The blanket toss—a favorite Western Arctic game.
Photographer: Ken Buck
Inuktitut magazine is published to provide Canada’s Inuit with information relating to the government’s programs in the North, to promote the exchange of cultural information between Inuit groups in Canada and to encourage the development of Inuit literature. Published three or four times a year, Inuktitut is mailed on request. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Written contributions and photographs from readers are invited. For further information and rates paid write to:

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Inuktitut uqalimaagaq titiratauvak Canatamiut Inuit tua upamattumumut gavamakkut pivalaitatningnik ukiurtumut, iluqisutuqanik tuanavattuqattuvaluqummut Inunngik ilagiinginnit Canatami ammalu Inuktituurthuqamajunik naksiullail ajjilugaillu qaujisartauttiarniarput titiralaurit uvunga:

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Inuktitut uqalimaagaksaliurtiit apirijut Sam Raddimik Inuvialuit miksaanuit (Inuusinaa naaammannirsatutamagang ualinuq ukiurtartumut.

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In this issue of Inuktitut we look mainly at that part of the Arctic stretching west from Spence Bay, on the Boothia Peninsula, to Herschel Island near the Yukon-Alaskan border. This sweep includes the administrative regions known as the Central Arctic (recently renamed Kitikmeot) and the Western Arctic, the areas served by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association and the Inuvialuit Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE). For a quick outline of each of the communities in these areas we refer you to the first section of the magazine entitled "Community Sketches."

Largely because of its history following European contact, the Western Arctic is often puzzling for people living in other parts of the north. It was one of the first to be exploited by Qallunaat on a regular basis, a fact which had many implications for the region’s development as well as far-reaching consequences for the lifestyle, culture and language of its Inuit population.

The first Qallunaat to come in contact with Inuit of the Western Arctic were explorers variously intent on completing the map of the arctic coastline, finding the Northwest Passage or discovering new trading and commercial opportunities for their employers.

Samuel Hearne, exploring on behalf of the Hudson’s Bay Company, reached the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771. Others such as Franklin, Back, Rae and Richardson followed, making summer dashes to the arctic coast and returning each fall, usually in a starving condition, to their expedition bases below the tree-line. Mostly the meetings between these expeditions and Inuit were accidental and of short duration. By the 1890s, however, the
whaling industry, which was largely American based, was well established to the west of the Mackenzie Delta.

Early in the 20th century other explorers appeared on the scene who were more interested than their predecessors in understanding the arctic environment and its inhabitants. These included Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Knud Rasmussen, Roald Amundsen, and Diamond Jenness, whose writings, describing the life-styles of the people they encountered, give valuable insights into the traditional ways of the Inuit before the full effect of the trading, trapping and whaling era was felt. The writings of Bob Cockney, in his autobiography I, Nuligak, give an exciting account of this period from the Inuit point of view.

The traders brought to the Western Arctic, particularly to the Mackenzie Delta region, a sudden and unheard of material prosperity. Trade goods from the south and their attraction quickly influenced and changed many aspects of Inuit life from the dress they wore and the dwellings they occupied to their hunting techniques and social
organization. Photographs of Inuit-owned schooners seen crowding the shore of Herschel Island during the trading heyday are vivid testimony to this period.

But the influx of Qallunaat had its darker side. Diseases from which Inuit had no immunity spread with devastating effect throughout the coastal communities, especially during the great influenza epidemic of 1918 when almost all of the original Karngmalit Inuit population of Mackenzie Delta died. Later the lands of the Karngmalit were occupied by Inuit who had immigrated from Alaska, the Siglikmiut. The lasting legacy of this period was that Inuit, through increasing dependence on southern economies, came to lose their traditional self-sufficiency, something, as we shall see, they are now determined to recover.

In the 1920s, various southern institutions such as Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, the R.C.M.P. and the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish themselves more or less permanently in the arctic. Radio communications linking north and south were also established and by the 1930s the first arctic air routes were being pioneered, making the area more accessible than ever before.

The construction in the mid-1950s of the military defence system, known as the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, across Northern Alaska, Canada and Greenland above the Arctic Circle gave rise to the next wave of prosperity and southern influence. In the Western Arctic many Inuit were employed during the building of the DEW Line sites in their areas.

Also around this time government interest in Canada's arctic population was awakening and with it a commitment to extend to northern communities the various public services widely available elsewhere in the country. The consequent arrival of government administrators and the staffs of schools and nursing stations formed, along with the traders and missionaries already established, the nucleus of most present-day arctic communities. The trend, begun some years before, of Inuit families leaving camp life in favour of permanent residence in these communities, now
ningat inuit, tungaviqualriminalmiktigut qablunaat kiinaulqarvigainnunut, iiliqquinnimngik malig\&utik nammuniq ajungtisarnirvigamingnik, asiujjimaalirmiligiiarput, gaujiniaraptitititut, pisimalirumalimaluakkannirput.


Qitirailirtillugut 1950-it sananiq unatar-tuksaarviqiganiit akigiartiujukuansanik tajaujunik piliriqatarviqitali aipuq. Taimautillugut 1960-it ummuqtingaiti piliriqatarviqitali aipuq.

Tagvani uqalimaagarnmi, Sam Raddi, angajuqquangujuaalaurtuq COPE-kunnut uvaptingnut tunisisimavuq, apiq-surutikkut, ukiurtartumunungiiniq ganiutuqjamunic inniqarnmangamirniini uqalimaagarnmi. Ugausiqar\&uninutavallialilmirninin, angunasuktiujuulaurimunik.

Three photographs of the village of Kittygazuit, taken in the 1950’s.
Jimmy Memmorana of Holman Island

increased and by the mid-1960s the transition, with a few exceptions, was complete.

In this issue Sam Raddi, past President of COPE gives a fascinating account of his own place in the transition period of the Western Arctic in an interview with staff reporter, Sam Metcalfe. Speaking of his childhood, his days as a hunter and trapper, the accomplishments of COPE and the developments he has seen in the Mackenzie Delta, Sam Raddi gives a good overview of the issues facing the Inuvialuit today. Two other articles, one on the famous Mackenzie Delta drummers and dancers and the other on the community of Holman also focus on this region.

For a splash of history we have dipped into the colourful life of George Washington Porter Sr. of Gjoa Haven. George, whose life spans almost a century, takes us all over the world, but always brings us back to some point on the arctic coast between Point Barrow and Chantrey Inlet. Pictures appearing in our “A Look Back” section recapture some of the feeling of the old days in the Western Arctic.

James Kavanna, a well known old timer of Cambridge Bay, gives us, through his impressions of the 1982
Western Arctic literature is provided in Donald Kaglik's version of an old story gathered by COPE from folk tales taken from the collection of Inuvialuit elders.

In another article, John Takolik of Spence Bay tells about the travels of a group of Inuit from the Cape Dorset region who, over a number of years, journeyed in north Baffin Island and the islands to the north of Lancaster Sound before coming to settle permanently in the community of Spence Bay where they now live side by side with the Netsilingmiut, sharing traditions and language.

A representative piece of traditional Western Arctic literature is provided in Donald Kaglik's version of an old folk tale taken from the collection of old stories gathered by COPE from Inuvialuit elders.

Alice Joss and Victor Igutak on the H.B.C. boat at Holman Island.

Asuilaak kingullirmikl, takuqulirivasi marrungnut qaujigiaqkaninnirniujuungnut, atuasiaq uqaligamangmut piqataarirrigaksamut, aaqiqsurtausalauquttamut. "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun, "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun, "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun.

Isusaq suruqauluualautuq atuasiaq uqaligamangmut piqataarirrigaksamut, aaqiqsurtausalauquttamut. "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun, "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun, "Inuvialuktun" tarrijagaksamutun.

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encourages Inuit students to participate directly in uncovering the arctic past.

Finally, we would like to draw your attention to two reviews, one of a film and one of a book, both recently released. "Inupiatun" is a film made about an Inuvialuit family living close to the land in the Mackenzie River Delta area. Inua, a book published by the Smithsonian Institute, reaches even further west and looks at the ancient Alaskan roots of Inuvialuit culture.

It is our hope that this modest collection of articles will entice you to find out more about the Western Arctic and its people. We would like to thank COPE and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association for their assistance in developing this issue of Inuktitut.
Inuktitut Asks
Sam Raddi about
Inuvialuit in the
Western Arctic

Sam Raddi has played a major role in the development of the Western Arctic since 1970. Former president of the Committee for Original People’s Entitlement (COPE), Raddi stepped down in 1982 to make room for a new style of leadership. Few other Western Arctic personages have been as intimately involved with political, cultural and social developments for the Inuvialuit as Sam Raddi. He is well known for his political role as the champion of the 1978 COPE Agreement-In Principle with the Federal Government, but in the following interview Inuktitut staff writer Sam Metcalfe speaks with him about his early years and asks for his impressions of the development of the Western Arctic. In many ways, Raddi’s own life reflects the shifts the Western Arctic has endured and the recent resurgence of interest in Inuvialuit culture.

Reporter: Can you tell me where you were born?

Sam Raddi: I was born in Tomcod Bay, a little Copper Inuit settlement. It is about thirty miles west of Cape Carion in the Beaufort Sea. The real name for it was Uukvik. It is an old Eskimo settlement where they used to get a lot of tomcods so they called it Uukvik. That is where I was born, on the 16th of February, 1931. It must have been about forty below that day. My dad had to dig into some deep snow and put the tent down so that it was surrounded by snow.

Reporter: Do you know where your parents came from and who they were before they were married?

Sam Raddi: My mom was from Cape Bathurst. The Eskimo name for Cape Bathurst is Arvaq and the island in front of it is Ikqaluk. My father’s father was Russian. He did not see his father died before my dad was born. I am named after my grandfather Ivitquna, my father’s adopted parents.

Reporter: Were there many people in Tomcod Bay at the time?

Sam Raddi: No, there were only a few people, maybe three families, but people travelled a lot those days. Unlike today, they travelled with dogs and they trapped there, or wherever the trapping was good that year. Sometimes they moved in the winter-time when trapping was poor and they would go a hundred miles out to the east or west. One could always choose between a number of places for trapping. In those days it was white foxes for cash and a few coloured foxes. The prices were minimal and at that time the white foxes were up to about fourteen dollars. You had to go to Aklavik or else to Tuk (Tuktuk). There was a Hudson’s Bay trading post in Tuk and there was also one on Baillie Island which is about fifty miles west of Tomcod Bay.

Reporter: Did you have any brothers or sisters?

Sam Raddi: There were thirteen of us in the family, Sam. Eight boys and five girls.
I can always remember the times that I stayed with my brother-in-law and my sister when I was fourteen years old. That was when life was very interesting to me and that’s when I made a decision before the winter was over. I made a decision that I was going to be the best trapper and the best hunter and most of all never, never again let anyone push me around. The training was so tough. My brother-in-law was a very firm man, a really tough man. We used to travel and I would build an igloo every night. For fourteen days I used to see him, the same mits, the same boots. I just hated the thought of almost every morning, getting up and getting the fire going, before I put on my clothes so I would not get wet. In the evenings I had to take my clothes off and put them under the mattresses in the snow so they wouldn’t freeze. I used to think to myself, “Boy, if I set a trap and don’t get a fox, I will really get it.” It was my brother-in-law who really taught me how to live off the land. His Eskimo name is Umik.

Reporter: What did you use the boat for?

Sam Raddi: We used the boat for transportation between settlements, mainly to go back and forth to Banks Island, Sachs Harbour and Sea Otter Harbour and so on. We carried supplies for the winter, our own supplies.
Reporter: Can you recall any incidents of rough weather while you were travelling by boat?

Sam Raddi: No, none. We always watched out for those things, Sam, so we never travelled in bad weather. We always used to hide in harbours before the winds and the bad weather came. One time we stayed in Sea Otter Harbour for two winters because the ice didn’t leave that summer. Thank God we had enough supplies like ammunition, flour, and sugar to last two years. It is a good thing that there was a lot of wildlife, too. There were a lot of polar bears and a lot of seagulls on the coast. There were a lot of caribou and uppiks (owls) as well. We had a lot of food to eat and a lot of dog food so we did not have to cook too much for the dogs and we did not have to use too much kerosene when we cooked tomcods.

I remember another thing. While I was still unconscious—I mean too young to remember—my father and his friend Jim Waki and a third guy, Qatigaarojuk, had the same thing happen to them. The ice did not go that year and they were stuck at Whale Point where there’s another harbour between Sachs Harbour and Sea Otter Harbour. They spent the winter there with an old man and his wife.

Iqqaumaviit umiaqqaatsi silaup piungnginnianut.

Apirsurti: Iqqaumavitt Angus asianik inuusirnik attiuarsimajumik?
who kept a family there. They named
the school in Sachs Harbour after him,
Inualthuyak. Once my Dad, in Febru-
ary, left for the mainland which is over
one hundred and fifty miles. He went
by dog-team across the Beaufort Sea
to get some supplies because we had
nothing left. My Dad knew they had
to either starve or go and take a
chance. They drifted out on the ice for
two months and we thought that they
had died. They, too, thought that we
had died for sure; they thought we
had starved. Thank God we got a cou-
ples of seals. That was somewhere
around 1937.

**Reporter:** Can you remember other
people who have influenced you in
much the same way or other ways
as Angus?

Sam Raddi: I remember my uncle,
Fred Carpenter, as a hard working
man. He is now in Fox Harbour. He
was very helpful and I liked the way
he had his standards set. He had his
own schooner and he was very
strong-minded. He would always
make a point of talking to young men.
He would tell them that they weren't
here to fool around. You came here to
make a point of talking to young men.

**Reporter:** How long did your family
stay in Tomcod Bay?

Sam Raddi: Not very much. In 1942,
already the old-time-things were go-
ing away pretty fast. These men were
good workers, they were hard trap-
ners. They did not have time for
things like dances and no time for par-
ties. What they called their holidays
was in summer when they come up
across the mainland. They'd go by
Tuk to purchase all their supplies and
then went back to work. Not much
fun, just work, work, work.

**Reporter:** Can you recall any pastime
or entertainment your uncles and father
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**Reporter:** Can you recall any pastime
or entertainment your uncles and father
had?
Sam Raddi: I do not remember. A month or so after I was born, we went west with dogs to Cape Bathurst. My dad travelled a lot when he was young. We spent five years in Banks Island so I call it my home. I spent about four years in Sachs Harbour. That is where I grew up. When my parents went to Tuk on the mainland in 1948, trapping was not good anymore, and my dad decided to stay in Tuk. So, I told my sister and my brother-in-law, "I think that dad travelled a lot when he was young. We spent five years in Banks Island so I call it my home. I spent about four years in Sachs Harbour, a little settlement called Qikkuliuvik. Anderson River is where they make clay. It is a little Eskimo settlement. I guess it is a real old settlement, about three hundred miles inland looking for mar­

I wanted to try and go on my own. I was seventeen years old and I thought I was a man now, that it was time to be independent. I had my own dogs and my own equipment where­ver I went. I spent the winter there, along with my uncle Jim Waki. I was there a couple of years, about 30 miles north of Qikkuliuvik at a place called North Star Harbour. I travelled and trapped all over those lands and then I moved back to Tuk. After that I went back to Sachs for a year. Trapp­

Where we were living on the island near Tuk, we used to have to go out on the sea and struggle through the open water in the winter. It was kind of hard. Get up early in the morning in the pitch dark, spend all day sealing and get back after dark, or sometimes we'd camp out there.

Immiñigasugumilailaursimama, 17­

niq arragagqilunga angutimmari­

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ursimagajung, piaqitqarilunga akkanik Jim Wakimik. Arraguunni marrun­
iq taikanvikkamun ungasiiniqartumi 30 mailiniq Qikkuliivimmit tajaujumi North Star Harbour. Tuktuuqaurturum

nuualumanga tamaarii aullakallaruluu­

jarpalaurtunga upagunnartialaurnarnut. Tuktuuqaurturum itaakahartum utilaurna­
mirmjinjungmik ukimini atausirmi taik­

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ini unnukut taalirtillugu, ilaannikut siniktarsiginnarqapariluta. Ilaannikku­

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annikut iqaluqmarrikpalaurtur iqau­

lunnirtullugu. Nunallarringmi annau­

magasuarlini arsururrunangin­

sammarik annaumgasugakarsan sina­
ni.

Apisurti: Immiñigilirilutuq malitkaugiaqagqatalaurisimativiug angunasaurtulli­
tit?

Sam Raddi: Inutuunnginnapalaurtu­
nga. Inutuulunga angunasaarriarqar­
piaqigikuku. Nunalinut inniaqtag­

laurimagajama pinasaaruqsiup unungun­

nani. Annurraakka salummaartauti­

valurtakka najaga salummaaivala­
Sometimes there’d be no seals in the winter. On the mainland there’s all kinds of lakes for ice-fishing. In the summer-time there’s all kinds of fish, and I could trap muskrats. It’s a lot easier to live on the mainland than it is to live around the islands.

Reporter: When you were on your own did you have someone going around with you most of the time, into the country and what not?

Sam Raddi: I was a loner. I liked to travel alone. I used to go to settlements and spend some time with the people, on weekends mostly. I’d get my clothes cleaned; my sister would work on my clothing. I’d rest my dogs and visit my relatives and friends.

Reporter: How long were you a hunter and a trapper on your own?

Sam Raddi: Until the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line started in 1955. It was a really good year for trapping. There was a lot of foxes that year. I got over 200 white foxes. It was never that good before. The DEW Line was a new thing. There were so many changes. We had never seen so many planes before. Sure we had seen some Norsemen planes before and little Cessnas flying around once in a while.
while. But that spring in the middle of April when I was pulling out my traps and coming home I started seeing different kinds of airplanes flying low. I saw three that day and four more the next day, steadily coming and going and I started wondering what was going on. I had never heard anything about the DEW Line, or anything of the kind. I was about fifty miles off and I saw this trail made by something I didn't know but I found out later that it was made by a bulldozer.

When I got home in the middle of April the boys were telling me, "Hey, there's a plane down by the point." It was a Norseman and they told me there were some Americans down there and that they were giving out free cigarettes. I wanted to get some of those cigarettes—Camels—because I used to see pictures of them in Life magazines. I thought I'd better go down and see, and asked them if they had cigarettes. They gave me a carton of Camels; boy, that was good. All I didn't know but I found out later that it was welfare.

When the DEW Line started the government came there in Tuk. When the DEW Line built a site right there in Tuk. And some white guys came. The people who had been starting smaller communities on the coast all gathered into one community. First thing they did was to have a little federal government day. I had never seen that many planes before, Globe Masters they were calling them. I had never seen that many planes flying low. I didn't know but I found out later that it was welfare.

Reporter: What kind of changes were there?

Sam Raddi: Well, people who had been starting smaller communities on the coast all gathered into one community. First thing they did was to have a little federal government day school there in Tuk. When the DEW Line started the government came and some white guys came. The people were saying, “Look at them guys, they’re government. The government brings us food. They’ve got free food, canned fruit and tomatoes they’ll give to you free, if you’re short of money.” So I thought I’d tour the DEW Line. I don’t eat that kind of thing, but I thought I might as well get some. I went up there, and boy, they gave me a couple of big cans of tomatoes, some crab apples in big one-gallon cans, milk in big pails, Klim and Carnation milk, and one big gallon pail of fresh milk, boy that was good. All they told me was that it was welfare. 


Apirsurtl: Qanur asirurrinurmit?


Apirsurtl: Qanur akuniuqitigar tuulain­kununut iqqanajarualursimavit?
Since that time nothing ever recovered again. It will never come back. I gave away my dogs and I gave away my traps. I never got them back.

Reporter: How long did you work for the DEW Line?

Sam Raddi: I worked for two years and then I quit. I didn’t like it and went back to trapping again. I collected a few dogs, bought here and there, but it was never the same again. I travelled for two years and then moved to Inuvik because the DEW Line was finished there by that time. They were building a church there and I worked for the Roman Catholic Mission for two years, helping to build that Igloo church. Of course I was blind by that time. They collected a few dogs, bought here and there, but we can’t do it.

I drank heavily after I became blind. I wasn’t doing very well but I found Alcoholics Anonymous and in the end I got sober and haven’t drank since I drank heavily after I became blind.

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Inuit Divers

‘Before the whalers came to this country, before any white man came, the Inuit used to kill bowhead whale about sixty miles from Tuk at Navurruq where there is a very deep harbour. They used to have their own diving suits and they used to kill whales with spears. We don’t know how they did it. Today we don’t even know how to make our own diving suits. We have no idea. But in those days the Inuit hunted and killed whales in kajaks and in their own diving suits and killed whales with spears. Today it would be considered almost supernatural. They had no oxygen. It’s hard to imagine Inuit used to hunt whales in their own diving suits, killing big whales with only harpoons. These are facts. You can get that from a priest here. It was recorded. These things are good to note down. We are even hesitant to try to kill whales today with guns, too scared. We may laugh at it but we can’t do it.’

— Sam Raddi

Inuit akkaumasut


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Inuit akkaumasut


1962. I remember that September I had my last drink and I haven’t had a drink since. Things have been going good for me.

When I stopped drinking my sponsor said to me my drinking is my biggest problem and that if I stopped drinking good things would happen to me. I’d get a good job someday, my own home and a few bucks. That has happened. I’ve got my own house, my own property, my own place and a good job. Those things happen you know, along with a lot of good friends.

In 1971 I started hearing about COPE and I started wondering what it stood for. I heard on the radio that they were going to have a board meeting one night at the hall and of course I was completely silent as they had elections. I just sat there and didn’t vote like everyone was supposed to.

At the meeting there was a girl by the name of Nellie Cournoyea and she seemed to be the one running it. After the meeting I talked to her and told her I wanted to know more about COPE. I sure liked the aims and objec-
January 28, 1970. Not long after that I thought it would be better to give membership of Indians to Indians to them, I thought it would be better to give membership of Indians to Indians and Inuit to Inuit. They were not long after that ITC was formed and then COPE also helped the Metis Association to form. When the Indian Brotherhood was formed in the NWT. Not long after that we found out that native associations were getting funds from the government and COPE wasn’t and that we would have to give our membership to them, I thought that it would be better to give membership of Indians to Indians and Inuit to Inuit. They were debating whether or not to dissolve COPE, whether there was any need for it. So I decided to see if the people wanted to keep it going or not. I thought it was up to the people, so I went to the people. I kind of campaigned, spent two weeks in Tuk, two weeks in Sachs, explained what COPE was about and asked them if they wanted to keep it going.

So COPE got mixed up in the land settlement, negotiating the land settlement for the Inuvialuit. Its main objectives of COPE and during the next few weeks I learned as much as possible about COPE.

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Sam Raddi describes some Inuvialuit terms for fish.

- **Siiqat** - coney, (they have teeth that need dental care); big fish that live in salt water
- **Singajuriat** is a lake trout or a salt water trout
- **Aanaklilii** are white fish, with scales, about ten pounds
- **Piguktuut** are scaly fish too, like white fish, but with a big hump
- **Qaaqtat** are siscoes, look like herring
- **Tiktalil** are loch, scavengers with a good liver; something like tomcods
- **Uukkat** are tomcod
- **Ugavit** are rock cods
- **Siulik** is a jack fish
- **Iqalusaat** are small fish with big eye balls


Apirsurti: **Ualanirmiut asiiusijamajurrivitiqiluqunik qikitaraluumuquit suli asiujisimangitanganik?**


Apirsurti: **Ualanirmiut asiiusijamajurrivitiqiluqunik qikitaraluumuquit suli asiujisimangitanganik?**

tive was to help people, all people, not only Inuvialuit but everybody, Inuit, Indian or others. But it was always geared more toward the native people.

Reporter: Do you think that the Western Arctic may have lost something culturally that the east may still have?

Sam Raddi: Yes, in the west we have been exposed to the outside culture for centuries. The coming of the whalers, Siberia being so close, Americans being so close, foreign cultures, foreign trappers, foreign hunters, and foreign politics, all have affected us. We find in the east, right from Holman Island east, they are way behind. Seems like we're well ahead with industries. It seems like we're more advanced than they are in the east insofar as the white society is concerned. I think it's the same with the Indians. We are closer to the white culture. If the development keeps up in the east, it can't help but go the same way that we have. They may struggle for awhile, they may fight against it for awhile, but they'll have to go along with it.

Reporter: What is the status of the Inuvialuit language itself?

Sam Raddi: The language has never died. Although it's not used as much, the teenagers, like my kids in grades ten and eleven, are sorry they didn't pick up the language. Now they have an opportunity. They have an Inuvialuit Language Commission going right ahead and they are putting out books for schools and homes. Even my kids are interested in it and want to learn. I want to see the Inuktitut language survive. I use it all the time. I speak to my wife all the time in Inuktitut. A lot of people understand it but they don't speak it. Seems like there are more and more who are trying to use it these days. Right now though, Sam, everybody writes in different ways, and I write in my own way too, the old Anglican way.

Reporter: How would you like to see writing developed? Would you like to see a standard system so that everybody would be able to understand each other when they write?
Sam Raddi: If it's possible, I'd like to see that, so that it wouldn't be so confusing. I understand that the Language Commission is trying to work with the Inuit Language Commission of Alaska and Greenlanders, hoping that they could have one standard writing system. I know it's possible but I don't know if it's going to be practical to use. It may be difficult. I think what we really need is something that we can understand within ourselves, that is standard.

On radio and TV we hear different people from different regions and it can only help to unite us. A lot of the words are the same but some of the endings vary a lot. We can hear each other speak now so we have only to work on a writing system, something basic. The radio and TV and the writing system are all going to help us.

Reporter: I know that in all Inuit communities, as in my home town in Labrador, the family relationships were very, very important. Today they seem not to be so important. What do you feel about that in the Western Arctic?
Sam Raddi: Long ago, people did everything for their relatives, cousins and distant relatives. They had very close ties and there was communication all the time. But today those feelings are weaker. People seem to be more drawn within themselves.

I think it has to do with education. I think some day all people will be educated and will become more and more integrated and become part of the main society. I think this is common all over the world. With all kinds of projects going on like oil and gas, they become an important part of education and your distant relatives are less and less important to you. If the Inuit don’t get integrated into the industrial society, they will go back to closer relationships again. It’s hard to survive in the north without close relatives. It’s good to have their moral support and they need our support too.

Reporter: What do you feel is the most personally satisfying thing you accomplished when you were president of COPE?

Sam Raddi: Well, I accomplished the Agreement-In-Principle which I really wanted to do. That was the most rewarding thing. I was hoping that a final agreement would be passed, but it didn’t happen. Also, I really liked working with people. But things are getting so political it was getting more and more difficult and I found it very unsatisfying at that point. It was too political.

One thing I appreciate is the time I was working for COPE when I was able to go to Ottawa. I met a lot of ministers I never thought I would meet and I got a better understanding of the Canadian government. I got a better understanding of other countries as well. Being able to meet with them and being able to talk to them, some of the ministers became very good friends of mine. I got very close to some of them and I have a more positive feeling about the federal government as a result. I’m glad I had a chance to experience that. I was very critical of the government before that. I wondered why they couldn’t

...
do this or that, and I learned that it was not that simple.

Reporter: What are your plans for the future, now that you are no longer president?

Sam Raddi: I’m still the first vice-president of the COPE board. (President) Peter Green calls me every once in a while. I still do give advice, but I don’t want to get too heavily involved any more.

Today, I feel a little tired of travelling. I want to stay home with my family. It is good to be home with the family. But I do not want to forget my goals. I would like to get involved again some day. I have eight children, three boys and five girls and I have also adopted my granddaughter. She’s the daughter of my oldest son. I try to teach them how we lived a long time ago, in case they have to go back to the land. I go out on weekends and teach them how to set up traps and I teach my boys how to hunt. We have about twenty traps. I’m still active on the land. I still go out and I still like my meat. I can’t do without hunters or hunting. I have to have my meat and fish. I encourage my boys; I’ve got to have hunters in my family.

manna atursimalaurnagu gavamakkut ukpirrijunnalaursimangitakka. Isuma-valuutungu sumut aturtauuumajunik aturrunangimmata, sunauvva pjarri-artunniritigitt, qajilauurtunga.

Apirsurti: Kuupkunnuli angajuqqaangugunnaarrivaat kisiraajiruumaalirpit?

Sam Raddi: Katimajinginnut suli angajuqqaangannut tullirriajuvungu. Angajuqqaangat Peter Green Suli uvannut uqaalalaurpaktar. Suli ikjurpakkalaurtunga kisiani ilagijauluurrangittunga.

Early Years

My name is James Kavana and I was born on June 19, 1919 near Coppermine. It seems to me that it was just yesterday. I lived in Coppermine until I was about ten years old when the authorities sent me to school. That was the summer of 1929. The school I attended was the first Mission School, in Shingle Point, that they set up on the coast of the Yukon Territory. I am not sure exactly what grades they had at the school, but from what I know now, I think I must have got up to Grade 5. After leaving school I was sent to a boarding school in the United States.

James Kavana Speaks

James Kavana, Iqaluktuutiaq, Nunasiarq

As told to Sam Metcalfe at Pelly Bay Elders' Conference April 30, 1982.

Unipkkaarajaujuk Sam Metcalfemun taiphumanin inutuqain katimavikjuatiblug Arqvilikjuami April 30, 1982.

Hivuliin Algaaguin

school and returning home to Coppermine I studied even though it was not necessary. I would now classify myself as having finished Grade 9.

I didn’t have any brothers or sisters that went to the same school I attended, which at the time they called the residential school. The first year there were, I would say, about 13 children in the residential school who came from the settlements around Coppermine. The rest came from around the Mackenzie Delta.

I left school after spending five years there. By the time I got home both my parents were dead. For this reason I had to go along with the missionary who was going to Cambridge Bay. We stopped in my home village, Coppermine, and stayed there for a week waiting for the Hudson’s Bay supply ship to take us to Cambridge Bay. I was 15 years old then.

I lived with the missionary, as his interpreter, for about three years, then I started living on my own. When I was interpreting I wasn’t getting any pay but I was getting free board and free meals. After I left the missionary I started living off the country, hunting and trapping. We sold our furs to the Hudson’s Bay where in those days we were given tokens instead of money. As we had dog teams at that time, we hunted dog food like fish and seals to last us the whole winter.

In the north-east, about 70 miles from Cambridge, we had a hunting camp where we hunted seasonally. Spring and summer and fall we were occupied with getting food for the dogs and for ourselves. But in winter time, during trapping season, we trapped until the end of March. We were pretty well occupied during the trapping season; all we did was go back and forth tending to our trap lines.

After the trapping season, we travelled around visiting the surrounding areas where other people had their hunting camps. From time to time, we would go to the Cambridge Bay Hudson’s Bay post to replenish our supplies. We would make one of our two winter trips around Christmas time when everybody gathered together at the so-called settlement of Cambridge Bay. Then in the spring we’d go into the settlement again for Easter festivities.
There is one incident I'll never forget. After the trapping season, when we were not visiting the surrounding areas, we used to go further north from our main camp to hunt polar bears. Even though there was no price for the hides, we still liked to eat different varieties of food and hunting polar bear was one way to get another kind of food to eat. Since it was spring, we wanted of course to go light and not carry too much load. We depended on getting food for ourselves and food for the dogs during the trip.

The incident I'll never forget occurred once when we were out polar bear hunting and ran short of food a week out of our main camp. It seemed that no matter how much we hunted we found nothing. We would be sitting over seal holes and when we were not sitting at the seal holes we'd be travelling around looking for bears. At the time that we ran out of food, luckily we had a good amount of blubber and seal hide which, although it was mainly for the dogs, we ended up eating for two days. The last day that we were going out to try to find food, we split up. There were three or four families at that time. Some of us went seal hunting and others went polar bear hunting. We were on the point of giving up the hunting trip as a bad job, and with this we were giving it a last try. Then, sure enough even before mid-day the seal hunters got a seal and the polar bear hunters got a polar bear. That experience I'll never forget. It doesn't pay to go light on food.

Language

I would now like to make further comment on my school days. All our schooling was strictly in English and we weren't allowed to speak our own language for the simple reason that the teachers thought we were talking about them behind their backs. At the time that I was at school, I didn't think much about it. But thinking back to when I grew up, I realize now how bad it was. Seeing that we were Eskimos, we should have been at leisure to speak in our language. As it was, when I left school to go back home I couldn't understand my own language and it took me a year and a half to speak it properly again. I was
the only one in that area who had been to school so we used our own language all the time.

A person has to have a good knowledge of the English language in order to get a good job nowadays. But I still think that the children are not being taught enough of our own language. Even though they are teaching Inuktitut now, right in Cambridge, they are teaching only the kindergarten children. I would like to see it being taught to the older children as well. When I was teaching Inuktitut at the school a few years back I used to have older children, teenagers, in my class strictly for Inuktitut. I taught only language at that time, but later the school began cultural inclusion classes and they taught survival on the land as well.

In those days we weren't in touch very much with people from the other areas like Baffin and the Keewatin because there was no reasonable transportation, planes and such-like. We were associated with each other though. For instance, when we worked on. For instance, when we

transportation, planes and such-like. We were associated with each other very much with people from the other areas like Baffin and Coppermine, but nobody else for that job, so I was the only one in that area who had been to school so we used our own language all the time.

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they found a person around here from Pelly Bay to do that job. As far as the two writing systems in Inuktitut are concerned, Roman and syllabics, I have no objections to either of them and I feel that both writing systems should be learned right across the Canadian north, even though I know for a fact that the western people don’t like syllabics because they learned Roman first.

Living in the Settlement

When I started living in the village and not in the camps all the time, I was a jack of all trades and master of none. The reason I got out of hunting was that 1947 was a bad year for trapping. At that time whatever we got—the fox was very scarce then—we only got three dollars for a skin so I had to find another source of income. I found a job with the so-called Loraine station, which was run by the Royal Canadian Air Force, when they set up the radio tower. Later on I thought of the brilliant idea of moving south. So I went to Calgary to take up auto mechanics and after staying in Calgary I spent some time in Edmonton. Before I went to Edmonton, I thought for sure that I’d be contented with living in the south. I stayed for about two or three weeks and then I started thinking that that was no place for an Eskimo. At that point, I gave up the idea, went back home, and then I started working for the government. When the government set up a permanent posting at Cambridge Bay, they wanted somebody to run their generators and they needed a mechanic badly, so they got me out of the DEW Line.

Community Organizations

Even though I didn’t classify myself at that time as a leader, I went on to be one of the people to set up a community council. That was a long time ago. It was very different in those days from the settlement councils now because the community councils at that time could only make suggestions. I feel that some of the leaders of councils and associations are a bit young nowadays. Some feel that the younger people can run these associations better than we can because they


Nunnaaqtitigikumiutaujunik

Shingle Point School boys lining up from smallest to largest, about 1930.
The Elders' Conference

I will now talk about the Elders' Conference we are holding here in Pelly Bay this week. I was very puzzled when I got the invitation. I thought there was someone else who should go because there are a lot of people in Cambridge who are older than I am. I brought that up but they told me that I should go because "you have some knowledge," they said. What knowledge? "I don't know anything," I answered like everybody else.

This is the last day of the conference today and it seems this is the first time that elders have ever got together. We don't normally think about some of the subjects that were brought up, but seeing they have been brought up at these meetings, we deal with them anyway. I like to see different opinions and different ways of solving problems. I think it's very, very interesting and I'd like to see it being done every year.

There were a lot of subjects brought up during this Conference, some of them we felt very close to and some we didn't care to much about. We were given a good amount of time. The subject that we are mainly concerned about is the behaviour of teenagers. For myself, I would like to see it being done every year.

The subject that we are mainly concerned about is the behaviour of teenagers. For myself, I would like to see it being done every year.
Children attending Shingle Point School in the 1930's.

Δεσμευτικές Πληροφορίες Εκκλησίας Αγίου Νικολάου για την περίοδο 1930-1934.

Δεσμευτικές Πληροφορίες Εκκλησίας Αγίου Νικολάου για την περίοδο 1930-1934.
have some qualifications. That’s one way of thinking, but my original idea was that councils and associations should be run by the old experienced Inutugak (elder). I feel there should be more consultation between the young and the old. Sure the younger generation has been educated to work in offices or to be clerks, but I would like to see the older folks being involved, too.

Communications

Now I will speak about the radio and television. We receive a few programs, enough I think from the radio but certainly not enough from the T.V. I would like to see more Inuktitut programs for the sake of our younger generation. In the old days people had to communicate by way of letters and T.V., though, I can hear their songs that makes the difference. When I listen to IBC now, there are not enough Inuktitut programs yet. I feel IBC will help to take care of that.

As I said before there is too much southern programming on T.V. but we have IBC now. Because they are just starting up, there are not enough Inuktutit programs yet. I feel IBC will help to take care of that.

Every night since we came here to Pelly Bay there have been drum dances and each night a different region has performed, although there was a free for all too, especially towards the end of each night. Every region had a chance to express their ways. If it wasn’t for this conference, we wouldn’t know how things are in the other regions. When I listen to various drum dancers from other regions I get different feelings from different people. It’s not so much that we get messages from them, but it’s their songs and what they express in their songs that makes the difference.


Tamaak pigjutigiblunun takkuvaalirumajuga aklagtavukhimiakajuun Inuknuun. Ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun takkuvaa tuinukahunaq talmuqatbaknik urqalimaagakhanak gablunaan aklagtavukhimiakajuqariqahun akpiljarjatigun. Ammigaitulu tahakpukan ukpivarqin. Innuupluni, attuahuni urqalimaahuni aklagtauhamajunak gablunaan, appiqutigunan tahakpukan appiqutakun.

Ammirijumahijuaagaluiatkun arqhi jiarjiambru niituganun kamitikhaujunak. Hurqmi ikkajuhitruijariaqara (arqikhuihinautiluta qanuriliiahaanik) ammalu ihumakun haujunik Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak haujunik. Ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak, ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak, ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak. Ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak, ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak, ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak. Ihumavugga qujiganiq haukuni Inutuqanun kamitikhaujunak.
subjects that they brought up my question now is, "what were our original beliefs?" Of course this question I have comes through reading books the Qallunaat write about our beliefs. Many of them I don't believe. Being an Inuk, reading something written by a Qallunaaq raises these questions. This is why I would like to see more things done by Inuit. I think the only way to have more things by Inuit is to organize the elders' committees in our own settlements and try and look into subjects such as our original beliefs, and things such as have been discussed at this conference.

I would have liked to have asked about forming elders' committees. Certainly we do need help (in their formation) and I feel that the only help we'll get is from the ICI. As for forming an elders' association, I'm a bit leery about that for the simple reason that I don't have enough knowledge of our old ways. I feel that if ever we form our own committees in our settlements, we will have to go to ICI for backing. When we get back to our own settlements, I feel we would have ways and means of getting around to other people to tell them about this meeting. I've lived with them most of my life and know how to tell them about this meeting.

Utirubtali nagminiptignun nunaqatibtignun ihumajugga urqalautigiaqta tafhumigan katimahimanirqunik.

Tuhaqatautivaknirq

Hajjaujumili urqahugujuga naalautinik talavihaniklu, pivakapta illanikun, nakunahugijalahuhugijalakunik kihianik naunaipiaqta qivivikalimakunik qivivikalimuqerlanik, ammalu illipalarnaratic igmigikun tahamugahimaniptigun.

Utirubtali nagminiptignun nunaqatibtignun ihumajugga urqalautigiaqta tafhumigan katimahimanirqunik.

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Utirubtali nagminiptignun nunaqatibtignun ihumajugga urqalautigiaqta tafhumigan katimahimanirqunik.

Tuhaqatautivaknirq

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Utirubtali nagminiptignun nunaqatibtignun ihumajugga urqalautigiaqta tafhumigan katimahimanirqunik.

Tuhaqatautivaknirq

Hajjaujumili urqahugujuga naalautinik talavihaniklu, pivakapta illanikun, nakunahugijalahuhugijalakunik kihianik naunaipiaqta qivivikalimakunik qivivikalimuqerlanik, ammalu illipalarnaratic igmigikun tahamugahimaniptigun.
The Mackenzie Delta Dancers and Drummers

Although drum dancing is perhaps the best known form of Inuit musical expression, few people know very much about it, and in many communities the ancient dances and drum songs are in danger of dying out.

But one Western Arctic group has gained national acclaim in both northern and southern Canada, and is doing its best to reverse this trend. Since 1965, the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers have been practising and performing drum dances.

Billy Day, who is 51 years old, has been involved with the dancers from the time they began to organize their group. Although he is neither dancer nor drummer himself (the youngest dancer is 67), Billy is vitally interested in the traditional drumming and dancing.

"In 1965," says Billy, "there was a group of people from all across Canada who wanted to see a drum dance, and I was asked to get one organized. But when I went around to the people, I couldn't get any men to dance, so I had to get up myself and demonstrate the way men should dance.

"Then one of the drummers, one of the old men, called me over and said, 'Billy, if we died tomorrow, and the group of people wanted to hear drummers, what would you do?' So I went home that night and thought about it. The next morning I went back to talk to him about it, and that's how we got started."

Now more than twenty dancers and drummers are interested in practising
Qilautinut mumirpaniq immaqaa inuit titangnirixaqmanit qaujimajaulaquni nunaqitigingujuni nunamirtuqangaspagaa. Qilautinut mumirpaniq immaqaa inuit titangnirixaqmanit qaujimajaulaquni nunaqitigingujuni nunamirtuqangaspagaa.

Atausiujut ualinirmiut mumirritit titaktit ilirarjusaqmanalirput, ukturtarmiut ilirarjusaqmanalirput. Atausiujut ualinirmiut mumirritit titaktit ilirarjusaqmanalirput.

drum dancing and in performing the dances. As a group of elders with many other interests and responsibilities, not all performers can meet together to dance at any one time. The distance between the Delta communities and the expense and time required to travel also make it difficult for more than eight to ten dancers to meet for a dance practice or performance. Although the dancers rarely meet together as a group, small dances are often held in the Delta communities, and six to eight dancers are sent to dance at formal appearances of the group.

Six drummers and dancers recently toured southern Canada, with engagements in Ottawa and Edmonton. In each city the audience of both native and non-native people received their dances well and by the end of the performances, were themselves trying to dance to the drums.

As a performing group, the drummers and dancers are very professional. Billy Day introduces the dancers and gives a short explanation of the drum songs. During the performance, the dancers perform comfortably and precisely, showing that they have been learning the dances over a period of many years. "Years ago," reports Billy Day, "some of the young people would hear their parents singing all the time, which you hardly hear today. This is how a lot of them learned."

Very few children are learning the drum songs and dances in the way their parents learned. People in their forties know the songs and are still learning the dances, but progress with the younger people is quite slow. One of the many goals of the Mackenzie Delta drummers and dancers is to teach the children the dances and songs so that they will not be lost, and to this end several drum and dance groups have been started in Tuk, Aklavik and Inuvik to teach the young people the dances.

"They have a hard time getting the young people out, even if the young people have the interest," commented Billy Day. "One or two young people are very interested and learning quite well. But when young people don't know the song, they have problems keeping up, knowing where to..."
singing, where to stop, and where to start again. If you don’t know the songs, it is hard to dance them."

Ida Bennett, daughter of Simon Bennett, one of the principal drummers, was introduced to the dances when she was young. By the age of six she was able to perform some traditional dances for her father when he played the drums. Although she has had little opportunity to practise in recent years, because she is living in Toronto and has been separated from her family, Ida still values the dances that she learned.

"To do these dances now, it is something that I have to practise and become good at it," she says, "because I am sure that it is important to be able to preserve some of the traditional dances. The people who are dancing now are not going to be around forever. I have to learn these dances for the respect of my grandfather and my father. Someone has to carry the tradition down."

"Amos Paul of Aklavik is known as a really good dancer because he can really work his head," says Billy Day. "At one point during a performance in Calgary, I called Amos over and told him to put the loon headdress on and told him to go around and see if he could make the people in the audience move. Apparently this tactic didn’t work. As Amos shoved himself in the crowd, his costume and his movements were so powerful that the people backed away from him!"

The Loon Dance

Many years ago, the Inuit had a great respect for the loon, because the loon could dive and stay under water for a long time. In the loon dance, a headdress consisting of a loon beak and eagle feathers is worn in special dances to honour the loon, as well as the eagle.

"Amos Paul Aklavikmiutaq munijummarialuungmat niaquni atturvakunik. Takunnaartauninquarinngarvikilugu qarsaq-qarsaq alanakluunut akunialuk nuqangagiarraqarmit. Qarsaup Mumirusinga

Drum Dance

I'd like to see this document again.
The Western Arctic Drum

In the old days birch wood from south on the Mackenzie river was split and shaped to form a drum. A bone handle fabricated from caribou or reindeer horn was attached. The skin, which was either whale stomach or tanned caribou skin, was soaked in water and then pulled tightly around the drum frame. Finally a string fitting into a groove in the wood was tied around the drum to hold the skin on. Now, prefinished hard wood is used to make the drum forms and tanned caribou skin is preferred for the drum skin.

The preparation of the drum skin is very important. It must be thoroughly soaked before being stretched to fit the frame, in order that it become taut as it dries. Before playing, and sometimes during a performance, the drum skin is wetted to give the skin more flexibility and more resonance, and to keep it from cracking.
Although the dances may seem simple and formless to the untrained eye, the dances have a complexity of form and meaning. Each dance has a story behind it, and it is this story which the performers portray as fully as possible.

Ida Bennett has realized the depth of the drum dance from the time she was young. ‘Some of the dances are simple, but there’s a lot of meaning to them. There’s a lot of vitality, a lot of meaning. You can feel it even though you are just an audience, especially in times of the year, the people came together to meet and to compete in dance competition led the people out to the igloo to end the celebration.”

Billy Day tells us that during the dark times of the year, the people came together to meet and to compete in dancing. “We used to get together for as long as three weeks in the dark days. When it all ended, a big igloo would be built. Right at the end of the festivities, whoever had won the dance competition led the people out of the igloo to end the celebration.”

Will any of the young people of today be able to lead a line of dancers and leave a legacy of drumming and dancing to their descendents? With the Mackenzie Delta Dancers and Drummers there is hope.
Community Sketches

Each community in the Western and Central Arctic has a unique history which has shaped today's way of life. On the following pages, Inuktitut presents thumbnail sketches of the places shown on the map.
Nunaliit Titiranguaqsimajut

Nunaliilimaat ualinirmi qikiktaalungnilu nanngarnaqtumik inuusiqalaqput sangutitsisimaliqtumik uplumiuliqtumit inuusirmik. Takuksauniatut, Inuktitut takuksautitsiniaqput titiranguaqsimajunik inigijaujunik nunangguarmi.
Aklavik

Population 750

Located in the bush on the Mackenzie River, Aklavik was the place where Inuvialuit and the Loucheux Dene traditionally met in search of furs. Inuit began to settle here when a Hudson’s Bay post was opened in 1910 and Aklavik eventually became the largest settlement in the Western Arctic. Because of serious flooding, the federal government in the 1950's decided to re-locate the settlement 36 miles to the east. People assumed that Aklavik would soon be a ghost town, but after a taste of life in Inuvik many of the native people who first moved there returned to Aklavik—"the town that refused to die."

Today families from Aklavik still head out to the coast in summer for whaling and fishing. Fur trapping remains important and most of the muskrat pelts taken from the Delta are used by the Aklavik Fur Garment Co-op.

Inugiangnilik 750-nik


Population 864

The Hudson’s Bay Company opened a post at Cambridge Bay in 1921 to trade for white fox furs, but until the 1950s few Inuit lived there year-round. When the DEW Line station was constructed in 1955 a number of Inuit families from nearby camps moved to Cambridge Bay to obtain employment.

Today the char fishery operated by Ikaluktutiak Co-op provides most employment. About 40 fishermen set up eight camps within 100 miles of Cambridge Bay. A group meeting is held each year to determine where the camps will be located and what the fishermen will be paid for each pound of char. A plane is contracted up eight camps within 100 miles of Cambridge Bay. A group meeting is held each year to determine where the camps will be located and what the fishermen will be paid for each pound of char. A plane is contracted for the three-month fishing season and it makes one trip a day to each camp to pick up the catch. Thirty people working in the fish plant wash, clean and freeze about 100,000 pounds of char each year for northern and southern markets.

In addition to the fish plant, the co-op operates a retail store, a hotel, a bakery, a gas station and a taxi service. The offices of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association are located in Cambridge and the settlement is the administrative centre for the Kitikmeot Region.

Trading in 1953 with H.B.C. employee, Joe Milukshuk and his daughter at Cambridge Bay.
**Coppermine**

Population 766

The traditional lifestyle of Inuit in the Coppermine area began to change in 1916 when independent trader Charles Klengenberg set up a post there. By that time the inland caribou herds were starting to decline and the people began to spend more time near the coast, hunting sea mammals and trapping. But up until the 1950s Inuit continued to live at many different points inland. The traditions of the Coppermine Inuit were recorded by Diamond Jenness, a Canadian ethnologist who for three years lived in Coppermine.

Muskrat, seal, wolf, wolverine, bear, fox, muskox and squirrel pelts and handicrafts sold through the co-op all bring income to Inuit in Coppermine, and many people work seasonally in oil and gas exploration in the Beaufort Sea.

**Inugiangnilik 766-nik**


Muskratlu, natsiilu, amaqqullu, qav­villu, nanuillu, tiriganiallu, umingma­llu ammalu siksiit amingi ammalu sanaguagaralait niuvrvauvaktut kuap­ujukut kiinaujaliurutaapakput inungnit Qurluqtuurnmiunit, amisuttauq inuit arraguujuq ilangani uqsuqulungniati­nilu gaasaliirniartiniilu sanavakiplutik Beaufort Sea-mi.

**Gjoa Haven**

Population 493

The area around Gjoa Haven on King William Island is the traditional territory of the Netsilingmiut, but in recent years Inuit from many parts of the Arctic, including Alaska, have been attracted to the hamlet.

Roald Amundsen, skipper of the first ship to navigate the Northwest Passage, called the bay at Gjoa Haven the "finest little harbour in the world."

**Inugiangnilik 493-nik**

Nunaujuq Uqsurtuup avataaniittuq King William Island-ngani inutuqait nunaginnaqattarsimajutuqarivaat natsilingmiut, kisiani inuit asinginningaar­tut nunanit, ilaqar&ugu Alaskamiut, nunaqartuqattarsimalirput Uqsurtu­umi.

Roald Amundsen, umiarturtiuqqaalaursimajuq umiarjuamik Northwest Passage-ngunirartaujukut, Uqsurtu­umik taisialursorimairpuq ima­nnan "silarjuaalamaami kangir&utsiaavaunir­paap"-mik.
The hamlet council is the largest employer in Gjoa Haven, but many residents continue to make a living by hunting, fishing and trapping, with handicrafts also providing a source of income. This spring the Kekertak Co-op took over the government craft shop which has become well known for its wall-hangings, fancy woollen braids and woven sinew sculptures. King William Island has good char-fishing rivers, but for caribou and other animals most hunters travel across to the mainland.

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<th>Population 336</th>
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<td>Like many other communities, the settlement of Holman moved several times as Hudson’s Bay posts were opened and closed. The present site on Victoria Island was selected in 1965 because of its relatively good ice conditions. Holman is basically a trapping community, with most traplines located north of the community, either across the land, around the shoreline or out on the sea ice. Some Holman trappers have permission from the hunters and trappers association of Sachs Harbour to trap along the east coast of Banks Island.</td>
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<th>Holman</th>
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Several hunters in Holman still have dog teams and take advantage of some of the big money paid out by sports hunters for part of the community’s polar bear quota of about 20 animals. There has also been a musk-ox quota of 110 animals issued for Holman and some of these are also used for a commercial sports hunt organized by the local hunters and trappers association.

The co-op in Holman has established a very productive arts and crafts industry, and its printmakers have become internationally renowned. See Bill Goose’s photographs of Holman.

Inuvik

Population 2892

When the town of Inuvik was completed in 1961, it became the administrative centre for the Western Arctic, replacing Aklavik. However, many of the Inuvialuit who moved there in the 1960s have since returned to their home communities. In 1965 the population of Inuvik was estimated to be 2,774, of whom 916 were Inuit. By 1978 the total population had increased to 3,065, but the number of Inuit had decreased to 552. The non-native segment of Inuvik, which includes a large number of Canadian Armed Forces personnel, is highly transient, with most people staying only two to three years.
The Dempster Highway, North America's first public road to cross the Arctic Circle, linked Inuvik to Dawson City, Yukon, in 1979. From January to April the frozen waters of the Mackenzie Delta are snow-plowed to Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk for car and truck travel to these settlements. The headquarters for both the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement, the Northern Games Association and the Inuvialuit Development Corporation are located in Inuvik. The corporation runs a taxi service, a charter airline and a country foods business. Parkas from Inuvik's garment sewing centre are sold across Canada.

See the article on the Mackenzie Delta Drummers and Dancers and the interview with Billy Day.
**Paulatuk**

**Population 174**

The Karnngmalit, a group of Inuit who continued to live much like the Thule whale-hunters of the past, were the original inhabitants of the Paulatuk region. When the effects of disease and alcohol virtually wiped them out, Inuit from Alaska moved into the area. The trading post at Paulatuk was closed in 1954, and most of the people moved elsewhere. Today the settlement is still quite small.

Coal, which gives the community its name, can be found near Paulatuk, and was mined for a number of years to provide fuel for the settlement. Today the char fishery on the Hornaday River, near Paulatuk, is the major source of income for the community. The co-op recently closed but government offices employ a few people. The sculptors of Paulatuk have become well known for their unique and creative approach to art.

**Arviligjuaq**

**Population 281**

Because all commercial goods must be flown into Pelly Bay, the hamlet has the unfortunate distinction of having the highest cost of living of any community in the North. Ice conditions in the bay are unpredictable, making Pelly Bay the only coastal community in the Northwest Territories without a sealift.

Inugiangnilik 281-nik

Most people in Pelly Bay are Netsilingmiut, whose way of life has always been dependent on the ringed and bearded seals, narwhal and beluga in the region. The hamlet has an annual quota of 15 polar bears, but the importance of fur sales has decreased in recent years. The Koomiut Co-op operates a char fishery and between 50,000 and 60,000 pounds of char are taken each year. The sale of handicrafts adds to the incomes of many residents. Pelly Bay is most famous for its fine ivory carvings. Drum dancing remains an important part of the community’s cultural life and it was here that the Inuit Cultural Institute’s first elders conference was held in 1982.

Sachs Harbour

Population 170

The settlement of Sachs Harbour began in 1928 when some Mackenzie Delta families wintered there to trap white foxes. Before this time Inuit hunters of the past had camped and hunted on Banks Island from time to time.

Muskox, polar bear, Peary caribou and white fox are now plentiful on Banks Island and hunting and trapping are important for Sachs Harbour residents. The Inuvialuit Development Corporation and the NWT Wildlife Service are co-operating with the Sachs Harbour hunters and trappers association to carry out an annual harvest of the muskox on the island to keep their population under control and to profit from the sale of muskox meat and skins.

Spence Bay

Population 470

Long known as the arctic community that brings together east and west, Spence Bay residents are a blend of the Netsilingmiut of the Central Arctic and the Kingarmiut of the Eastern Arctic. The present community of Spence Bay was established in 1947 when the people of Fort Ross, originally from Cape Dorset and under the leadership of Kavavauk, moved to Spence, a better location for their settlement.

Today people in Spence Bay trap for a living and some assist in the Central Arctic Co-operative commercial char fishing project. The settlement has also become well known for its unusual carvings from whale bone and soapstone. The local women’s group is gaining international recognition as well for their distinctive parkas and other clothing items, which are

Inugiangnilik 170-nik

Ikaq nunagigiaugiaularsimavuq arragutillugu 1928, taimaungmat Mackenzie Delta-miit ilangut ukijarturmati kijaqqtarturtiarusimiaplutik tirigianarunik. Nunagijajuqta qaallarsimavuq inungnit angunasutkitin nitiktarviuvak kuni angunasugiarsimavuq natsiiqatuuq Inuvit Banks Island-mi qatikuqgaauq.

Umingaun, nanuullu, tuktulu ammaqatiratigat amisualipattip Banks Island-mi, angunasutkapangnirilti kijaqqtarturti pangnirilti taimauijajarqallariktuutitummati Kuummiqutitititun. Nunagijajuq Pivallliangiititaqikaqtaqarputtii Kuummi Angunsaqtiitit Kijaqqtarturtiit Katalamajinunik arragutamaat umingmaskiunuij vaktumi qikirmatimunutik amisununigatinaa interruptionaunutuqalugutuq Kitinautpiqarpak utikilu niuvrutiqarpanginrmingni niqinginniliut aminginnikul.

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Inugiangnilik 470-nik


Inugiangnilik 470-nik


Uplumiuqartuq inuit Talurjuarnmiut an-
designed, crafted and embroidered with wool coloured with dyes from local plants and lichens.

### Tuktoyaktuk

Population 747

It is said that at Tuktoyaktuk many years ago a woman looked at caribou wading into the water and they were immediately turned into stone. At low tide, reefs resembling these caribou can be seen, giving the settlement its name.

At one time more than 2,000 Karngmalit Inuit lived in villages and camps along the coast, but half of these people were wiped out by epidemics brought in by European whalers who wintered in the area. As a result, groups of Alaskan Inuit moved into the area and by 1934 the community of Tuk was well established.

Today Tuk is becoming famous as a centre for oil and gas exploration in the Beaufort Sea and as the home of William Nasogaluak’s Canadian Reindeer Ltd., which exports reindeer meat from its herd of 10,000 animals to northern and southern markets.

Pingos, which are peculiar ice-cored mountains created by the heaving of permafrost, dot the landscape around Tuk.

### Tuktujaartoq

Inugiangnilik 747-nik

Uqartoqarsimakuq Tuktuujarjumiguq qangasakallak arnaqtaqalasimangmat takunnaartumunik tukunik ikaarpallajuniqut imakkut tagvainarlu ujaringurtuvinirnik. Tinisimaliraangat, ujqagat tuktutitut takuksaullirpakput imarnmi, nunaq taiajunnirigii.

Taipsumanituqaulaurtuq 2,000-luanik qarnmalinik inukunik nunaqaatuqapaalursimajivuq Tuktuujarjutuq qanigjigaangami nunaqautuni sinaani, kisiani qilalugaqsiurtiit tikiqattalirnimap ukiijarturpak&utik nappalluangi tuquralursimajuniviiit aannialiqattar&utik. Taimalu taamna pitjutigiplu, Alas-kaniiit inuit nualiliarsimannirput nunagijauqattalaurtutum, ammalu 1934-ngulirtiillugu Tuktuujarjutuq aqigumanarsaulikkanillirluni.


Tuktuujarjutuq nuna avalujausimani- garpuq kingarnit sikuqartunit nuvu- nginni, ikkiinlalaurmnimmuk taimannailirtuvinirnik.
Bathurst Inlet

Population 96

The people of Umingmaktok have chosen to follow a way of life closely resembling that of their ancestors. When the Hudson's Bay post was closed in 1964, Umingmaktok (the place of many muskoxen) continued to function as a traditional Inuit camp. With some wage work available in summer at Bathurst Inlet Lodge and with exploration companies in the area, Umingmaktok residents still hunt and trap and depend on caribou, barren-ground grizzly, muskox, fox and wolf for a living. The community has no airstrip so access is mostly by float plane.

Umingmaktuuq

Population 96-nik

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Inuigangnilik 96-nik

A Look Back

Qanuripakhimania
Ualliniup
Ukkiutatumi

Spence Bay drummer and singer, May 1951

Spence Baymi qillaujati igitlu, May 1951.
Inuk hunter flexing his bow outside his stone house at Cambridge Bay, N.W.T. The old caption reads "This "old bird" has two wives."

Inuk angunahuati uukturatuk pitikhiminik hilataani ujaqanun havakhimajuk iglupak Cambridge Baymi, N.W.T. attaagun aglakhi-mabluni "Tamna 'tigmiatuqarq' malruuknik nulialik."
John Takolik with his catch of fox before trading at the Hudson Bay Company post at Spence Bay, in May 1951.

Inuk naniratuti (Takolik) tiriganiatailu niuviratuniahatiblugu Hudson’s Bay Companikunun niuvaavianun Spence Bay, May 1951.
Inuit dancing at Fort MacPherson in 1892. Note the singers and the dancers in the background.

Inuit numitun Fort MacPhersonmi algagumi 1892. Takukhaujun igiutin numitilu.

Captain Christian "Charlie" Klengenberg, right, and his son, Patsy, at Arctic Red River.

Inuk hunter from the Coppermine region taking a sight with his bow.

Inuk angunahuati Coppermine-migaatuk pitikhimik pihimajuk.
Drying whale meat on a frame, high enough to keep it away from dogs and other animals. Hooper Bay, 1927.

Skinning walrus on Salisbury Island in July, 1924.

Aaktun aivirqmik talvani Salisbury Island July, 1924.

Drying meat at Satsik, Banks Island, N.W.T., in spring, 1932.
George Washington Porter of Gjoa Haven

George Washington Porter

George Washington Porter Ursartuuqmi

Captain G. Porter (right centre), father of George Washington Porter, poses with his crew on board the S.S. Beluga in 1907.
Few have known the Arctic coast from Spence Bay, NWT to Point Barrow, Alaska as well and fewer still have known it as long as George Washington Porter. George, who now lives in quiet retirement in Gjoa Haven, looks back over a lifetime spanning the history of the Western Arctic from the early days of the Qallunaat explorers, whalers and traders to the present.

He was born in December, 1895 on board a whaling ship wintering at Herschel Island, about one hundred miles west of the Mackenzie Delta. His mother was Mary Kappak from Kotzebue Sound, Alaska, and his father, W.P.S. Porter (sometimes known as “Alphabetical Porter” because of his many initials), was a well known American whaling captain on the coast who made regular whale hunting and trading voyages to the Arctic from Seattle.

Herschel Island is now deserted, visited only by the occasional Inuit hunting party from the Delta. Around the turn of the century, however, it was a busy, if fluctuating, community based entirely on whaling and trading. The year George was born about a dozen whaling ships wintered at Herschel Island, their combined crews numbering over six hundred people.

At that time the whalers mainly hunted the big bowhead whale, not primarily for the

Walrus heads on board a trading vessel at East Cape in 1908.

1908-Ju-J, 2 6g6jc, 

Herschel Island hajjaujumi inu iq r u k il­

llinarik hiihurtii umi kii testuqal ugi nupuitutuk Durant. 1900-quli ibuglu np kiihian kiih­

yiqamituk balugutul bujukitun arqvia­

hiutivuqhitun ammalu niuvi­

qutiuplun ukkututatun amialikan nuna­

nin Seattle'min.

Herschel Island hajjaujumi inu iq r u k il­

llarin kiihian Inuktun angunahuavu­

qru testuq Deltamin. 1900-quli bujukitun, kiihian inugiaqputuk, illarikun kiihia­

i, nunuqatigitqut balugin cutun arqvia­

hiutivuqhitun ammalu niuvi­

qutiuplun ukkututatun umi inu kki­

vakmatu Herschel Islamdimkatihugitun havak­

tijun talvani unutigibluqit uggataanun 600. Taflumani arqviahiutivuqhitun, niuqaniuqigutuk uvaluunin urqvanahuavaqhitun, kiihianik tag­

liruiun, autajutun cutuq qani nianitun ni­

qiniq avuijutain. Agliqimin, augtaju­

59
oil, but for the valuable baleen, the long flexible curtain-like strainers in the mouth of the whale through which it gathered its food. Baleen, before the days of plastic and steel, was used by the Qallunaat in many products but especially as a stiffener for women's corsets and dresses and for the ribs of umbrellas.

In some areas Inuit used baleen, or black whale bone as it was often called, for making containers, such as cups, as well as for fish nets and bird snares. As bowheads became scarcer through increased hunting, the value of the bone increased and by 1895 baleen was priced at about $5 a pound. As a large whale could yield up to a ton of the valuable bone, the ruthless exploitation of the animal continued, nearly resulting in its extinction. Fortunately by 1910 suitable and inexpensive substitutes for baleen such as spring steel had been found making bowhead hunting far less profitable and, predictably, the commercial slaughter of the bowhead, which lasted over half a century, ended. The ships that now came to the Western Arctic turned their interests to fur trading—white fox, in particular, was the main attraction.

George’s travels began at an early age. His first few years were spent in Alaska near Point Barrow where he went to school. Later, in 1905, his formal education continued at Herschel Island under the stern direction of the Rev. Whittaker who forcefully encouraged all his students to pray regularly. George still recalls the difficulty he had in thinking up something new to pray about after his limited repertoire had worn thin. Following a whaling expedition on his father’s ship in the summer of 1908—a voyage which was his first of many sea faring experiences—he again returned to school, this time to another missionary school at Unalaska on the Aleutian Islands where the punishment earned for boyish pranks was no less than he had become accustomed to at Herschel Island.

By 1913 George had had enough of school and was glad to be able to begin his career as a sailor by joining, as a crew member, the whaling ship Elvira. The Elvira spent the winter at Demarcation Point and it was here that George first met and travelled
with Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the explorer who, through his many and sometimes controversial writings, was soon to bring the Western Arctic and its people to the attention of the world.

It was on the Elvira that George survived his first shipwreck. On the way back to Herschel Island after a trading visit to the Chuckchi people of Siberia, the ship was stranded and crushed in the ice near Martin Point. There seems to have been no loss of life and the crew were able to walk across the

Porter poses with a muskox skull in 1941 while acting as a guide for Henry Larsen during a dogteam patrol of the Western Arctic sent out from the RCMP vessel, the St. Roch.
ice to the safety of another stranded but stronger ship, *The Belvedere*, on which George was later to work.

During the next twelve years George experienced more variety, travel and excitement than most people do in a lifetime. Between trading and hunting trips to the Arctic coast he would turn to whatever employment was at hand. Reindeer herding was not the most natural choice of occupation for the unemployed sailor but George, always one for new experiences, signed on with the Lomen Reindeer Corporation of Nome, Alaska and spent a season herding reindeer and training the animals to pull sleds. It was this same company which was later to supply the Canadian Government with the reindeer stock which led to the establishment of the herding industry in the Mackenzie Delta, now in the hands of William Nasagaloak and his associates.

A Siberian trading and walrus hunting voyage on *The Belvedere* followed this period ashore and George, at the end of the trip, found himself on the dock at Seattle, again unemployed. But not for long—he soon signed on with a French schooner carrying a cargo of flour to the port of Le Havre in France. The voyage, made during World War I, took him to Central America and through the Panama Canal, then across the Atlantic to the Canary Islands where George remembers warships of the French navy joining with his ship to provide protection from the Germans for the remainder of the trip. Returning to the east coast of America on board a passenger ship, George made his way across the States, stopping in Montana to work in a lumber camp. It was here that he and a few of his young friends decided to enlist in the army, but by the time his initial training was over the war had come to an end and, fortunately, he did not have to go to Europe to fight.

At the time of his discharge from the U.S. army in 1919 George was stationed at a camp in Iowa. From here he returned to Seattle where he found a job in a paint factory. This kind of work did not hold him long and by 1920 he left for yet another trading trip to Siberia. George’s life by now followed a predictable pattern familiar to all sailors: lengthy sea voyages...
followed by a few months in a home port, in his case usually Seattle or San Francisco. While most of his trips were made to Arctic waters, George did not turn down an opportunity to see what the other side of the world looked like and in 1921 he joined a four-masted schooner bound for Sydney, Australia with a load of lumber.

George Porter in 1932 during one of his trips to San Francisco
The year 1926 marked a turning point in George’s career. His sailing days, apart from short trips along the Arctic coast and the occasional visit to San Francisco, were over. Looking for a more settled life ashore he joined the Canalaska Trading Company and opened his first post at Perry River some 125 miles to the south-east of Cambridge Bay. The following year he moved to Gjoa Haven and opened a trading post which he managed for five years before returning to San Francisco. His association with Canalaska lasted until the company closed down at the outbreak of the second World War by which time George had established his reputation as an able and fair trader all along the coast.

Between leaving the Canalaska Company and joining its rival, the Hudson’s Bay Company, George enjoyed a brief, though distinguished career with the R.C.M.P., under the command of Henry Larsen who was at that time navigating his ship the St. Roch across Arctic waters from Vancouver to Halifax. When the St. Roch wintered at Walker Bay north of Holman Island, George acted as Larsen’s guide and dog team driver and assisted him on many long and difficult trips throughout the region. Perhaps one of the easier and more enjoyable journeys from Walker Bay was a visit, around Easter 1941, to Sachs Harbour. Sgt. Larsen had instructions to settle the estate of Fritz Wolki who had died at Sachs Harbour leaving considerable property after a successful life as a schooner captain and trader in the Western Arctic. At Sachs, Larsen and his men were befriended by Fred Carpenter and invited to join the Easter celebrations.

Porter helps a customer dump a load of furs at his home in Gjoa Haven.
To the feasting and dancing typical of such occasions in the Arctic was added a screening of Fred's home movies showing, to the delight of all, local hunting and trapping scenes featuring, among others, Angus Elias, Bertram Pokeak and Moses Raddi, men whose own stories deserve telling.

Larsen, obviously impressed with George's abilities, tried to persuade him to join the St. Roch for the remainder of the voyage to Halifax. But George, tempted though he might have been to get to sea once more, decided that he could not leave his wife and young family along for such an extended period.

Gjoa Haven now became George's permanent home. His wife, Martha Nuliajuk, was from this area and there was the opportunity of steady employment as a post manager with the Hudson's Bay Company. His career with the Company lasted over 25 years until his retirement in the late 1960s. As with all his employers, George served the Bay well, caring for its interests and worrying about expenses. His concern for fuel costs led him, even in the coldest months, to turn the house stove off for a few hours in the middle of each day in an attempt to save on fuel costs.

A harvest of furs, mainly white fox, awaits grading at Porter's house.
George Porter and his wife, Nooliajuk, at Gjoa Haven in 1957.

1957-l>n...>J

It •

It an effort to save oil, a measure perhaps not always appreciated by his family or colleagues.

King William Island was a good area for white fox and it had its share of bumper years. In these years the catch was so high that by half way through the season George would have sold virtually all his merchandise. He recalls one such year in the early 1950's when the fox were so plentiful that they could often be taken without traps and when one actually walked into the store through the front door only to be caught by his son. George is certain that this is a first in the annals of fur trading.

During his time with the Company, George saw many changes in the policies and practices of that...
George Porter was one of the last Hudson's Bay Company factors to use aluminum tokens to trade with Inuit hunters and trappers.

organization as it left the fur trading days behind and began to reflect something of the general change sweeping the North. The cash economy was quickly replacing the fur economy and in recognition of this the Company was persuaded to stop using its trade tokens in Arctic stores. These tokens were made of stamped aluminum, each set having a square token and five round tokens of different sizes. The square token represented the item of trade—usually a fox skin, while the round tokens according to size represented dollar value in units of 5¢, 10¢, 25¢, 50¢ and $1.00. When purchasing fox pelts from the trapper the trader would put square tokens on the counter, each

hualuk, alliaqjauvagikalutiblugu il-laminun havaqtiminulu.


one indicating a pelt. The pelts would then be graded by the trader and the amount offered for each would be placed along side the square tokens. The trapper would then have on the counter a clear picture of the amount he was being offered for his fur. As trading progressed tokens to the value of good purchased would be removed from the counter, immediately allowing the customer to visually estimate his expenditures and make decisions about other purchases. The method was slow and, to many traders impractical, especially in a freezing, dark store, trying to handle with heavy mitt tokens which often covered the entire counter. But George was using the tokens long after everyone else had stopped. Some of his older customers simply felt uneasy with the new system which gave them no graphic sense of the value of their fur or purchases and George, respecting this, continued to use the tokens.

In recent years, failing eyesight has prevented George from being fully active but he takes an interest in all that goes on and especially enjoys his grandchildren.

Perhaps no one will ever piece together all of George’s story. His family travels and not so long ago some of his grandchildren returned to Gjoa Haven from vacation in Hawaii only to discover that their grandfather had been there many years before them.

George Washington Porter’s life and times are touched on in many books about the Arctic including:

**A Whaler and Trader in the Arctic**
by Arthur James Allen (Alaska Northwest Publishing Company)

**Plowing the Arctic**
by G.J. Tranter (Hodder and Stoughton)

**The Friendly Arctic**
by Vilhjalmur Stefansson (the MacMillan Company)

**Klengenberg of the Arctic**
edited by Tome MacInnes (Jonathan Cape)
Yet another film on the Inuit lifestyle has recently been released. This, however, is a film with a difference—it is the first documentary film of Mackenzie Delta Inupiat living on the land.

Film makers Peter Haynes and Harold Tichenor lived with Jacob Archie and his family over a 15 month period, staying at nine different hunting and fishing camps. Convinced that “the Eskimo way of life is endangered and a thing of value to all people everywhere”, Tichenor and Haynes created as true a picture as possible of the Inupiatun way of life. The result is a film that gives the viewer a sense of being there, sharing in a whale hunt, a meal of fish, or in a game of cards.

The focus of the film, however, is not the wildlife and the land as much as it is the people and their way of life. Jacob Archie, a trapper who lives on the land with his wife, Elizabeth, is the main character in the movie. It is the Archie’s life style the film follows from camp to camp, with the camera always sitting in with the family as they go about their daily chores and passtimes. Included in many scenes is Bobby, Jacob and Elizabeth’s grandson, who is learning hunting, fishing, gathering, food preparation and survival skills from his grandparents. Friends and relatives from the Delta area also appear in the film.

Every summer, Jacob and Elizabeth travel North to the estuary of the Mackenzie River where they hunt beluga, and net and dry fish. From
here they go onto other summer camps for “ratting” (the muskrat harvest), or to other fishing sites. Each fall, the Archies return to Aklavik where they maintain a house. Then in the winter Jacob and Elizabeth set out a trapline, and go out regularly to check it. Jacob, who is the son of Head Point Archie Erogaktoak, an immigrant to the Delta from Alaska, is known as one of the most active, and most skillful hunters of the Delta.

Released in two separate parts, Inupiatun is an interesting and sensitive film that leaves the viewer with the fresh impression of having visited the Delta for a while. With little or no contrived sound track or visual effects, the naturalness alone would make viewing this film worthwhile. It would seem that a similar filming style could well be used to reflect the lifestyles of other Inuit groups.

The film is 55 minutes in length. Part I (27:30 minutes) tells the story of the Archie family during the fall and winter and describes the economics of the Delta. Part II (27:30 minutes) continues their story during the spring and summer and describes other aspects of their way of life.

Each part is designed to stand alone and can be used individually or consecutively in the classroom. Released in 16 mm and video tape in colour. (c) 1981 Cinetel Film Productions Limited.

The film is available for rental or purchase from:

Context International,
1170 Hornby Street,
Suite 140,
Vancouver, B.C.
V6Z 1B1
(604) 687-7749
The Inuit of the North Slope of Alaska and the Mackenzie Delta share their language and much of their cultural heritage. For centuries individuals, and sometimes groups, have moved freely from time to time from one side of what is now the international border to the other. Much less is known in Canada about the Yupik-speaking Eskimo who live to the east of the Bering Sea, though they outnumber the Inuit of all the Northwest Territories.


Just over one hundred years ago, Edward W. Nelson went to St. Michael on the Bering Sea coast as a weather observer for the U.S. Signal Service. He was also commissioned by the Smithsonian Institute to study the people and collect the things they made. He did this assiduously during the four years he lived and travelled in the area, and made the largest and most complete single ethnological collection from any part of the Arctic. His detailed report “The Eskimo about St. Michael Ward W. Nelson went to St. Michael from this collection, and the villages, the ceremonies and beliefs, and the art. Abundant illustrations of some of his nearly 10,000 specimens, which have remained in storage in the Smithsonian.

A travelling exhibition, which will include Alaskan cities, is being organized from this collection, and Unua has been prepared as the book to accompany it. The inua, or yua in Yupik, is the spirit possessed by every object or living thing, a concept which recurs as a theme throughout the volume. The Smithsonian always does things well and this book is no exception. It goes far beyond a catalogue, describing clearly, and discussing, the hunting and fishing practices, the life in the villages, the ceremonies and beliefs, and the art. Abundant illustrations of first-class quality supplement the text.

For Canadian Inuit the book will reveal a people related to them in the past but who have lived in a very different way, in wooden houses in larger and more permanent villages often many miles distance from the sea, depending mainly on fish, and with different beliefs, ceremonial practices and social customs, as well as a different language. They will find much to interest them, much to compare with their own ways, and much to admire.
John Takolik, originally from Cape Dorset, pauses to untangle dogteam traces a few miles from Spence Bay.

A glance at the map of Canada will show that the hilly strip of land jutting north from Spence Bay to Bellot Straits forms a natural division between the eastern and western parts of the Arctic. Appropriately enough, it is in this region that two groups of Inuit, one from the western side, the other from the eastern side of the dividing line, came together and, in time, grew into the thriving community of Spence Bay. Here the different traits of dialect, dress and ways of doing things blend to give the community its special characteristic—a mixture of east and west, of Kingarmiut and Netsilingmiut.

The Kingarmiut originally came from the Cape Dorset region. In 1934 three families from Cape Dorset, those of
Kavavouk, Takolik and Inuk accepted an offer from the Hudson's Bay Company to travel north on the Nascopie to the Lancaster Sound region. Along with other Inuit families from Pond Inlet and Pangnirtung, they were to assist the Company set up a trading post at Dundas Harbour. This area, rich in wildlife when compared to Cape Dorset, had its attractions for Kavavouk and his group and while the prospect of good hunting may have been the deciding factor in the move, Takolik was in no doubt about the other reasons: “The Hudson’s Bay Company people used to think that...”

A number of years were spent in the Lancaster Sound region—mainly at Dundas Harbour—before the Cape Dorset families eventually moved west across Prince Regent Inlet to help establish a Hudson’s Bay Company post at Fort Ross on the Bellot Straits. Dundas had proved to be a poor location for a trading post. While the hunting was good, heavy ice conditions in the summer made it too difficult and dangerous for ships to bring supplies so in 1936 the decision was taken to close the post.

the only real men were good trappers—and that is why we were sent over here.”


Alagumik attahumik Arctic Baymi-tun ikkaajuhihutik Companikun arqi-hinahuhutik niuvaavikum. Matuau-havakvantun taiphumani 1927 ihu-makhanwilirapikuvugun governmentkun North Baffin nirjugunin nujagahauqublugi naniyatriqahitun."
Led by Kavavouk, the Cape Dorset group now moved to Arctic Bay on the Nascopie along with two families from Pond Inlet. Some of the other Inuit who had been with them at Dundas returned instead to their original homes in Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet.

A full year was spent at Arctic Bay helping the Company to re-establish the post. It had been closed since 1927 following the government’s decision to make the North Baffin area a wildlife preserve closed to fur traders.

In the fall of 1937 the three families from Cape Dorset again boarded the Nascopie, this time bound for Fort Ross where the Company had decided to open a trading post. The hunting and trapping near Fort Ross were exceptionally good. Seals and whales of various kinds were plentiful and there were also caribou in the area. Here the Kingarmiut first met the Netsilingmiut.

From the beginning it seems that both groups began to share their particular skills and ways. As Kakoktinerk, who grew up on the coast between Cambridge Bay and Gjoa Haven, says, "We have long exchanged our styles of making clothing for instance, and we have collaborated in so many ways and have taught each other many things."

While the women shared their ways of sewing, the men came to learn and respect each others’ methods of hunting. Seal hunting techniques were especially different. The Netsilingmiut did most of their seal hunting at the

Kavavouk, the camp leader and his wife, Annie, accompanied Takolik and the other Cape Dorset residents to Spence Bay. This photo was taken west of Fort Ross in June, 1943.

Hivvulipaapiaganin tapkuan Inuit allaqiktun tauhimavaktun allaqiktunik ajjuitamiknik illiqhimiknikulu. Hurqlu Kakoktinerk, pamikhimavaktuk higijjaani akuniani Cambridge Bay ammalu Gjoa Haven, urqapaktuk "Taiphumanituqali tauhiihimavakapta annuraliuniunik allaqiktunik hurqlu, ammalu tauhiihimavakhuta piuhinik allaqiktunik amigaipiatunik ammalu hikikutivakhimabluta piuhitibnik allaqiktunik."

The mother hubbard parka of the west meets the amauti of the east in this gathering of women and children at Fort Ross.

Standing in front of bags of coal used to heat the Hudson Bay Company house. Fort Ross, 1941.
seals' "aglus" or breathing holes in the ice, shooting, spearing or sometimes trapping them with hooks set in the ice. They were also skilful at training dogs specially for the purpose of locating "aglus", even through deep snow. The Dorset men on the other hand preferred seal hunting at the floe edge where, when the seals were plentiful, a large catch could be taken in a short time.

Dialect was another area of difference. While both groups had the impression of ‘learning’ each others’ dialects, there seems to have been little difficulty in communication. It is also said that, in the beginning, the Netsilingmiut understood the Kingarmiut more readily than the other way round.

While there never seemed to be any serious misunderstandings due to differences in dialect, some quite different meanings given by the Netsilingmiut to words familiar to the Kingar-

Ikshuarvak and Jaecho (Takolik’s son) Fort Ross, 1942.

Διάφορες διαλέκτους ξεπερνούσαν την εντολή και μιλούσαν με τη διάλεκτο του άλλου.


Ikshuarvak and Jaecho (Takolik’s son) Fort Ross, 1942.
Patsy Klengenberg, 1939. Trapper, hunter, sailor, engineer and famous figure of the North. As well as being skipper of the "Aklavik," he operated his own trading post on Wilmot Island.
miut, and vice-versa, always caused some amusement. "To this day," says Takolik "I still find it strange when I hear the Netsilingmiut use the word 'Suqutaungituq'—to me this means 'its fine' or 'O.K.', but they use 'Suqutaungituq' when telling someone off or when scolding a dog for misbehaving. Another such word is 'Ajugaituq' which to us means 'unusual' but to them means 'someone who can do just about anything.' The most noticeable difference in dialect, of course, was in the names used by each group to identify Qallunaaq foods and other goods brought in from the South."

Takolik remembers first having to learn a far western dialect—an Alaskan dialect as he calls it—before coming to grips with Netsilingmiutut. "When we first lived at Fort Ross there were only three Netsilingmiut there. There was also a man and his family from Alaska. His name was Patsy. He was half Qallunaaq with an Inuk mother and owned a schooner. He worked for himself as a hunter and trapper and I joined him for a year trying to set up camp much further to the north, not far from Resolute Bay in fact, but we had to return because of bad ice conditions. So when I was travelling with Patsy I learned to speak Alaskan before I could speak the Netsilingmiut dialect."

Takolik's hunting companion was Patsy Klengenberg, son of Charlie and Gremina Klengenberg who were well-known both in Alaska and the Mackenzie Delta. Patsy, with help from his father, had set himself up as a trader at Wilmot Island between Coppermine and Cambridge Bay in the 1930's. As a boy he had taken on the unenviable task of acting as one of the translators at the 1917 trial in Calgary of Sinnisiak and Uluksuk for the murder in 1913 of two Roman Catholic priests near Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River. Not long after his stay in the Fort Ross area Patsy was killed in an explosion when aboard the H.B.C. ship Aklavik, which at the time was anchored at Cambridge Bay.

At Fort Ross the Kingarmiut were reintroduced to a lost part of Inuit culture—drum dancing. As Takolik explains, "The Eastern Arctic people were among the first to meet with the

Takolik, 1957.

C'ed' 1957.


kapiagubluni tuhaajivakhimajuk al-
missionaries and that is why the drum dances were gradually done away with. But here, even today they still do them—drum dances of many different kinds are still performed throughout the Western Arctic. I remember seeing my first drum dance. My mother had told me there was going to be a dance and, as I had not seen one before, I could hardly wait. I must admit though that my first impressions after all the initial excitement were not too favourable—in fact I really got a bit bored because they performed for so long!”

Fort Ross turned out to have the same sort of sea ice problems as Dundas Harbour. In fact in most years ice conditions made it almost impossible to re-supply the post by ship from the Eastern Arctic. In 1942, the Nascopie, after many attempts to reach Fort Ross, had to turn back because of heavy ice, leaving the post without any new supplies. In these days, however, Company stores were stocked with additional basic goods against just such an emergency so little hardship was experienced either by the

Dog team trip from Fort Ross to Arctic Bay, March, 1943. L. to R. Ernie Lyall, Takolik, Napatchie.
post staff or by the Inuit who, although mostly self-sufficient at that time, relied on the company for certain essential supplies including ammunition. Nevertheless, by April 1943 some of these necessary goods were running critically low and the company dispatched two dog teams to Arctic Bay to pick up sufficient supplies to last Fort Ross through to ship time. Takolik was in charge of this expedition which completed the 500 mile round-trip without incident even though they had to contend with moving ice on Prince Regent Inlet.

Breakup in 1943 seemed even less hopeful than in the previous year. In September the Nascopie was sighted some miles off Fort Ross but it was obvious she was having difficulties in the ice and after remaining in the area for a few days sailed away again to the north, much to the dismay of all those who were waiting for her at the post.

The situation was now serious. Fort Ross had not been supplied for two years running and there was little chance of getting sufficient assistance from any of the other posts in the area. The company decided to send supplies in by air and, at the same time, bring out the post staff or by the Inuit who, although mostly self-sufficient at that time, relied on the company for certain essential supplies including ammunition. Nevertheless, by April 1943 some of these necessary goods were running critically low and the company dispatched two dog teams to Arctic Bay to pick up sufficient supplies to last Fort Ross through to ship time. Takolik was in charge of this expedition which completed the 500 mile round-trip without incident even though they had to contend with moving ice on Prince Regent Inlet.

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everything was all right. Napachee Kudlak had misunderstood Fletcher’s intentions—after all there was a war on and this stranger on the ice with the pistol might be a German so it was not worth taking a risk by getting too close to him!

Takolik and his companions played a key role in preparing an area on the sea ice for the successful landing. To make the strip easily visible from the air they had marked it with black, empty coal bags placed on snow blocks.

The company managed to keep Fort Ross open for a number of years in spite of unpredictable ice conditions which made the annual resupply of the post more a matter of luck than certainty. The final event leading indirectly to the closing of this post happened 800 miles away in Cape Dorset. This was the sinking in 1947 of the Nascopie, the ship which as often as summer ice conditions would permit brought supplies to Fort Ross as well as to the other Company posts in the Eastern Arctic.

The H.B.C. relocated to Spence Bay in 1949. This post was situated on the west coast of Boothia Peninsula much closer to the central territory of the Netsilingmiut. It was also better placed for servicing by ship as the ice conditions here were usually lighter than those on the east side of Boothia. Initially the Inuit who had established around Fort Ross were not too keen to move from what by now had become a bountiful hunting area to a largely unknown and perhaps less productive location. Takolik was apprehensive: “I was asked to move to Spence Bay even before the Qallunaat (the H.B.C. people) went there but I turned them down at first because I had heard that the seal hunting was not good in that area—we depended so much on seal meat for our dog teams.”

While Spence Bay soon became the trading centre of the region, the Inuit for many years maintained their traditional and seasonal camps, often many miles from the post. Two or three times a year, long and difficult journeys by sea or ice had to be made to Spence Bay to sell their furs and purchase supplies. Invariably one of these journeys would be planned to coincide with Christmas time.

Hikkuitilblugu algaaguitblugu 1943 nakkuginihauvakhimajuk algaaguhimajini. Attuljitlbugu September Nascopie takujavakhimajuk qanigijani Fort Ross kihianik hikunun ajuhitetauglibiuni ammalu tahamaniilrahuni unlunik amihuugitunuqalakamajuk qulaanugarq, nakkuugiajupialaluahuni ujaqiqitunun niuvavigmi talvani.

Qanurilinaq nakuugigilipiahamavatuk. Fort Ross niuvihaaqaranunitimavakman alaguninik malruuknik ammalu ikkahuitaualmaahutik allaniq niuvavigmi qanigijaniin. Companiuni ihumakaahuilipaktun pijumalukutik kigmiakun ammalu, attautikun, aulatiautulik niuvavigmi niuvirti ihumatakituqulagulu.


Takolik illaunukkuhuiapiqapakmahvako­ mata parqanaqtinuq tahamani hikumi minianianik tigmiama. Miyikjarq takuk­hauqablugu qualaonin naunaiktihutik, illuligijutunuq puukkanatik qaaganun apputiup illijaubluikut.

Companiuni muatigatia Fort Ross­mituk niuvavig alaguninik amihuaha-
This pattern of life continued until the late 1950’s when the changes sweeping the Arctic caught up with Spence Bay and the community rapidly took on the now familiar shape of the modern arctic settlement. As in many other locations, to the nucleus of the Hudson’s Bay Company post was added the R.C.M.P. detachment, the mission, school, nursing station and a range of government administrative services. But throughout all this development and change, Spence Bay as a community continues to reflect its Kingarmiut and Netsilingmiut origins and will probably continue to do so for many years to come.
Community Profile—Holman Island

Nunaqatigiktun—Ullukhatuurq

Photos and captions by Bill Goose

Late May. Skinning a couple of seals. Seals are not harvested as much nowadays since the price per skin has decreased to a few dollars.


Preparations in early July for a weekend of fishing and sealing. Fishing and sealing is still a way of life in Holman.

Parqagtun Julygulihaatiblugu irqalukiuniahutik natihiuuniahutiklu. Irqalukiuniq natihiuunilu attu-gaugmatik hulli Ullukhatuurqmi.
Fishing with a long pole for trout in late June when the lake is rotten around the shores.

Irqatautinik attuhutik ihuurajuhiutun ihullitiblugu June tahiup hinaa hikullitiblugu.

Fleshing seal skins at a sealing camp.

Qihilirjun
Construction of the new houses in Holman is a big improvement over the matchbox type of housing.

Havagaujun nutaan IGHLPAIN
Ullukhatuumi nakkuunihaupiatun taipkunaggauganin mikkahuanin hivulinin IGHLPANUANIN.

Getting ready for a seal skinning contest during the Northern Games.

Parqagtun natinik aagniatiblugin ugninahauhtik taiphumani ukkiutatumun ullapquitlugin.
When we had the main street in Holman, it was used as an airstrip. Everybody used to come and see what was coming and going. It was good. The runway was 2300 feet in length at that time.

Wallace Goose with his dog team on the way to a sports hunters' bear hunt. The local H.T.A. carries out an annual Big Game Hunters project. We have hunters coming from all over the world to kill polar bear by dog team.


A sealing and fishing camp in late July.

Angunahuatin irqalukhiutilu ihullikitlugu July.
Northern Games charter landing (an NWT AIR Lockheed Electra) at the new Airport.

Ukkiutatumiun ullabqijatuniutun militibugin tigmiagan (N.W.T. Air Lockheed Electra) nutaami mivikmi.
The story below, by Donald Kaglik, forms part of a collection of legends and life histories of the native peoples of the Western Arctic. The collection was begun by the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) in the early 1970s, and so far life histories and legends have been told by 51 Inuvialuit and 52 Dene informants. These histories and stories provide a fascinating look at life as it was many decades ago. Many of the tapes have been used by the Inuvik CBC radio station on its program “A Long Time Ago.” Donald Kaglik is a CBC employee and well know storyteller in the Western Arctic Region.

Voices of the Past
Preservation of Oral History in the Western Arctic

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Γ<σννννννννννννννννννννννννννννννννννννν

Ittarnitain Nippigin
Mianirijauuni Urqauhiita Uallinirqmi Ukkiutatumti


Illogin unipkaan tapkuun aglatauhimajun unipkaavaktaitigun Inuvialuit aglakpaktaitigun, aglagumi hitamaihugu unipkaaajuavaktun Copekunun. Hanaguanimik hikuqtuq talvani Samuel Hearne High School hikkuurqvikmi talvani Inuvikmi pivaktain
Some of these stories are published in each issue of Inuvialuit magazine, a quarterly COPE publication. Art students from Samuel Hearne High School in Inuvik receive copies of the stories to read and develop ideas for drawings to accompany them as part of their classroom work. The magazine's editor then chooses several drawings which are published with the story. A small fee is paid to the students for each drawing used. The purpose of this co-operation is not only to provide illustrations for the magazine, but to stimulate interest in Inuvialuit history among the students. The quality of their drawings has been high, and they show a great deal of imagination.

COPE is currently exploring sources of funding to continue the taping project, and to train an Inuvialuit to catalogue the collection. There are also plans to use some of these stories in other COPE publications.

Before a story is published, the person interviewed, or his next of kin if he is deceased, is contacted for permission to use the material. Particular care is paid to respecting the wishes of those who have provided this fascinating collection of local history.

The Hunter and His Wife

by Donald Kaglik

Once, long ago, there lived a group of people along the seashore. These people were never in want of food for among them was a very strong and healthy young man, who was indeed a great hunter. This man took part in almost everything. However, above all else he loved hunting. In the winter, he hunted caribou; in the spring, he hunted seals in ice cracks.

Angunahuati Nuliaggalu

Aglaktuk Donald Kaglik

Once, long ago, there lived a group of healthy young people. Among them was a very strong and healthy young man, who was indeed a great hunter.
Everyone looked up to him as their leader and provider. He was kind-hearted and the people loved him very much. In spite of all his greatness, there was one aspect that worried his mother and that was his lack of interest in women. His mother always longed for a daughter-in-law. She had never had a daughter.

In this group of Eskimos were many pretty girls and many who were not only pretty but could sew and cook as well. Though these girls had excellent qualities, he still lacked interest in marriage. This really worried his mother for she was getting on in years and she would no longer be able to cook and sew for her son.

Towards mid-winter some visitors came. Among them was an old lady and her daughter. She wasn't pretty and her daughter. She wasn't pretty either. This was the first girl such young man had ever seen. Her hand in marriage. However the girl was even darker than he expected. There seemed to be one factor that worried his mother immediately went over to her tent and spent the night with her daughter.

One evening, just before bedtime, the young man went out and unexpectedly saw the girl who also was out. She was like other girls and was hardly seen by other young men. His mother was worried to choose another girl, for she was not certain if this girl could cook or that she would come over to her tent and spend the night with her daughter. The morning had passed quickly. He awoke, slipped into his clothing and went out. He found the girl in bed. The girl was even darker than he expected. There seemed to be one aspect that worried his mother immediately went over to her tent. He found the girl in bed. The girl was even darker than he expected.

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One evening, just before bedtime, the young man went out and unexpectedly saw the girl who also was out. She was like other girls and was hardly seen by other young men. His mother was worried to choose another girl, for she was not certain if this girl could cook or that she would come over to her tent and spend the night with her daughter. The morning had passed quickly. He awoke, slipped into his clothing and went out. He found the girl in bed. The girl was even darker than he expected. There seemed to be one factor that worried his mother immediately went over to her tent and spent the night with her daughter.

Upon receiving the message, the young man immediately went over to the tent. The girl was even darker than he expected. There seemed to be an unknown silence about the whole place. However, it was too late to back out. After the lights went out, he touched her skin and it felt as if it were scaly. In spite of this, he slept with her. The morning had passed quickly. He awoke, slipped into his clothing and went out. He found the girl in bed. The girl was even darker than he expected. There seemed to be one factor that worried his mother immediately went over to her tent and spent the night with her daughter.

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surrounding area completely different. Somehow they were on a piece of land he had never seen before. A short time later he went back in for his breakfast. The table was set when he entered. All he saw for breakfast was a bowl of berries for each of them. These berries were very much like cranberries but much larger. The berries were never picked for eating in his land he had never seen before. A short time later he went back in for his breakfast. The table was set when he entered. All he saw for breakfast was a bowl of berries for each of them. These berries were very much like cranberries but much larger. The berries were never picked for eating in his home but he had no choice since he was hungry. The hunter had to eat his meal he was restricted to a diet of berries that he did not like. Itite meal he was restricted to a diet of berries that he did not like. After eating, his mother-in-law warned him not to try escaping. Since he was not allowed to hunt for his favorite meal he was restricted to a diet of berries picked by his wife and mother-in-law.

One day when he was left alone as usual, he started planning his escape. As he sat down, he happened to look in the sky and to his amazement saw someone paddling a kayak in the sky. As the craft drew near, it circled a few times and descended. When it touched ground, the man told the hunter in a very friendly manner that he had come to help him escape. Since the women were due back at any moment, they decided to escape the next day. He was told to ask the women to get berries which were more to his taste.

They began their journey immediately. They were up early the next day it began to get light, he went out and reach them and will be back quite late. "The berries you are asking for are in a far-away land; however, we will try to bring them and will be back quite late."

They were up early the next day it was still dark when the women started off on their journey. Just as it began to get light, he went out and the man in the kayak was on the ground. Upon touching the ground, he was warned that once they were above ground and travelling, he was not to look back, no matter what happened.

They began their journey immediately and soon noticed that they got bright and they arrived with the same old berries they had eaten all the time. The women asked the men if they could pick the berries he used to have back home. When they were ready for bed, he had the birch tree for a kayak, the branches for his paddles. The women arrived with the same old berries they had eaten all the time. The man realized that it was the wolverine that saved his life. This is why the Eskimo of the old days believed that the wolverine was very strong medicine. The wolverine had the birch tree for a kayak, the branches for his paddles.

The hunter awoke, finally, from what seemed to be a very heavy sleep. He looked all around and found that he was lying on a sandy beach. There was no one else on the beach except a broken branch from a birch tree. Not far from the branch was a wolverine on top of the tree. He seemed to be smiling down as if to say, 'you are at home at last.' The man realized that it was the wolverine that saved his life. This is why the Eskimo of the old days believed that the wolverine was very strong medicine. The wolverine had the birch tree for a kayak, the branches for his paddles.


Committee For Original People’s Entitlement

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Communications Officer: Greg Smith

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Paulatuk: Bertha Ruben, Peter Green  
Holman Island: Mark Ekootak, Bill Goose  
Tuktoyaktuk: Calvin Pokiak, Eddie Gruben, Bobby Chicksi, Mark Noksana  
Aklavik: Annie C. Gordon, Dorothy Arey, Verna Archie

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**COPE Activities**

Bob DeLury, Chief Negotiator for Land Rights, is working on the 1978 Agreement-in-Principle in an effort to reach a final agreement.

Western Arctic Regional Municipality (W.A.R.M.) was formed in 1982 to work on the decentralization of legislative power. James Washee and

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**COPE-kut**

Sanajuqut Angajuqqaaq: Peter Green  
Angajuqqap Tuglia: Sam Raddi  
Titiravmingmi Ikaajurijuq: Agnes Semmler  
Tusaumtitaunniliq: Greg Smith

**COPE-kut Angajuqqaat Katimajiqutingi**  
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Uluqsartuurnmi: Mark Ekootak, Bill Goose  
Tuktoyaktukmi: Calvin Pokiak, Eddie Gruben, Bobby Chicksi, Mark Noksana  
Aklavikmi: Annie C. Gordon, Dorothy Arey, Verna Archie

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**COPE-kut Piliriaqarnirijangit**


Ualinimmi ukiurtartumi nunait aviksimaurninginnut nunaujullirijkut
Peter Green are heading up this task force.

Peter Green is preparing for constitutional development for the Inuvialuit, and at press time was preparing for the First Minister's Conference on Aboriginal Rights.

The COPE Language Project, with Coordinator Larry Osgood, has been going on for two years. Inuvialuktun linguistic descriptions and language programs in the schools, and language materials are being developed in an effort to save Inuvialuktun.

The Communications Department, under Greg Smith, provides information for the COPE communities and press releases about COPE for the general public. COPE publishes a newsletter, Akana, and a magazine, Inuvialuit.

The Western Arctic Northern Games Association operates out of an office in Inuvik. Each COPE community, as well as the communities of Arctic Red River and Fort MacPherson, has a Northern Games representative, and a board of directors oversees the Association's projects. A very successful project for children, the Junior Northern Games, was organized during the summer of 1982, and a similar event is planned for 1983.

COPE is also affiliated with the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

Inuvialuit Development Corporation

President: Nellie Cournoyer
Executive Assistant: Peter Coolican

Ulu foods has had a very successful four years of operation. Selling such products as reindeer meat, arctic char, caribou meat, muskox meat, and clothing made from muskox skins, the Ulu Foods store in Inuvik has a thriving business, as does the larger, behind the scenes wholesale merchandising section.

Aklak Air is operated in a 50% partnership with Willard Hagen. Flying eight aircraft out of Inuvik, the air company does charter work for the hospital clinic, the GNWT, the Hous-
ing Corporation and numerous service companies, and carries sport fishermen and local residents around the Mackenzie Delta region.

Delta Cabs Limited is operated by I.D.C. to provide taxi service to residents of the Inuvik region.

Guided Arctic Expeditions offers sport hunts for muskox and polar bear on Banks Island and Melville Island. Hunters from as far away as New Zealand, Australia and Europe have participated in this hunt.

The Summer Fish Plant began operations in 1981 in Inuvik under the management of Jesse Amos. In the summer of 1982, 37,000 lbs. of whitefish, loche and coney was processed.
Mr. St. James, the new chief federal negotiator for Inuvialuit land rights, has just finished a four-day visit to the Arctic Region. The visit was accompanied by the chief negotiators, George Perry from the Nunavut Land Claims Commission and John Atwell from the Yukon Land Claims Commission. It is the first visit to this region for Mr. Perry and Robert Davis, and the first visit for Mr. St. James.

Mr. St. James has often been described as 'tough, shrewd, and unemotional.' He is an expert on international energy law and spent 10 years as an associate who achieved the position of deputy director of the Department of Energy.

The first evening of their visit, they spent an evening at the Arctic Region. The meeting was attended by Mr. St. James, his assistant, John Atwell, and Mr. Perry. The meeting was successful and productive. They talked about the negotiations and the progress made so far.

Mr. St. James also visited the area around the Arctic Region. He talked to several local leaders and discussed the future of the region. They talked about the need for a final settlement and the importance of respecting the wishes of the Inuvialuit people.

The meetings in the Arctic Region were very successful. The Inuvialuit leaders are very happy with the progress made so far and are looking forward to a final settlement.

September 1, 1990

A Subscription to Akana and the quarterly COPE magazine, Inuvialuit, is $12.00 a year, available from: COPE, P.O. Box 2000, Inuvik, N.W.T., X0E 0T0. 

A regular newsletter published by COPE.

Uqalimaagaliugtaqattartunik tajaujunik Akanamiklu ammalu taqittipingasut naajaraangata uqalimaagaliugtaqattartunik COPE-kunnit tajaujunik Inuvialuit-nik pijuqattarunangnarput akiqartillugit $12.00-nik arraagumut atausirnmut, turaarutingat: COPE, P.O. Box 2000, Inuvik, N.W.T., X0E 0T0.
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- **Administrative Officer:** Harry Maksagak  
- **Language Commission Coordinator:** Harry Maksagak  
- **Health Consultant:** Bella Omilgoitok

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- **Holman:** Jack Kupeuna  
- **Holman:** Patsy Ekpakohak

### Communications

In order to keep the people in the Kitikmeot region as well informed as possible, the communications department publishes a newsletter, *Inuit Okaoheet*.

In addition, Pearl Benyck and the KIA staff are developing a production and

### Sanajiquitingi

- **Angajuqqaaq:** Bob Kadlun  
- **Titirarvingmi Angajuqqaaq:** Roger Rawlyk  
- **Kiiuqqalirii:** Scott Naylor  
- **Tusaumattiruannilirii:** Pearl Benyck  
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- **Uqausiqausilirijit:** Harry Maksagak  
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- **Iqaluktuutiaq:** Christine Kaminguak  
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- **Qurlurtuuq:** Joseph Niptanatiak  
- **Qurlurtuuq:** Jack Atatahak  
- **Ulursartuq:** Jack Kupeuna  
- **Ulursartuq:** Patsy Ekpakohak

### Tusaumattiruanniliriiikkut


Ammalu, Pearl Benycklu Kitikmeot Inuit Katutjiqatigiikkunnilu sanajijuut aaqiksuiqattarniksanki Businessitaire-
publishing business to provide a service to businesses and organizations in the Kitikmeot Region.

The Communications Section has recently published the first language training manual of Inuinnaqtun, the Copper Eskimo dialect, and will soon be working on a similar manual for the Netsilingmiut dialect.

Community Health Consultation Project

A community health consultant has recently been hired to help individuals and families make the best use of health programs available to them.

Language Commission

With a grant from the Inuit Cultural Institute, KIA is embarking on a language program to document Inuinnaqtun, the Netsilingmiut dialect, and Kingarmiut, and to produce dictionaries and language materials for the schools.

Kitikmeot Development Corporation

A relatively new project, K.D.C. was incorporated in 1982. Details for a few projects are presently being worked out. The Gyrfalcon project is one of these.
Inuit Okaheet, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association newsletter, is available from the Communications Department, Kitikmeot Inuit Association, P.O. Box 18, Cambridge Bay, N.W.T., X0E 0C0.

Inuit Okaheet, qitirmiut inuit katutjigatigikungitta tusarultiliarigat tagai, pjaqattarrungnar&uitik titirafuni turaurutingannut Communications Department, Kitikmeot Inuit Association, P.O. Box 18, Cambridge Bay, N.W.T., X0E 0C0.

English section follows Inuktitut section
Gyrfalcon Project

In 1981, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association became the first organization to be granted a permit to trap and export gyrfalcons. Bob Kadlun, president of KIA, points out that this is a first for Inuit organizations as well. Never before has the export of live wildlife been undertaken as a business by an Inuit organization. “Society today is really adapted to killing wildlife for skins,” says Kadlun. “What we are doing is unique because we save the birds and don’t kill them.”

Although only two birds have been taken since the permit was granted, due to bad weather, Kadlun considers the program to be a success. “In 1982 we sent two live gyrfalcons to the Middle East. The new owners were very happy. The kind of response we got after we delivered the birds was fantastic, because apparently by the time hunting season was over, the two birds were known as two of the best hunting birds in the whole Middle East.”

The NWT now has a yearly quota of about 20 birds. The NWT Wildlife Service grants permits to applicants such as the Hunters and Trappers Associations so that KIA and other sponsors can proceed with capturing the gyrfalcons. Expert falconers are hired by the KIA to oversee the capture and transportation of the falcons so the birds are given the best care possible. After the birds have been trapped, they are transferred to special wooden crates for air transport to the Middle East. Even with the high expenses involved, Kadlun says that the project is very cost-effective.

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KIA recognizes that there has been much bad, and untruthful, press coverage of the gyrfalcon project. Conservationists have raised questions about the survival of the gyrfalcon species, and others have condemned the project as an Arabian plot to syphon off Canadian gyrfalcons. In fact, says Kadlun, there have never been any multinationals involved in the project, other than to transport the birds out of Canada. And the project has been monitored from the beginning by the NWT Wildlife Service. Only first year birds are taken, and given that between 80 and 90 per cent of these die from natural causes before reaching 1 year old, such a minimal harvest is harmless to the total population of gyrfalcons. In fact, taking falcons that might have perished in the wild, to a secure environment where they are still allowed to live and hunt, and are given the best care, may in fact be beneficial for the species, Kadlun points out. Moreover, a 103
if the birds want to fly away, they are free to do so. This is a common occurrence in the Middle East.

One of the major reasons for setting up the gyrfalcon project was to provide the Inuit population in the N.W.T. with a new form of economic opportunity. Certainly the Mid-Eastern market for falcons is good, and Kadlun feels that there is now a market for as many birds as KIA can provide. “We hope to see this as an on-going program in the distant future, provided that it is well managed both by the Inuit and by the governments involved.”
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Canadaup ukiurtartungani qimmiqujuq

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Unipkaamiq qanuq qimmitt piulijaaluurngmangaataa

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For Mackenzie district

Mackenzie Deltaqinninunut
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For Ellesmere and Baffin Islands

Ellesmeremilunut
150 Kent Street
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For Keewatin district

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