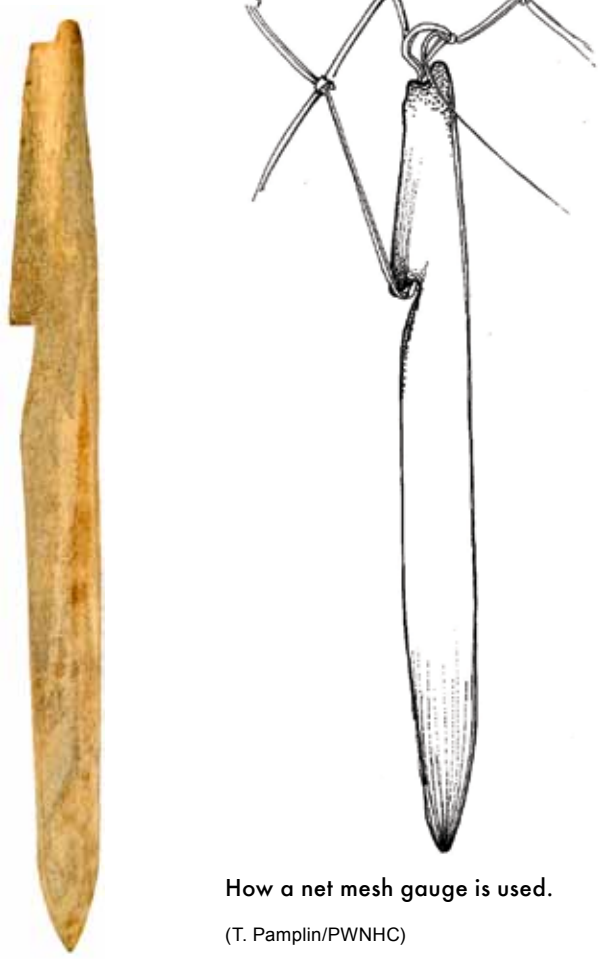
Fish hook.

(PWNHC/988.20.594)



Kuukpak fishing line holder. (T. Pamplin/PWNHC)

Line holder for jigging.



Net mesh gauge.

How a net mesh gauge is used.

(T. Pamplin/PWNHC)

WHAT WE USED

Beluga Whale Hunting Artifacts from Kuukpak

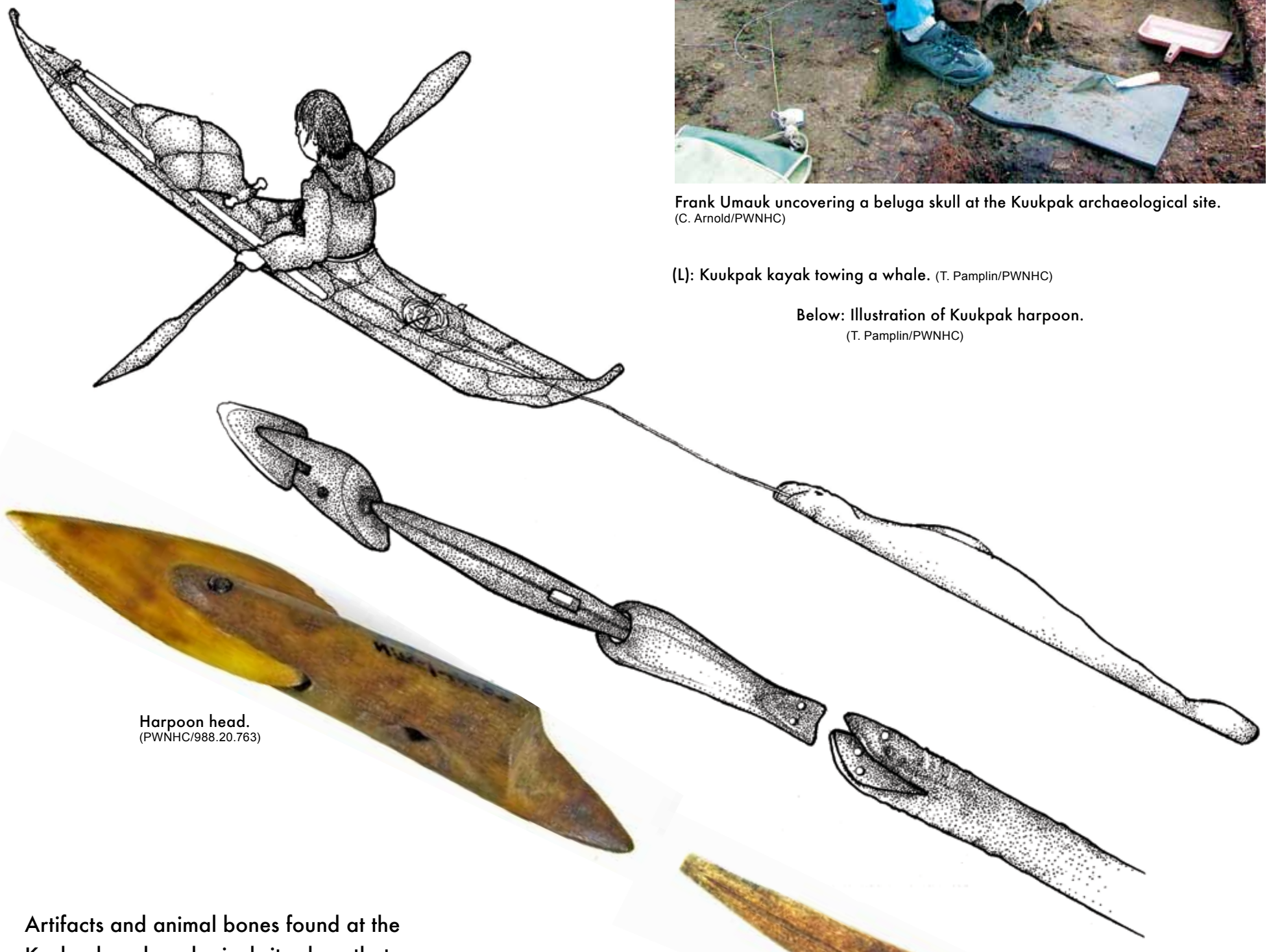
Bone tube for blowing air under the skin of a harvested beluga whale so that it will float and can be towed back to shore.

(PWNHC/988.20.509)

Frank Umauk uncovering a beluga skull at the Kuukpak archaeological site.
(C. Arnold/PWNHC)

(L): Kuukpak kayak towing a whale. (T. Pamplin/PWNHC)

Below: Illustration of Kuukpak harpoon.
(T. Pamplin/PWNHC)



Harpoon head.
(PWNHC/988.20.763)

Harpoon foreshaft.
(PWNHC/985.46.186)

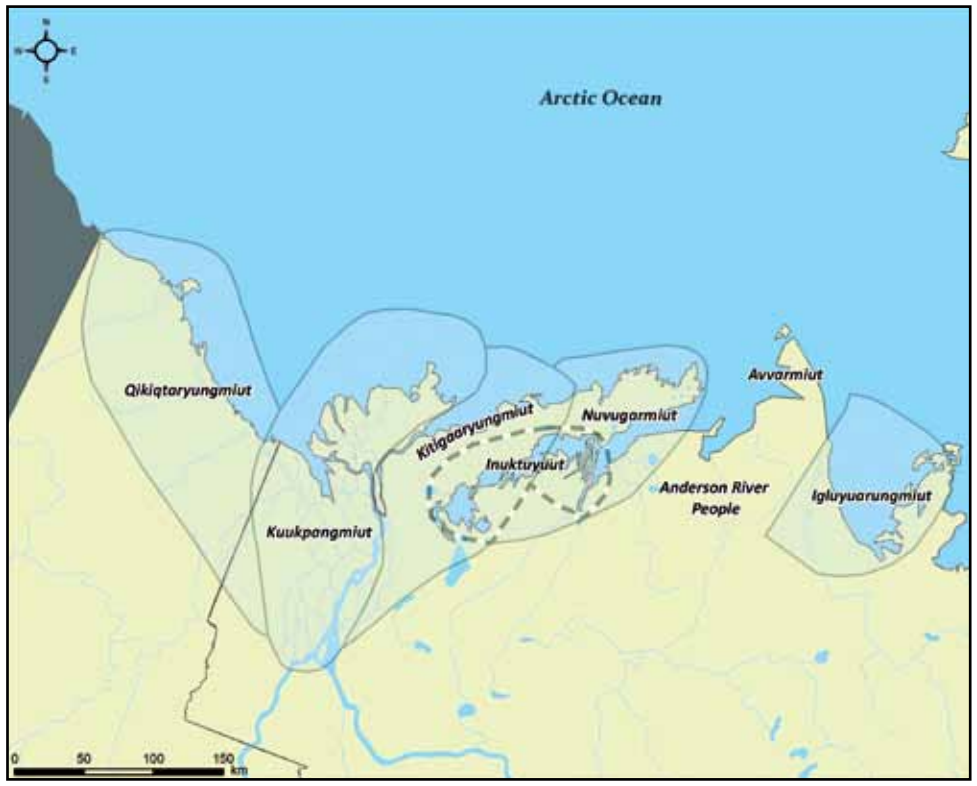
Artifacts and animal bones found at the Kuukpak archaeological site show that most of the food came from harvesting beluga whales. The techniques employed by ancestral Inuviauit for hunting beluga whales may have been a local innovation.

Siglit

Siglit man and woman. (Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

By the 1800's Inuvialuit occupied a territory that extended far beyond their origins at the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Several thousand people lived along the shores and in the hinterland of the Beaufort Sea and in the outer Mackenzie River Delta. The ancestral Inuvialuit who lived throughout that area are remembered today as the Siglit. 'Siglit' is said to have referred to the labrets worn in the cheeks of adult males. The Siglit today are referred to as the 'coastal people'.

Inuvialuit oral histories and historical documents tell that there were as many as eight named regional Siglit groups, although not all of their traditional names are remembered today. The name of each group referred to the main village in the region. In Inuvialuktun the suffix –miut means 'people of'. As many as several hundred people gathered at these villages during the winter. At other times of the year they broke into smaller groups and travelled to fishing and hunting locations.



Coastal Inuvialuit groups in the early 1800s. (PWNHC)

"Thus the Esquimaux [...] who, to the number of two thousand souls, inhabit the shores of the Arctic Glacial Sea, between Cape Bathurst and Colville River, give themselves the specific name Tchiglit."

Emile Petitot
(***Monograph of the Esquimaux Tchiglit of the Mackenzie and of the Anderson***)

WHO WE ARE

Qikiqtaryungmiut

Engraving of a Qikiqtaryungmiut woman.
(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Polar Sea***, 1828.)

"While there was a connection to the mainland they call them Nuvuraqmiut (the Point People). They call them that when the island was part of the mainland and Nunaluk. After it became an island they called it Qikiqtaruk. Then, the Siglit called them Qikiqtaryungmiut (Island People)."

Jean Tardiff

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 29, 1994.)

The Qikiqtaryungmiut territory included Herschel Island and the Yukon coast, although some people speak of the people on the mainland by the name Turyurmiat. The main winter village of the Qikiqtaryungmiut was "Qikiqtaruk", which simply means "island". Maps today show Qikiqtaruk as Herschel Island. Oral histories tell of a time when Herschel Island was attached to the mainland.

Kuukpangmiut women and child, circa 1905.
(Dartmouth College Library/Stef ms. 226)

"They saw three kayaks returning from the land of the Kuukpangmiut..."

Bob Cockney (***I, Nuligak***, 1966)

The Kuukpangmiut territory was on the west side of the East Channel of the Mackenzie River. The main winter village of the Kuukpangmiut was Kuukpak, meaning Great River, and is also the Inuvaluit name for the Mackenzie River.

Kitigaaryungmiut

"Those of my people who lived before me came from Kitigariuit. During my earliest youth the Kitigaaryungmiut were very numerous […] My uncle Ovayuak was the most important man (there)."

Bob Cockney

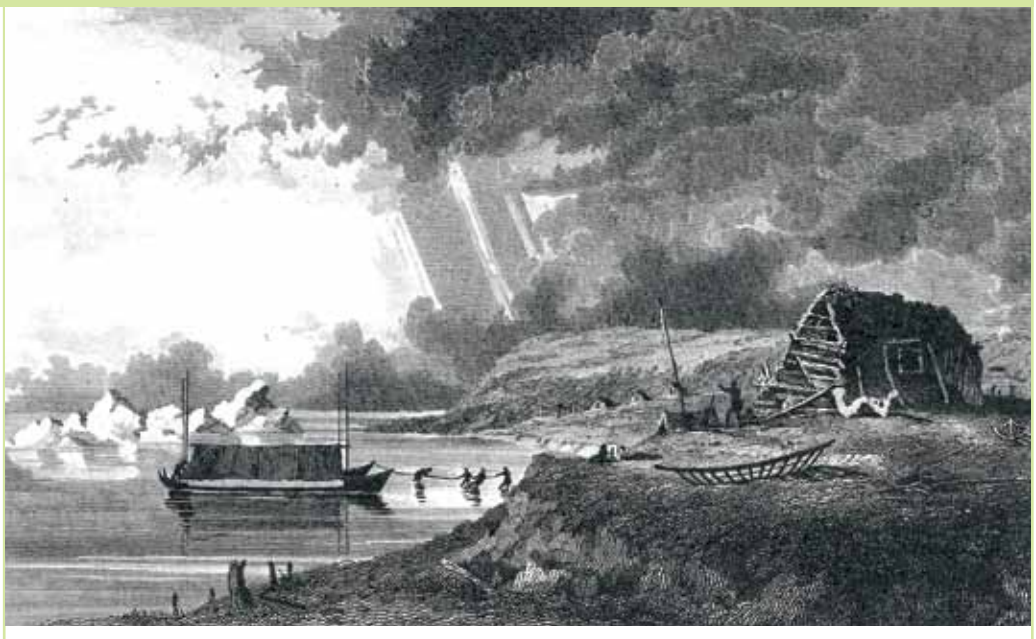
(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, 1966.)

Ovayuk, shown third from the left in this photograph, taken circa 1905, was a leader of the Kitigaaryungmiut in the late 1800s.

(C.W. Mathers/PAC C30296)

The territory of the Kitigaaryungmiut was on the east side of the East Channel of the Mackenzie River. The main winter village of the Kitigaaryungmiut was Kitigaaryuk, referring to the shape of the banks along the shore, which are high and are cut through by gullies.

Nuvugarmiut



Winter houses at Nuvugarmiut, 1826.
(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea***, 1828.)

The territory of the Nuvugarmiut was on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula. The main winter village of the Nuvugarmiut was Nuvuraq, meaning point of land. On maps, this area is called Point Atkinson. Nuvuraq appears to have been abandoned sometime after it was visited by members of John Franklin's expedition in 1826, but is still remembered in oral histories.

WHO WE ARE

Avvarmiut

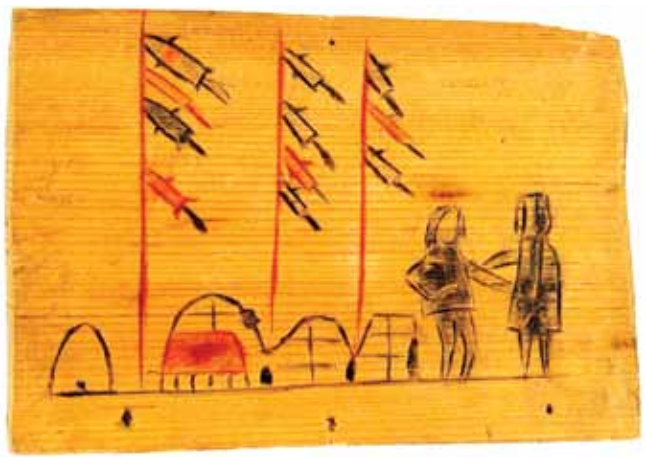
The Avvarmiut lived around Cape Bathurst. The main winter village of the Avvarmiut was Avvaq, meaning half, and likely refers to the shape of the land.

Edgar Kotokak and Emmanual Felix walk on a sand spit near where Avvaq used to be in 2004. The shoreline has eroded and the old village has washed away.
(E. Hart/NWT Archives/G-2004-004:2180)

Archaeologists studying the remains of a sod house at Iglulualuit.
(D. Morrison/Canadian Museum of Civilization)

Inuvialuit oral histories speak about people who lived at Franklin Bay, on the eastern fringes of their territory. An abandoned village called Iglulualuit, meaning 'many houses', may have been their main winter village. In keeping with naming practices elsewhere, the Inuvialuit who lived in that area may have called themselves Igluyuaryungmiut.

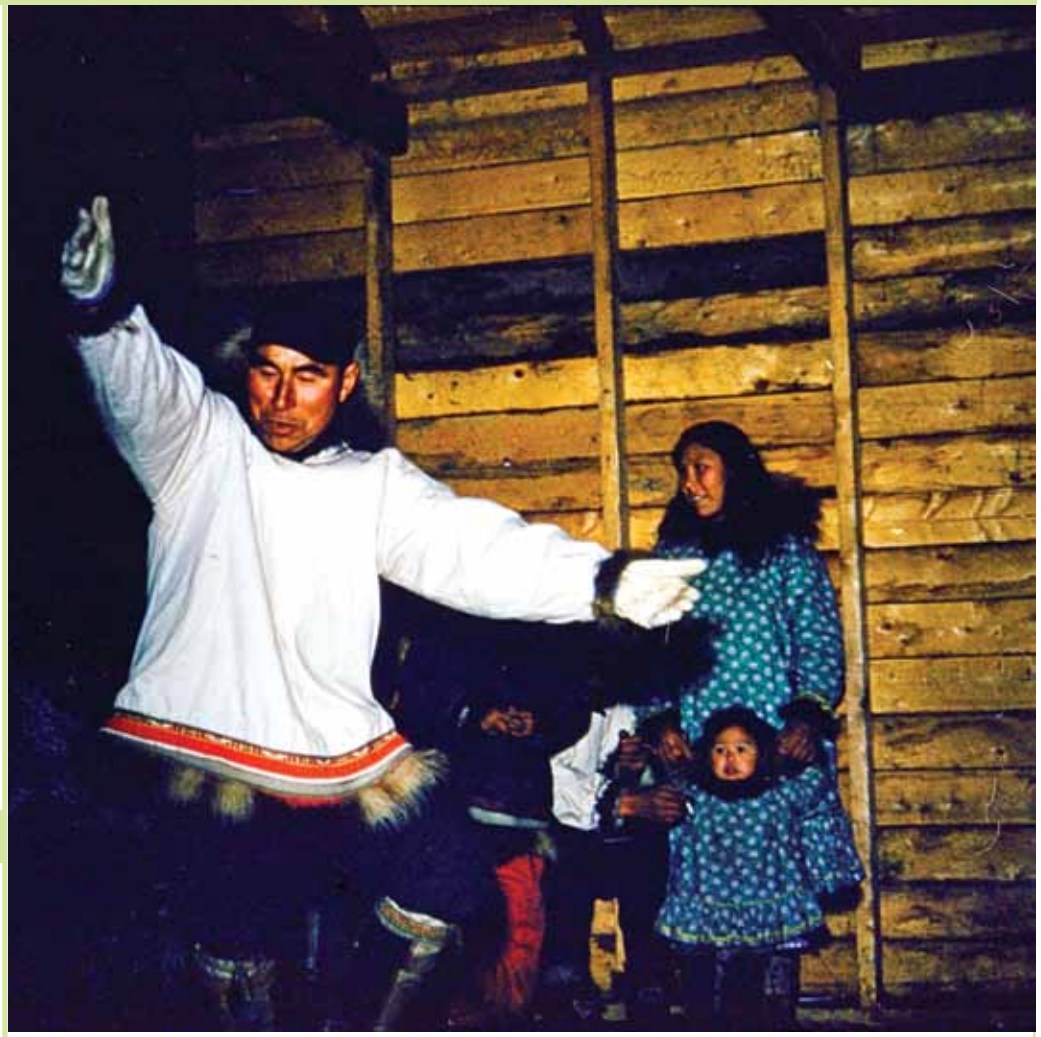
Kuukugmiut



This Inuvialuit drawing of people at a snow house camp on a wooden box lid from the Anderson River area, circa 1865, may depict Kuukugmiut.

(SI/NMNH/E002545-03b)

The Siglit who lived along the lower Anderson River and at Liverpool Bay may have called themselves Kuukugmiut after the Inuvialuit name for the Anderson River, Kuuk. They moved from the area after many of their numbers succumbed to foreign diseases when a fur trading post was established in their territory in the 1860s.



Raddi Kuiksak (Koichuk), shown in this photo taken in Tuktoyaktuk about 1950, was a descendant of the Imaryungmiut. (T. Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0066)

The Imaryungmiut occupied the area around the Eskimo Lakes. It is unknown if the Imaryungmiut had a main winter village. The name Imaryungmiut comes from Imaryuk, the Inuvialuktun name for Eskimo Lakes.

The Imaryungmiut also had another name, Inuktuyiut, which means 'eaters of human flesh'. This name is explained in Inuvialuit legends.

Stories from our past tell us about an Inuvialuit group from Immaryuit (Husky Lakes), the Immaryungmiut (the people from Husky Lakes) who disappeared very mysteriously. These people are described as friendly but independent. They did not come to hunt in our areas nor did they come to our winter gatherings. They preferred, it seems, to keep to themselves. Their territory buffered the coastal Inuvialuit from the Itqilit. These Inuvialuit seemed to understand the Itqilit and their ways.

The coastal Inuvialuit appreciated the trade goods offered by these people. They offered goods such as Itqilit tools and tasty fish from the salty waters of Immaryuit. Trading between the two groups was not balanced however, because the Immaryungmiut did not care for what was offered in return.

It is said that the imbalance created a feud. The Inuvialuit very seldom engaged in killing one another, for it was simply not a part of their thinking. It was with horror, therefore, that the leader of the Immaryungmiut found that his son had taken revenge upon the coastal people by killing one of their young men.

He asked his son to eat the flesh of the boy as a sign of respect for that which he had killed. Since our people only killed in order to eat, it seemed a reasonable request. Soon after, the Immaryungmiut disappeared, perhaps out of disgrace. Qangmalit stories tell of an invisible people in their land. Evidence of a presence was discovered, but the people remained unseen. Were these the Immaryungmiut?

Some stories of the Inuktuyiut say that they left their territory in disgrace, and moved far to the east.

When we piece together our stories about the Inuvialuit of Immaryuit, it makes us wonder if perhaps the Greenlanders of today had ancestors from Immaryuit.

(***Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit,*** p. 35, GNWT, Dept of Education, 1991.)

Our Early Culture

Cultural traditions passed down from one generation to another keep the Inuvialuit strong.

The Inuvialuit homeland, located on the edge of the habitable world, can be a harsh place to live, but knowledge, skills, the values placed on sharing and respect for the environment that are the foundations of Inuvialuit culture have long allowed people to live in harmony with nature and to thrive. Inuvialuit cultural traditions have their roots in the distant past, before the forces of the outside world began to arrive.

Getting Ready for Summer: A print by Mabel Nigiyok depicting a woman and a girl working on a seal skin, while a boy readies his tools for harvesting.
(Print by Mabel Nigiyok, Ulukhaktok Eskimo Co-operative.)

Tiamani, 'at that time' …

Life is dominated by a seasonal round of activities that brings the people together in their local village at certain times of the year, then scatters them to resume their nomadic travels. Elders are the keepers of knowledge and wisdom. Parents and grandparents teach each new generation how to survive. They tell stories to capture the children's attention, while passing on what the children need to know.

Men and women each have well defined tasks, equally vital to the survival of the family. The hunter and leader of the family is the man. He crafts all the weapons and tools he needs and provides enough food to nourish his family throughout the year. The woman prepares the food for eating right away or for storage. She keeps her family warm by sewing snug clothing from caribou hide or seal skin. She puts up and takes down the skin tent when they travel. Sometimes, men and women work best together. When hunting whales, the women steer the umiaq while the hunter "pokes" (kills) the whale with the harpoon. Women also set snares and trap animals when food is scarce.

A successful hunt keeps a woman hard at work for several days. She cuts the animal up, dries the meat, prepares the skins and the sinew for sewing, cleans out and dries the intestines, and, of course, cooks and serves the family's favourite parts right away. Men are served first, then the male children, and finally, the women and the girls.

A girl is often betrothed to her husband as a child and married by twelve years old. By then she has learned the skills she needs to take on her role as a married woman. She learns by watching and working from a young age with her mother, grandmother, and other female relatives. A boy's first successful hunt is a rite of passage. He feels proud and the family celebrates. He cannot marry until he proves his skill as a hunter.

Everyone looks forward to the winter festival. They gather in the village to celebrate together. It is a time of plenty: plenty of food, warmth, fun, and games. A time to see friends and family. The darkest time of the year is the best time for Inuvialuit.

Nomadic Lifestyle

The land provides everything needed for survival: food, shelter, and materials for making clothing and tools.

People travel widely according to the seasons, moving from location to location following an annual cycle of harvesting animals, fishing and gathering plants. In some seasons, people live in small groups, usually two or three related families living together. At other times they assemble in larger groups to hunt whales, or for festivities.

Winter and Summer Hunt, Summer Fishing.
(Print by Mark Emerak, Ulukhaktok Eskimo Co-operative.)

HOW WE LIVED

Seasons

Artist's concept of a drum dance in a traditional winter dwelling. (A. Downey/PWNHC)

Ukiuq (winter)

During the coldest period of the year, people rely mainly on food caught and stored in other seasons.

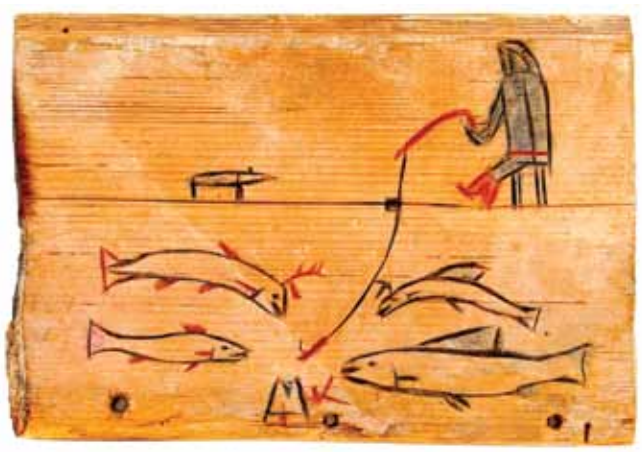
Visiting and drum dancing are important social activities that create and strengthen bonds in the communities at this time of the year.

Inuvialuit drawing of showing hunters in kayaks spearing caribou as they swim across a river, circa 1865.

(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E002545-04a)

Ukiaksaq (autumn)

In the Autumn, as days shorten and the weather turns colder, people continue to hunt and fish in preparation for winter. The autumn skins of caribou were used to make winter clothing.



Inuvialuit drawing depicting ice fishing, circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E002545-08b)

Upinraksaq (spring)

In spring, as the days get longer and the weather becomes warmer, people are eager to go on the land. Favourite activities are hunting ducks and geese as they return from the south, and fishing through holes in the ice.

Inuvialuit drawing of a beluga whale hunt, circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E0022545-02a)

Auyak (summer)

Summer is the time of constant daylight, with many opportunities to hunt and fish. An abundance of beluga whales, especially in the shallow waters at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, provides a bounty of food that can last throughout the winter.

STORY

What The Months Are Called

Tingmiyirvik, by Angus Cockney, (2002).

Bob Cockney (Nuligak) was Angus' grandfather.

Bob Cockney *tells the following story about how he learned Inuvialuit names for the months, which he calls 'moons':*

Naoyavak, my grandfather, said to me one day, "I will teach you how to recognize the different moons; I am getting old and many do not remember the Eskimo names of the moons. They have forgotten. You, remember them." Then Grandfather took little sticks and stood them up in the snow. There were twelve of them [...] This is what I have retained of what he taught me in the month of January 1909.

The January moon is called Avunniviayuk [Avunniviaryuk][1][...] It is during this month that the dwarf seals produce their little ones.

The February moon is Avunnivik[2]. The true seals bring forth their young. These develop and become the seals we hunt.

March is Amaolikkervik [Amaulikkirvik]. The little snow birds arrive from the south[3].

The April moon receives the name Kriblalikvik [Qiblalirvik] because the sun has melted the top of the snow, and as we stare at it, it sparkles with whiteness.[4]

Tigmiyikvik [Tingmiyirvik] is our month of May, the time when ducks and geese return from the south.[5]

June is called Nuertorvik [Nuiqturvik]; in our kayaks we go after muskrats swimming in the rivers and lakes – we hurl harpoons.[6]

To the July moon we give the name Padlersersivik [Padliqsiqsivik], because everything dries up this month, even the earth.[7]

August becomes Krugyuat Tingviat [Qugyuat Tingiviat] [...] - the young swans take their flight.[8]

In September the Inuit of the Arctic Ocean leave in their kayaks to harpoon seals, using a special harpoon, the aklikat. Therefore, the moon is called Aklikarniarvik.[9]

In the month of October one of the first signs of cold is the forming of thin ice on the sandy shores of the ocean. This ice is called tuglu, and the moon Tugluvik.

In November it is cold and when we open the door white mist fills the igloo; this is the mist of the freezing days. That is why this moon is called Itartoryuk.[10]

We call the December moon Katvitjvit [Katitdjvik] because during this month of darkness the Inuit assemble, forget their worries, rejoice, dance, perform with puppets, and the like.[11]

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 60-61, 1966.)

1. Current spellings for the months are shown in square brackets
2. According to Father Robert Lemeur, the names for January and February moons refers to animals that nurse.
3. These are snow buntings. The Siglutun name for 'snow bunting' is amauligaaluk.
4. In Siglutun qibliqtuaq means 'is shiny'.
5. In Siglitun tingmiyuaq means 'waterfowl in flight'.
6. According to Father Lemeur, this word refers to harpooning or spearing
7. In Siglutun padliqsiqsivik means 'ground drying up'.
8. In Siglutun qugyuaq means 'whistling swan', and tingmiyuaq means 'flies'.
9. According to Father Lemeur, the word aklikat used by Bob Cockney means 'a harpoon with a float attached to it'.
10. In Siglitun itiriitkutit means a door or 'barrier set in doorway'. Today the word Siqinrirvik, 'no more sun', is used for November
11. In his book, 'I, Niligak' Bob Cockney tells stories about Katitdjvik the 'polar night festival'.

Travel

People travel over long distances to hunt, fish and sometimes just to visit. Most travel occurs within a group's traditional territory. Depending on the season, people travel on foot, by dog sled or by paddling skin boats.

Walking

"… our group went fishing at the lake. We went on foot, carrying our personal bundles on our shoulders."

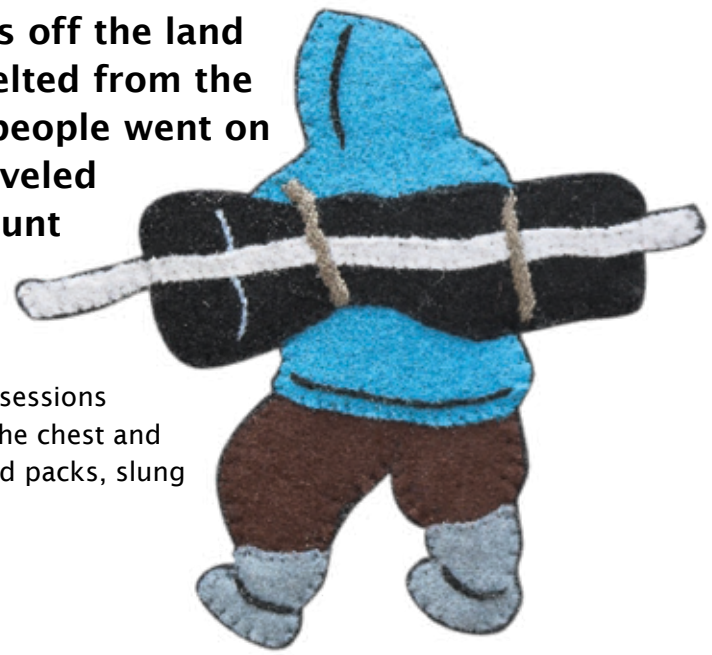
Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 25, 1966.)

Long Distance Walk to Qalgiliumanaq, by Alice Kaodloak and Mabel Nigiyok of Ulukhatok shows a route Kangiryuarmiut traditionally walked over a year's time as nomadic harvesters.

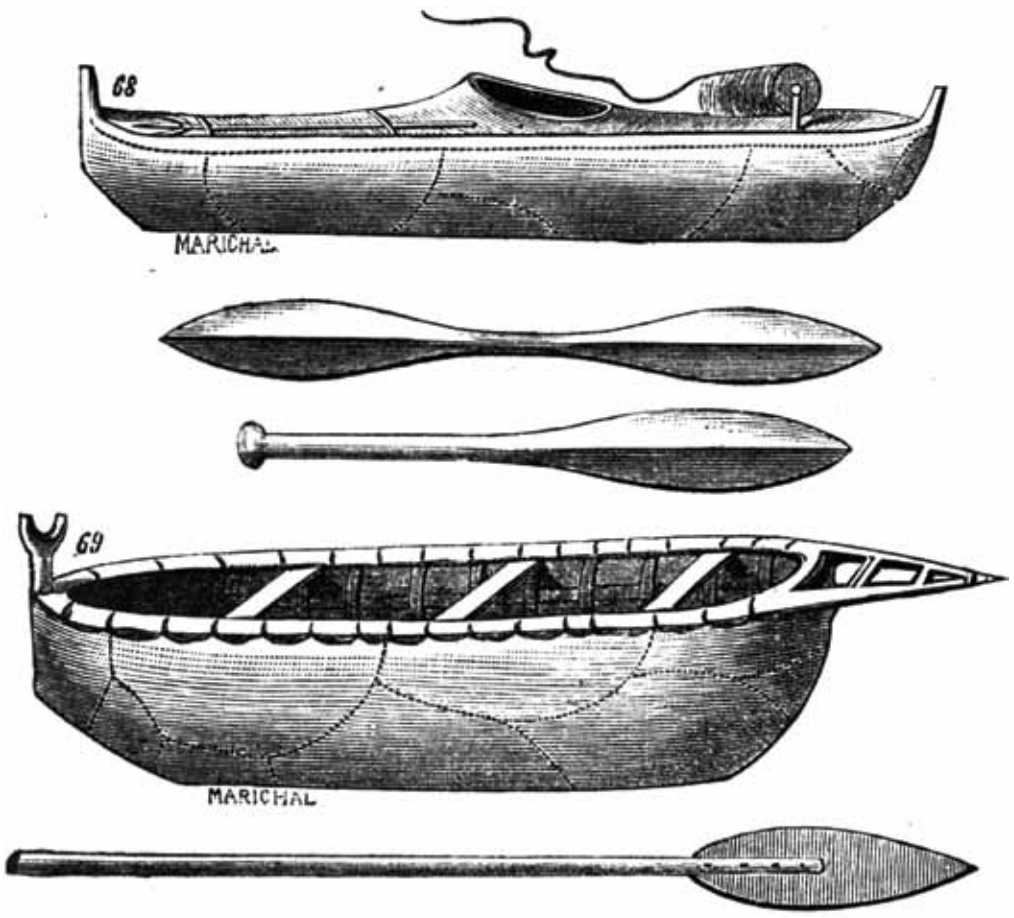
(Zoe Ho/ICS)

Once the snow was off the land and the ice had melted from the rivers and ocean, people went on foot when they traveled to the interior to hunt or to fish.



When traveling on foot, Inuvialuit carried their possessions in packs strapped across the chest and forehead. Dogs also carried packs, slung over their backs.

Boats



Drawing of Inuvialuit qajaq ('kayak') and umiaq.
(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

People make and use two kinds of skin-covered boats, the small, one-person qajaq ('kayak') and the much larger umiaq.

Kayaks are used when travelling, and also for hunting whales and seals, setting and hauling fishnets, and spearing caribou in lakes and rivers. They are lightweight and maneuverable, and require great skill to build and to paddle.

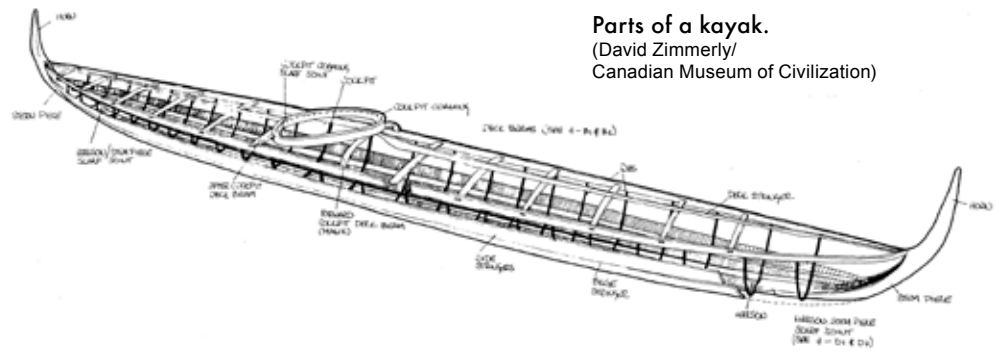
(L) and below: Inuvialuit in kayaks photographed by C.W. Mathers, circa 1900.

"All of his hunting tools and his kayak came from the animals and the resources that nature provided in the Arctic environment."

Ishmael Alunik
Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder.

WHAT WE USED

How Kayaks are Made



Parts of a kayak.
(David Zimmerly/
Canadian Museum of Civilization)

Kayak is made of wood. To lighten the frame it is built with thin wood about half an inch thick. It has thin ribs. It is ten feet or more in length. Its top is flat, with a hole almost in the middle where a person sits [...] The frame of the kayak is all tied down with very thin seal hide or other hides. Once the frame is formed and tied together, it is then time for the Inuit women to make a pattern out of mammal skins to fit the frame. The pattern is made to fit from the front end and pulled over the entire frame. Often the pattern would require cutting to fit the frame properly. The woman used some strong sinew of caribou with bone needle. The sitting hole could be 12 to 14 inches from the bottom of the kayak. They used old treated seal oil to preserve the skins and rope. The skin is put on wet so that when it dries it is solid. These materials were very good and lasted a long time if taken care of properly. After use a kayak was turned upside down to dry out. This helped the wood and skins last a long time [...]

The float made out of a seal skin is a good example of the ingenuity of the Inuit in using their resources to the limit. When a hunter harvests a seal, he decides if its skin will be used for a float or for other necessities like clothing or shelter products. Upon deciding to make a float out of the skin, the hunter would use the following skinning technique. The seal is skinned leaving the flipper bone on and front leg bones on. It is skinned starting from the seal's mouth. As skinning proceeds, the hide is turned inside out with the hair inside. By leaving the flipper bone and the front leg bones on there is less chance of having holes in these areas. Once skinned the hide is cleaned and left turned inside out with the hair inside. It is left to dry this way.

When the skin is completely dried, it is blown up like a balloon and the only opening, the head side, is tied up to keep the air in the new hunting float.

(***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***)

Detail of a model kayak from the Anderson River area, circa 1865.
(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, 1998.)

Umiaqs

WHAT WE USED

How Kayaks are Used

Detail from an Inuvialuit drawing circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH E002545-04a detail)

The floats worked very good for hunters for several reasons. In many situations a hunter will harpoon a big mammal like a walrus that weights about a ton or more. The Inuit would use sharp spear like weapons and their harpoons during the hunt. The walrus would be harpooned with a number of harpoons with long seal skin lines attached to the harpoon heads on one end and to the seal skin floats on the other end. The floats would slow the animal down, prevent it from sinking and keep it within view of the hunters.

Hunting walrus and other big mammals like whales can be very dangerous so hunters had to be well trained. When an animal was selected and harpooned the hunters waited for it to get tired. When the animal like a walrus was tired, they would start poking it in the ribs with their sharp spears. It does not take long for the walrus to die as under the front flipper is where the heart is and Inuit poke it there. Hit the heart and it dies quickly [...]

The kayak was used for looking at fish nets. The nets were made of sinews of animals and also thin strips of caribou skins. The sinews are twisted like wool. They are twisted fine and then treated with old seal oil to preserve them. Inuit would check their nets with a kayak.

Kayaks were also used for spearing caribou when they cross rivers or lake narrows. The spears the Inuit used were made of hard green rock that the Inupiat called angmaak. The Inuit would get enough caribou this way. The caribou meat was dried and stored with heavy rocks on top of it so animals will not dig the meat up. This was food stored for the winter. The kayak was also used for Inuit sport days. In the summer Inuit would gather together and race amongst each other for fun and sport. There were some Inuit who could kayak as fast as a three horsepower kicker (outboard motor). The kayak is real easy to paddle and according to some kayak specialists its design has not changed much from the Inuit designs of the past. As you can see the kayak played an important role in the Inuit way of life.

(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, p. 59, 1998.)

Model umiaq from the Anderson River area, circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001098)

Inuvialuit drawing showing umiaqs being carried on sleds , circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH//E002545-06b)

"If the weather was fair we would go aboard our umiak and, the women paddling, we would make better time."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 29, 1966.)

The umiaq is a large, open boat propelled by paddles, oars and sails used for moving camp, hunting large whales and for setting fishnets. When moving camp umiaqs are paddled by women while men paddle their kayaks. For that reason, they are sometimes called 'women's boats'.

Umiaqs are well suited to nomadic life. They have a shallow draught, and can be used in shallow water and close to shore without fear of grounding. They have flat bottoms, which makes them stable in the water, they can carry large loads yet are light enough to be carried, or they can be transported on sleds. If the tough hide covering is damaged, it can be easily repaired with a patch.

WHAT WE USED

Umiaq

Model umiaq from the Anderson River area, circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001098)

Right up until the 1800s the Inuit built umiaqs with wood and the skins of walrus, beluga whales and bearded seals. The frame was made out of wood or bone tied together with mammal skin rope strips about a quarter inch thick. The frame was made by Inuit men and women [...]

The bottom would be two to four inches thick and three inches wide like 2 by 4 boards. The framed sides are a little thinner than the bottom ones because the bottom had to be stronger to support the weight of many Inuit.

The frame is all tied with skin lines. The bottom of the umiaq is three feet or more in depth and four feet or more wide. Holes are drilled into the frame with Inuit drills. The skin is put on the frame of the umiaq while it is soaking wet, and it is tightened and sewn on. This is done so that when the skin dries it gets tight, making the umiaq really strong.

They would sew the skins together with bone or hard green rock needles [...] The skin is cut to be a little tight so that when the sewing line is passed through it and gets wet it can expand and keep water from entering the inside of the umiaq [...]

(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, p. 55, 1998.)

Sleds

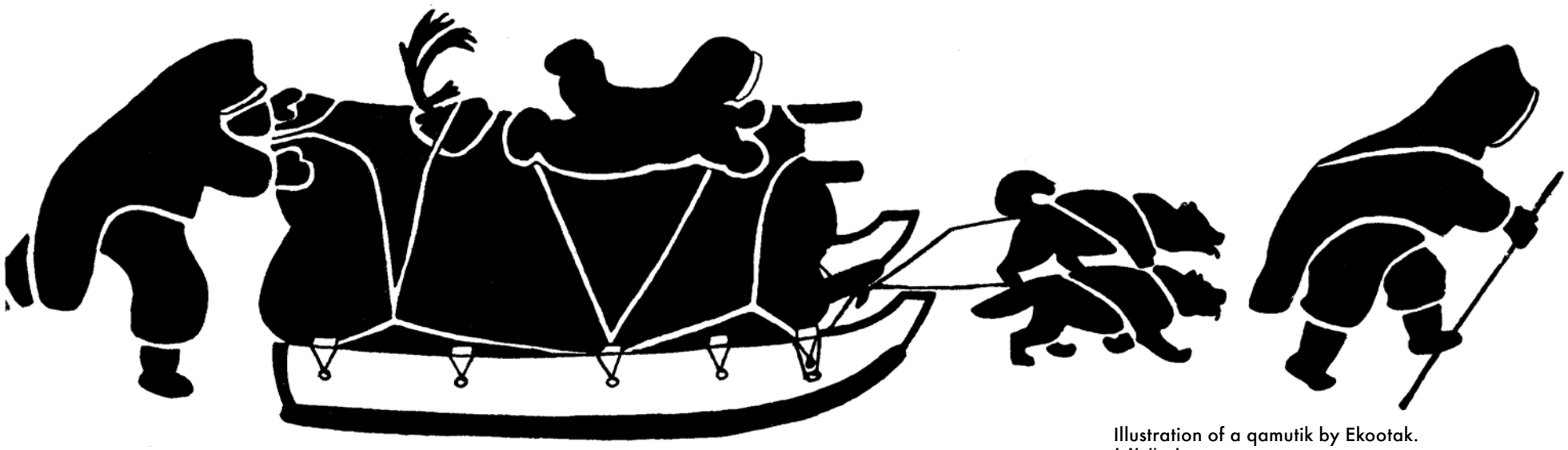


Illustration of a qamutik by Ekootak.
I, Nuligak

"Five, six even nine and ten Inuit families would travel together, piling all their belongings on sled."

Bob Cockney (***I, Nuligak***, p. 20, 1966.)

Sleds pulled by dogs are used to travel over snow-covered ground and frozen rivers, lakes and ocean. Dog teams are small, because dogs require a lot of food, and people often have to help pull the sleds.

Moss and water are frozen onto the bottoms of sled runners to help them slide over the snow. (Fleming/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1176)

Model qamutik from the Anderson River area, circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001638)

WHAT WE USED

Types of Sleds

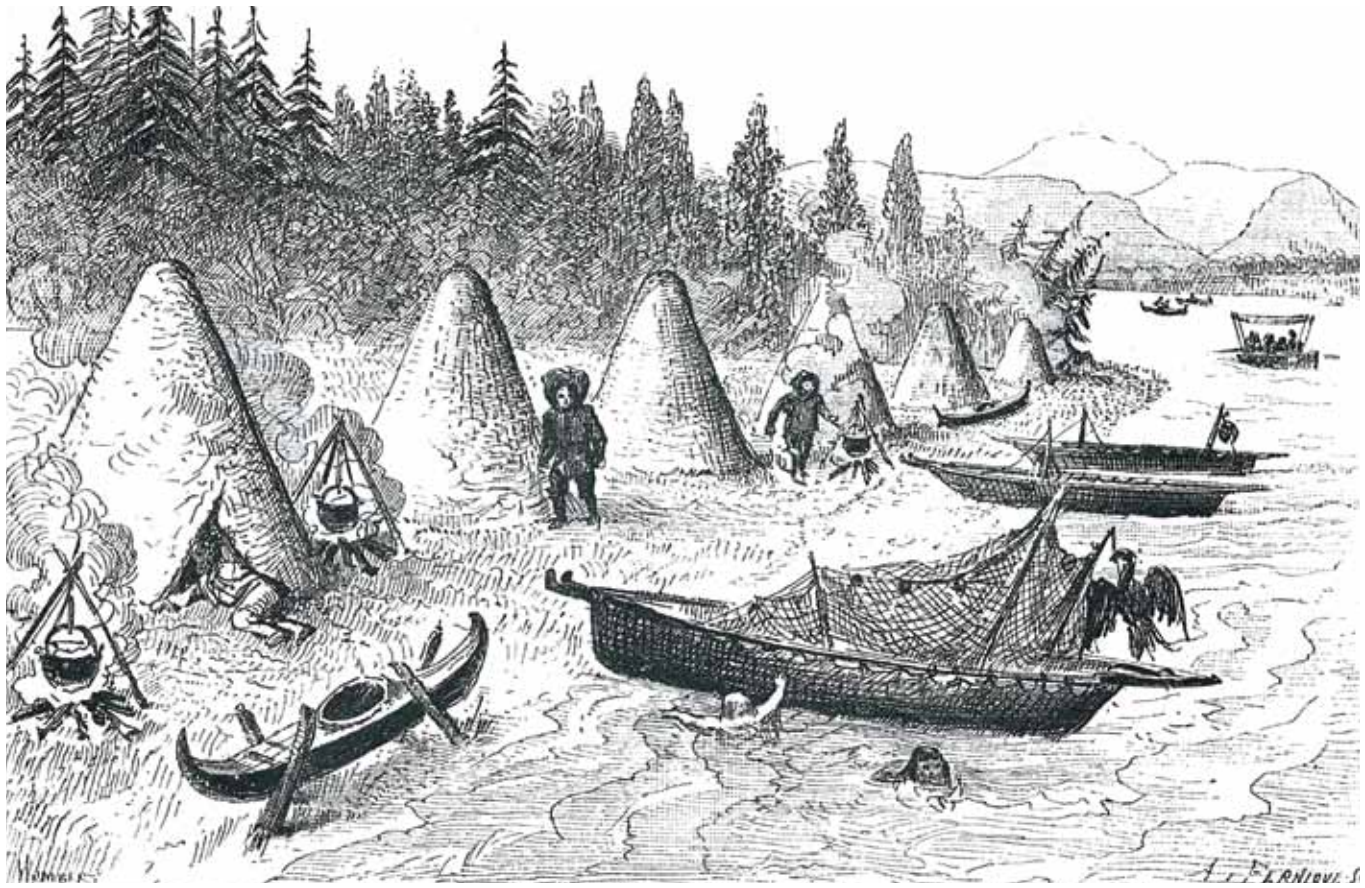
Peter Esau and William Kuptana travelling by qamutik from Sachs Harbour to Holman (Uluhaktok), 1958.
(R. Knights/NWT Archives/ N-1993-002-0179)

The most ancient type of sled used by Inuvialuit is the qamutik. This type of sled has a pair of runners with a deck made from cross-slats connected with skin thongs, creating a ladder-like frame that flexes as it travels over bumps.

A basket sled in Sachs Harbour, 1959.
(R. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0597)

The qamutivialuk, or 'basket sled', has side rails that run from the upturned front ends of the runners to upright posts at the back. A deck made of a continuous row of slats is raised above the runners. The basket sled has a long history in Siberia and in Alaska, and became the most common type of sled used by Inuvialuit during the height of the fur trade era in the 1900s.

Dwellings



Summer camp with tents, kayaks and umiaqs.
(Illustration and text from Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

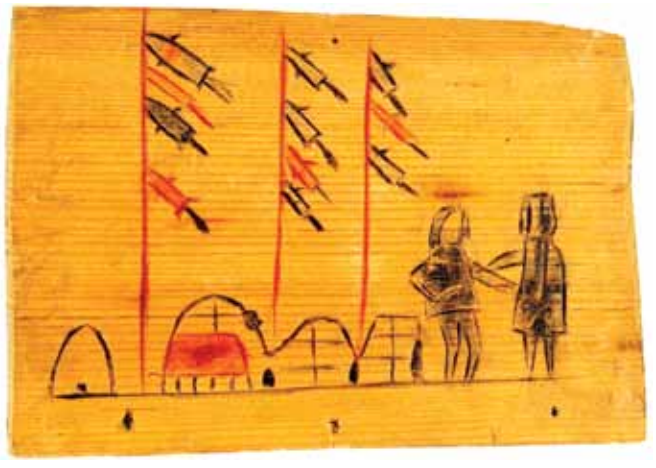
Dwellings are built using materials at hand. Different types of dwellings are used, depending on the season and where people go to fish and hunt.

In summer people use a tupiq, or 'tent', for shelter. A tupiq is made by placing five or six poles in a conical shape and covering them with caribou skins. Another type of tent is the qalurvik, made by bending and tying saplings together and covering them with skins.

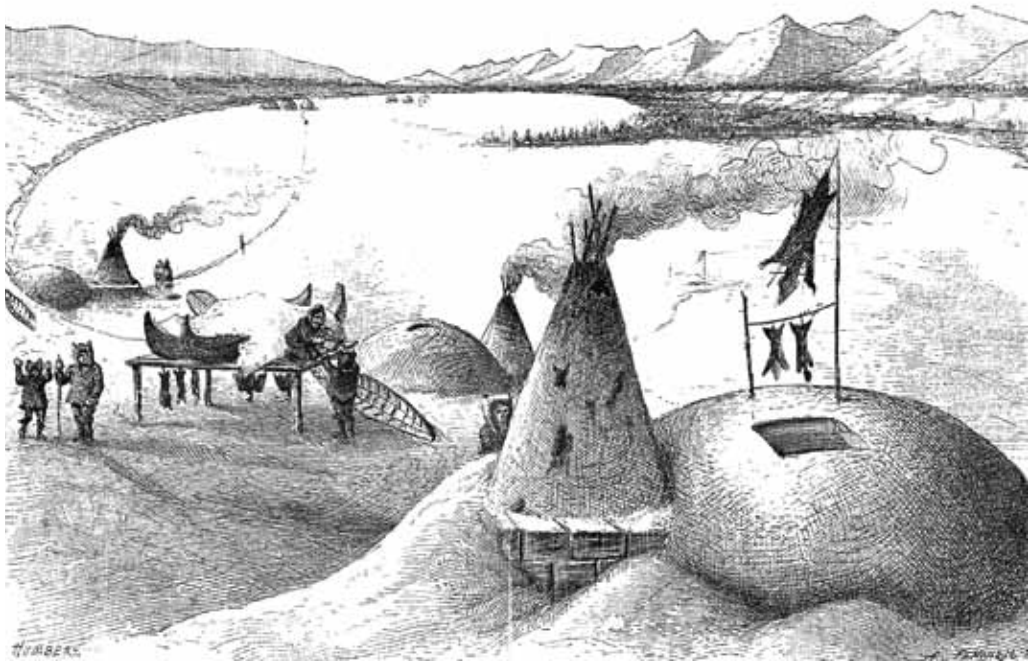
"Come winter they stayed in their cabins [sod houses]; their women were kept busy with cooking and making furs into beautiful parkas and mukluks and the men were busy fashioning new harpoons, spears, bows, and arrows for the great hunts to come. They enlivened the dark long hours by story telling, or playing games of skill with each other."

Herbert Schwarz
(Herbert Schwarz, ***Elik and Other Stories of the MacKenzie Eskimos***, p. 20, 1970.)

The snow iglu ('house') is a temporary shelter made from blocks of snow. These dwellings are used in winter when travelling or hunting away from the main village. (Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0575)



Inuvialuit drawing showing snow houses in the Anderson River area, circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E002545-03b)



Sod houses in the Anderson River area, circa 1865. (Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

Inside a sod house in the Anderson River area, circa 1865.
Les Grands Esquimaux

The igluryuaq, or 'sod house', is a winter house built from a frame of driftwood and covered with layers of sod cut from the tundra.

People entered through a long covered entrance passage dug below the level of the floor. Cooking over open fires is usually done in a tent shaped like a tupiq built onto the entrance.

In winter an igluryuaq would look like a large snow dome.

The design of the igluryuaq and the sod and snow that covered it kept the inside air warm, even during the coldest winter weather.

HOW WE LIVED

Sod Houses

Artist's reconstruction of the interior of an igluryuaq. (M. Roberts/PWNHC)

Call Me Ishmael,
Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder

The sod house, another type of Inuit dwelling, was built a lot stronger than the sod hut. A sod house was framed with driftwood. Inuit would find plenty of driftwood along rivers and the coast. Every year as it does today, lots of large trees and logs drift down the Mackenzie River and end up on the coast. The Inuit would gather these logs and use them for corner posts for sod house construction. The posts would be about four to five feet long. Each post was fitted into the ground to a depth of about one foot. They would then place longer logs up against the posts to build the walls of the sod house. They would also make a little hollow dug out for the foundation.

The walls of the sod house were built with drift logs piled on each other to the height of the corner posts. Braces were sometimes used inside the house to help hold up the logs that were used for the roof. These logs were usually smaller but required more support as they too were placed touching each other. The Inuit would climb on top of their sod houses to see if they were safe. They would also make a window from the stomach lining of a bear or bearded seal for the house. The Inupiat or Inuvialuit would dry the stomach lining and cut it into long pieces about two or three feet in length. The stomach lining was translucent and let light into the sod house during the summer months when twenty-four hour sunlight was available. The Inuit would sew the pieces of stomach lining together and use it for a window when it dried out. They would use some skin of caribou hair on the outside as a frame for the new window and attach it to the sod house for light. The sod house would not be complete without the addition of sod to the outside walls and the roof. Large pieces of sod were cut and piled up all along the outside walls. The roof was also covered completely with sod except for the location of the window. The sod acted as insulation.

The entrance was dug into the ground. It could be up to five feet deep and two feet wide. In order to get out or into the house, one would have to crawl or walk in a crouched position upwards through the entrance-way and push open a door which was usually made of bear skin. They called that a drop door.

Light and Heat

Every household has a qulliq, an oil-burning 'lamp' used for light and heat inside dwellings. It is also used to melt snow for water, and to dry clothing. A qulliq is carved out of soapstone obtained through trade with Inuit to the east. Meat, fish and other food is usually eaten raw, although frozen food might be warmed over a lamp. Meat is sometimes roasted over open fires outside the dwellings.

WHAT WE USED

Making fire and Roasting Food

Pyrite strike-a-light found at the Kuukpak archaeological site, circa 600 years old. (PWNHC/988.20.1008)

Jean Tardiff *was told by her grandmother how people used to make fire before they had access to matches. She relates this story and adds information on how her grandparents roasted parts of caribou during summer months:*

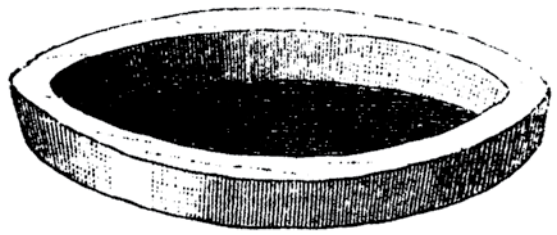
Long ago while there was no lighter or matches my grandmother always told us about it. She said they just went some yards from Qikiqtaqruk (Herschel Island) to find something to make fire. They would also gather those little cottons that grow there [...] They kept them and use them to make fire with when they found some flint there. When they wanted to make fire, these would burn easily. They would strike the flints and the sparks would make fire. That's how they made fire before the matches came [...] Even in the ocean down there you could find them. And you pile up those white wood and just do this and it burns. They pick lots of those my grandparents [...] I guess they would keep them away. Before the whalers came.

They would cook and roast outside. There was no pots long ago [...] They would roast, that's the only way they eat cooked meals. They would cook everything outside, even the caribou heads. Long ago, my grandparents were used to eat that way in the summertime even when there were pots to cook with. They never used them, they would cook outside all the time, just roasting food. Then that's how they ate. It really tastes good to eat when the caribou heads are roasted. They cooked them with the fur on and when the skin or fur is cracking you put it away from the fire. It's very good and it tastes very good and juicy.

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Oral History Project***, 1994.)

WHAT WE USED

Qulliq



Drawing of the qulliq described by Petitot.

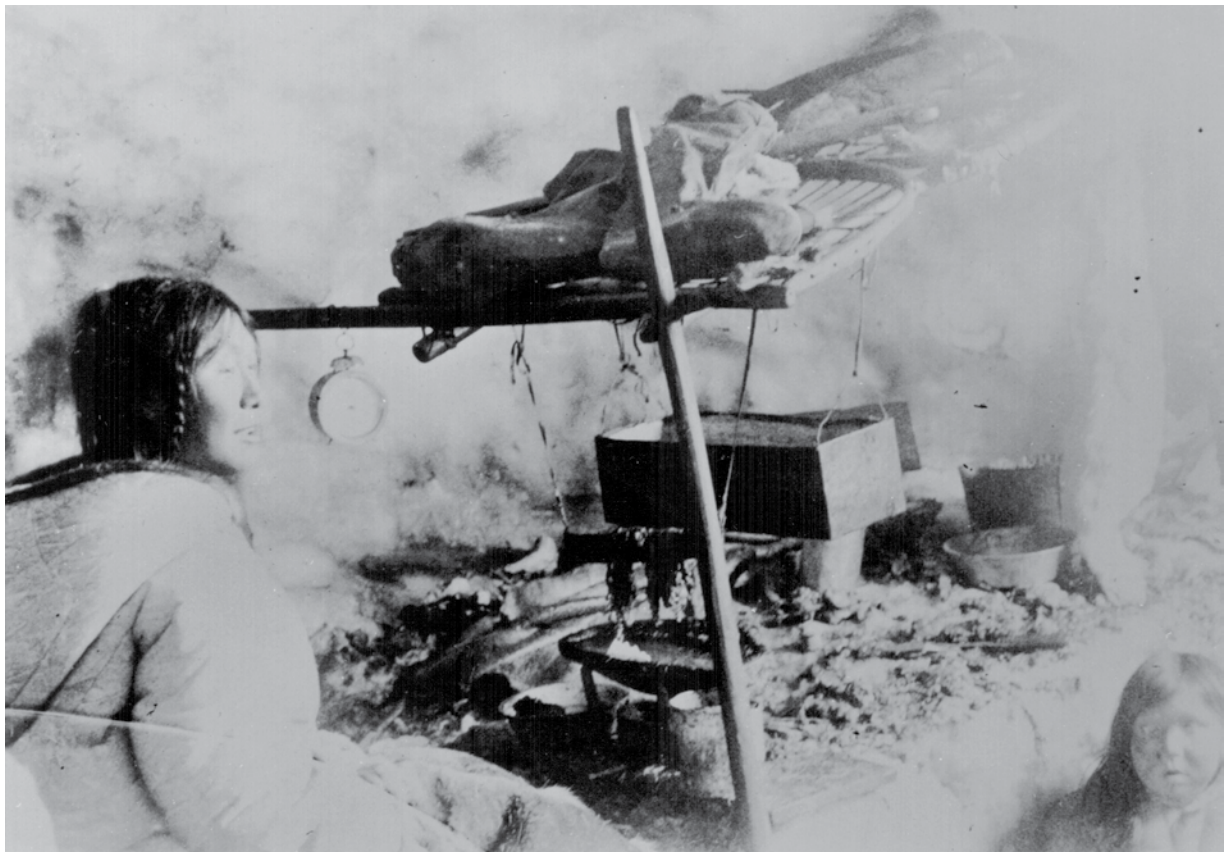
Noulloumallok then arranged some little wooden rods above the stone lamp in which he'd placed about six or eight wicks of moss soaked in seal oil. He placed some lumps of whale blubber on the grid formed by the rods, so that by melting in the heat of the burning wicks below, the oil in the lamp should be continually replenished [...]

Thanks to the small flame of the lamp [...] the temperature was soon at least 30 degrees (centigrade) in our cabin of snow [...]

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

"The person making fire takes the bow, loops the stick with two dull ends around the thin line and starts to turn the bow as fast as he can with his hands. The wood starts to get hot from friction and begins to smoke. It's so hot it makes a little flame and there is another fire."

Ishmael Alunik
(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, p. 53-54, 1998.)



Woman tending a qulliq.

WHAT WE USED

Making fire

Another way to make fire is the same way all Inuit in the Eastern Arctic or Inupiat and Inuvialuit make fires. They would get a straight piece of wood about a foot long or a little longer. Some would use a little bent one. In the Eastern Arctic where there is no wood, they use caribou ribs. The wood or bone would be made into a little bow, with a skin strip attached to each end not tight but with about an inch or two of slack.

Another piece of wood was also required. This piece would be placed in the middle of the bow with the skin strip wrapped around it once. It would usually be a treasured piece of driftwood brought by current or wind. The piece of wood or bone, a foot long, would have both ends a little sharpened, but not real sharp.

Like this:

With one single wrap around the stick of wood, the fire bow needed guiding bases to be used properly. A piece of wood about six inches long by two inches wide with a small impression in the middle was used for the bottom guide. Another mouth piece guide about two inches long by three quarters of an inch wide was used to apply pressure on the stick. This piece was held in the mouth where pressure was applied as both hands were used to turn the middle stick back and forth creating friction.

The person making fire takes the bow, loops the stick with two dull ends around the thin line and starts to turn the bow as fast as he can with his hands. The wood starts to get hot from friction and begins to smoke. It's so hot it makes a little flame and there is another fire.

The fire bow could also be used to drill holes in sleigh boards or other things. For a drill Inuit used real hard bone made from sea animals or the green sharp-pointed rock, the one they use for arrowheads, harpoons or ulus. If they could find crystal shaped pointed rocks, they would use that material for drill bits.

Some Inupiat would use some knotted branches of birch trees or willows that when blown on with the fire makers become like a real hard rubber. The piece of the tree or willow or poplar tree which has a knot gets bigger until it is dried by the sun. It can be big, six inches long and five inches around. This knotted wood material was good for fire. The Inuit would burn it with fire, and it only becomes like a coal, it never becomes a flame. It would have a slow ash, like a coal, when it is red hot and it would be like that for about eight hours or more. The Inuit would leave it like that while they were sleeping.

So that is how they used to make fire. Them hardened knots are found where the birch trees and poplar trees and big willows grow. They are found in Alaska and Canada, near the sea shores of the Beaufort Sea. These hard lumps are hardened by the heat of the sun. The trees and willow are good for burning when the soft gum flows to the knot and becomes hard. I tried burning them myself with modern day matches and it takes about three or more matches to get it to ignite. It becomes like a coal with no flame and after eight hours or more one can blow on it with a little shaving of wood or dry grass to make a fire. It is easy to make fire with it, so if some one reads this book, you can make fire with it and remember how the Inupiat and Inuit used their resources and ingenuity to make fires in the past.

(Ishmael Alunik, ***Call Me Ishmael, Memories of an Inuvialuit Elder***, 1998.)

Drawing of a fire bow.
(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***,1887.)

Soapstone qulliq found at the Kuukpak archaeological site, circa 600 years old.

(PWNHC/988.98.02)

Hunting and Fishing

600 year-old line holder, fish hook and weight used for jigging for fish found at the Kuukpak archaeological site. (PWNHC/986.34.209;988.20.1536;986.34.1744)

The land provides bountiful supplies of fish, birds and animals. Knowledge of how to harvest these resources is passed from generation to generation through traditional knowledge. Hunting and fishing tools are devised that are effective and efficient. People respect the interconnection between all living things, and understand how to behave to ensure that the resources will continue to be available.

WHAT WE USED

The Importance of Fish

600 year-old fish scaler found at the Kuukpak archaeological site. (PWNHC/988.20.11728)

Now when these people gathered together they told stories about the people before them. To hear them tell these stories one would think our ancestors were rich people, never going hungry. Every bit of food they caught was stored away and nothing was wasted.

Even the fish they caught, every bit of it, they saved. They were scaled and dried into dryfish, the liver, eggs and gizzards were all cleaned, dried, and stored in bags of fish oil. This was very delicious and one could not stop eating once he started. How wealthy our people used to live in those days.

(Amos Tuma, ***Life Story Part 8***, COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253.)

Smoked fish. (David Stewart/ICS)

"What down here do I see?

Of the river, in the bight,

A man jigging for fish,

A man engaged in fishing..."

Mackenzie River Dance Song, *sung by Unalina and Cukayoq*

(Translation in Helen H. Roberts and Diamond Jenness, ***Eskimo Songs***, 1925.)

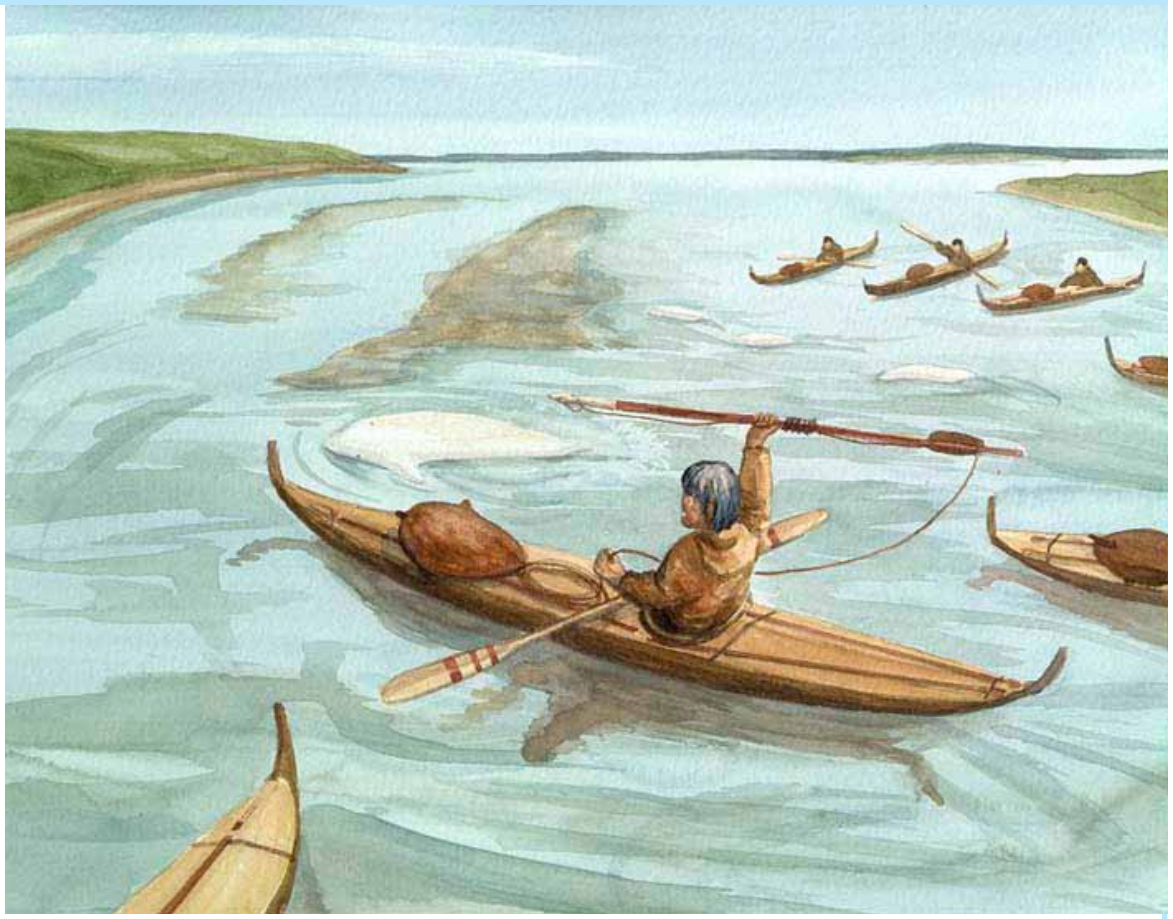
HOW WE LIVED

The Beluga Hunt

The very first among my early memories is of the white whale hunt. In the spring, families from all the surrounding camps came to Kitigariuit for the hunt. Lots of people — lots of kayaks. I was too young to be able to count them; I only know the long sandbank of the Kitigariuit beach was hardly large enough for all the kayaks drawn up there. And the beach was a good eight or nine hundred yards long. The sight of all those kayaks putting out to sea was a spectacle we children never tired of.

The kayak paddles bore designs in red, and the hunters' weapons were red as well. Each kayak was furnished with two harpoons of very slender wood, eight or nine feet long. To one of the harpoons was attached a kind of skin bottle, rather small and inflated with air. A long string was tied to the end of the second harpoon. A wooden disc, illiviark, was fastened to the middle of the string, and at the end was another skin bag, larger than that of the first harpoon, and embellished by eagle feathers. The kayak itself was sixteen to eighteen feet long, eighteen or nineteen inches wide, and about fourteen inches deep. The two harpoons were in their place on the foredeck.

When the kayak fleet first assembled, a file leader was chosen by the hunters. The file leader was singled out, whatever his age, by yelling his name. It was he who launched the first kayak in pursuit of the whales once they were among the shoals. The chosen hunter's kayak would be followed by a second, a third, and the others in succession. At the great whale hunts I remember there was such a large number of kayaks that when the first had long disappeared from view, more and more were just setting out.



Artist's reconstruction of the oldest hunter throwing the first harpoon. (Autumn Downey/PWNHC)

During the season of the whale hunt, the men of Kitigariuit were always on the watch. They rose early, observing signs of fair weather and consulting over them. Some would stay on watch, eyes turned to the open sea until they discovered the belugas approaching the sandbars and shallows. Once the whales had disappeared among the shoals, the sentinels awoke their companions. Immediately a swarm of kayaks was launched. The hunters, paddling with all their might, drove their craft in pursuit of the whales.

Then, on the seaward side of the shallows, they faced the belugas and paddled forward all abreast. With loud shouts they struck the water with their paddles, splashing it in great cascades. Panic-stricken at the noise, the whales threw themselves on the sandbanks in their efforts to flee. The largest soon had but two feet of water beneath them, and found it impossible to escape. The Inuit called, then, at the top of their voices, the name of the oldest hunter. The first shot was reserved for him. The old man chose a very large beluga, snatched a harpoon from its place on the fore-deck of the kayak, and hurled it at his prey. Then all the hunters joined the slaughter. The trapped whales thrashed and lunged in the shallows, hurling spray that often nearly blinded the men in the kayaks.

When the hunt was over, the men recovered their weapons. Each harpoon bore a special mark, recognized by every hunter. Clever hunters might have killed five, seven belugas, while others had taken but one. To haul the whales back to camp, a sort of pipe was driven into their bodies or necks, and air was blown into the carcasses so they would float. A single man often had as many as five belugas in tow behind his kayak.

After a hunt the shore was covered with whale carcasses. For myself, I did not count them, but I know there were a great many. Once I heard the elders say that three hundred whales had been taken. At other times there were but one hundred and fifty of them. There are not many belugas anymore. The Inuit scarcely see any during their expeditions — the Inuit eat white man's food nowadays.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 14-15, 1966.)

Traditional harpoon head.
(PWNHC/991.102.1)

Inuvialuit drawing of a beluga whale hunt, circa 1865.
(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/ E002545-02)

STORY

The Bear Cub that Hunted Man

Using a bow drill ('gimlet').

Ankle ('knuckle') bone found at the Kuukpak archaeological site, circa 600 years old. (PWNHC/988.20.392)

Bob Cockney *tells the following legend about a bear cub that hunted a man ('the one who staggers', so-named by bear because humans only have two feet and are unsteady as they walk) and was in turn hunted by the man and his dogs ('those who annoy' and sting like mosquitoes). In preparing the bear cub to be eaten, the hunter and his wife make an offering of a drill and spindle, and burn soft wood to make smoke. According to Father Maurice Metayer, who edited Bob Cockney's memoirs, 'These offerings were meant to free the spirit of the victim and assure the success of future hunts. The hunted animal, said the old Eskimos, chooses the hunter who respects the customs, and so secures for itself the liberation and find peace of its spirit.'*

I will tell you stories of the olden days, stories told me by Aklamerk, Payolerk's wife. Over there, not too far, on the ice of the ocean lived a band of white bears. They had their snow-houses and lived their lives as men do theirs. One of the bears, an old one, was telling a story to his kinsmen and his friends. "A long time ago," he said, "when I was a youth, I had a narrow escape while hunting the One-who-staggers. The staggerer is dangerous game. To catch you he sets after you 'those-who-annoy'. Their voices sound like hearty bursts of laughter, which steal all the strength of your legs. They have marks above their eyes. They tire you, they bark, they bite you – you cannot get rid of them!"

Said a young cub listening to the old bear, "If ever I hunt man, I shall not let him catch me!" The old bear tried to dissuade him: "If you intend to go hunting man, you'd better change your mind. Men are dangerous, I tell you. Besides, their 'scratchers' are fast runners and they will easily catch you. It would be child's play for them to do so." The young cub retorted that if he ran with the wind, a side wind, a wind almost behind him, no being in the world could beat him.

The old bear rebuked him severely, forbidding him to speak thus. But the young cub went to try his system – to run with the wind almost behind him, making sure that his body, a bit sideways, acted as a sail. One beautiful night when everyone was in bed, pretending he had to go out, he left the igloo and disappeared in the dark.

He started in the direction of the land. When he reached the new ice, he did not know exactly where to go. Hesitating for a while, he finally headed east. All night long he walked on the thick edge of ice separating him from the shore. Lo and behold he came across footprints, footprints belonging to the staggerer, man's footprints. He was hungry and looked for an aglu (this is a breathing hole that a seal keeps open in the frozen sea ice), to lie in wait for a seal. A little to the east of the footprints, he found one. A good east wind was blowing. It was daybreak. The young bear lay in wait.

He heard a noise behind him and turned around. Ah yes! It was really true! The old bear was right. Here was one of those "scratchers". A dog was almost upon him. The young cub scented the direction of the wind and started to run, keeping the wind almost behind him. But no matter how fast he ran, the dog outran him in a few seconds. The bear felt sharp teeth enter his rump, and he was forced to sit down. Other dogs were on him. They were barking all around him. His legs grew weak – it was impossible to flee.

At that moment he looked around him and, as in the old bear's story, he saw him coming, the staggerer – a man. He was walking erect. It looked as if he were about to fall. He was getting closer and closer. The young cub wanted to run away. He struggled to escape but the dogs held on to him.

The man came closer still and stuck a long thin wooden rod into his body. This time the cub's strength abandoned him and he could move no longer. And yet he was aware everything that was done to him. He was skinned, cut in pieces, and carried away.

The man brought him home and his wife began to cook him. On the stone hearth she threw pieces of soft wood. Smoke rose, and the young cub inhaled the odour. Four days; he stayed there. As an offering, an Eskimo gimlet (drill), as well as its pivot, the knucklebone of the bearded seal, had been laid beside him.

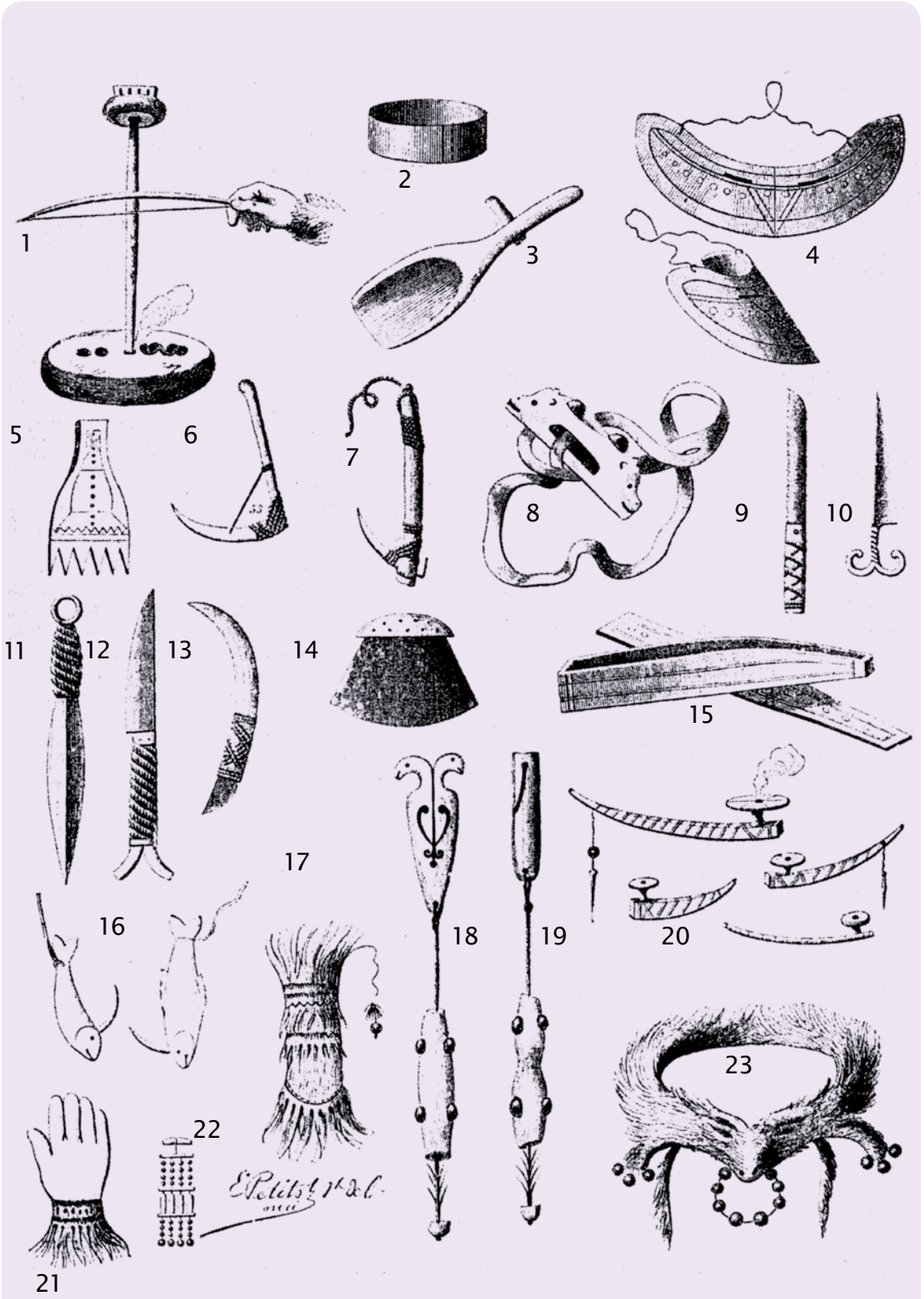
The young bear took them and left for the place whence he had come; that is, only his spirit left. When he got to the igloo he crept along the snow passage and through the low door mounted on to the floor of the igloo. The old bear saw him. He saw too that he was wearing as a necklace the gimlet he had received as a gift.

The cub bear spoke up: "The men made me breathe the odour of softwood smoke." The old bear replied, "I told you so, man is dangerous game." "It was those-who-annoy – their loud laughter stripped the strength from my legs." He left the igloo to go far in the offing. The shades of dead bears have, it is said, their own village far off on the ice of the ocean.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 68-70, 1966.)

Tools

People are self-reliant. Each family is responsible for making their own tools, hunting and fishing gear, clothing and other possessions.



Inuvialuit artifacts

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

1. fire drill; 2. container; 3. snow shovel; 4. hunting visor; 5. comb; 6. pick; 7. fishhook; 8. line and toggle for dog harness; 9. saw; 10-12. knives; 13. crooked knife; 14. ulu; 15. box and lid; 16. fishhooks; 17. woman's bag; 18 – 19. needle cases; 20. pipes; 21. glove; 22. ear ornament; 23. head band.

WHAT WE USED

Tools in Antiquity

Father Émile Petitot travelled and visited with Anderson River Inuvialuit in 1864 and in 1868 he travelled to the mouth of the Mackenzie River and spent time with Inuvialuit there. A book he wrote about his travels, *Les Grands Esquimaux* (1887) includes drawings of artifacts he noted during his travels. Recent excavations at the 600 year old Kuupak archaeological site show that similar artifacts have a long history of use.

Petitot Illustration

Comb (PWNHC/985.46.184)

Ulu
(ulu blade: PWNHC/985.34.1675)
(ulu handle: PWNHC/986.34.1859)

Fish hook (PWNHC/986.34.1285)

Container (PWNHC/986.34.1395)

Pick

Clothing

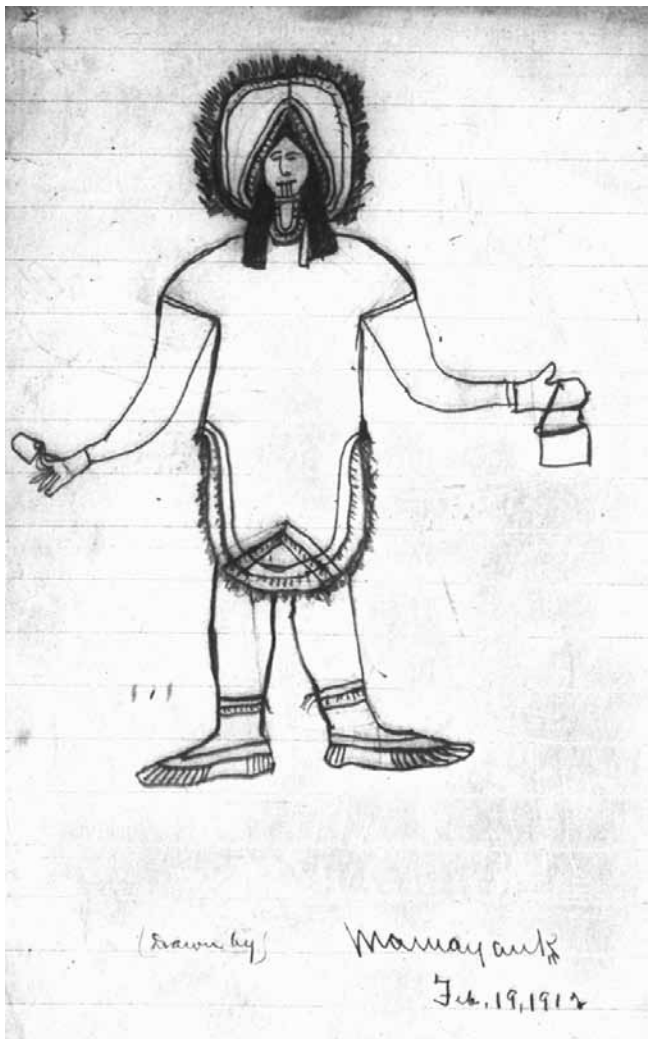
Across the Arctic people make their clothing from animal skins. Men's and women's clothes are shaped differently, and each group also has its own style. Skin clothing is made by women, who learn their skills as children and take great pride in their sewing.

Skins of a variety of animals are used for making clothing: squirrels, muskrats, wolverine, seals, and polar bears, but most of the clothing worn is made from caribou skin. Caribou skins are relatively light, and the insulating properties of the hollow guard hairs make caribou skin clothing unequalled for warmth. Strips of wolverine fur are preferred for the trim around the hood, since it does not ice up when breathing in cold weather.

Man's (L) and woman's (R) outer garments from the Caper Bathurst area, circa 1900. Both are made from caribou skins, with wolverine fur trims. The man's parka is cut straight along the bottom, and on each side of the parka below the hood is a manusinnak, a white stripe that imitates the tusk of a walrus. The woman's parka has long, rounded flaps back and front.
(Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery)

A complete set of clothing consisted of inner and outer breeches and parka, boots and gloves or mittens. The inner parka (known as an atigi) and breeches are worn with the fur toward the skin. Skins of fawns are preferred for these garments, which would be worn alone in warm weather, and while inside shelter.

In winter, a second set of clothing is worn over the inner garments. The outer parka (qusunngaq) and breeches have the hair on the outside, and are made from the skins of caribou killed in August or September, after the long guard hairs had grown.



Drawn by Mamayauk, Feb. 19, 1912.
From the diaries of Vilhjalmur Stefansson.
(Reproduced with permission from the Dartmouth College Library)

"She was very talented in making clothing. She made beautiful clothing for her husband. She was so pleased with him and he took care of his wife very well. She was so happy, she sewed summer caribou parkas, mukluks, and she made beautiful trimmings on them all."

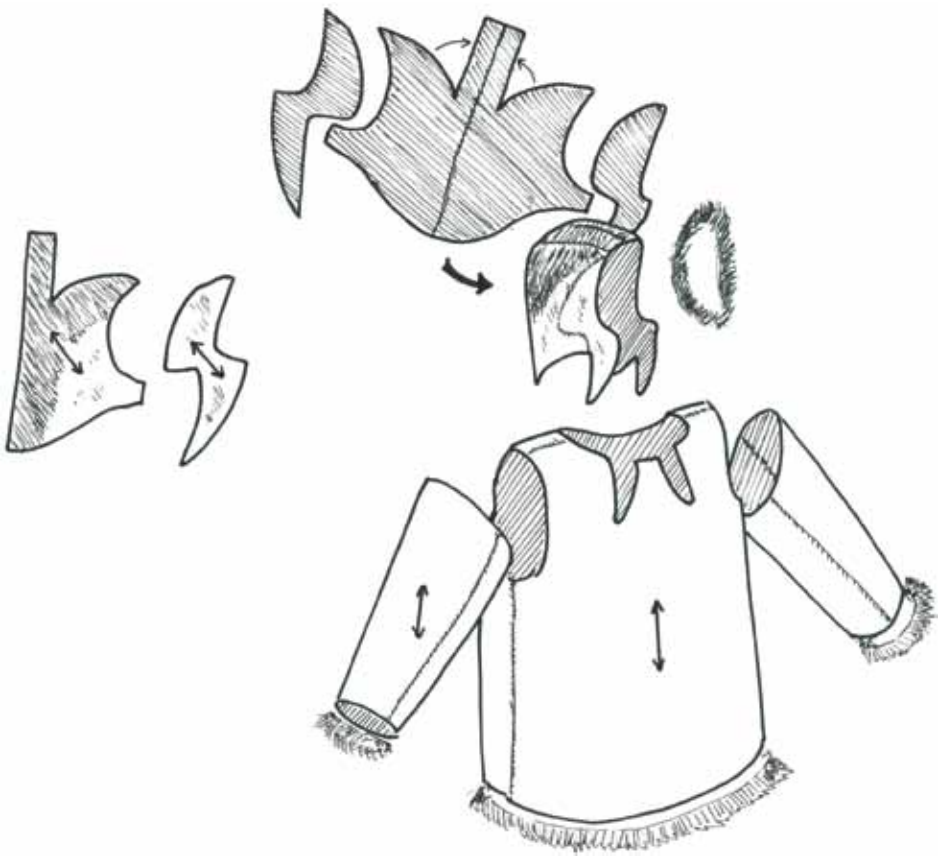
Agnes Nanogak Goose

From ***Orphan and Grandmother***, as told by Nanogak Goose (COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253).

A CLOSER LOOK

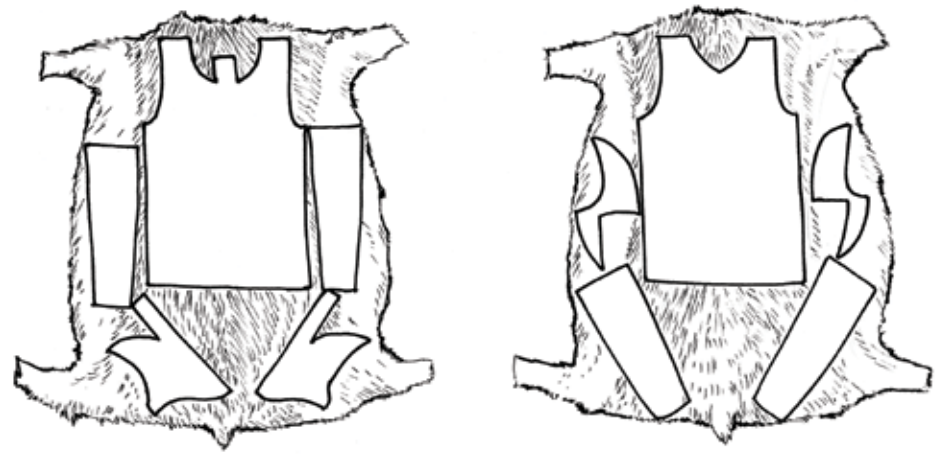
Re-Discovering Caribou Skin Clothing

In 2002, museum curators and Inuvialuit seamstresses visited the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC to study traditional skin clothing collected in the 1800s. Upon returning home, a group of Inuvialuit women created replicas of the clothing as a way of learning about their ancestors' skills and knowledge.



The curators and seamstresses worked together to measure the garments and prepare patterns.

Men obtained the caribou skins, and made the tools, such as this ikuun, 'scraper'. These tools were used to scrape away the flesh from the inner side of the skins.



The patterns were laid out on the scraped hides in a manner that took advantage of the properties of the hides and minimized waste.

The patterns were then traced onto the hides.

The seamstresses cut the pieces from the hides with a small ulu.

A CLOSER LOOK

Re-Discovering Caribou Skin Clothing

Once the pieces had been cut from the hides they were sewn together using sinew from the back of a caribou.

The final step was to sew on wolverine fur trims and apply a red dye for decoration.

The cut pieces were checked for fit.

The finished clothing was modeled during 'Beluga Days' a community festival in Tuktoyaktuk, in April 2003 by Janice Lavallee and Dennis Raddi.

(PWNHC photos)

In addition to decorating their clothing, people also decorated themselves. Here are some of the things told about our fashions.

Angmaluarutit, 'cheek studs'.
(NMAI/ Ethnographic Collection 070939)

'… at each corner of the mouth, a hole has been punctured in the cheeks for insertion of bone or ivory studs or of various hard stones.'

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

'… out of wood also, the Eskimos make cases for tutait (cheek studs)…'

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

Container for angmaluarutit.
(PWNHC/986.34.1272)

Woman's angmaluaq.
(PWNHC/986.34.1488)

'Roxy has told me […] when his father's father was a small boy he could barely remember seeing the last of a woman's labret which had been in fachion before that time. These were single labrets. Of stone usually he thinks, worn in a hole in the middle of the lower lip.'

(***Writing on Ice. The Ethnographic Notebooks of Vilhjalmur Stefanssson***)

Detail from an engraving of a Qikiqtaryungmiut woman.
(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Polar Sea***, 1828.)

'The women wear at the top of their head an enormous chignon (roll or knot of hair), and hanging alongside each cheek is a huge and thick curl of hair with a string of blue glass beads […] coiled around the end. The coil of hair and the side curls are made up from the hair of their husbands…'

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

Helen Kalvak, with face tattoos. (ICRC)

'My hosts' wives had small blue crosses tattooed at the corners of the mouth and several small parallel lines from the mouth to the tip of the chin... '

'Kroanark has three crosses tattooed on his right shoulder, and four of them on the left one. According to Kroanark, these are trophies, commemorative symbols of bowhead whales killed and landed.'

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

Feuds

Survival depends upon cooperation and co-existence, but conflicts also occur. Fighting sometimes takes place between Inuvialuit, and also with Dene who live in the forested regions to the south.

WHAT WE USED

War Shield

600 year-old war club found at the Kuukpak archaeological site. (PWNHC/986.34.1712)

Then my grandmother's brother, who was old, very old, began to speak in his turn. He was called Naoyavak.

In those days, said he, many Eskimos lived on the Booth Islands (a group of small rocky islets a few miles west of Cape Parry) [...] As boats they used true Eskimo umiaks [...] They hunted whale. On those islands lived Abvar and Krangmalit people [...] A man of importance among them was Saniliak [...] He was gifted with great strength and was a fast runner besides [...] When the Baillie people arrived he invited them to his house [...] There in the house already was a man whom the newcomers had not yet noticed [...] Saniliak called him by name: "Look at Kayoktunak! He has donned his war shield." Kayoktunak answered, "Of course not, I am not looking for a fight [...] When there is a crowd of people I always dress this way, the better to guard them, you might say."

The newcomers turned and saw him: he wore a parka made of white fox, and the parka had been soaked in seal oil [...] Fine sand had been smeared in the folds [...] The mixture of fur, sand and oil had been exposed to the sun to dry [...] The result was a horny shield that neither arrows nor knife blade could pierce.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 203, 1966.)

STORY

Banishment

Amos Tuma *told a story about Kaunquraq, who was banished from a camp that he had fled to after stealing:*

Now the next day, Kaunquraq [...] was called to come over for a meeting to a certain house. [...] someone finally spoke up. He told Kaunquraq, "You will take your wife and stepdaughter. We must ask you to leave our little village." So after he was told this, Kaunquraq went home and he and his wife took their few belongings and his stepdaughter and they started out.

"In the olden days the Inuit slew those who killed their kinsmen. One vengence followed another like links in a chain."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 45, 1966.)

Our Leaders

Families make their own decisions, and work is divided along age and gender lines. When people gather together in larger groups there often will be an informal leader, usually a capable person who others trust to make decisions on behalf of the group, and who can motivate them to work together. For activities such as a beluga whale hunt, they often chose a leader just for that activity. That leader might be the best, or most experienced, hunter.

Noulloumallok-Innonarana, identified as 'chief' of the Anderson River people.
(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

"Once, long ago, there lived a tribe of people in a small village by the seashore. This village along the coast was very prosperous and most of the people were well off. Among the tribe was a great hunter, whom the people looked up to as their ruler."

Donald Kaglik

(COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253)

WHO WE ARE

Leader

Inuvialuit leader Mangilaluk, 1925.
(COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253)

A community leader was sometimes called an umialiq, an ancient term whose meaning may go back to the Thule era. In areas where bowhead whales were hunted the umialiq was a man who owned an umiaq (large skin boat) and recruited men from several families to help hunt large whales. Where bowhead whales were no longer hunted, such as Kitigaaryuk near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, the term was used more broadly for men who were generous, capable hunters and had the ability to lead.

A leader who still lives in memory was Mangilaluk, who was born sometime in the last half of the 1800s and died in 1945. Mangilaluk started a permanent community at Tuktoyaktuk, and is generally regarded to have been the last traditional Inuviaaluit umialiq.

'Mangilaluk was well known and of good reputation, as well as a prominent hunter, a good provider, and also a good entertainer, a really good storyteller. Last but not least, he was considered as the best athlete in that part of the Arctic coast. In various competitions such as foot races, high jump, weight lifting, etc. he had no equal. He surpassed every challenger, even the whalers. It could be added that this stature, his demeanour prompted and aroused respect, admiration, love and maybe a bit of fear. Indeed, he was a man among men, a true Inuvialuk. Of course due to all these qualities and gifts, he became a natural leader and chief [...]'

(***Mangilaluk Adrift on the Ice***)

HOW WE LIVED

Hunt Leader

Bob Cockney *describes the role of the hunt leader in his story of a traditional beluga whale hunt at Kitigaaryuk:*

When the qayaq fleet first assembled, a file leader was chosen by the hunters. The file leader was singled out, what-ever his age, by yelling his name. He it was who launched the first qayaq in pursuit of the whales once they were among the shoals. The chosen hunter's qayaq would be followed by a second, a third, and the others in succession. At the great whale hunts I remember there was such a large number of qayaqs that when the first had long disappeared from view, more and more were just setting out. (Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 62, 1966.)

Artist's concept of choosing the beluga hunt leader based on Bob Cockney's story. (Autumn Downey/PWNHC)

This artifact, from the 600 year old Kuukpak archaeological site, may be a beluga hunting charm.
(PWNHC/989.22.715)

Spiritual practices

Hunting charms carried by Inuvialuit, made from leather and hide found in the Mackenzie River delta area.
(NMAI/E018012);(NMAI/E018011)

"Now in those days I remember every man who was the head of a family had a special charm. A special charm for hunting different game."

Felix Nuyaviak

(COPE/NWT Archives N-1992-253)

The people know it is important to respect the spirits of the animals they hunt. If an animal is offended, it may not let the hunter kill him in the future. The family could starve. For this reason, it is wise to give a whale a drink of water after it is caught.

Taboos give protection also. For example, in spring the people do not eat eggs although they are plentiful. Eggs can cause illness. That taboo is from long ago. Girls are not allowed to sleep on a bearskin, in case they become angry and unforgiving. It is good for a boy to sleep on a bearskin. Marten is not used at all, because they burrow under graves and come into contact with corpses. Sometimes seal meat cannot be cooked in the same place as caribou.

If animal spirits are offended people seek the help of an angatkuq, or 'shaman'. Shamans (angatkut) can be male or female. A good shaman can control weather, bring a person back to life, and get rid of tuunriat (evil spirits).

The Inuvialuit believed shamans had the ability to communicate with animals.
Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit,

STORY

Magic Flight of the Shamans

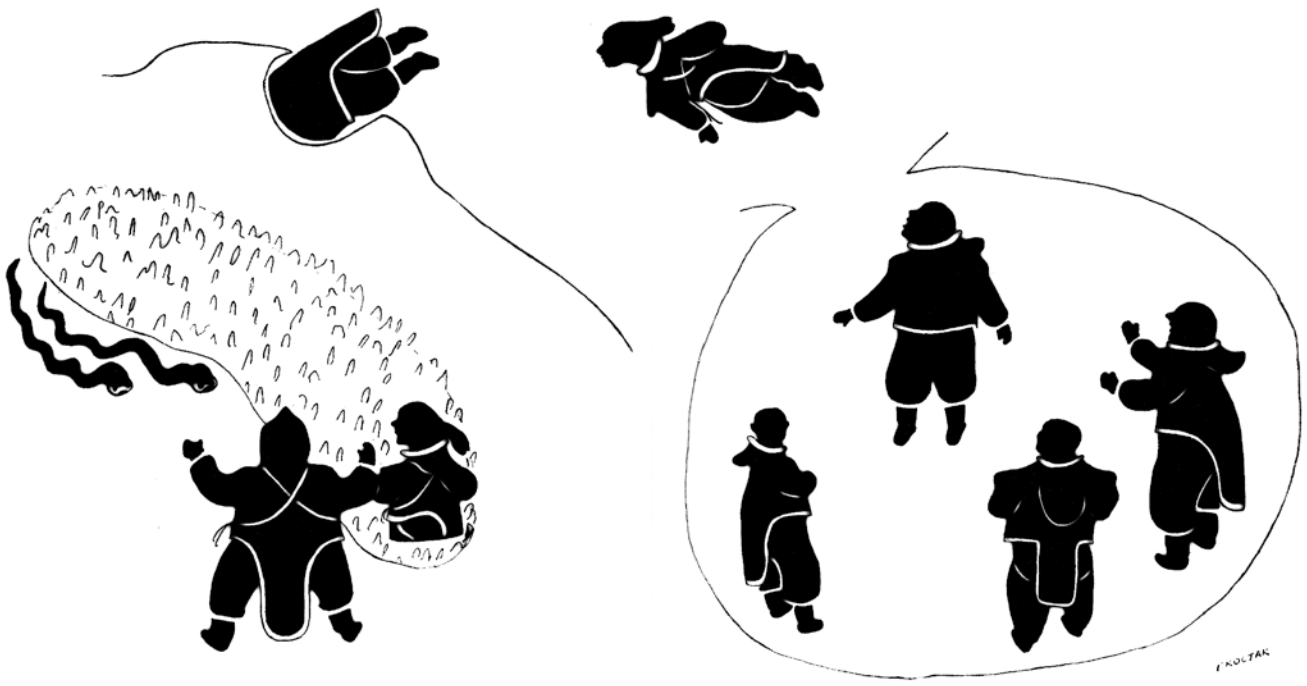


Illustration by Ekkotak accompanying the story, 'Magic Flight of the Shamans'.

In a story called "Magic Flight of the Shamans", **Bob Cockney** *tells how Apakak and Kraronak, husband and wife, helped their community to bring an end to a period of famine.*

I was a child at the time and we were living at Herschel. We did not have any more to eat. We were unable to hunt seal in the crevasses because the ice was not opening. The Inuit appealed to the Angatkot.

They came. We asked them to see that leads opened in the ice. There were two of them, Apakak and Kraronak, husband and wife—powerful shamans. When night came they prepared to depart on a magic flight.

Apakak, the man, was seated on the ground, his hands bound behind his back with strong cords of bearded sealskin. To the ten feet of leftover cord binding his hands was tied an axe. The woman wore no bonds. They asked my mother's uncle, an angatko himself, to help them. Kublualuk accepted and removed his clothing; the two men were naked save for their fur trousers. The women remained clothed.

The stone lamps were extinguished. Very soon a beating of wings was heard. The axe hanging from Apakak's hands began striking the wall of the igloo with sharp blows. The Inuit were frightened and kept close to the floor in the dark. A voice said, "Do not fear, it will not fall on you," and this strange voice came from the center of the floor.

The shamans flew far off; they were no longer in the igloo. The third, Kublualuk, returned for a moment, and went away again. They were absent for about thirty minutes. The voice coming from the floor said, "They are arriving". Large birds were approaching. The voice fell silent. Wings were heard again. Apakak spoke—his voice was recognizable: "I am unable to pass." The sound came from the hearth. His wife got hold of him.

The kudliks were re-lit. Apakak's body was black with soot. A minute before, he had said that he could not get through; his voice was coming from the hearth—and no one had put anything to block the passage of the smoke.

The next day, the ice opened in large crevasses and Inuit killed many seals.

Later, I heard Kublualuk relate what had taken place. That night Apakak and his wife had asked for his assistance, and he agreed. When they left he followed by the same road. They had penetrated the interior of the earth. They were going fast, but he managed to follow their trail; the footprints led him within sight of a lake. Flames danced on the lake, and serpent-like monsters were swarming in it. Apakak and his wife entered the lake, but the retraced his steps: he did not wish to go through the flames and the serpents.

He had come back into the igloo for a moment and had gone out again, but only just outside, in order to help the two others.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 63-64,1966.)

The Power of Amulets, Helen Kalvak

HOW WE LIVED

Maktak (whale blubber) hanging to dry at Baby Island.
(David Stewart/ ICS)

While travelling in the western Arctic with Inuvialuit in 1911, the anthropologist **Viljhalmur Stefansson** *noted:*

The spirit of the fire (Ignerumnapata) was fed with a little blubber, tallow, akutok, or other fat by Kittegaryuit after fire was built, saying,"Nanirk,oktjoviaktorin."

"Iliatoktjoviaktorlit,"was said by people in boats as they passed any grave except a recent one; as they said this some sort of fat was thrown into the water, or on the beach if the boat was so near shore that it could be done.

"Iliataviutjaktarlit" was the universal expression that covered such an offering not only of fat but of any sort of food; "aviutjak" was any sort of food intended for spirits. Water was similarly given the spirit of the grave by being poured out anywhere while the giver was in sight of the grave.

(Viljalmur Stefansson, ***The Stefansson-Anderson Expedition***, p. 325, 1914.)

HOW WE LIVED

Keeping Traditions Alive - Drum Dancing

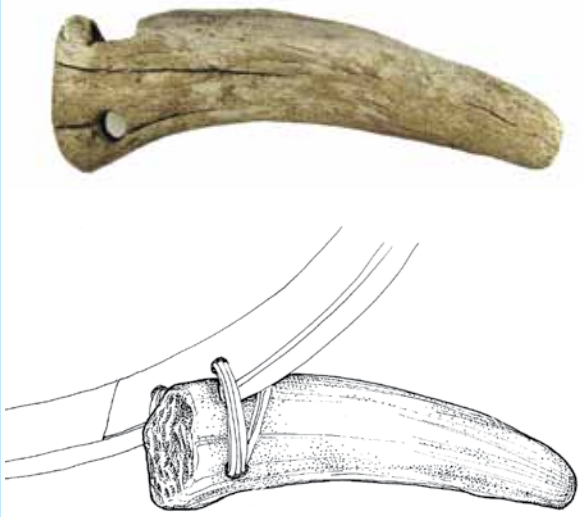
Traditional Inuvialuit drum dance.
A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta

From early times, the Inuvialuit have used songs and chants to recount legends, stories, and traditions. Accompanied by the rhythmic beat of drums, dancers reenact the great feats and accomplishments of kinsmen. In this way, Inuvialuit history was handed down through the generations. At feasts and celebrations, the blend of the drum beat and the rhythmical rise and fall of voices, punctuated with shouts of "Auu yah iah!", quickly drew men and women to the dance floor.

Drum dancing is performed to the rhythmic beating of caribou skin drums. To achieve the right tautness, drums are made from the stomach skin of young caribou taken in the summer. Finished drums are approximately 24 inches in diameter, stretched across wooden frames.

Songs usually start softly with drummers tapping their drums and dancers swaying rhythmically. As a song starts over, drums are struck harder, and the people sing louder. Dancers throw their bodies into the song with arms and knees bent, their outstretched, open hands wave to and fro capturing the drum beat.

(www.inuvialuit.org)



(L): 600 year old Inuvialuit drum handle from the Kuukpak archaeological site. (PWNHC/988.20.114)
(R): How the Inuvialuit drum is used. (IRC)

(Top): Detail from illustration of Inuvialuit dancing at Fort MacPherson, circa 1865. The dancer is wearing a headdress like the one shown in the photograph. (From Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

(L): 'Old Charley' is wearing a loon beak headband, similar to the headband on the carving 'Loon Dancer' by Inuvialuit artist Eli Nasogaluak. (C. Arnold)

(Top): 'Old Mary' and 'Old Charley' in drum dance traditional clothing, Aklavik, circa 1934-1943. (Jack and Kay Woods/NWT Archives N88-041-417)

(Below): Dance headdress, circa 1865. (MacFarlane Collection/NMNH/SI/E01694)

HOW WE LIVED

Keeping Traditions Alive - Drum Dancing (cont.)

Aklavik elder Sarah Meyook (front) and Aklavik Drummers and Dancers perform an Inuvialuit drum dance at a community gathering.

(David Stewart/ICS)

Dance Song

STEP BY STEP ILLUSTRATIONS

Sung by Unalina and Cukayoq.

(Illustrations by Autumn Downey /PWNHC)

In 1915 an anthropologist, Diamond Jenness, recorded several Inuvialuit drum songs, and had them translated into English. He attributes the following song to *'Unalina and Cukayoq'*.

My arms they wave high in the air.
My hands they flutter behind my back;
they wave above my head
like the wings of a bird.

Let me move my feet, let me dance,
let me shrug my shoulders,
let me shake my body
My arms let me fold them;
let me crouch down.
Let me hold my hands under my chin.

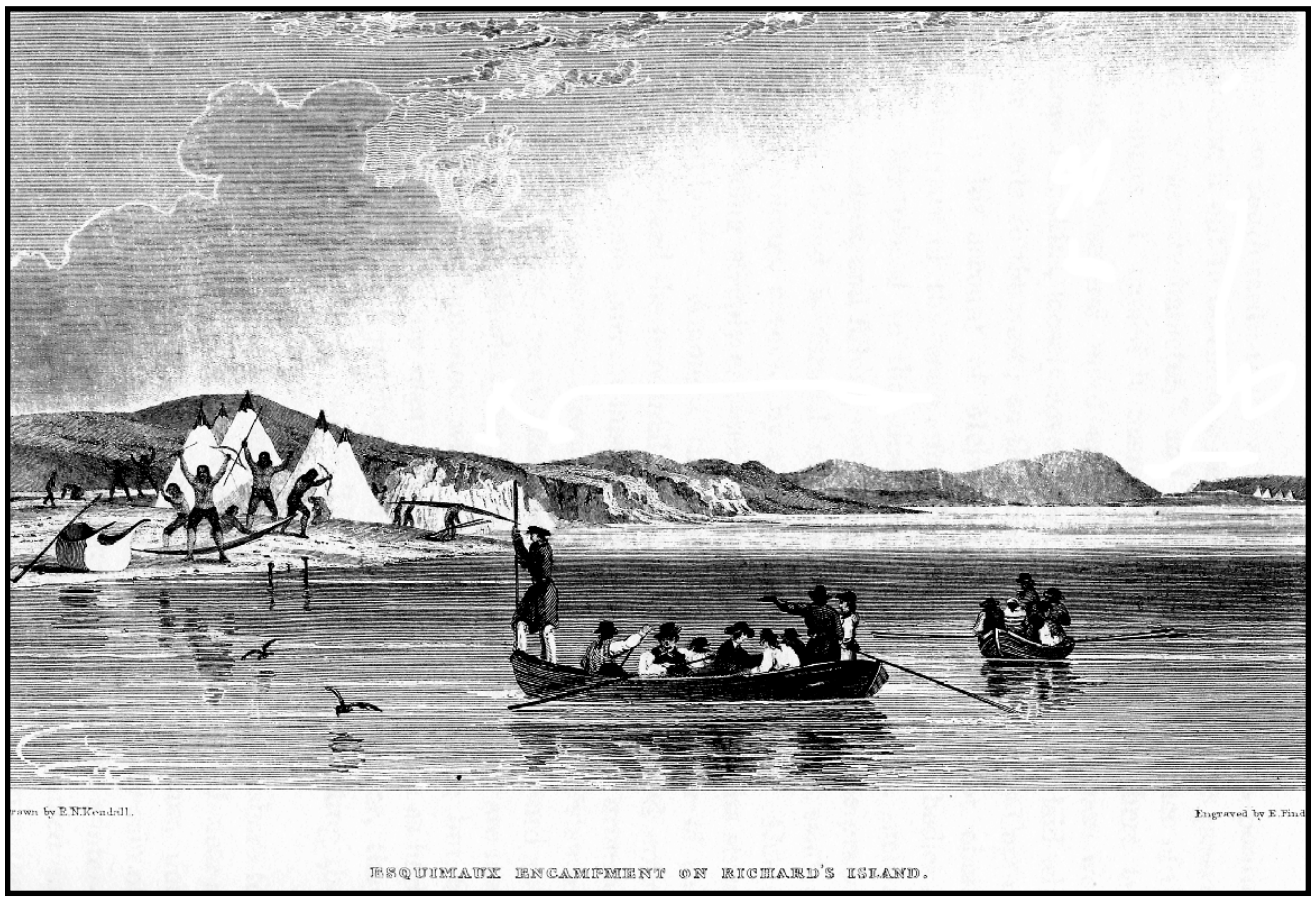
'Dance Song', sung by Unalina and Cukayoq.
(Translation in Helen H. Roberts and Diamond Jenness, ***Eskimo Songs***, p. 497, 1925.)

This song may be many centuries old. A version of the song is still performed by Inuvialuit drummers and dancers today. The following illustrations, by artist Autumn Downey, show movements women use when dancing to this song.

2

Tan'ngit Arrive

1800s-1900s



First encounter between Inuvialuit and a British exploration expedition led by Captain John Franklin, 1826.

(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea***, 1828.)

Strangers Appear

Inuvialuit thrive in their traditional homeland, which extends from Qikiqtaryuk (Herschel Island) in the west to beyond Ingniryuat, the Smoking Hills, in the east. Drawing on traditions, knowledge, skills and technology passed down over many generations, people harvest resources at hand for food, shelter, tools and clothing. People trade amongst themselves and with Inuit and Inupiat in neighbouring areas to obtain materials that are not available locally.

From their eastern neighbours, Inuvialuit hear stories about the Krablunet, people with 'big eyebrows' who travel in large boats, and their neighbours to the west tell about Tan'ngit, 'people who bathe', who have appeared on the southern coast of Alaska. The people who inspired these rumours soon arrive in the Inuvialuit homeland: explorers, traders, missionaries, adventurers and emissaries of foreign governments. Prophecies foretell of unsettled times ahead.

First White Man's Ship, by Mark Emerak. (Holman Eskimo Cooperative)

"To the west, on a great sea, on a large island, the beaver then created two men […] one was the father of the Men (Inuvialuit); the other was the father of the Blowers (whales), from whom they supposed the Europeans to have been derived, because they came among them by sea."

Translation of an Inuvialuit legend

(Émile Petitot, ***Monograph of the Esquimaux Tchiglit of the Mackenzie and of the Anderson***, 1878.)

WHO WE ARE

Felix Nuyaviak (L) at a drum dance in Tuktoyaktuk, circa 1950. (Terrence Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0064)

Felix Nuyaviak (1892-1981) *told this story, which is part history and part prophecy, of things that were to come after Tan'ngit arrived amongst the Inuvialuit:*

"[...] This story is very old and I heard it when I was a small boy. I heard it from the old folk, talking about the old days when Eskimos, our ancestors, were numerous and lived all over the coast, [...] [in] very good locations along the Arctic coast, from Alaska to Greenland, from Kitigaaryuit to the East, and here is the story I heard.

A long, long time ago, a hundred years or more ago, a huge creature, a giant lived inland somewhere [...] one day [...] he left his hiding place and began his travelling, taking pleasure in scaring and frightening game and people [...] He saw something interesting in the sea and decided to investigate. It was a ship, a whaling ship.

Wading into the water he got closer, and he was so big that it was a child's game to seize the mast and he began to heave to shift it to and fro and from the big schooner as if she was as light as a piece of cork. The sailors [...] were frightened and at loss about what could they do. It seemed that fear paralyzed them [...] and they couldn't think, or find a solution to get rid of the giant [...] As a last and only resource, one member of the crew, and then the others following his move, threw kegs of rum and packs of tobacco overboard. Curious, the giant let go of the mast and picked up the closed keg and emptied it, drinking all the liquor, and another one, eating the pieces of chewing tobacco, or rather swallowing it all [...] liquid and solid [...] The sailors, watching from the deck, not believing what they saw, kept the giant busy with more kegs of rum and more tobacco until he had no more interest in the schooner. Fully satiated, and even more sick and drunk he slipped into the water, drowning himself.

Hastily, the sailors heaved anchor and sailed off, wishing to put miles and distance between them and this cursed place. They succeeded, as from that time no whaling ships were bothered in the future [...] and they kept sailing the Arctic water in search of sperm (bowhead) whales [...]

But if the whales were in safety, not so the Eskimo living along the coast. Every summer or fall dead whale carcasses drifted towards the shore and the Eskimo feasted on maktak and meat. The whalers, after taking baleen and heads, abandoned the rest. Somewhere around Baillie Island the people found one of these carcasses and began to cut, to carve the maktak and ate it [...] although they all were aware of something being amiss, something strange in the look of this whale, and of the maktak. Around the body of the whale, tied or encrusted on was a belt [...] and the maktak [was] all black in colour. According to the story this was the remains of the evil giant not in a human form but as a whale. People searching for food ate most of it and died off. Populations decreased, maybe disappeared east and west of that place [...]

[...] From then on there was no more communication between east and west as to the existence of others, it seems that a barrier, a fence had been drawn, a kind of ice curtain of old. That was the story I heard when I was small, explaining the divisions and the dispersions of the Eskimos along the coast, and why we didn't think of other Eskimos at that time."

(COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-007-166)

This telescope is thought to have been used by Alexander Mackenzie during his 1792 exploration of the Mackenzie River.

(PWNHC/971.24.1)

Explorers - The Search for a Northwest Passage

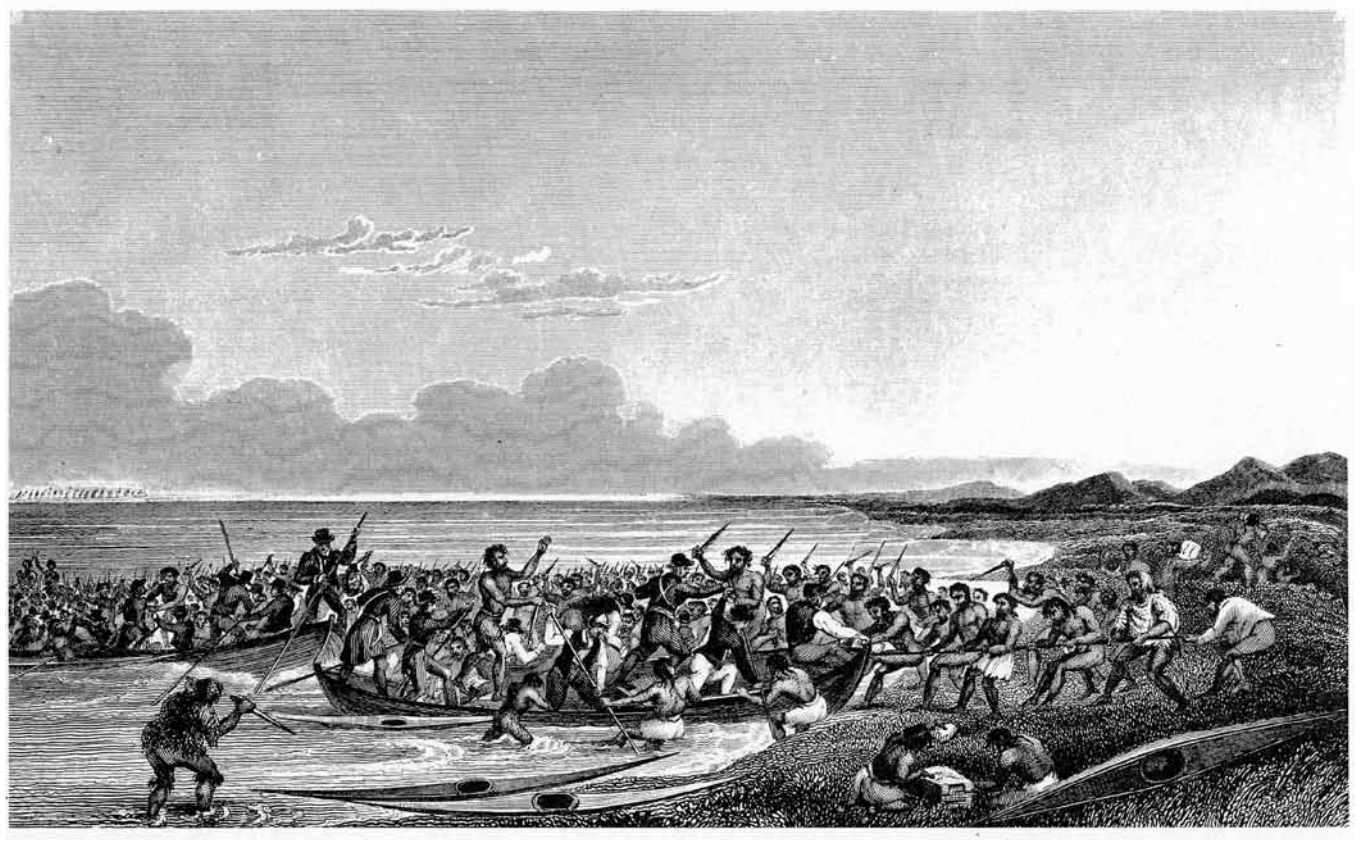
In the late 1700s and continuing into the 1800s Europeans and European colonists in Canada send expeditions overland and by sea to search for a Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean. Although the earliest of these explorers and Inuvialuit know of each other through rumours, they meet as strangers.

In 1792 Alexander Mackenzie, a fur trader, travels down Kuukpak, 'Big River' in Inuvialuktun, into Inuvialuit territory. Although he sees temporarily abandoned camps and dwellings, he meets no Inuvialuit. Kuukpak is later named Mackenzie River.

In the years 1825 - 1827 the British Royal Navy officer Captain John Franklin leads an expedition that follows the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean, and then explores the coast to the east and the west. Members of the Franklin expedition meet Inuvialuit throughout their journeys. The Inuvialuit are both curious about and aggressive toward the strangers who have entered their land. One of the expedition's interpreters, Tattannoeuck ('Augustus'), an Inuk from the area around the Hudson Bay, assures Inuvialuit that the expedition's intentions are peaceful. The Franklin expedition leaves little lasting impression on Inuvialuit, but a book he writes on his return to England introduces Inuvialuit to the wider world and paves the way for other outsiders who soon follow.

Portrait of Tatannuaq ('Augustus'), by George Back, 1823.

(John Franklin, ***Narrative Of An Expedition To The Polar Seas In The Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22,*** 1823,)



The sketch on the left of a Qikiqtaryungmiut woman by Lieutenant George Back, a member of the 1825-27 Franklin expedition, is one of the earliest European images of an Inuvialuk. It was redrawn and embellished by an engraver in the published account of the expedition.

Credits: (L) - from John Franklin, John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea***, 1828.);
(R) - Public Archives of Canada/C-93049)

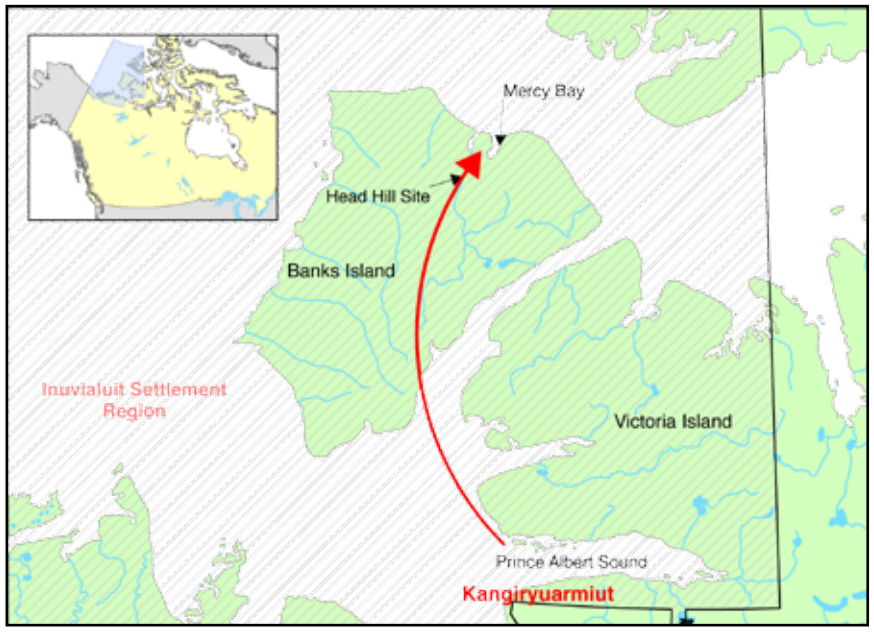
"Augustus [joined in] a dance to which they had invited him […] similar to those used in his own country when a friendly meeting took place with strangers."

John Franklin

(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the years 1825, 1826 and 1827***, 1828.)

HOW WE LIVED

HMS Investigator joins the search for Franklin



Images left: (Top) Location of Mercy Bay and the home territory of the Kangiryuangmiut.

(Below) Muskox skulls at the Head Hill archaeological site near Mercy Bay. Inuvialuit hunters placed these skulls in the muskox defensive formation, perhaps to show respect to the spirits of the animals. (C. Arnold)

Preparing to abandon HMS Investigator at Mercy Bay, 1853. (Illustration by Samuel Gurney Creswell, a member of the crew of the Investigator.)

Captain John Franklin's third and final expedition to the Arctic set out from England in 1845 with two ships and a crew of 134. They never returned. In 1850 two British Navy ships, the Enterprise and the Investigator, sailed around Alaska into the Beaufort Sea to search for the expedition. The Enterprise returned to England, but the Investigator became frozen in the ice in Mercy Bay on northern Banks Island, and was abandoned in 1853.

Kangiryuangmiut muskox hunters from western Victoria Island soon found the icebound Investigator and a large cache of food and equipment that had been moved onshore before the ship was abandoned. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who spoke with Kangiryuangmiut in 1911, recalled:

"She was to them, naturally, a veritable treasure house, especially for her iron. The news spread through Eskimo communities as far south as Coronation Gulf and east towards King William Island, and the Bay of Mercy for twenty or thirty years became a place of pilgrimage for perhaps a thousand Eskimos. They made long trips there to get material for knives, arrow points, and the like, certain families making the journey one year and other families another year."

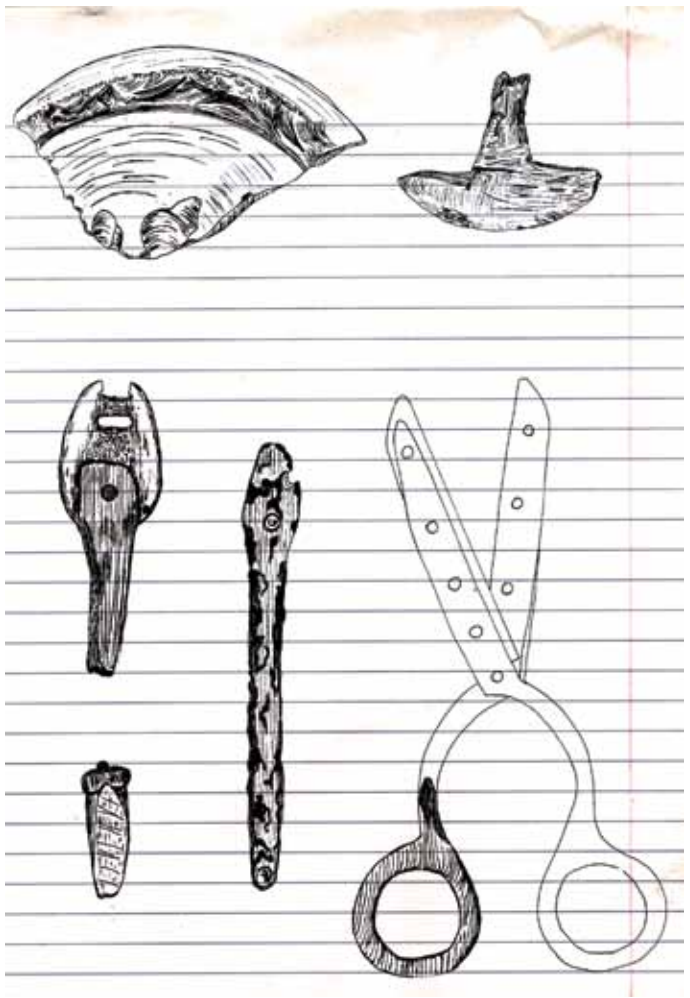
(Vilhjalmur Stefansson, ***The Friendly Arctic***, p. 241, 1921.)

"I remember stories that other people from around here would go up there (Mercy Bay) to get things from the shipwreck, even food like biscuits that were lying around."

Albert Palvik

(Richard G. Condon with Julia Ogina and the Holman Elders, ***The Northern Copper Inuit - A History***, p. 30, 1996.)

Artifacts found at the Head Hill archaeological site. Clockwise from the top are a fragment of scissors made from antler that had once metal cutting edges; part of a dog harness; an antler arrowhead; and a fish hook made from antler and iron. The metal used for the scissors and the fish hook probably came from the Investigator. (C. Arnold)



A page from an archaeologists' notebook with sketches of Kangiryuangmiut artifacts made from materials from the Investigator. Clockwise from the top are a scraping tool made from a glass bottle, an ulu blade made from lead, part of scissors made from antler and edged with iron, iron arrow head, drill bit with iron tip, fish hook with iron hook.

Archaeologists have found Kangiryuangmiut artifacts that were made from materials from the Investigator in old campsites near Mercy Bay.

Archaeologists investigate a tent ring at one of the Kangiryuangmiut camps near Mercy Bay. (C. Arnold)

Fur Traders

This drawing and an offering of gifts were left for Inuvialuit by John Franklin on the shore of the Mackenzie River in 1826. It was intended to convey to whoever found them that they were a token of friendship.

(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea IN THE YEARS 1825, 1826 AND 1827***, 1828.)

Trading is a long-standing Inuvialuit tradition that takes place between neighbours as well as over very long distances. Trading provides materials that are not available locally, and is also an important social activity that creates alliances between individuals and groups of people.

The nature of trading changes in the 1800s with the arrival of Tan'ngit. Euro Canadian fur trading posts are established in the Mackenzie Valley, and American whalers trade with Inuvialuit at over-wintering areas on the Arctic coast. New items begin to replace some traditional tools: firearms replace bows and arrows, and canvas is used instead of skins for tents. However, many traditional tools, such as harpoons and fishhooks, continue in everyday use, although they now are made with imported materials. For most of the 1800s, Inuvialuit trading takes place within the context of a seasonal round that now includes annual trips to a trading post.

600 year old bone needle found at the Kuukpak archaeological site. Bone needles are easily broken, and Inuvialuit seamstresses preferred steel needles once they became available through trade. (PWNHC/989.15.24)

"Beads, pins, needles, and ornamental articles, were most in request by women. The men were eager to get anything that was made of iron."

John Franklin

(John Franklin, ***Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea IN THE YEARS 1825, 1826 AND 1827***, 1828.)

Beads found at the Kuukpak archaeological site. (L): stone bead (PWNHC/989.15.138); centre: amber bead (PWNHC/988.20.421); (R): glass bead (PWNHC/989.15.186). The stone and amber beads are approximately 600 years old, and were made locally. The glass bead was obtained through trade, and likely arrived at Kuukpak sometime in the 1800s.

Above: Siberian style pipe obtained from Anderson River Inuvialuit. (MacFarlane Collection/SI/AMNH/E002154)

(L): A white trader and an Inuvialuk compare pipes in this photo taken about 1900. The trader's pipe likely came from Europe, and the Inuvialuk's pipe is of Siberian design and might have originated there. Together, these two pipes crossed more than half the world.

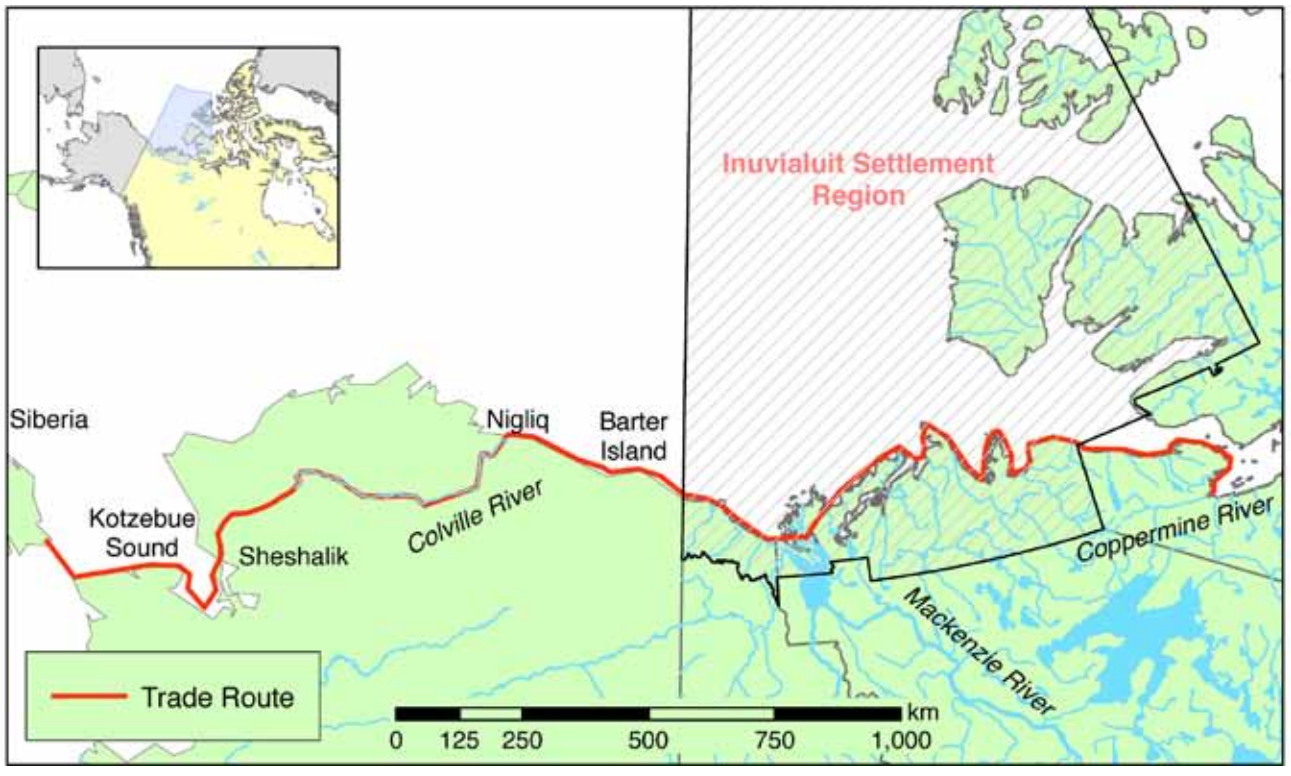
(C.W. Mathers/NWT Archives/N_1991_071_0013)

HOW WE CHANGED

This unidentified image from the 1920s shows the types of objects that were exchanged along traditional trade routes. Inuvialuit obtained soapstone lamps from Inuit to the east and traded them to Alaskan Inupiat for knives with steel blades that may have originated in Siberia. (P. Duchaussois/NWT Archives/N-90-026:0025)

Inuvialuit woman's parka from the Anderson River area, circa 1865, made from reindeer skins. In 1865 the closest reindeer herds were in Siberia and the skins for this parka must have come from that area.

(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/E001073-04).



Traditional trade routes in the western Arctic before the coming of Tan'ngit.

"They were particularly cautious not to glut the market by too great a display of their stock in trade, producing only one article at a time, and not attempting to out-bid each other."

Lieutenant Richardson

Lieutenant Richardson, a member of 1825-27 Franklin Expedition, saw first hand that Inuvialuit were experienced traders. Long before foreign traders appeared in their lands they participated in a remarkable Aboriginal trade network that stretched across the Arctic. Inuvialuit obtained soapstone lamps and pots from Inuit to the east, which they in turn traded to Alaskan Inupiat, along with wolf and wolverine furs and other items, in exchange for trade goods of Asiatic origin, and walrus tusks, and other goods from Alaska.

The anthropologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who lived amongst Inupiat, Inuvialuit and Inuit in the early 1900s, described the Invialuit-Inupiat portion of the trade network by imagining the route taken by a metal knife that originated in Siberia:

Whether it had come across Bering Strait by sled in winter or boat in summer, it would most likely be started on its way to the Coleville from (say) Kotzebue Sound, through purchase at a summer trading rendezvous on the coast, by Kuwuk or Noatak people who had descended to the sea in boats. These would return up the rivers to hunt the caribou, while the skins were good for clothing and while the animals were fat (in August or September). Not until the days lengthened in the following spring could the knife easily get to the Coleville, but in March or April trading parties would set out to sled over the Arctic divide and in June they would descend the river to [...] the trading centre of Nirlik near the western edge of the Colville delta, where they might trade the knife to Barter Island themselves. Here it would be traded to Mackenzie River (Herschel Island) Eskimo in mid-summer, just a year after leaving the coast west of Alaska [...] or might even get as far east as the east edge of the Mackenzie delta.

Prehistoric and Present Commerce Among the Arctic Coast Eskimo

The presence of American whalers in the waters off southern Alaska beginning in 1848 brought an end to the traditional trade networks. In addition to hunting whales they also traded with Inupiat for food and for furs, and disrupted the traditional supply and demand upon which the Aboriginal trade networks were based. Until whalers expanded into their territory in the late 1800s, Inuvialuit had to look south to the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts for metal tools, beads and other items.

HOW WE CHANGED

Relations with Gwich'in

(L): Inuvialuit dancing at Fort MacPherson, about 1868.

Les Grands Esquimaux

Before the arrival of fur traders, Inuvialuit had a long, and sometimes turbulent, history with their southern neighbours, the Gwich'in. Oral histories often emphasize the darker side of this relationship, and tell of feuding and deaths on both sides. Gwich'in who guided Alexander Mackenzie through Inuvialuit territory in 1789 appear to have feared encounters with Inuvialuit, and avoided areas they frequented at that time of year.

However, more peaceful interactions including trade also took place. Inuvialuit may have learned about, and obtained, snowshoes from Gwich'in, who in turn appear to have valued the sinew-backed bows made by Inuvialuit. Gwich'in also obtained foreign items such as beads and knives made of iron from Russian and Siberian sources through Inuvialuit-Inupiat trade networks.

Trade relations between Gwich'in and Inuvialuit changed following the expansion of the Euro Canadian fur trade into the Mackenzie Valley in the 1800s. In the first decades of the Mackenzie Valley fur trade Gwich'in established themselves as middlemen between fur traders and Inuvialuit, and tried to discourage Inuvialuit from visiting trading posts. This perpetuated and increased the fear and mistrust that previously existed between the two groups.

In the 1850s, after Gwich'in had been weakened by foreign diseases, Inuvialuit began direct trade at Fort MacPherson (originally called Peel's River Post), but even as late as 1868 when Inuvialuit assembled for a drum dance during a visit to Fort MacPherson Father Émile Petotit reported that one of the Gwich'in fearfully told him, "This will turn out badly. They are going to dance for their dead."

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, p. 104, 1887.)

(L): Gwich'in 'warrior', after a drawing by Lieutenant John Richardson in 1848 . The knife and possibly the beads may have been obtained through Inuvialuit and Inupiat trade networks.

(John Richardson, ***Arctic Searching Expedition***, 1851)

(R): Snowshoes obtained in trade from Inuvialuit at Fort Anderson, 1860s'.

(MacFarlane Collection/SI/NMNH/007470)

Top: Saviq, or 'knife' (MacFarlane Collectio/SI/AMNH/E002287) ;Below: Uluaqtuun, or 'saw' (MacFarlane Collectio/SI/AMNH/E002315), both obtained in trade from Inuvialuit at Fort Anderson.

Ulu, or 'woman's knife' obtained in trade from Inuvialuit at Fort Anderson. (MacFarlane Collectio/SI/AMNH/E001630)

In order to increase trade with the Inuvialuit who were reluctant to travel through Gwich'in territory to Fort MacPherson, the HBC established a post, Fort Anderson, on the lower reaches of the Anderson River in 1861. Fort Anderson was active for only a few years, and was abandoned in 1866.

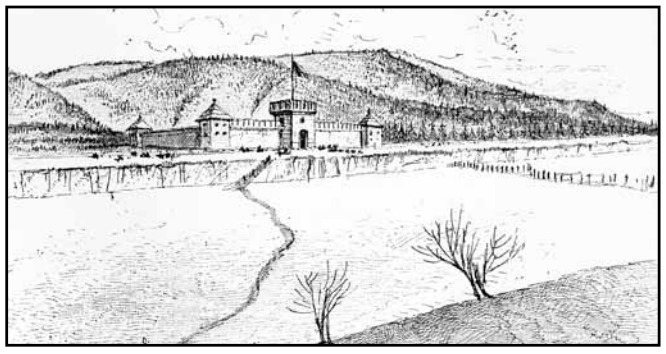
One of the legacies of Fort Anderson is a large collection of Inuit ethnographic objects and natural history specimens housed at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. The Chief Factor of Fort Anderson, Roderick MacFarlane, was commissioned by the Smithsonian Institution to collect artifacts and specimens from the Fort Anderson area. In a few short years, MacFarlane obtained almost 300 Inuvialuit artifacts, and several thousand natural history specimens for the Smithsonian.

The large collection of Inuvialuit tools assembled by Roderick MacFarlane in the early 1860s shows how quickly and thoroughly steel and iron were adopted. The arrows and harpoon heads all have steel blades, as do the adzes, skin scrapers and various kinds of knives: crooked or whittling knives, skinning knives, ulus (the traditional crescentic knife used by women), snow knives and large daggers with curving hilts. Drills all have iron bits, needles are made of steel and many of the fish hooks are iron rather than bone. All the tools are beautifully made, and in fact were themselves manufactured using steel-edged tools. Almost none is a simple trade item, used as purchased. Adze and knife blades have been re-hafted in traditional Inuvialuit-style handles, drill sets still employ the traditional bow-drill technology, and – beyond the blades themselves – arrow and harpoon heads were still locally made. This was not the wholesale adoption of a foreign technology, but the skillful incorporation of a new and very useful raw material into an already highly developed tool kit.

Inuvialuit craftsmanship quickly extended to the newly available metal itself. The Hudson's Bay Company sometimes provided custom-made articles for the Inuvialuit trade, from their blacksmith's shop at Fort Simpson.

But the Inuvialuit quickly learned how to alter metal to suit themselves. They learned how to remove the temper from iron to make it soft enough to cut up, and then how to reapply it with heat and cold water. Clear evidence of metallurgy has been found in Inuvialuit archaeological sites dating from the 1860s.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 74, 2003.)



Fort Anderson in 1865.
(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

"My uncle Ovayuak was the most important man (at Kittigaaryuk)."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 84, 1966.)

HOW WE CHANGED

Trading Chiefs

An Inuvialuit drum dance during a trading trip to Fort MacPherson in 1892. One of the Inuvialuit in this photo may be Ovayuakan 'important man', or umialiq, at Kitigaaryuk and, according to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, a trading chief. (Public Archives of Canada/C7519).

Each Hudson's Bay Company trading post had a 'chief' – called the 'Chief Factor' - who was in charge of all activities. The Chief Factor likewise expected Inuvialuit leaders to organize trips to the trading posts, and to keep order when they were there. They might look to an umialiq to fill that role, and in doing so they formalized the notion of leadership beyond what was normally the case. However, these 'trading chiefs' were only listened to by other Inuvialuit if they were respected as individuals.

The anthropologist **Vilhjalmur Stefansson** had this to say about Ovayuak, an umialiq and trade chief at Kitigaaryuk in the early 1900s:

Of all those who came here the finest, in my estimation, was Ovayuak, a man who had been my host for several months during 1906-07. The Hudson's Bay Company had recognized in him the same qualities which were apparent to me, and had accordingly made him a 'Chief' which merely meant he is the Company's accredited representative among his countrymen, and acts, in a sense, as the Company's agent.

(Vilhjalmur Stefansson, ***My Life with the Eskimos***, 1913.)

HOW WE CHANGED

The Beginnings of Change

The red decorations on the trim of this Inuvialuit woman's parka collected in the 1860s at Fort Anderson are made from red wool. (MacFarlane/AMNH/SI/E010073A-05)

Many of the changes that took place with the arrival of new trade good were subtle. The anthropologist ***Viljhalmur Stefansson*** *was told by Inuvialuit that changes in clothing began in small ways:*

Coats of both sexes at Kittegaryuit were formerly ornamented where the red dots of yarn are now used with red spots made of the "eyebrow" patches of the male willow ptarmigan (akeigivik), on hood, front of shoulders, and around coat above the bottom fringe.

The Stefansson-Anderson Expedition

Willow ptarmigan with red eyebrow patches that were once used to decorate parkas.

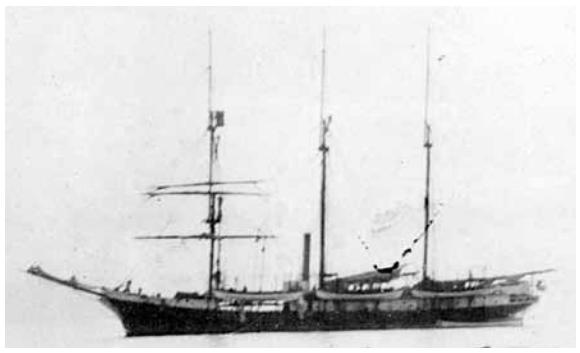
Whalers

Starting in 1890 commercial whalers operating out of San Francisco and Seattle cruise the Beaufort Sea in pursuit of bowhead whales. In order to get an early start on the season they overwinter at Qikiqtaruk – Herschel Island, also called 'Big Umiaq Island'– and at Baillie Islands where they are in year-round contact with Inuvialuit.

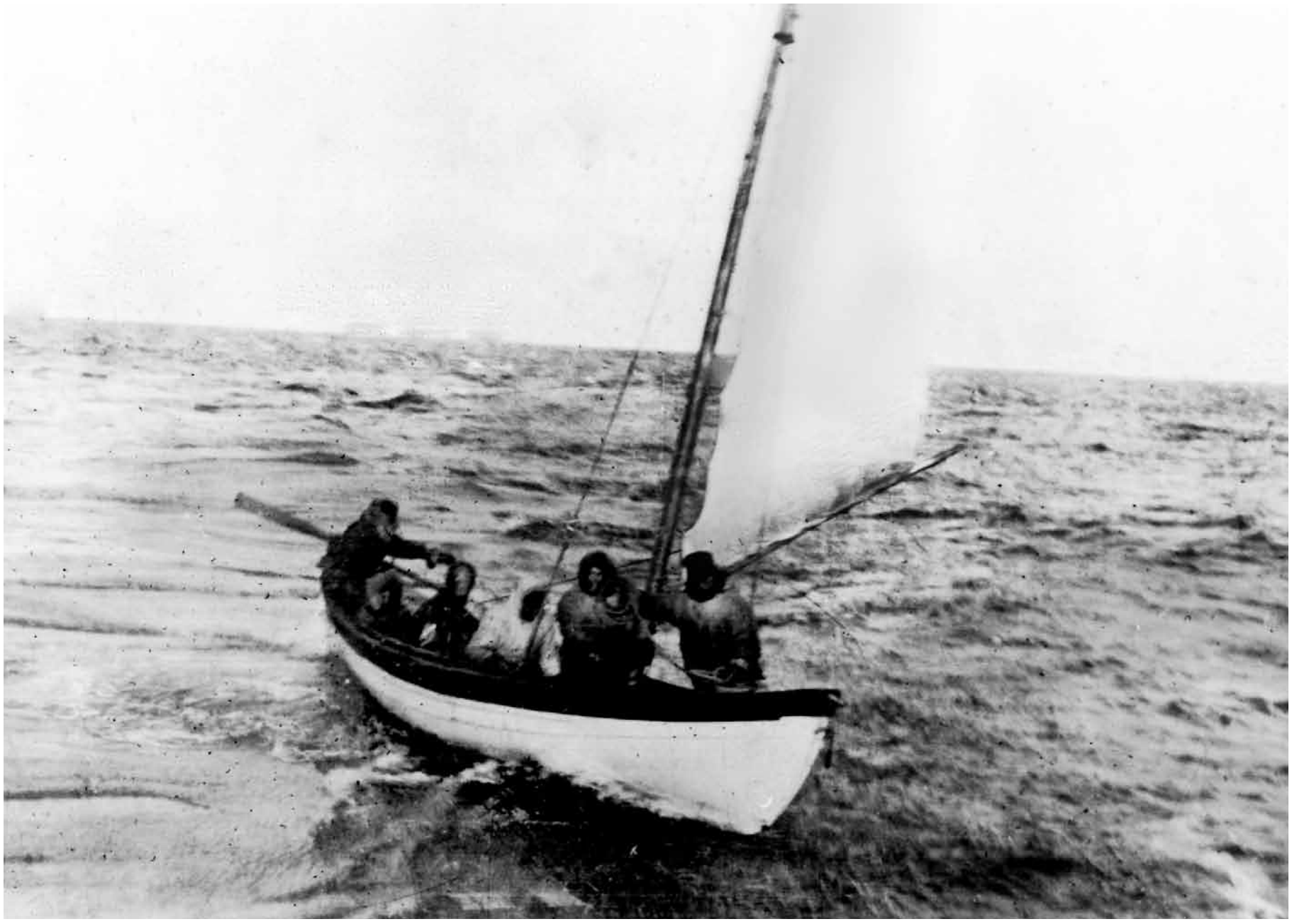
The whaling boom lasts little more than a decade, but its impacts on Inuvialuit are great. During the winter of 1894-95 fifteen ships with about five hundred whalers winter at Herschel Island, and the following year that number grows to over one thousand whalers. In addition to men from the United States, crews for the whaling ships include Alaskan Inupiat, native Hawaiians, and others from as far away as Cape Verde near Africa. Many Inuvialuit travel to Herschel Island to trade with the whalers. Some find work on the whaling ships, and others are hired as hunters to provide meat to the crews of the whaling ships. The whalers bring alcohol and diseases. Some cohabitate with Inuvialuit women and abandon them and their offspring when they return south.

Captain Billy Mogg with baleen freshly cut from a bowhead whale.

Top: Baleen whales were prized for supplying large quantities of oil for use in lamps and in the production of cotton, and for baleen used in corsets and for buggy springs. (National Film Board of Canada)



The whaling ship SS Bowhead near Baillie Island, 1907. (PAC/RCMP/E003525173)



Whalers used small whaleboats, as shown in this photograph taken about 1913, to pursue bowhead whales. (New Bedford Whaling Museum/10249)

The Inuvialuit settlement and Anglican mission whaling at the Herschel Island whaling station in 1901.

(I.O. Stringer/Anglican Church/P7517-190)

"In those days I was a very young boy and I remember the bowhead whale hunters used to come from the Alaska side. At one time, I remember when all our caribou hunters hauled nothing but hindquarters. They gave all the hindquarters they had to the bowhead whalers in exchange for the muktuk from one whale […] Now I remember all these men drinking out in the open. There were so many of them …"

Amos Tuma

(Amos Tuma, ***Remembering Old Times***, COPE/NWT Archives/N-1992-253)

Harpooned whale dragging a whaleboat, about 1913. (New Bedford Whaling Museum/205)

Preparing to remove upper jaw with baleen, about 1913.

Herchel Island in 1893-1894 by John Bertonccini. This painting shows overwintering whaling ships at Pauline Cove, fields on the ice for playing sports, and buildings on the shore.

HOW WE CHANGED

Whalers Bring Changes

Bob Cockney *was born in 1895 and was a child during the heyday of the commercial whaling operation in the Beaufort Sea, but he retained memories of that time and wrote in his book,* ***I, Nuligak****:*

When summer came Uncle Kralogark took us west to Herschel Island [...] If the weather was fair we would go aboard our umiak, and, the women paddling, we would make better time. (p. 29)

Crowds of Eskimos came there. That fall I saw some very large ships. The sailors we met always had something in their mouths, something they chewed. It so intrigued me that I kept staring at their jaws. Once certain day that 'thing' was given to me. I chewed – it was delicious. It was chewing gum. From that day I was able to recognize these white men's things. (p. 29)

Inuvialuit families travelled to Herschel Island, and were in close contact with American whalers for long periods of time. They worked with them, traded with them, socialized with them, even intermarried with them. They learned their language, their customs, their technology, their value systems and their economy.

Inuvialuit women visiting a ship at Herschel Island in the 1890s. (I.O. Stringer/Anglican Church/P7517-381)

Boats fitted for whaling were numerous. White men and Alaskan Inuit made up their crews [...] During the winter the Inuit had their dances to the sound of drums. I often lingered to listen to them. The Eskimos of Point Hope, Alaska, were really remarkable singers and dancers. It was a pleasure to watch them.

Inuvialuit and Inupiat had a long history of interaction through traditional trade networks and because of overlapping hunting territories, but learned more about each other while living together on Herschel Island.

"There were drinking bouts almost every day..."

In the early years of the commercial whaling at Herschel Island alcohol brought in by the whalers became a problem. Inuvialuit leaders, including Kakhilik, try to intervene. Missionaries requested help from the Government of Canada to deal with the situation.

Kokhlik, a chief at Kigitaagyuk in the late 1800s, was concerned about the impact that whalers were having on his people.
(Modified from C.W. Mathers/NWT Archives/N88-039-45)

An'nuk was an Inupiaq from Alaska who worked on a whaling ship.

(I.O. Stringer/Anglican Church/ P7517-162)

The Inuit hunted caribou in the mountains and made money by selling them to the sailors of the ships. "At the beginning of spring Ilrosiak and I went to fetch meat. There were caches everywhere in the passes between the mountains [...] White man's food was scanty aboard those ships [...] Then it was that the Eskimos, whether crew members or neighbours, were of great assistance. A good number of them went caribou hunting in the mountains. (p. 29)

In the winter of 1894-95 there were 15 ships and 600 crewmembers and many Inuvialuit wintering on Herschel Island. An estimated 500 caribou were consumed by each ship, and still more were needed to feed the Inupiat and Inuvialuit who were paid to hunt. Local caribou herds soon went into steep decline.

The caribou hunts in the mountains south of Herschel Island would have looked very much like this photo of a caribou hunt further east in the Melville Hills. (PAC)

[...] each summer the Inuit in the vicinity met at Baillie (Islands) to see the big ships pass through. The reason was that every one was either short of either of tobacco or tea. There was no more lead or gun powder, no canvas for tents, or many other useful things. All that could be purchased from the big ships. (p. 31)

Trading with the Inuvialuit was an important sideline for many of the whalers, who were able to import large quantities of inexpensive trade goods, outcompeting the Hudson's Bay Company with its interior supply routes. When the baleen market collapsed after 1907 a few whalers continued operating in the north, chiefly trading for white fox pelts.

The whaling ship 'Rosie H' and one of its whaleboats at Baillie Island, about 1915. Captain Fritz Wolki, who owned and operated the Rosie H, was one of the whalers who turned to trade with the Inuvialuit after the collapse of the whaling industry.

(Dartmouth Library and Archives/ Stef 229-037-24-25)

HOW WE CHANGED

Whalers Bring Changes (cont'd.)

A steel leg hold trap.
(Zoe Ho/ICS)

"Winter returns. I trap foxes: I have three traps now."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 53, 1966.)

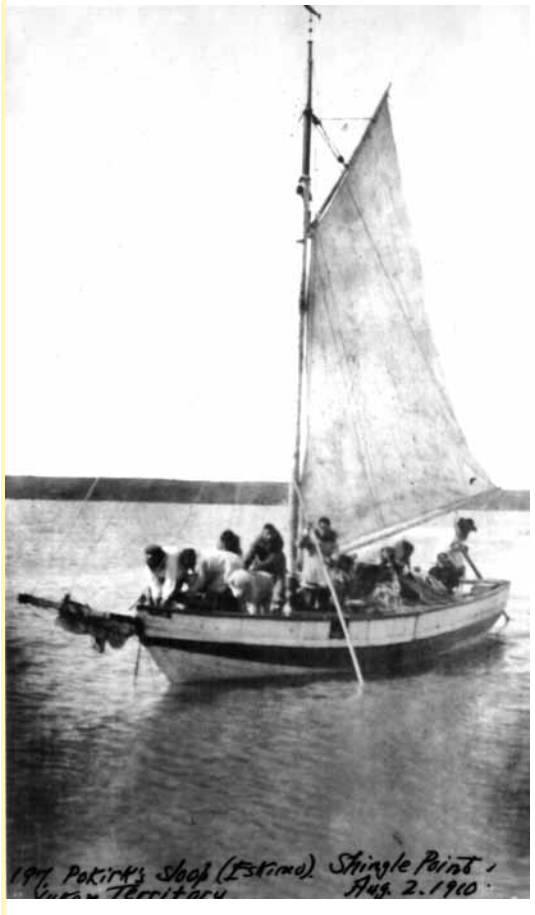
In the early days of the fur trade Inuvialuit used snares or deadfalls to trap fox. ***Bob Cockney*** *explains how they were used:*

In those places the Inuit would set up special snares. With an ice chisel they made a hole in the ice. To cover the hole, two other blocks were cut out. One block was balanced over the hole, one end resting on the ice, while the other end was supported by the second block, set upright. The bait, a piece of meat, was set beneath the block serving as post. As the fox tugged to free the bait, the ice block, falling on him, would crush him. These snares were called *krepigiat* by the Inuit.

The whalers provided leg hold traps (pictured top left), which were more efficient and allowed Inuvialuit to become more effective trappers.

We went to join our parents at Nalroreak [Nalruriaq, known today as East Whitefish Station]. A good number of white [beluga] whale hunters in sail-boats [...] had assembled. (p.134)

Inuvialuit came to appreciate the wooden whaleboats that the whalers used to stalk and harpoon bowhead whales – in particular, the ability of these boats to be sailed close to the wind, something that the flat-bottomed umiaq was not able to do. Inuvialuit were able to acquire whaleboats from whalers and later from traders. Flotillas of Inuvialuit-owned whaleboats were a common sight at major gathering areas.



'Pokiak's sloop (whaleboat) at Shingle Point', 1910.

(R.M. Anderson/Public Archives of Canada/172917)

STORY

Did the Whalers Offend the Whale Spirits?

Whale Spirit (Mona Ohoveluk)

According to traditional Inuvialuit beliefs, bowhead whales like all other animals had spirits that needed to be appeased if they were to allow themselves to be hunted. ***The Raven and the Whale*** is a story told by Inuvialuit elders to Herbert Shwarz in the 1960s that tells about the spirit of a bowhead whale. It involves a raven who spotted what he thought was a rock while flying from Herschel Island to the mainland. Tired and In need of a rest, the raven flew towards the rock, only to find himself inside a whale. There the raven found a young woman living in a cabin. She fed him, and let him rest on a skin platform beside a lamp that kept him warm.

"However, from time to she stepped outside the cabin, only to return a short time afterwards. This irritated and upset the raven and finally, unable to hold his temper, he asked her, "How come that you leave this comfortable cabin so often?" And she replied, "I leave it in order to live – breath is my life." [...] "You must let me go whenever I have the need to leave, and what is more, I warn you never to touch the lamp in the centre of the cabin. If you do, it will bring bad luck to us all!"[...]

"It happened that one day the girl was on one of her frequent absences from the cabin, and the raven was bored and irritated. He tried to get to sleep, but the brightly burning lamp in the centre kept him awake. So he became very annoyed, hopped out of the skin platform and extinguished the flame [...] As soon as the flame went out, the cabin became full of blood and blubber, and the raven felt suffocated for want of air. Too late did he realize that the bright light flame was the spirit of the whale and the beautiful girl was the soul of the whale, which had to leave the cabin from time to time in order to breathe. By not obeying her wishes he had killed the spirit and soul of the whale."

(Herbert Schwarz, ***Elik, and Other Stories of the MacKenzie Eskimos***, 1970.)

The era of commercial whaling in the western Arctic lasted for 20 years, from 1889 to 1909. Over that twenty-year period, bowhead whales that summered in the Beaufort Sea were taken in such large numbers that they were driven close to extinction. Did Inuvialuit who witnessed this period of intense hunting of bowhead whales also blame their disappearance on the lack of regard by commercial whalers for rituals to appease the spirits of the whales?

Missionaries

The Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church of England are eager to gain converts to Christianity, and as the Mackenzie Valley fur trade spreads ever further north they send missionaries to the trading posts and beyond into Inuvialuit territory.

In 1865 Father Émile Petitot, a Roman Catholic priest of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate missionary order, visits the Fort Anderson post on the lower Anderson River, and from there he travels with local Inuvialuit to the Liverpool Bay. In 1868, he makes another brief journey to Inuvialuit territory, travelling down the Mackenzie River to its mouth. Around 1870 Reverend Wiiliam Bompas of the Anglican Church of England Missionary Society travels down the Mackenzie River to the camp of 'chief' Shipataitook.

Neither Petitot nor Bompas are successful in attracting Inuvialuit to their religion, but gradually Christianity takes hold. In the 1890s Anglican missionaries Reverend Isaac Stringer and Charles Whittaker establish missions at Kitigaaryuk, Herschel Island, Shingle Point and several other locations in Inuvialuit territory. In 1907 the first Inuvialuit converts to Christianity are baptized.

(R): Reverend Isaac and wife Stringer at Kitigaaryuk wearing Inuvialuit clothing, about 1890.
(Winfield S. Mason, ***The Frozen Northland***, 1910.)

Father Émile-Fortuné Petitot.
(NWT Archives/N-1979-024-0041)

"Tanaomerk (Tannaumirk) announced his intention to say prayers. All of the people assembled to hear him sing. Among the spectators a good number of adults, old men and old women, smiled with the corners of their mouths and seemed to find this amusing."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 62, 1966.)

STORY

Traditional Beliefs - Story about Tannaumirk

Tannaumirk and his wife Arnaroluk in 1912.
(R. M. Anderson/PAC/C23645)

Even Tannaumirk, who the anthropologist Viljhalmur Stefansson identifies as 'a sort of a deacon', did not give up the old beliefs entirely. Stefansson tells of the following conversation with Tannaumirk in 1910:

Tannaumirk: *Is it true... that Christ is the only white man who could raise people from the dead?*

Stefansson: *Yes... He was the only one; and some of my countrymen doubt that even He could.*

Tannaumirk: *I can understand how that might easily be so with your countrymen. If Christ was the only man who could do it, and if you never know of any one else who could, I can see why you should doubt His being able to do it. You naturally would not understand how it was done. But we Eskimo do not doubt it, because we understand it. We ourselves can raise people from the dead. You know that some years before you first came to the Mackenzie district Taiakpana died. He died in the morning, and Alualuk, the great shaman, arrived in the afternoon. The body of Taiakpana was still lying there in the house; Alualuk immediately summoned his familiar sprits, performed the appropriate ceremonies, and woke Taiakpana from the dead, and, as you know, he is still living. If Alualuk could do it, why should we doubt that Christ could do it too?*

(Vilhjalmur Stefansson, ***My Life With the Eskimo***, p. 423, 1913,)

Bible study at Kitigaaryuk, 1890s.

STORY

Traditional Beliefs - Stories About Kublualuk

Kublualuk and family at Herschel Island in the 1920s.

Missionaries slowly win converts to Christianity, but for most Inuvialuit traditional beliefs continued to hold strong. Kabluluak became an angatkuq, or 'shaman', even while some began to question their powers.

Joe Nasogaluak *tells the following story about Kublualuk:*

Kublualuk was then young around 1900 [...] There was not too much shamanism then as the younger generation did not believe in it and they mocked the shaman or medicine man [...] Joking about the shaman was quite common amongst the younger people. But Kublualuk did not participate in these games.

One day he decided that he would like to be a shaman and to learn about it. This, of course, was greeted with laughter and sneers. But he persisted in his intention and determination [...] it was said that Kubluluak could fly, really fly.

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 30, 1994.)

As a young boy, Charlie Gruben flew with Kublualuk, who offered to teach him to be a shaman:

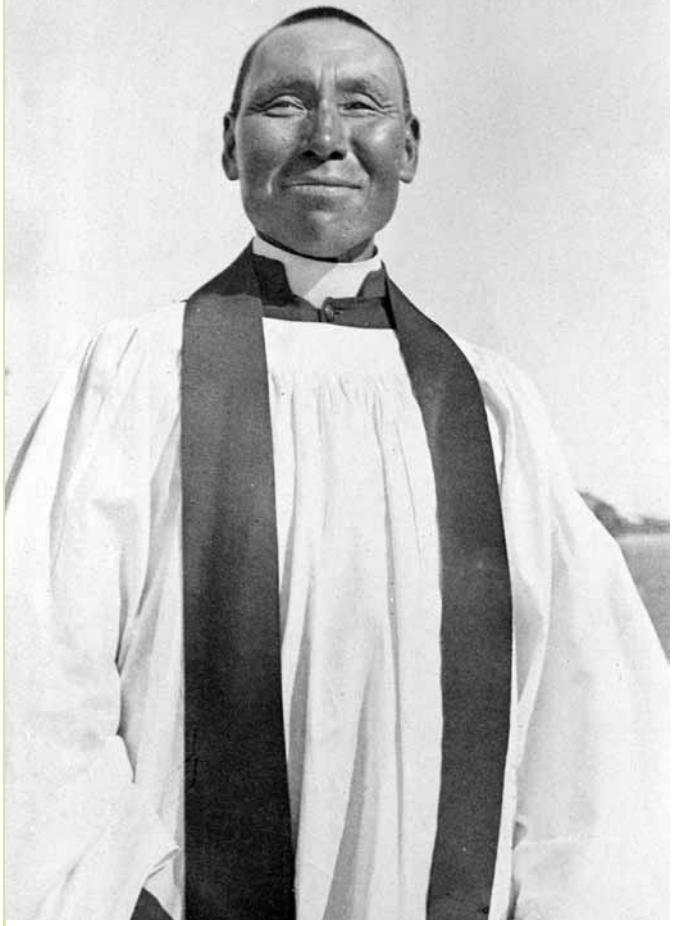
When he was a young boy, Charlie Gruben flew with Kublualuk. He tells of his rather unusual experience. [Kublualuk] finally wanted to take me fly to Ukiivik (Kendall Island) [...] When he asked me if I wasn't feeling lazy (tired), I said "yes". He put me on his back. I held him under his arms. When he lift up, he told me to close my eyes. I started getting scared, I was moving on his back. He told me to nudge him on his left side if I got scared. I was scared so I nudged him and we landed. He never changed.

I looked back, we could hardly see our house [because] we were so far. We were just about to reach across the big river. We walked all the way back. He really wanted to give me his shaman (power). He said he never used it as bad shaman, just [to] have good time with it. I didn't take it, I was just a young boy.

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 31, 1994.)

WHO WE ARE

Thomas Umoak - First Ordained Inuvialuit Minister



Thomas Umoak at Shingle Point in 1940.
(Fleming/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0532)

Thomas Umoak (born about 1888) was one of the first Inuvialuit to convert to Christianity, and the first Inuvialuk to be ordained by the Anglican Church. He was baptized on Herschel Island in 1909 when he was about 26 years old, and confirmed in 1912 at Fort MacPherson. In 1927 he became a lay reader at Herschel Island, and In 1933 he was ordained as a Deacon and served at Shingle Point. He later moved to Tuktoyaktuk, where he retired in 1963.

Thomas Umoak's church in Tuktoyakuk, now a historic site.
(Courtesy Anglican Church of Canada)

Iquun (scraper). (PWNHC/977.76.2)

Even though he was an ordained minister, Thomas Umoak followed traditional Inuvialuit traditions in his daily life. He made this iquun (scraper) for his wife Adugoak ('Susie').

HOW WE CHANGED

Marriage

A wedding is conducted by Anglican Church Bishop Stringer at Herschel Island, early 1900s.
(I.O. Stringer/Anglican Archives/P7559-148)

"Young men learning to be hunters would often travel from camp to camp and this was the opportunity for the boys to choose their future wives. To get their attention, the young women would sew beautiful mitts, boots and other clothing which their parents would then present to the young man."

(Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit, GNWT, Dept of Education, 1991.)

Before the missionaries arrive people see no need for marriage ceremonies. Marriage is a partnership recognized by the community. Parents often arrange marriages, and young couples might stay with the woman's parents until the young man is able to care for himself and his wife.

When missionaries arrive they encourage church weddings, and record marriages in church registers.

Agnes Nanogak *(1925 – 2001) tells how she came to be married by a priest in 1947:*

I will tell this part of my life - the time we went to the west, that is, the very first time I got there, the first time I saw the western people. There was one boy along with the others and they were such kind people. Later on in the years, this same couple became my mother-in-law and father-in-law. They took me along with them wherever they travelled. I was very young in those days. I was told that when I grew older, I was to be married to this boy who was a lot bigger than I was at the time.

But a story she tells of her mother reveals another side of marriage:

When I was old enough, my step-mother would tell me things about my real mother and parents - how things were then. I was told that my father passed away first [...] when my father got very old and could not look after my mother anymore, he let her get another husband so she didn't have to starve and was also cared for [...]My step-mother said that my mother was pulled by both arms by different men [...] (who) [...]wanted her for their wife.

(Untitled)

Agnes Nanogak Goose
(1925 - 2005).

HOW WE CHANGED

Given Names

Archdeacon C.E. Whittaker (seated with his wife) and missionaries at Fort MacPherson, about 1914.

(NWT Archives/N-1989-011-0003).

"A minister, Mr. Whittaker, arrived. He poured water on a great number of people. I got in line and did as the others did. During the ceremony the minister said to […] Oyangin, "I give you the name of Haydn."

Oyangin answered, "What a queer name you are giving me." He did not want to be called that way. Furthermore a number of them did not even know what this ceremony was all about – even the adults did not bother to ask for explanation, and they knew nothing of the meaning of prayers."

Bob Cockney

(***I, Nuligak***, p. 53, 1966.)

Like many of his generation, Nuligak had a 'Christian name' – Bob Cockney – in addition to his Inuvialuit name.

He was given the name 'Nuligak' early in life, and was baptized as 'Rupert Nooligak' by the Anglican missionary, Reverend C.E. Whittaker, at Arctic Red River in 1912.

Whittaker may have chosen the name 'Rupert' for Nuligak.
(In Alaska these Christian names are known as 'foxskin names', because missionaries charged a fox skin when they christened Inupiat.)

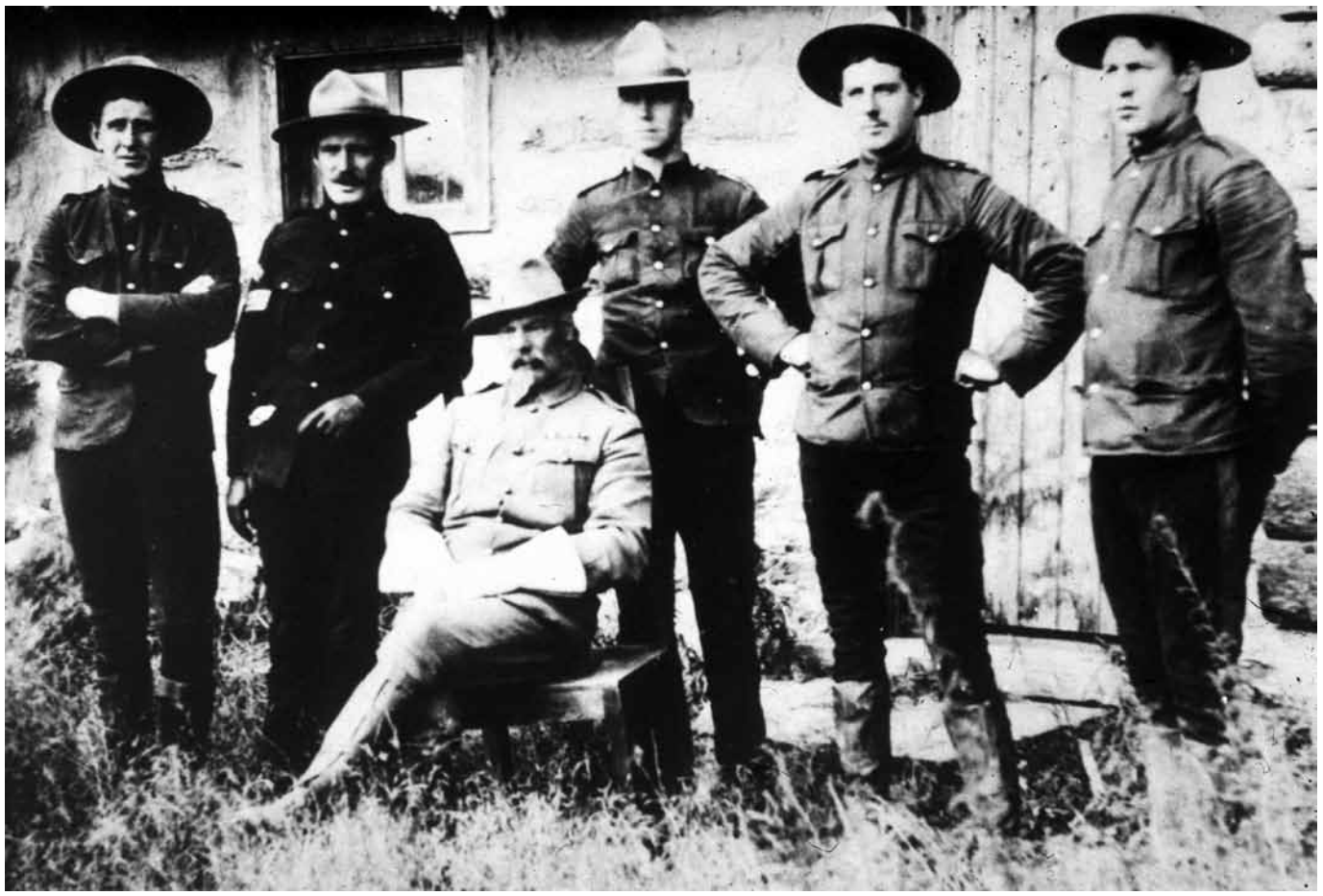
'Rupert' sounds very much like 'Robert', which is commonly shortened to 'Bob'.

Nuligak's stepfather was named Qannaq. Vilhjalmur Stefansson mentions the name 'Kanirk' - perhaps Nuligak's stepfather - in one of his books. He noted that " [...] whalers [...]had apparently found in the sound of it a suggestion of a well-known English word and had called him 'Cockney'."

Police

At the urging of missionaries who are concerned about lawlessness and the effects of alcohol brought by whalers to Herschel Island the North-West Mounted Police establish a detachment on the island in 1903.

The Police reduce the liquor trade, enforce law and order as defined by the Government of Canada, and carry out other functions of government. They are successful despite their small numbers because they hire Inuvialuit as guides and translators.



Top: Sergeant Fitzgerald (L) and Constable Sutherland (fourth from left) at Fort MacPherson in 1903, shortly before departing for Herschel Island where they established the first North West Mounted Police detachment in Inuvialuit territory. (Library and Archives Canada)

(L): Two uniformed North West Mounted Police officers with Jimmy ('Roxy') Memogana (to the right in the photograph), who they hired as an Inuvialuit interpreter, at Fort MacPherson in 1908. (R.M. Anderson/PAC/C23940)

Before the Police

RCMP Inspector La Nauze with prisoners Sinnisiak and Uluksuk at Herschel Island, 1916.

(RCMP/NWT Archives/ G-1979-034-0007)

With the arrival of the North-West Mounted Police in their territory, Inuvialuit are now subject to the laws of Canada. The following two stories tell how killings were avenged before and after the Police arrived.

Story - The Grandson's Revenge

Bob Cockney *tells about a feud in the late 1800s, which resulted in several people being killed.* ***The Grandson's Revenge*** *is one part of this long-running feud.*

Years passed. The murderers of Tutigak, Naperak and their mother had become old. It was in 1885. Takroserkrenak had become an inuk of great strength and ability. It was his grandmother that Tirterk's and Pavianak's gang had strangled, dragging her by the neck. He could not forget it! The Inuit had assembled at Singikyuak, about thirty miles from Kitigariuit. Someone had died during the winter, and Pavianak, Naperak's murderer, had been asked to lead the march to bring him to the grave. Takroserkrenak remembered his grandmother. He began to run after Pavianak and coming on him in a rush pushed him violently and snapped his spine. "He strangled my grandmother," he said, "He did not use a knife against her. No more did I take up a knife. I killed him by hurling myself against him."

In the olden days the Inuit slew those who killed their kinsmen. One vengeance followed another like links in a chain.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 203, 1966.)

Story - Sinnisiak and Uluksuk

Sinnisiak and Uluksuk were Inuit from Victoria Island who were hired in 1913 by Oblate missionaries Jean-Baptiste Rouvière and Guillaume Le Roux to act as guides and sled drivers. When Le Roux threatened and struck Sinnisiak during a dispute, the two Inuit killed both priests. Inspector Charles La Nauze of the Royal North-West Mounted Police tracked them down and arrested them 1916. They were taken to Herschel Island, and were then sent to Edmonton where they were tried, convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment at Ft Resolution, NWT, and after 2 years they were released.

(Canadian Encyclopedia)

Upon his arrest, Sinnisiak threatened:

"If the white men kill me, I will make medicine and the ship will go down in the ice and all will be drowned."

(Great Alberta Law Cases)

Inupiat

Inuvialuit living in the Canadian Arctic and Inupiat in Alaska have known each other for a long time. Goods are exchanged through trade, and Inupiat sometimes hunt in Inuvialuit territory. When whalers came to Qikiqtaryuk, Hershel Island, they bring Inupiat to work for them and to hunt caribou.

Other Inupiat move east from Alaska when the great caribou herds in their homelands decline in numbers. Soon there was a growing scarcity of caribou in Inuvialuit territory. Some blame this on overhunting to supply meat for the whalers, but others say a spell cast by a shaman caused the caribou to disappear.

Inupiat man and basket sled, northern Alaska, 1909. Inuvialuit may have adopted the use of basket sleds from Inupiat.
(R.M. Anderson/PAC/C23944)

HOW WE CHANGED

Inupiat Settle in the Delta

'Kitallok's camp' in the Mackenzie Delta, about 1915.
(CMC/43215)

"At first the two groups maintained their distance and distrust but, gradually, they began to intermarry and their separateness became less distinguishable […] Today, when we speak of the Inuvialuit, we do not mean simply those whose ancestors were Inuvialuit. The Uummarmiut, whose ancestors were the Inupiat, are also considered Inuvialuit."

(***Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit***, p. 48, 1991)

After the market for whale products collapses in 1907 most of the whalers leave the north. The original Inuvialuit suffered greatly from diseases brought by the Tan'ngit, and the surviving Inuvialuit stay mainly on the coast. Many Inupiat, instead of returning to Alaska, move into the Delta to hunt and to trap. They are sometimes called Nunatarmiut because most came from the interior (nunataq) of Alaska, but over time they come to be known as Uummarmiut, which means 'People of the green trees and willows.'

Fred Inglangasuk *explained why Inupiat moved from the coast to the Delta after the whaling era came to an end:*

"Because in the coast we get short of food when the weather is not good. And now in the Delta we could snare and we could go (fish) hooking. That's how we make our living […] Here in Delta there's lots of rabbits and some ptarmigan too and in spring there is muskrat and there's lots of places where you could go (fish) hooking."

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 86, 1994.)

"They (the whalers) pick up Alaska's people for hunters. And when they get to Herschel Island, they do hunting around there. These Alaska people never go back. They lived in the Delta, and our parents too never go back. My dad and them are from Alaska."

Albert Oliver

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 30, 1994.)

STORY

The decline of caribou

A group of aribou.
(NWT Archives/G-1995-001-1640)

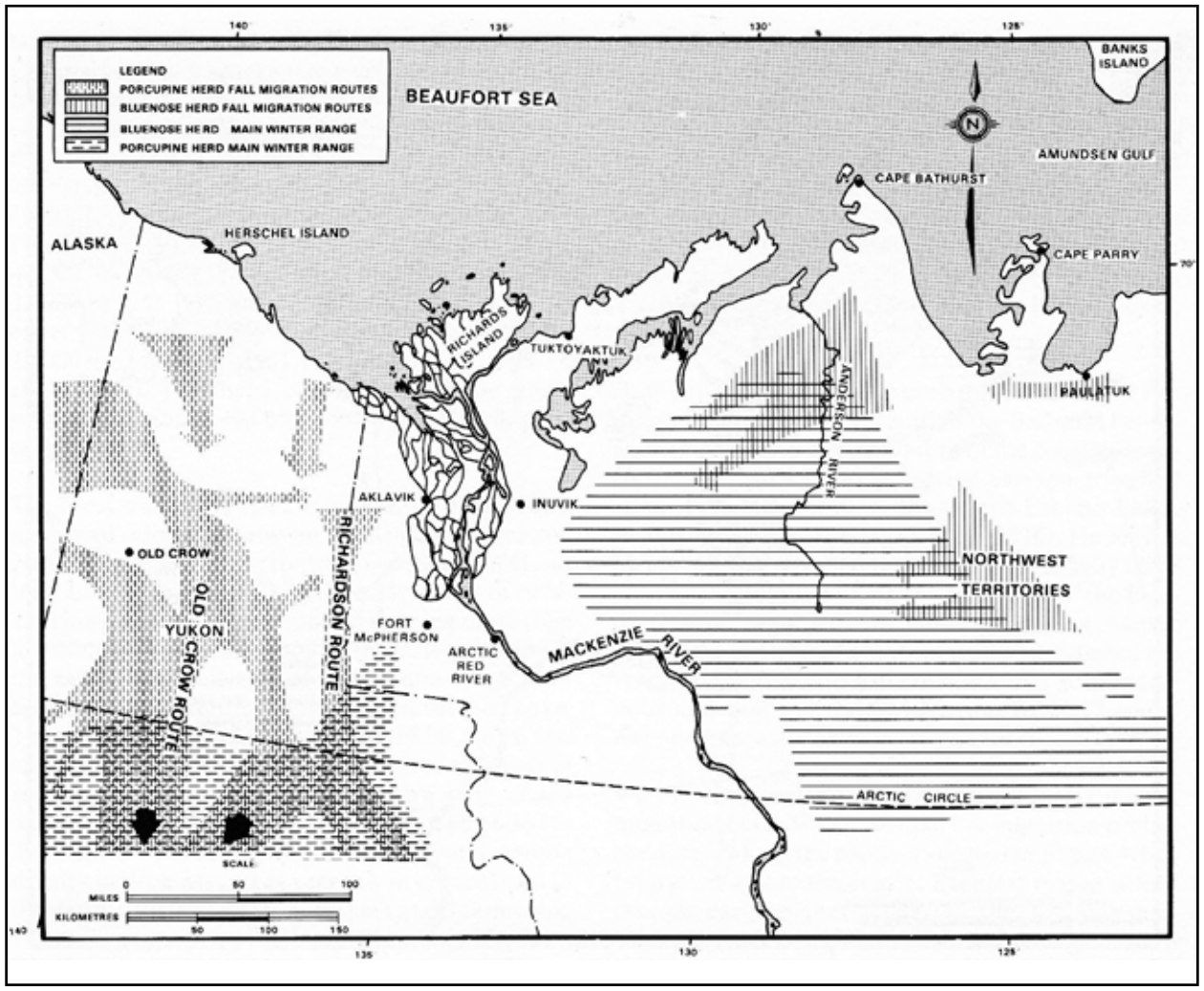
We saw that they were very skilled hunters and that they had some very effective tools, but we also saw them as being very aggressive. The Inupiat had many hunting tools which were different from ours. We traded with them and adopted many of their ideas.

They entered our area first as they hunted the Porcupine caribou. The herd tended to migrate some distance along the arctic coast but it had a habit, however, of retreating to the mountains very early in the summer, leaving the Inupiat without caribou. The Inupiat then turned their attention to the Bluenose caribou which the Inuvialuit hunted. Our leaders were very uncomfortable when the Inupiat seemed interested in hunting from this herd.

To protect ourselves, the Inuvialuit turned to a shaman. He was asked to divert the caribou from the path of the Inupiat, in the hope that this would discourage the Inupiat from hunting them in the future. We were able to protect ourselves from the Inupiat then, but in the process we hurt ourselves. The caribou herd never really returned to its normal course.

That was our first dealing with the Inupiat. In the beginning they were simply our neighbours to the west. In time, numbers of them came to settle in the delta area and became a part of us and our land.

(***Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit***, p. 31, 1991.)



Inuvialuit and Inupiat hunting territories sometimes overlapped during the fall caribou hunt, when the Porcupine and Bluenose herds were migrating towards their winter ranges.

(Hydrocarbon Development in the Beaufort Sea - Mackenzie Delta Region - Environmental Impact Statement, p. 4.8, 1982.)

Intermarriage

The whalers who arrive are mostly young men. Not having wives, or having wives that are far away, some of these men seek the company of Inuvialuit women.

Many of the men who father children with Inuvialuit women go back to their homes overseas or in the south. Others stay in the north.

"They made children […] They would leave them and find another wife, like if they weren't married."

Joe Nasogaluak

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 30, 1994.)

Crew of the whaling ship SS Beluga, which overwinterd in the Baillie Island area, 1907.
(PAC/RCMP/E003525170)

WHO WE ARE

Pannigabluk, Jennie Thomsen and Uniq

Victoria Island, N.W.T. Left to right: Alex (Stefansson) and Pannigabluk; Annie, little boy Thomsen, and Jenny Thomsen; Martina, Aida, and Elvina (Weena) Storkerson in front of a tent at Walker Bay, July, 1917.
(PAC/PA48014)

Pannigabluk, Annie Thomsen and Uiniq (Elvina, or Weena) Storkerson were three women whose lives were linked through their husbands and the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE) of 1913-1918.

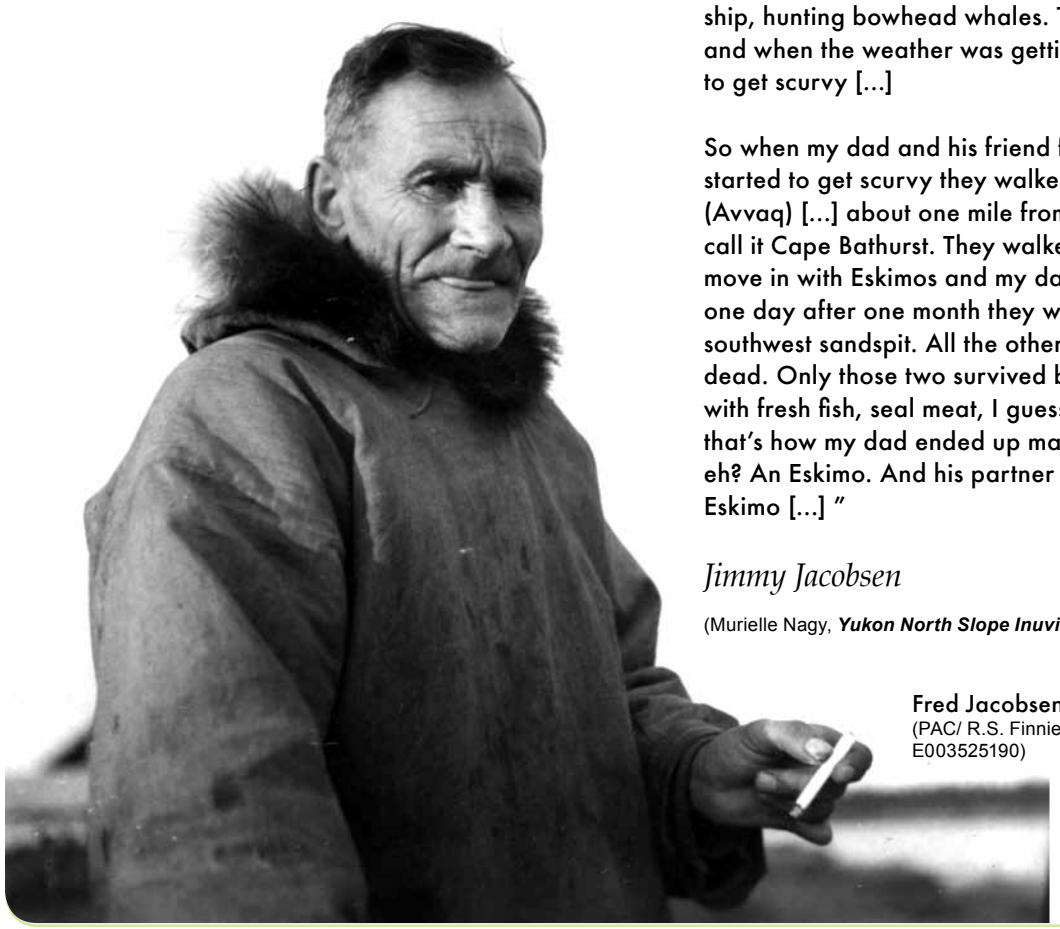
Pannigabluk was an Inupiat who was hired by the anthropologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson to travel with him as a seamstress and interpreter during two of his expeditions to the arctic, first in 1908 -12, and later for the CAE. They had a son, Alex Stefansson, who was born in 1910. Stefansson never publicly acknowledged Pannigabluk as his wife, but Anglican Church baptism records from in 1915 list the names Pannigabluk, "Stefansson's wife", and "their five-year-old son (Alex) Alik Alahuk". Following Stefansson's departure, Pannigabluk and Alex settled in the Delta.

Jennie Thomsen was also from Alaska. She married Charles Thomsen, a sailor with the CAE, and accompanied her husband as a seamstress for the Expedition. They had two children, a girl named Annie and a boy whose name is unknown. Charles Thomsen perished in the winter of 1916-17.

Uniq (also known as Elvina, or Weena) married the Norwegian seaman Storker Storkerson on Herschel Island in 1910. They were both hired on by the CAE, he as as a seaman and Jennie as a seamstress. Following the Expedition Storkerson left his wife and three daughters (Martina Novaluk, Aida Mamaginna and Bessie Povlirak) at St. Peter's Anglican Mission in Hay River while he joined Stefansson in attempting to establish a reindeer herd on Baffin Island. They were never reunited.

WHO WE ARE

Fred Jacobsen



"Fred, my dad, came with one of the first whalers' boat. There were about thirty of them in that whale ship, hunting bowhead whales. They froze in there and when the weather was getting cold they started to get scurvy [...]

So when my dad and his friend found out the crew started to get scurvy they walked from Baillie to (Avvaq) [...] about one mile from Baillie Island. They call it Cape Bathurst. They walked there and they move in with Eskimos and my dad and his friend one day after one month they walked back to the southwest sandspit. All the other thirty-one were dead. Only those two survived because they lived with fresh fish, seal meat, I guess. Ten, after that, that's how my dad ended up marrying my mother, eh? An Eskimo. And his partner too married an Eskimo [...] "

Jimmy Jacobsen

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History***, 1994.)

Fred Jacobsen, 1939.
(PAC/ R.S. Finnie Collection/ E003525190)

Tom Lessard (centre) shown with Johnny Ruben (left) and Paul Adam (right) was a French Canadian trapper who trapped furs in the Anderson River region in the 1950s.

(ISDP/BW-9)

WHO WE ARE

Christian Klengenberg and his family, 1916.
(D. Jenness/CMC/36912)

Christian Klengenberg ('Charliuyak') was born in Denmark in 1869. In 1894 he travelled to Herschel Island as the pilot on a whaling ship. He stayed in the western Arctic and Coronation Gulf for many years, making a living as a trapper and a trader, and was one of the first to trade with the Copper Inuit. He was married to Gremnia Qimniq (Kimnik), an Inupiat from Point Hope Alaska, and together they raised a large family.

Language

Few of the Tan'ngit whalers learn proper Inuvialuktun, and instead communicate by using 'trade jargon', a mixture of English and Inuvialuktun. Some Inuvialuit become proficient in English, but Inuvialuktun remains strong.

Inuvialuktun has always been a spoken language. Missionaries introduce writing, and Inuvialuit begin writing in their language. On a trip through the western Canadian Arctic in 1924, the anthropologist Knud Rasmussen remarks that some Inuvialuit are using typewriters to write in their language.

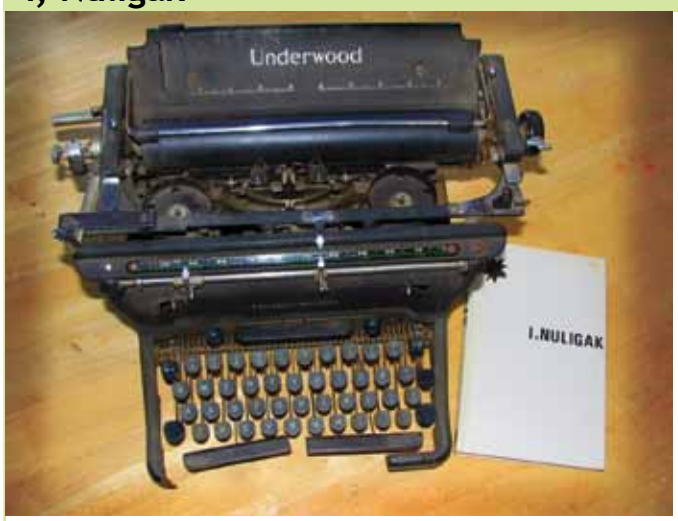
"Wherever white men have remained for a year of more in definite contact with the eskimo people there has sprung up a more or less complete system of jargon talk mutually serviceable to both parties."

Vilhjalmur Stefansson

(Vilhjalmur Stefansson, ***The Eskimo Trade Jargon of Herschel Island***, p. 217, 1909.)

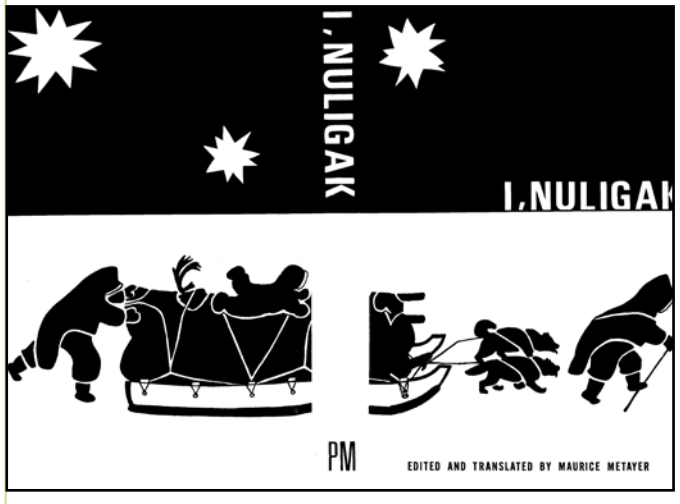
WHO WE ARE

I, Nuligak



The typewriter Bob Cockney used to write his memoirs.

Photograph of Bob Cockney from the jacket of ***I, Nuligak***.



Cover of English edition of ***I, Nuligak***.

I, Nuligak*, published in 1966, was originally written in Inuvialuktun by Bob Cockney (Nuligak). Nuligak tells of how learned to write in his language, and about keeping a diary which formed the basis of his autobiography:*

At that time a number of young men thought it would not be a bad idea to follow instructions in all these new ideas. I, for instance, decided to learn to read and write, and from then on I never let Tanoamerk out of my sight. He was my 'school teacher' and taught me my letters [...] This was in 1910.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 62, 1966.)

In the early 1900's the Anglican missionary Reverend C.E. Whittaker began teaching some Inuvialuit who had converted to Christianity to read and to write in their langauge. It is likely that Nuligak's 'school teacher', Tanoamerk (Eli Tannaumirk) was one of those taught by Whittaker.

" [...] 1940 [...] I decided to go and live in the lowlands of the Delta, seven miles from the Village-of-the-Reindeer (Reindeer Station). From that date on, September 26, I wrote my daily journal. I still do it today."

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 176, 1966.)

Nuligak was encouraged to write his memoirs from his journals by Father Maurice Metayer, who edited it and translated it into English and French. In a note written shortly after Nuligak's death in 1966 Father Meteyer wrote:

Bob, as a writer, wrote a lot by hand, and with a typewriter. To spend one's time (that way), he used to say, is not work. He wrote a lot [...] What memories! What stories! What legends! And, mixed with all that, what opinions and reflections and intimate feelings on events, things, animals and people encountered in the course of his life.

(Provincial Archives of Alberta, ms. 97-109.1749. Original in French).

"We remained at Herschel that entire summer [...] I was surprised to hear the Inuit speak the white man's language and speak it well. They had learned it from the whale hunters while living and working beside them."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 62, 1966.)

Another ‘Stranger’

When Tan’ngit first enter the Inuvialuit homeland they cause barely a ripple. The ripples soon become waves as traders, missionaries, whalers and other strangers arrive, promising wealth and salvation.

Inuvialuit adapt to these strangers, adopting new materials and adjusting the seasonal round of activities to include visits to trading posts and whaling stations, and welcome Inupiat who migrate from Alaska. However, one of the new arrivals is more formidable than all of the other strangers – disease.

One of many driftwood covered graves in the hills behind Inuvialuit villages hit hard by diseases that accompanied the arrival of the Tan’ngit. (C. Arnold/PWNHC)

The late Norman Felix, like his father Felix Nuyaviak, was renowned for telling the tales and singing the songs of his ancestors. (E. Hart/ICRC/ TTKP R23-8)

“And we will remember the tales and sing the songs and recall the feats and virility of our ancestors […] (people) of stature and strength and courage, above all (people) living in the land, their land, our land now.”

Felix Nuyaviak

(Rudy Wiebe, ***Playing Dead, a Contemplation of the Arctic***, p. 103, 1989.)

3 Disease Takes the People 1860–1920

Remains of a sled on a driftwood-covered grave.

(E. Hart/NWT Archives/G-2004-004-144).

Unknown Diseases

Inuvialuit have, over countless generations, developed ways to prevent illness, and to treat sickness and injuries when they do occur.

Traditional health and healing is based in beliefs about the spirit world, and in the powers that some people possess to control spirits that can do harm. The curative properties of plants are well known, and are utilized to keep and restore health.

WHO WE ARE

Plants that Heal

Inuvialuit have an intimate knowledge of plants that grow in their territory, and how they can be used to cure ailments.

Rene Oliktoak *described how her grandmother, an angatkuq, or shaman, once helped administer iviraq (curly sedge) to her grandmother's niece, Milayok:*

Milayok was all covered with a rash [...] they washed her up and then put her in a blanket and then bring her where its warm. [Moistened iviraq was then rubbed onto her skin.) She started to heal. I saw this being done [...]

(Inuvialuit elders with Robert W. Bandringa, ***Inuvialuit Nautchiangit,*** p. 136, 2010.)

(L): Curly sedge (iviraq).
(Robert W. Bandringa/ ICRC)

Other medicinal plants and their uses described in ***Inuvialuit Nautchiangit*** include:

Inuvialuktun Name	English Name	Use
Nittiirnat	Labrador tea	Colds and chest congestion
Unknown	Wormwood	Sores, wounds, rashes, respiratory conditions
Napaaqtuq	Spruce	Respiratory ailments and headaches
Qurliaq	Spruce sap	Cuts and wounds
Unknown	Mushroom	Sunburn and windburn
Uqpik	Willow	Insect bites and stings; upset stomach
Nunangiat	Alder	Insect bites and stings; skin problems
Akutuqpalik/quaraqpait/siutirnat	Sweet coltsfoot	Cuts and wounds
Halgi	Marsh ragwort	Rashes
Nautchiat	Fireweed	Eczema
Iviraq	Curly sedge	Rashes
Unknown	Dandelion	Upset stomach
Paunraq	Blackberry	Diarrhea, eye irritations
Unknown	Cranberry	Upset stomach
Unknown	Alpine bistort	Pink eye

This 1865 sketch by Émile Petitot of Noulloumallok-Innonaraana, an Inuvialuk from the Anderson River area, shows the skin of a small mammal attached to his belt. This may have been an aanruaq, or 'amulet', worn by Inuvialuit to ward off harmful spirits, or 'tornrark' as Petitot referred to them. (SI/NAA/08936000)

"That winter [1908] an illness brought me within an inch of death. An old woman cured me [...] her name was Panigiuk. She was an [angatkuq]."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 62, 1966.)

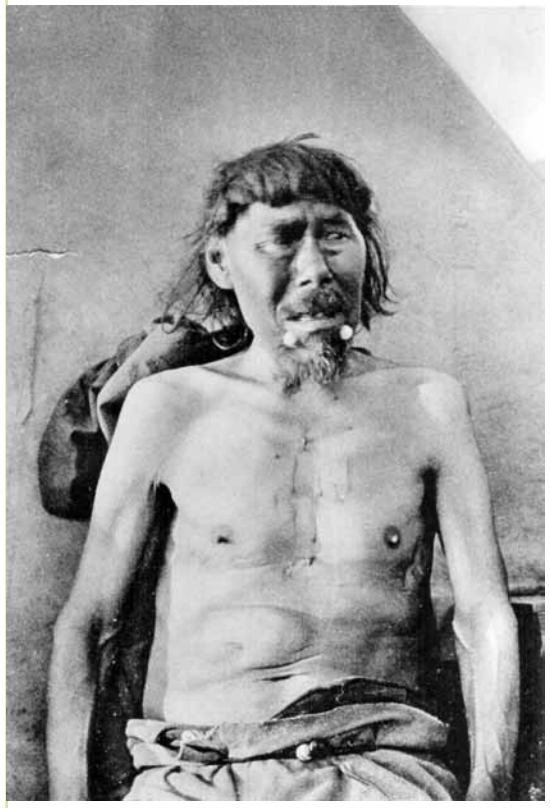
WHO WE ARE

Harmful Spirits

Guninnana [...] told me of how diseases were controlled, how famines were averted, how people were killed or cured by magic.

(Vilhjalmur Stefansson, ***My Life with the Eskimos***, 1913.)

Information passed down through oral histories or told to and recorded by others tells that, according to traditional Inuvialuit beliefs, illness could be caused by evil spirits that enter the body. The anthropologist Viljhalmur Stefansson recorded information he was told by Inuvialuit in the early 1900s about traditional beliefs concerning illness:



This photograph of Roxy Mimurana, taken about 1930, shows scars on his chest from 'cutting'.
(Jack Woods/NWT Archives/N88-041-242)

"I asked Roxy this morning concerning certain scars on his breast. He said they had been made when he was sick inside under the spot where the scars are. He said this [cutting] was not done by a doctor, but by anyone."

"They emphasize that it is not so much blood, as water, that comes out, and this water must be gotten rid of in some way [...]"

(Gísli Pílsson, ***Writing On Ice,*** p. 103 and 113, 2001.)

"Mamayuak [says that] a sick man is entered by a sokotak which has usually or always been sent by a shaman's wishing the man to die. This finally kills him, or leaves him through being driven out by another shaman."

(Gísli Pílsson, ***Writing On Ice***, p. 269, 2001.)

Levi Anagachiak is remembered as a 'suptaki', or 'faith healer'.
(Joe Nasogaluak Collection 6/ICRC)

"Certain persons of both sexes are endowed with the power of curing disease by blowing their breath on the sick person or paining part of the body. This power is inborn, not acquired..."

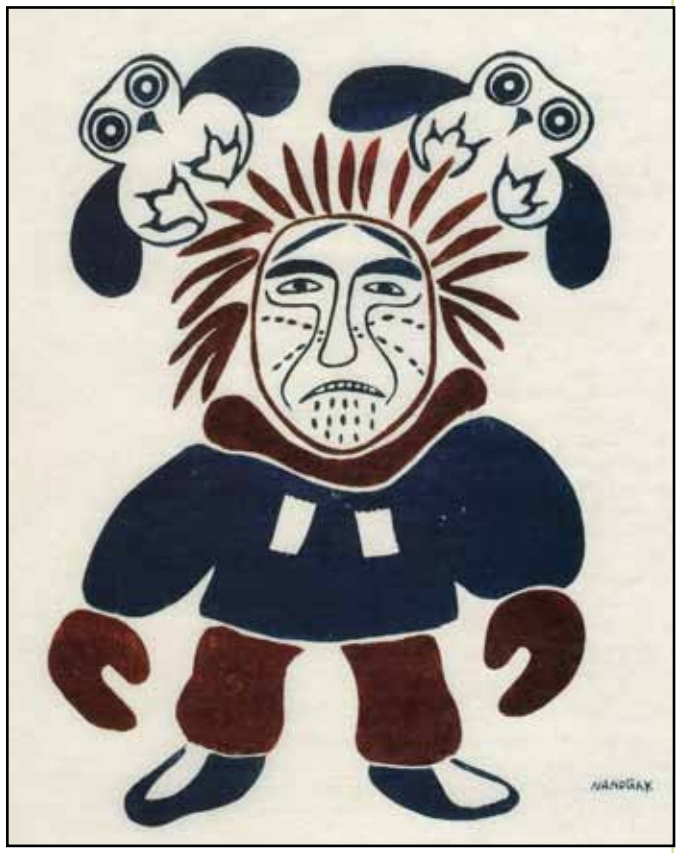
(Gísli Pílsson, ***Writing On Ice***, p. 269, 2001.)

People who have this power are called 'suptaki', which is derived from the Inuvialuktun term 'supiyuaq', which means 'blows on something'. A suptaki's power was generally acknowledged not to be as strong as the power of an angatkuq.

Mamayuak, photographed about 1915. In the caption for this photograph, Stefansson's colleague, R.M Anderson mentioned 'magic charms', perhaps referring to feathers or other materials sewn to her parka to ward off evil.

(R.M. Anderson/PAC C23639)

Guninnana (l) and Uttaktuak (Itkuktorvik), 1910 by Viljhalmur Stefansson. (CMC/GHW 51100)



'Sorcerer's Powers' by Agnes Nanogak, 1973, depicts an angatkuk and his spirit helpers.
(Holman Eskimo Co-Operative, 1973)

"Sometimes the doctor [angutkuq] is called. He works in the patient's house, and his treatment consists [of] songs and dances."

(Gísli Pílsson, ***Writing On Ice***, p. 113, 2001.)

The First Epidemic

The arrival of the Tan'ngit brings many changes to the Inuvialuit. The worst by far is sickness due to new diseases. Inuvialuit have no immunity to common European illness, and when infected they die in alarming numbers.

Settlements where people had lived for hundreds of years are abandoned, and survivors join people in other areas for survival. The elderly are the most susceptible. With the passing of the elders traditional knowledge and oral histories are lost as well. As the population declines, Inupiat from Alaska and Inuit from the Central Arctic immigrate in increasing numbers.

"Almost the whole tribe perished, for only a few families survived."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 27, 1966.)

An abandoned kadjigi at Kitigaaryuk, 1909. In many ways the kadjigi represented continuity of traditional Inuvialuit culture. It was used by men as a clubhouse, and by the entire community for festivities such as drum dancing and story telling. This kadjigi, one of the last built and used by Inuvialuit, was abandoned when people deserted Kitigaaryuk during the 1902 measles epidemic. (R.M. Anderson/PAC/C23947)

WHO WE ARE

Foreign Diseases

Inuvialuit at Herschel Island, about 1900. Whalers from the United States and other parts of the world who overwintered at Herschel Island during the height of the whaling era in the late 1800s through early 1900s were a source of some of the diseases that afflicted Inuviauit who travelled there. (I.O. Stringer/Anglican Church/P7517-179)

Scarlet fever spread through the Mackenzie Valley trading posts in 1865. The Roman Catholic missionary, Émile Petitot, was accused by some Inuvialuit of bringing the disease when he travelled to their territories.

(Émile Petitot, ***Les Grands Esquimaux***, 1887.)

"It was during those days (1911) that we two, Uncle Nuyaviak and myself, got sores all over our hips, thighs and feet […] We very nearly died. I believe that we had what the white men call smallpox [...] frequent sitting in the snow cured us, healing our sores."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 87, 1966.)

The gathering of Inuvialuit in relatively large numbers at trading posts and areas where whalers overwintered made them highly susceptible to infectious foreign diseases to which they had no immunity. Survivors who continued on their seasonal rounds may have carried the diseases throughout their territory. Diseases of various kinds are reported to have affected Inuvialuit throughout much of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Records show that major outbreaks of diseases occurred in the following years:

Year	Disease
1865	Scarlet fever and perhaps measles.
1902	Measles
1905-06	Mumps
1911	Smallpox
1918	Influenza and measles
1928	Influenza

These diseases were not always the immediate cause of death. Anglican missionary Charles Whittaker wrote: "When the fever made them uncomfortable, they emerged from their warm houses and sat where a cold wind would cool them, or in the drizzling rain. Pneumonia supervened, and funerals followed day after day."

(Charles Whittaker, ***Arctic Eskimo***, p. 226, 1937.)

HOW WE CHANGED

Impact of diseases

This grave at Tuktoyaktuk, photographed in 1910, shows an unmaq frame and other possessions of the deceased person. (PAC/14244)

Felix Nuyaviak (1892 -1981) *spoke about an outbreak of meassles at Kitigaaaryuk ('Kiti') in 1902:* "The best of our people, the peak, had come to Kiti for the whale hunting. As only a few were out at their camps, the oldest and most skillful were there whale hunting. The terrible epidemic did not respect the old people's health. Some were there for only a few days, others for a very, very brief period. This was the end of the tribe, the end of Kiti, the end of (Kuukpak). The place which was filled with laughter, noise, running, activitiy became a land of desolation [...] People dying everywhere, so many that they had to quit bothering to make graves. At times they would put two or three bodies together, not in the underground but just where the body was covered by logs, and the tools no longer respectfully arranged in and around the resting place. The women of the tribe left Kiti afraid, frightened at leaving a hounded and forsaken land, a land stricken by evil spirits and a wall of pain lying on the shoreline, but empty now [...] "

(Rudy Wiebe, Playing Dead, ***A Contemplation Of The Arctic***, p. 103, 1989.)

Bob Cockney (circa 1895 – 1966) *wrote in* **I, Nuligak**: "Mother, my little brother Irkralugaluk and I joined those who were leaving. Uncle Kralogark took us with him, for Mother had lost her second husband Avioganak during the epidemic. Once in Kiklavak the Inuit built a large igloo for all. Each and every one gave us food.

Winter came, and one day we saw a huge pack of wolves out at sea on the ice, heading east. There were so many of them that the last ones were still in front of us when the leaders had disappeared on the eastern horizon. It was said that they had feasted on the bodies left on the Kitigariuit land and were now continuing their travels. The weather was clear, and we could see for a great distance. I do not know how many wolves there were, and rather than pass for a liar I refuse to give a number. It was at that time that the caribou disappeared from Kitigariuit. After that winter the Inuit rarely killed any - there were so very few left." (Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, 1966.)

HOW WE LIVED

Survivor Stories : The child who saved her brother

Sarah Meyook at twenty-years old holding daughter (?) Laura.

Sarah Meyook *lost both her parents in Aklavik during the 1928 influenza epidemic. She tells how she saved the life of her baby brother:*

Long ago we were living over there in the East (around Baillie Island). They said Bennett told them there was a big flu in Aklavik and told them not to go. My mom and dad never listen to them. When they came they set tent in Aklavik. Sarah Ross, Ross's wife, that one was a best friend of theirs. Us too we had tent near them. My sister was a bit bigger than I was. My brother was younger [...] They were both sick too. They both never get up, only me was walking around.

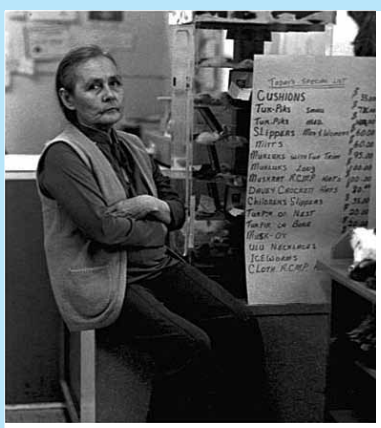
1 must have been about two or three years old. My sister must have told me to give my brother a spoon to feed him. That's how he is alive now. He would have died if he'd starved if I didn't give him a drink. I don't remember how I looked after him. Well, they are easy to talk to when they are this big. I guess they understood them or me. I would go on my mom and dad. When I got on them I would find my mom's breast and feed on it. I didn't know they were dead. I try to wake up my dad. They never moved. All that time they were both dead. I didn't know. My older sister and my brother were both very sick, so they never bother to check my mom and dad. They said only me was walking around.

When Sarah Ross was not too sick, she went and checked on my parents. When she saw my parents were both not breathing she went to see the minister. After she went to the minister, they took us away from there, before they got too stiff. They let us separate then.

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History,*** p. 29, 1994.)

HOW WE LIVED

Survivor Stories : Bessie Andreason's Story



Bessie Andreason, 1981.
(Harry Palmer)

Bessie Andreason (1922-85), who lived much of her adult life in the western Arctic, was originally from the Kitikmeot. She was orphaned in 1937 when her parents, Ambrose Arnavigak, and Lena Tamasuina, died after contracting measles while sailing on their schooner, the Nanuk, to their winter camp. She survived the trauma of being alone in an unfamiliar area by drawing on the strengths of her culture.

Little by little, the idea of finding myself alone in an unknown land, in the presence of two dead people, my father and mother, my father at the back of the tent and my mother at the door, became a reality [...] I looked around me at the sea, which was beginning to freeze, at the clear sky, where day was beginning to break, at the land, with its contours vague and rugged in the half-light, at anything at all to escape and get away from my gloomy thoughts, and to make me forget that I, too, was a little orphan now and, what's more, alone. This reminded me of the traditional Eskimo stories – and there are many – about those orphans we call Iliapaluk, who always, after some suffering and hardship, ended up becoming worthy men, great hunters and trappers. This restored my courage, and I swore not to let myself sink into despair, but to persevere and fight and live.

Every day, I ventured out onto the ice, but just at the very edge of the shore, and later even a little farther out, but always carrying a hatchet to test the strength and thickness of the ice.

When I thought it was strong enough, I set out for the schooner. I had decided to go there. On board, I found everything I needed and didn't even have to bring back anything from the tent. One morning – oh, not too early, but before noon judging by the sun – I was pulled from my usual musings by the dogs. They were barking and seemed very excited. Several explanations for such behaviour came to my mind - maybe a bear, or caribou or another animal had ventured into the area, or, yes, a dog team, and so people? My feelings then were mixed, feelings of joy and of dread at the thought of seeing someone again, feelings of fear – what if it was a bear? No matter what situation arose, I felt rooted to the stool I was sitting on, without the strength to move [...]

I heard the rustling of footsteps on the ice and snow around the boat, and footsteps on the deck. Someone was walking, and there was a sound, the sound of talking, words - "Is anyone there?" I clung to my seat, trembling. Who was it? I couldn't say a word. The footsteps came closer to the front of the boat, and hands pushed the sliding door slowly, oh so slowly, and eyes looked inside, and those eyes saw me and stared at me, trying to work out who I was. Since neither of us could identify the other, he asked, "Who are you?". I answered, "Bessie". He recognized me instantly, and immediately asked me where my parents, Ambrose and Lena, were. At first, I didn't answer, but finally, taking my courage in both hands, I answered that they were both dead, that their bodies were on shore, in the tent and beside the tent. While I was talking, other people also came in and gathered round me, holding my hand and trying to comfort me. The presence of other human beings quickly brought me back into action and I made them some tea. I didn't forget the laws of Eskimo hospitality – to treat all visitors well.

(Robert Lemeur, ***Souvenirs de L'arctique***, undated.)

Questioning tradition

It is difficult to keep the old beliefs strong now that so many have succumbed to disease. The inability of the angutkat (shamans) to cure those who became sick cause many of the survivors to turn to Christian religion. As ties to traditional culture weaken, Inuvialuit increasingly adopt the ways of the Tan'ngit.

Inuvialuit at a mission gathering.
(ICRC/ Canon Shepard Collection)

WHO WE ARE

A Decision Regretted

Sam Raddi, shown here at the signing of the Agreement in Principle of the Inuvialuit Land Claim agreement.

(ICRC)

Sam Raddi, *who was one of the architects of the Inuvialuit Land Claim, spoke about the reasons he decided not to take an opportunity to become a traditional healer, a decision he regretted later in life:*

My uncle [Levi Anagachiak] was training me how to 'suptak' so that one day I could take over his power and become the new suptakti [faith healer]. He trained me for a month and told me he would transfer his power to me. I had been in school and the school was against this sort of thing, so I hesitated. I also feared becoming a shaman instead of a suptakti so I refused to inherit the power. He didn't ask me why I gave up in becoming a suptakti. I shouldn't have given up. I might have had the power to heal people. I'm sorry now I didn't take it. He had a lot of power.

"Many of our elders, hunters, and leaders are gone. In the midst of this sadness and confusion, the Tan'ngit suddenly seemed to be all around. One by one, the fur traders, whalers, missionaries, and government workers had come into our lives pushing and pulling at us."

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit

(Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit, GNWT, Dept of Education, p.41, 1991.)

Population Decline and Redistribution

Before the arrival of the Tan'ngit there may have been as many as 2,500 Inuvialuit living in their traditional territory. The population began declining during the early fur trade period and even more rapidly with the arrival of the whalers, mainly as a result of epidemic diseases. Police estimates show that by 1905 the population is reduced to 259 Inuvialuit. Many of the traditional settlements have been abandoned.

The ability of Inuvialuit to adapt helped them to recover from this period of great hardship. Survivors regrouped at Herschel Island and Kitigaaryuk, and at new settlements at Tuktoyaktuk, Aklavik, Shingle Point, Baillie Islands, Stanton and Paulatuk where trading posts were established as world prices for muskrat and fox skins rose dramatically. Alaskan Inupiat and Inuinnat from the east gravitated to the Inuvialuit area, attracted by the new wealth in muskrat and fox skins.

Kitigaaryuk in 1909. A hand-written caption says, "The shore is lined with ruins of old log and sod houses, and the hills covered with graves. Once one of the most populous Eskimo settlements. The people died or moved away [...] ". By the time this photo was taken people had begun moving back to Kitigaaryuk. (R.M Anderson/PAC/C23943)

"We can never return to the world of our ancestors as it was. However, the spirit of our ancestors remains with us [...] This spirit is a great source of strength to our people."

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit

(Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit, GNWT, Dept of Education, p.85, 1991.)

Above: Shukaiyuk, Sinnekpiak and Mimurana, near Kitigaaryuk, 1910. Mimurana was a Kuukpangmiut, but relocated to Kitigaaryuk after Kuukpak, the main village of the Kuukpangmiut, was abandoned in the late 1800s following an outbreak of disease. (PAC/C23950)

Photo left (L-R): People at Tuktoyaktuk, 1925. Tuktoyaktuk was a seasonal fishing camp until Mangilaluk (standing at left with hands in pocket) moved there after Kitigaaryuk was abandoned during the 1902 measles epidemic. In 1905 he built the first permanent dwelling in the community.

(L. Hanson/Danish National Museum/Fifth Thule Expedition/Neg. 2425)

4 The Fur Trade Boom
1920s – 1950s

The schooner "Reindeer" with white fox pelts hanging from the mast, about 1929.

(Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0293)

Trading Posts

Nalruriaq (Whitefish Station) in the early 1900s. Canvas tents (background) and whaleboats (foreground) were among the imported items that Inuvialuit acquired through trade with Tan'ngit. (A. Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1082)

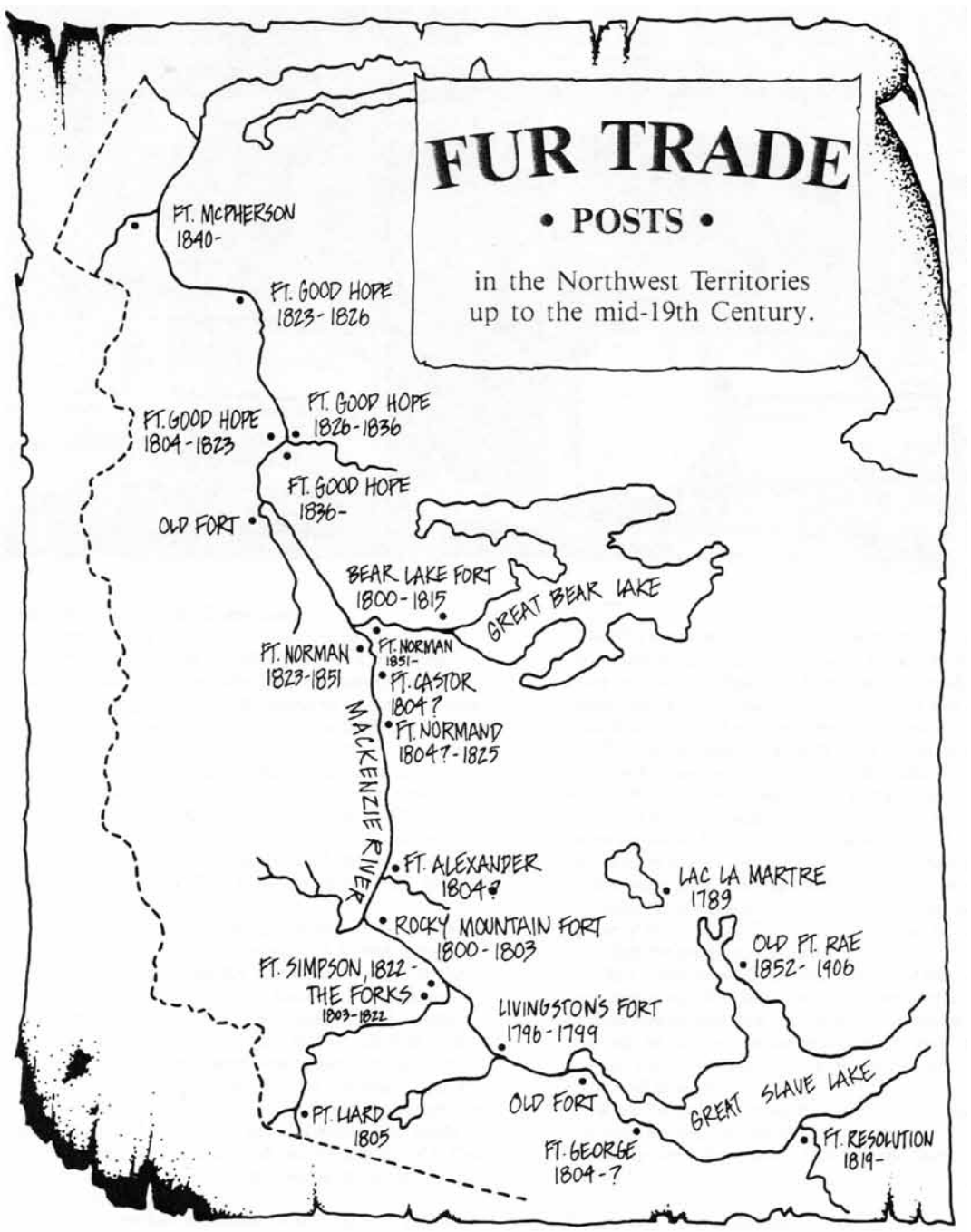
"The spring of 1911 found a great many of us at [Nalruriaq]. The Inuit were on their way to Fort MacPherson to trade furs for provisions."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 84, 1966.)

By 1910 commercial whaling in Arctic waters had all but collapsed. Many Inuvialuit had come to depend on the whaling ships and the goods they brought north, which no longer arrived.

Trade goods such as flour, tea, sugar, tobacco, guns and tools are now considered essential. Most Inuvialuit continue to live on the land, and have added winter trapping of fur-bearing animals, particularly white fox on the arctic coast and muskrats in the Delta, to their seasonal activities. Some make the long journey to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post at Fort MacPherson, but a few whaling ships that they own continue to come north are turned into floating fur trade posts. The HBC responds by establishing trading posts in Inuvialuit territory.



(R): Throughout the 1800s the Hudson's Bay Comapny and other trading companies had expanded along the Mackenzie River. However, in the early 1900 the closest post to Inuvialuit territory was at Fort MacPherson.

(Map courtesy of the Government of the Northwest Territories)

Fox

Sachs Harbour, March 1959. Frank Carpenter skinning a white fox. Sachs Harbour, 1959.
(Robert C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0635)

White fox skins being aired out, Sachs Harbour, 1958. (Robert C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0265)

About White Fox

Fox in the cold regions of the far north have soft but thick furs. There are two species, 'white' (although there are several colour variations) and 'red', both of which are found in the Inuvialuit territory, but it is the white fox (tiriganniq in Inuvialuktun) that was most sought after.

The price of fox skins has varied over time, due mainly to the whims of the fashion industry. Trapping fox has been an important source of income for generations of Inuvialuit, but the 1920s are remembered by Inuvialuit as a 'golden age ' for fox trapping, as prices were generally high. Nuligak wrote that in 1929: 'My fur sale in Aklavik brought me $2,799.00', which is the equivalent of $35,000 in 2010 dollars.

"I actually owned six snares when the cold season set in. It was from that period [1909] on that the Inuit gave more time to the trapping of foxes. Krenrertak, for instance, caught three hundred […] I caught fourteen myself – there were foxes everywhere."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 163, 1966.)

Peter Esau setting a leg hold trap for white fox, Banks Island, 1960s.

(Peter Usher)

The pelts of white fox trapped early in winter have new guard hairs and dense underfur and are the most valuable. The traditional way for Inuvialuit to catch fox was by snaring them with nooses made from skin, or to make deadfalls using blocks of ice or driftwood logs. As trapping white fox gained importance, Inuvialuit obtained leg hold traps from traders.

Nuligak *spoke about using several ways of trapping fox while living near Cape Parry in 1914:*

It did not take long for the ice to thicken and we went to set snares between the island and Cape Parry. Foxes were everywhere. Unfortunately my parents and I had few traps. My stepfather had about twelve and I, ten [...] There were so many foxes that Jim [Nuligak's younger brother] and I built traps out of logs, about a hundred yards from the igloo.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 114-115, 1966.)

WHO WE ARE

Muskrats

Enoch Pokiak with trapped muskrats, Peel Channel, 1914. (RCMP Archives)

'Rat Sunday' in Aklavik, 1933. An offering of muskrat skins is made at a church service to give thanks for a successful trapping season. (A.Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-092)

"During the spring of 1918 I hunted muskrats for the first time. I had gone to live for a while with the Delta Inuit, the ones called Nunatarmeut. Rats were everywhere, and we had plenty. They sold for two dollars and a half apiece."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 59, 1966.)

About Muskrats

The Mackenzie River Delta, with its numerous lakes, streams, ponds and marshes, is ideal habitat for the muskrat (kivgaluk in Inuvialuktun). Their short, dense fur is valued because it is soft and warm. They are normally trapped in winter, or shot in spring once open water appears. Although a muskrat skin is not as valuable as a fox skin, muskrats are much more numerous and are often trapped in the thousands.

Nuligak with an ice chisel like the type used when trapping muskrats.
(Missionary Oblates/Grandin Archives oat the Provincial Archives of Alberta/OB.22060)

Trapping Muskrats

From 1941 to 1955, **Nuligak** *lived as a trapper in the Delta. Over that fourteen-year period with the help of his sons he obtained 30,739 muskrats. He wrote:*

Muskrat snares are first set on the ice [...] we look for the nunaotit [nunaun, 'push up'], little black piles of rubbish carried up from the bottom by the rats; this marks the aglu, or breathing hole. There is hardly any breeze on the small lakes and snow can pile up to a height of four feet, making it a big job to find these 'little rat homes' where we are to set snares. And when we return to the traps they are often caught in the ice – an ice pick must be used to get them out. Later on we work by night, by kayak.

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 176-177, 1966.)

HOW WE CHANGED

Independent Traders

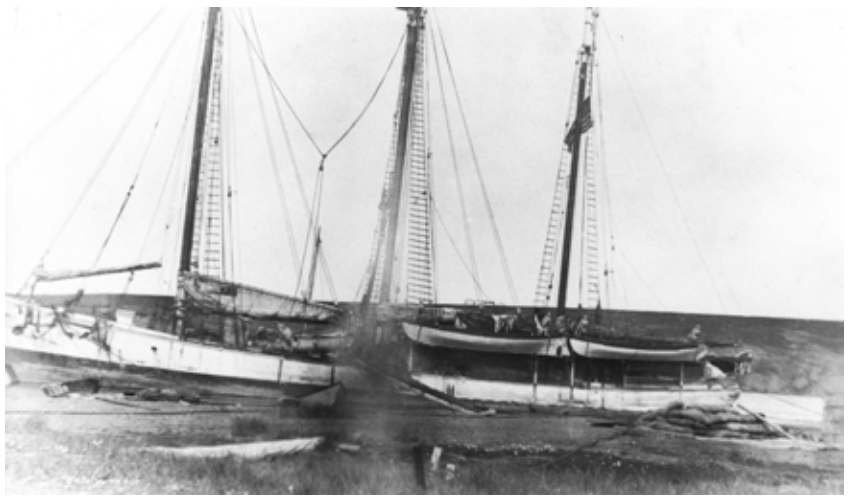
Christian T. Pedersen and his wife May. (Roman Catholic Diocese of the Arctic Archives)

Below: Captain Pedersen's boat "Nanuk" at Herschel Island (1924-27). (Alfred Cook/NWT Archives/N-1991-041-0013)

The few whaling ships that continued to go north after the collapse of the whaling industry increasingly relied on trading for furs – particularly the white fox. Joseph Bernard, William Mogg, Christian Klengenberg, William Seymour, and Fritz Wolki were some of the whaling captains who stayed in the area, and turned to the fur trade as a full time occupation.

C.T. Pedersen

The most successful of these whalers-turned-traders was **Christian T. Pedersen** (1877-1969). C.T. Pedersen worked as a captain on several whaling ships before becoming a partner in the American-based Northern Whaling and Trading Company, and its Canadian offshoot, the Canalaska Trading Company, in 1923. He used the motor schooner Nanuk and later the steam-powered ship, Patterson to bring supplies from the United States to shore-based trading posts along the western Canadian Arctic coast, where they were sold or traded for furs. Many Inuvialuit preferred to trade with Pedersen, as his goods were reputed to be cheaper and of better quality than they could obtain from the HBC.



Ilaviniq, Wallace Goose's grandfather and Ole Andy (Ole Andreason) with harvested fox pelts. (ICRC)

Ole Andreason

Ole Andreason was a Norwegian seaman who came to Arctic Canada sometime before 1912. He worked for the Canadian Arctic Expedition from 1914 - 1916, earning enough money to purchase the schooner 'Gladiator' and set himself up as an independent trader. He subsequently operated trading posts at Tapkrak (Shingle Point), Point Atkinson and on Richards Island. While employed by the Canadian Arctic Expedition Andreason saw first hand the abundance of white fox on Banks Island, and was instrumental in encouraging Inuvialuit to begin trapping there. He was married to Attugiyuuk (Susannah) and together they raised a family in the north.

(L): Ole Andreasen, shortly after his arrival at base camp near Cape Kellett with Stefansson from their five-month ice-trip, Banks Island, N.W.T. September 13, 1914. (G.Wilkins/CMC/50871)

HOW WE CHANGED

Slim and Agnes Semmler

Photos (L) Slim and (R) Agnes Semmler (1971), Inuvik.

(Lois Ross collection/ISDP 227)

Lawrence Frederick (Slim) Semmler was born in Oregon, USA. In 1930 he arrived at Herschel Island where he set up as an independent fur trader. Within a few years he expanded his trading operations into the Coronation Gulf area. There he met and married Agnes Norberg, who was born in Old Crow to a Gwich'in mother and a white father. Together they started a trading post and general store at Bernard Harbour.

In 1945 Slim and Agnes Semmler moved to Tuktoyauktuk, settling nearby at Napoyak where they ran a mink ranch and trading post. In 1956 they moved to the new townsite at Inuvik, where they started the first store in a canvas tent by the river. They later built a permanent trading post in downtown Inuvik.

'L.F. (Slim) Semmler was also one of the first fur traders to arrive in Inuvik, setting up a store in a tent along with his wife Agnes Semmler (Norberg). Slim had grubstaked a lot of the local and outlying trappers during the hard times. Slim very rarely turned any trapper away. After ratting [muskrat] season was finished, Slim's store was like a family gathering place to the local Inuvialuit and Gwich'in. Each relating to others what type of season they had. Not only did Slim assist a lot of trappers, he also purchased a lot of rabbits and fish to supply the construction.'

(***Inuvik Community Conservation Plan*** , p. 14-15, 2008.)

Agnes Semmler was one of the founding members of the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) and in 1984 she was appointed to the position of Deputy Commissioner of the NWT.

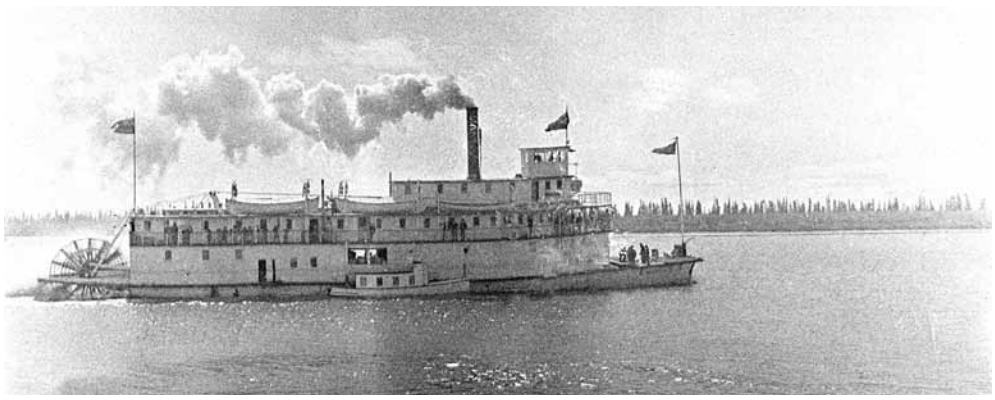
HOW WE LIVED

Hudson's Bay Company

Aklavik, 1926. The Hudson's Bay Company post is shown at the left.

(Canada Dept. of Interior/NWT Archives/G-1979-001-0260)

Faced with competition from independent traders, the Hudson's Bay Company opened posts at Aklavik and Kitigaaryuk in 1912, on Herschel Island in 1915, at Baillie Island in 1915 and at several other locations along the coast. In 1936 the HBC bought out the Canalaska Trading Company in order to regain dominance of the trade.



The HBC brought supplies for its fur trade posts in the western arctic by paddle wheelers that went as far as Aklavik. Smaller boats were used to take supplies further north and along the coast. This photograph shows the HBC vessel 'SS Distributor' at Aklavik in the 1940s. (A.Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1077)

Kitigaaryuk in 1928. The white building in the background is the HBC post.
(A.E. Porsild/PAC 101959)

Below: Hudson's Bay post at Baillie Island, 1927. The man second from left in the skin parka is Ningaksak, next to him is Kalinek, and third from right is Adam Inuałuyak.
(Hugh Conn, Richard Bonnycastle Collection, HBC Archives/Archives of Manitoba/1988-6-87)

John Gruben, HBC post manager at Kitigaaryuk in 1920-21. He and Mary (Mercy) Talegomik founded a large Inuvialuit family. (Gruben Family Collection /NWT Archives/N-2003-038)

Schooners

The "Bonnie Belle" circa 1950.
(Bern Will Brown/NWT Archives/ N-2001-002-3682)

Around 1920, Dennis Annaktor (Anaktok) becomes the first Inuvialuk to own an umiaqpakpaaluk, or 'schooner'. By 1936 there are over 50 Inuviauit-owned schooners operating in the Western Arctic.

Fitted with sails as well as inboard motors, and with cabins that provide shelter, schooners greatly extend the range over which people can travel. Inuvialuit from the Mackenzie River area travel by schooner to Banks Island, Victoria Island, and eastward along the mainland coast, living and trapping at outpost camps in winter and making trips to trading posts in summer. Some of the trappers stay and make their homes in these new areas.

Inuviauluit-owned schooners at Aklavik in 1922.

(Canada Dept. of Interior/NWT Archives/G-1979-0258)

"That summer of 1926 I owned a schooner at last! It was a brand-new one, built that year, and called the Bonnie Belle. It was forty feet long, with a Francisco Standard heavy duty horsepower machine to make fire."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 157, 1966.)

HOW WE LIVED

Schooners

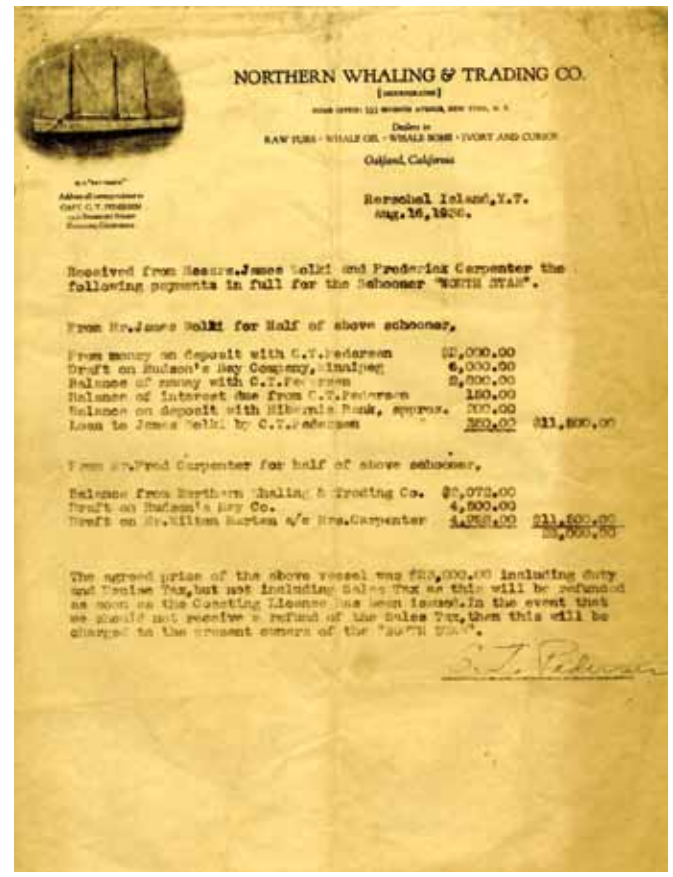
The North Star of Herschel Island at Aklavik, 1955. (Doug Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-1179)

(L-R): Fred Carpenter, Agnes Carpenter, Andy Carpenter and unnamed child on the North Star of Herschel Island in the 1950s.

(Holman Photohistorical and Oral History Project Collection/NWT Archives N1990-004-0392).

Technically, 'schooner' refers to a boat with 'fore and aft' rigging. In the Western Arctic, the term came to be applied to small, decked boats in general, regardless of how their sails were rigged. Most of the schooners that were owned and operated by Inuvialuit were purchased from the Canalaska Trading Company. They were built to order in California and carried to the arctic on Canalaska's supply vessel, the Patterson.

The last of the schooners brought north was the North Star of Herschel Island, which was purchased from the Northern Whaling & Trading Company (the parent company of the Canalaska Trading Company) by Jim Wolki and Fred Carpenter in 1936 for $23,000. Adjusting for inflation, that amount today is approximately $300,000.



NORTHERN WHALING & TRADING CO.

Oakland, California

Herschel Island, Y.T.
Aug. 16, 1936.

Received from Messrs. James Wolki and Frederick Carpenter the following payments in full for the Schooner "NORTH STAR".

From Mr. James Wolki for Half of above schooner,

From money on deposit with C.T. Pedersen	$2,000.00	
Draft on Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg	6,000.00	
Balance of money with C.T. Pedersen	2,800.00	
Balance of Interest due from C.T. Pedersen	150.00	
Balance on deposit with Hibernia Bank, approx.	300.00	
Loan to James Wolki by C.T. Pedersen	300.00	$11,800.00

From Mr. Fred Carpenter for half of above schooner,

Balance from Northern Whaling & Trading Co.	$5,072.00	
Draft on Hudson's Bay Co.	4,800.00	
Draft on Mr. Wilton Norton a/c Mrs. Carpenter	1,928.00	11,800.00
		23,600.00

The agreed price of the above vessel was $23,000.00 including duty and Trades Tax, but not including Sales Tax as this will be refunded as soon as the Coasting License has been issued. In the event that we should not receive a refund of the Sales Tax, then this will be charged to the present owners of the "NORTH STAR".

C. T. Pedersen

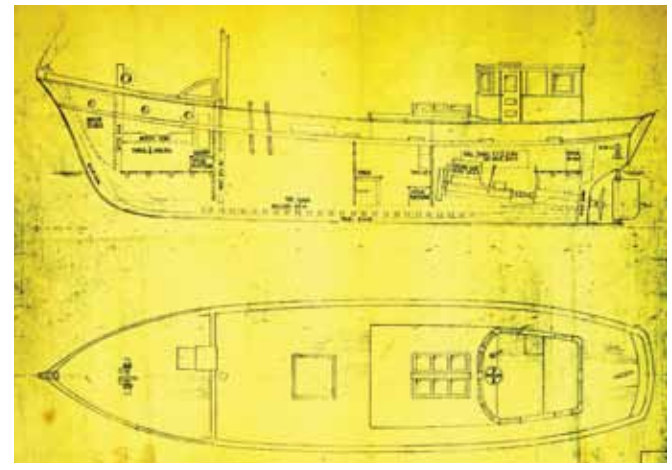
Receipt for the sale of the North Star of Herschel Island to James (Jim) Wolki and Frederick (Fred) Carpenter in 1936.

With no reliable compasses or maps, Inuvialuit navigated their schooners using the same skills they developed when travelling on the land – observation of landmarks and stars, and an intimate understanding of weather. **Agnes Carpenter** *tells about her first trip to Banks Island on the North Star of Herschel Island in 1956, soon after marrying Fred Carpenter:*

Then when we were crossing from Baillie [Island] to Banks Island in the fall, while we went up around Baillie, my husband thought there might be a storm. They thought they could make it across the ocean beat it across the ocean before the storm comes up. So, they went the same night or right in the early morning, wee morning, they started travelling across, the clouds were turning dark, darker, darker, darker.

Out in the Arctic Ocean the wind started picking up [...] I remember looking through the porthole. The waves were way higher than the mast down there. The flag was just flapping in between and it was just, big waves up. When we were passing in between that, I thought about the parting of the Red Sea. I thought about it, it must have been like this.

When we got to Banks Island, I don't know how he made it into the harbor. But we camped way out around Cape Kellett, just behind the sandbar. Because there's a harbor in there. He steered the boat right in there in the dark. Fred was a real experienced seaman, same with Michael Amos [...] With no [instruments], they just followed the stars. They followed the stars, the current of the water and the depths. Every few fathoms (i.e., every six feet), they had to do the depths. Just so they didn't get grounded or went near where there's sandbars under the ocean. They really had to watch. (Murielle Nagy, ***Aulavik Oral History Project on Banks Island, NWT: Final Report,*** p.58-59, 1999.)



Blueprint showing interior details of the North Star of Herschel Island. (S. Johanssen Collection/NWT Archives/N-1987-028)

Inuvialuit Trappers Migrate

"White foxes were scarce [in 1926] but trappers, both Inuit and white, were many. There were villages all around us: at Letty Harbour, Cape Lyon, Pierce Point, Booth Island, Cape Parry and Langton Bay."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 160, 1966.)

The value of white fox attracts trappers from other areas to the western Canadian Arctic. Faced with increasing competition, and with declining numbers of fox in the Mackenzie region, Inuvialuit travel by schooner eastwards along the coast, and across the sea to Banks Island and Victoria Island, in search of new trapping opportunities.

Some Inuvialuit trappers settle in the new areas, and intermingle with Inuinnait. The coastal communities Paulatuk (Paulatuuq), Sachs Harbour (Ikaahuk) and Ulukhaktok have their origins in this trapping era.

HOW WE LIVED

Eastward Along The Coast

The eastward movement of Inuvialuit trappers along the coast was accompanied by an expansion of trading posts. In 1930 the Hudson's Bay Company opened a post at Letty Harbour, where a small number of Inuvialuit were beginning to settle. The post closed in 1936, but with the departure of the HBC the Roman Catholic Church, which in 1935 had set up a mission nearby at Paulatuk, began to operate a small trading centre. In 1955, most people abandoned the Paulatuk mission and moved to Cape Parry where a Distant Early Warning (DEW) line site was being built. The community of Paulatuk was re-established in 1967 after Inuvialuit petitioned the federal government for a permanent settlement in the area.

Paulatuk elder **Mary Evik Ruben** *(b. 1925) told how Inupiat and Inuvialuit trappers first arrived around Letty Harbour and 'stuck' there instead of going on to Banks Island or returning to the west:*

"They [her father An'ngik and mother Sadie Sukkayaalik] used to travel anywhere from [Aklavik], Reindeer Station, all over [...] I was the youngest when they moved here by boat. That time they heard Banksland got so many foxes they try to come this way [...] They come here by boat, lot's a people from Alaska they go to Letty Harbour, they get stuck there [...] So they get stuck, they never reach Alaska again so they live here [...] They all stuck, us too, we stuck, my mom didn't want to go back to Tuk. They find a nice place in Tom Cod Bay have everything, fish, caribou, all kinds of animals where we used to stay, so many foxes. So, we stuck there."

(Parks Canada, ***Paulatuuq Oral History Project***, p. 242-243, 2004.)

(L top): An'ngik Ruben, Sadie Sukkayaalik and Mona Ruben Wolki at Paulatuk, about 1940.
(Piqtouqun/NWT Archives/N-10988-0013-003)

(L below): Inuvialuit schooners 'Only Way', 'Okevik' and 'Beluga' at Letty Harbour, 1931.
(Hudson's Bay Company Archives/1987/207/223)

(R below): An airplane in front of the Roman Catholic church in Paulatuk in the late 1930's.
(Edmonton Air Museum/NWT Archives/N-1979-003-0293)

HOW WE LIVED

To Banks Island

Unloading a schooner and making camp at Blue Fox Harbour, on Banks Island, Fall 1930.
(Peter Sydney Collection/PAC: 1968-95-PA27651)

First meeting of Inuinnait and Inuvialuit on Banks Ilsnad, at Egg River 1932. L-r: Sarah Qungguattuk, Hoagak with baby Urina, Pamiuq, Kunana with baby Qupin, Puguq, Paul Adam, Susie Titalik, Gerald Chiksigaluk, Fred Carpenter, Inuktalik, Tom Chicksi (leaning on sled), Karuna, Hiruna, John Kaulaq.

(Identifications by ***Aulavik Oral History*** Project); (Peter Sydney Collection/PAC/1968-95: PA27690)

From the late 1920s until the decline of the fur trade in the 1970s, Banks Island was known as the 'white fox capital of the world'. Inuannait (who were once commonly known as Copper Inuit) from Victoria Island had long hunted and travelled on Banks Island, but it was not until the Canadian Arctic Expedition, led by the anthropologist and explorer Viljhalmur Stefansson, began a scientific exploration of the island in 1913 that the abundance of white fox on the island became known to the outside. Natkusiak (Billy Banksland), an Inupiaq who worked with the Canadian Arctic Expedition, received one of the Expedition's schooners as payment, and continued trapping on Banks Island until 1921. A few other Inupiat and white trappers also trapped prior to 1920, when Banks Island became a game preserve for Inuit, which meant that only Innuinnait and Inuvialuit could hunt and trap there. In 1928 Lennie Inglangasuk, Adam Inuałuyak (Inuakłurak) and Piqtuqan (David Bernhardt) and their families traveled to Banks Island on their schooners, beginning the Inuvialuit settlement of Banks Island.

Persis Gruben, *the eldest daughter of Lennie Inglangasuk, told her memories of the first winter this group spent on southern Banks Island, at a spot used fifteen years earlier by the Canadian Arctic Expedition:*

"Where we landed, there was a little house. It was a pilot house from an old ship. Beside it, there was a house made of sheet iron, maybe a warehouse. Those were old camp grounds with two big engines on the beach that belonged to the 'Mary Sachs'.

The pilot house became a house, the windows were round portholes and we had flooring. Polar bears would peep through the portholes. There was no harbor, and we started unloading our freight for essential things. They would unload one schooner at a time. All camped at the pilot house. Inuałuyak's family put a stove in it. All, even the kids, were working, As soon as they unloaded all the schooners, they hit for [a nearby harbor where they hauled the schooners ashore] [...]

Dad fixed the little house made of iron sheet [left from the Canadian Arctic Expedition] and put windows and a flooring. At that time gas cans were square and in wood boxes, we use that for the floor, but toward the bed there was no flooring [...]

My dad would follow the beach up to Cape Kellett and he woud set traps. Everybody got different directions [for their traplines]. We spent the winter there without any mishaps. When spring came and it was warm enough to pitch tent up, we started hauling back to the schooners with sleds.

All of us went over to spend spring there. We all spent the spring there that time. There were lots of geese [...]"

(Murielle Nagy, ***Aulavik Oral History Project on Banks Island, NWT: Final Report,*** p.50-51, 1999.)

Top: Susie Titalik's wall tent banked with snow for insulation, Sachs Harbour, 1958.

(R. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0158)

(R): Frank, Florence, Leslie and Barbara Carpenter leaving for traplines, Sachs Harbour, March 1958.
(R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-151)

The same group returned the next year, bringing others with them. Over the years base camps for winter trapping were set up in many areas on Banks Island, so that areas would not become over-trapped. At these locations schooners were hauled ashore and people spent the winter in canvas wall tents banked with sod and snow while they worked their traplines. In summer, with the break up of the sea ice, the schooners were refloated and people travelled to trading posts at Herschel Island and Aklavik. Eventually families that originally came from the mainland, as well as some Inuinnait from Victoria Island, converged at the southwestern tip of Banks Island and set up the permanent community of Sachs Harbour, or Ikaahuk.

HOW WE LIVED

To Western Victoria Island

Natkusiak and family at Walker Bay, 1930s. (L-R): Agnes Nanogak, Mary Nirliiq, Emma Mimarlina (in sled), Alec Alinaq, Ikiuna (Topsy) Natkusiak, Jimmy Memogana.

(Identifications by ***Aulavik Oral History Project***); (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives /N1991-068-173)

The rise of the white fox fur trade in the western Arctic in the early 1900s also extended to northwestern Victoria Island, which is now part of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The first trading post in that area, Fort Brabant, was established by the Hudson's Bay Company on the north shore of Prince Albert Sound in 1923. In 1928 it was relocated further north, to Walker Bay, and renamed Fort Collinson. In 1932 the Canalaska Trading Company opened a post nearby. In 1939, one year after the HBC bought out the Canalaska Trading Company, the HBC dismantled its post at Walker Bay and moved back to Prince Albert Sound, this time to King's Bay, near present-day Uluhaktok.

Although northwestern Victoria Island is the traditional territory of Inuinnait, trappers from the Mackenzie region and Alaska were also drawn to the area.

One of the newcomers was Natkusiak (Billy Banksland), an Inupiaq who had earlier trapped on Banks Island and then moved to Baillie Island before going to Victoria Island.

Agnes Goose *(1925-2001), a daughter of Natkusiak and his second wife, Topsy Ikiuna, recalled:*

"When I turned about eight years old [approximately 1933], my parent and us all moved to Banks Island. That spring, the ice kept us from going back [to the mainland]. So my dad brought us here [to Victoria Island] because he know this land very well. He had travelled here while working with Stefansson. He travelled all over and knew all about this land. So he brought us here by schooner. We came by somebody else's boat because ours had been crushed to pieces at Baillie Island. We travelled here to [Ulukhaktok] on the Shamrock, on Fred Bennet Ningasik's boat. That's when I was seven years old. We spent the winter here [approximately 1933/34]. There were other ships here too – the Blue Fox and the Nanuk. In the spring, my Dad and all of us went to Walker Bay to David [Piktukana's] to work on his schooner, the Sea Otter. We travelled up to Walker Bay by sled and dogs while the ice was still good [...] We used to stay for a while up at Walker Bay where my Dad had a tent near the Canalaska post. We must have stayed up there for about a year [...] Then my Dad was getting older, so we moved down here to [Uluhaktok] to live. We came here and made this place our home when my brother George was two years old. Sometime around 1937. There were no posts here. The posts were still up at Walker Bay. We spent about two years here, then the posts moved down here. There were no people here at all back then."

(Richard G. Condon with Julia Ogina and the Holman Elders, ***The Northern Copper Inuit - A History***, p.100-101, 1996.)

William Kuptana, wife Unalin, and children Donald and Margaret, Walker Bay, 1934. William Kuptana worked at the HBC post at Fort Collinson.

(Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-0395)

HOW WE LIVED

To Western Victoria Island (cont'd.)

Uluhaktok, 1930s. Typical view of a trapping camp in spring.
(Mrs. Peter Sydney/Library and Archives Canada/ PA-027677)

Uluhaktok in the 1950s. (H. Tardy/NWT Arhives/N-1989-028-0019)

Trading fox pelts at the HBC post at Ulukhaktok (Holman) 1958.

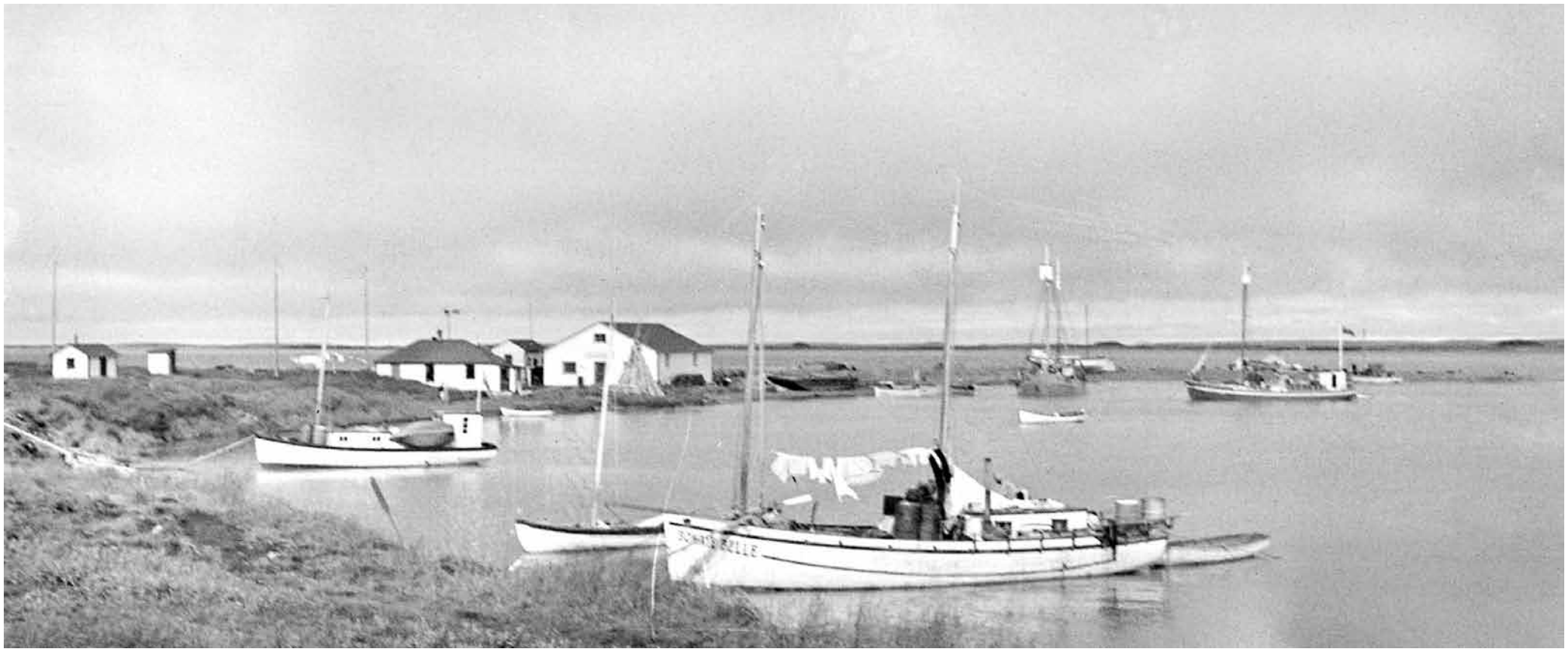
(R. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0591)

The Decline of the Fur Trade

"We remained in Tuk. We reamained in Tuktoyaktuk the whole following winter. Because the price of furs was low the Inuit lacked everything […] During the whole spring season of 1931 I made only $600 on furs. The year 1932 worse still. I made only $70. White fox had practically no value."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 171, 1966.)



Tuktoyaktuk in th 1940s. The HBC buildings are visible in the background. The harbor at Tuktoyaktuk, and Nuligak's schooner 'Bonnie Belle' is shown in the foreground.

(A. Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1224)

By the middle of the 1930s the world-wide Depression brought a slump in the price of furs. Many trading posts closed down, especially along the coast.

Aklavik continued as a centre for trade in the Delta, and the HBC moved its coastal headquarters from Baillie Islands to Tuktoyaktuk in 1938. Inuvialuit continued to trap, but in increasing numbers people moved from outpost camps and settled in Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Ulukhaktok and Paulatuk, and later Inuvik.

Writing from his home in Tuktoyaktuk in the 1970s, the Roman Catholic priest Father Robert Lemeur reflected on a prediction made by Lisaluk many years before:

"In a few years", he said, "there will be other men, white men, who will come and settle here with us. There will be many houses, and they will push the dirt up a bit like the ice and pieces of ice piled up by the force of the current and the storms along the crevasses on the sea. Ah, yes, that is indeed how it is nowadays."

(Robert Lemeur, ***Souvenirs de L'arctique***, undated.)

(R): Signpost in Tuktoyaktuk pointing to local buildings and to the outside world, 1967.
(Ted Grant, Department of Information/NWT Archives/N-1979-023-0367)

5 Church and State
1900-1960s

Anne Illasiak at her baptism in Paulatuk.

(Roman Catholic Diocese, Yellowknife/ #1905-MCK-FTS)

Missionaries

School girls in Aklavik, 1944.
(A. Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0093)

Missionaries have rules about how to act, and what to believe. Government officials have rules about which animals to hunt and when to hunt them. More rules say children must be sent to school. If people need help, there are rules to say who can get help.

With so many leaders and elders succumbing to disease, Inuvialuit look to Tan'ngit for assistance, but people find it hard to understand who the Government is, and the reason for their rules. The angatkut appear to be helpless during this time of disruption and people turn to Christian missionaries, but their rules are also hard to understand.

"About that time, there was a sudden influx of whites going up to the north and the native people not knowing what happened: all of a sudden we've got all these government people all going up to tell the native people what they can and cannot do which is sad."

Alice Masak French

(Alice Masak French and Christine Watson, ***Autobiographical Writing as Healing Process***, p. 173, 1999.)

Christian Missions

Inuvialuit in front of the Roman Catholic church at Stanton. (L-R): Two unidentified girls, Oksoasiak, two unidentified children, man behind is Noah Elias, unidentified man in white parka, behind him is Angus Elias, two unidentified children, man in front is likely Silas Palaiyuk, young man beside him may be Ralph Kimiksana, two unidentified young men, last three men are Bobby Chicksi, Edgar Kotokak, and Philip Nogasak. Identifications were provided by a number of elders.
(Roman Catholic Diocese of the Arctic)

The earliest missionary efforts to introduce Christianity to the Inuvialuit in the latter half of the 1800s met with little success. Inuvialuit beliefs and traditions were strong, and the ways of the missionaries were strange. But disruptions brought about by whalers, traders and other Tan'ngit at the turn of the century, and the diseases that accompany them weaken traditional beliefs. The new religions are soon embraced by people who are fighting for their survival.

Christian missionaries first travelled to meet Inuvialuit at their camps and gathering places. As Christianity took hold during the first half of the 20th century, Roman Catholic and Anglican mission stations with churches and other buildings were established at various locations in the Mackenzie Delta and along the coast.

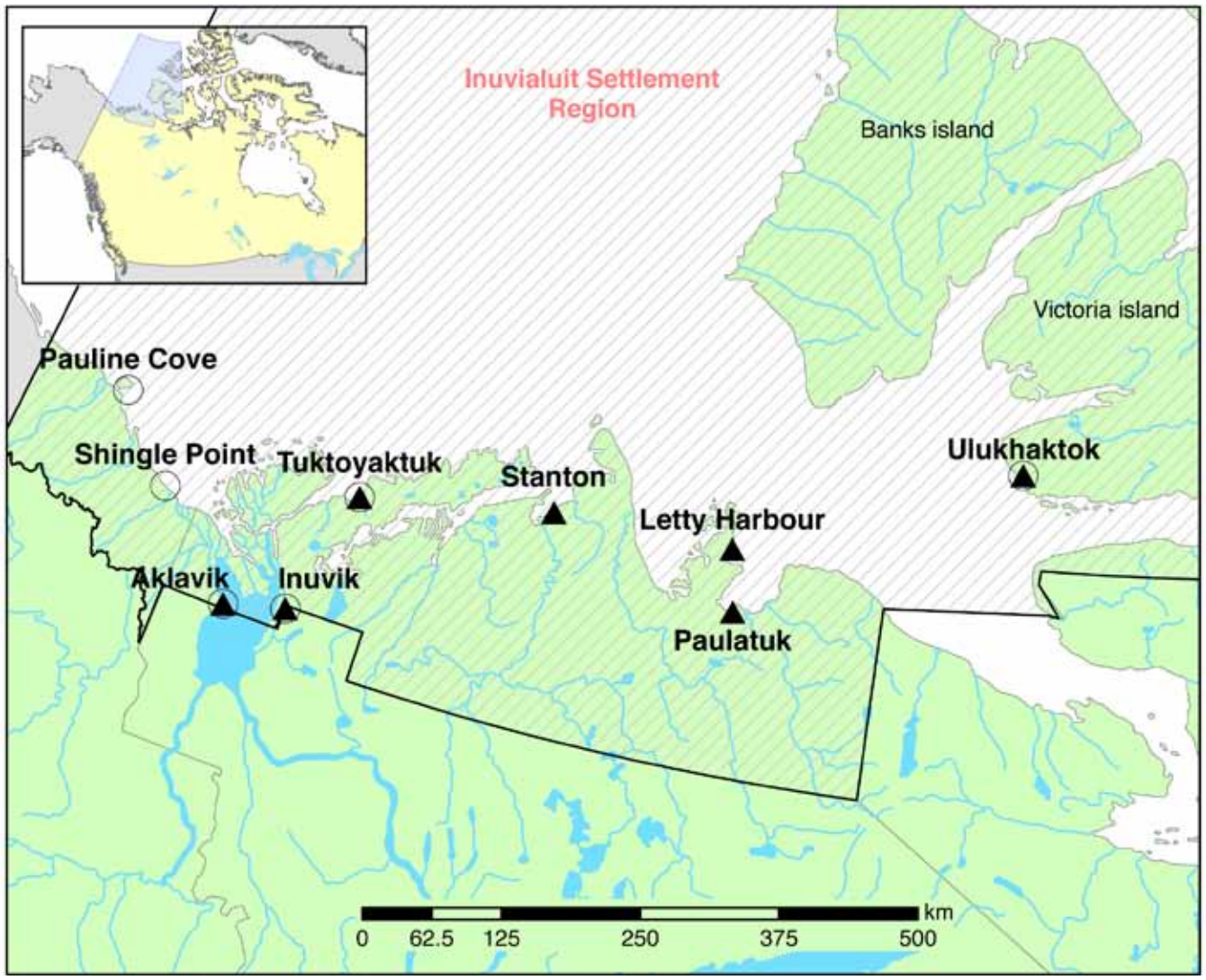
"[Bishop Stringer] is the one my dad saw and talked about. Also my grandmother, they saw him at Herschel Island, for the first time. But then, they never let him baptize them. Bishop Stringer was a good man 'cause my grandmother used to really like that man and his wife."

Peter Thrasher
(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History***, 1994.)

Christian style grave of Hiram Tokoyoak, who died May 24, 1920, at Kitigaaryuk.

(Mary Saich/NWT Archives/ N-1990-003-0257)

(L): This sign, outside St. John's Anglican Church in Tuktoyaktuk, summarizes activities of the Anglican mission on the Western Arctic coast.



Anglican Church missions are indicated by circles; Roman Catholic Church missions are represented by triangles.

Tourist taking a picture of James Kowana in front of All Saints Anglican Church, Aklavik, late 1950s or early 1960s. A tourist is taking a picture of James Kowana.
(Emily Stillwell/NWT Archives/N-2005-006-0129)

Roman Catholic Mission, Uluhaktok, 1958.
(R. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0212)

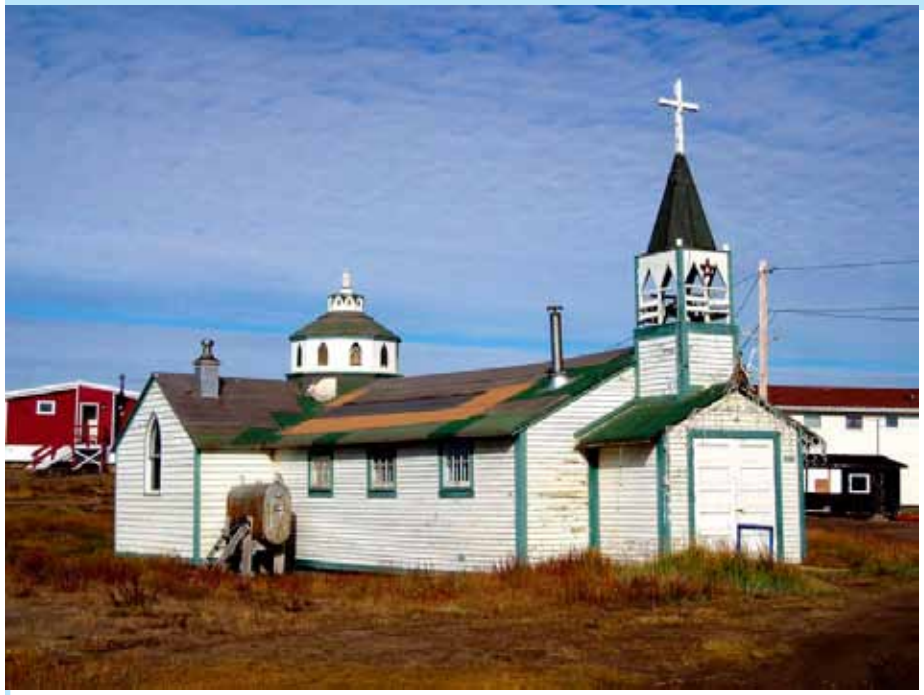
Anglican mission stations were established at Herschel Island (1897, with a mission building constructed in 1916), Aklavik (1919), Shingle Point (1922), Tuktoyaktuk (1934), Inuvik (1956), and Uluhaktok (1962). The Roman Catholic Church built mission stations at Aklavik (1926), Letty Harbour (1928), Paulatuk (1935), Stanton (1937), Ulukhaktok (1939), Tuktoyaktuk (1938), and Inuvik (1956). Other Christian sects, such as the Pentecostals, have also established missions in some Inuvialuit communities.

All Saints Anglican Church, Aklavik, prior to 1936.

St. John's Anglican Church, Shingle Point, 1929.

HOW WE LIVED

The Roman Catholic Mission in Tuktoyaktuk



Roman Catholic church, Tuktoyaktuk, 2009.
(Courtesy of Anglican Church of Canada)

Father Robert Lemeur, *a Roman Catholic priest who served at several mission stations, wrote about the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission in Tuktoyaktuk:*

In 1937 (the RC missionaries had) the first extended contact with the people. Everything seemed ideal for a mission [...] When Chief Mangulaluk was approached he had no objections to our presence in his village and he determined the place (for the mission) and he told us to take quite a large piece of ground [...] The first building was transported in 1938 on Our Lady of Lourdes, from Herschel Island [...] the first resident missionary (was) Father Franche, and his companion (was) Brother Guerin.

(Robert Lemeur, ***Souvenirs de l'Arctique***, undated.)

Top: Father Lemeur inside the mission at Tutoyaktuk with several parishioners (no date).
(Missionary Oblates, Grandin Archives at the Provincial Archives of Alberta// OB.22068)

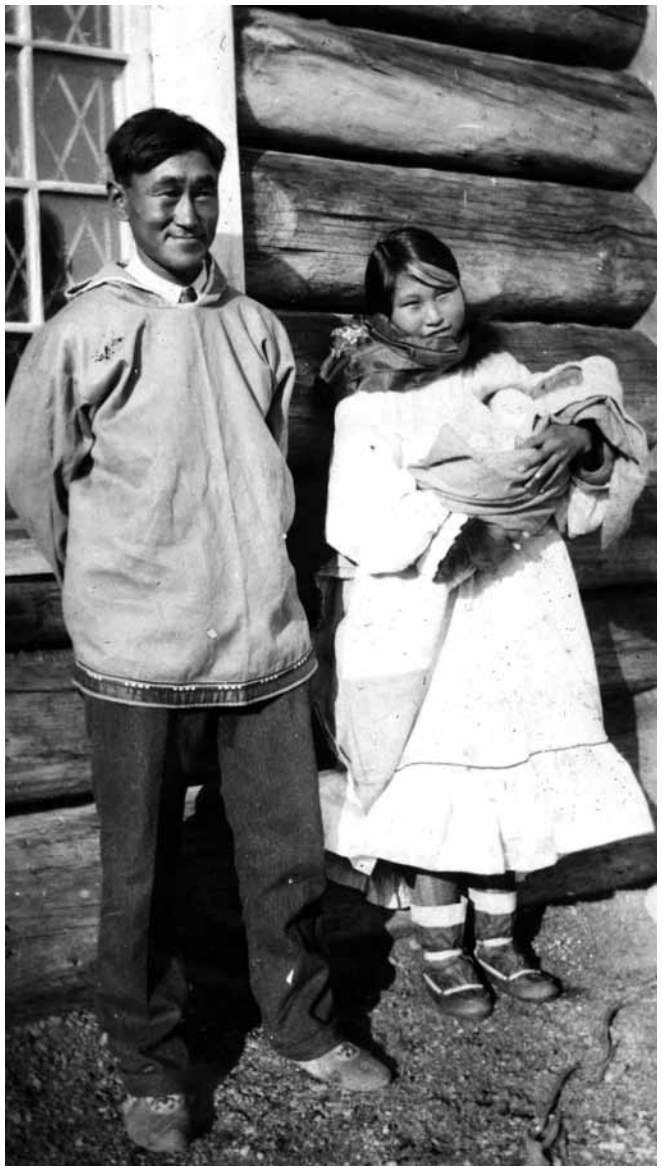
(L): Father Franche, omi, with children from the school at Aklavik home for the holidays in Tuktoyaktuk, 1954. (Missionary Oblates, Grandin Archives at the Provincial Archives of Alberta/OB.22057)

(L): Our Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic Mission boat, with the RC Mission warehouse in the background, 1948-1956.

(Terrence Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0027)

HOW WE CHANGED

Inuvialuit Clergy



Top: Confirmation class at All Saints Anglican School, 1939.
(Photo credit: ICRC/H.S. Shepard #596)

(L): This unidentified photograph taken at Shingle Point about 1929 may be of a baptism.
(Photo credit: ICRC/H.S. Shepard #74)

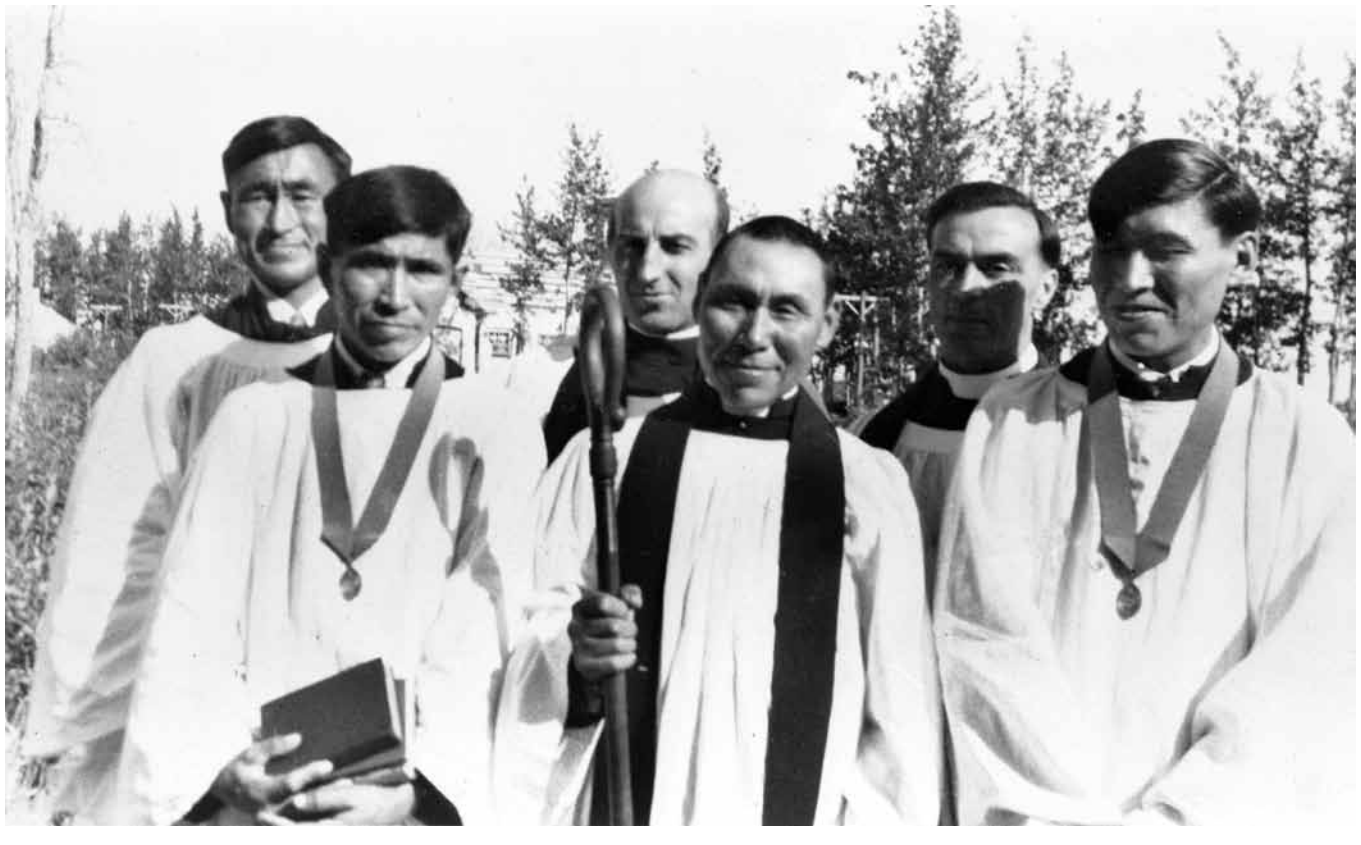
As Christianity took hold, church rules and rituals – baptism, confirmation, marriage, attending church services and funerals – replaced traditional practices. The Anglican church encouraged Inuvialuit to join the clergy.

Abraham Okpik (b. 1929 – d. 1997) *spoke about some of the difficulties Inuvialuit who converted to Christianity had with the new religion:*

"When they were converted they tried to follow the religion solemnly [...] But there were so many rules to follow that they couldn't understand [...] It was different from their old religion."

(Abraham Okpik, ***We Call It Survival***, p. 45, 2005.)

Photograph of a wedding taken about 1929.
(ICRC/H.S. Shepard #561)



The clerical staff of All Saints' Mission, Aklavik, 1930s. Back row: Fred Lester (Lay Reader, Inuvialuit), Canon H.S. Shepherd, Reverend George Nicholson, Missionary-in-Charge. Front row: James Simon (Lay Reader, Gwich'in). Reverend Thomas Umaok (Inuvialuit), Edward Sittichinli (Lay Reader, Gwich'in).

(Archibald Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1302)

Government

O.S. Finnie at the Imperial Oil Company well at Fort Norman, 1921.
(Canada.Dept of Interior/NWT Archives/G-1979-0229)

Without Inuvialuit realizing it, in 1870 their territory becomes part of the new Dominion of Canada. A 'Council of the Northwest Territories' is appointed in Ottawa, but for many years the Government in the south pays little attention to the far northwestern part of the country.

For decades after Canada became a country, the Government is content to let the police and missionaries meet their obligations to the people. When other nations seek to stake claims in the Arctic, and oil is discovered at Norman Wells, Government interest is awakened to the importance of its northern regions.

Aklavik - Men holding tools, possibly preparing foundation ground for Aklavik Hospital in the 1930s.
(Fleming/NWT Archives/n-1979-050-0121)

"We were there [Aklavik, in 1929] when the white chief Mr. Finnie arrived. There was a meeting for the purpose of giving the Inuit money such as the Indians were receiving."

Bob Cockney

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 157, 1966.)

HOW WE CHANGED

Government Comes North

The Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior was formed in 1921 with Oswalt Sterling Finnie as Director, a post he held until 1931. The first break in Ottawa's control over the north came in 1951, when three elected Members from the Mackenzie District joined the five appointed Members on the Council of the Northwest Territories.

In 1965, Abraham Okpik, who at that time was living in the eastern Arctic, became the first Inuvialuk,to be appointed to the Council. In 1967 the seat of government was transferred to Yellowknife – in the north at last, but still a long distance from the Inuvialuit homeland, where Government administrators made decisions formerly made by traditional leaders.

Meeting of the Council of the Northwest Territories, Ottawa, December 1953. Even though there were three elected members from the NWT at that time, meetings were still held in the south. Two NWT members shown in this photo: Frank Carmichael of Aklavik representing Mackenzie West (fourth from left), and James Broeid of Fort Smith, representing Mackenzie South (third from right). Not shown is (3rd member from NWT).

(NWT Legislative Assembly Collection/NWT Archives/G-1979-014-0002)

Meeting of the Council of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife, February 1965. Only two Aboriginal people were on the Council. Abraham Okpik (standing, third from left), an appointed member, was the first Inuvialuk on the Council. Seated on the left is Simonie Michael, an Inuk who was an elected member from the Eastern Arctic.

(NWT Legislative Assembly Collection/NWT Archives/G-1979-014-0098)

HOW WE CHANGED

W-disks

When Mangalaluk, 'chief' of Tuktoyaktuk, Bob Cockney and others met with Oswalt Finnie in the late 1920s to discuss the offer of receiving Treaty payments, they refused the offer. As **Bob Cockney** *(Nuligak) recalled:*

"The white chief asked me if I had something to say. I asked him what would be the amount we would receive for twelve months. He answered, 'Five Dollars'. I asked the Inuit if it was worth disturbing ourselves for the amount of five dollars. They answered, 'We don't want it'. I said to the white chief, 'We have no business to do with you. Keep your five dollars. Instead of distributing it to everyone, put that money to some purpose. Everything costs so much here, and five dollars will not help us. It would be better to feed those who are in misery, the widows, the blind, the sick'."

(Bob Cockney, ***I, Nuligak***, p. 163, 1966.)

Government found it difficult to keep track of things such as family allowance and old age payments using people's names, or even their Christian names. Starting in the 1940s Government began to issue 'Eskimo Identification Numbers' to Inuvialuit and Inuit. In the western Canadian Arctic these numbers were preceded with a "W", and in the east they were preceded with an "E", followed by a number that represented a region or community, and then the number assigned to the individual. Each person received a disc with his or her number stamped on it.

In the late 1960s the new Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) began to replace the disc system with government-issued birth certificates. Through this "Project Surname" Inuit and Inuvialuit were asked to identify first and family names (surnames) that they wished to have recorded on their birth certificates.

Abraham Okpik *was hired by the GNWT to oversee Operation Surname. He remembers how it got started:*

"In 1969 the Territorial Council was having their meeting and Simonie Michael (MLA for the Eastern Arctic) was there [...] he wanted to know why, when he was a territorial councilor, he was getting his mail from the government under the number 'Simonie E7-551 [...] ." Soon after while on holidays Abraham saw Stu Hodgson, the Commissioner of the NWT, in the Edmonton Airport. "He said, 'Abe, I want you to go back, right now if you can [...] I got a job for you to do.' So I asked 'What is it. Tell me!' He replied, "Well Abe, you have got to get rid of the disc numbers, they've got to go!"

(Abraham Okpik, ***We Call It Survival***, p. 207-208, 2005.)

Over the next several years Abraham Okpik travelled extensively, reassuring people, answering questions and helping them to select family names ('surnames') that would go on their birth certificates. In 1971 the government stopped issuing identity disks.

Photos (L): Disc #W3-803, issued to the late Emma Gruben of Tuktoyaktuk.
(PWNHC/Accession #2004.5.072)

Health Care

Through increasing contact with European explorers, whalers, traders and missionaries, Inuviaulit are exposed to many new diseases which do not respond to traditional healing practices. Missionaries and police provide some health care, but the needs are overwhelming.

In the mid-1920s the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches built hospitals in Aklavik staffed by doctors hired by the Government. Government also hired nurses to work at the Anglican hospital, but nursing at the Roman Catholic hospital is provided by Grey Nuns.

"We went to Aklavik in the spring [1928]. People got sick. When the people got sick, there weren't many good doctors."

Diamond Klengenberg

(Murielle Nagy, ***Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History***, 1994.)

Reverand Isaac and Sadie Stringer, shown here with their two children, spent much of the period between 1896 and 1901 as missionaries for the Anglican Church on Herschel Island. Before taking up their northern mission, Reverend Stringer took courses in dentistry, obstetrics and minor surgery, and Sadie trained for two years as a nurse.

(I.O. Stringer/Anglican Church Archives/P7517-40)

All Saints Anglican Hospital in Aklavik, 1926. It was destroyed by fire in 1936, and a new hospital, with accommodation for 48 patients, operating room, electric lights, X-ray and other modern equipment was opened less than a year later in 1937.
(NWT Archives /N-1979-006-0002)

Immaculate Conception, the Roman Catholic Mission and Hospital, Aklavik, 1926.

(Canada Department of the Interior/ NWT Archives/G-1979-001-0262)

HOW WE LIVED

Health Care

Two Roman Catholic Grey Nuns, Aklavik 1940-1942.
(Mary Saich Collection/NWT Archives/N-1990-003: 0042)

Ruth (Murphy) Morin *was a public health nurse in Edmonton from 1948-1951, and later worked at the Charles Camsell Hospital. She told the following story about going to Aklavik in 1950 with a medical team to assist the local doctor and nurses during an outbreak of measles:*

"Dr. Paul Harvey, nurses Ruth Fadum, Dorothy Chapman and I flew to Aklavik to set up an emergency hospital and treat the patients ill with measles and resulting complications. The plane was a Dakota from the RCAF Northern Command, Edmonton and was meant for transporting supplies, not people. We kept warm by using our sleeping bags. We ate frozen sandwiches.

[Because so many people were ill] with the help of the RCMP and volunteers we moved patients to the community hall [...] In order to help match the patient's identity and diagnosis, I wrote their names on their chests with a ballpoint pen. In this way, there was no mistake who was who, as people settled into their new quarters.

We soon had things organized with volunteer help. Abraham Okpik, an ex-patient from the Camsell, was our interpreter, and James Jones was our cook. It was a miracle that over three hundred meals a day were prepared and served from an ordinary kitchen stove [...]

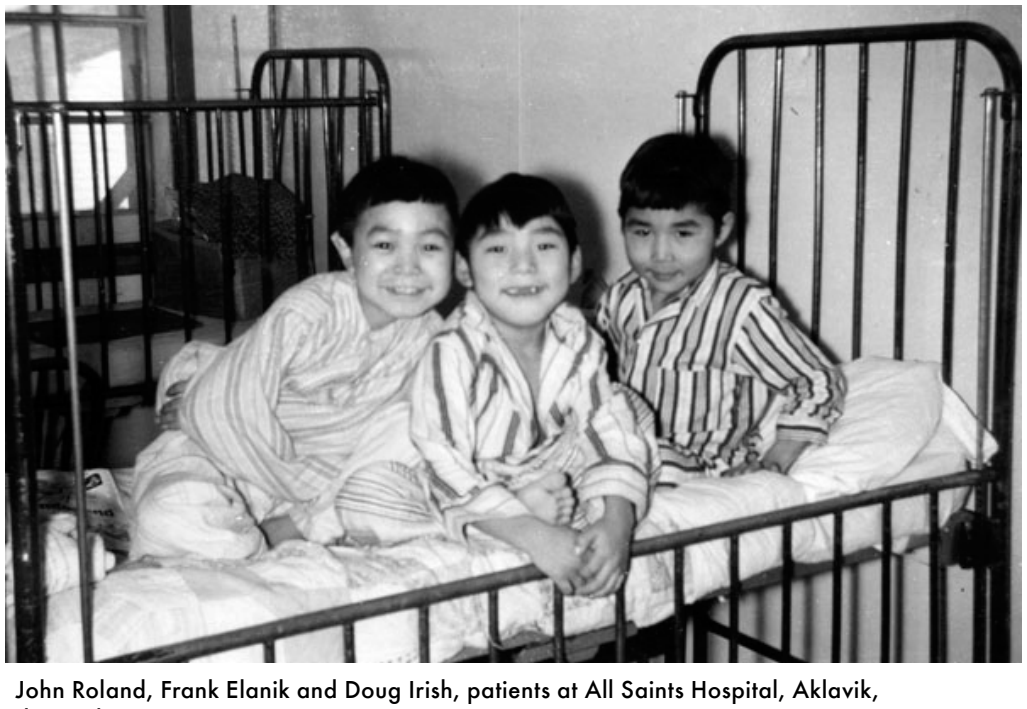
I was delegated to go up the delta to bring in several patients who needed transportation to the hospital [...]

After a month the emergency abated [...] At the end of February I flew back to Edmonton, and my regular job."

(Charles Camsell History Committee, ***The Camsell Mosiac***, 1985.)

Dr. L.D. Livingston ('Medical Officer of Health') performing an operation at the All Saints Anglican Hospital, 1939. (Archibald Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0071)
The nurse assisting may be Mildred Rundle. The other person is likely to be a local Certified Nursing Assistant.

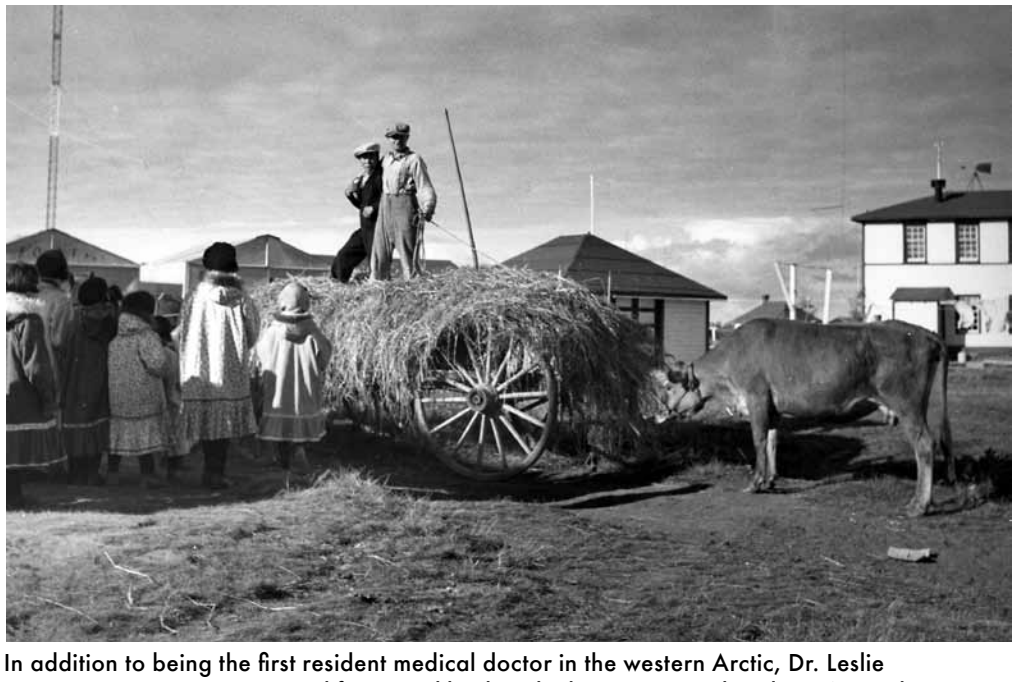
Nurse Mildred Rundle with two unidentified patients, All Saints Anglican Hospital, Aklavik.
(Archibald Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0053)



John Roland, Frank Elanik and Doug Irish, patients at All Saints Hospital, Aklavik, date unknown.

A dentist tending a patient at All Saints Hospital, Aklavik, early 1930's.
(Archibald Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0076)

The "Medico", shown here at Reindeer Station in 1937, transported medical staff, supplies and patients in the western Arctic.
(Canada Department of the Interior Collection/NWT Archives/G-1989-006: 0073)



In addition to being the first resident medical doctor in the western Arctic, Dr. Leslie Livingston ran an experimental farm in Aklavik in the late 1930s and early 1940s in the hopes that agriculture would provide a dependable source of food for local residents. This 1939 photograph shows Clementine, a dairy cow, and a wagon load of hay.

HOW WE LIVED

Charles Camsell Hospital

Father Franche and unidentified Inuvialuk with a portable X-ray machine, 1950-51.
(ICRC/F.S. Farrar Collection #059)

Abe Okpik (left) with an unidentified friend at the Charles Camsell Hospital in 1945.
(Photo courtesy of Kathy Okpik)

The incidence of respiratory infection, particularly tuberculosis, was high amongst Inuvialuit throughout the early part of the twentieth century, and became increasingly prevalent during the 1940s. Rather than constructing treatment facilities in northern communities, the Government sent people to hospitals in southern Canada for care.

In 1945 the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton was converted to a tuberculosis hospital to serve the Inuit and First Nations groups in Alberta, the Yukon Territory, and parts of the Northwest Territories. Doctors and nurses from the hospital also went north to help deal with medical needs.

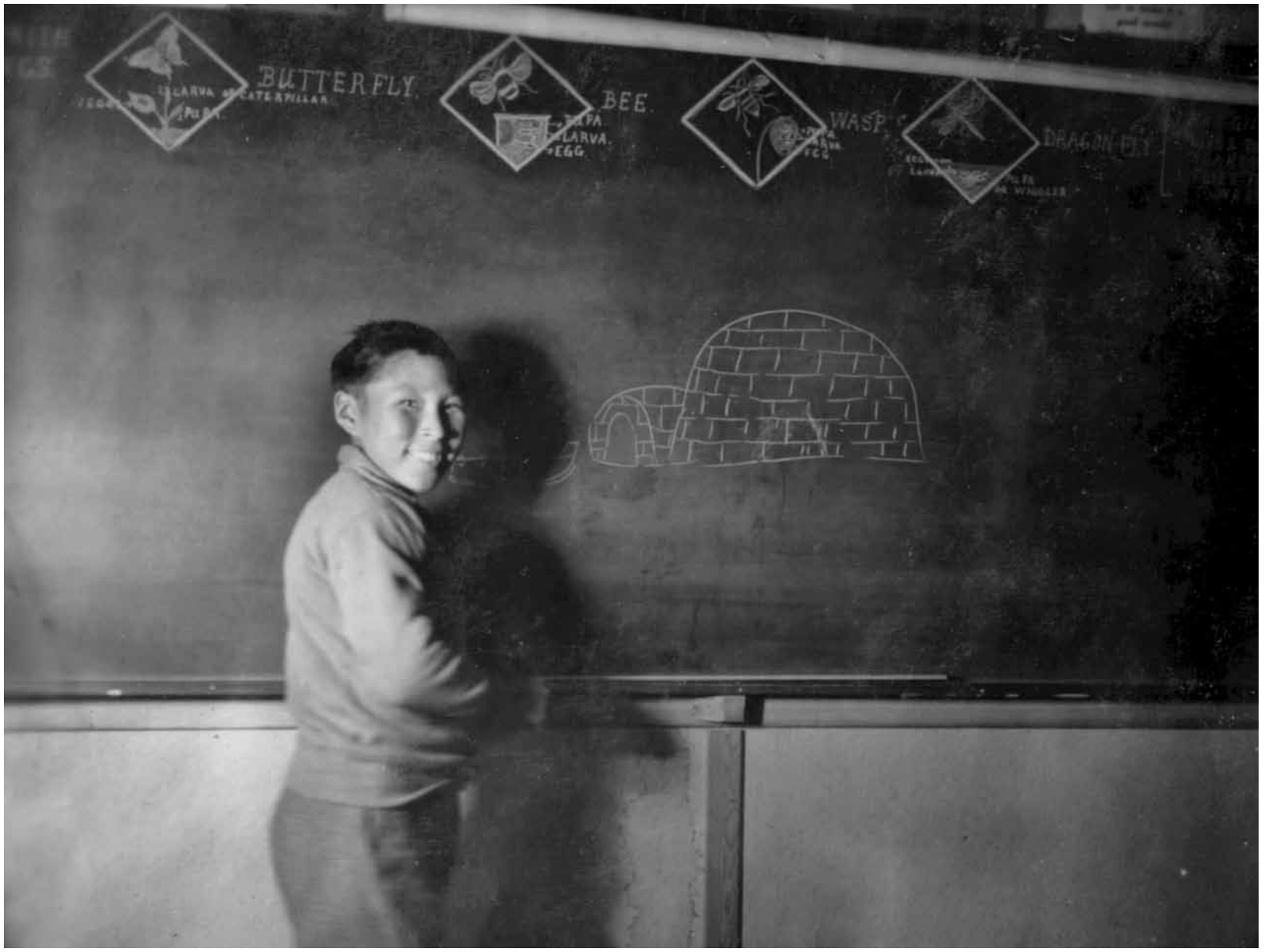
Many missionaries and civil servants in the North were critical of this action, due to the lengthy separation between patients and their families.

Abraham Okpik *contracted TB in 1946 and was sent to the Charles Camsell Hospital for treatment in Edmonton for treatment. He spoke of this experience:*

"When I first went down, I was in the Misericordia Hospital for one year. [Then] I went to Charles Camsell Hospital in 1946 and in August, 1948, I went home. I spent almost three years there, thirty-six months to be exact. I got home in the fall, late August. There was snow on the ground already. My father had died in the meantime, and my mother was living with her daughter."

(Abraham Okpik, ***We Call It Survival***, p. 128, 2005.)

Schools



Jimmy Komecik [Komeak] drawing an igloo on a chalk board, 1939
(Richard S. Finnie/PAC E003525191)

The traditional way for Inuvialuit children to learn is through observation and participation. When missionaries arrive they convince some of the people to let them educate their children.

In 1944 the Government begins giving mothers Family Allowance, but only if their children attend school. Some families move into Aklavik so that they can be with their children who are at school. Many others live too far away and must send their children to residential schools.

My school was the ocean and the steppe [tundra]."

Bob Cockney

(***I, Nuligak***, p. 89, 1966)

(L): Margaret Fitzgerald Andreason, a student at All Saints Residential School, Aklavik, 1939.
(R. Finnie/NWT Archives/N-1979-063-0072)

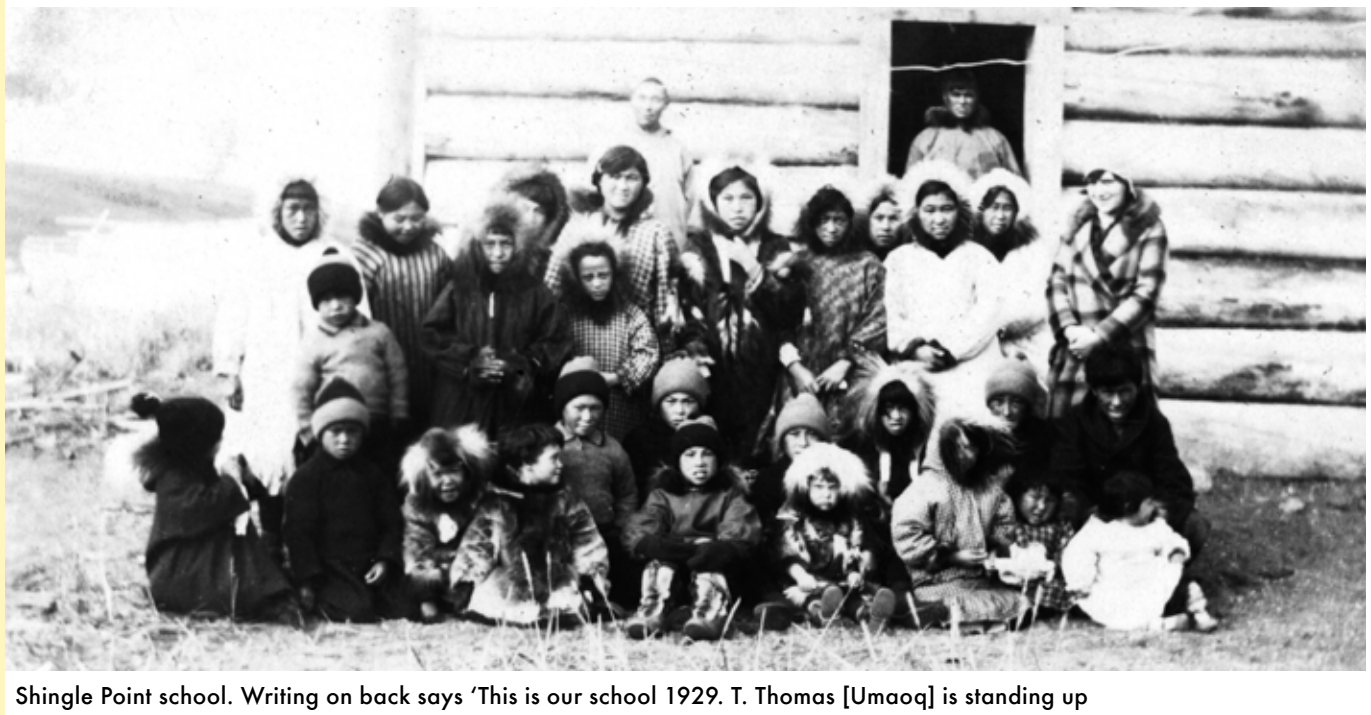
HOW WE CHANGED

Residential Schools in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

Anglican residential school at Shingle Point. Writing on back of this photo says 'First arrivals at school 1929. Big boy – Little Thomas; small boy – Walter; bigger girl – Lena; small girl – Lucy'.

(ICRC/Canon Shepherd Collection)

Oblate Fathers, Grey Nuns and pupils taken at Aklavik.
NWT Archives/Chief Julius School (Fort McPherson)/NWT Archives/N-1992-171: 0007)



Shingle Point school. Writing on back says 'This is our school 1929. T. Thomas [Umaoq] is standing up and Garrett [Nutik] is in the door'. (ICRC/Canon Shepherd Collection)

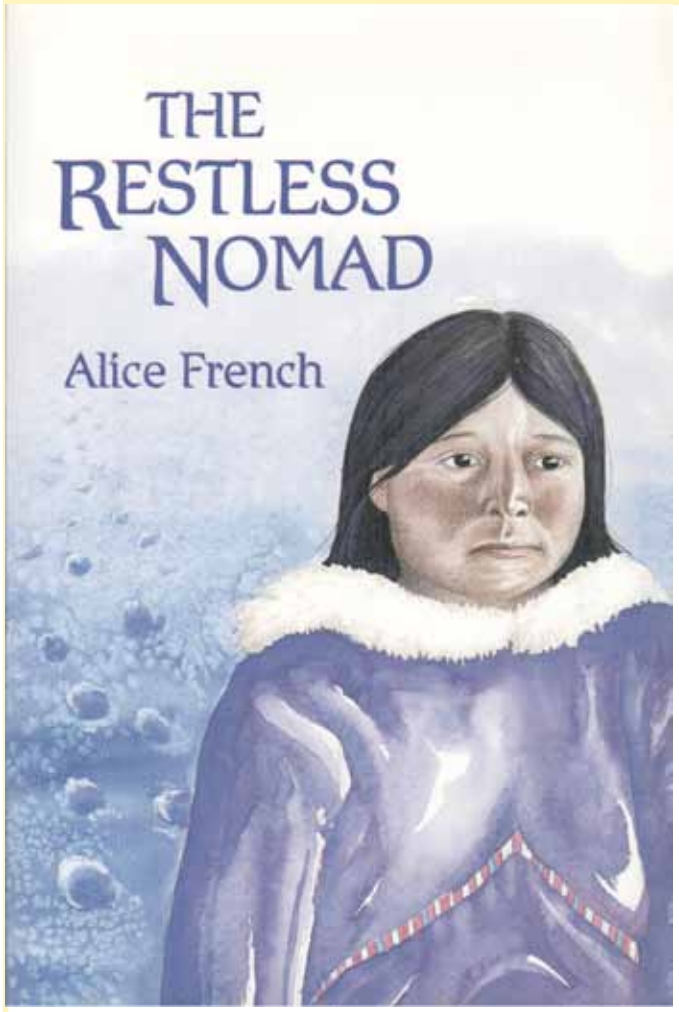
In 1908 the Government of Canada declared the Mackenzie District to be a 'Missionary Field', and gave the churches responsibility for determining the goals of what they called 'Native Education'. The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches both built and operated residential schools in what is now the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Most Inuvialuit lived on the land, far from the schools, and the churches reasoned that Inuvialuit (and Dene) children would need to be boarded at the schools. In 1946, the Government took over responsibility for the education system in the NWT and soon began to establish elementary 'day schools'. The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches continued to operate residential schools in Aklavik for students from communities that had no day school, and for those attending high school. These operated until student residences were built at the new Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik in 1959.

A Timeline of Residential Schools in the Inuvialuit Region:

1919	The Anglican Church opens a mission day school in Aklavik.
1925	The Roman Catholic Immaculate Conception Residential School opens in Aklavik.
1927	The Federal Government starts to provide funding to the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches for the operation of schools.
1929	The Anglican church establishes a residential school at Shingle Point.
1936	A new Anglican All Saints Indian and Eskimo Residential School opens in Aklavik The church closes the school at Shingle Point, and most students transfer to Aklavik.
1946	The Federal Government takes over responsibility for the education system in the NWT. The classrooms at church-run residential schools are to be phased out, and replaced by day schools.
1949	Federal Day School opens in Aklavik. Church-run student residences continue to operate, with Government funding.
1950	A Federal Day School opens in Tuktoyaktuk.
1959	Sir Alexander Mackenzie school opens in Inuvik with two residences: Stringer Hall residence (Anglican) and Grollier Hall (Roman Catholic). Student residences in Aklavik close, and most students transfer to Inuvik.
1965	Federal Day School opens in Holman offering K-3.
1969	The Government of the NWT takes over full responsibility for Education in the Mackenzie District.
1970	Territorial school opens in Sachs Harbour offering K-6.
1974	Territorial school opens in Paulatuk offering K-3.
1988	The Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education is established (referred to as Divisional Education Council since 1996).
????	Stringer Hall closes down.
1997	Grollier Hall, the last residential school in Inuvialuit territory, closes down. It is demolished in 2001.

HOW WE CHANGED

Residential Schools



Cover of ***The Restless Nomad***.
(Alice French, ***The Restless Nomad***, 1992.)

There are many told and untold stories about experiences at residential schools. One Inuvialuk who has written about that part of her life is Alice French, whose Inuvialuit name is Masak. She was born in 1930 on Baillie Island to a trapping family. At age six her mother contracted TB, and she and her brother (Aynounik) were sent to All Saints Residential School in Aklavik. She remained there until she was fourteen.

Alice Masak French *explains why she wrote her stories:*

"In it I tried to tell them [her grandchildren] what it was like suddenly going to school when you are from an intimate family group, to suddenly be thrown into a boarding school situation. It's really frightening. You've never seen so many kids in your life. It really is frightening. Suddenly you are being told what you can and can't do."

(Alice Masak French and Christine Watson, ***Autobiographical Writing as Healing Process***, p. 173, 1999.)

In the first of two her autobiographical books Alice French wrote about her time at the boarding school:

When we landed at Aklavik my mother went to the hospital and my brother and I were told we would be going to a boarding school, whatever that was. My father tried to explain that a boarding school was where children lived and went to school. He would not be able to take care of us while my mother was in the hospital and we would have to stay there. I did not like the idea. My brother was only three years old, and too young to understand.

How could there be so many people living in one building? I was so scared that I hung onto my father's hand. I did not like it there and I did not want my father to leave us. There were too many people. My brother was taken away by one of the supervisors. I tried not to cry in front of my father – he felt bad enough as it was. [...]

An Eskimo girl, whose dialect I did not understand, took me to the playroom [...] she introduced me to the other girls by my Christian name – Alice. My Eskimo name was not mentioned and I did not hear my name Masak again until I went home. [...]

Sometime later that Fall Reverend H.S. Shepherd, our minister, came to the school to tell me that my mother had died [...] She was the only link I had with home and the life I had been used to. My father had gone back to the trap line and we would not hear from him for a long time. It was not out of cruelty but out of necessity that he left us.

(Alice French, ***My Name is Masak***, p. 17-30, 1977.)

Her second autobiographical book begins on the day she left residential school seven years later:

When the doors to the school closed behind my father and me, I felt free, free at last. In school I was Alice, an Inuit girl being educated. Now, going down the steps with my father, I felt like one who had been lost, having been so long away from home, going back to a way of life I had almost forgotten [...]

How often I had dreamed of going home, of being needed to help my stepmother around the house. Now that the time had come I felt a little uneasy. How would we cope with the language barrier? Would my stepmother be happy to have me help her?

(Alice French, ***The Restless Nomad***, p. 1, 1992.)

Girls from Grollier Hall, circa 1961.

(Emily Stillwell Collection/NWT Archives/ /N-2005 -006-0201)

A young Inuvialuk boy going off to school in Aklavik. (Tuktoyaktuk, 1948-1956.)
(Terrence Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0069)

Cafeteria at Stringer Hall, Inuvik, 1970.
(Doug Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-0400)

HOW WE CHANGED

Day Schools in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region

Federal Day School in Aklavik, about 1950.
(Terrence Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0081)

Some people living in communities where day schools were opened are faced with a dilemma. By law, the children must go to school, but many parents live and work on the land to make a living.

Alice French *spoke about the issue with day schools:*

"It was a couple of years later, in the early 1950s, when the government schools started coming in. And that again was another disruption. It got so that instead of my people going out to different camps, because you need to keep moving to find the different food, follow the food chain, they suddenly had to stay in one place. And that was a really disruptive part of their lives because they didn't know how to do that.

Then you could see the questions: 'What am I going to do now? I'm here, but I can't go out of town because my children are in school and I don't want to leave them.' My people are not used to being anywhere without their children, they love their children. So, they stayed and it just became a real hardship for them. They were pulled in two directions and they didn't know what to do. When I look back, I don't look back too often, it's kind of painful and sort of hard. They went through like that from the late 1950s to the 1990s, there was that thirty years where they were neither geared for a good job nor really geared any more to go out to hunt and fish; they had lost something in between because they weren't doing it on a regular basis."

(Alice Masak French and Christine Watson,
Autobiographical Writing as Healing Process, p. 178, 1999.)

Textbooks used in the Federal day school in Tuktoyaktuk. Many of these books were alien to the north.
(Photo courtesy of Parks Canada).

Reindeer Herding

When the Inuvialuit refuse Treaty payments in the 1920s, Chief Mangulaluk, after first speaking with other Inuvialuit, tells the Government to provide something useful, like reindeer. Caribou had become scarce, and Inuvialuit knew about the reindeer herds had been brought to Alaska from Siberia in the late 1800s.

In 1929, the Government purchased several thousand reindeer in Alaska and arranged to have them delivered to the Mackenzie Delta. The herd left Alaska in December that year, and arrived five years later – a trip that took three years longer than planned. The hardships encountered along the way foretold difficulties that lay ahead with this early attempt by Government to 'help' the north.

Buster Kailek in 1961 with reindeer in fancy harnesses at Inuvik in 1961 for Reindeer Days, an annual spring event. (R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-009)

The white colouration shown here is distinctive of reindeer. (D. Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-1153)

"The caribou migration stopped coming to the west. This was the reason they brought the herd from Alaska. For some unexplainable reason the caribou quit migrating, and there was a real need for meat. Sixty years later, the caribou came back. You can't control caribou movements: they're not domesticated. You can control reindeer, they're semi-domesticated... "

Ellen Binder

(Elisa Hart, ***Reindeer Days Remembered***, p. 15, 2001.)

(L): Inuvialuit at Arctic Red River where they travelled for the herring run, 1915. The woman in the middle is wearing a parka with the distinctive colouring of reindeer skins, which most likely came from domestic reindeer that by that time were thriving in Alaska.

(Alma Guest Collection/NWT Archives/ N-1979-067-0041)

A CLOSER LOOK

A Brief History of the Reindeer Herd

In the early 1990's the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Center published a book prepared by Elisa Hart with the assistance of Inuvialuit Co-researchers titled Reindeer Days Remembered with stories and memories of many of the surviving Inuvialuit who had been involved with the reindeer herd. The following summary is based on information in that book.

Reindeer arriving in 1935.
(R..Terpenning/NWT Archives/N-1987-030-0464)

The newly-arrived reindeer in the corral built at Kuuruyuaq.
(R. Terpenning/NWT Archives/N-1987-030-0466)

Reindeer Station in the 1940s: loading sleds to move out to reindeer camps.
(Archibald Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-313)

A CLOSER LOOK

A Brief History of the Reindeer Herd (cont'd.)

For the first years after the arrival of the reindeer, the Government hired Inuvialuit, Alaskan Inupiat and Inuit from the Central Arctic to work with the herds.

Roundup at Kitigaaryuk,1955.
(D. Wilkinson/ NWT Archives/N-1979-051-1146)

Peter Rufus, Jimmy Gordon, Adam Emaghok and David Roland at roundup, 1955.
(D. Wilkinson/ NWT Archives/N-1979-051-1127)

In the early days, the meat from the annual reindeer slaughter was sold to the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions in Aklavik, for use in their schools and hospitals.

Boys pushing a cart loaded with reindeer meat toward the Anglican school, Aklavik 1940s.
(Mary Saich/NWT Archives/N-1990-003-116)

A CLOSER LOOK

As the main herd grew and people were trained as herders, Government started creating 'Native' herds by loaning reindeer to people, on the condition that the same number would be returned after their herds became established. In all, seven Native herds were loaned, but for various reasons none were successful.

The most tragic failure was caused by the loss of the schooner Calla, owned by Charlie Kitli (Rufus) and his father Rufus Kałia, during a storm in 1944. Eleven people were killed, including the herd managers, some children and a government supervisor. In 1974 the herd was privatized when it was sold to Silas Kangegana. It has been re-sold several times since.

Top: Charlie Rufus holding a fawn three-and-a-half months old, Native Herd No. 1, Nicholson Island, August 1943. (J.A. Parsons/PAC/PA-500043)

(L): Charlie Rufus and Rufus Kałia's Native Herd, 1943 (A.E. Porsild/PAC/PA-101103)

HOW WE CHANGED

Mackenzie Reindeer Grazing Reserve

DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND RESOURCES

Lands, Parks and Forests Branch

ADMINISTRATION of the NORTHWEST TERRITORIES CANADA

Permit No. 208

PERMIT

TO ENTER REINDEER GRAZING RESERVE

(Issued under the Reindeer Protection Ordinance and Regulations)

Subject to the laws and regulations applicable to the Northwest Territories now or hereafter in force, authority is hereby granted to Paul ADAM (Okpik) of Tuktoyaktuk to enter the Kittigazuit Reindeer Grazing Reserve for the purpose of Hunting & Trapping

This permit expires on the ..... day of ..... 19 51, and must be returned to the Superintendent as soon as practicable thereafter.

Please note that this permit does not allow any hunting and trapping privileges on or around Richards Island.

I accept this permit on the above terms.

Paul Adam
Permittee

Issued at .....

Issuing Officer

Date .....

(Title) .....

NOTE—Any person who violates any of the provisions of the regulations under which this permit is issued may be prosecuted under that part of the Criminal Code relating to summary convictions, being Part XV of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, Chapter 36, before a Justice of the Peace, or before any officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police empowered by law to sit and act as a Justice of the Peace.

K-3299

"You could [trap on the reserve], but you had to have a permit. It was the bureaucracy that bothered them; there was no cost for the permit."

Ellen Binder

(Elisa Hart and Inuvialuit Co-Researchers, Reindeer Days Remembered, p. 93, 2001.)

As part of the Government plan for reindeer herds in the Inuvialuit area, they established the Mackenzie Reindeer Grazing Reserve, a huge area of 17,00 square kilometres between the Mackenzie and Anderson Rivers. People now needed a permit to go onto land that they had always used for hunting and trapping, causing resentment and frustration.

Ellen Binder, *daughter and wife of reindeer herders, recalled:*

"You could [trap on the reserve], but you had to have a permit. It was the bureaucracy that bothered them; there was no cost for the permit."

(Elisa Hart and Inuvialuit Co-Researchers, ***Reindeer Days Remembered***, p. 93, 2001.)

(L): A copy of the permit that was required to enter the Reindeer Grazing Reserve.

(The Glenbow-Alberta Institute/NWT Archives/N-1995-004 File 2-3)

DEW Line

Life in the 1950s is difficult for many Inuvialuit. Trapping is not as profitable as in earlier years, and wage employment is scarce and barely provides enough for survival. The construction of the DEW line provides jobs and other benefits, but also brings new problems.

In 1954, during the height of the Cold War, the Canadian and American governments agreed to jointly build a line of radar stations across the Arctic from Alaska to Greenland. The Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line was designed to detect bomber aircraft in the event of an attack from the USSR.

DEW Line Station, Tuktoyaktuk, in the 1990s.
(John Poirier/PWNHC)

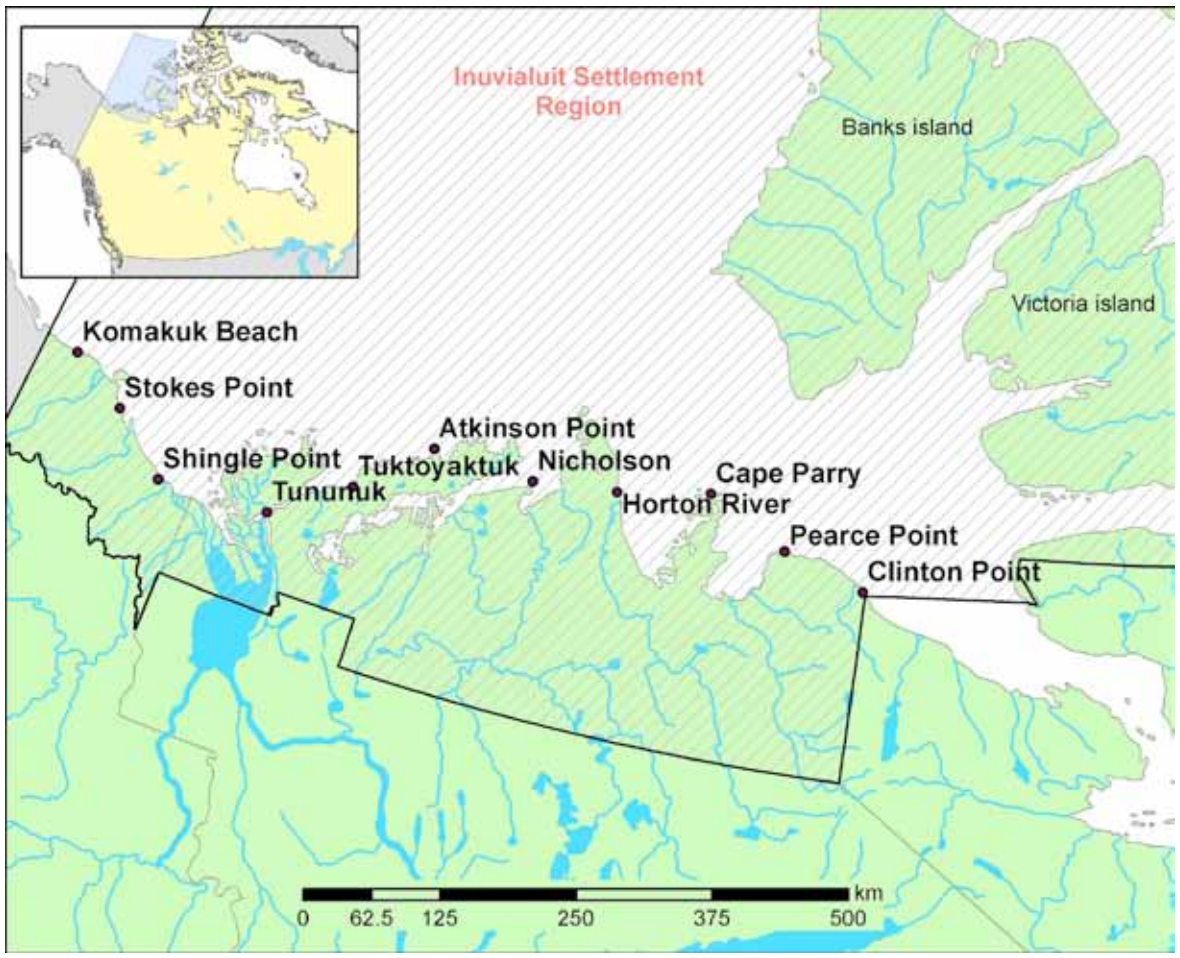
"When we got our first pay cheque, holy smoke! We worked for a dollar fifty-five an hour. Oh! What a wonder, lots of money! We worked for ten twelve hours a day and finally got our pay about eight weeks later. What a big roll of money it was."

Abraham Okpik

(Abraham Okpik, ***We Call It Survival***, p. 128, 2005.)

A CLOSER LOOK

About the DEW Line



The construction of the DEW Line sites was joint Canadian-American undertaking, and for a number of years after construction was completed the American military was involved in the operation of the DEW line stations.

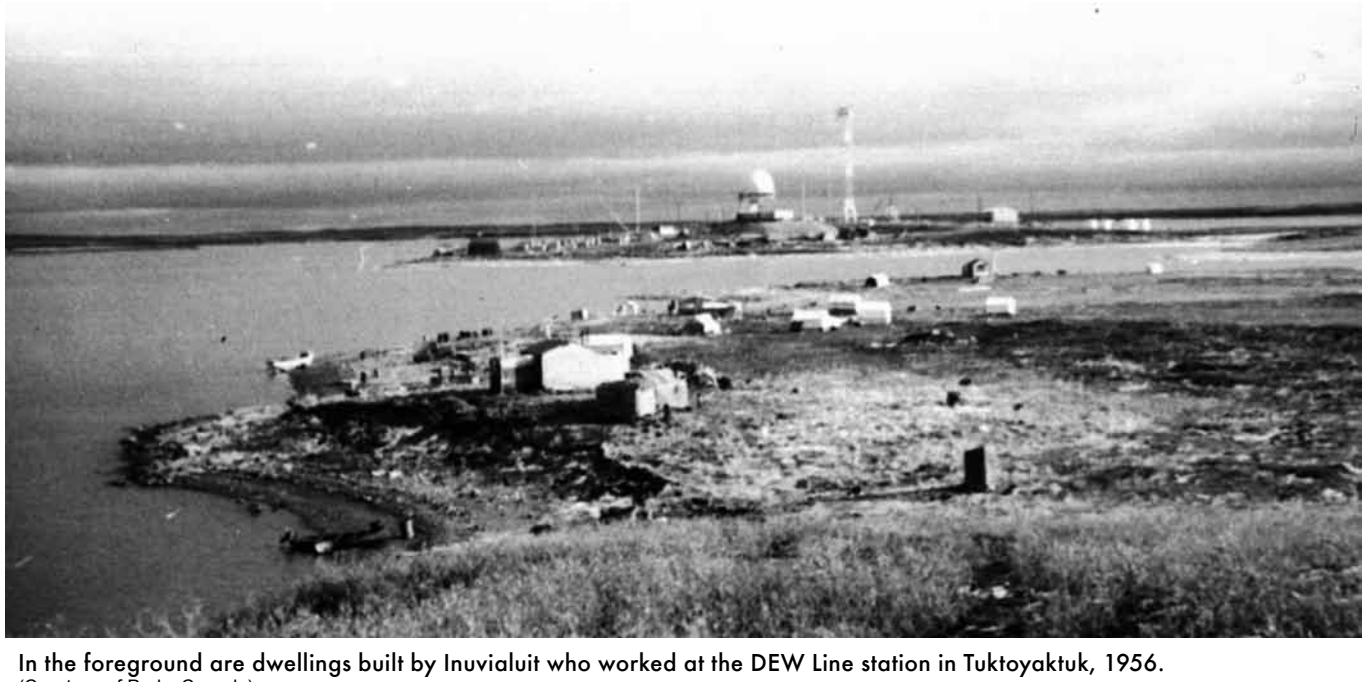
Site	Location	Type
BAR-1	Komakuk Beach, Yukon	Auxiliary
BAR-B	Stokes Point, Yukon	Intermediate
BAR-2	Shingle Point, Yukon	Auxiliary
BAR-C	Tununuk Camp, NWT	Intermediate
BAR-3	Tuktoyaktuk, NWT	Auxiliary
BAR-D	Atkinson Point, NWT	Intermediate
BAR-4	Nicholson Peninsula, NWT	Auxiliary
BAR-E	Horton River, NWT	Intermediate
PIN-MAIN	Cape Parry, NWT	Main
PIN-A	Pearce Point, NWT	Intermediate
PIN-1	Clinton Point, NWT	Auxiliary

(L): DEW Line Sites in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

Aerial photo of BAR-1 (Komakuk) in July of 1960. (Department of Energy, Mines and Resources/s(30)RR2099/4 408 (R) RCAF)

BAR-1 (Komakuk) in 1972.
(PAC/PA-145816)

USAF airman watches radar scope Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island 1956.
(DND-CPU-PL 103326)



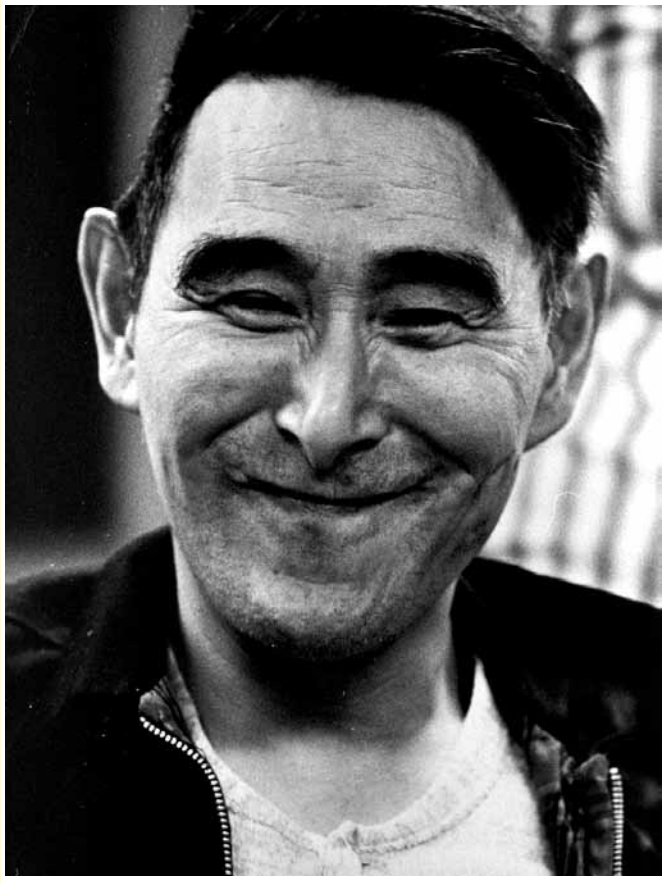
In the foreground are dwellings built by Inuvialuit who worked at the DEW Line station in Tuktoyaktuk, 1956.
(Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Canadian flag flying over PIN Main (Cape Parry), 1961.
(Stephenson/DND-CPU-PL 138801)

HOW WE CHANGED

DEW Line

Inuvialuit were hired for the construction and operation phases of the DEW Line. For some, this was their first experience with wage labour. Training was provided in some of the technical trades, and in the operation of heavy equipment.



Jonah Carpenter, BAR-1 1962/63. Jonah Carpenter worked for many years at the BAR-1 (Komakuk) site in northern Yukon. (Sam Lightman Collection/SAM 4.11)

Digging holes in ice to haul water, BAR-1, 1960.
(D.E. Sankey/DND-CPU-PCN-1658)

Not everything about the DEW line was beneficial. For some, the demands of the job, and new-found income, resulted in social and family problems. The DEW Line also brought pollutants to the north – including asbestos in buildings, PCBs in electrical equipment, abandoned fuel drums, and spilled fuels that would create environmental problems for years to come.

Mary Evik Ruben *told about the time her father was working for the DEW Lin at Cape Parry:*
"And when we were in Letty Harbour that's the time the DEW Line start coming in. You know, they and my brothers and my dad, all the men's for working that time. We lived all alone. Mom watched us, she used to make us set traps." (Parks Canada, ***Paulatuuq Oral History Project***, p. 15, 2004.)

Charles Akwiana at work inside BAR-1, 1956.
(Stephenson/DND-CPU-PL 138801)

Coding drums of gas from sea lift dump, BAR-1, 1960. (D.E. Sankey/DND-CPU-PCN 1654)

Clean ups at Inuvialuit sites used by industry, to reduce or eliminate contamination from pollutants and debris. (IRC)

Inuvik

Prime Minister John Diefenbaker unveils the Inuvik plaque at a dedication ceremony, 1961. The three arms of the monument represent the Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and non-Aboriginal people who live in the region.

(R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0648)

"Today is an occasion - for you, for me, and for the Western Arctic. We are here - all of us - to join in dedicating a town for which there is no counterpart in Canada. How else can I speak of such an opening ceremony but as an act of dedication? A promise made to the future of the north and its people, and to Canada."

Prime Minster John Diefenbaker

(Prime Minster John Diefenbaker's speech at a dedication ceremony for Inuvk, July 21, 1961)

A new tradition for a new community: Muskrat Jamboree, 1957. This carnival has welcomed the arrival of spring since the establishment of Inuvik. (R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0005)

More and more Inuvialuit settle in permanent communities, to be near schools, government services and the possibility of wage employment. By the early 1950s, Aklavik is the main centre for the Western Arctic, but government decides that a new centre is required and builds Inuvik. The Prime Minster of Canada, John Diefenbaker, calls it 'a town with no past to leave behind – only a future to look forward to'.

Many people feel that they should have been consulted about the decision to build a new town in their territory, and wonder if it will live up to Government's promise that it represents the future of the north.

A CLOSER LOOK

Building Inuvik

Aklavik flood, 1937. (A. Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0049)

Alavik community banner.

High water levels in spring frequently flood Aklavik, which is one of the reasons why the Government wanted to relocate the community. Despite Government's efforts to relocate the entire community of Aklavik to the new town at Aklavik, many resisted. Aklavik today is a thriving community whose motto is "Never Say Die".

East Three, circa 1955. (Curtis L. Merrill/NWT Archives N-1992-192-0123)

An Inuvialuit family at East Three, circa 1955.

The location selected for the new community was originally called East Three, since it was the third location investigated on the east side of the East Channel of the Mackenzie River. Because there were names such as Akłarvik (place where someone harvested a grizzly bear) and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (place where the caribou crosses) named after animals, the people recommended such names as nanuq (polar bear), kivgaluk (muskrat), or kigiaq (beaver) for East Three. From the story elders tell and at the recommendation of Harry Inukikłaq and other elders, they came up with the name "Inuuvik", meaning "place where people live. By 1958, the name was made official.

(***Inuvialuit Settlement Region Traditional Knowledge Report***, p. 5-8, 2006.)

Charley Gordon, of the Dominion Land Survey, conducting a legal survey at East Three, circa 1956. (Curtis L. Merrill/NWT Archives N-1992-192-0268)

Buildings are erected on piles driven into the ground in order to prevent heat from the buildings melting the permafrost. (ICRC)

A CLOSER LOOK

Building Inuvik (cont'd.)

In the early days of Inuvik, military and government workers were housed in 'triplexes' with water and sewer services running through utilidors. In contrast, an area of the community that was developed for the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in consisted of what are known as '512's – buildings that are 16 by 32 feet in dimension, with no running water and no plumbing. However, yards were larger to accommodate dog teams.

Utilidors, Inuvik, 1970.
(Douglas E. Wilkinson/NWT Archives N-1979-051-0424S)

The first piling for Inuvik Centennial Library, 1966. (ICRC)

Victor Allen, Inuvik,1970. Houses known as '512s' are shown in the background.
(Douglas Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-0461s)

Sam Arey using a steam point to make a hole in the permafrost for a log pile, 1956. (Curtis L. Merrill/NWT Archives/N-1992-192-0199)

A barge load of logs for building pilings from Arctic Red River arriving in Inuvik, 1967T.
(Grant/NWT Archives/G-1979-023:0179

Shopping at the Hudson's Bay store, Inuvik, 1970. (Douglas Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-0389S)

For some Inuvialuit, moving into town meant the end of a way of life spent on the land. People work for wages, buying food and clothing from stores. Youth and young elders are now more likely to speak English than Inuvialuktun. For some it is difficult to adjust to so many changes at once. Alcoholism creates problems, crime increases and some families break down under the strain.

A new generation of Inuvialuit emerges from this period of transition – people who value the land, but who know they need to acquire skills and knowledge to survive in the modern world. Inuvialuit culture and traditions are treasured, and modern technology is used to record elders' knowledge and stories in their languages for broadcasting on the radio and to preserve that information for future generations. For some, Inuvik is a place of opportunity and an arena for interactions that pave the way for future political and economic development that would spread throughout the Inuvialuit area.

Bingo, Inuvik, 1970.
(Douglas Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-0457S)

"I remember having to move into town because my wife passed away from the flu and my children had to go to school in the mission school.

One day my daughter asked me why I was so sad and why I had to go to talk to the white woman. She meant the social worker. I told her that this is where people who could not look after themselves went for welfare.

Only a few years before we were all living on the land, happy and a good family looking after ourselves with no help from anyone."

Ishmael Alunik

(L): Nellie Cournoyea and Edward Lennie in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) studio, Inuvik, 1970. CBC staff started programs to record elders in the own languages and broadcast their stories on the radio.

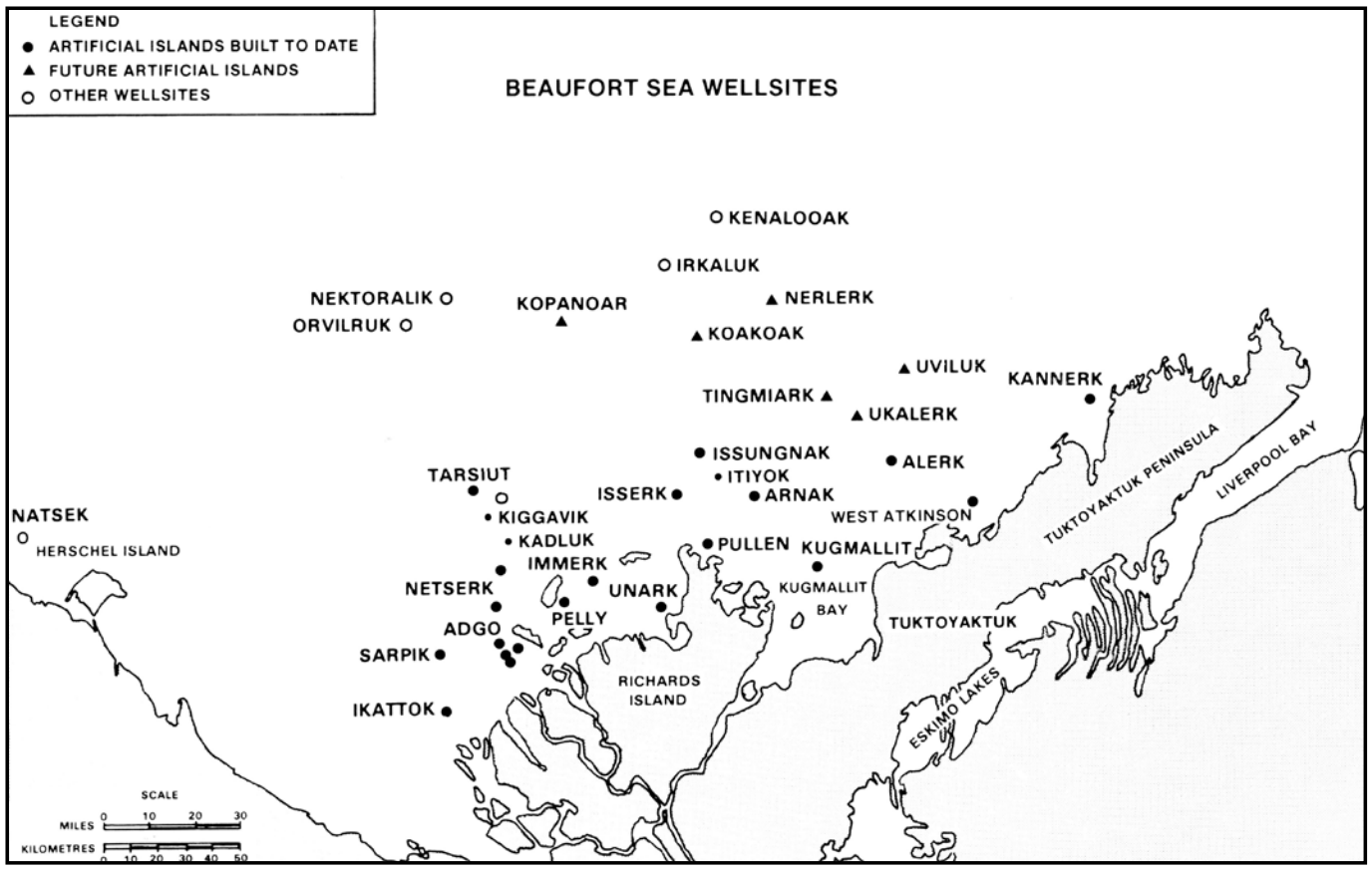
(Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-0464s)

6 The 70's Oil Boom 1960s-1970s

Drilling at Atkinson Point, 1969.

(Imperial Oil Ltd/Glenbow Museum and Archives/IP-14d-69-57)

Exploration on Inuvialuit Land



Oil and gas discoveries made in the in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea in the 1960s and 70s.
(***Hydrocarbon Development in the Beaufort Sea - Mackenzie Delta Region***, Environmental Impact Statement Vol. 1, 1982, p.21.)

"Now some white people come up and say they own this land, mapped it, and they said they owned it [...] it should be Eskimo's, because there was no white men up here before the Eskimos."

Peter Esau

(Peter Esau interviewed by Peter Usher 1973 for COPE.)

Peter Esau

Although the Government of Canada has claimed ownership of the Western Arctic since 1870, Inuvialuit feel that they are in control of their traditional lands. That begins to change when oil companies become interested in this area.

Geological studies in the late 1950s and early 1960s raises the possibility that significant oil and gas deposits lie beneath the Mackenzie Delta and the Beaufort Sea. Exploration permits are issued to oil companies, who carry out seismic surveys and drill test wells on land and in the Beaufort Sea. By the mid-1970s it is estimated that the area holds almost one-third of Canada's supply of conventional oil and natural gas. If oil and gas are to be extracted a way must be found to ship them to southern markets.

(L): An employee participates in exploration work in northern Canada, 1965.

(Imperial Oil Ltd/Glenbow Museum and Archives IP-7b-1-1)

WHO WE ARE

Raddi Koiksak in Inuvialuit television program Tamapta.
(ICS)

Raddi Koiksak, *in an interview by Sam Raddi and Peter Usher for COPE, said:*

"This land was owned by the Eskimos for many years, even before the white man came around. What few white men that came around here were maybe two or three trappers that went up to Kugaluk River. The Eskimos used the land all the time, and they made good on it. We never think that it ever belonged to the white man. This land is ours, and if the white people come around here there will be nothing left for us. We like our land very much, but the oil companies are spoiling it. Even the seals are getting different. Last fall they got hardly any seals [...] We even find a lot of dead seals on the beach. The Husky Lakes are even worse, they find a lot of dead fish drifted on the beach. We, the Eskimos, own the land. We had the land all the time, and for many years we made our living on it. Long ago we suffered in this land, and still we love this land, and now with the oil companies around they are just spoiling the land."

(Raddi Koisak, interview by Sam Raddi and Peter Usher for COPE, 1974. Translated by Sam Raddi.)

HOW WE CHANGED

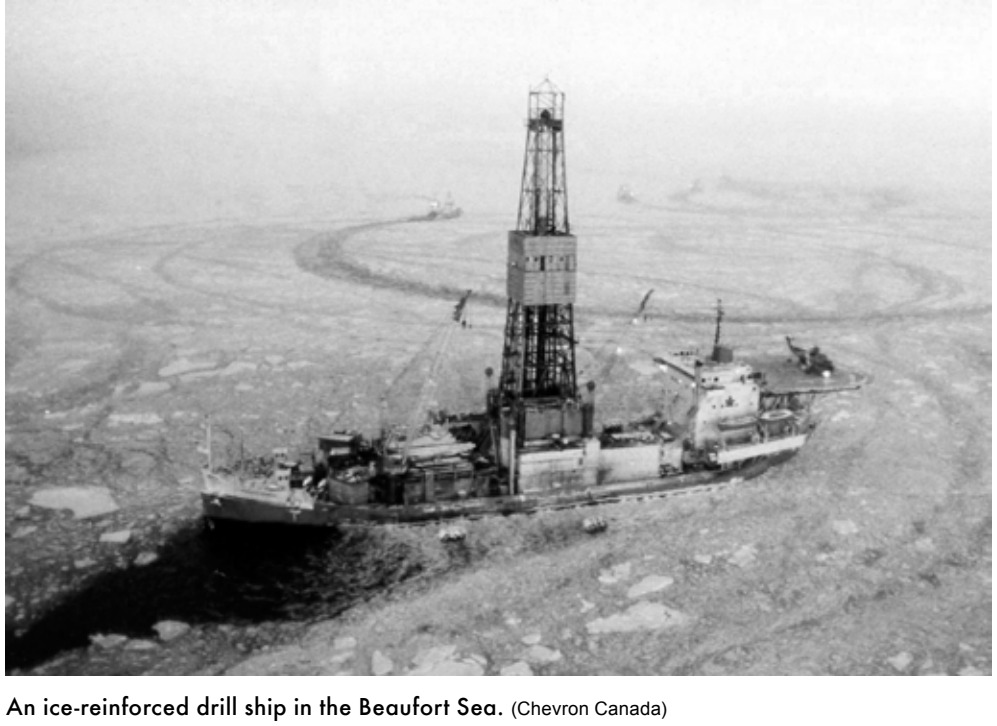
Petroleum exploration in the Western Canadian Arctic

Oil was first discovered at Atkinson Point in 1969, followed by the discovery of natural gas at Taglu on Richards Island and at Parsons Lake. Activity in the Mackenzie Delta and Beaufort Sea accelerated throughout the early seventies. In addition to onshore drilling, wells were drilled from artificial islands built in shallow waters of the Beaufort Sea, and from reinforced drill ships in deeper waters. Northern exploration was temporarily set back after the release of the Berger Inquiry in 1977, which recommended a 10-year moratorium on the construction of a pipeline up the Mackenzie to southern markets. However, the National Energy Program that was introduced in 1980 to promote Canadian self-sufficiency in energy through tax incentives boosted activity in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea region.

Year	Exploration activity
1962	Texcan drills the first the wells on the Beaufort Sea coast at Nicholson Point.
1966	Imperial Oil begins drilling in the Mackenzie Delta-Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula area.
1969	Imperial Oil discovers oil at Atkinson Point.
1971	Imperial Oil discovers the Taglu natural gas field on Richards Island.
1972	Gulf Canada discovers natural gas at Parsons Lake.
1972	Imperial Oil begins construction of two artificial islands for offshore drilling in shallow waters of the Beaufort Sea.
1973	Shell Canada discovers the Niglintgak natural gas field on Richards Island.
1974	Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd., a consortium of petroleum and pipeline companies, proposes building a pipeline from the Beaufort Sea through the Mackenzie Valley to markets in the south.
1974	The Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline begins its work.
1976	Dome (Canmar) drills the first offshore wells in deeper parts of the Beaufort Sea using an ice-strengthened drill ship.
1977	The recommendations of the Berger Commission results in a 10 year moratorium on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.
1980	The National Energy Program gives a boost to petroleum exploration in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea region.

An ice-reinforced drill ship in the Beaufort Sea. (Chevron Canada)

Imperial's oil rig at Atkinson Point, 1970. (Imperial Oil Ltd/Glenbow Museum and Archives IP-7a-1)



An ice-reinforced drill ship in the Beaufort Sea. (Chevron Canada)

New Prospects

Peter Esau on his trapline, Banks Island, 1960s. (Peter Usher)

"Some people always say in the future […] there will be no more trapping, but myself I think there is going to be trapping all the time."

Peter Esau
(Interviewed by Peter Usher for COPE, 1973.)

Charlie Thrasher working for the oil industry.

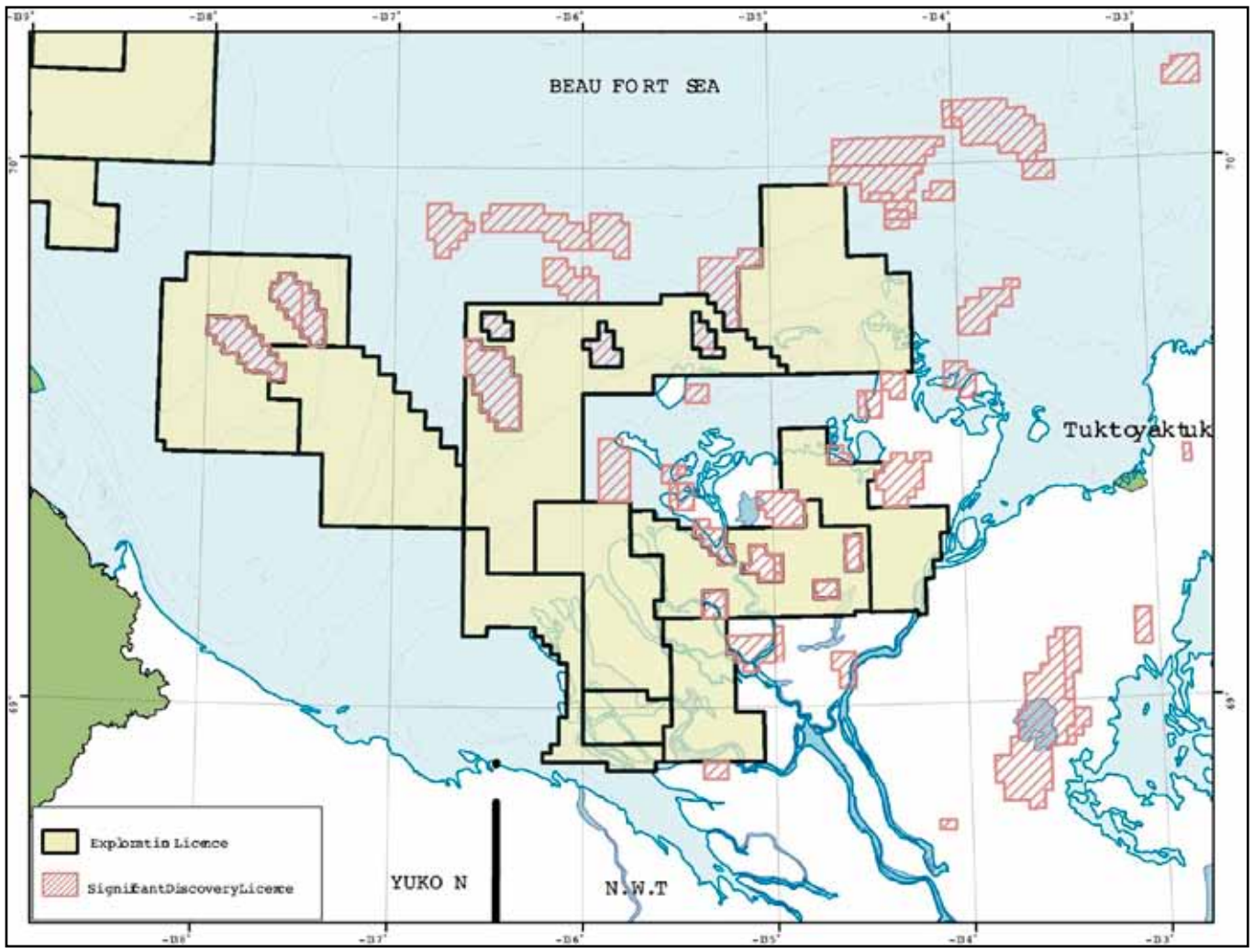
With a decline in the price of furs after the 1950s, and after the DEW Line has been built, many Inuvialuit wonder about prospects for jobs. The oil boom of the 1960s and 1970s brings new opportunities. Imperial Oil and Shell Oil establish base camps in Inuvik, and Imperial Oil, Dome Petroleum and Gulf Canada build operating bases at Tuktoyaktuk. Airstrips and winter roads are built, and seismic exploration and drilling is carried on at a frenzied pace. Although tradespeople and oil workers are brought in from the south, there are many job opportunities for Inuvialuit.

Jobs, money and southern transients bring changes to Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, and to a lesser extent other Inuvialuit communities. While the booming economy causes some problems, most Inuvialuit use their earnings to better their lifestyles, and to buy new skidoos, boats and other game and fish harvesting equipment. Daily jet service to Inuvik begins in 1972, and the all-weather Dempster Highway linking Inuvik with southern Canada is completed in 1979. Improved transportation links bring new consumer goods, and makes travel to the south easier.

PWA Boeing 737 unloading freight at Inuvik Airport, early 1970s. (Douglas Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-0446s)

View of the Dempster highway leading down to a ferry docked at a landing on the Mackenzie River, about 1979.
(James Jerome/NWT Archives/N-1987-017: 0349)

Concerns Grow



Petroleum exploration licenses in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea as of 2007. The pink areas areas are significant discoveries made in the 1970s and 80s. (Northern Oil and Gas Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.)

Although the jobs created by oil exploration are welcome, Inuvialuit are not willing for the land to be spoiled.

For over a hundred years, Inuviaulit society has been absorbing the impact of newcomers who brought with them dramatic change. It is time to take control again. The Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) is formed to claim the land.

"There was land sales or lands auctioned off [by the Government of Canada] for the oil and gas exploration. A deal was made on royalties […] With all these deals going on in our lands, the Canadian Government did not consult or approach our people about what they were doing. They completely ignored the concerns and the outcry of the native people."

Randal Pokiak
(Inuvialuit History, undated.)

WHO WE ARE

Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE)

COPE logo
(IRC Archives)

In response to increasing oil and gas exploration and other pressures, on January 28, 1970, a group of people came together to form the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was formed to represent the interests of the Indigenous people of the western Arctic.

COPE feared that unless action was taken they would have no input into resource development. They were also concerned that most of the benefits from any development would flow south with Indigenous people benefitting little.

COPE identified as its main objectives to provide a united voice for all original people of the Northwest Territories, and to work toward the establishment and realization of Indigenous peoples rights.

Within a short period of time COPE accomplished many things. It organized the first conference of Arctic Native People in Coppermine (now known as Kugluktuk), helped start the Northern Games, produced weekly shows in Aboriginal languages, helped preserve the history and heritage of Aboriginal people by interviewing and taping elders, supported Aboriginal business ventures, and lobbied for adequate housing for low-income families.

First and foremost COPE represented the Inuvialuit in negotiating a land claim agreement with the Federal Government.

HOW WE LIVED

Taking Control of the Land

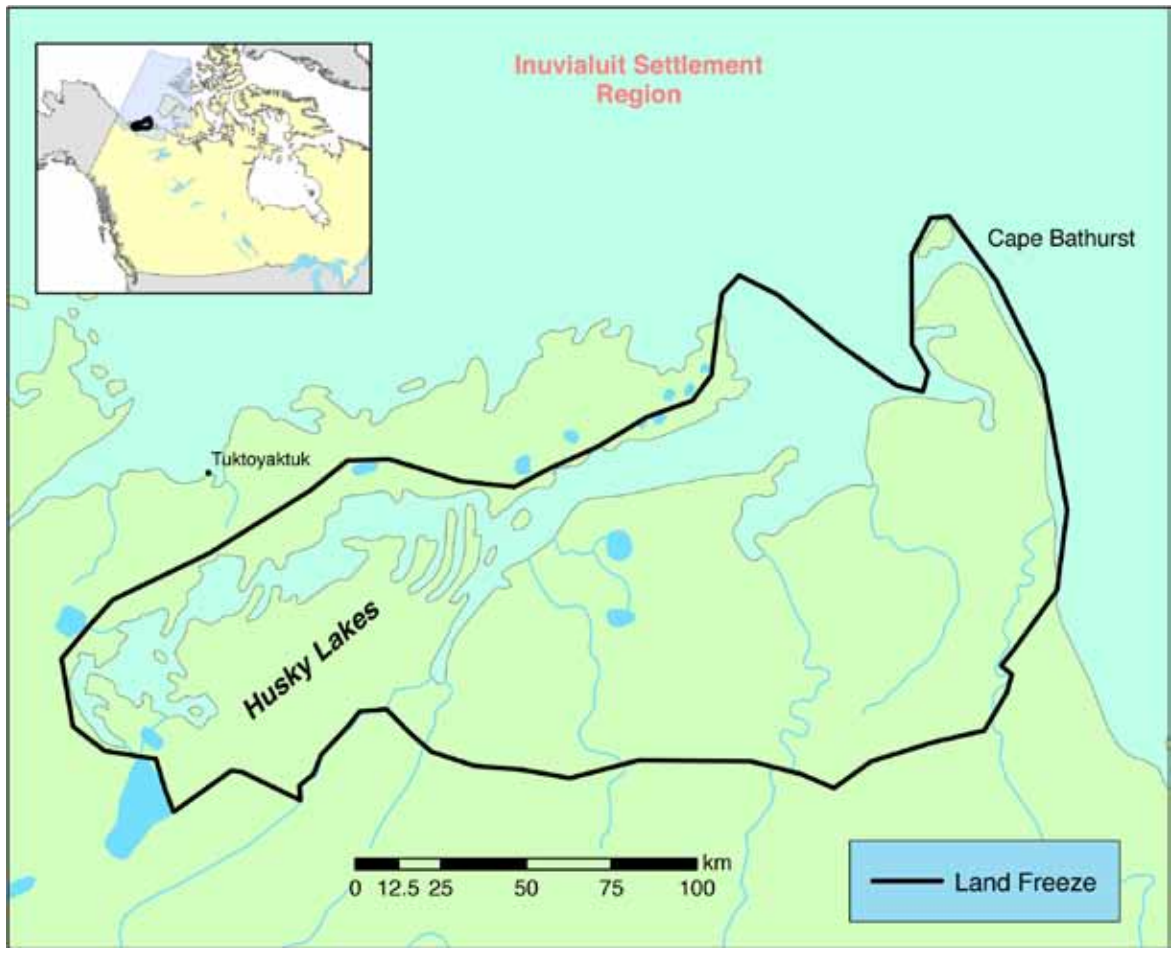
In 1970 Inuvialuit began to react against government control of their land.

Sachs Harbour went against Government and an oil exploration company when seismic activity threatened wildlife in the area. With help from COPE Banks Islanders were able to convince the Federal Government to settle on terms and conditions they demanded. The Federal Territorial Land Use Regulations were implemented a year after the Sachs Harbour seismic conflict, to manage land access in the territories.

Two years later, when Esso Resources proposed a seismic program in the Cape Bathurst and Husky Lakes area, the people of Tuktoyaktuk demanded a land use plan. The Federal Government responded by putting a freeze on exploration and development for a year while potential environmental impacts were studied.

When the freeze was lifted Government permitted Esso Resources to proceed, conditional on having an Inuvialuit Environmental Monitor on site. After activation of the first seismic line on Husky Lakes fish floated to the surface, the Environmental Monitor notified the Department of Fisheries and Oceans and the seismic operation was halted. COPE demanded that all oil and gas exploration in the area be stopped. The Federal Government agreed, and a land freeze was put in place until the Inuvialuit land claims were settled.

Spring ice fishing and visiting, Husky Lakes, mid-1950s.
(Bern Will Brown/NWT Archives/N-2001-002-6217)



Cape Bathurst and Husky Lakes land freeze area.

"Long ago there were no oil companies around here. Now since the oil companies came, the lakes that we used to fish have hardly any fish. Those days, when we set nets in the lakes, the next morning when we checked them there were lots of fish in them. Now, they tell me that they get hardly any fish in the same lakes. Now these lakes close to Tuktoyaktuk have no more fish. The seismic lines plug the creeks to the lakes and the last few years there were hardly any whitefish. Last fall, the boys were getting more white fish; maybe some of the creeks were opened."

Felix Nuyaviak

(Felix Nuyaviak, interviewed by Sam Raddi and Peter Usher for COPE, 1974.)

A CLOSER LOOK

Randal Pokiak, Tuktoyaktuk 1987.
[Tessa Macintosh/NWT Dept. of Public Works and Services/NWT Archives/G-1995-001-4492)

Lena and Matthew Anikina fishing at Eskimo Lakes.
(E. Hart/NWT Archives/N-2004: 004-1102)

Randal Pokiak *explained why people in Tuktoyaktuk were concerned about seismic activity at Husky Lake:*

It was a treasured recreation, vacation, holiday area for our people with easy access for all Tuktoyaktuk Inuvialuit families;

1. Husky Lake trout were prized by our people for a change in diet (spring fishing through the ice), also most families if not all went to Husky Lakes to await the arrival of the snow geese.

2. There was not only fish in the lake but also seals and ugyuks in Liverpool Bay;

3. There was different types of bird nesting areas within the freeze area including a recognized bird sanctuary at Anderson River;

4. Cape Bathurst had numerous wildlife populations during the migrating periods, flora and fauna was different from other areas, and the Tundra was felt to be too sensitive;

5. Oil industry was seriously thinking of developing a base in the area for their operations, even to the point of dredging in some sensitive areas to deepen channels so oil and gas could try to be barged out of the wells discovered at Parson's Lake, which is at the farthest point of the Husky Lakes chain;

6. Inuvialuit people of Tuk felt that the area was too open for the oil industry; they were unchecked even by the Federal Government.

7. To the amazement and pleasure of the Inuvialuit the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development accepted our concerns and froze the land for any exploration or seismic, pending the land claim settlement.

This action by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development did two things for the Inuvialuit;

1. Created a spark of hope in our people that the Government was actually listening;

2. Made the Inuvialuit realize that if there is unity, anything is possible.

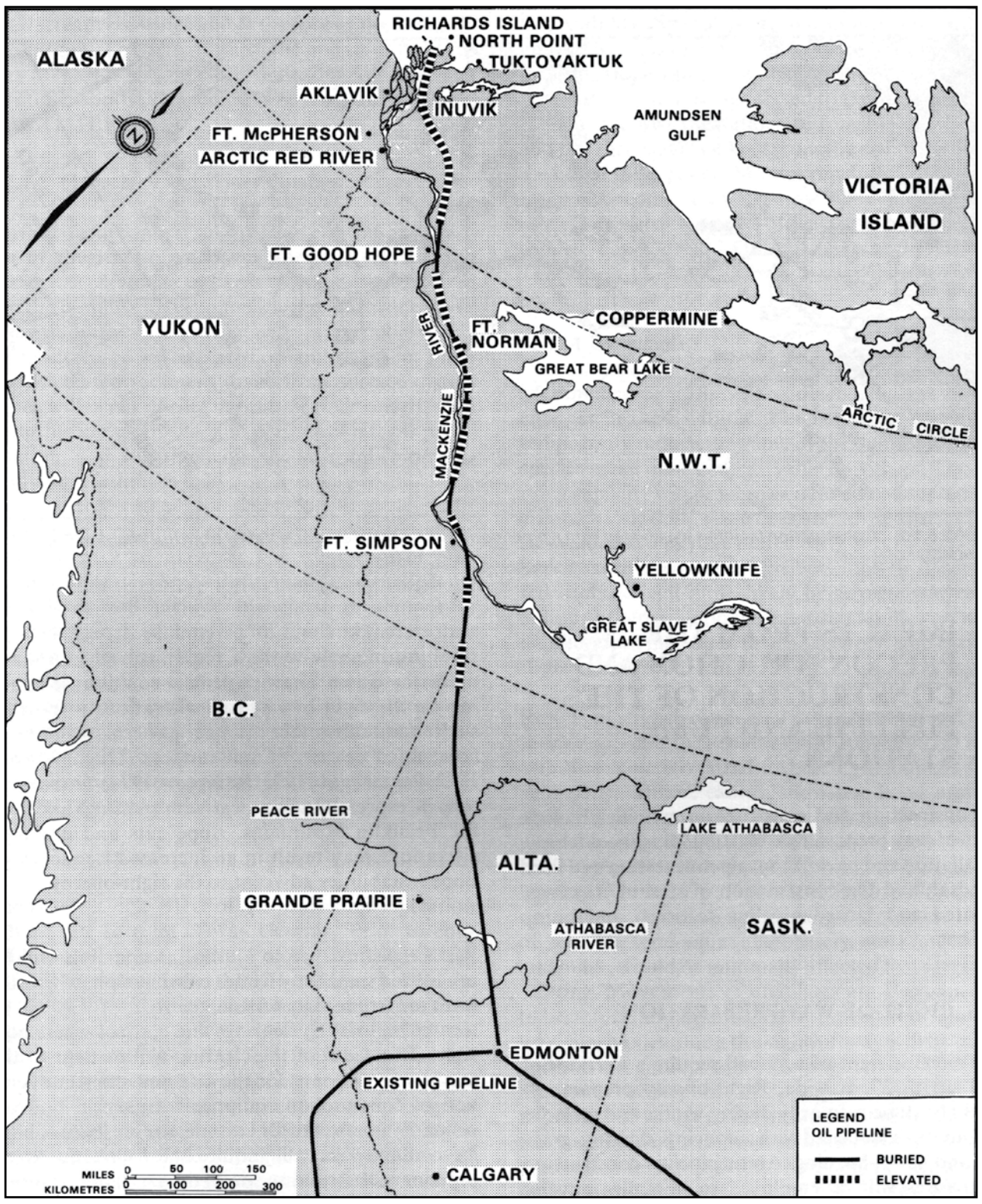
(Randal Pokiak, ***Inuvialuit History***, p. 100 - 101, ICRC.)

Snow geese flying near their nesting grounds at the mouth of the Anderson River.

(E. Hart/ICRC/TPNP 2003 R17-18)

Land and water at Husky Lakes.
(E. Hart/ICRC/TPNP 2003 R15-14)

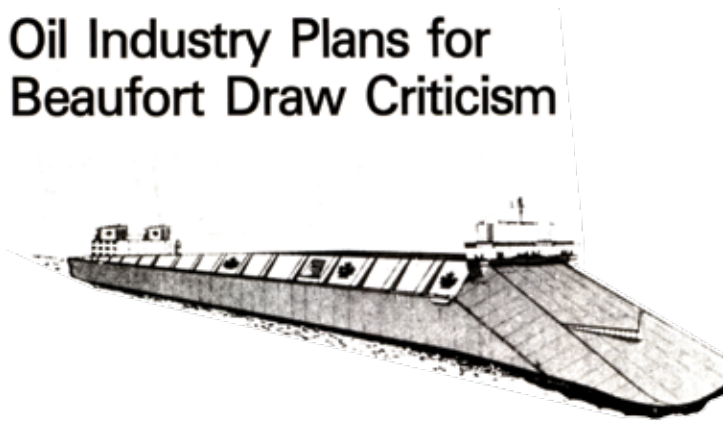
The Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline



Proposed route of the Mackenzie Valley Pipleline.
(***Hydrocarbon Development in the Beaufort Sea - Mackenzie Delta Region***. Environmental Impact Statement Vol. 1, 1982.)

On March 21, 1974 Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline, Ltd. files an application with the National Energy Board and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for permission to build a pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley. It is expected that a second proposal, to build an oil pipeline along the same route, will be filed at a later date.

The proposed pipeline to carry gas from the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea and from Alaska to southern markets would be the largest pipeline ever built - 9,000 kilometers when all connecting facilities in the United States were included - and would carry 4.5 billion cubic feet of natural gas a day, more than the entire daily Canadian gas consumption. Immediately, concerns were raised about the social and environmental consequences of this mega-project. The Federal Government supports the idea of a pipeline, and establishes a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, in the hope that it will resolve those concerns.



Concept of an Arctic oil tanker. This concept was abandoned due to environmental concerns.

(***Hydrocarbon Development in the Beaufort Sea - Mackenzie Delta Region***. Environmental Impact Statement Vol. 1, 1982.)

"There are two distinct views of the North: one as frontier, the other as homeland. We look upon the North as our last frontier. It is natural for us to think of developing it, of subduing the land and extracting its resources to fuel Canada's industry and heat our homes […] But the native people say the North is their homeland. They have lived there for thousands of years. They claim it is their land, and they believe they have a right to say what its future ought to be."

Thomas R. Berger

(Excerpt from ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry***, Vol 1, by Thomas R. Berger, 1977.)

A CLOSER LOOK

The Berger Commission

The Federal Government established the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry on March 21, 1974, the same day the application to build a pipeline was filed by Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline. Thomas Berger, a member of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, was appointed as head of the Commission that would carry out the Inquiry. The Commission was given the mandate to investigate the social, environmental, and economic impacts of the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

The Berger Commission travelled to each of the thirty-five communities in the Mackenzie Valley, as well as to other places in Canada. COPE conducted fieldwork to collect scientific and traditional knowledge, and Inuvialuit individually and collectively let their opinions be known.

Ishmael Alunik *told Berger:*

"This land is our industry, providing us with shelter, food, income, similar to the industries down South supporting the white people [...] We do not think of our jobs as a substitute for living off the land. Jobs are another way to help us live. We still want to trap and to eat the food from our land."

(Ishmael Alunik, quoted in ***Whose North: Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories***, by Mark Dickerson, 1992, p. 207.)

Vince Steen made the following presentation:

"A lot of people seem to wonder why the Eskimos don't take the white man's word at face value any more [...] Well, from my point of view, it goes way back, right back to when the Eskimos first saw the white man.

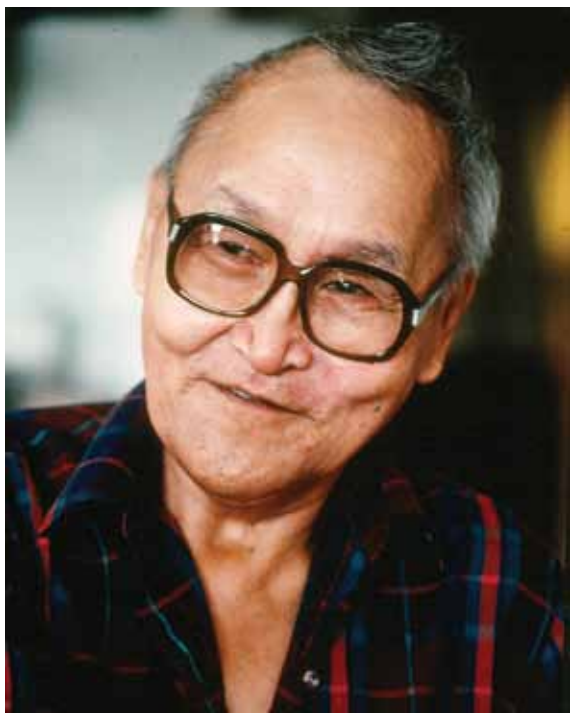
Most of them were whalers, and the whaler wasn't very nice to the Eskimo. He just took all the whales he could get and never mind the results. Who is paying for it now? The Eskimo. There is a quota on how many whales he can kill now.

Then next, following the whales, the white traders and the white trappers. The white traders took them for every cent they could get. You know the stories in every history book where they had a pile of fur as high as your gun. Those things were not fair. The Natives lived with it – damn well had to – to get that gun, to make life easier for himself.

After the white trappers and the fur traders, we have all the settlements, all the government people coming in [...] then came the oil companies. First the seismographic outfits, and like the Eskimo did for the last 50 or 60 years, he sat back and watched them. Couldn't do anything about it anyway, and he watched them plough up their land in the summertime, plough up their traps in the wintertime. What are you going to do about it? A cat [caterpillar tractor] is bigger than your skidoo or your dog team.

[...] People won't take a white man's word at face value any more because you fooled them too many times. You took everything they had and you gave them nothing. You took all the fur, took all the whales, killed all the polar bear with aircraft and everything, and put a quota on top of that, so we can't have polar bear when we feel like it any more. All that we pay for. Same thing with the seismic outfits [...] (cont'd next page)

Recording traditional Inuvialuit land use, 1977. (IRC)



Ishmael Alunik

Vince Steen

"Now they want to drill out there. Now they want to build a pipeline and they say they're not going to hurt the country while they do it. They're going to let the Eskimo live his way, but he can't because [...] the white man has not only gotten so that he's taken overtaken everything out of the country [...] but he's also taken the culture, half of it anyway [...]"

Vince Steen

(Thomas R. Berger, ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry***, Vol 1, p. 227-8, 1977.)

A CLOSER LOOK

The Berger Commission (cont'd.)

Now they want to drill out there. Now they want to build a pipeline and they say they're not going to hurt the country while they do it. They're going to let the Eskimo live his way, but he can't because [...] the white man has not only gotten so that he's taken overtaken everything out of the country[...] but he's also taken the culture, half of it anyway [...]

For the Eskimo to believe now that the white man is not going to do any damage out there[...] is just about impossible, because he hasn't proven himself. As far as I'm concerned he hasn't proven himself worthy of being believed any more [...]

The Eskimo is asking for a land settlement because he doesn't trust the white man any more to handle the land that he owns, and he figures he's owned for years and years."

(Excerpt from ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol 1***, by Thomas R. Berger, 1977, p. 227-8.)

Thomas Berger addressing the Dene National Assembly, Fort Good Hope, 1997.
(R. Fumoleau/NWT Archives/N1995-002: 7018)

In releasing the recommendations of the Commission, **Thomas Berger** *wrote:*

I discovered that people in the North have strong feelings about the pipeline and large-scale frontier development. I listened to a brief by northern businessmen in Yellowknife who favour a pipeline through the North. Later, in a native village far away, I heard virtually the whole community express vehement opposition to such a pipeline. Both were talking about the same pipeline; both were talking about the same region – but for one group it is a frontier, for the other a homeland.

(Excerpt from ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Vol 1***, by Thomas R. Berger, 1977.)

Justice Berger concluded that the gas pipeline, if it were allowed to proceed, would be followed by an oil pipeline. The infrastructure required – roads, airports, maintenance bases, new towns – would have an enormous impact on the people and the land. He recommended a ten-year moratorium on pipeline construction to deal with critical issues such as settling Aboriginal land claims and setting aside key conservation areas. His report shocked the government that appointed him, and was heralded by some as "Canada's Native Charter of Rights."

Thomas Berger's recommendations remain controversial to this day. One undisputed result is that the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry paved the way for Inuvialuit to negotiate a land claim.

"[ ]both were talking about the same region - but for one group it is a frontier, for the other a homeland."

Thomas Berger

(Thomas R. Berger, ***Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry***, Vol 1, p. 227-8, 1977.)

The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry captured attention across Canada. In Montreal in 1977 people demonstrate against the pipeline. (Rene Fumoleau/NWT Archives/ N-1995-002: 9357)

7 Settling the Land Claim
1970s–1980s

IFA Signing on June 5th, 1984 in Tuktoyaktuk:
(L) Robert Kuptana and Sam Raddi waving in triumph after signing; (R) Billy Day signing the IFA, with Les Carpenter (behind) looking on.

(ICS)

Rallying for the land

In the 1960s, the Inuvialuit rally to reclaim their land rights when developmental pressures and government interference threatens their traditional lifestyle and sovereignty. Inuvialuit of diverse ages and backgrounds - elders, harvesters, civil servants, broadcasters and politicians - unite to form the Committee of Original People's Entitlement (COPE), the first Inuvialuit political organization.

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement is the culmination of a fourteen-year struggle fraught with opposition: from governments, industry, and aboriginal groups against the precedent-setting land claim. Those who own businesses and the people who work for them fear that they will lose their livelihood if the claim goes ahead. Those who work for the government are afraid to show their support for the claim. COPE's task is to inspire confidence in the people to get their support and to negotiate the best deal possible for land that is already theirs.

Photos: (Top and bottom): Delegates at 1977 COPE AGM in Holman: (top) Edward Ruben; (bottom) Lena Selamio.
(ICS)

"I'll repeat again, no matter how much the government say they will do, the people won't change their mind, because they are not too concerned about what the government knows about over there, because they know themselves what it means already.

No matter how much study the government makes over there, they still won't change their minds. They just want it that way and that's it."

William Nasogaluak

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,***
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

A CLOSER LOOK

Impetus

An artificial island facilitates drilling in the Beaufort Sea, 1973.
(Imperial Oil Ltd/Glenbow Museum and Archives IP-14c-73-144)

Beyond the impetus of exploration, Inuvialuit were also concerned about the erosion of their cultural roots. "There was a substantial gap for people, between their traditional roots and the modern society. It was not just about the alienation of land for exploration, but our culture, our traditional games, our language, and our drum dancing were disappearing. So the claim was not only about the economics but the social well-being of the Inuvialuit."

Nellie Cournoyea

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,***
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

In 1968, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline was proposed in Canada. A government and industry organization, "Task Force on Northern Oil Development" was formed. Oil was discovered at Atkinson Point, near Tuktoyaktuk in 1970, and exploration began to happen at a frantic pace. The Government of Canada was alienating Inuvialuit lands for development, without any consultation with the Inuvialuit.

In the same year, oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska. The U.S. government held a lease sale to give energy companies the right to explore for oil. In one day, the government generated $1 billion in lease sale revenue, without any of it going to the Inupiat. Acting under the name of Arctic Slope Native Association, the Inupiat of the North Slope Borough fought to press a claim on their land.

The Inuvialuit have a strong relationship with the Inupiat. Eben Hopson, then leader of the Alaskan Inupiat, actively provided advice to the Inuvialuit based on experience gained from their land claim negotiations. He focused particularly on the areas of wildlife and environment, which he felt they were not able to adequately address in their settlement.

The idea of a native rights organization, run by and for native people themselves, was new in the North. The NWT Indian Brotherhood had been formed shortly before, but in early 1970, it was active only around Yellowknife and Fort Rae. In 1969, Agnes Semmler and Wally Firth had attended a meeting with the NWT Indian Brotherhood in Fort Rae. Some Brotherhood members feared that including Metis and Inuit would dilute their treaty rights. There were no Inuit organizations at that time. The people in the Western Arctic needed to establish their own organization.

Drilling facilities at the Taglu natural gas field, 1972.
(Imperial Oil Ltd./Glenbow Museum and Archives/14-14c-71-300)

A CLOSER LOOK

The Beginnings of COPE

Agnes Semmler

Agnes Semmler remembered setting up covert meetings to determine an effective approach to resolve this issue. She said to Tusaayaksat in 1983, "We had Dene, Metis, everybody, on that first board. Nellie was working for the CBC and I for the government, so all the meetings had to be in secret. The Commissioner of GNWT found out right away."

Nineteen native people met together in a craft shop in Inuvik on the night of 28th January 1970, for two and a half hours. Victor Allen made a motion for an organization to be formed, to prevent further destruction of aboriginal rights. A lawyer, Brian Purdy, who was volunteering his services in secret, suggested that the organization be called COPE, Committee of Original People's Entitlement. Officers were then selected: Agnes Semmler, Victor Allen, Jim Koe, Bertha Allen and Jessie Amos. It was agreed that the main objective of COPE would be to provide a united voice for all the original people of the Northwest Territories. Kenneth Peeloolook then moved that the second aim should be to work for the establishment and the realization of native rights.

"We functioned as a group of activists, with links to the eastern Arctic, the southern Mackenzie and the central Arctic. It was unusual in those days, and disconcerting to the newly formed GNWT. The Commissioner appointed most of his officials. He had his plan, to set up hamlet councils and institutions, to set direction for the programs and services that would be brought in. And we had questions about whether his institutions had the right to make these decisions," said Nellie Cournoyea. "We established COPE because government only seemed to want to deal with institutions that were incorporated or legal bodies."

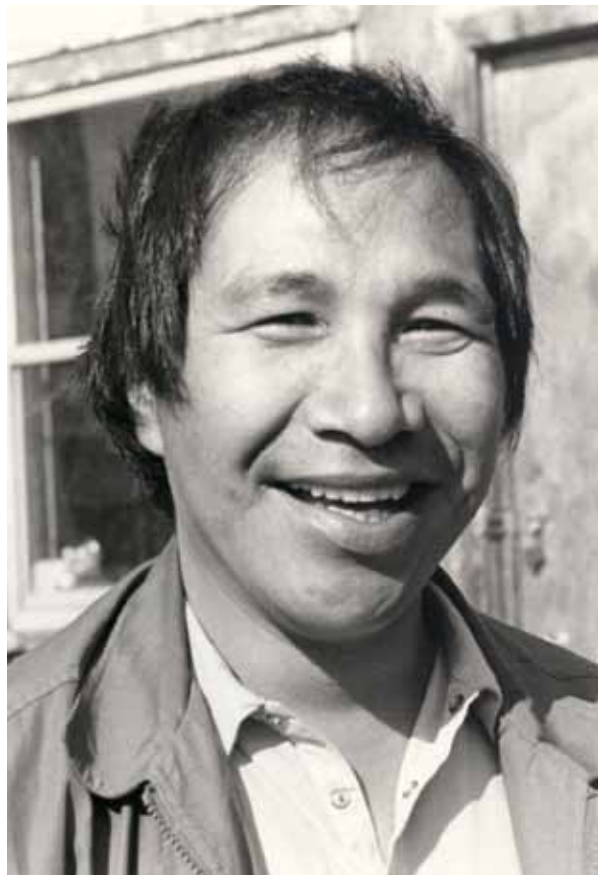
One of the first things COPE did was to help organize the Conference of Arctic Native People, in Coppermine (1970). This was the first time native people from all across the north spoke collectively to government about recognizing aboriginal rights. The delegates communicated to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, demanding that he recognize the aboriginal rights of Inuit in their land. DIAND's response was absolute disapproval.

COPE's initial membership included Inuit, treaty Indians and Metis. The membership was united, but due to the vast distances, travel costs were prohibitive, especially because members had to pay out of their own pockets. Metis then formed their own organization when funding became available from the federal Secretary of State. In August 1971, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), a national Inuit organization was formed.

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***,
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

A CLOSER LOOK

Outside influences on Land Claims



Robert Kuptana

Robert Kuptana was twenty-four years old, and hunting seals in the Holman area when he met his wife Agnes. He had noticed changes brought by development to the land, and became politically aware when he moved to the settlement of Holman.

"While we were nomadic, the only communications we heard was AM radio on "skip" from Edmonton or Dawson City," he said. "When we moved into the settlement in the sixties, we became aware of mining and oil companies having an impact on our world."

He remembers watching the Calder case closely as it was battled out in the Supreme Court of Canada. "Calder was an aboriginal person of Nisga'a descent," said Robert. "In 1968 he took the BC government to court, he wanted to provoke the government, to prove that he had aboriginal rights to harvest even though government said otherwise."

When the case went to the Supreme Court of Canada, the judges were equally divided on whether the Nisga'a retained title of their land. The appeal was ultimately dismissed because four of the seven judges had found that the Nisga'a should have sought permission to sue. Nevertheless, this 1973 decision was highly significant, as six judges of the Supreme Court held that Aboriginal title is part of Canadian law, and that the Nisga'a had once held such title.

"The government had won on a technicality, not on the merits of its case. This court decision surprised the Government of Canada. The Comprehensive Claims Policy was set up six months after, to prevent any more testing of aboriginal rights in court," said Robert.

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***,
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

A CLOSER LOOK

Fieldworkers

The Comprehensive Land Claims Policy was created to achieve certainty with respect to lands and resources in Canada, where Aboriginal rights were not resolved by treaty or other lawful means. From 1974 to 1976, COPE was a regional organization in the broader ITC land claims process. COPE contributed immensely to the Land Use and Occupancy Studies required as evidence for the claim.

COPE rallied at the grassroots level, galvanizing many to become fieldworkers. The fieldworker approach was intensive. Visits were made to every household in the communities to ensure that people understood what COPE stood for, and that they supported the idea of a land claim. 24,000 interviews were conducted, where COPE fieldworkers and translators sought the views and knowledge of the people it wanted to represent.

Randal Pokiak was in his early twenties when he began working for COPE. Over a decade he was a negotiator and the first President of IDC. He remembered going to every community in the ISR for COPE. "COPE wanted to be ready for land selection. We had to find out what the Inuvialuit thought about land selections, what did they want to keep, and what part were they willing to give up?" he said.

"The families would say why they had established themselves in a certain area: there's fish, caribou, muskox, polar bears; they grew up there; they had family in a certain area. So when you put everything together, nobody wanted to give up anything," he laughed.

Randal found that "COPE opened a door for me to get in touch with every home." The elders accepted and nurtured him, impressing upon him the importance of the land.

"They took me under their wing. They didn't need to explain to me how it felt to be out there," he said. "I know, the smells, the sounds, the feeling, the physical side of it, I was part of them. 'The elders, the ones that speak Inuvialuktun, said what's going to happen? I don't have much longer to live, what am I leaving behind?' COPE was trying to help get what they wanted for their children and grandchildren. The elders held so much hope, they were going after a dream. After our interviews, some elders would come to me. They looked at me, and said, 'Are you going to go all the way with us, are you going to commit yourself to the Inuvialuit, Randal?' I said yes," he remembered.

The commitment of COPE and the people who supported it was key, as the battle was uphill from then on. It took another ten years, before the Inuvialuit signed the IFA with the Government of Canada.

(L - R)Cope representatives Albert Elias, Billy Day, Shirley Kisoun and Glen Carpenter at COPE's 10th anniversary AGM in 1981. Billy Day is addressing the delegates.

(ICS)

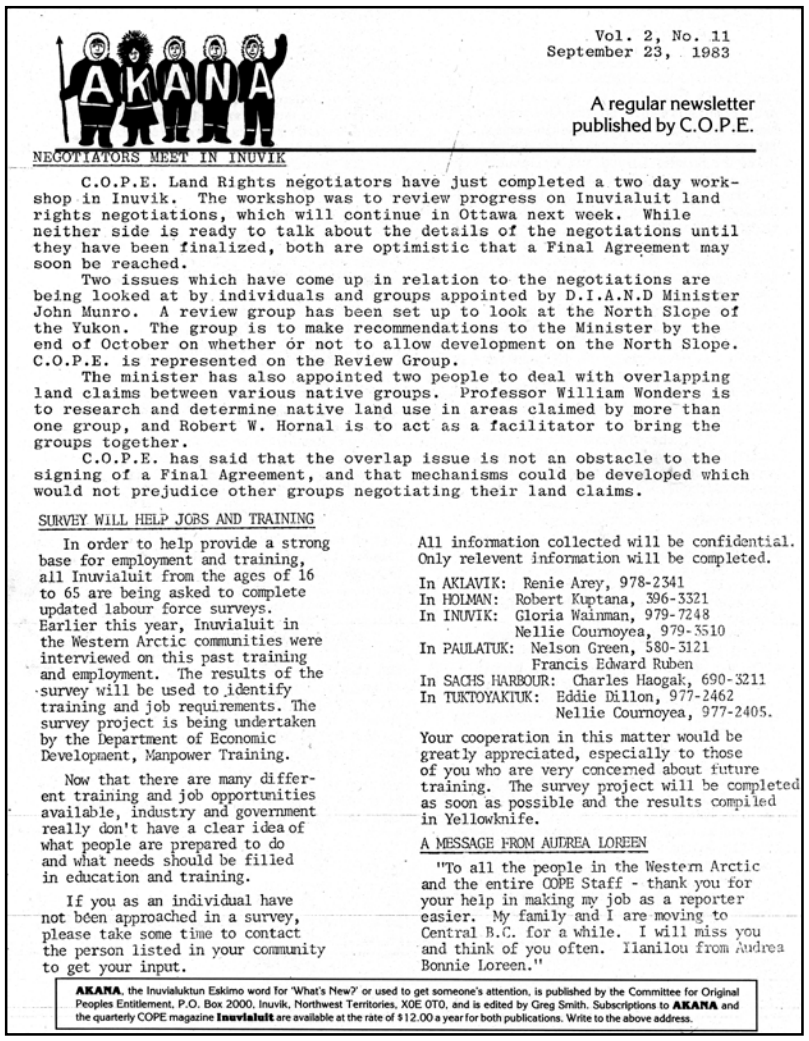
AGM in Tuktoyaktuk -- COPE negotiators Renie Arey, Andy Carpenter and Peter Green. (ICS)

AGM in Tuktoyaktuk -- COPE delegates Mona Felix and Freeman Kimiksana.

10th COPE AGM: Wallace Goose (second from L) (ICS)

A CLOSER LOOK

Grassroots Approach



AKANA

Vol. 2, No. 11
September 23, 1983

A regular newsletter published by C.O.P.E.

NEGOTIATORS MEET IN INUVIK

C.O.P.E. Land Rights negotiators have just completed a two day workshop in Inuvik. The workshop was to review progress on Inuvialuit land rights negotiations, which will continue in Ottawa next week. While neither side is ready to talk about the details of the negotiations until they have been finalized, both are optimistic that a Final Agreement may soon be reached.

Two issues which have come up in relation to the negotiations are being looked at by individuals and groups appointed by D.I.A.N.D Minister John Munro. A review group has been set up to look at the North Slope of the Yukon. The group is to make recommendations to the Minister by the end of October on whether or not to allow development on the North Slope. C.O.P.E. is represented on the Review Group.

The minister has also appointed two people to deal with overlapping land claims between various native groups. Professor William Wonders is to research and determine native land use in areas claimed by more than one group, and Robert W. Hornal is to act as a facilitator to bring the groups together.

C.O.P.E. has said that the overlap issue is not an obstacle to the signing of a Final Agreement, and that mechanisms could be developed which would not prejudice other groups negotiating their land claims.

SURVEY WILL HELP JOBS AND TRAINING

In order to help provide a strong base for employment and training, all Inuvialuit from the ages of 16 to 65 are being asked to complete updated labour force surveys. Earlier this year, Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic communities were interviewed on this past training and employment. The results of the survey will be used to identify training and job requirements. The survey project is being undertaken by the Department of Economic Development, Manpower Training.

Now that there are many different training and job opportunities available, industry and government really don't have a clear idea of what people are prepared to do and what needs should be filled in education and training.

If you as an individual have not been approached in a survey, please take some time to contact the person listed in your community to get your input.

All information collected will be confidential. Only relevent information will be completed.

In AKLAVIK: Renie Arey, 978-2341
In HOLMAN: Robert Kuptana, 396-3321
In INUVIK: Gloria Wainman, 979-7248
Nellie Cournoyea, 979-3510
In PAULATUK: Nelson Green, 580-3121
Francis Edward Ruben
In SACHS HARBOUR: Charles Haogak, 690-3211
In TUKTOYAKTUK: Eddie Dillon, 977-2462
Nellie Cournoyea, 977-2405.

Your cooperation in this matter would be greatly appreciated, especially to those of you who are very concerned about future training. The survey project will be completed as soon as possible and the results compiled in Yellowknife.

A MESSAGE FROM AUDREA LOREEN

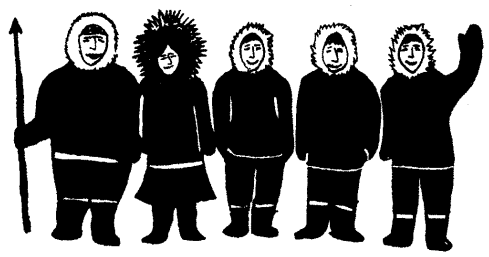
"To all the people in the Western Arctic and the entire COPE Staff - thank you for your help in making my job as a reporter easier. My family and I are moving to Central B.C. for a while. I will miss you and think of you often. Ilanilou from Audrea Bonnie Loreen."

AKANA, the Inuvialuktun Eskimo word for 'What's New?' or used to get someone's attention, is published by the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement, P.O. Box 2000, Inuvik, Northwest Territories, X0E 0T0, and is edited by Greg Smith. Subscriptions to **AKANA** and the quarterly COPE magazine **Inuvialuit** are available at the rate of $12.00 a year for both publications. Write to the above address.

(L): Copy of ***Akana***, the COPE newsletter dated September 23, 1983 - reporting on negotiations and an Inuvialuit labour force survey.

Below: Detailed graphic of the ***Akana*** logo.

(ICS)



Personal Sacrifices

COPE operated on a tight budget throughout, and had major achievements despite the limited finances. Nellie said, "Agnes Semmler rightfully insisted that COPE not take government money. It was important to build the organization from the grassroots, with volunteers who were totally dedicated and who wanted to do it for the sake of the cause, not for money. Once we started negotiating our claim we knew that every cent spent would be deducted from the eventual compensation. We were very frugal, we didn't want to use all the money in negotiations and have nothing in the end."

Andy Carpenter, negotiator for COPE and the first Chair of IGC said, "At first, we sent a team of twenty people to Ottawa. COPE didn't have much money when we started, so we had to keep the costs down, staying in cheap hotels, often paying out of our own pockets." COPE negotiators had a salary of $750 a month, in contrast to oilfield workers, whom Randal remembered were paid almost $4000 every two weeks. Family members of COPE were also affected.

Nellie Arey remembers having to choose between being with her husband Tom Arey Jr., who was a negotiator from Aklavik, and her children. "I used to travel with him a lot. Sometimes we were away for a week and my kids were at home. I missed them a lot because they were still young," she said. Many COPE meetings were held at members' homes, and Nellie remembers having to keep everyone fed and hydrated. Carol, their child, would help her father type and file notes. She followed in his footsteps and is now Chair of the Aklavik Community Corporation.

Randal remembers having to give up his ideal lifestyle as an Inuvialuit harvester, in order to fight for Inuvialuit land rights. He dedicated over a decade to COPE work. He remembered, "Once, I got upset with some of the trappers, I said, you should be more involved with what's going on. They smiled and said, you're talking for us. A trapper can't just come back to town because Industry or Government is going to have a meeting. I mean, the trappers won't be compensated for their time. In their mind, COPE is looking after them. The trappers decided, we will support COPE as long as they are helping us, we will support them."

Sometimes, entire families were drawn to the cause. Annie Goose remembers how hard Wallace Goose, her father-in-law, and Bill Goose, her husband worked for COPE. "Bill and Wallace were fieldworkers at first. My mother-in-law Agnes Goose was a fieldworker too," she said. "People attended meetings and started to understand that the land claim was the solution to their problems. Whatever services we were receiving at that time wasn't enough, or it could be better. When self-government was proposed then, it was called Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM), and my late husband Bill and Howard McDermitt, Charlie Haogak, amongst others were going to all the communities to help raise support."

Annie said, "I think the biggest sacrifice for many of the IFA workers was having to be away from home – being away as a parent, as a grandparent away from the normal routine of hunting, fishing, eating their own country food. They had to adapt their thinking to the southern way of doing things, in order to communicate with government. They only got to be home for a certain amount of time before they were off to Ottawa again. They were very committed to making the IFA happen. And I have to say thank you to them. Many are no longer here, but they are here in spirit. They worked hard."

Voting

COPE worked hard to get Inuvialuit to come out and vote. The Inuvialuit Communications Society publication, Inuvialuit, advocated: The Final Agreement depends on a good turnout for approval by the Inuvialuit. Two thirds of those who vote must vote in favour.

Lillian Elias, who was a fieldworker and translator for COPE in Inuvik remembered the frenzy to spread the word. She said, "We had fieldworkers in every community doing this. We had to look for all Inuvialuit to go vote. We had a lot of friends and relatives. We sat in the back of a truck, going from home to home, sitting on the edge for dear life, because the roads were bumpy—they were not paved. By the time you got home, you were just thick with mud, your hair, your clothes, everything was covered."

To her it was worth all the sacrifices. "I had to let people know what would happen if we were bought out, versus what's going to happen if we negotiate a land claim," she said.

The turnout was high in the vote on the IFA. There was also an advance poll. The final result was positive – 1,193 Inuvialuit voted in favour and 258 against. Out of 1904 eligible voters, 1463 cast ballots.

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,*** Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

Advance voting station for IFA. (ICS)

Impact on harvesters

Colin Allen's description of how he and his family make a living in 1973 is typical of most Inuvialuit in the Delta area and Inuvik.

"We live in this Delta the rest of our life, and we try to protect it, because we live off the land even [though] we're working right now. We got a very small income and we got to get wild food from the land all the time, if we're going to buy it all the time from the store we can't afford to do that. That's why we always try to protect this land [...] Even [if] we got a job, we're always short of money to keep our family going [...] In that thirty days we only got $200 to spend for seven, eight children for a family, you know, it takes lots of money to feed children, see, that's why we always protect this land because we got not much money to feed our family with unless we get some wild food from the land. That's what I always think because all the Delta there, we trap fur winter time even when we're working, because we try to make, we go fishing, get fish under ice, you know, we use all that for food and we go out and get ducks and geese fall time, and summer time we go whaling. To keep up our family, that's why we try to say something about the land, we use it, even a working man, we still use it."

In Paulatuuq, now a community of 118 people, only a handful have jobs, but wild food is abundant and it is good trapping country. The people are doing well, because they are making a living from the land. Jobs come and go, but trapping is a reliable source of income.

The people of Tuktuuyaqtuuq feel the impact of oil exploration more than other Inuvialuit. Their land is being spoiled. Birds, animals, and fish are affected. It is hard to watch what the companies are doing all the time. The land has to be protected; the jobs do not last for long and the people must then make a living from the land again.

Inuvialuit subsistence harversters fishing at the Mackenzie Delta.
NWT Archives/ G-1989-006-0016

HOW WE LIVED

Land Rights

The massive land claim of the Inuit (or Eskimos, as they were once called in Canada) of the MacKenzie Delta area of the Western Arctic in northern Canada (in the Northwest Territories) has, at long last, been finalized. The Inuvialuit (as this group of Inuit describe themselves) had negotiated an Agreement-in-Principle in 1979, but it took until December of 1983 to achieve a Final Agreement which was subsequently ratified this year by the Federal Cabinet on the one hand and the Inuvialuit through community referenda on the other. It has now been enacted into law as a schedule to a Bill that was passed in the dying days of the last Parliament and proclaimed in July.

The 2500 people affected by the claim had created their own political organization (The Committee of Original People's Entitlement or COPE) in the early 1970's to pursue a land claim based on their assertion of aboriginal title to their traditional lands. One of the major problems they faced was defining the precise boundaries to their lands as there was a long history of overlapping use of some lands with different Indian Nations to the south and west of them. This was finally resolved after extensive negotiations with the Indian people involved.

The COPE settlement, as it is known, involves the extinguishment of aboriginal title throughout all of the traditional lands of the Inuvialuit (some 435,000 square kms.) in return for the following:

1) fee simple title to 11,000 sq. kms. including surface and subsurface rights;

2) fee simple title to a further 78,000 sq. kms. with surface rights and subsurface ownership of sand and gravel only;

3) a guarantee that a 2,000 sq. kms tract of land will be held as a protected, non-development area;

4) $45 million in 1977 dollars (or plus inflation) paid over a period of years tax-free;

5) $10 million for an economic enhancement fund;

6) $7.5 million for a social development fund;

7) defined preferential or exclusive rights to harvest fish and game throughout the region including guaranteed participation in wildlife management decisions;

8) ownership of certain waters;

9) participation in future land use planning and environmental screening decisions;

10) compensation rights for any losses to Inuvialuit wildlife harvesters in the future;

11) a guarantee that certain other lands will be dedicated as parks or under special conservation regimes; and

12) undeveloped land held by the Inuvialuit through corporations and trusts will remain tax-free in perpetuity.

(http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AboriginalLB/1985/5.html)

"Like if I start getting money from the government for our land, then its just like you don't own it that much any more. You are selling your rights, just like. That's why I always think, it's like you go into a rental house, somebody's controlling you, maybe its going to be something like that. You have to, they pay every month and somebody's above you..."

Peter Esau

WHO WE ARE

The Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE)

Delegates at a COPE meeting, (L-R) Peter Green, Billy Day, Freddy Greenland.

(ICRC)

Like other aboriginal peoples in Canada, the Inuvialuit have long experienced a pattern of exploitation, coercion, and neglect at the hands of government and industry. When oil was discovered on their land in 1970, many began to wonder about the implications this discovery would have for their future. During a meeting held in Inuvik on January 28, 1970, 19 people decided to form the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) to represent their interests. The Committee and its supporters were well aware of the ambitious plans the government and the oil and gas companies had for the western Arctic. They also knew that most of the benefits were flowing into southern pockets, leaving aboriginal Northerners with little but long-term social problems. With these concerns in mind, COPE identified its main objectives: to provide a united voice for all original peoples of the N.W.T. and to work for the establishment and realization of the original peoples' rights.

By 1973, COPE had accomplished many things. It organized the first conference of Arctic Native People in Coppermine (now Kugluktuk), helped people in Arctic Red River (Tsiigehtchic) get compensation for damage to their fish nets, helped start the Northern Games (see pages 208–9), produced weekly CBC Radio broadcasts in Native languages, helped preserve the history and heritage of Native people by interviewing and taping elders, helped refurbish and support the Native community hall in Inuvik, supported Native business ventures and promoted and lobbied for adequate housing for low-income families. Above all, COPE became the voice of indigenous people seeking their rights and entitlement to the land they had occupied for time immemorial. This did not sit well with government or the Southerners who controlled most of the power, the jobs and the companies profiting from development.

From the beginning, COPE stood up for its members' rights. In 1970, the hunters and trappers of Banks Island became increasingly worried about oil companies doing seismic work on their land. They sought assistance from the government, but the bureaucrats sided with the oil companies. COPE assisted the people and threatened a court challenge to stop the work. In 1971 the government capitulated and created the Territorial Land Use Regulations to manage land access in the N.W.T. This important and progressive piece of legislation was a victory for all the people of the North, giving local authorities a strong voice in land development for the first time.

But the path was not a smooth one. In 1969 the federal government under Prime Minister Trudeau issued "A Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy." This White Paper sought to eliminate the Department of Indian Affairs and rapidly integrate Native people into Canadian society, at the same time extinguishing all special rights.

COPE and other aboriginal organizations protested vigorously. With changing public opinion and a new court case – the Calder case – the federal government changed its position in 1973. It began to support the concept of aboriginal title and set up an Office of Native Claims in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development the following year.

COPE joined the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in 1972 and worked with the Inuit of the eastern Arctic on a collective land claims initiative. A land claim proposal was submitted in 1976, but retracted a few months later because the Inuit of the east wanted more time to study it. COPE was reorganized to repre¬sent specifically Inuvialuit interests, and in 1977 proposed a separate, regional land claims process to the federal government. Negotiations began and an Agreement in Principle was signed in Sachs Harbour the following year. After six more years of intensive negotiations, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) was approved by Ottawa and ratified by the Inuvialuit in 1984. COPE's work was completed and it was dissolved, making way for the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation to implement the new agreement.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 178 - 179, 2003.)

A CLOSER LOOK

Inuvialuit Nunangat

COPE President Sam Raddi presenting *Inuvialuit Nunangat* to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand.

Inuvialuit Nunangat, meaning 'the land of the Inuvialuit', became the first Inuvialuit specific land claims proposal. The prep work that went into the Nunavut proposal was reassessed and used to prepare the first draft. From March to April 1977, the proposal was redrafted 16 times, as a result of intensive discussions undertaken by the fieldworkers in the communities, and the three workshops held in Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik.

Former COPE President Peter Green recalls, "There are three goals to the IFA. We wanted to make sure there were provisions in the agreement to maintain and to keep what the Inuvialuit always stood for and where we came from: how we lived, what language we spoke, where we hunted, how we fished, and trapped. Our livelihoods must be preserved. The second goal was to ensure that we have equal and meaningful participation in the northern and the national economy and society. That meant we did not want to be treated differently, or in any way that would diminish our place in the Canadian economy. We wanted to be full partners in businesses happening around us, we wanted to ensure that we benefited when others were benefiting, from our lands. The third goal was to ensure that the environment and the wildlife were protected."

Inuvialuit Nunangat was presented to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand on May 13, 1977, the same day as the release of the Berger Report. This was not planned, but it was a strategic opportunity. Inuvialuit Nunangat opens with this message to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister Allmand, saying the Inuvialuit at this time "unequivocally [...] do not want" a pipeline, and "we speak not as a people who are desperate, but we hold no illusions. All we ask – and we implore you both personally – please understand what we are saying and meet with us to resolve any question, and give us the dignity of settling the question of our land rights before any further significant northern development." The months May, June and July were spent by the negotiators meeting with the Office of Native Claims (ONC), Minister of DIAND, other cabinet ministers, and other government departments such as Finance, Energy, Mines and Resources, Environment and Fisheries to clarify and support the proposal.

COPE negotiator Peter Green (L) and President Sam Raddi (R) speaking at the submission of the first Inuvialuit regional land claim proposal *Inuvialuit Nunangat* to the Government of Canada.

By the time of COPE's August 1977 Annual General Meeting in Holman, government had not given an answer. It came at a large meeting in September. In a presumptuous response, DIAND said that this proposal was not really what the Inuvialuit wanted and was not 'in their best interests'. The government was not prepared to give the proposal serious consideration. Finding this response unacceptable, COPE prepared to take court action on Aboriginal title.

In November, a new DIAND Minister Hugh Faulker met with COPE. The Minister and then President of COPE Sam Raddi agreed to set up a joint working group to try one more time to reach an agreement.

After a month of negotiations, the first agreement was reached on wildlife and was made public on December 8, 1977. The Joint Working Group started a week later to work on the issue of Inuvialuit lands.

A Joint Position Paper was signed July 14, 1978. It was 106 pages long, and contained all the major elements of the final agreement. The Inuvialuit stated, "We do not see a Final Agreement as similar to the treaties of the last century, which functioned mainly to achieve a final solution to the surrender of native land in exchange for money, reserves, and interim services until the native people could blend into the mainstream of society."

Randal Pokiak, then COPE negotiator remembered, "We were in Ottawa to ratify the Agreement-in-Principle (AiP). It was suggested that we go to a government interdepartmental meeting in Ottawa the next day, to give these departments a preview of the Agreement-in-Principal."

"We had to put on a 'dog and pony show' to these departments, to get them to support our claim. We went through each section of the proposed agreement, and then we opened for questions. Finally one of the government officials said, 'Why do you want the claim? The government could look after you.' That was how he started off. There was a big audience there."

A CLOSER LOOK

Inuvialuit Nunangat

COPE negotiators submitting the first Inuvialuit regional land claim proposal *Inuvialuit Nunangat* to the Government of Canada.

COPE negotiator Mark Noksana (far right) at the *Inuvialuit Nunangat presentation*.

The *Inuvialuit Nunangat presentation* was a momentuous moment in Inuvialuit history.

"They told us we didn't need the claim. The government will look after you, they said. One of them went as far as saying, you don't know how to handle money, if you were given compensation, you will drink it up, you will buy chocolates, you will buy chips and pop, you are just going to blow it. And then you are going to cause the government more problems, because you will be in a worse state than when you started. That made us really mad, really upset," Randal said.

"It caught Sam by surprise, and he paused and could only say, 'Because'," Randal laughed. "What else could you say? 'Because'. To us, 'because' means a lot. It was everything we put in so much effort for. To them it was nothing. All this time, they did not get our message. The negotiators all got up at the same time and Sam said, 'We'll see you in court. I don't think you are negotiating in good faith.' So we walked out, we went back to the hotel. We were at a loss. Do we have to go to court now?"

COPE's lawyers flew to Ottawa immediately. A thorough case for court action to prove Inuvialuit title had been prepared over the last two years. COPE had been trying to conserve every cent, choosing the most economical travel and accommodation options, in case of a contingency like this. It seemed like an eternity as the COPE team considered their options in the hotel room. Then the phone rang. It was the Minister of DIAND. The government had presumably checked on COPE's finances and realized they had the resources to sue.

"I guess the government felt that they had gone too far. Our consultants said there's a good chance to clean the table on the government's side. We agreed to go back to negotiations if some people were replaced on the government team. Then serious negotiations started, the government was finally ready to look at the clauses we had prepared," Randal said.

On October 31, 1978, the Agreement-in-Principal was signed in Sachs Harbour, between COPE and the Government of Canada. Land withdrawals and advance payments were made so the Inuvialuit could begin setting up structures to implement the Final Agreement. The Inuvialuit Development Corporation and the Inuvialuit Game Council were the first structures to be set up.

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

"They told us we didn't need the claim. The government will look after you, they said. One of them went as far as saying, you don't know how to handle money, if you were given compensation, you will drink it up, you will buy chocolates, you will buy chips and pop, you are just going to blow it. And then you are going to cause the government more problems, because you will be in a worse state than when you started. That made us really mad, really upset."

Randal Pokiak

Negotiating

COPE negotiators are taking on an immense task. It is their job to convince the Inuvialuit public that a settled land claim gives them the best hope for the future. It is up to them to get the best deal, with as much land, rights, and compensation as possible from the Canadian government. The government team knows the laws and are experienced negotiators. It is a long, hard process. It takes dedication. All Inuvialuit communities have a representative on the COPE board and on the negotiating team.

There was a negotiator from each community. Robert Kuptana represented Holman. He remembered the intensive strategy sessions in preparation for the negotiations. "We had to set strong intention, to fight for the things that we wanted," he said. "We had strong leadership, with Sam Raddi, Agnes Semmler, Nellie Cournoyea, and our chief negotiator Bob DeLury. Fieldworkers were equally important, they worked to get direction from the people to the negotiators. Many of our negotiators have passed on: Sam Raddi, Nelson Green, Tom Arey Jr., Charlie Haogak, Wallace Goose—we all learnt to work as a team. The government came up with a lot of excuses to deny our demands, but they had a five-day workweek. We took advantage of the weekend to continue our strategizing. Our leaders would ask, 'What are you going to say if government says you don't have a right to that?' We practiced our answers and became stronger, 'I used to live there, I step on it, I hunt in it, I get my food from it, and it's my 'store'.' And if the government said, 'We need to preserve this land for Canada,' we had to say, 'Are you saying we are not Canadian? We are Canadian. We were the first Canadians.'"

"Comments like you've got no rights; What is Aboriginal rights?; The land belongs to the Queen; You're natives; What ever you get you'll waste away or drink it up! These kinds of comments made us more determined, with actions to prove them wrong."

Randal Pokiak
(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,***
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

ICS photos

Delegates at COPE 10th AGM 1983.

Negotiations resume in 1982: (Left) COPE chief negotiator Bob DeLury, Federal Chief Negotiator Simon Reisman and COPE negotiators meeting in Inuvik.

COPE negotiators Nelson Green and Andy Carpenter at an AGM in Holman (1983).

WHO WE ARE

Inuvialuit negotiators

Randal Pokiak, *who was an negotiator for the Inuvialuit Final Agreement recalls:*

"They had to be dedicated to the cause of getting Land Claims settled. Once work as a negotiator started there was no turning back. The negotiators became the voice of the elders and the Hunters and Trappers around the negotiating table. Talks were on land or environment, wildlife and compensation. These kinds of talks and what we had to go through during our life time and the life time of our elders were all still very familiar. The more we thought and talked about what our people were going through in this cultural change the more determined we became. As negotiators we had to be familiar with the area we represented, we had to know about the times and seasons, the concentration of wildlife that never migrated as well as those that migrated. When we talked, we talked from experience and what we knew about our history. We continued to draw from our strength which relate to our knowledge of the environment and wildlife. We didn't have papers or d diplomas in our wallet or homes as some educated people, but what we knew through practical experience on the land as hunters, trappers, and fisherman was equal to the learned and professional people. As negotiators, we made sure our consultants know our feelings about what was being negotiated and they spoke in educated terms that only people of that class could understand.

Inuvialuit negotiators had to have the respect of the majority of the Inuvialuit population of their respective communities. As Inuvialuit we had to decide or choose to stay on as negotiators willingly. When some of us went home at times our cheques quit flowing until we got called back to the negotiating table. We decided not to work for a Government agency or the Oil Industry by choice. Our negotiating money was scarce that's why the dedication was necessary. To give an example a single or unmarried negotiator's take home pay, after taxes was about $750.00 per month compared to a laborer for the Oil Industry, took home a pay of two thousand to twenty-five hundred ($2,000.00 - $2,500.00) for two (2) weeks of work and the other two (2) weeks of the month they could go hunting, trapping or fishing. That alone was a difficult choice.

As negotiators we had to put out bush fires caused by our own people in public meetings. To make it worst some religious leaders disagreed or put down our struggle for the claim and called it a losing battle, put your effort or energy to the work of the Lord were some comments, other comments were it's causing a public or racial split which is not scriptural. Amongst all the pressures these two pressures were the most difficult to deal with, because they were so close to home, spiritually because we depended on the prayers of our people and religion leaders and physically because it was our own flesh and blood we were standing up against.

As negotiators we spent weeks in Ottawa living in a hotel and going without our native food when we ran out of what we brought. We spent days without speaking to loved ones at home to save on costs from the long distance calls.

When we were negotiating in Ottawa we had sixteen to eighteen (16-18) hour days. An average day was seventeen (17) hours. We went to the negotiating table after breakfast and never came out of the room for twelve (12) hours. We went for a late dinner on our way to the hotel from negotiations. When we arrived back to the hotel we had our strategy meeting for the next day. Each negotiator had their section of the claim they concentrated on, there was discussions and rehearsals to make our points more effective. Even personal shopping in the negotiating days was impossible.

To save money on travel for meeting at times all our negotiating members were in one aircraft. We understood it was risky but we travelled anyway. Our thoughts would wonder what would happen to our loved ones and our people if something did go dreadfully wrong if we went on a flight and never returned.

During some negotiations we got frustrated and upset when the talks made a complete circle and nothing seemed to get done. Our strategy was to keep negotiating well into the evening until what was being negotiated came into focus. During those negotiations, our consultants gained experience about the Inuvialuit and our lifestyle, because they had to talk for us in technical language and we learned some key points about negotiating and dealing with Governments.

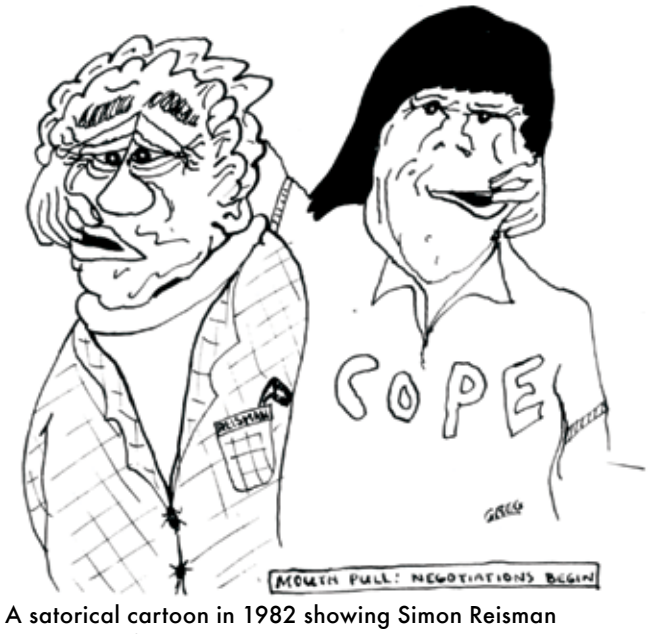
Some informal comments made by Government officials infuriated us and put fires in our spirits. Comments like you've got no rights; What is Aboriginal rights?; The land belongs to the Queen; You're natives; What ever you get you'll waste away or drink it up! These kinds of comments made us more determined, with actions to prove them wrong."

Inuvialuit History

Randal Pokiak at a COPE meeting in the early 1970s.

Billy Day (far right) telling MLAs Bob McQuarrie and Nick Sibbeston that they have five minutes to convince the Inuvialuit on territory boundary issues.

Sam Raddi speaking at the signing of the AiP in Sachs Harbour, 1978.



A satorical cartoon in 1982 showing Simon Reisman in a game of 'Mouth Pull' with COPE.

A CLOSER LOOK

Changing governments

Nellie Cournoyea as MLA of Nunakput, 1979. (ICS)

It would be another six years before the IFA was signed. Negotiations started and stalled as federal and territorial elections took place. COPE found itself re-educating a new group of government officials each time. Joe Clark's Conservative government took over in 1979, a new DIAND Minister Jake Epp was appointed. He refused to continue negotiations in good faith.

"It was frustrating. COPE thought we were negotiating with the Government of Canada, not any political party," said Randal.

Peter Green was the President of COPE from 1982 to 1984. He said, "It took 14 long years and the succession of different governments, Liberals, Conservatives, back and forth. We went through six ministers of DIAND. So there were long periods in which we spent just educating people, the ministers, the public, the private sector, and the community people, native organizations, and the oil and gas industry. It was definitely a drain to our energy every time we had to adjust and re-educate."

Setting a precedent

Opposition mounted from other aboriginal groups seeking land claims when the AiP was signed. Only two other land claim agreements were signed before - the James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement in November 1975 and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement in January 1978. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement would be the first land claim agreement signed in the Territories.

John Amagoalik, director ITC Land Claims Commission gave an interview, saying, "I don't think the Inuit have gained anything, and I don't think the government gained anything. I think the multi-national oil companies gained it all. Originally COPE was asking for 165,000 square miles of area traditionally used by Inuvialuit, and they only got title, that included subsurface rights, to 5,000. All that other land is going to the oil companies."

He went so far as to say ITC would not recognize the COPE agreement as a precedent, or model for their Nunavut claim.

He suggested that there were many people in the Western Arctic who were afraid of COPE, and may have supported the proposed agreement out of fear. "I feel that someone in the Western Arctic should take court action to question the legality of the way COPE ratified the proposed agreement," he said.

COPE supporters understood the circumstances differently having faced at first hand the extreme development pressure. Andy Carpenter said, "We had to negotiate with the government on land rights that was the only way we could get government to the negotiating table. It was the only realistic approach."

"Each time things changed, we had to go back to the people to talk about it, and get their input on how to proceed. Some of them became bored, and did not want to engage anymore. Oh, I don't know how we survived. But when the government was sitting back, we did our own work. The Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC), Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) was started, and we started trying to implement programs in the Agreement-in-Principal," he said.

To preserve Inuvialuktun, COPE created the COPE Language Project (1980), training Inuvialuktun teachers and creating the Inuvialuktun Dictionaries. COPE was instrumental to the building of Ingamo Hall (1974), the revivial of the traditional circumpolar northern games (1970 onwards) and traditional drum dancing, the Inuvik Housing Co-op, and a study to assess health conditions and health services (1980). Inuvialuktun language programs were provided to CBC. COPE also arranged through the Minister of National Revenue to help hunters and trappers with tax matters. It sought to keep the Inuvialuit united by continuing with the grassroots fieldworker approach.

Nellie Cournoyea said, "Being the first to come out of the shoot wasn't easy, and we knew that, but we had people who were committed. We knew that we would stick together as a people, as we had in the past. We were always proud of our many young people who helped. Delma Kisoun was one of them. She was only thirteen when she started. She was willing to take on any task, including a variety of administrative duties. She developed a keen interest and involvement in the cultural and traditional games."

Working from the inside

In 1979, Nellie Cournoyea was elected as MLA of Nunakput, representing the communities of Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk, Holman and Paulatuk. "It was decided that I should go into politics because we were not getting any support from the territorial government," said Nellie. "The main purpose was to try to diminish some of the barriers that were thrown in front of us. It was not a full time job, I could still devote fifty percent of my time to the claim. I tried to build an understanding of the claims with everybody in government."

Andy Carpenter said, "Nellie was instrumental to the negotiation of the land claim. She was Minister of Renewable Resources and responsible for the Ministry of Information at that time, working from within the government to help us. We had to wait for the Liberals to come into power to start negotiating again. We lost some of our negotiators along the way."
"We had negotiators from each settlement, Agnes Semmler, Robert Kuptana, Nellie Arey, Renie Arey, Tom Arey Jr., Mark Noksana, Nelson Green and Edward Ruben."

From the excitement and promise of the AiP, progress toward a final agreement came to a halt. The federal negotiator John Naismith was replaced. The election brought the Conservatives into power. The Yukon Territorial Government was enraged by the AiP and the provisions relating to the Yukon North Slope. It waged a vigorous media campaign against the agreement and those working on it. A different DIAND Minister was appointed.

Further government change

A year later, in 1980,the Liberals returned and John Munro was appointed the DIAND Minister. The Minister sought to get things going again. A new chief negotiator was appointed from outside the bureaucracy, but by December that year it became apparent that the negotiator and Minister wanted to gut key aspects of the AiP. On December 24 that year, the Minister wrote a letter to Senator David G. Steuart, revealing that the government's priorities were still with Industry lobbyists.

In the letter, John Munro said, "The AiP reached between COPE and the Government of Canada in October 1978 is in my opinion, a good agreement. It should be understood, however, that in the process of moving from the level of principles to practical implementation, compromises are essential in order for me to get the full support of my Cabinet colleagues. You will want to ensure that the Final Agreement could be readily implemented to protect the rights of the Inuvialuit but not unduly hamper development in the Western Arctic."

Negotiations broke down and remained so for a year and a half. Attempts were made to cut COPE's funding, to pressure COPE to give in to the government's demands. COPE focused its efforts instead on strengthening IGC and IDC and preparing for negotiations to resume. To counter the government's pressure, COPE sought to frustrate the issuance of development permits.

In December 1982, newly appointed federal negotiator Simon Reisman visited Inuvik, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. He would meet with the COPE negotiating team and local representatives. The four-day visit marked the resumption of negotiations on Inuvialuit land rights, four years after the signing of the AiP.

(Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

Protecting culture

The first goal of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, "to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society," expresses the people's concern about the status of their culture and their language. They are rapidly disappearing. The need is urgent. COPE begins to work towards this goal while the agreement is under negotiation.

1970 A Northern Games gathering reflecting the traditional way of life takes place in Inuvik for the first time.

1981 The COPE Inuvialuktun Language Project begins. Over the next few years, it expands to include a Summer Language Camp Program, Oral History Preservation Projects, the opening of a Language Centre, and a Second Language program to be taught in schools by aboriginal teachers.

Photo: Leonard Harry teaching Tradtional Circumpolar Northern Games to children in school.

Photos: (L-R) Top to bottom: Students learning Inuvialuktun; Rosie Albert teaching in the classroom; Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers; an ulu-making workshop; COPE Language Project: Annie C. Gordon showing how to play traditional string games; Inuvialuktun Language Workshop: Seated, L-R: Donald Kaglik, Nehume Loague, Ronald Lowe, Annie C. Gordon, Mary Elias. Standing: Rosemarie Meyook, Mitsuko Oishi, Larry Osgood, Florence Stevens, Terry Lafoya, Wallace Goose. (ICS)

A CLOSER LOOK

Inuvialuktun Language Commission

In 1973, COPE became a regional organization representing the Inuvialuit only, and in 1978 it signed an Agreement in Principle with the Federal government on the settlement of Inuvialuit land rights.

The first of four basic goals agreed to by COPE and Canada in that document reads:

To preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values in a changing Northern society.

Recognizing the importance of language to cultural identity and to the survival of cultural values, COPE formed an Inuvialuktun Language Commission in May 1981.

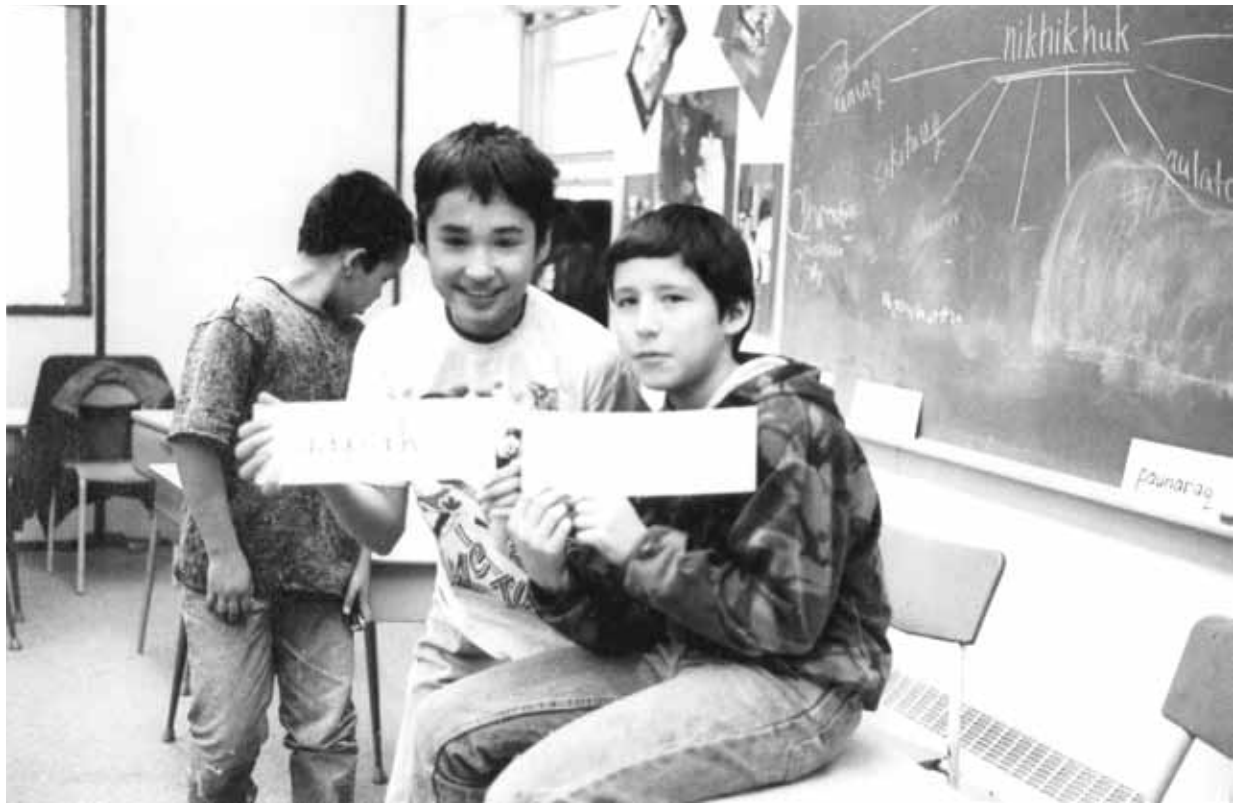
Its members were representative speakers of the three Inuvialuktun dialects*. An Inuvialuktun Language Project was developed that foresaw a four-phase program:

1. To record, analyze, and describe the dialects of Inuvialuktun.
2. To develop Inuvialuktun teaching curricula, teaching materials, and a teacher training course.
3. To institute Inuvialuktun language programs in schools and communities.
4. To monitor and promote the continuing use and learning of Inuvialuktun.

* Until the preliminary results of COPE's linguistic research became known in 1982. it was generally believed by scholars that one of the dialects, Siglirmiutun, was no longer spoken. It was believed that epidemics of diseases brought north in the early years of the 20th century by whalers, trappers, and others had decimated the Sigliq population to the extent that the dialect was lost.

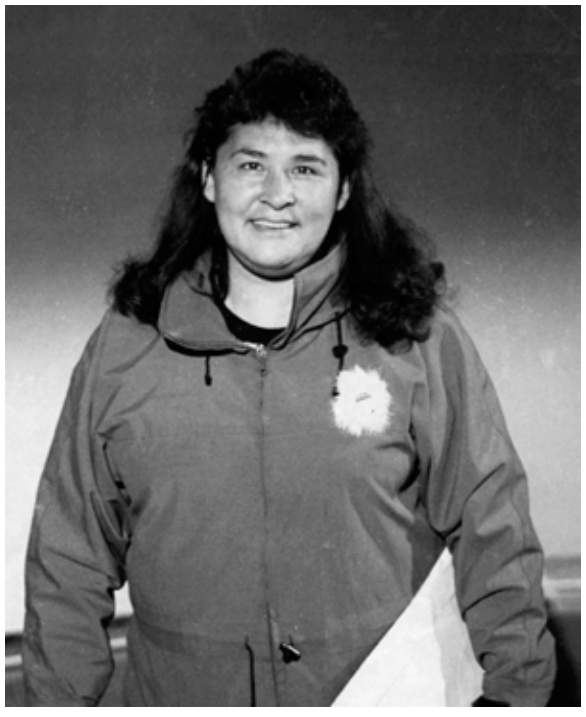
(Ronald Lowe, ***Basic Kungiryuarmiut Eskimo Dictionary 1***, COPE, 1983.)

Jimmy Memogana working on a print in Holman (now Ulukhaktok). (ICS)



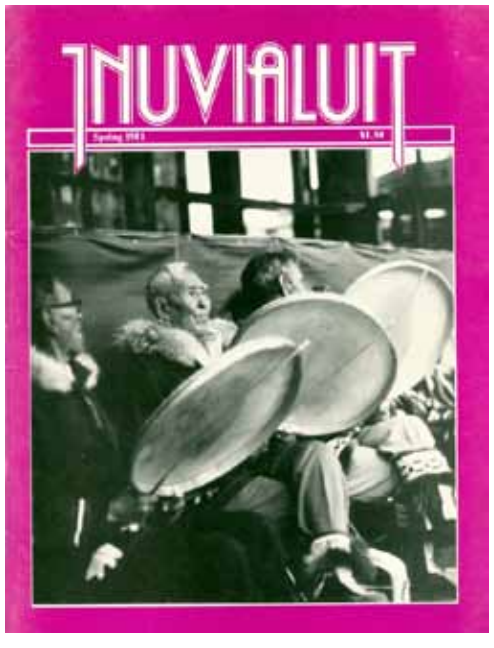
Two boys learning Inuvialuktun in school. (ICRC)

Interviewing elders to keep traditional knowledge alive. (ICRC)



Rosemary Kirby, an Inuvialuktun language teacher instrumental to the revival of the language. (ICRC)

Printmaking in Holman (now Ulukhaktok). (ICRC)



Inuvialuit magazine. (ICS)

A CLOSER LOOK

The Idea of the camps

Emma Dick and children at her cultural camp (top); cultural camps continue today (bottom). (ICS)

In the spring of 1981, the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) became the first aboriginal organisation in Northern Canada to undertake a long-term project to preserve and maintain the language spoken by the people it represents, the Inuvialuit.

The COPE Inuvialuktun Language Project is the first instance of an aboriginal organization directly addressing the issue of the preservation of the language of its people.

The project was undertaken in response to a deep concern among the Inuvialuit that the use of English and the fact of southern cultures has seriously eroded the strength of Inuviaiuktun. It was also undertaken as one means of beginning to fulfill this first of the three basic goals of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984):

"to preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society."

One of the first steps taken was the creation of an Inuvialuktun Language Commission comprised of Inuvialuit elders representing the three dialects of Inuvialuktun spoken in the Western Arctic. The Commission under the direction of COPE was responsible for guiding and overseeing the Language Project. The successor to COPE, the Inuvialuit Social Development Program (ISDP) has carried on the work of the Commission along three separate strands.

One of these strands has been a summer language camp program. Since 1983 COPE and its successor ISDP have operated language and cultural activities camps for two to three week periods across the six Inuvialuit communities. Elders from these communities have taught Inuvialuktun, cultural ways, skills, and values to children between the ages of eight and fourteen years. Each year they give instruction and guidance in hunting, food gathering and preparation, shelter, knowledge of the land, folkways, history, legends, and Inuvialuit technology. The Elders along with other adults use Inuvialuktun as the primary means of communication and strive to integrate all camp activities through the use of the language.

(Inuvialuit Cultural and Language Camp Manual Spring - Summer - Fall 1989
Compiled by Inuvialuit Social Development Program, ICRC)

HOW WE LIVED

The Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games

Abel Tingmiak demonstrating blanket toss in Inuvik (2009). (ICS)

The Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are a unique cultural event. "They were passed on from generation to generation, "explains Inuvialuit elder Edward Lennie.

"Wherever the Eskimo come from, that's where it started." Over time the games have evolved to encompass new experiences, but they have always remained a reflection of the traditional Inuvialuit way of life.

Most of the traditional sports and activities which make up the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games almost disappeared during the first half of the 20th century. Beginning in the late 1960s,they were revived by a group led by Edward Lennie. The first contemporary Northern Games were held in Inuvik in July of 1970.

The Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games offer visitors and local people the chance to celebrate skills and strengths rarely seen in other sporting events. One event that demands great muscular strength is the Airplane, originally called the Eagle Carry. The athlete lies face down on the floor with his feet together and his arms spread out like an eagle soaring. He is then lifted up by his wrists and feet and carried about for as long as his strength allows. The One-Foot High Kick is another very challenging sport. The athlete must jump into the air, kick a suspended target and land on the foot with which he kicked. Many athletes can kick well over eight feet (2.5 metres) in the air, the best as high as nine feet (3 metres) or more.

Other events test resistance to pain. One such is the Mouth Pull, played by two men sitting side by side. Each man wraps one arm around the other's head and places a finger in the corner of his opponent's mouth. The competitors then pull each other's mouths as hard as they can until one gives up.

The Good Woman event has become a real crowd-pleaser. The competing women, all in traditional dress, show their skills in a combination of activities including fire-making, tea-boiling, bannock-making, seal-skinning and duck-or goose-plucking. "We thought we'd take our values and see what is a good woman," says Nellie Cournoyea, a founding member of the original Northern Games Association. "A good woman could do many things."

Today the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games are an annual event bringing Inuvialuit from all over the western Arctic together, to compete but also to celebrate. They are truly an inspiration, and help to demonstrate and preserve the rich culture and traditions of the Inuvialuit.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, 2003.)

WHO WE ARE

Reviving Drum Dancing

Inuvialuit who helped preserve drum dancing: Above: (top row L-R) Danny A. Gordon, Alec Gordon leading Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers;
(Bottom Row L-R) Kenneth Peeloolook, Felix Nuyaviak; the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers performing at the 1983 ICC General Assembly in Greenland. (ICRC and ICS)

In 1987, children were surprised when Inuvialuit elders came to their elementary school music classes in Inuvik. These elders -- Alex Gordon, Hope Gordon, Jean Arey, Amos Paul, Kathleen Hansen, and Sarah Tingmiak - were there to teach Inuvialuit traditional drum dancing. The children, who had only been taught 'western' style music at school, were delighted.

The revival of traditional Inuvialuit drum dancing became a pressing issue when Inuvialuit elders recognized that if these traditional forms of dance and song were not passed onto the younger generation, an integral part of Inuvialuit culture would be forever lost.

"When the whalers, traders and missionaries came, they believed the songs and dances of our people were heathen, thus taking away the pride of our ancestors. Our songs and dances used to be passed on orally. We told stories in song, reflecting the traditional ways of our people -- the important legends, their relationship with the land and lessons on traditional life," said drum dancer Debbie Gordon-Ruben.

A group of elders, led by Billy Day, persisted with promoting drum dancing during the 1960s. These elders from Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk did radio shows and made special trips to Ulukhaktok and to other Inuvialuit communities in the 1970s to host drum dancing workshops. George and Martha Harry, respected elders from Inuvik, held drum dancing classes in their home on Co-op Hill, using makeshift drums made out of cardboard and garbage can lids.

In response to concerns from elders in all ISR communities, ISDP, under IRC, obtained funding needed for these communities to practice and preserve their traditions. Over several phases during the early 1990s, elders and young trainees promoted drum dancing, holding workshops in ISR communities.

Today Inuvialuit drum dancing is flourishing in Aklavik, Inuvik, Paulatuk, Tuktoyaktuk and Ulukhaktok as well as several communities in Nunavut.

Aklavik had its first drum dancing lessons at Shingle Point, a heritage site for the Inuvialuit. "Our drums are no longer silent," reported Renie Arey, then supervisor for the Aklavik drum dance classes. In Ulukhaktok, Agnes Kuptana said the first lessons had children eagerly making drums, and learning the stories behind the dances.

Justin Memogana, a young man from Ulukhaktok said, "I was taught drum dancing by Jimmy (my grandfather) ever since I was one to two years old. It feels like I've been doing it all my life! I love it, it's part of our lineage, and it makes me feel good inside. If I ever feel down, I just sing it all out. It also helps me understand the language."

Many of the elders who helped to revive drum dancing are no longer living, but they have given new life to drum dancing. Debbie Raddi remembers her father, Shepherd Felix, who was always proud to teach and sing songs passed to him by his father Felix Nuyaviak and grandfather, Mangilaluk.

WHO WE ARE

Reviving Drum Dancing (cont'd.)




Top row (L-R) Drum dancing in Aklavik circa 1950-51. Negaksek Bennett, Bob Cockney, Erasmut Oliver and Simon Anaktok drum dancing – Matha Manoli is the leading voice; Negaksek Bennett, Bob Cockney and Simon Anaktok drum dancing. (RCMP sergeant Ted Farrar/ ICRC)
Bottom row: Rosie Peeloolook (RCMP sergeant Ted Farrar/ ICRC); The Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers perform for Tuktoyaktuk residents at a Northern Games gathering. (IRC)

"He was lead singer of the Tuktoyaktuk Drummers and Dancers. Even though my father had never attended school, he had the patience to teach drum making and drum dancing to others. He never criticized the students when they made mistakes, he just encouraged them to keep trying. I was fortunate to be with him the last time he traveled to Ulukhaktok. His friend Jimmy Memogana had called. They wanted to sing together one last time before either one of them passed on," she said.

Drum dance songs usually begin softly. Drummers tap their caribou skin drums, as dancers sway rhythmically. The drumbeat intensifies as a song starts over, and singers raise their voices. Dancers throw their bodies into the song with arms and knees bent, their outstretched, open hands wave to and fro capturing the drumbeat.

"Motion dances from Alaska have set routines and are popular in Aklavik and Inuvik. In Tuktoyaktuk, dancers freestyle to the beat of the drums. Men yell out chants and stomp their feet, women have more gentle movements," said elder Albert Elias from Ulukhaktok.

At feasts and celebrations today, the drum dance performance is eagerly awaited, as drum dancers of all ages take the stage to sing and dance in traditional dress. Often the audience joins in and young children compete with pride in drum dancing contests. Inuvialuit drum dancing has been performed all over Canada and internationally.

The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers have performed to full houses in Germany, Alaska, Greenland, and all over the ISR. This drumming and dancing group, led by Nolan Green, began when its members were only about ten years old. Nolan still remembers the elders from Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk who came to his school to teach.

"We learnt from Shepherd Felix, as well as Sarah Mangelana and Sarah Tingmiak. They showed us the movements and songs. After they left, we learnt from some videotapes. We started with five boys. When we first started, we used cardboard boxes and patched up rulers for our drums. The girls used to tease us, and I would say, 'What's so funny about drumming and dancing? Why don't you join us?'" he remembered.

In 1988, IRC helped the group acquire their first real drums from Barrow, Alaska. The Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers then began their travels to perform in the region and overseas.

Today, the original Paulatuk Moonlight Dancers are teaching younger youth to dance. "Shepherd Felix told me three words, 'Never Give Up'. Our group became larger and larger, we now have about 40 youth who drum dance. The youngest one is about eight years old," said Nolan.

"Drum dancing is excellent, it makes us feel alive. We get right into the rhythm of the drums and want to go all night," he said. "Especially at special events like the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games, when you are dancing with drum dancers from all the sister communities and all our friends and relatives from Barrow, Alaska."

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

Standing up to oppostion

COPE's team of field workers play a vital role in helping the people understand the issues that are brought up in the public meetings. Government representatives, oil industry representatives, and even well-known Inuvialuit businessmen speak against the claim.

The Inuvialuit dissenters decide to form their own group to oppose the work of COPE. They call themselves the Social Action Committee. Their goal is to persuade the Inuvialuit public to vote against the claim. They plan to fly to each community to speak to the people. 'Tuktuuyaqtuuq' (Tuktoyaktuk) is the tipping point; the people of Tuk are the most affected by the oil industry activities. If they get the support of Tuktoyaktuk, the other communities will follow. They almost succeed; a COPE negotiator arrives just in time to explain how the people will benefit by voting in favour of the claim. He gets the people's support for COPE and the Social Action Committee did not hold any more meetings after that.

In May 1983, Simon Reisman, Chief Federal Negotiator, delayed signing a Memorandum of Understanding.

"We had disputes at public meetings amongst the Inuvialuit that were [...] [supporting] the oil industry and those who wanted some type of control over the Oil and Gas exploration activity [...] when they realised that our land claim process was not against development but against how it was being done, the majority of this work force supported us morally."

Randal Pokiak
(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,***
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

Voting begins despite protest

Despite a last-ditch effort Sunday by the Inuvialuit Action Group to delay the procedure, Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic voted for the first time on the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement land claims settlement at an advance poll in Inuvik Monday.

An action group community meeting in Inuvik last Wednesday produced a positive vote from those who attended in favor of delaying the vote on the settlement, however COPE representatives met with members of the group last weekend and refused to delay the vote.

"I met with (action group chairman) Lyle Trimble last night (Sunday) and a delegation," said COPE negotiator Bob Delury. "But we decided not to delay the voting."

DeLury said the action group has misinterpreted the finality of the agreement and added attempts to renegotiate with the federal government would be fruitless.

"He (Trimble) has his mind made up. He maintains that the agreement can be renegotiated in a short period of time," DeLury said. "He's dead wrong."

DeLury's comments agreed with statements made by Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister John Munro last Friday in regard to renegotiating the Inuvialuit settlement.

"I must emphasize that the Western Arctic (COPE) claim was the subject of negotiation over a period of seven years," Munro said. "The Inuvialuit were represented in the negotiating process by their freely chosen and fully accredited representatives. An agreement was reached in good faith and is, in my view, a credit to both parties.

"The group allegedly opposing the agreement has not approached me. If its members has consulted me I would have been obliged to advise them that, in my opinion, renegotiation of the claim settlement would not be considered by this government. The Western Arctic claim was accorded a high priority from the start. Other validated claims have been obliged to wait their turn pending this settlement — now it is their turn to enjoy priority consideration."

Trimble has since said the federal government did not place a high priority on the Inuvialuit settlement and has indicated Munro should not interfere in what is an internal matter.

DeLury on the other hand, maintains the COPE agreement is fine as it is:

"We are extremely pleased to arrive at an agreement and get it approved by the federal Cabinet. I'm pleased with the agreement and proud to present such an agreement to the Inuvialuit.

"I expect it to be passed. People want this agreement."

And he said any questions about the agreement should have been dealt with years ago.

"The thing about Trimble's group is that all of the things they are protesting against were in the agreement in principle signed in 1978. They're not new issues, they're old issues. Why bring them up in the eleventh hour?

"The country's broke and they (the action group) think the federal government would fork over $500 million. It's just nuts."

And in regard to other native land claims in Canada, DeLury said he would be surprised if any of those claims are settled within the next few years.

"This is the first agreement you'll see in a long time. They (the Council for Yukon Indians) are a long way off from reaching a final agreement. That Yukon Government is a big problem."

He indicated any new government in the new election — whether Conservative or Liberal — will delay the settlement of land claims.

"It was very beneficial for us to get our claim through before the next federal election," DeLury said. "Any change of government will make it difficult for those other claims to be settled. They won't be dealing with a known quantity."

from page 1

Voting will be taking place throughout the Western Arctic during the next month and ratification of the settlement, while expected, will not be easy. The agreement must be ratified by two-thirds of the voters and the number of yes votes must be greater than 50 per cent of the total eligible voters.

Asked what would happen if the settlement was not passed by the Inuvialuit, DeLury rolled his eyes.

"If the settlement is not aprroved, both parties will have to sit down and decide what to do. This issue is no longer a priority with Munro. We'd be talking another 10 years of negotiations easily."

And the failure of the agreement would be a harsh blow for the Inuvialuit he said.

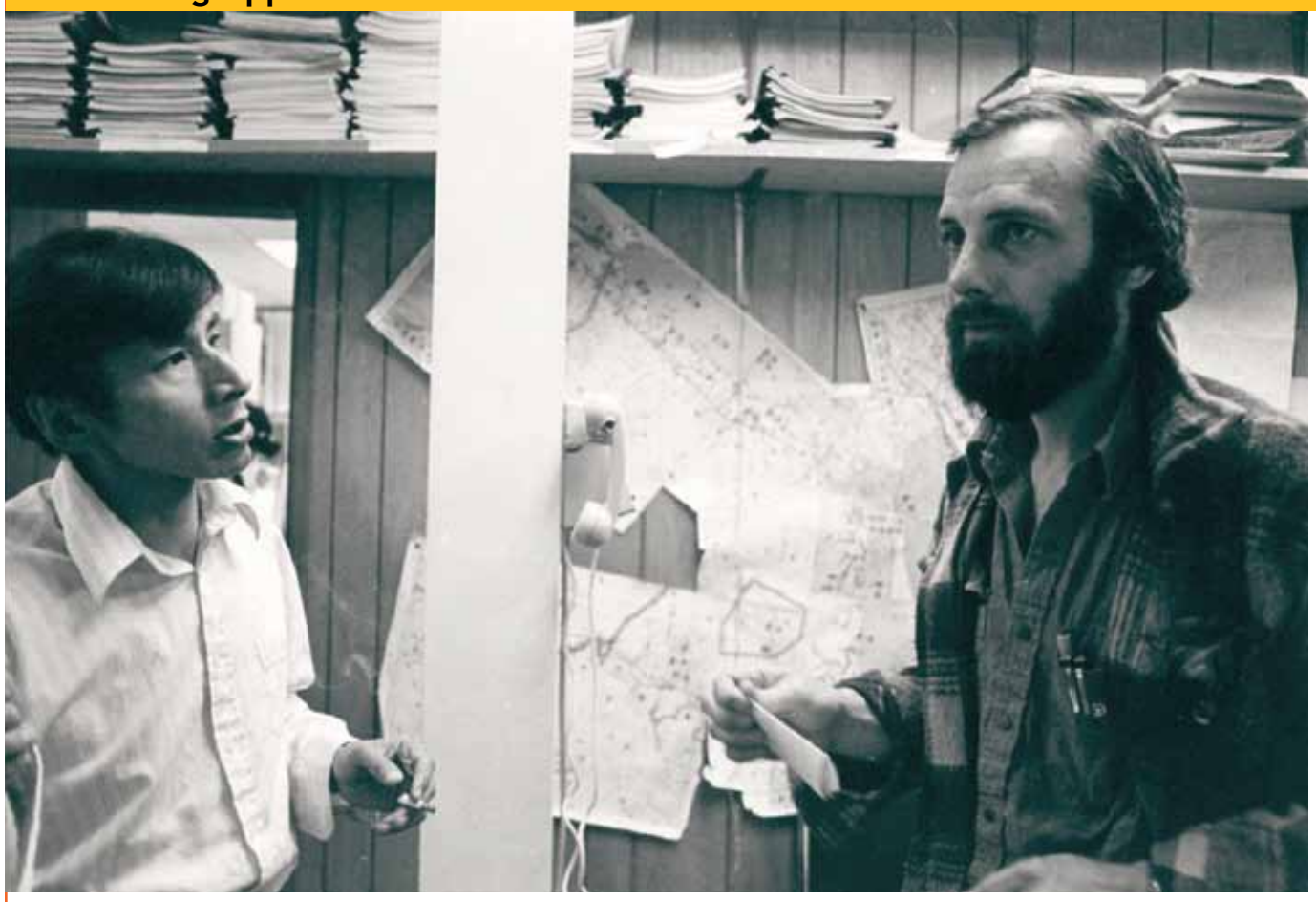
"You have to remember that there are a lot of things in this agreement that the feds don't like and lots of people would love to see this agreement turned down.

"It would give the feds a chance to take out the good things in the agreement for the Inuvialuit."

Front page of the Inuvik Drum, May 10th 1984.

A CLOSER LOOK

Overcoming Opposition



At the conclusion of substantive negotiations, every other native group negotiating their claim, and their federal and territorial negotiating teams erupted in opposition, fanning public disapproval. In May 1983, Simon Reisman, Chief Federal Negotiator, delayed signing a Memorandum of Understanding, citing federal bureaucrats, the GNWT and the Dene Nation claim and overlap issues that had to be resolved before a final agreement for the Inuvialuit could be reached.

Bob DeLury denounced this as "a preposterous red herring, and a convenient excuse for those who wish to frustrate the settlement."

Peter Green remembered having to respond to such situations. "In 1984, fourteen people, Metis, and from other native groups opposing the agreement, were led by Stephen Kakfwi to Ottawa, where they presented a four points list to Munro. Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), KIA, the Town Council of Inuvik, the Inuvik Chamber of Commerce, the Inuvialuit Action Group were all against the agreement." Peter assured the public that the agreement had taken overlap issues into account. He said the Agreement recognized the need for other native people to continue to exercise their harvesting rights on the lands claimed by the Inuvialuit. The spirit of the Agreement was that once other native groups settled their claims, shared use of traditional lands could be worked out.

"I would like to see them settle their land settlement as quickly as possible. I think it'll be in their best interests, but as far as trying to use the alleged overlap and so forth to be an issue at this point in time, my suggestion to them is that they go out to Ottawa, get your land claim negotiations going, get a package and come back and let's sort things out," said Peter in a Jan 30th, 1984 CBC interview.

In January 1984, as a draft Final Agreement was finally reached, it was leaked to the press. The draft had yet to be reviewed and ratified by the cabinet or the 2,500 Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic, but it fueled opposition from other aboriginal, Industry and Government groups.

Chris Pearson, then Yukon government leader said Yukoners, both native and non-native, "remain adamantly opposed [to putting] the entire Yukon coastline under the control of COPE in respect to future development." The weight of this objection was further reinforced as it had the support of Eric Neilson, a long-term member of parliament representing Yukon.
TFN, the COPE counterpart representing the Inuit of what is now Nunavut, was also in opposition. Bob Kadlun, President of TFN, wrote a letter to COPE President Peter Green, citing concerns that the IFA "contains provisions which touch upon the legal rights and interests of Inuit represented by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) and the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN)."

John Munro felt opponents of the claims settlement wanted to exploit the conflicts and overlapping claims to their advantage. Northern businesses criticized the COPE agreement because they claimed, wrongly, that it granted the Inuvialuit a ten percent preference bid in all government contract bids.

Randal Pokiak said COPE adopted a media strategy, where they only spoke to the media through press statements. "We felt that the claim was between the Inuvialuit and the federal government, and nobody else. This was our region. This was where we lived. It was not a matter of the lifestyle—certainly there were Inuvialuit people in the wage economy, as there were Inuvialuit hunters and trappers, so we were considering both for the AiP."

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***,
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

"In January 1984, as a draft Final Agreement was finally reached, it was leaked to the press. The draft had yet to be reviewed and ratified by the cabinet or the 2,500 Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic, but it fueled opposition from other aboriginal, Industry and Government groups."

Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years***,
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

WHO WE ARE

Fighting opposition from the Social Action Committee

When the Land Claims Agreement was at the ratification stage there was a last ditch effort by the non-native businesses, native businesses, some Inuvialuit businesses and individual Inuvialuk from the communities of Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk who went against the Claim. They called themselves the Social Action Committee.

Their intention was to convince the Inuvialuit public to vote against the Claim. They flew to all six Inuvialuit communities and presented their case at public meetings.

They advocated that a cash settlement would be the best route for the Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit could take the 45 million, trade their lands and drop the wildlife compensation package for cash which would be divided up amongst the 3,500 Inuvialuit. The majority of the Social Action Committee were business people and assured the Inuvialuit they knew how to get a cash settlement.

The Social Action Committee

According to the media then, the Committee was gathering momentum and support. They planned to come to Tuk (the largest Inuvialuit community and the most impacted socially, economically and environmentally by the oil and gas industry) and from Tuk they were planning to fly to Paulatuk, Holman Island and Sachs Harbour. If the Committee got the support of Tuk it was clear they would be on their way to success.

The day that the Committee came to Tuk, most Inuvialuit negotiators were still in Ottawa. One of the Tuk negotiators was in Tuk, and heard that the Social Action Committee public meeting was full and there was standing room only. There were a few individual Inuvialuit in the meeting that tried to define the contents of the IFA but with no first-hand background information they were no match for the business people. One can only give them credit for trying to stand up to the Action Committee [...]

It was clear to the public that they Action Committee had confidence, then the chairperson and some of the business people made the comment that they were there presenting their case and nobody from COPE or the Inuvialuit negotiators were there to define the IFA document, was it because they were misleading the people and were afraid? Why wasn't there someone from COPE organization in the meeting?

It was obvious that the head table with the Social Action Committee members did not see the Inuvialuk negotiator squeeze his way into the crowd, taking in the comments of the last 6-7 minutes of the meeting.

[...] The negotiator was then identified. There was some sounds of relief by those individuals that were standing up for the IFA and some bewilderment by the Social Action Committee.

All present at the meeting knew now that this was a showdown. It was either put up or shut up. With the urging of some of the public the negotiator asked politely for the floor to address the public and the Action Committee. Permission was granted by the Chairperson.

The negotiator reminded the public of the environmental, wildlife and social impacts Tuk has with relation to the beluga whales geese, fish and the reason for freezing up the land from development at Husky Lakes. What kind of monetary compensation did we get? What was the value of these impacts in dollar figures? Can people eat dollar bills and fill their stomachs? Do you think the Canadian government will give any amount of money away to individuals with the Canadian Public to the south of us watching? What kind of compensation did we get in these last impacts?; Do the Government and Industry listen when we were voicing our concerns and tears. Where was the Social Action Committee when we needed their help?

These questions were too hard and close home. The Chairperson wanted to regain control over the meeting, to shut the negotiator up by saying that this was a Social Action Committee meeting, not a COPE meeting. The negotiator was asked to sit down. But this was a chance to speak to the public about the contents of the IFA and give people the best information about it before they voted a month from this public meeting.

The techniques learned around the negotiating table was put to the test, the negotiator had to deal with those opposing him in the best way he could.

[...] The public's interest to hear the negotiator out won over over the Chairperson's desire to shut the meeting down, and the Inuvialuk negotiator proceeded to compare the IFA to the cash settlement being promoted by the Action Committee.

The IFA was summarized with its social, cultural and economical measures, especially as an agreement with long-term benefits versus the short term gain offered by the Action Committee's proposed settlement. The Inuvialuit wanted control over our own destiny, putting our skills to use and train our people to be useful to themselves and others. We wanted our people motivated and productive.

The negotiator thanked the public and the Social Action Committee members. After answering questions surrounding the presentation of the IFA the public meeting came to an end. The Social Action Committee lost interest in pursuing anymore public meetings after the Tuk meeting.

When May came around a month later the IFA was ratified and the majority of the Inuvialuit population voted in favour of it and plans were started in preparing for the public signing with invited guests across the country of Canada. On June 5th, 1984 the signing actually took place, followed by a celebration. Following the signing of the IFA, the implementing process started as agreed to by the Government and the Inuvialuit.

(Randal Pokiak, ***Inuvialuit History***, p. 156 - 160, ICRC.)

Power to the people

In other parts of Canada, the Government of Canada had signed treaties with aboriginal people. But the Inuvialuit had never entered into such an agreement. The power gained by the people through the COPE organization is remarkable.

After ten years of negotiations, the Government of Canada and the Inuvialuit signed the "Inuvialuit Final Agreement" or "IFA" on June 5, 1984. It was the first comprehensive land claim agreement signed north of the 60th parallel and only the second in Canada at that time. Approved by the Canadian Parliament as the Western Arctic Claims Settlement Act, it took precedent over other Acts inconsistent with it. The Act was also protected under the Canadian Constitution in that it cannot be changed by Parliament without the approval of the Inuvialuit.

In the IFA, the Inuvialuit agreed to give up their exclusive use of their ancestral lands in exchange for certain other guaranteed rights from the Government of Canada. The rights came in three forms: land, wildlife management and money.

The Inuvialuit would have legal control over their land (see map) with ownership of 91,000 square kilometres (35,000 square miles) of land including 13,000 square kilometres (5,000 square miles) with subsurface rights to oil, gas and minerals. Furthermore, the Inuvialuit established the right to hunt and harvest anywhere in the claim area, particularly as primary harvesters on certain lands known to be rich in wildlife. They also secured the responsibility for ensuring good wildlife management, becoming part of a wildlife management team with the government. The IFA was based on sustainable development.

1971 The government creates the Territorial Land Use Regulations to manage land access in the NWT after COPE threatens to take them to court.

1972 COPE joins Inuit Tapirisat to work on a joint land claim.

1973 An Office of Native Claims is set up in the Department of Indian Affairs after being pressured by COPE and other aboriginal organizations.

1976 A joint claim proposal is submitted and withdrawn a few months later.

1977 Negotiations begin after the Inuvialuit decide to pursue a land claim separate from the Inuit of the eastern Arctic.

1978 Within one year an Agreement in Principle (AIP) is signed at Sachs Harbour.

1984 The Inuvialuit Final Agreement is passed into law. The Inuvialuit are the first aboriginal group to settle a land claim in the Northwest Territories.

Now that the agreement is signed, the people regain land and harvesting rights over selected traditional lands, the right to manage the land and resources, compensation for land given up, and funds for social development. They are firmly in control of their land and their future.

"This agreement has provided us with a broad range of tools to support our efforts to establish and maintain a significant presence in all developments across the Inuvialuit Settlement Region."

Nellie Cournoyea, Chair, IRC

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,***
Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

IFA Chronology


Sarah Raddi

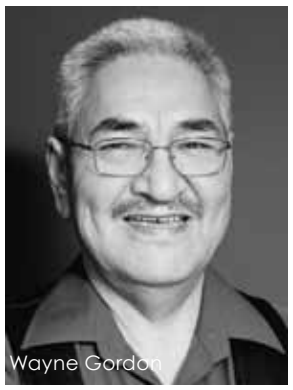

Nelson Green


Rex Goose


Debbie Gordon-Ruben


Lena Wolki


Jessie Amos


Wayne Gordon


Calvin Pokiak


Vince Teddy


Emma Dick


Eddie Gruben


Vince Steen

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1968	Oil discovery in Prudhoe Bay, Alaska. Alaska Inupiat form Arctic Slope Native Association to advance the drive for native land claim across Alaska.
	1968	Yukon Native Brotherhood (YNB) formed
	1968	Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposed
	1969	A Government and Industry organization, "Task Force on Northern Oil Development" created in view of a proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.
COPE, the first native land rights group in the Western Arctic formed in Inuvik	1970	Oil discovery by Esso at Atkinson Point
COPE organizes Conference of Northern Native People (at Coppermine)	1970	
	1970	Hunters and Trappers Associations formed in the Northwest Territories by the GNWT.
	1970	Group trapping areas imposed in Delta. Inuvialuit are restricted to specific trapping areas.
Banks Island Seismic Conflict between oil exploration company Demonex and Banks Islanders. COPE prepares court action, which leads then DIAND Minister Jean Chrétien to Sachs Harbour. Terms and conditions are negotiated by Banks Islanders before further explorations take place. This incident led to the establishment of Territorial Land Use Regulations.	1970	
	1971	Federal Territorial Land Use Regulations set up to manage land access in the territories, and to control environmental effects of development on crown land.
COPE is represented on the national level by ITC.	1971	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), a national Inuit organization formed.
Cape Bathhurst Moratorium declared, as a result of protests from COPE and Tuktoyaktuk Inuvialuit against exploration by Esso Resources and Gulf Canada in the Cape Bathurst, Husky Lakes area.	1972	

PEOPLE IN COPE

Many Inuvialuit have dedicated time and effort to the struggle for Inuvialuit land rights. Below is a list of some of the individuals involved. Sincere gratitude for their contribution to COPE.

AKLAVIK

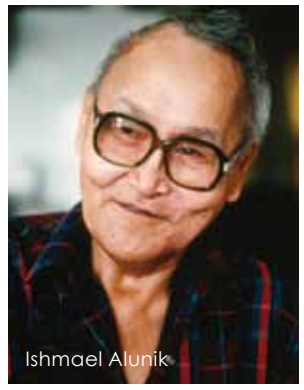
Alice Selamio
Anna Illasiak
Annie C. Gordon
Annie Banksland
Barbara Allen
Bessie Erigaktoak
Colin Harry
Delma Joe Inglangasuk
Don McWatt
Dorothy Arey
Elizabeth Kowana
Eva Selamio
Frank Elanik, Jr.
Fred Joe
George Allen
Jimmy Gordon
John Banksland
Julie Thrasher
Knute Hansen
Lena Selamio
Lucy Joe
Maria Selamio
Martha Arey
Mary Ruth Meyook
Nellie Gruben
Peter Joe
Peter Thrasher
Renie Arey
Richard Papik
Robert Leod

IFA Chronology

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1973	Significant Calder v. BC (Attorney General) decision in Supreme Court supports concept of aboriginal title to land. To prevent further testing of Aboriginal rights in court, the Federal government declares Comprehensive Claims Policy to determine land rights not settled by treaty.
	1973	Approval of offshore drilling (in concept) by federal cabinet.
ITC land claims work started in Western Arctic (Nunavut Proposal).	1973	Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study started
	1974	Federal government gives DOME approval-in-principal to drill for oil offshore.
	1974	Government invites pipeline application. The Canadian Arctic Gas Study Group submits the Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Proposal.
	1974	Appointment of Justice Berger to begin three-year Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger Inquiry), to determine impact of proposed pipeline on the North's people, economy and environment.
COPE assembled staff for traditional knowledge and scientific studies. Staff contributes fieldwork to Berger Inquiry.	September 1974	
Inuvialuit Land Use and Occupancy Studies completed	1975	
	March 1975	Berger Hearings began
	February 1976	ITC presents Nunavut Claim to Federal Cabinet
	1976	DOME receives permit from Federal government for offshore drilling
	September 1976	ITC withdraws Nunavut Claim when board decides that further worked is required. Due to greater developmental pressures in the Western Arctic, COPE seeks mandate from the Inuvialuit to pursue a regional land claim.
COPE receives mandate to start Inuvialuit regional land claim after voting process. 95% of Inuvialuit put in ballots, 99% voted for regional land claim.	October 1976	


James Ruben


Jimmy Jacobson


Ishmael Alunik


Lucy Cockney


Annie Banksland


John Banksland

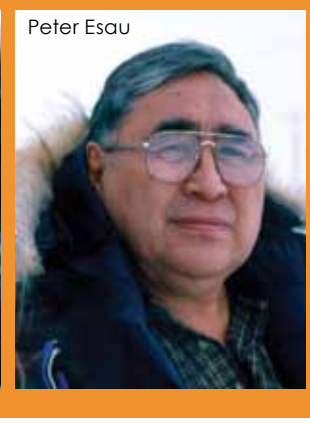

Elizabeth Banksland


Eileen Thrasher


Elsie Klengenberg


Victor Allen


Shirley Esau


Peter Esau

Roy Hansen
Sadie Whitbread
Sarah Dillon
Sarah Meyook
Sarah Tingmiak
Simon Bennett
Tom Arey, Jr.
Tommy Gordon
Verna Archie
Wayne Gordon
Winnie Cockney
Winnie Elanik

INUVIK

Agnes Semmler
Alma S. Raddi
Bertha Allen
Billy Day
Bob DeLury
Carol Dick
Connie Ballas
Delma Kisoun
Emma Dick
Ernie Bernhardt
Esther McLeod
Frank Elanik
Fred Joe Inglangasuk
Gloria Wainman
Jessie Amos
Jimmy Gordon
Johnny Lennie
Kenneth Peeloolook
Lillian Elias
Lily Elias
Lorna Moore
Mabel Allen
Marcy Tingmiak
Mary Kaglik
Mary Teddy
Nellie Cournoyea
Paul Kailek
Rosie Albert
Russell Newmark
Sam Raddi
Shirley Kisoun
Susan Peffer
Valerie Steffanson
Victor Allen
Winnie Dick

IFA Chronology


Edward Ruben


Billy Ruben


Albert Elias


Eddie Dillon


Jimmy Komeak


Earl Esau


Annie C. Gordon


Dorothy Arey


Agnes Goose


Harry Egotak


Joey Carpenter


Ida Kuneyuna

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (Alaska Inupiat) advances loan to COPE, in support of Inuvialuit land claim work.	1976	
COPE presents Inuvialuit Nunangat land claim proposal to DIAND Minister Warren Allmand. Three months of clarification meetings follow.	13th May, 1977	First Volume of Berger Report released. The 240-page report recommends a 10-year moratorium on pipeline construction while native land claims are settled, and a permanent ban on any pipeline from Alaska across the northern Yukon.
Amendments made to Inuvialuit Nunangat proposal	13th July, 1977	
COPE finds Federal government's response to Inuvialuit proposal unacceptable	September 1977	
COPE prepares court action on Aboriginal Title	November 1977	Meeting between COPE and DIAND Minister Hugh Faulkner
Joint Working Group set up for Inuvialuit and Federal government to work together on Inuvialuit land claim proposal, reaches agreement on wildlife. Negotiations continue.	December 1977	
Joint Position Paper (JPP) signed July 14, 1978. 15,000 square miles of land is withdrawn in the Northern Yukon for a National Park and other conservation uses.	July 1978	
Cabinet approves JPP, authorizes Minister to sign Agreement-in-principle (AiP) with land selections in JPP -- (5,000 square miles (a) lands, 10,100 square miles of (b) land around Husky Lakes and 21,900 square miles to be selected in the Western Arctic Region).	14th July, 1978	
AiP is signed in Sachs Harbour. Advance payments, interim land and hunting provisions begin.	31st Oct, 1978	
IDC established	1978	
	February 1979	Appointment of new federal negotiator (M. Guisella). New internal bureaucratic process further delays negotiations.
85% of remaining (b) lands selected, "overlap" issues delays the rest. Government hires a fact finder.	May 1979	DOME examines harbour sites on Arctic coast (Wise Bay and Summer Harbour), injects its interests into land selection negotiations.
Old Crow abandons overlap agreement	1979	

Andy Carpenter and Sam Raddi at the AiP signing

PAULATUK

Adam Ruben
Albert Ruben
Bertha Ruben
Billy Ruben
David Ruben
Dennis Thrasher
Edward Ruben
Eileen Thrasher
Francis Ruben
Fred Thrasher
Garrett Ruben
Gilbert Thrasher
James Ruben
Lena Ruben
Lily Green
Lynn Ruben
Mary Evik Ruben
Nelson Green
Noel Green
Nora Ruben
Pat Ruben
Peter Green
Ruben Green
Sam Green
Tony Green
Wallace Anikina

SACHS HARBOUR

Alexandria Elias
Andy Carpenter
Betty Haogak
Beverly Amos
Beverly Esau
Charles Haogak
David Nasogaluak
Ernest Pokiak
Earl Esau
Eli Nasogaluak
Frederick Raddi
Glen Carpenter
Jackie Kuptana
Joe Kudlak
Larry Carpenter
Lena Wolki
Les Carpenter
Martha Kudlak
Mary Elias
Mike Amos
Peter Esau
Rita Carpenter
Samantha Lucas
Sheila Elias
Shirley Esau
Terri Nokadlak
Winnie Carpenter

IFA Chronology

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
Yukon government wages media campaign against AiP	1979	
Conservative government lets negotiations stall	May 1979	Liberal government is defeated, leading to appointment of new Conservative DIAND minister Jake Epp.
	1979	Nellie Cournoyea is elected as MLA for Nunakput. She promotes understanding of the Inuvialuit land claims within governments.
New overlap agreement with Old Crow	August 18th, 197	
	February 1980	Liberal government returns, new DIAND minister John Munro is appointed.
	1980	National Energy Program legislation introduces "Crown Share". Lobbying against expropriation of oil and gas rights, the Inuvialuit successfully protects 7(1)(a) lands from legislation.
Munro commits to AiP and negotiations	March 1980	
Inuvialuit Game Council established	1980	
COPE language project started	1980	
Appointment of new federal negotiator, Chief negotiator is hired from outside DIAND.	1980	
Minister Munro writes letter to Senator David G. Steuart, which precipitates breakdown in negotiations. The letter outlines five required changes to AiP, COPE denounces government's lack of credibility.	24th December, 1980	
COPE elections: Sam Raddi is replaced by Peter Green as President		
COPE attempts to reinitiate negotiations	January to July 1981	
Minister Munro announces negotiations of IFA to be open again	September 1982	
Appointment of Simon Reisman, former high stature government official, as Chief Federal Negotiator. Reisman promises final agreement in '6 months'.	October 1982	

Guy Hologak reading *Inuvialuit* magazine in 1982


Frank Cockney


Garrett Ruben


Shirley Kisoun


David Ruben


Sweeny Loreen

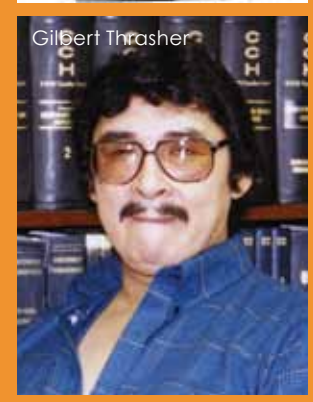

Billy Day

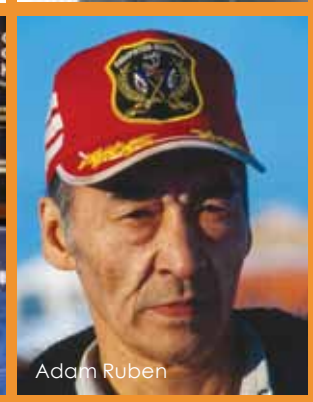

Fred Thrasher


Susan Peffer


Pauline Gordon


Bill Goose


Gilbert Thrasher


Adam Ruben

Yvonne Elias

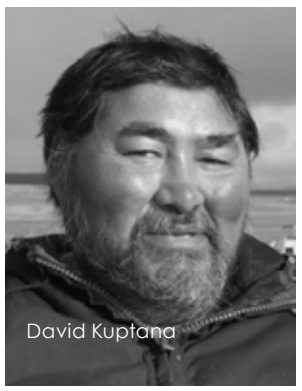
TUKTOYAKTUK

Ada Carpenter
Ada Raymond
Agnes White
Andy Jacobson
Anne Ettagiak
Anne Noksana
Bert Kimiksana
Bertram Pokiak
Bessie Pokiak
Bessie Kuptana
Beverly Kimiksana
Bobby Chicksi
Bobby Gruben
Calvin Pokiak
Charles Gruben
Charlie Gruben
Charles Komeak
Christina Noksana
David Noksana
Eddie Dillon
Eddie Gruben
Eileen Jacobson
Emma Elias
Emmanuel Felix Sr.
Florence Avik
Frank Cockney
Fred Wolki
Freeman Kimiksana
Gayle Ovayuak
Henry Andreason
Irene Wolki
Jean Gruben
Jimmy Jacobson
Jimmy Komeak
Joseph Evik
Joseph Kotokak
Joey Carpenter
Jonah Carpenter
Lena Kikoak
Lucy Cockney
Mark Noksana
Mary Rose Ettagiak
Mona Felix
Persis Gruben
Peter Rufus
Randal Pokiak
Rita Green
Robert Noksana
Rex Cockney
Vince Steen
William Nasogaluak

IFA Chronology


Charlie Haogak


Lily Elias


David Kuptana


Betty Haogak


Jimmy Gordon


Mabel Steffanson


Sheila Nasogaluak


Sam Oliktoak


Bessie Erigaktoak


Delma Kisoun


David Nasogaluak


Mary Kudlak

Inuvialuit land claim related events		Relevant events
	1982	Gulf, DOME and Esso announce oil production plans in the Beaufort.
Inuvialuit Final Agreement negotiations recommence	1982	
	1982	Beaufort Sea Environmental Assessment Review Process begins
Chief Federal Negotiator Reisman travels to Inuvik with staff	December 1982	
COPE offers Comprehensive package of tradeoffs for IFA to Reisman	28th February, 1983	
	17th October, 1983	Gulf wants Stokes Point, applies for Land Use Permit from DIAND
		Peter Kiewit and Sons applies for King Point quarry/ port development
		Project Review Group
		Minister Munro rejects applications on basis of ongoing claim negotiations and proposed national park.
Outstanding issues resolved and signed off in negotiator's package	December 1983	
	January 1984	Draft Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) leaked to press
Consolidation of changes in AiP, leading to final drafting of IFA.	1984	
Overlap agreements with Council of Yukon Indians	March 1984	
Cabinet approval of IFA	March 27th, 1984	
Ratification voting	May 7th – 28th, 1984	
IFA signing in Tuktoyaktuk	June 5th, 1984	
Parlimentary legislation passed, all party agreement permits three readings in one day.	26th June, 1984	
With senate approval, Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act is proclaimed.	July 25th, 1984	

Les Carpenter at the IFA signing.

ULUKHAKTOK

Agnes Goose
Agnes Kuptana
Albert Elias
Alice Omingmak
Annie Goose
Beatrice Goose
Bessie Inuktalik
Bill Goose
David Kuptana
David Omingmak
Elsie Nigiyok
Elizabeth Banksland
Eva Kagyut
Harry Egotak
Ida Aivik
Jean Ekpakohak
Jimmy Memogana
Joanne Oliktoak
John Kuneyuna
Kane Tologanak
Kate Inuktalik
Laverna Goose
Lena Olifie
Mark Ekootak
Mary Kudlak
Noah Akhiatak
Patsy Ekpakohak
Rex Goose
Robert Kuptana
Roy Inuktalik
Sam Oliktoak
Shirley Oliktoak
Stanley Klengenberg
Wallace Goose
Wilma Memogana

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,*** Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009.)

Peter Green, former president of COPE, voting.

Voting

COPE worked hard to get Inuvialuit to come out and vote. The Inuvialuit Communications Society publication *Inuvialuit* advocated: The Final Agreement depends on a good turnout for approval by the Inuvialuit. Two thirds of those who vote must vote in favour.

Lillian Elias, who was a fieldworker and translator for COPE in Inuvik remembered the frenzy to spread the word. She said, "We had fieldworkers in every community doing this. We had to look for all Inuvialuit to go vote. We had a lot of friends and relatives. We sat in the back of a truck, going from home to home, sitting on the edge for dear life, because the roads were bumpy—they were not paved. By the time you got home, you were just thick with mud, your hair, your clothes, everything was covered."

To Lillian Elias it was worth all the sacrifices. "I had to let people know what would happen if we were bought out, versus what's going to happen if we negotiate a land claim," she said.

The turnout was high in the vote on the IFA. There was also an advance poll. The final result was positive — 1,193 Inuvialuit voted in favour and 258 against. Out of 1904 eligible voters, 1463 cast ballots.

WHO WE ARE

Personal Sacrifice

COPE operated on a tight budget throughout, and had major achievements despite the limited finances. Nellie said, "Agnes Semmler rightfully insisted that COPE not take government money. It was important to build the organization from the grassroots, with volunteers who were totally dedicated and who wanted to do it for the sake of the cause, not for money. Once we started negotiating our claim we knew that every cent spent would be deducted from the eventual compensation. We were very frugal, we didn't want to use all the money in negotiations and have nothing in the end."

Andy Carpenter, negotiator for COPE and the first Chair of IGC said, "At first, we sent a team of twenty people to Ottawa. COPE didn't have much money when we started, so we had to keep the costs down, staying in cheap hotels, often paying out of our own pockets." COPE negotiators had a salary of $750 a month, in contrast to oilfield workers, whom Randal remembered were paid almost $4000 every two weeks. Family members of COPE were also affected.

Nellie Arey remembers having to choose between being with her husband Tom Arey Jr., who was a negotiator from Aklavik, and her children. "I used to travel with him a lot. Sometimes we were away for a week and my kids were at home. I missed them a lot because they were still young," she said. Many COPE meetings were held at members' homes, and Nellie remembers having to keep everyone fed and hydrated. Carol, their child, would help her father type and file notes. She followed in his footsteps and is now Chair of the Aklavik Community Corporation.

Randal remembers having to give up his ideal lifestyle as an Inuvialuit harvester, in order to fight for Inuvialuit land rights. He dedicated over a decade to COPE work. He remembered, "Once, I got upset with some of the trappers, I said, you should be more involved with what's going on. They smiled and said, you're talking for us. A trapper can't just come back to town because Industry or Government is going to have a meeting. I mean, the trappers won't be compensated for their time. In their mind, COPE is looking after them. The trappers decided, we will support COPE as long as they are helping us, we will support them."

Sometimes, entire families were drawn to the cause. Annie Goose remembers how hard Wallace Goose, her father-in-law, and Bill Goose, her husband worked for COPE. "Bill and Wallace were fieldworkers at first. My mother-in-law Agnes Goose was a fieldworker too," she said. "People attended meetings and started to understand that the land claim was the solution to their problems. Whatever services we were receiving at that time wasn't enough, or it could be better. When self-government was proposed then, it was called Western Arctic Regional Municipality (WARM), and my late husband Bill and Howard McDermitt, Charlie Haogak, amongst others were going to all the communities to help raise support." Annie said, "I think the biggest sacrifice for many of the IFA workers was having to be away from home – being away as a parent, as a grandparent away from the normal routine of hunting, fishing, eating their own country food. They had to adapt their thinking to the southern way of doing things, in order to communicate with government. They only got to be home for a certain amount of time before they were off to Ottawa again. They were very committed to making the IFA happen. And I have to say thank you to them. Many are no longer here, but they are here in spirit. They worked hard."

Cope volunteers and staff gave their time and commitment so as to achieve the IFA.

Delma Kisoun and a COPE volunteer keeping records and giving out IFA pamphlets at the IFA signing.

Nelson Green

Andy Carpenter and Charles Haogak.

Agnes Semmler (middle) presenting a tapestry to minister John Munro.

Randal Pokiak (centre) signing with the media watching.

Les Carpenter and Nellie Cournoyea.

A CLOSER LOOK

Signing

The IFA was signed in Tuktoyaktuk on June 5, 1984, between the signatories of COPE and the Government of Canada. Inuvialuit, dignitaries from the governments of Canada, the Yukon, and other native groups filled Kitti Hall in Tuktoyaktuk, to witness this moment in history. Les Carpenter was the master of ceremonies. Agnes Kuptana made a tapestry, 'Inuvialuit Nunangat' which was presented to Minister John Munro.

John Munro spoke about the challenges throughout the negotiations. "They were tough times, acrimonious times, they were bitter times between the federal government, myself, and some of the COPE negotiators, because they felt I was not seeing things their way, but there was also an exchange of respect, there was also a tremendous amount of determination—May I say to Peter Green, COPE and your President Sam Raddi, you have achieved something great for the North, something tremendous for the rest of Canada."

Nellie Cournoyea wore a dress that day. She opened with a joke, "I assure you, this is not my dress—I've always told them that you can't boss people around unless you are in pants and a little bit sweaty. I am doing this tonight, just for all the people who worked so hard, the negotiators, and I'll give it back to Frieda Lester when I'm finished with it."

Nellie then addressed the significance of the moment. "On behalf of people in Tuk and in the Western Arctic Region, I'll like to say to Canada and to our friends from nearby regions, we're important. The Arctic might be a frontier land, a very large area few people have seen, but this beautiful area is precious, and dear in our hearts. I don't know if it is possible to mention everybody who took part to achieve our claims, from the youngest person to the oldest person, in all the communities. We still have a lot of work to do, but in all the controversy and all the differences we tried to arrive at an agreement we could live with. I don't believe there was one person in the area who didn't participate."

She concluded, "We were never as an organization afraid of people who felt they had a different view. We learnt from that, it's the Inuvialuit way. People who worked at it really tried to reflect the total opinion of people."

Randal Pokiak remembers his relief as the signatures were laid to paper, and everyone in the room rejoiced. "It was a great feeling for me to know that we finally had it, we had the final agreement, it was an agreement between Canada and the Inuvialuit. I felt that the corporations we put in clauses within the IFA could protect the interests of all the Inuvialuit, from the harvesters all the way to creating business opportunities, training programs and that the youth would be able to develop, and seek respectable jobs within the organizations."

Randal reflects, "The elders, the trappers, they were the backbone of the IFA. They selflessly dedicated themselves for the future generations. The elders were harnessing young people like myself. We were like a dog team. They put us where we were supposed to be, and they were the drivers, they loaded up the sled, and the final agreement was their destination. They were the ones commanding us to the destination, saying chi, cha, wo, whi, they were giving us direction."

(***Inuvialuit Final Agreement - Celebrating 25 years,*** Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009)

Celebration at the IFA signing ceremony on June 5th 1984 in Tuktoyaktuk.

"We were never as an organization afraid of people who felt they had a different view. We learnt from that, it's the Inuvialuit way. People who worked at it really tried to reflect the total opinion of people."

Nellie Cournoyea at the IFA signing

(CBC transcript)

Eddie Gruben and Mark Noksana.

Elsie Klengenberg

Anniie C. Gordon and Les Carpenter.

Sam Raddi signing the IFA, with Les Carpenter

A CLOSER LOOK

Summary - Inuvialuit Final Agreement

Goals

The basic goals of the IFA expressed by the Inuvialuit and recognized by Canada are to:

- preserve Inuvialuit cultural identity and values within a changing northern society;
- enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society;
- and protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife environment and biological productivity.

The IFA provides a land base, financial compensation, control of wildlife harvesting, and an Inuvialuit voice in the future development of the ISR. The IFA is an Act of Parliament protected under the Canadian constitution. It cannot be changed without approval of the Inuvialuit, and prevails over any other federal or territorial acts.

The IFA preserves Inuvialuit cultural identity and values.
(ICS)

Compensation

In exchange for compensation in the form of land, monetary payments, environmental and wildlife management, and economic and social development measures, the Inuvialuit gave up exclusive use of large sections of their ancestral lands.

Land

Ownership of 35,000 square miles (90,650 square kilometres) of land in the Western Arctic, including 5,000 square miles (13,000 square kilometres) with subsurface oil, gas, and mineral rights.

Financial Compensation
Financial compensation totaling $152 million was paid by installments from 1984 to 1997.

Wildlife and Environmental Co-Management
Subject to conservation measures, preferential and/or exclusive wildlife harvesting rights were granted to Inuvialuit.

Inuvialuit Game Council, established under the IFA, represents the collective Inuvialuit interest in wildlife. Inuvialuit participate in overall management of wildlife in the Western Arctic through advisory bodies such as Wildlife Management Advisory Councils, and Hunters and Trappers Committees in each community.

The Agreement also established five joint advisory bodies with equal government and Inuvialuit representation:

Environmental Impact Screening Committee assesses whether proposed developments require detailed environmental impact assessments.

Environmental Impact Review Board carries out public reviews of development proposals deemed necessary by the Screening Committee.

Fisheries Joint Management Committee advises the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans on matters relating to fisheries and marine mammals in the ISR.

Wildlife Management Advisory Council (NWT) advises government and other appropriate bodies on wildlife conservation matters in the NWT portion of the ISR.

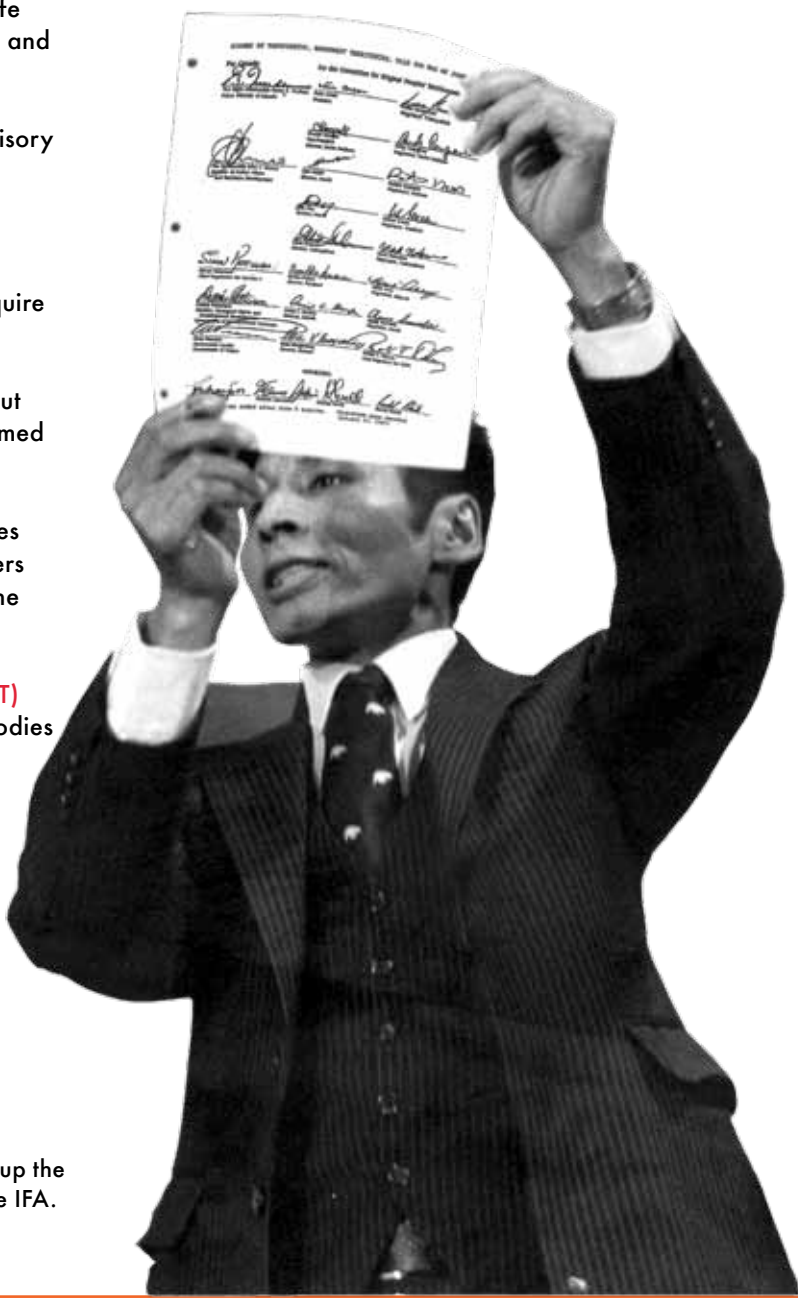
Wildlife Management Advisory Council (North Slope) advises government and other appropriate bodies on wildlife conservation matters in the Yukon North Slope.

Economic & Social Development

The IFA contains measures to help Inuvialuit achieve economic self-reliance, build a solid economy, and participate fully in northern and Canadian society. The Government provided an initial Economic Enhancement Fund, and agreed to take reasonable measures to make economic opportunities available to Inuvialuit with respect to their resources, products, services, and employment within the ISR.

The Social Development Fund was established to help the Inuvialuit meet the challenges of social transition and to achieve community objectives relating to health, housing, education, and welfare; preservation of Inuvialuit language and culture; elders' concerns; and traditional pursuits.

(IRC)

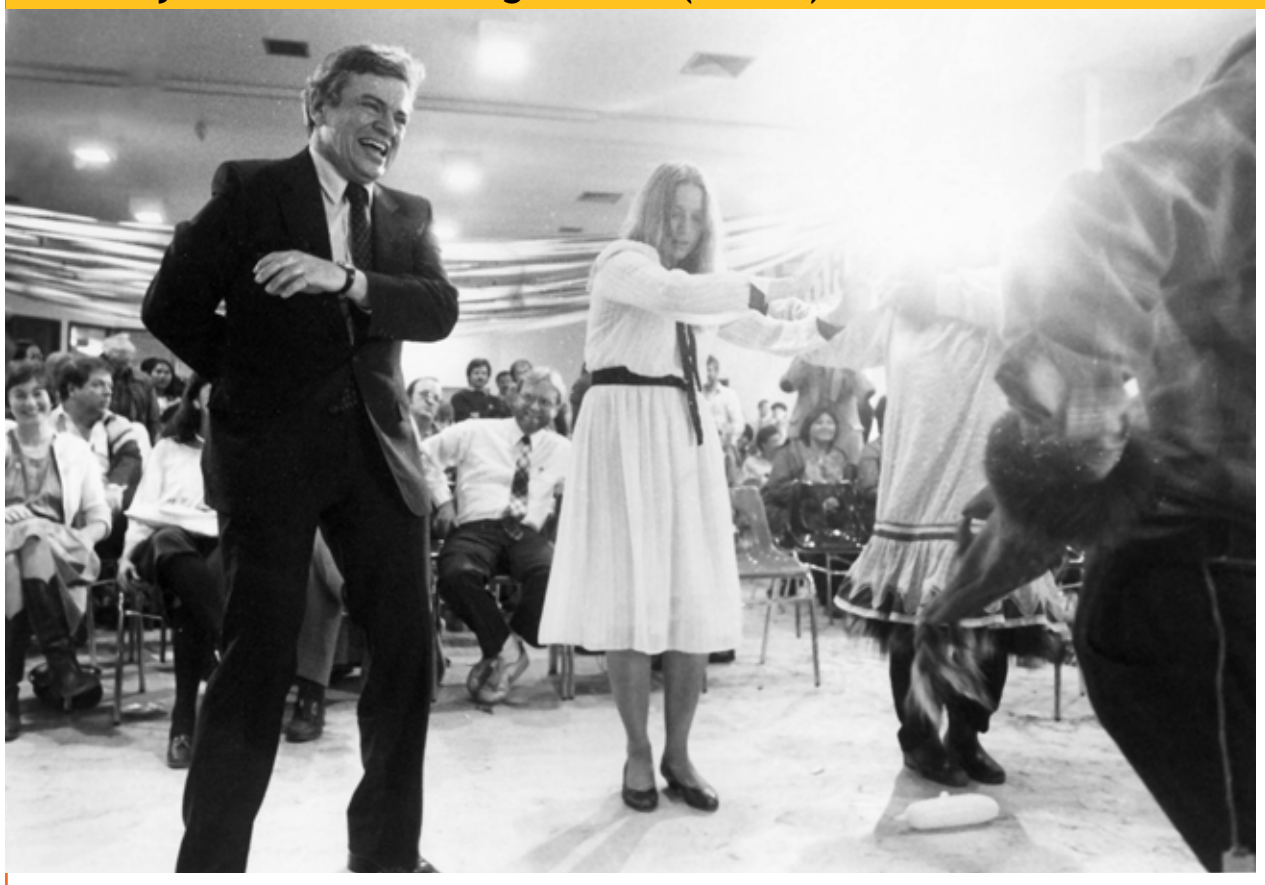


Peter Green holding up the signatory page of the IFA.

(ICS)

A CLOSER LOOK

Summary - Inuvialuit Final Agreement (cont'd.)



(L-R) John Munro, DIAND minister, Nellie Cournoyea, Inuvialuit negotiator dance in celebration at the IFA signing.

Agnes Semmler at the IFA signing. (ICS)

Signatories to the Inuvialuit Final Agreement

The following Inuvialuit signed the agreement:

For COPE:
- Peter Green, President
- Charles Haogak, Vice-President and Director, Sachs Harbour
- Sam Raddi, Director, Inuvik
- Billy Day, Director, Inuvik
- Eddie Gruben, Director,Tuktoyaktuk
- Bertha Ruben, Director, Paulatuk
- Annie C. Gordon, Director, Aklavik
- Elsie Klengenberg, Director, Holman

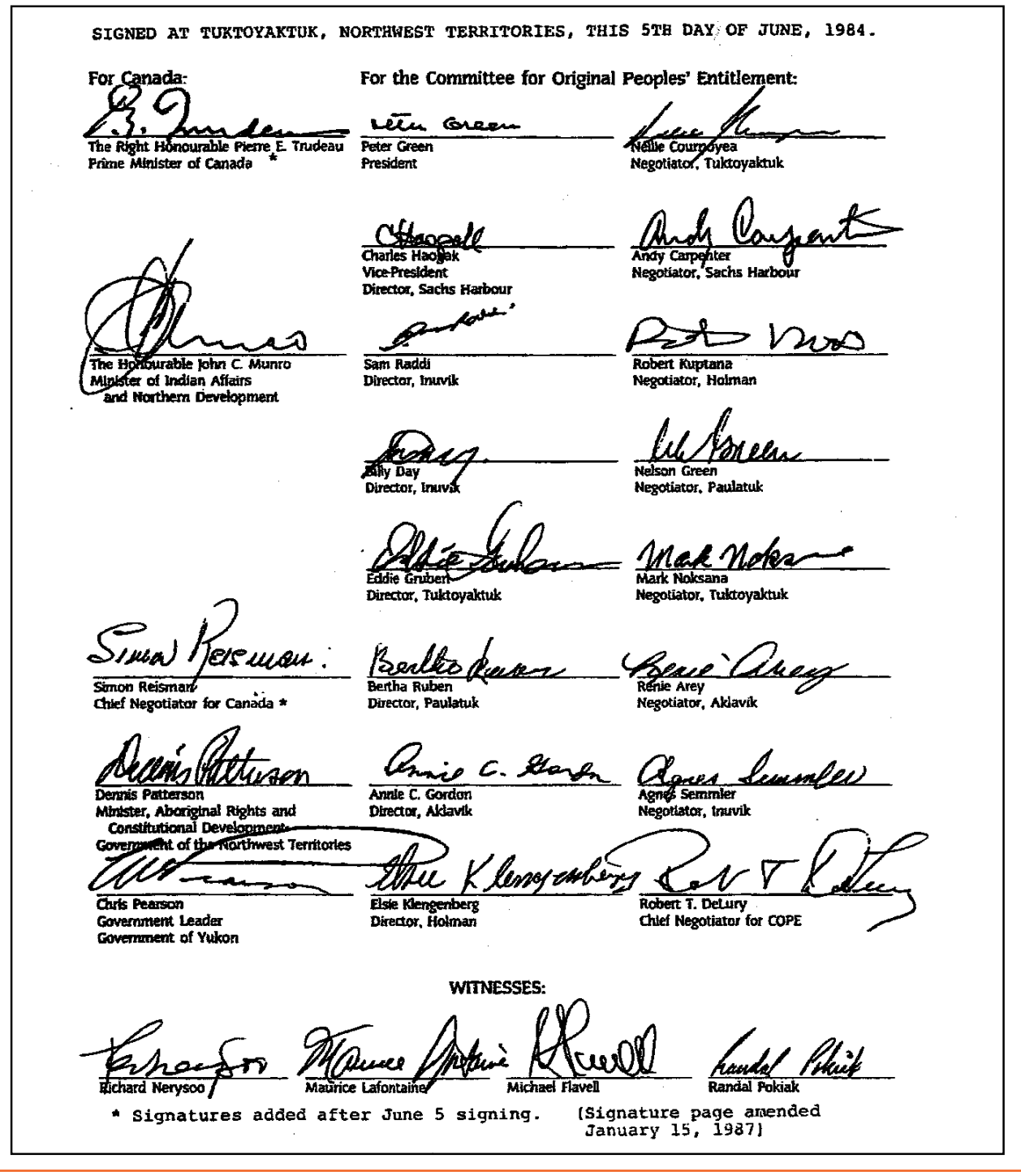
Negotiators:
- Nellie Cournoyea, Tuktoyaktuk
- Andy Carpenter, Sachs Harbour
- Robert Kuptana, Holman
- Nelson Green, Paulatuk
- Mark Noksana, Tuktoyaktuk
- Renie Arey, Aklavik
- Agnes Semmler, Inuvik

The agreement was signed on behalf of Canada by:
• The Right Honourable Pierre E.Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada • The Honourable John C. Munro, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development • Simon Reisman, Chief Negotiator

• Dennis Patterson, Minister, Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development, signed on behalf of the Government of the Northwest Territories

• Chris Pearson, Government Leader of the Yukon, signed on behalf of the Yukon.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 178 - 179, 2003.)



SIGNED AT TUKTOYAKTUK, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, THIS 5TH DAY OF JUNE, 1984.

For Canada:

The Right Honourable Pierre E. Trudeau
Prime Minister of Canada *

The Honourable John C. Munro
Minister of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development

Simon Reisman
Chief Negotiator for Canada *

Dennis Patterson
Minister, Aboriginal Rights and
Constitutional Development
Government of the Northwest Territories

Chris Pearson
Government Leader
Government of Yukon

For the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement:

Peter Green
President

Charles Haogak
Vice-President
Director, Sachs Harbour

Sam Raddi
Director, Inuvik

Billy Day
Director, Inuvik

Eddie Gruben
Director, Tuktoyaktuk

Bertha Ruben
Director, Paulatuk

Annie C. Gordon
Director, Aklavik

Elsie Klengenberg
Director, Holman

Nellie Cournoyea
Negotiator, Tuktoyaktuk

Andy Carpenter
Negotiator, Sachs Harbour

Robert Kuptana
Negotiator, Holman

Nelson Green
Negotiator, Paulatuk

Mark Noksana
Negotiator, Tuktoyaktuk

Renie Arey
Negotiator, Aklavik

Agnes Semmler
Negotiator, Inuvik

Robert T. DeLury
Chief Negotiator for COPE

WITNESSES:

Richard Nerysoo

Maurice Lafontaine

Michael Flavell

Randal Pokiak

* Signatures added after June 5 signing. (Signature page amended January 15, 1987)

Inuvialuit Corporations and bodies

Inuvialuit corporations were created to receive and manage the benefits resulting from the IFA. Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) was established and tasked with the overall responsibility of administering the rights and benefits.

Its subsidiaries include Inuvialuit Development Corporation, Inuvialuit Investment Corporation, Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation and Inuvialuit Land Corporation. In addition, there is the Inuvialuit Land Administration, Community Development Division and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre.

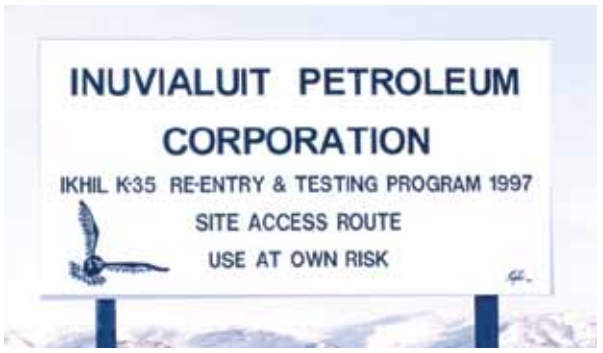
Inuvialuit Game Council and Co-Management Bodies

In anticipation of the signing of the IFA, the Inuvialuit Game Council was established in 1983 to represent the collective Inuvialuit interest in all matters relating to wildlife. It consists of a Chair and a 12-member board involving two representatives from each of the Hunters and Trappers Committees in the communities.

The IFA also enabled the establishment of a system of joint management, involving the Inuvialuit and the territorial and federal levels of government. This co-management process is considered to be a world-class example of integrated resource management.

Duane Smith, Andy Carpenter and Billy Day signing the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Beluga Whale Agreement with the North Slope Inupiat. (IGC)

IDC in the early years. (IDC)



Photos:
(L top and bottom)

Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation sign at the Ikhil oil rig;

(R top)
Andy Carpenter (L) shaking hands with Inupiat representatives at the first signing of the Inuvialuit-Inupiat Polar-Bear Management Agreement;

(R bottom)
Floyd Roland being interviewd at a Northwest territories pipeline.

(IRC)

8

Implementation of the IFA 1980s-now

Paulatuk Moonlight Drummers and Dancers performing at the IFA 25th Anniversary celebration in their community.

(IRC)

Self Government

"Long before Europeans came to this land, […] Inuvialuit were independent people. They were self-governing […]"

Self-Government in the Beaufort Delta, Inherent Right to Self-Government Information Booklet

The people who were reduced to 150 individuals in 1908 are now 3300 strong. In the face of overwhelming odds, they have succeeded in regaining control over the land and wildlife, along with resources upon which to build a strong economy. However, fundamental decisions affecting the daily lives of the people are made from afar by the federal and territorial governments. For a people who were self-governed for thousands of years, now that the land has been claimed, the next step is obvious.

1995 The Government of Canada formally recognizes that the Inuvialuit (and the Gwich'in) have always had the right to govern themselves. The Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in people decide to negotiate a joint self-government agreement with the federal government.

2001 The Self Government Agreement-in-Principle is signed.

Photos:
(top and bottom) Inuvialuit Self-government representatives at work.

(IRC)

Nellie Cournoyea (far right) and Fred Carmichael at the 2001 Self Government in Principle signing.

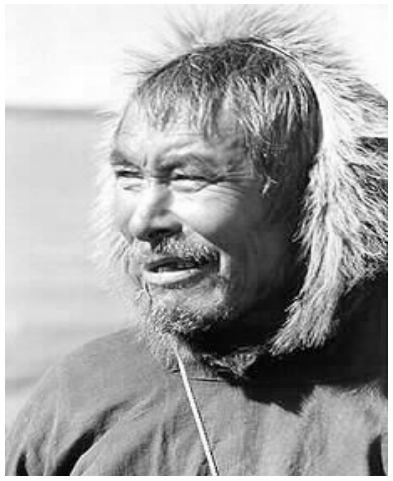
"With the fulfillment of this agreement, the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in will once again become self-governing people, and will be able to protect, in law, those things that make us unique—our languages and our cultures. It's about more than just protecting language and culture. It's about reflecting our values and traditional ways of doing things into government decision-making."

Nellie Cournoyea, IRC Chair

(IRC)

WHO WE ARE

Restoring Inuvialuit Government



A government is a group of elected people who are given the power to make and enforce laws for a country or area.

A government is accountable to its people through elections, audits and meetings. It collects taxes and revenues; creates and delivers programs and services based on its priorities.

Federal:	Government of Canada
Inuvialuit:	Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC)
Territorial:	Government of Northwest Territories
Municipal:	Hamlet or Town Council

IRC can be seen as a government as in many ways it functions like a government but without the legislative powers.

In 1996 IRC jointly with Gwich'in Tribal Council began to negotiate a Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement with the Governments of Canada and Northwest Territories; in 2003 an Agreement in Principle was reached. In 2005 Gwich'in Tribal Council decided to negotiate their own agreement at which time IRC continued to negotiate an Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement with the Governments of Canada and Northwest Territories based on the Gwich'in/Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement in Principle.

Provides programs and services i.e. protective services (National Defense, RCMP), health benefits for Aboriginal People, collects income and Goods and Services (GST) taxes, and collects royalties on the resources extracted from Crown Land.

Administers contracts to deliver government programs (i.e. education, training, early childhood development), manages and collects fees and royalties on Inuvialuit lands.

Creates and delivers programs and services (i.e. education, housing, income support, etc), receives "transfer payments" from Government of Canada – to support most of the operating budget.

Water, Sewer, and Garbage disposal fees, property taxes, fees for lottery licenses (i.e. BINGO license fees).

In order for governments to enforce laws, generate revenue, create and deliver programs and services, it requires legislation and policies.

Legislation is a law that is passed by different levels of government:

Firearms Act, Criminal code, etc. Govt. of the NWT: Wildlife Act, Education Act, etc. Hamlet or Town: ATV, Curfew bylaws, etc.

At this time Inuvialuit do not have legislative powers. Legislative powers will come with an Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement.

A policy is a plan of action based on a political principle or position. An example of a policy would be GNWT's Seniors Home Heating Subsidy:

"Seniors who own their own home may be eligible for the Seniors Home Heating Subsidy. Applicants are eligible depending on their household income, and the community in which they reside."

Government of Canada: A member of parliament represents you in the Canadian Parliament; elected by eligible voters in their riding (Western Arctic).

GNWT: A member of the legislative assembly represents you at GNWT Legislative Assembly; elected by eligible voters in their riding.

Inuvialuit Regional Corp: Community Corporation Chairperson and Directors represent you at the community level; the six Chairpersons and the Chair/CEO make up the board of Inuvialuit Regional Corporation which represents the interests of all Inuvialuit; Directors are elected by Community Corporation members; IRC Chairperson is elected by the Directors.

Municipal Government: Councilors represent you at the Hamlet or Town Council; elected by eligible voters of the hamlet or town.

Inuvialuit have always taken care of the land, resources and people long before contact. The Inuvialuit Final Agreement obligates Canada and the Inuvialuit to make official government arrangements for Inuvialuit.

The Canadian Constitution recognizes Aboriginal People have an inherent right to self-government. An Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement will formalize the government arrangements between the Inuvialuit, Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories.

An Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement will allow Inuvialuit to form an Inuvialuit Regional Government which can:

- Create legislation/laws for programs and services for Inuvialuit i.e. education, child and family services, and income support.
- Generate revenue as a legal government.
- Create programs and services for Inuvialuit to reflect Inuvialuit priorities.

IRC Chief Regional Councilor Roger Gruben and Agnes Semmler, who made significant contributions to COPE and the formation of IRC, at the opening ceremonies of the Inuvialuit Corporate Centre.

- Create a Regional Service agency to ensure both Inuvialuit Regional and GNWT government programs and services are delivered efficiently and effectively to all residents in the community.

As a result of the powers and authorities provided to Inuvialuit through an Inuvialuit Self Government Agreement, there are many positive and practical impacts you will realize.

Regional Government would have a vote on things that effect your life i.e. how best to provide education.

- Your Inuvialuit Regional Government could pass laws and policies over programs and services to Inuvialuit.
- Inuvialuit Culture/Language will be reflected in Inuvialuit Regional Government programs and services.
- Programs and services will be created and delivered in a manner that is best suited to your community.

(***Restoring Inuvialuit Government Brochure***, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation)

Building the future

"[To] enable Inuvialuit to be equal and meaningful participants in the northern and national economy and society."
- IFA goal, Inuvialuit Final Agreement

The people are now guaranteed jobs when economic projects such as oil and gas exploration or construction are undertaken within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR). Under the leadership of Nellie Cournoyea as Chair, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) creates a network of management bodies responsible for implementing the terms of the Claim. As appointed members of these groups, Inuvialuit from across the ISR decide how the land, ocean, and wildlife will be used and protected.

The Inuvialuit are using hard lessons, learned through boom-and-bust patterns in the past, to take control of the economy. Established in 1985, the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) grows and now owns transportation, oil and gas services, construction, hospitality, and property management ventures, all of which employ the people. The Inuvialuit Business List includes 139 local businesses under Inuvialuit ownership. Clearly, entrepreneurship is thriving.

Now that the Land Claim is settled, the oil and gas industry has returned to develop the discoveries made in the 1970s. They find themselves operating in a radically different business environment. There is now a framework in place that makes sure the Inuvialuit people and businesses are hired or contracted before others. The people have a fair chance to make a good living, while continuing to fish and hunt for country food, an important part of a healthy diet.

2002 The Government of Canada and the Roman Catholic Church apologize to the victims of abuse within the residential school system. Recognition of damage caused by residential school abuse and government policies encourages the healing process that is making the people strong again.

Akita Equtak.

Inuvialuit staff at Aurora Expediting.

Aklak Air.

Top: Shelly Gordon at Inuvialuit Development Corporation.

(L): Passengers boarding a Canadian North airplane.

Photos (top to bottom):

Inuvialuit staff at Stanton in Inuvik;

IDC properties staff working;

an Inuvialuit staff at NTCL.

A CLOSER LOOK

Bishop Denis Croteau, o.m.i.

Diocese of Mackenzie-Fort Smith

June 21, 2002

To: the Former Students of Grollier Hall who have been through the ADR process.

From: Bishop Denis Croteau, omi Head of the Mackenzie Diocese.

I regret not being among you on this memorable occasion. Commitments taken months ago have made it impossible for me to be in Yellowknife on this day.

I would like though to share with you some of the feelings generated in me by the legal resolution of the experiences that have been yours as victims of sexual abuses at the hands of lay supervisors while you were students at Grollier Hall.

First there is a certain satisfaction, that after a long process, justice has been done to the satisfaction of all. I realize that a monetary compensation will never give you what you have lost at the hands of victimizers. But at least it is the recognition that you have been the innocent victims of supervisors who by the very nature of their contract with the Church and the Government had been put in place to foster your personal and professional development.

That those supervisors not only failed to give you the respect that you deserved, but that they also abused you and brought havoc into your young lives is most deplorable. How I wish that the clock of time could be turned back to allow history to be different. But as we know, history cannot be rewritten. We must live with the past and learn from it so that past experiences can become the building blocks of a better future. We, human beings have that power to transform the negative into positive.

Pope John Paul II will be remembered in history as the man who has promoted, like no one else, the dignity of the human person. His whole pontificate has been under the mark of the holiness and sanctity of life. He has been a defender of human rights. No one in our modern society has spoken more forcefully against the forces of death, immorality, injustice and abuses of all kinds, as he has done. Forces that threaten life its origin, development and different stages of evolution.

I would like to join him to say loud and clear that sexual abuse in any of its forms goes against human dignity and is never to be tolerated.

It is within that context that I would like to apologize to all of you who have been victims of sexual abuse at the hands of men who had the duty and responsibility of educating you and helping you become who the Creator had decreed you to become from before the world was made.

I would like to apologize for whatever role the Diocese of Mackenzie has played in the drama of your life, through Father Max Ruyant, administrator of Grollier Hall. You all know Father Max Ruyant, how beautiful a man he was. How generous, kindhearted and dedicated to the students of Grollier Hall. His whole life belonged to the children of Grollier Hall. He consecrated thirty years of his life to them. It is sad that many of those years will be remembered as years of sexual abuse committed by supervisors that he hired in good faith.

If Father Ruyant has neglected and in the measure that he would have neglected to exercise proper control over the circumstances that created the abuse you have suffered, I would like to apologize.

I am glad that through the presence and ministry of Father Jean Pochat, omi who accompanied you all along the ADR process, you have realized that the Diocese of Mackenzie has sought that not only justice be done, but also that at no time you would feel rejected or even blamed for seeking justice and healing.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Father Pochat for a job well done. I cannot think of any other person better qualified to perform the task at hand.

It is now my hope that with the settlement that has been achieved, you have been given a new lease on life and will continue even more ardently your healing process. Memories cannot be easily erased, especially memories as traumatic as yours. But I pray that they may at least serve you to build a future that will be filled with days of happiness and personal fulfillment.

May you continue on the healing journey that you have started with the ADR process. May it bring you one day to the full realization of all your dearest dreams.

God bless you.
Denis Croteau, omi

Modern leaders

The challenge of giving each Inuvialuit community a voice has been met by creating an overall leadership group (IRC) which is made up of the elected leaders of each of the six Inuvialuit Community Corporations.

Under the direction of IRC, the Community Development Division responds to education, training, health, and cultural needs. The Inuvialuit Land Administration Commission (ILAC) is in charge of managing the land and its resources. Three more corporations manage economic development (IDC), petroleum resource development (IPC), and investment of assets (IIC).

The Inuvialuit Investment Corporation (IIC) oversees the management of a diverse securities portfolio that was first established with proceeds from the Inuvialuit Land Claim Settlement.

The Inuvialuit Development Corporation (IDC) has taken the Inuvialuit "from umiaqs and kayaks"* to a 50 percent ownership stake in NTCL (Northern Transportation Company Ltd), the largest inland water transportation company in northern Canada. The corporation is also involved in airlines, construction, oil and gas development, logistics, real estate, and environmental services.

The Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation (IPC) was created in 1985, with the objective of becoming a profitable, medium-sized, diversified, and integrated petroleum company. IPC is a partner in the Ikhil Gas Project, which provides Inuvik residents and businesses with a secure supply of natural gas for power and heating at lower cost than fuel shipped from Edmonton.

The Chair of IRC is elected for a two-year term and has the responsibility of administering the benefits received by the Inuvialuit under the Inuvialuit Final Agreement. Nellie Cournoyea was first elected as Chair of IRC in January 1996. She is now in her sixth two-year term. Nellie is the former Premier of the Northwest Territories and one of the original negotiators and signatories of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 208, 2003.)

Inuvialuit Corporate Centre

"The Inuvialuit corporate structure starts with Inuvialuit individuals."

Across Time and Tundra, p 184

Elected leaders of each of the six Inuvialuit Community Corporations at the 42 Directors Meeting 2009.

BIOGRAPHY

Nellie Cournoyea

It's no exaggeration to say that at 63, Nellie is one of the most powerful women in Canada. She's the CEO of a corporation worth more than $300 million dollars and co-chairs a new coalition that now owns a major share in a $4 billion dollar pipeline. An amazing accomplishment for a woman whose highschool education came by way of correspondence courses mailed to her family's trap-line, near the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

Her resume includes being the first Native Woman ever elected Premier in Canada. She's also been a broadcaster, a land claims negotiator and a tireless fighter for aboriginal self-determination.

In 1995 Nellie announced she was stepping down as premier and moving on to take over the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. The organization oversees the lands and financial compensation resulting from the 1984 land claim settlement she helped negotiate. Under her leadership, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation has grown stronger, making varied investments in oil and gas, airlines, and transportation companies. She is now in her fifth term as IRC's leader and the driving force behind the deal that sees aboriginal people in the north becoming full partners in one of Canada's biggest natural gas pipeline deals.
Nellie Cournoyea is at the forefront of the revolution that's taking place in the far north today. It's a revolution that's happening not in community rallies or town hall meetings, but in corporate boardrooms and private oil company jets. (CBC.CA)

Nellie Cournoyea

Photos: (top row) Nellie (4th from right) receives a standing ovation from the community of Ulukhaktok at the IFA 25th anniversary celebrations;

(2nd row, left) Nellie as the Premier of the Northwest Territories;

(2nd row, right) Nellie and Mary Okheena drum dancing in Ulukhaktok.

Nellie Cournoyea is the Chair and Chief Executive Officer of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC). The corporation was established in 1985 with the mandate to receive the Inuvialuit lands and financial compensation resulting from the 1984 land claim settlement. Today it has assets in excess of $492 million.

Before her election as Chair of IRC, Ms. Cournoyea was Premier of the Northwest Territories for four years beginning November 1991. Representing the riding of Nunakput from 1979 to November 1995, Ms. Cournoyea held a number of portfolios including:

- Minister of Health and Social Services
- Minister Responsible for the Northwest Territories Power Corporation
- Minister of Renewable Resources
- Minister of Culture and Communications
- Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources
- Minister of Public Works and Highways
- Minister Responsible for Workers' Compensation Board

Born in Aklavik in 1940, Ms. Cournoyea was educated through the Federal Aklavik Day School by Alberta correspondence courses. She worked at CBC Inuvik for nine years as an announcer and station manager and was a land claim fieldworker for the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). Ms. Cournoyea was a founding member, and later administrator and land rights worker, of the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE).

Ms. Cournoyea was the first managing director of the Inuvialuit Development Corporation after being part of the land rights negotiating team. She also held the position of implementation coordinator for the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) for several years, and served on the Board of Directors of Inuvialuit Petroleum Corporation, Inuvialuit Development Corporation, the Enrollment Authority and Arbitration Board. Having decided not to run in the 1995 NWT election, Ms. Cournoyea returned to the Beaufort-Delta where she was elected Chair and Chief Executive Officer of IRC in 1996. In January 2008, she returned for a seventh two-year term.
In a volunteer capacity, Ms. Cournoyea served as a director of the Ingamo Hall Friendship Centre in Inuvik and a founding member of the Northern Games Society. Continuing volunteer commitments include work in Inuvialuit historical and cultural activities.

Appointments include the Chair of the Inuvik Regional Health and Social Services Authority, 1996 to 2004; Chair of the Aboriginal Pipeline Working Group, 2000 to 2002.
She still remains on the Executive Committee.

Awards received include:
- Woman of the Year Award (NWT Native Women's Assn.), 1982
- Wallace Goose Award (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation), 1986
- National Aboriginal Achievement Award, 1994
- Honorary Doctorates in Law (Lakehead University 1995, Carleton University 1996, University of Toronto 1996, University of Lethbridge 2001 and University of Alberta 2004)
- Canadian Energy Person of the Year (Energy Council of Canada), 2004
- Northern Medal Award (Governor General of Canada), 2008

Cultural revival

"[To] preserve Inuvialuit culture identity and values within a changing northern society."
IFA goal, Inuvialuit Final Agreement

There are now fewer fluent Inuvialuktun speakers, but school programs for the children and community programs for adults provide opportunities for those who wish to learn their language. Work continues on recording and preserving the oral history known only to those who have the language.

1998 The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre opens. Together with the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the Centre supports several oral history projects. Its mandate includes:

- developing a language plan for the Region
- providing Inuvialuktun teachers with resource materials, and
- creating an Inuvialuktun Language Curriculum
- preserving and modernizing the language

Traditional country foods are popular among young and old. They include caribou, muskox, arctic hare, muskrat, seal, duck, goose, beluga and bowhead whale, fish (whitefish, herring, inconnu, arctic char, and trout), and berries (akpiks, blueberries, crowberries, currants, and cranberries).

Drum dancing is experiencing a resurgence, especially among the youth, and is flourishing in the communities of Aklavik, Inuvik, Paulatuuq, Tuktuuyaqtuuq, and Ulukhaktok (Holman). Drum dance groups are invited to perform at home and in countries around the world, including Japan, Mexico, and the Canadian Pavilion at Expo 2000 in Hanover, Germany. Culture is now being expressed in many new forms. Artists in Ulukhaktok are world famous for their prints and Inuvialuit carvers are commissioned to create masterpieces for public and private enjoyment.

Photos: (L) Inuvialuit harvesters hunting geese at Egg Island;

(R) Renie Oliktoak lighting a qulliq at the opening of the Ulukhaktok Drum Dance Reunion in 2008;

(bottom) Drummers and dancers from Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk, Aklavik, Ulukhaktok and Inuvik perform together at the IFA 25th Anniversary celebration in Tuktoyaktuk.

HOW WE LIVED

The youth who brought drum dancing back to Paulatuk

Paulatuk (Apr 15/02) - Long ago, the people would drum dance.

Together, they would enact stories to a heartbeat rhythm, recalling the hunt with magical chants and fluid movements. In Paulatuk, that ancient tradition had all but died out, until one day five years ago, when drum dancing was reborn among a group of kids sitting in front of a living room TV.

Nolan Green was just 10 years old when it happened.
He had watched a documentary at school about drum dancing. It was the first time he'd seen anything like it.

"Our Inuvialuktun teacher used to make us watch those video tapes," Nolan says. "I got inspired by the drum dancers that were in the video tape." He asked his teacher to borrow the tape, and he took it home to watch over and over.

Then, he modeled drums out of cardboard boxes and duct tape. Two friends joined him and together, they started mimicking what they saw on the video, using sticks on their cardboard drums.

Pretty soon, more of his friends were drawn in, and before long, they were drum dancing.

Inspiration

Nolan's mother, Mary Green, remembers how her son started getting into her sewing supplies so he could make traditional costumes for the troupe. "He started making parkas by himself," Green says. "While he was sewing, he'd watch the videos and learn a little more of the singing. He could be in a room by himself and the sewing machine, singing along with the tapes."
From their humble beginnings, the Paulatuk Drummers and Dancers have gone on to perform in Alaska, Germany, and just recently at the Arctic Winter Games in Nuuk, Greenland. They started with just five youth, and they now have more than a dozen regular members and close to 40 songs in their repertoire. In Paulatuk, drum dancing is once again alive and well.

"Even the elders that we have don't really have stories about drumming and dancing," says Irene Ruben, a community member who has helped the group along. "The ones that did died long ago. These little guys revived it by themselves. Now they're teenagers."

Getting started

With his steady concentration and confident movements, 16-year-old Warren Ruben looks like he was born to drum dance. He credits Nolan for getting him into it four years ago.

"We were all at Nolan's and he was so interested, we would sit on the couch and watch him. I had nothing else to do, so I started. Some of my friends tease me about it, but I say, 'You just try it,' and they shut up."

The fledgling group had no place to practise, so they would drum dance outside in Nolan's yard. Tracey Wolki, a 15-year-old drum dancer, remembers practising with the group and having neighbours shoo them away for making too much noise.

"The adults didn't like us," says the soft-spoken teen. "Just the kids liked it. Every time we drum danced at home, the people used to just walk out on us."

"They think kids don't know how to do stuff right," adds Warren. "But we just kept doing it. We never gave up."
Only a few adults, like Inuvialuktun teacher Elizabeth Koktatkok Kuptana, her sister Irene Ruben and some of the parents encouraged the group to continue. Ruben and her husband invited the youth over for weekly practice sessions at their house.

"They'd go for hours, unending hours," says Ruben. "When they first started, it was Christmas and my Christmas tree used to be bouncing. I'd have to redecorate everyday. But I like to watch them. I was learning along with them too."

Going places

In 1999, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation caught wind that there was a group of kids drum dancing in Paulatuk. They arranged for five of them to go to Kiviq, an annual gathering of drum dancers in Barrow, Alaska.
There, they learned new songs, and met drum dancers from across the North.

The group arrived without drums, but they left with five – donated by a woman who owns a drum shop in Alaska.
The following year, Parks Canada arranged for the teens to go to Expo 2000 in Germany, where they performed in the Canadian pavilion.

Now, just back from the Arctic Winter Games, the group is already dreaming of going to Expo 2005 in Japan, if they can raise the funds.

"I like dancing in front of crowds," says Tracey. "They say, 'encore, encore!' and they make you feel like it's worth it."
Now, when they perform at community functions for Christmas or Easter, the adults don't leave any more. They stay and they clap.

"Now we're shown everywhere on TV," says Warren with a smile. "It's like taking a ladder."
For a small group that started by watching videos on the TV, it seems like a suitable place for them to be, in front of TV cameras, inspiring other kids to listen to their own drum beats and follow their dreams.

(Lynn Lau, ***The youth who brought drum dancing back to Paulatuk***, Northern News Services, 2002.)

Photos: (top) Nolan Green performing a drum dance in 2007 (ICS);

(middle) Clayton Gordon, a member of the Paulatuk Moonlight Drummers and Dancers, teaching younger members how to dance (IRC);

(bottom) A young Nolan learning to drum from one of his mentors, Shepard Felix in Tuktoyaktuk (ICRC).

Protecting the land

"[To] protect and preserve the Arctic wildlife, environment and biological productivity." - IFA goal, Inuvialuit Final Agreement

The Inuvialuit have never wavered in the belief that protecting the land is fundamental to their well-being and survival. The IFA has restored control over the land to the people; the people are committed to managing the land in a sustainable way. Oil, gas, and mining companies who wish to look for resources on the land must apply to ILAC and be willing to comply with their regulations. Inuvialuit monitors are employed to observe their activities and make sure the land is respected.

The strong attachment the people have for the land has shaped Inuvialuit culture and identity forever. As the people adapt and take their place in a global society their culture remains rooted in the land that has kept them strong.

"Our culture is what makes us strong and helps us manage these changes we face."

Nellie Cournoyea, IRC Chair

Photos: (top and bottom L) Inuvialuit whale monitor Freddy Rogers (L) taking measurements of a beluga whale harvested at Garry Island;

(top R) Dorothy Arey cuts up some maktak at Baby Island;

(bottom R) Stephen Rafferty, research biologist, examines a beluga carcass with an Inuvialuit research assistant.

Renewed strength

By achieving a settled land claim in 1984 and an agreement in principle (AIP) on self-government in 2001, the Inuvialuit make history.

Settling the claim restores control over the land to the people. The population has increased; the people are as numerous as they were before. Now they are working towards regaining their status as people who govern themselves. With the AIP signed, the Inuvialuit are on their way. The thriving society of one hundred and fifty years ago is emerging once again in a radically different form. The Inuvialuit have always used new ways and new tools to improve life for the people. They continue to do so in the twenty-first century. Although much has changed over the last one and a half centuries, Inuvialuit values remain the same.

"We have a high regard for certain characteristics and for certain types of individuals. We value curiosity, resourcefulness, patience, kindness and ability. We appreciate individuals who are successful at whatever they do, who are responsible, who keep their word and who are modest. These are attitudes which have not changed despite changes in all else around us."

Inuvialuit Pitqusiit

(***Inuvialuit Pitqusiit: The Culture of the Inuvialuit***, GNWT, Dept of Education, p.83, 1991.)

Photos: L-R (top row) Cindy Orlaw (center) the first Inuvialuit female doctor; Edward Lennie, recipient of the NAAF award for Heritage and Culture;

(middle row) Billy Day, recipient of the NAAF award for Environment; Nellie Cournoyea and Edward Ruben cutting the ribbon to the new Paulatuk Hotel;

(bottom row) Barry Jacobson and Janet Elias receiving their 5 year service appreciation certificates from IRC (Nellie Cournyea center);

Co-management of natural resources: Aaron Schweitzer (Department of Fisheries and Oceans), Raymond Ettagiak and Roger Memogana releasing a ringed seal back to its breathing hole after applying a satellite tag. (IRC)

9 Quangma Today

Opening ceremonies of 40th Anniversary of the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games in Inuvik. The Inuvik Drummers and Dancers commemorate those before them by holding their portraits as Andrew Gordon Sr. (not pictured) performs his song.

(ICS)

Tradition and modernity

The Inuvialuit have adapted to life in a progressive twenty-first century society. The people are active participants in today's global economy, with the influence brought by ownership of petroleum resources.

Inuvialuit society today has much in common with Canadian society at large. Children go to school and on to college, apprenticeships, and university. The range of possible careers is unlimited. Role models include pilots, nurses, a dentist, a doctor, carpenters, plumbers, teachers, engineers, administrators, elected leaders, trappers, filmmakers, artists. The people use technology to bridge distances, as do others all over the world. They live in modern, centrally heated homes equipped with computers and the latest appliances. They drive recent model trucks; they travel the land in high-tech skidoos, the river in high-speed motorboats, and the skies in aircraft. The Inuvialuit live as most Canadians do, but not at the expense of their culture.

"The future is positive and filled with new opportunities."

Nellie Cournoyea, IRC Chair

1991 The Inuvialuit exercise their right to harvest a bowhead whale using traditional methods. The meat is shared by all the communities.

2004 They celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the land claim with drum dancing and a country-foods feast.

2006 Arctic athletes make the Traditional Circumpolar Northern Games a highlight of the Canada Winter Games in Whitehorse, Yukon.

Photos: L-R (top row): First (1991) and second Bowhead Harvest (1996) at Shingle Point organized by the Inuvialuit Game Council; (bottom row L -R) Dwayne Illasiak taking part in the Northern Games in Inuvik; Isabelle Hendrick showing off a fish harvested at her grandmother's fishcamp.

Above: Elavgak, an Inupiat boy from Barrow Alaska playing a traditional drum.

Celebration

The culture is expressed today in highly popular gatherings, such as the Northern Games, community jamborees, the Northern Arts Festival, celebrations marking Aboriginal Day or the anniversary of the Land Claim, and the Aurora College Aboriginal Arts Program. Country foods are served in abundance at Inuvialuit gatherings. The community of Holman, established in Prince Albert Sound in 1939, decides to adopt the traditional name of Ulukhaktok, "the place where one finds material to make ulus".

Inuvialuit carvers demonstrate their skills at snow-sculpting competitions all over the world. Drum dancers, in traditional dress created with pride, connect the people's past to the present, as they tell their stories.

As the seasons change, so do the people's activities on the land. Caribou, muskox, fish, maqtaq, and berries are healthy additions to the northern diet. When fur prices are high, trappers are active. Most families have a cabin or tent on the land to use as often as possible. It is an active, healthy, independent life.

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Appendix: Community Profiles

WHO WE ARE

Aklavik Community Profile

Aklavik means "place of the barren land grizzly bear" in Inuvialuktun.

Early image of Aklavik. (Library and Archives Canada a020384)

LOCATION:
At approximately 11m (36 ft) elevation, Aklavik is located on the banks of Peel Channel in the heart of the Mackenzie Delta. Black spruce, birch, willow and tundra vegetation cover the area, which is interlaced with creeks, rivers and lakes. The beautiful Richardson Mountains are located to the west of Aklavik, and the Beaufort Sea approximately 100 km (60 miles) to the north. Coordinates: 68°13' North, 135°00' West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 18.3°c, low 9.7°c. January mean high - 25.5° c, low -33.2°c. Winds predominantly from the west at 10.7 km/h (6.4 mph).

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 721; 2001: 632. Average age (2001): 29.7 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 73. Ethnic distribution (1987): 53% Inuvialuit, 29% Dene; 12% Metis, 6% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:
Inuvialuktun, Gwich'in, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: 1.4.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Aklavik was founded by the Pokiak and Greenland families around a small trading post that was established in 1912. A rapid increase in the price of furs from the turn of the century to 1920 helped to accelerate Aklavik's growth as a community.

Significant developments include:

1919	Establishment of an Anglican mission.
1922	Opening of the western Arctic headquarters of Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
1925	Immaculate Conception Hospital opened by the Roman Catholic Church; Royal Canadian Corps of Signals station opened.
1926	All Saints Anglican Hospital built, Roman Catholic mission opens.
1929	C.H. "Punch" Dickens lands first airplane in Aklavik; air mail service begins.
1931-32	The hunt for the Mad Trapper of Rat River.
1939	Dr. Leslie Livingstone arrives to practice medicine and start a small experimental farm that produces wheat, barley and vegetables, as well as dairy products from a small dairy herd.
1940-1950s	Aklavik continues to grow and has two hospitals, several churches, a wireless station, trading posts, Anglican and R.C. mission schools, a Royal Canadian Legion, a bakery, post office, sawmill, Native hall and theatre, serving a population of 1,556 people by 1953.
1953	The federal government recommends relocation of Aklavik. The present site of Inuvik is chosen and Inuvik, "the model northern Town," is established by 1958.
1958-1960s	Much of Aklavik population re-locates to Inuvik but many stay, living up to their motto of "Never Say Die".
1974	Aklavik gains hamlet status.
2003	Aklavik continues to flourish as a modern town, but one located far away from the hustle and bustle of Inuvik. It is accessible from Inuvik by air, by boat during the summer and by ice road in the winter.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 210, 2003.)

WHO WE ARE

Inuvik Community Profile

Inuvik Drummers & Dancers in Sunset. (1991)
(Dept. PW&S/ NWT Archives/ G-1995-001-6865)

Aerial View of Inuvik, 1985.
(ICRC)

In Inuvialuktun, Inuvik means "place where people live. "

LOCATION:
Inuvik is located on a plateau at the edge of the Mackenzie Delta overlooking the East Channel of the Mackenzie River. Mixed black spruce, tamarack, willow and tundra vegetation cover an area of rolling hills at the edge of the tree line. Coordinates: 68°13' North, 135° West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 19.4°c, low 7.8°c. January mean high -24.7°c, low –34.4°c. Light winds in the 10 km/h (6 mph) range.

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 3,147; 2001: 2,894. Average age: 27.2 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 70.5. Ethnic distribution: 33% Inuvialuit, 10% Dene; 10% Metis, 47% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:
Inuvialuktun, Gwich'in, North Slavey, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: 1.1.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Inuvik is located in a traditional Inuvialuit trapping area, chosen in the 1950s to replace Aklavik as a regional government centre. Construction began in 1955, and within half a dozen years Inuvik could offer all of the services of a southern Canadian city, including a hospital, churches, government offices, several hotels, a bank, grocery stores and sports facilities.

1970 Oil discovered north of Inuvik, creating a boom in oil and gas exploration - most companies involved open offices in Inuvik.

1979 Opening of the Dempster Highway, linking Inuvik to the North American highway system. Oil and gas boom ends.

1984 Inuvialuit Final Agreement signed.

1986 The Canadian Armed Forces base in Inuvik closes. Two years later the Inuvik campus of Aurora College is opened using the old Armed Forces facilities.

1992 Gwich'in land claim settled.

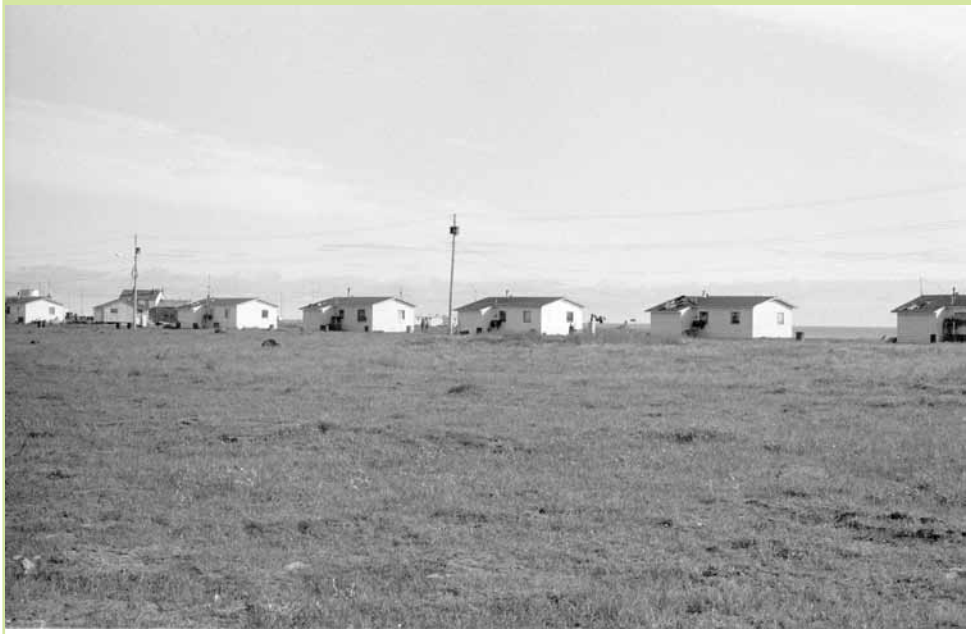
2000 With an increase in world prices for oil and gas, the oil companies begin to return to the region.

2003 Inuvik continues to be a mini-metropolis where various cultures live, work and engage in modern and traditional activities. It is accessible by jet from Edmonton and Yellowknife and via the Dempster Highway from Whitehorse.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. 211, 2003.)

WHO WE ARE

Paulatuk Community Profile



Paulatuk 1975
(NWT Dept. of Info/NWT Archives/G-1990-007-7209-08)

An airplane in front of the Roman Catholic church in Paulatuk in the late 1930's.
(Edmonton Air Museum/NWT Archives/N-1979-003-0293)

Paulatuk (Paulatuuq) means "place of soot or coal" in Inuvialuktun.

LOCATION:
Paulatuk is located at the bottom of Darnley Bay on the southern coast of the Beaufort Sea. The area is one of rolling tundra, well stocked with game animals, including brown or grizzly bears, caribou and muskoxen. Nearby lakes and rivers provide excellent trout and char fishing. Coordinates: 69°21' North, 124°O4' West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 18.8°c, low 8.3°c. January mean high – 24.9°c, low -32.7°c. Winds predominantly from the east at 14 km/h (8 mph).

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 181; 2001: 286. Average age of population: 22.6 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 54.5. Ethnic distribution (1987): 96% Inuvialuit, 4% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:
Inuvialuktun, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: unknown.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Paulatuk is located in an area that was little used or occupied during the 19th century. However, ancient Inuit house ruins date back 800 years or more.

Some important dates in recent history include:

Early 1920s	First Inuvialuit families begin to settle in the region, lured by its hunting and trapping potential.
1927	Trading post opened at Letty Harbour.
1928	Roman Catholic mission opened at Letty Harbour.
1936-37	Catholic mission moves to Paulatuk; opens church-run trading post.
1954	Mission post closes, community disperses. Many move to Cape Parry, seeking employment in DEW Line construction.
1967	Paulatuk Cooperative Association formed, opens post at Paulatuk; settlement re¬established
1968-78	Various government services, housing, etc. provided.
1987	Paulatuk acquires hamlet status.
2003	Paulatuk enjoys many of the modern amenities available in southern Canada, including television, radio, a store, a school, a church and a recreation complex. The residents of this remote community continue to hunt and trap. Many are employed with Parks Canada at nearby Tuktuk Nogait Park, with other government departments, or in oil and gas and mining exploration activities. Paulatuk is also the original home of internationally known artists David Piqtuqana Ruben and Abraham Anghik Ruben. Paulatuk is accessible by air from Inuvik.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, 2003.)

WHO WE ARE

Sachs Harbour Community Profile

Canvas tents.
(NWT Archives N-1991-068-0201)

(R): Sachs Harbour, 20 October 1957. Peter Esau hooking onto shot bear 10 miles out on sea ice.

(NWT Archives N-1993-002-0089)

Sachs Harbour is named after the Mary Sachs, a ship used by Stefansson and colleagues on the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913 - 18. The traditional name for Sachs Harbour is Ikaahuk 'where you go across to'.

LOCATION:
Sachs Harbour is located on the north side of the Sachs River on the southwestern coast of Banks Island. It is an area of rugged tundra, looking out over the Arctic Ocean. Banks Island is the most westerly of Canada's Arctic islands, a place of vast beauty. Local wildlife include seals, polar bears, muskoxen (very plentiful) and rare Parry caribou. Coordinates: 71°59' North,125° 14' West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 9.3°c, Low2.5°c. January mean high -26.7°c, low- 34.1°c. Winds, predominantly from the southeast at 20 km/h (12 mph).

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 101; 2001: 114. Average age of population: 25.1 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 62.9. Ethnic distribution (1987): 89% Inuvialuit, 11% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:
Inuvialuktun, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: 7.4.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Banks Island was little utilized during the 19th century, although ancient house ruins near Sachs Harbour document an Inuit population living in the area as many as 800 years ago.

1918-21	Natkusiak ("Billy Banksland") and partners successfully explore the trapping potential of Banks Island.
1928 - 29	Three Inuvialuit families from the Mackenzie Delta travel to Banks Island on their schooners and over-winter, trapping foxes.
1930 - 60	Heyday of the Banks Island schooner captains. Inuvialuit families overwinter on Banks Island in various locations, including Sachs Harbour and DeSalis Bay, trapping foxes. Each summer they travel by schooner to Aklavik (or occasionally Tuktoyaktuk) to trade, returning in the autumn. The largest and most famous of the schooners was the North Star, owned and captained by Inuvialuit Fred Carpenter.
1953	RCMP station opens .
1958	Fred Carpenter opens independent trading post.
1961	Banks Island population all living at Sachs Harbour; frame houses built, last of the annual schooner trips to Aklavik.
1962	Roman Catholic and Anglican missions opened.
Mid 1970s	Anti-fur lobby and international fur embargos destroy trapping industry on the island.
2003	Sachs Harbour is a remote Arctic settlement retaining many traditional values and pursuits. A few people still trap on a part-time basis. As well as subsistence hunting, muskoxen are hunted commercially and the meat is marketed throughout the North. Sport hunting of polar bears, catering to a wealthy US audience, is also a valuable source of income, along with employment in the oil and gas industry and with Parks Canada. Sachs Harbour is accessible by air from Inuvik.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, 2003.)

Sachs Harbour, 17 September 1958. The "North Star" schooner coming in to beach. The buildings are the houses of Frank and Fred Carpenter. (PWNHC/N-1993-002-0300)

WHO WE ARE

Top: Pingo, Tuktoyaktuk.

(L): Tuktoyaktuk, seen here in the 1940s, was developed as a permanent community in part because it provided a safe harbor for large boats. (Fleming/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1224)

Tuktoyaktuk means "looks like a caribou" in Inuvialuktun.

LOCATION:
Tuktoyaktuk - or Tuk for short - is located near the mouth of the East Channel of the Mackenzie River, on a peninsula at the edge of the Beaufort Sea. The area is well known for the pingos that stand like large brown ice volcanoes overlooking the town from the south. The Tuk region is one of generally flat, low-lying tundra, dotted with lakes. Coordinates: 69°27' North, 133°02' West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 15.2°c, low 6.o°c. January mean high -25.0°c, low -31.6°c. Winds predominantly from the northwest at 17.4 km/h (10.4 mph).

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 722; 2001: 930. Average age: 25.9 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 64.8. Ethnic distribution (1987): 88% Inuvialuit, 2% Dene; 1% Metis, 9% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN: Inuvialuktun, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: 3.2.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Tuktoyaktuk has been a traditional harvesting area of the Inuvialuit for hundreds of years. Before the arrival of Europeans and throughout the 19th century, the nearby settlement of Kitigaaryuit was probably the largest population centre in the western Arctic. The Tuk area provides excellent fishing, whaling and caribou hunting.

Significant developments in and around Tuk over the past hundred and more years include:

1890	Arrival of the American whaling fleet in the area.
1902	Infectious disease epidemics lead to the abandonment of Kitigaaryuit as a permanent settlement.
1906	Tuktoyaktuk visited by explorer Stefansson, who describes Ovayuak as "chief." Whaling industry dies.
1920, 1928	Fatal epidemics. William Mangilaluk is chief.
1934	Trading post opened; Tuktoyaktuk becomes an important harbour serving the Western Arctic.
1935	Arrival of the reindeer herd, providing some wage employment, meat and hides.
1937	Anglican and Roman Catholic missions opened.
1939	Baillie Island abandoned, much of the population eventually moving to Tuktoyaktuk.
1954	Stanton abandoned, much of the population eventually moving to Tuktoyaktuk.
1955	Construction work on DEW Line provides limited wage employment.
1956	Nursing station built.
1970	Tuktoyaktuk acquires hamlet status.
1970s	Arrival of the oil and gas industry proves well-paying but short-term employment.
2000	Oil and gas companies return.
2003	Today Tuk is a vibrant community of Inuvialuit entrepreneurs, hunters and trappers and people working in various occupations. Residents still enjoy traditional activities as well as the modern amenities. If a gas pipeline is built nearby, the community will have a new economic base from which to grow. Tuktoyaktuk is accessible from Inuvik by air, and by ice-road during the winter.

(Ishmael Alunik,Eddie D. Kolausok and David Morrison, ***Across Time and Tundra. The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic***, p. ???, 2003.)

Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0008

WHO WE ARE

Ulukhaktok Community Profile

View of Ulukhaktok (David Stewart)

Ulukhaktok's Inuvialuktun name is Uluqsaqtuuq, which means "place where they find stones to make ulus."

LOCATION:
Holman is located on the northwestern coast of Prince Albert Sound on western Victoria Island, in an area of beautiful rolling tundra. Seal hunting is important in the Holman area, and polar bears, caribou and muskoxen are also to be found. Coordinates: 70°44' North, 117°45' West.

CLIMATE:
July mean high 11.4°c, low 3.3°c. January mean high -25.7°c, low -32.7°c. Winds east at 18.2 km/h (11 mph).

DEMOGRAPHY:
Population, 1981: 300; 2001: 398. Average age: 23.8 years. Percentage of population aged 15 and over: 61.1.
Ethnic Distribution (1987): 95% Inuvialuit, 5% non-aboriginal.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN:
Inuinnaqtun, Inuvialuktun, English. Percentage of population with aboriginal language spoken at home: 10.6.

HISTORIC SNAPSHOT:
Holman is a central Arctic town founded in part by Inuvialuit (western Arctic) trappers and traders. In 1984 Holman chose to join the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

1923 First trading post opened on Prince Albert Sound 1928. Post moved to Walker Bay.

1939 Post moved to King's Bay; Roman Catholic mission opens; community begins to grow.

1961 Founding of Holman Eskimo Cooperative, outlet for many famous Holman artists including Mary Okheena, Elsie Klengenberg and Helen Kalvak.

1962 Anglican church constructed, first resident missionary arrives the following year.

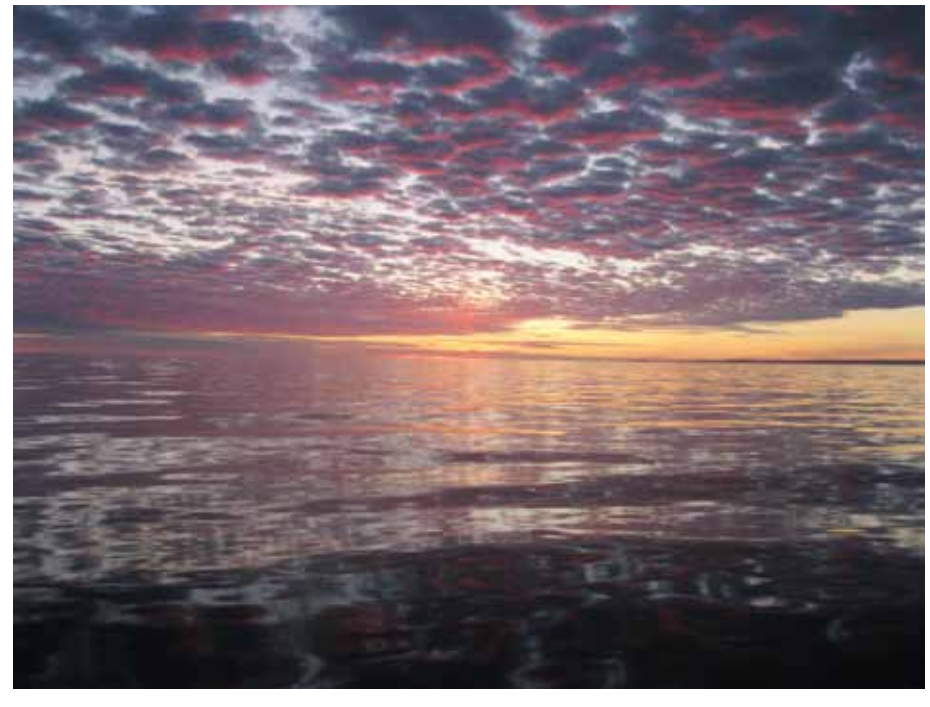
1963-64 Government housing built at nearby Queens Bay.

1965-66 Community moved to Queens Bay, the present location.

1984 Holman joins the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and gains hamlet status.

2003 Today, Holman is a traditional Arctic settlement where many people still engage in hunting, trapping and fishing. It is accessible by air from Inuvik and Yellowknife. Services include a nursing station, school, post office and store.

(L-R) Mona and her mother, Emily Kudlak cutting char in Ulukhaktok.
(Janet Kanayok)



Sunset on the shore of Ulukhaktok.
(Janet Kanayok)

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Abbreviations

CMC – Canadian Museum of Civilization

COPE – Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement

ICS – Inuvialuit Communications Society

ICRC – Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

SI/AMNH– Smithsonian Institution
/ National Museum of Natural History

PAC – Public Archives of Canada/Library and Archives Canada

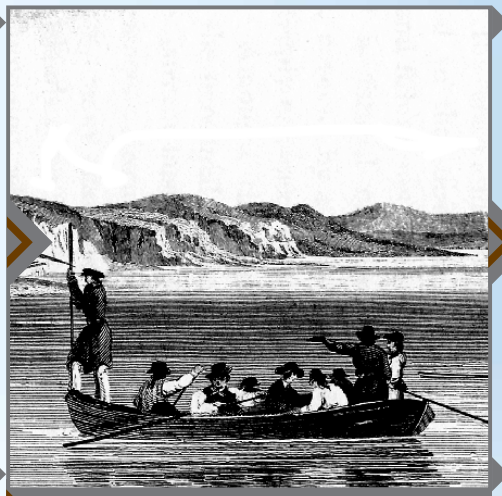
PWNHC – Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Inuvialuit Timeline

From Ingilranni –
Time Immemorial
to Quangma – Today

Ingilranni
Time Immemorial

Survival, Customs & Traditions
1300s – 1800s



Tan'ngit Arrive
1800s – 1900s

Disease Takes the People
1860 – 1920

The Fur Trade Boom
1920s – 1950s

Church and State
1900-1960s

The 70's Oil Boom
1960s – 1970s

Settling the Land Claim
1970s – 1980s

Implementation of the IFA
1980s – Now

Quangma – Today

Inuvialuit Regional Corporation

www.inuvialuit.org

Taimani has been developed with the contributions of many individuals to assist in the promotion of the Inuvialuit Culture and to show the immense challenges, changes and resilience of the Inuvialuit - 'Real People'. This document celebrates their strength in preserving and developing as a distinct society within a changing world that has made great effort to take their culture away. **Taimani** is intended to help the next generation understand where they come from, who they are, and build the pride and confidence to continue to support the development of the Inuvialuit as a culture and society.