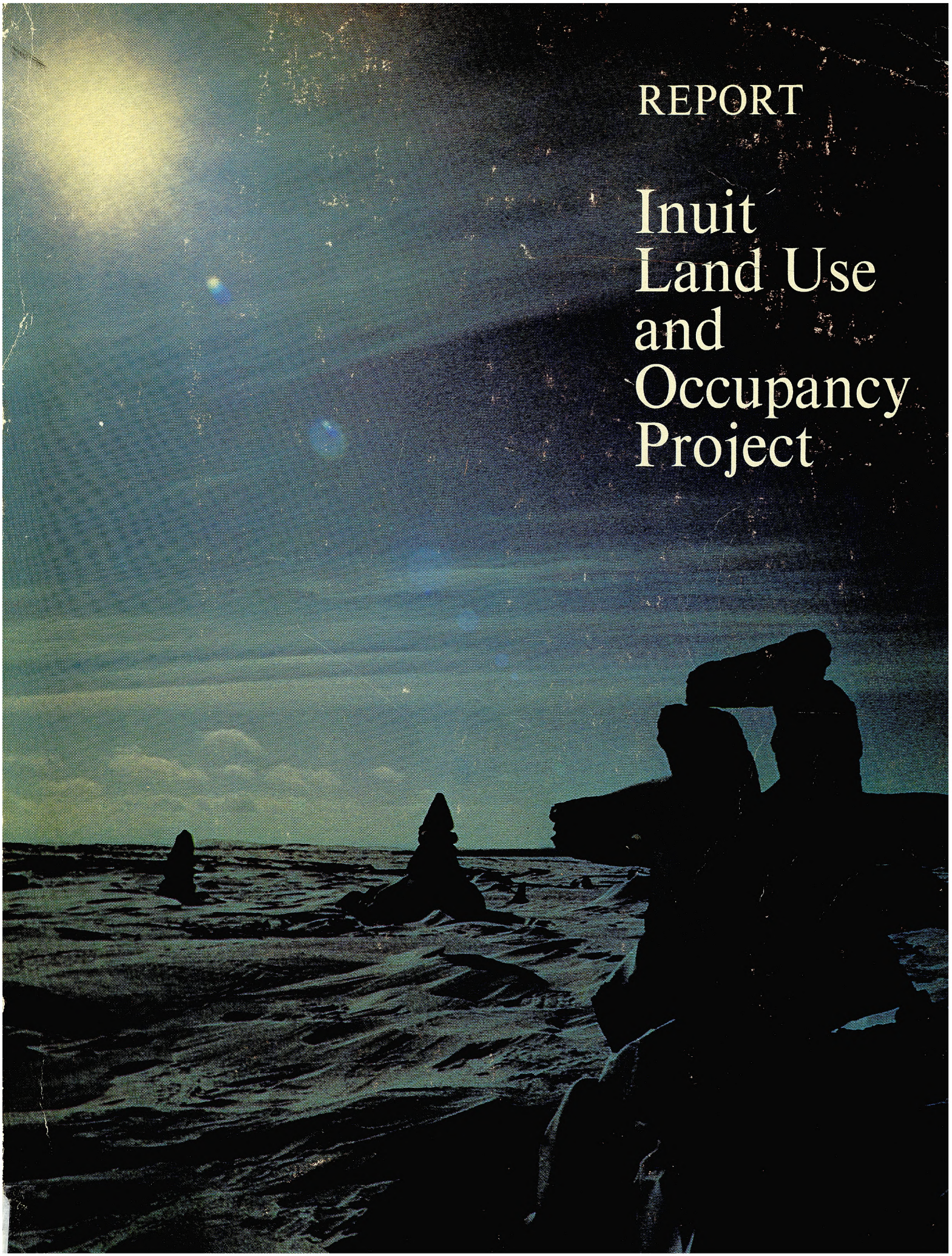

REPORT

Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project

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VOLUME ONE: LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY

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Foreword

The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project was initiated at the request of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Following preliminary discussions in 1972 and 1973, Milton Freeman Research Limited was incorporated on 18 June 1973, in order to undertake research into Inuit use and occupancy of the land, with funds advanced by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. After the research had begun, a Steering Committee regularly met to oversee the interests of the federal government and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in the Project.

Letter of Endorsement

The contract between Her Majesty and Milton Freeman Research Limited to carry out the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project called for the establishment of a Steering Committee to advise the Minister on the overall progress of the Project. The Steering Committee, consisting of two members appointed by the Minister and two by Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, met five times, reviewed the progress reports and financial statements of the Project, and found them satisfactory.

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For Inuit Tapirisat of Canada

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The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project wishes to acknowledge the cooperation and assistance of many individuals who contributed in a variety of capacities. The following list is far from complete.

Peter Cumming, Tagak Curley, Karl Francis, Barrie Gunn and Elijah Menarik contributed to the early discussions that led to the establishment of the Project.

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Appreciation is due to Charlotte Sinclair and Barbara Seldon for drawing the maps in Volumes One and Two. The maps in Volume Three were designed by Grant Head and produced by Bryan Hawley, and assisted by Pam Coutts, John Dixon, Roxanne Epperson, Mike Hastings, Clare Lenz, Nick Lobodycz, Brenda Ludgate, Lynn MacLachlan, Kelly McKay, Ruth Rennie, Christiane Schmiedeknecht, Laurie Toffelmire, Raymond and Mabel Yeung. The photographs and captions were compiled by Terry Pearce; the cover photograph was taken by Lorne Smith and the frontispiece of Volume One by Fred Bruemmer.

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Preface

In February 1973 Inuit Tapirisat of Canada proposed to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs that research be undertaken to produce a comprehensive and verifiable record of Inuit land use and occupancy in the Northwest Territories of Canada.

The record so obtained would delimit the present and past use and occupation of the land and marine environment and would categorize the uses which any particular area served. In view of the continuing role which land plays in defining the cultural and ecologic circumstances of Inuit society, the research was also to provide an explicit statement – *by the Inuit* – of their perception of the man-land relationship. The results of this research are published in three volumes.

The land use reports presented in Volume One are grouped into "regions" that were constituted more for administrative and logistic purposes than to reflect any profound cultural or political northern realities.

There is variation in the manner in which land use reports have been written. Though these reports could have been standardized, it was decided that several advantages followed from diversity: first, the special skills and insights of the different authors are retained; secondly, this exposes the reader to several different viewpoints or facets of an important topic. It is important that the reader note that with the exception of the short settlement histories presented for each contemporary community, virtually all textual material was derived from fieldworkers' discussions with Inuit informants. By thus restricting the material presented to that derived directly from recent fieldwork, we have attempted to meet our objective of setting down the Inuit view relating to land use and occupation.

The second part of Volume One deals with land occupancy. Insofar as we now believe that Inuit, irrespective of location, share a common viewpoint in respect to values, attitudes and sentiments toward the land, we have presented one report on occupancy rather than a series of similar reports from each of the regions. The geographical location of the quoted respondents indicates the widespread commonalty of viewpoint in discussing the land, irrespective of residence or origin of the speaker. It was necessary to annotate the material presented in the occupancy report, for many of the printed quotes are taken from lengthy expositions on a given topic. The transcripts of all tapes collected and translated are on permanent deposit at the Public Archives in Ottawa, together with the original tapes and all other project materials.

In Volume Two, a series of reports have been assembled to provide the reader with information useful for a better understanding of the land use and occupancy data presented in Volumes One and Three.

Part I of Volume Two contains background to the present study; Part II presents information relating to prehistoric occupation of the Canadian north; Part III explains something of the nature of Inuit cultural adaptation to life in the Arctic, and Part IV is a eomplement to the occupancy report in Volume One, using photographs to add a visual dimension to the statements of Inuit concerning their feelings for, and cultural dependence upon their lands.

Volume Three includes the land use maps illustrating the extent of land use described in Volume One. Due to the complexity of mapping, certain "minor" land use activities described in the reports have been omitted from the maps. Other map series were prepared by the Project, but for practical reasons are not published in full; the reader is referred to the occupancy report for representative samples of place name maps, cultural maps, wildlife resource maps, and travel route maps.

No single study can satisfactorily provide answers to all classes of question that might be asked about a people's relationship to their land, unless that study be of immense proportions. In planning and carrying out the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, constraints of time more especially required that we set priorities both with respect to the sorts of data that should be collected and with their subsequent analysis and publication.

The main determinant of the final form of this report, however, has necessarily been consideration of balance in trying to describe accurately the voluminous documentation now available describing the different Inuit groups occupying and using the approximately 1.5 million square miles of northern Canada that constitute their domain. An important requirement of our work was to present, in explicit and unambiguous fashion, information in support of the fact that Inuit have used and occupied this vast northern land since time immemorial and that they still use and occupy it to this day.

Note

Inuit/Eskimo

The Canadian Inuit inereasingly, when speaking in English or French, use their own word for themselves, namely Inuit (singular, Inuk). This term has come to replace "Eskimos" or "Esquimaux", which are, respectively, the English and French renditions of the Cree word "Askimawak".

Thus throughout this report, the historic inhabitants of Arctic Canada are referred to as Inuit. However, because the Alaskan Eskimos do not refer to themselves as Inuit, and because the various prehistoric oecupants of the Arctic regions are known in the literature as "Eskimos", this term is used where appropriate to those particular circumstances.

Spelling

The absence of a standardized writing system and actual dialect differences from area to area combine to produce considerable variation in the written form of the Eskimo language. It has not been possible, therefore, to standardize the spelling of Inuit personal names, names of local groupings, or local Inuit place names that appear in the reports that follow. Some of these renderings have become well established because of their authors' place in history; for example, the Danish ethnographers of the Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921–1924 have given us names such as Padlimiut, Harvaqtormiut, Hauneqtormiut, and Qaernermiut for some of the people of the Barren Grounds. These spellings are used by Welland in his land use report in Volume One and by Hoffman in Volume Two. However, Correll (a linguist, who writes in Volume Two) prefers to represent these same names as Paatlimiut, Saqvaqturmiut, Sauniqturmiut, and Qairnirmiut.

In the case of reprinted articles (in Volume Two), all names and words in the Eskimo language appear as originally published.

Inuit Land Use in the Western Canadian Arctic

by Peter J. Usher

Introduction

This report covers the western Canadian Arctic region, which consists of the five communities of Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk and Sachs Harbour. In these five communities live virtually all of the Inuit of the western Arctic, a region that exhibits both outward distinctiveness and internal homogeneity in terms of dialect, kinship, culture, history, and economic and political development. It has been possible to divide the last 70 years or so into three significant historical periods. Period I is identified as the whaling and early fur trade period, Period II with the peak fur trade period, and Period III with the post-fur trade or modern period. The specific dates are slightly different for each community, but generally Period I ended in the late 1920's or early 1930's. Most people then did not have large boats, they had few dogs and few traps; trapping was not well established, and rarely did people run very long trap lines. At the same time, major population shifts and ecological changes were occurring, chiefly the migration of Alaskan Inuit to the coast of northern Yukon Territory and the Mackenzie River Delta, and the eastward movement of some Delta people to the coast between Baillie Island and Pearce Point.

Period II was characterized by the widespread ownership of schooners and by the new residence and land use patterns that resulted from that significant change in mobility, as well as from the inculcation of social and economic incentives to trap furs as a primary winter occupation. This period lasted until the middle or late 1950's, by which time fur prices had seriously declined, economic hardship was prevalent throughout the region, and wage employment opportunities were first introduced through construction.

Period III has been characterized by a general move into the five main settlements, a decline in trapping as the chief source of cash income, but a more effective use of distant hinterlands owing to the change from dog-teams to snowmobiles as the chief means of winter transport. There has also been an increase in polar bear hunting in response to rising prices, and caribou appear to have become increasingly abundant east of Mackenzie River.

Aklavik and Inuvik

Aklavik, an Inuit word meaning "the place of the barren ground grizzly bear", is situated on one of the main channels of the Mackenzie Delta (68°12'N, 135°00'W), south of the treeline and about 70 miles from the Arctic Ocean. There had been small trading posts in the vicinity since about 1910, and in 1912 the H.B.C. (Hudson's Bay Company) established a post opposite the present site of the settlement. In 1919, the Anglican Church established a mission at Aklavik, in 1922 the R.C.M.P. moved its Herschel Island post there, in 1925 the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals opened a station, and in 1926 the H.B.C. moved its post from across the channel, and the Roman Catholic Church established a mission. By this time, Aklavik had become the administrative and trading centre of the Mackenzie Delta and the point at which river-borne traffic was broken for distribution in the Delta and along the Arctic coast. In 1931, the population stood at 411, of which 140 were Inuit, 180 were Loucheux Indians, and 91 were Whites.

Because of Aklavik's growing importance as a regional centre, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches built and gradually extended hospitals and residential schools there. Between 1930 and 1950, prices of fox and muskrat skins were generally high, and the whole Delta area was intensively trapped. By 1952, Aklavik and its vicinity had a population of about 1,556. By this time, houses and other structures had taken up nearly all of the ground suitable for building, and it was impossible to expand the existing 2,000-foot airstrip to accommodate large aircraft. In 1954, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources decided to remove the federal school, hospital, airport and administrative services from Aklavik to a new site, which has since become known as Inuvik. Although it was at first thought that Aklavik would gradually be abandoned, that has not happened. In 1974, Aklavik's population was 761, and its facilities included Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Pentecostal churches, an R.C.M.P. station, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to nine), a library, a post office, a hotel, two general stores, the Aklavik Fur Garment Cooperative, and scheduled air transport five times weekly from Inuvik.

The decision in 1954 to remove the federal services that were based in Aklavik was made after an extensive survey of the Mackenzie River Delta for a suitable site. The site chosen is on the East Channel of the Delta (68°22'N, 133°43'W), within the treeline and about 35 miles by air (70 miles by water) east of Aklavik and 60 miles south of the Arctic Ocean. The site was selected mainly because it is a large level area, well above flood level, and because the presence of gravel and its location near a navigable channel made it possible to build a modern airport there. Inuvik very soon became the administrative centre and distribution point for the Delta settlements and the western Arctic coast and a major base for petroleum exploration in the vicinity. The construction of Inuvik, as the town became known ("the place of man" in Inuttitut), began in 1955 and continued into 1961.

In 1961, the census registered 1,248 residents of Inuvik; in 1965, the population was estimated to be 2,744, of which 916 were Inuit, 359 were Indians, and 1,469 were Whites. In 1974, the population was 4,150. With its planned townsite, modern buildings and utilities, and an extensive range of public services, Inuvik may reasonably claim to be the world's first truly modern Arctic town.

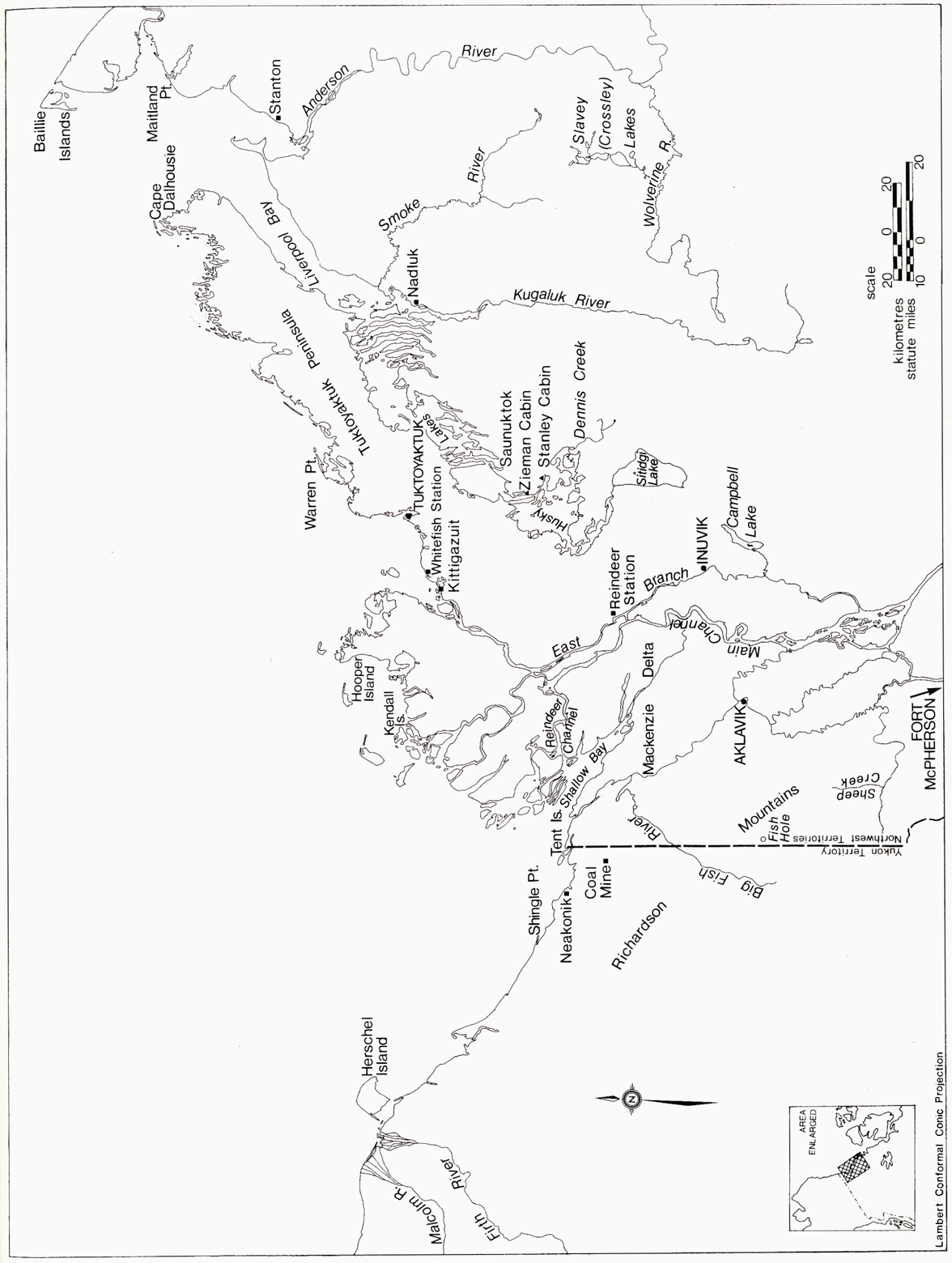
Among the numerous administrative facilities in Inuvik are the regional offices of many federal departments. The town now has a 6,000-foot paved all-weather airstrip and scheduled air service from southern centres, primary and secondary residential schools, a 100-bed hospital, four denominational churches, a post office, a bank, three hotels, a liquor store, three general and many specialty stores, a scientific research laboratory, a radio station, a newspaper, extensive recreational facilities, and a variety of general services.

The land use patterns of Aklavik and Inuvik residents are largely similar, and they are discussed together. Inuvik was established only in the late 1950's, and before then the Mackenzie Delta (Map 1) population was essentially undifferentiated. However, initial assessment of the data suggests that those who traditionally lived on the east side of the Delta were more likely to move to Inuvik than to Aklavik (and vice versa), and that there is at present an obvious, but by no means exclusive, east-west division of the Delta itself between the two communities.

The critical years chosen to delimit Periods II and III in the Delta are 1929 and 1955. About 1929, there was a transition from whale boats to schooners and a world depression that immediately affected all fur prices, especially muskrat prices. Trapping activity did not decline, but it was relocated and reconcentrated. And in 1955, construction commenced on both the DEW-Line and the town of Inuvik. The introduction of wage labour opportunities quickly resulted in new settlement and land use patterns.

- *Fox Trapping:* Arctic foxes are trapped chiefly along the coast. There are two characteristic patterns: one runs along the coast from Shallow Bay toward Herschel Island, and the other goes through the outer Delta to Kendall Island, and the other outer islands. Trap lines for coloured foxes inland, through the mountains, have declined in number in northern Yukon Territory, but some people still run lines west from the Delta into the Richardson Mountains. Big Fish River, for example, is still a commonly used route. A few people run trap lines east of Inuvik for martens. With the increasing concentration of people in the two main settlements, and the decreasing importance of trapping as a prime source of cash, there has been a general decline in trapping beyond the confines of the Delta for fine- or long-haired fur.
- *Muskrat Trapping:* The fur economy of the Delta has always been centred primarily on muskrat. North of a line roughly from Aklavik to Inuvik, there is probably not a single lake or creek that has not been exploited by Inuit muskrat trappers. (South of that line, the Delta is used mainly by Indians.) In 1949, the federal government instituted a system of individual registered trapping areas, which to some extent represented a legal codification of the existing pattern of land use. Traditionally there had been no exclusive hunting or trapping rights to a particular area, but there was a scattered distribution of camps throughout the Delta and, naturally enough, the immediate environs of any camp would most probably and predominantly be used by the owner of that camp. The mandatory registration of individual trapping areas was discontinued in 1957, although those who wished to maintain their areas in good standing were permitted to do so. A few have done this, but the general preference among Delta trappers has been to leave the entire area open to all. In general, there has been a decline in trapping muskrats in favour of shooting them during break-up, but this has not changed the areas utilized. Snowshoe rabbits are ubiquitous in the Delta and may be taken anywhere.
- *White Whale Hunting:* Whale hunting is important and occurs from early July to early August. There is a tendency for Aklavik people to go to Neakonik and for Inuvik people to go to Kendall Island or, less often, to Whitefish Station, but these divisions are by no means exclusive. The whaling areas are associated with shallow waters.
- *Caribou Hunting:* There has been a noticeable shift in caribou hunting range over time from the mountains down to the coast. This is largely because in the early 1900's, before the widespread ownership of whale boats and schooners, many people, especially those of Alaskan origin, spent most of the summer on the high ground inland, where travel by foot and pack dog was easier, caribou more plentiful, and mosquitoes fewer. They moved with the caribou and had no permanent summer camps. With the introduction of larger boats, people were bound more closely to the coast, and emphasis on whaling and fishing increased. Summer caribou hunting then tended to be restricted to walking distance from the coast. In more recent times, caribou hunting has shifted mainly to the Richardson Mountains, north, west and south of Aklavik in fall, winter and spring, and to the Coal Mine and Shingle Point areas in summer. The Malcolm River and Firth River valleys are still important to a smaller number of people, who occasionally stay at Herschel Island. Mountain sheep are taken in the mountain regions, usually in association with caribou hunting, although special trips are sometimes made for them.
- *Seal and Polar Bear Hunting:* These animals are of limited importance to the economy of this region. They are sometimes taken in association with other game, and certainly in much the same areas. The seaward limit of polar bear and seal hunting corresponds with the normal position of the floe edge, which is rarely more than 10 miles off shore.
- *Moose Hunting:* Moose hunting can be undertaken anywhere in the Delta, but special hunts are sometimes made to the east side, especially near Campbell and Sitidgi lakes. The immediate environs of Inuvik were well known as an excellent moose hunting area prior to the construction of the town.
- *Fishing:* Fishing is also common throughout the Delta. There are some particularly productive spots within it, and a

Map 1
Aklavik, Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk place names



number of favoured locations outside it as well, particularly Fish Hole.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese are hunted within the Delta itself, chiefly on grassy flats on some of the big bends on the Main Channel, and they are also hunted on the northern and northwestern sections of the outer Delta, with the Inuvik hunters favouring the areas north of Reindeer Channel and Shallow Bay, and the Aklavik hunters favouring the Tent Island and Neakonik areas. All these areas provide temporary feeding stops for geese during the migrations.

GENERAL REMARKS

Although there has been some contraction in the total area used and a reduction in trapping by Delta people, dependence on fish and game is still high. Because many people are permanently employed and can travel only on weekends and holidays, their dependence on nearby areas is now even more acute. The result of the shift toward wage employment has not reduced dependence on the land, rather, it has increased dependence on many key areas within 50 or 100 miles of the settlements. These areas include: the Richardson Mountains between Sheep Creek and Shingle Point; the whaling areas in the shallow waters off Neakonik, Kendall Island and Whitefish Station; the goose hunting areas along the Main Channel; and the outer Delta and the Delta proper for trapping.

There is a considerable overlap between lands used by the Inuit and lands used by the Indians in the Delta region, especially in the area between Aklavik and Inuvik in the Delta itself, in the marten trapping area east of Inuvik, and in the caribou hunting range in the Richardson Mountains between Aklavik and Fort McPherson. Some Indians also go to Whitefish Station to hunt white whales in July. Both Aklavik and Inuvik have Indian populations nearly as large as Inuit populations. There is a tendency among both groups to see their lands as native lands collectively, on a community basis, and not to divide them up into "Inuit lands" and "Indian lands" which would in any case be impossible.

Tuktoyaktuk

Tuktoyaktuk (69°27'N, 133°02'W) is at the northern end of a peninsula extending into Kugmallit Bay, just east of the Mackenzie River Delta, on the Arctic coast. The name in Inuttitut means "resembling a caribou". It was formerly called Port Brabant, and the present name is commonly abbreviated to "Tuk". Tuktoyaktuk is 76 miles by air or 110 miles by water north of Inuvik. In 1934, the H.B.C. chose this site as an alternative to Herschel Island and as the most suitable harbour in the region for transshipping freight brought by barge down Mackenzie River to deeper-draught coastal vessels for distribution along the Arctic coast. In 1937, the H.B.C. store and Anglican and Roman Catholic missions were opened; a school was opened in 1947, and an R.C.M.P. post in 1950. In 1955, Tuktoyaktuk assumed new importance as a supply and distribution centre for the construction of the DEW-Line, and was itself the location of one of the DEW-Line stations. In 1956, a nursing station was built, and in 1957 an area administrator of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and a Pentecostal missionary took up residence there. In 1974, the settlement's population was 585, most of whom were Inuit. The settlement has good air and water transport facilities, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to nine), three churches, a library, a post office, a curling rink, a general store, a cooperative for making fur garments, and a research station of the Polar Continental Shelf Project.

There were many winter campsites in the Tuktoyaktuk (usually called Tuk, locally) area, and the land use patterns have two main foci. One is the Tuktoyaktuk–Kittigazuit area, the other is the Cape Bathurst area, including such camps as Baillie Islands, North Star Harbour, Whale Bluff, Maitland Point and Stanton (Maps 1 and 2). A third, but older and less signifieant, focus was the Kugaluk–Nadluk area.

The historical periods used for the Tuktoyaktuk area are the same as those selected for the Delta. Around 1929, schooner ownership became widespread and culminated in a general outward move to new fur hinterlands. For example, the regular exploitation of Banks Island by western Arctic people began in 1928. Later, in the 1930's, the foci of commercial transport and of the fur trade shifted from Herschel and Baillie islands to Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk. In 1955, the decline of the fur trade and the commencement of DEW-Line construction led to a major contraction of the fur hinterlands, which had begun in 1948. Of the 70 people interviewed who now actually live in Tuktoyaktuk, 10 moved there in 1948, and 17 between 1954 and 1956. The first group came largely from Banks Island (locally often called Banksland), the second largely from Stanton. Thirteen spent most of their active trapping careers on Banks Island, and 22 were born and raised in the Cape Bathurst region. Since 1955, only a very few families in the Tuktoyaktuk region have continued to live outside the village itself.

Despite this massive shift in population, the overall limits of the Tuktoyaktuk people's hunting and trapping range have not greatly changed. A finer division of time periods would certainly demonstrate some temporary changes, however. There was, in the first few years after 1955, quite clearly a contraction of the general hunting and trapping range, but since the introduction of the snowmobile, people have begun to re-exploit areas that had been temporarily abandoned. It appears that the Tuktoyaktuk people are now covering their traditional hunting areas as effectively from the one settlement as they did many years ago from the various camps between

Kittigazuit and Cape Bathurst. This temporary abandonment and subsequent reoccupation of range is perhaps more evident and dramatic in the Tuktoyaktuk area than anywhere else in the western Arctic.

● *Trapping:* The chief Arctic fox trapping areas used by the Tuktoyaktuk people are along the coastal strip between Hooper Island, capes Dalhousie and Bathurst. This pattern has been consistent over the years and continues. There is also a considerable use of the sea ice, as far as 40 miles offshore in some places. The maximum distance offshore that people went is roughly the maximum distance of the floe edge from shore. In years when the floe edge is close to shore trap lines along it would obviously be closer to shore as well. Trapping on the ice has usually been associated with seal and bear hunting. In recent years, there has been a decline in floe edge trapping owing to the decreased need for seals since the widespread adoption of snowmobiles. On the other hand, bear hunting activity remains intense, and has increased in importance.

Trapping for coloured foxes, chiefly in the upper part of Eskimo Lakes (locally called Husky Lakes), has decreased, although several trappers are still active there. Recently improved prices for coloured foxes may encourage more men to trap them, although the best area is now thought to be the Smoky River and Anderson River area. Marten trapping activity is very important in Crossley Lakes (locally known as Slavey Lakes) and Anderson River area. Formerly it was the practice to run marten lines right from Tuktoyaktuk into that region (as well as from Kugaluk and Stanton, when those camps were oecupied), although mainly coloured foxes were taken on the northern or northwestern parts of those lines. Now, marten trappers go to the prime marten area in the fall, staying until Christmas, and run short lines out of their camps in that area. Whereas trappers of white foxes on the coast tend to run the same lines year after year, because martens are a more sedentary species, marten trappers rotate their lines over the years to avoid overtrapping. There are about five active marten trappers in Tuktoyaktuk, all of them among the most active trappers and hunters in the community, and among those most dependent on the land. They are extremely concerned about adequate environmental protection for their area.

Muskrat trapping has occurred over large parts of the Tuktoyaktuk area, but it is mainly concentrated on the most productive lakes. Muskrats are almost invariably trapped, as by the shooting season the land is no longer fit for travel. Ratting has declined considerably in recent years. Some trappers attribute this decline to the introduction of the reindeer herds, for they say reindeer spoil the muskrat push-ups. Some beavers are also trapped in parts of the muskrat range.

● *Bear, Seal and White Whale Hunting:* The Cape Bathurst region is particularly good for polar bear hunting, mainly on the northeast coast where the floe edge is rarely more than five to 10 miles offshore. Hunting for basking seals in spring was formerly comamon on the lower Husky Lakes and Liverpool Bay, but it too has declined because of the reduced need for dog food. Whaling, a major activity in July and early August, provides a very important contribution to the total food supply of the community. It is now restricted entirely to the rich, shallow waters off the mouth of the East Branch, but it has in the past occurred at points farther east along the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula coast and at Cape Bathurst.

● *Caribou and Moose Hunting:* Many years ago, caribou were common south of Husky Lakes, but hunting to supply meat to overwintering whaling ships at the turn of the eentury appears to have decimated these herds. (Musk-oxen were also native to this area, especially around Hay Lakes, prior to this time.) Since the introduction of the reindeer herds in 1935, the area west of Kugaluk River (and formerly of Anderson River) has been prohibited to caribou hunting. As a result, the Tuktoyaktuk people have for decades had to go far in search of caribou. In recent years, caribou have increased, and there is a growing dependence on caribou herds in the Cape Bathurst area, as well as on those between the Kugaluk and Anderson rivers. Tuktoyaktuk people estimate that more than half of the caribou they now eat are killed in the Cape Bathurst area. With this increased availability of earibou, moose hunting has declined somewhat in importance. Nonetheless, Mason and Kugaluk rivers and Dennis Creek are still prime moose hunting areas. There has been a growing tendeney to hunt caribou west of the Mackenzie Delta in the summer, all along the coast as far west as Herschel Island, within walking distance of the shore.

● *Fishing:* Fish have traditionally been an important part of the diet for both people and dogs at Tuktoyaktuk. The harbour at Tuktoyaktuk itself is a prime source of fish, and virtually no family fails to set nets in the harbour during the whitefish run. In addition, many small lakes on Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula have been used over the years, as well as the upper parts of Husky Lakes. Fishing in the latter area is now limited to a few main spots, the most important being Saunuktok, Zieman Cabin, and Stanley Cabin, and it is normally done by jigging through the iee in spring. Crossley Lakes, some other lakes in the area, and a particular spot on Wolverine River, are crucially important to the marten trappers, who must obtain a supply of dog food before trapping. There are also some excellent and well used fishing lakes on Cape Bathurst, north of Horton River. Because of the importanee of fish, it has been a matter of great concern to the Tuktoyaktuk people in recent years that seismie activity, involving blasting on lakes and damming of creeks, has seriously hampered normal fish runs and has reputedly ruined many lakes.

● *Wildfowling:* Goose hunting occurs all along the coast, from the mouth of Mackenzie River to Warren Point. Many

families go goose hunting at Smoke River in spring as well. Cape Bathurst is another important area for geese. The Anderson River mouth, a major nesting ground, was designated a bird sanctuary some time ago. Other birds are of minor importance. Ptarmigans are ubiquitous on the tundra and are taken at will in association with other hunting aetivities.

GENERAL REMARKS

One observation may be added with regard to Cape Bathurst. Individual land use ranges are almost invariably rather smaller than elsewhere in the Tuktoyaktuk area, and indeed in most other parts of the western Arctic. This is an indication of the abundance of fur-bearers, fish and game in that area. Trap lines are shorter because foxes are more plentiful, and there is no need to go far afield for caribou, moose, bears, seals, fish and geese. The Cape Bathurst area is, therefore, of prime concern to the Tuktoyaktuk people. About one-third of the settlement's population originate from that area, and indeed several of these families propose to establish a store (probably at North Star Harbour) and move back there. With the steady increase in caribou, Cape Bathurst has become an important source of meat for Tuktoyaktuk residents, and it is more heavily used each year.

One peculiarity of land use in the Tuktoyaktuk area is the relatively light use made of the area south and southwest of Tuktoyaktuk itself, especially the area between Husky Lakes and the Delta. This is due to the establishment of the reindeer herds in that area in 1935, and the designation of the area between the Delta and Anderson River as a reindeer reserve. As previously noted, this had been a prime caribou hunting area many years ago, before the herds were decimated by whalers in the early 20th century. Because there has been a ban on caribou hunting in that area for many years, traditional activities there are limited largely to trapping, fishing and ratting. Twenty or so Inuit, most of whom now live in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk, have been reindeer herders in the past, either working with the government's herd or managing their own herds. These people were based mainly at Reindeer Station, but at some other points as well. During their employment with the herds, they engaged in some trapping, fishing and hunting within the reindeer range, especially west of Warren Point and Kugaluk, where most of the reindeer were concentrated. Such activity tended to be sporadic, both in time and place, because of the migratory nature of herding. Reindeer herding and associated activity in the area represents a continuous use of and interest in the land by native people. The absence of other traditional uses was due, not to lack of interest, but to discouragement or prevention by federal authorities.

There is considerable overlap between the land use of Tuktoyaktuk residents and those who use the Mackenzie Delta and even the Yukon Territory coast. During the last 25 years, this overlap has caused some problems between the two groups. Recently agreement was reached between Tuktoyaktuk and Delta trappers on an appropriate boundary between their group-registered trapping areas.

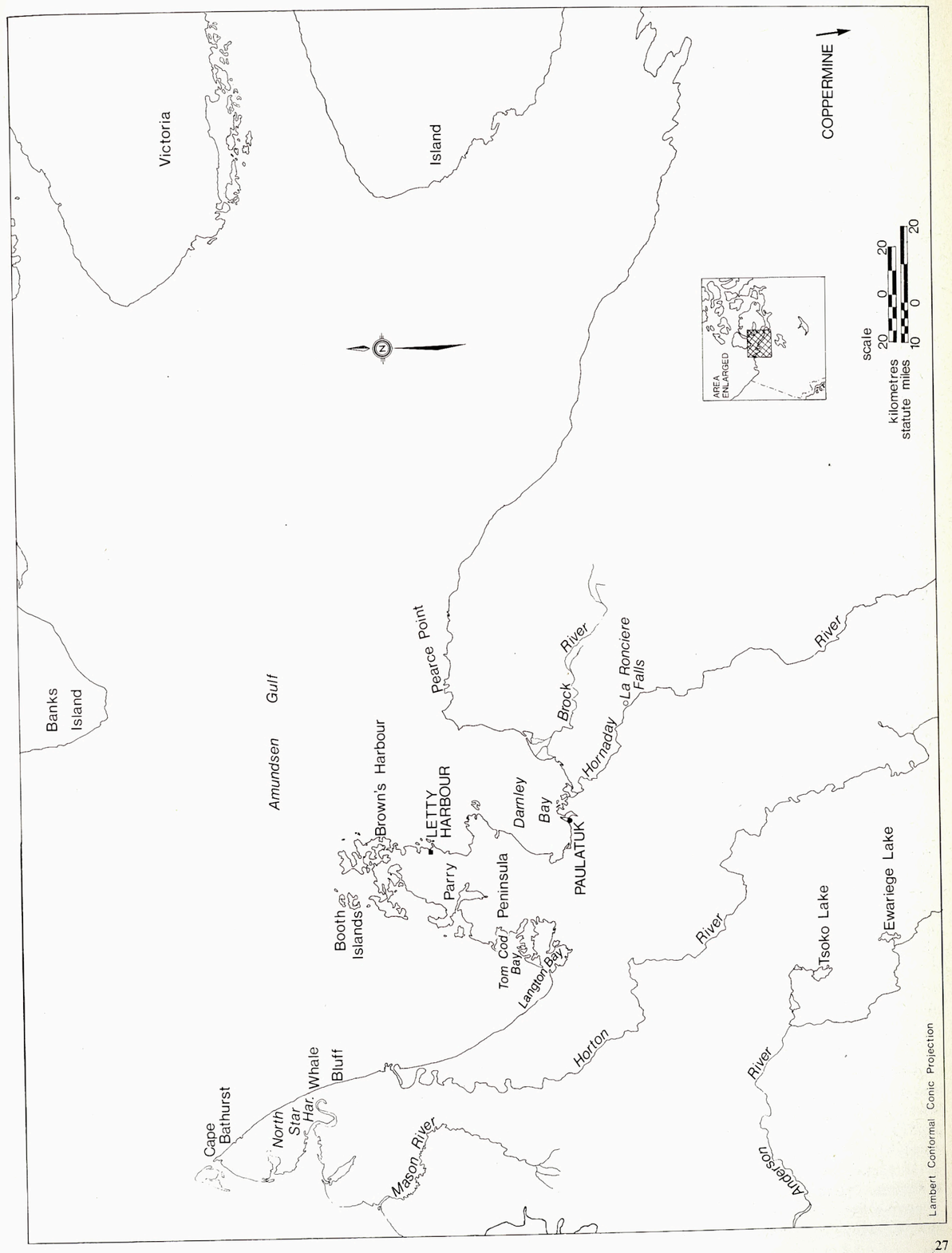
The southern part of the Tuktoyaktuk people's hunting and trapping range overlaps to some extent that of Indians, chiefly those from the Fort Good Hope area. Tuktoyaktuk trappers report old Indian graves and camps, as well as trees stripped of their bark for canoes, as far north in this area as Crossley Lakes. The Anderson River forks area was formerly well used by Indians, and one family in Tuktoyaktuk is descended from an Indian who moved permanently to Kugaluk and trapped the area southeast from there toward the Anderson River forks. In recent years, contact between the two groups at the limits of their respective ranges appears to have been non-existent.

Paulatuk

Between 1936 and 1954, the Roman Catholic Church operated a mission and trading post at Paulatuk (69°49'N, 123°59'W) at the south end of Darnley Bay, where there is an excellent harbour and a good supply of coal. When the church closed the trading post in 1954, most of the population moved elsewhere. In 1974, the population was 112, and their commercial needs were met by the Paulatuk Cooperative. The settlement has few of the services and facilities common in other Arctic centres, but there is electricity, a monthly scheduled flight, a primary school (grades one to six), and a church.

The history of the Paulatuk area (Map 2) is somewhat different from that of the coast farther west; therefore different dates were selected to delimit historical periods: they are 1935 and 1959. The region had been temporarily abandoned by Inuit before the turn of the century in response to the early fur trade and whaling activity to the west. Several families, most of them of Alaskan origin, moved to Parry Peninsula and around Pearce Point in the early 1920's, in response to new fur trade opportunities and to overcrowding in the Mackenzie Delta. Early trapping success was short-lived, and the families that stayed in the area turned to a subsistence existence based on hunting. After about 1935, when the mission at Paulatuk was established, the Parry Peninsula and Hornaday River areas were occupied chiefly by three large family groups, and the Brock River and Pearce Point area was occupied by another family. During Period II, after 1935, people moved about considerably. Winter camps were moved frequently, sometimes every year or two, and many people spent their summers inland following the caribou herds. Period III began in 1959, after the large DEW-Line site had been built at Cape Parry, when all the remaining families in the region established a small settlement about three miles

Map 2
Tuktoyaktuk and Paulatuk place names



from the site. The family at Brock River moved to Tuktoyaktuk about this time. However, beginning about the same time, several Copper Inuit families moved into the region from the east. Subsequently, in 1966, the people moved to the old mission site at Paulatuk. Since 1959, then, the residence pattern has changed radically, as camp life was abandoned in favour of settled living in one community.

● *Trapping:* Trapping by the families that have been continuously resident in the area for several decades has been restricted largely to Parry Peninsula and the Darnley Bay coast as far east as Pearce Point, although formerly there were occasional forays inland, usually toward the Horton River mouth and west of Langton Bay. Some coloured foxes are taken on the inland lines. Recently, some Paulatuk trappers began marten trapping in the Tsoko Lake and Ewariege Lake area. Some wolves and wolverines are trapped or shot in the area south of Paulatuk.

● *Bear and Seal Hunting:* Bear and seal hunting sometimes occur in association, especially in winter and spring. Since the abandonment of camp life, and particularly of those camps on the west side of Parry Peninsula, both activities have shifted almost entirely to the east side of the peninsula. Bears are now usually taken north and east of Cape Parry, and off Pearce Point. There has been a considerable northward expansion of the bear hunting range in recent years, and it now overlaps with that of Banks Island residents (ice conditions permitting), so that virtually all of Amundsen Gulf is potential bear hunting area. Seal hunting occurs anywhere on the ice in winter, but sealing is most common in summer during open water. The main seal hunting areas are now the south part of Darnley Bay near Paulatuk, along with the more traditional sealing areas on the east side of the peninsula, such as Letty and Brown's harbours and Cape Parry.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou hunting formerly occurred over a wide range. In earlier years, many people spent the entire summer inland, with no fixed camp but following the herds on foot and with pack dogs. At that time, caribou were rare on Parry Peninsula. Since then there has apparently been an increase in the caribou herd (the Bluenose herd), and a subherd has formed that spends the entire year on the flats at the base of the peninsula. With caribou now more abundant and much closer at hand, the hunters no longer need to travel far inland, hence a reduction in area of the earibou hunting range has occurred. The Paulatuk people feel there should be as little disturbance of the new Parry Peninsula herd as possible; their practice is to make brief trips to the edge of the herd, obtain a few animals and leave, thus avoiding prolonged activity in and around the herd. Moose are very occasionally taken, formerly in the Horton River valley and more recently in the Tsoko Lake area.

● *Fishing:* The main fishing places are on Hornaday River. There is a char run at the mouth of the river in August, and in October many people fish in the deep holes some miles upstream. The char winter in various deep holes below La Roncière Falls. A number of lakes have been used in the past, and Tom Cod Bay has traditionally been a plentiful source of the fish after which it is named. These are taken by jigging through the ice in winter.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese are taken on the flats at the mouths of Hornaday and Brock rivers, on the plains east of Langton Bay, and at Cape Parry. Other birds are of minor importance.

GENERAL REMARKS

The critical hunting areas, so far as the Paulatuk people are concerned, are Parry Peninsula, especially the southern part where caribou are plentiful, and Hornaday River, which is a prime source of fish. The people have been able to make a better living from hunting and trapping since they moved to Paulatuk from Cape Parry, and they are confident about expanding both activities in the future. There is no local wage employment, so the community is entirely dependent on trapping and hunting for its well-being.

The northern edge of the Paulatuk hunting and trapping range overlaps to some extent with that of Banks Island, and to the west there is some overlap with that of Tuktoyaktuk. There are a few small areas along the height of land between Horton and Anderson rivers that have not lately been used by either the Tuktoyaktuk or Paulatuk people. This is due to the principle of least effort: both communities find all the game they need before reaching these areas. They are nonetheless aware of these areas, which they feel currently serve as sanctuaries for caribou and other game, and which they may in future have to exploit, if game becomes less readily available in nearby areas.

To the east, especially along the coast, there is some overlap with hunting and trapping activity of the residents of Coppermine, and indeed a few Copper Inuit have moved to Paulatuk in recent years. The inland areas south and east of Pearce Point appear to have been used by Copper Inuit as well, and people who wintered at Pearce Point in the late 1920's recall periodic visits from Copper Inuit who had come from inland. The camps east of Pearce Point were occupied variously by both Copper and western Inuit. The high ground to the southeast of the Paulatuk area, from which originate Hornaday, Brock and Roscoe Rivers, has never been visited by Paulatuk people, nor by any other Inuit, according to their knowledge. They consider the area to be too barren and rugged, and they suppose it to be largely devoid of game.

To the south, there is some overlap with traditional Indian areas. Trappers who ran lines south of Horton River into the bush tell of having seen Indian campsites, but there are no recollections, recent or old, of actual contact with Indians in that area. It is generally agreed among Paulatuk trappers that the area south of Horton River is traditionally Indian territory.

Banks Island

Sachs Harbour (71°59'W, 124°44'W) is on the southwestern coast of Banks Island, the westernmost of the Canadian Arctic islands. Inuit do not seem to have lived permanently on Banks Island until recently, although they have always hunted there, and house ruins indicate earlier permanent occupation. Inuit regularly visited northern Banks Island for many years after they discovered at Mercy Bay H.M.S. Investigator, *a ship abandoned by M'Clure in 1852 and valuable to them for its wood and iron. Members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition occupied Banks Island from 1914 to 1917, and the settlement takes its name from* Mary Sachs, *one of the expedition's vessels.*

During World War I, Inuit began to occupy the island seasonally for trapping or trade, but more or less permanent occupation began only in 1928, when some Mackenzie Delta families wintered there to trap white foxes, a practice they and others continued over the years. These trappers became well known in the western Canadian Arctic for their energy and prosperity. In 1953, the R.C.M.P. established a post at Sachs Harbour and, in 1955, the Department of Transport established a weather station. One of the local trappers opened a general store in 1958, and the Roman Catholic Church built a mission in 1962. In 1974, the population was 143; and by then the settlement had water, sewage, and garbage services, electricity, two scheduled flights weekly from Inuvik, weekly mail service, a primary school (grades one to six), a community hall, and a library. Sachs Harbour is the base of extensive petroleum exploration on the island and in Beaufort Sea.

Only two historical periods are identified for Banks Island (Map 3), corresponding to Periods II and III on the mainland, because the island was not regularly occupied by western Arctic Inuit prior to 1928. (The present inhabitants of the island are well aware of earlier Inuit occupancy, however, as they have seen many stone caches, old campsites, middens, etc., all over the island.) The first historical period identified for Banks Island is 1928 to 1961, during which time the common practice was to winter at small camps along the coast and to travel by schooner to the mainland to trade each summer. Since 1961, everyone has lived at Sachs Harbour and, with the advent of improved means of supply and communications, schooner travel to the mainland has lapsed. The people now reside in the settlement all year around (apart from brief visits to the mainland by air).

● *Trapping:* Arctic fox trapping, which is the economic mainstay of the island's economy, has traditionally occurred throughout the southern half of the island and along its coasts. It has never been the practice to set traps any distance out on the sea ice. No other fur-bearing species is trapped. It is noteworthy that virtually the same trapping range is now covered from the one settlement at Sachs Harbour that was covered from all the scattered camps in the earlier years. This was the case in the early 1960's, even before the advent of the snowmobile.

● *Bear and Seal Hunting:* Bear hunting is an important activity, and Banks Island is the chief denning area for polar bears in the western Arctic. When bears are common, the greatest number are taken within 20 miles of Sachs Harbour, generally in the direction of Cape Kellett. However, special trips are sometimes made farther afield, chiefly to Nelson Head and some distance offshore to the south, and also toward Norway Island and even as far as the northwestern tip of Banks Island. Seal hunting was formerly the essential source of dog food. When camp life prevailed, men travelled to the floe edge off the west coast, from sites as far north as Satsik. Those who lived at De Salis Bay hunted southeast of there, and there was considerable overlap with the hunting ranges of the people of Holman and Minto Inlet on Victoria Island. Indeed, some people originally from that area migrated back and forth between the west coast of Victoria Island and the east coast of Banks Island, and are now resident at Sachs Harbour. After 1961, most seal hunting took place off the southwest coast of Banks Island, both at the floe edge in winter and by boat in summer. Seal hunting has declined since the advent of the snowmobile, but it still occurs.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou is the staple food of the Banks Islanders, and has been hunted all over the southern half of the island. Caribou may still be taken anywhere along the trap lines, but most are taken closer to Sachs Harbour. During the 1960's, the Big River valley was the main area for fall caribou hunting, but in recent years caribou have been so abundant that a hunter rarely has to travel more than 20 miles from Sachs Harbour to obtain a winter's supply of meat. Since the permanent closed season on musk-oxen was terminated in 1970, an increasing number of trips, most of them to the north-central part of the island, have been made especially for this species. Musk-oxen might, however, be taken anywhere, if seen along the trap lines.

● *Fishing:* Fish are not abundant on Banks Island. A few lakes near Kellett River are fished for char and trout in the fall by those whose trap lines run in that direction, and there is a small char run at the mouth of Sachs River. Fish Lakes, southeast of Sachs Harbour, are a favourite spring fishing spot for all the families in the village, and there are also char and whitefish in the Thomson River system and in some of the large lakes in the northeast part of the island, which drain into Prince of Wales Strait. The Banks Islanders have expressed concern for the future well-being of these fish stocks.

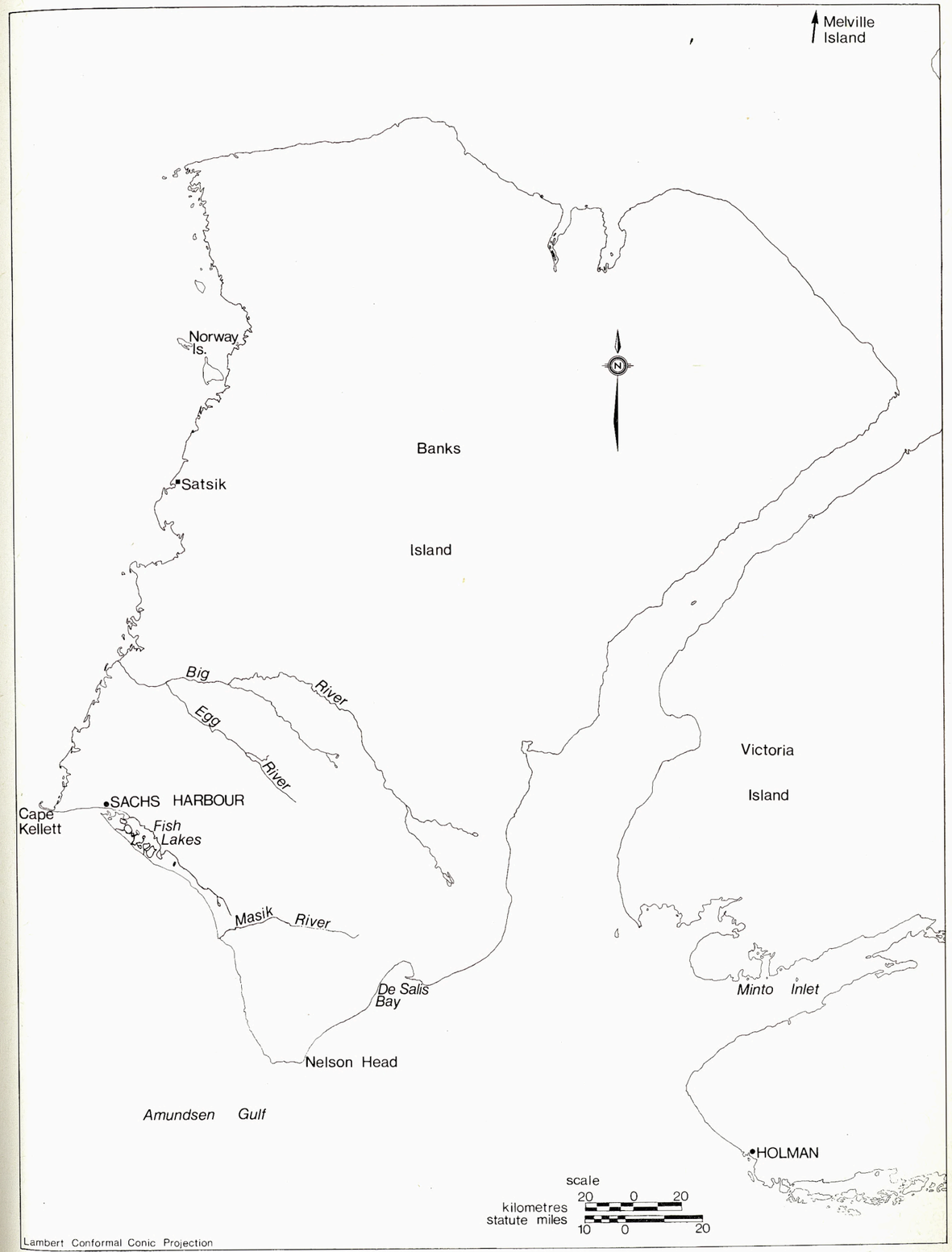
● *Wildfowling:* Geese are hunted by everyone in the spring. Formerly, people used to go to the main nesting grounds at Egg River to hunt geese and to collect eggs, but this activity was forbidden under the Migratory Birds Act. Most hunting now takes place along the coast between Sachs Harbour and

Fish Lakes. Other birds are of minor significance. Ptarmigans are ubiquitous and may be taken when seen. Arctic hares are also fairly common and may be taken when seen. They are particularly abundant on hill sides in the Masik River valley in spring, and special trips are sometimes made to hunt this species there.

GENERAL REMARKS

The Banks Islanders consider the whole island to be of crucial importance to their welfare. Foxes are ubiquitous throughout the low plains on the western side of the island, and they occur in the south and central parts of the east side as well. The caribou herds are resident on the island and migrate along virtually its entire length. Polar bears are common to all coasts. In 1963, the Banks Islanders obtained from the Game Management Service of the Government of the Northwest Territories, in accordance with the provisions of the North-west Territories Game Ordinances, a group-registered trapping area covering the southern two-thirds of the island. Three years later, they applied successfully to have the entire island registered. They consider the north end of the island an important area for the breeding and supply of both foxes and caribou, and hence regard the protection of the north end to be just as important as the protection of the areas in which they actually hunt. They make no attempt to hunt and trap systematically in the north end, owing partly to its distance from Sachs Harbour, but also because the trappers feel the area should be left largely alone to serve as a sanctuary for the ecological well-being of the island. There has been no use of the areas north and west of Banks Island by Inuit within living memory, except for some trappers who visited Melville Island in 1961. To the south, there is some overlap in Amundsen Gulf with the Paulatuk hunting area and, to the east, with that of the Holman hunters.

Map 3
Banks Island place names



Inuit Land Use in the West-Central Canadian Arctic

by Don R. Farquharson

Introduction

The Inuit land use described in this report covers the regions of which Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, Bathurst Inlet and Holman are the centres. Each regional chapter reviews the history of local land use within three time periods, the dates of which vary somewhat, but in every case there is most detail for Period II. Within each region certain local areas are given special attention.

Coppermine Region

Coppermine (67°50'N, 115°05'W) the centre of the Coppermine region, is at the mouth of Coppermine River, which flows into the west end of Coronation Gulf. Samuel Hearne reached the Arctic coast at this point in 1771 to search for deposits of native copper, samples of which Indians had carried to the H.B.C. posts on Hudson Bay. Recent geological explorations have confirmed his opinion that the deposits are not of economic importance.

In 1916, a small, temporary trading post was built on the present site of Coppermine, and the region itself was explored in detail by the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1918. In 1928, the H.B.C. opened a trading post there and the Anglican Church established a mission; in the same year, survivors of an epidemic that had decimated the population at Bernard Harbour moved to Coppermine. Since then the settlement has gradually expanded as the regional centre. In 1974, the population was 727, most of which were Inuit. The settlement has scheduled air service, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade eight), three churches, a community hall, a library, twice-weekly mail service, a bank, recreational facilities, a general store, a hotel, and the Coppermine Eskimo Cooperative.

The development of land use patterns in the Coppermine region (Maps 4 and 5) is more complex than elsewhere in the west-central Canadian Arctic. Consequently it is not possible to provide a complete history, but rather a brief description of the general outline and major trends during the last 60 to 70 years is given here.

The Coppermine area – here defined as Dolphin and Union Strait, Coronation Gulf, and the surrounding land – has always been well populated. One important reason for this is that caribou in this area crossed the strait north to Victoria Island in the spring and returned by the same route in the fall. The strait is also a productive seal hunting area, and other large animals, such as moose and Barren Ground grizzly bears, occur on the mainland nearby. Whitefish, char, trout and grayling are also present, a larger variety of fish than is found elsewhere in the region. The proximity of wooded areas to the south provided an important resource, and many rivers entering the gulf and strait were rich waterfowl areas. The groups of people living in this area included:
(1) Puivlingmiut, the people of Read Island and the south coast of Wollaston Peninsula;
(2) Nagyuktomiut, the people of the Richardson Islands and Lady Franklin Point;
(3) Akulliakattakmiut, the people of the north shore of mainland, opposite Wollaston Peninsula;
(4) Noahognikmiut, the people of the land between Bernard Harbour and Coppermine River;
(5) Walliakmiut, the people of Richardson Bay–Rae River region and Dismal Lakes;
(6) Kogloktomiut, the people of Coppermine River;
(7) Asiakmiut, the people east of Coppermine River (Asiak River); and
(8) Pigangnaktomiut, the people of Tree River.

The time periods used here are: Period I, before the traders (pre-1916); Period II, from 1916 to the construction of the DEW-Line (1955); and Period III, from the DEW-Line to 1974.

Period I (Pre-1916)

During Period I, there was an influx of people from outside the region. They included some western Inuit from the Tuktoyaktuk area and Herschel Island, and from farther west in Alaska, and a few Whites, some of whom came to live, a few to trade, and others, such as Stefansson and his colleagues, for research. However, the number and impact of those who came to trade were so inconsequential that Period I may still be considered part of the pre-trade era. With increasing knowledge of the Copper Inuit,* traders ultimately arrived in the region of Coronation Gulf, and their influence began to substantially change the people's hunting patterns after 1916.

Some Inuit travelled a long way from Holman Island, Minto Inlet, Cambridge Bay, and as far east as King William Island to trade for metal knives, guns, ammunition and other valuable items at the Coronation Gulf posts; Period I therefore ends earlier here than in other areas. A few older persons were able to provide information on land use prior to the time of the traders.

The Puivlingmiut (Read Island people) used to winter on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait, usually in the area west of Read Island and north of Cape Bexley and Stapylton Bay. Often, after meeting with the Akulliakattakmiut from the Stapylton Bay area, they continued southeast to the Liston and Sutton islands area, where many of them spent the winter hunting seals. Those who lived further to the west or who spent their summer camping near Kugaluk River and the

*In the anthropological literature, these people are commonly referred to as the Copper Eskimos. However, for consistency, they are here called the Copper Inuit.

Penny and Lady Richardson bays area often went polar bear hunting in mid-winter on the ice of Amundsen Gulf as well as on the strait. In winter camps on the ice, they lived on the seals they hunted and on supplies of fish and dried caribou meat kept over from the fall. When spring came and the first caribou reached the coast, most of the people left the sea ice to camp on shore, from which they were able to hunt both seals sleeping on the ice and caribou migrating across the strait to Victoria Island. They also jigged for fish at small lakes a few miles inland. When most of the caribou had gone to Victoria Island, many of the people also went north to Lake Tahiryuak to fish and to meet the Prince Albert Sound people. Others travelled east to the Colville Mountains, where numerous lakes provided fish during summer and where there were caribou. Kugaluk River was another favourite place during summer, and a few travelled as far north as Prince Albert Sound. They fished the lakes south of Lake Tahiryuak or Mount Bumpus as far as Igloovigalik, and some travelled south to hunt on the land north of Lady Franklin Point. Wherever they were, they spent most of summer inland fishing and hunting caribou or birds. In early summer, when the lake ice became unsafe, they relied more on caribou and sometimes even on squirrels. As summer progressed, they concentrated more on caribou to prepare dried meat and to obtain enough skins for winter. At this time, many went to the coast where they caught char in fish weirs. As fall advanced, some began to move inland to fish in the numerous lakes, but others stayed near the coast to hunt caribou, which were then beginning to gather, waiting for the formation of sea ice so they could continue their migration southward. Once the caribou had left, and when the sea ice was considered suitable, they began to move out onto the ice to begin winter seal hunting again.

The Nagyuktomiut were based between Nagyuktok River, the Richardson Islands and Lady Franklin Point. This group of people wintered on Coronation Gulf, usually south of Richardson Islands, and they often visited or camped as far east as Byron Bay or south near the Wilmot Islands, but on occasion they went far enough west to meet other Coronation Gulf people. Their main area, however, was centred south of the Richardson Islands. Here they spent the winter hunting seals and living on fish and caribou they had killed the previous fall. In spring, they moved toward the shore to hunt seals sleeping on the ice, to fish and, as occasion offered, to hunt caribou, which were then crossing the frozen gulf. With advancing summer, they began to move inland, and they hunted as far west as Dolphin and Union Strait, as far east as Byron Bay, inland as far north as Igloovigalik and occasionally Washburn Lake. With cooler weather, the Nagyuktomiut moved back toward the coast, where they began to fish at weirs and through new ice on the lakes near Nagyuktok River and to hunt caribou for skins. They continued their fishing and hunting until ice on the strait was strong enough for the caribou to cross, and ice on the lakes was too thick to fish through. Then they moved out onto the sea ice to begin winter sealing again.

The Akulliakattakmiut lived mainly near Stapylton Bay, but some lived along the coast as far west as Clifton and Wise points and east to Bernard Harbour. Occasionally they met with the Puivlingmiut, who wintered nearby. They sometimes hunted polar bears on Amundsen Gulf and Dolphin and Union Strait, but they spent most of their time seal hunting. During winter, they often travelled to Sutton and Liston islands to visit and trade. Early in spring, they moved to the shore, although they continued to seal and fish, and to hunt caribou before the herds crossed to Victoria Island. They went to caribou calving grounds to the west, on the upper Inman and Hoppner rivers, and east of the Melville Hills. While inland, they occasionally hunted Barren Ground grizzly bears. In late summer, they returned to the coast to fish at weirs on most of the rivers. When the fish migration had passed, they fished in nearby lakes until the ice became too thick, then returned to the sea ice to begin winter sealing.

The Noahognikmiut wintered on the strait, usually south of Liston and Sutton islands, near Lambert Island, where they stayed most of the winter. This location was a trade centre and a good place to hunt bearded seals. Large communities of 200 to 250 people grew up here, and visitors came and went throughout the winter. With spring, they left the ice and went inland to hunt caribou with the Akulliakattakmiut. They spent the summer along the Rae River and Richardson River systems, where they fished and hunted moose, caribou and grizzly bears, but some travelled as far inland as Bluenose Lake to hunt caribou and to fish. In late summer, they returned to the coast and fished in the streams, such as those that flow into Klengenberg Bay, Basil Bay near Locker Point, Pasley Cove, and Bernard Harbour in western Coronation Gulf.

The Walliakmiut lived during winter on the ice of Coronation Gulf near the Deadman Islands south of Locker Point. Once summer had arrived, they proceeded inland from the area of Richardson Bay, Rae and Richardson rivers, overland toward Dismal Lakes. During summer, they split into smaller groups. Some hunted north of Dismal Lakes toward Richardson River, some in the Dismal Lakes area, others farther southwest in the eastern Great Bear Lake area, where they sometimes encountered Indians, and still others hunted in the highlands direetly south of Dismal Lakes. Very often these people stayed inland until late in the year, hunting southbound caribou and fishing in the lakes, then returned to the coast with skins and stores of food and set up their winter quarters on the sea ice.

The Kogloktomiut lived on Coppermine River. They too wintered on Coronation Gulf, usually with the Walliakmiut. In spring they moved inland along Coppermine River, many of them travelling as far up river as Napaktulik and even farther southeast to Concession and Contwoyto lakes and

Map 4
Coppermine place names 1

thus constituted a discreet territorial group, although they retained elose social and other ties with the Coppermine population. Those who wintered inland hunted caribou in fall at crossing places near Contwoyto and Pellatt lakes, to obtain sufficient meat and enough back fat to supply their fat and heat requirements for winter. Willows and other wood also supplied heat. During summer, they hunted caribou and musk-oxen and fished as far east as Nose Lake and as far west as Itchen Lake. In fall, many returned down Coppermine River to the coast and began to fish at weirs in many of its tributaries and in the nearby lakes. When the ice was thick enough, they camped on it and began winter seal hunting.

East of Coppermine River and centred on Asiak River lived the Asiakmiut, who wintered near or with the Kogloktomiut and Walliakmiut on the ice of Coronation Gulf. In spring, they moved as far east as Tree River and often hunted deep inland near Napaktulik and as far as Contwoyto Lake. In fall, they returned to fish in the lakes and rivers near the coast until they could camp on the sea ice for the winter's sealing.

The Pingangnaktomiut spent the winter in the Tree River area, hunting seals and using food stored earlier in the year. Once spring came, they fished in lakes near the shore, while continuing to hunt seals on the coast. In summer, they moved inland to hunt caribou and to fish, travelling as far south as Napaktulik, and returned in the fall to fish at the mouths of rivers along the coast. When the ice was strong enough, they camped on it for winter sealing.

Period II (1916–1955)

In Period II, after the traders had become well established, these peoples' hunting patterns and seasonal movements were often strongly influenced by the real (or presumed) distribution and numbers of foxes, a species that had been of very little importance to them up to that time. This fact, together with the presence of trading posts, changed the focus of activity and movement of many groups, and a slightly different analytical structure must be used to understand the land use activities during Period II. The area is subdivided into centres of activity, rather than as before into the territories of the precontact groups. These centres were: Read Island, Richardson Islands, Stapylton Bay, Coppermine, Tree River and Contwoyto Lake.

READ ISLAND AREA

The Read Island people started to trade in 1916 at a post at Bernard Harbour. In 1919, a post opened at Rymer Point, after which they quickly adjusted to the demands of a trapping economy and established permanent camps along the coast, anywhere from Lady Franklin Point to Penny Bay, but mainly in Simpson Bay. They hunted and trapped from these camps.

Soon after the introduction of the rifle, the caribou herds ceased to cross Dolphin and Union Strait to summer on Victoria Island, and the Read Island people had difficulty in obtaining sufficient caribou meat locally. They hunted the Victoria Island caribou (smaller animals than the mainland variety) as far east as Washburn Lake, but only a short distance westward. Wollaston Peninsula seems to have been devoid of caribou at this time, so they had to hunt as far north as Tahiryuak Lake and south to Rymer Point. Because caribou were not plentiful here, the people often had to trade for caribou skins to make winter clothing. Most of them visited the mainland, near Coppermine, at least once a year to hunt caribou; others travelled to the Bernard Harbour area to hunt during spring and summer. The caribou herds in both these areas declined in number throughout Period II, and with consequent shortages and uncertainty in the supply of food and clothing, trapping became a more serious and necessary activity.

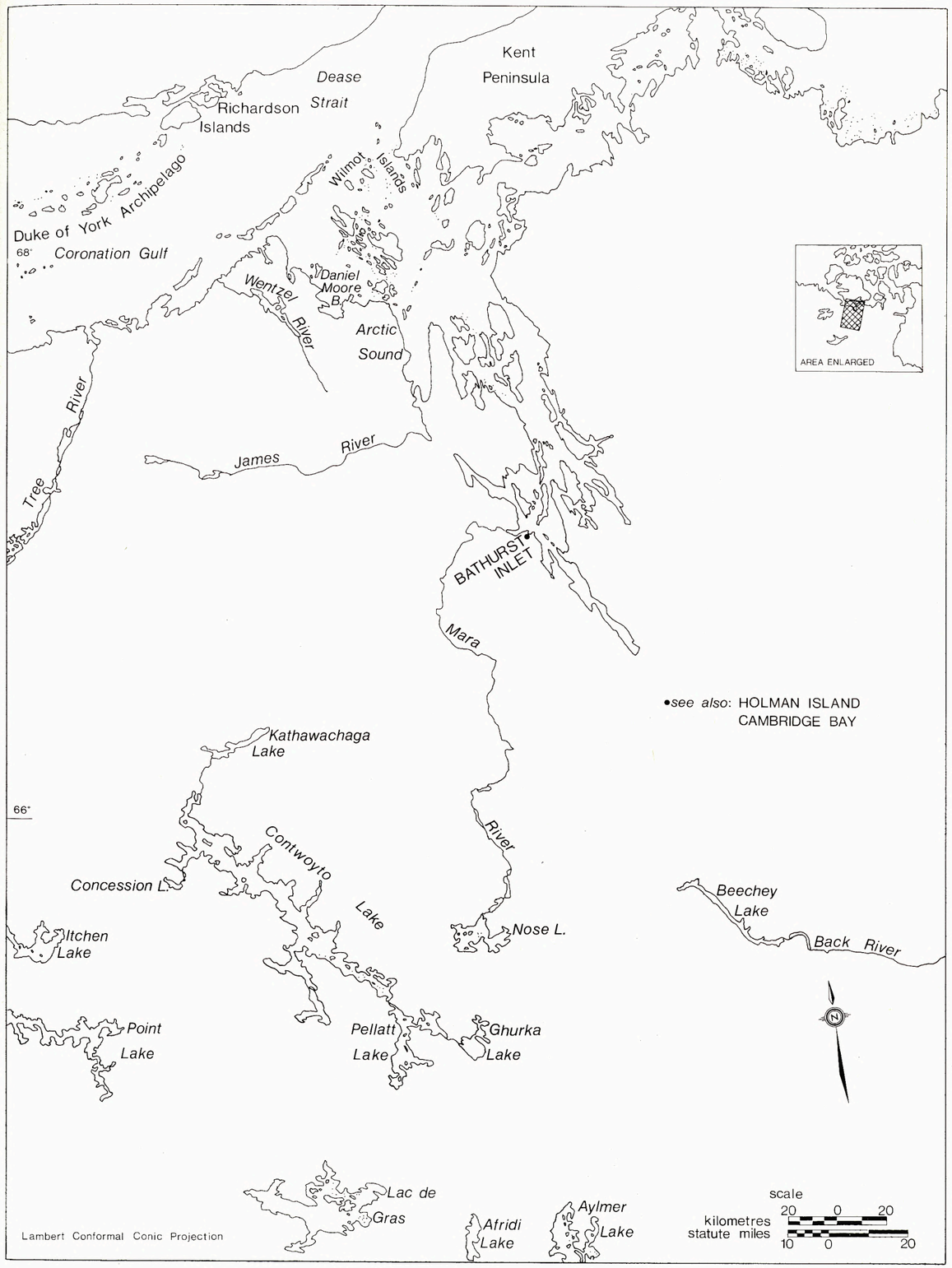
The Read Island people generally set longer trap lines with more traps than other trappers elsewhere in the region. The majority of these trap lines ran directly inland, eastward towards Banning Lake, but others fanned out from Read Island and Rymer Point inland north to Tahiryuak Lake, and eastward then south to Lady Franklin Point. They trapped along all coasts because foxes were common on the fast ice. Farther west, a few trapped inland on Wollaston Peninsula, and a few others went around to the north coast of the peninsula.

The Read Island people fished a great deal: between the mid-1930's and 1960, most of them had acquired nets and their catches were far larger than before. However, as formerly, many travelled to Tahiryuak during spring and fall and fished in many lakes nearby, especially in spring, and in two large lakes west of Mount Bumpus. Many fishermen left a eache of fish at the places where they would end their winter trap lines, and some stayed for a short while at these inland lakes at the end of the trapping season. They also fished to the west in the Colville Mountains and Kugaluk River, to the east in the lakes near Banning Lake, and still farther east at Kangialuk and at Washburn Lake, to the southeast inland from Rymer Point, and even near Nagyuktok River. They also fished in many of the rivers flowing into the sea, mainly for char in the fall.

Dolphin and Union Strait is well stocked with bearded seals, especially near Lambert and Camping islands. During winter, many hunted seals at their breathing holes, and in spring they hunted seals sleeping on the ice all over the frozen strait as far south as the mainland, and in summer they sealed farther south to Coronation Gulf and to the west a short distance into Amundsen Gulf. They also went sealing on Prince Albert Sound after fishing at Tahiryuak, at Coppermine and at Klengenberg Bay.

They hunted ducks along the shoreline of Simpson Bay and often caught moulting geese on the land. Many geese nested northwest of Read Island, and ducks and geese at Lady

Map 5
Coppermine place names 2



Franklin Point. Duck hunting was combined with seal hunting during late spring and summer.

Polar bears were hunted on the sea ice west from Read Island far out on the ice of Amundsen Gulf and north on Prince Albert Sound. Though there were few polar bears on Dolphin and Union Strait, there were many on Amundsen Gulf. The Read Island people usually hunted them at the end of the trapping season in early May, although a few hunted bears in fall and mid-winter and, on occasion, in their dens along the west coast of Wollaston Peninsula.

In Simpson Bay, near Read Island, they hunted white whales by driving them into shallow water where they were shot. This practice was introduced by the Mackenzie Delta Inuit.

Very few musk-oxen were taken in this area during Period II. In summer, a few hunters travelled to the Richardson Bay area near Coppermine to hunt caribou and moose. One elderly hunter, now resident in Cambridge Bay, and his son had a trap line from Read Island to Hadley Bay. They hunted caribou, polar bears, and musk-oxen while trapping.

The Read Island area has not changed much during Period III from Period II. During the 1940's and 1950's, caribou hunting in the whole southwest of Victoria Island was not very productive; however, by the late 1960's, this situation had changed. The caribou had increased in number, and they have since been hunted north and east of Read Island. Trapping, fishing, and sealing have remained basically the same during Period III. Polar bears are still hunted far out on the ice of Amundsen Gulf.

RICHARDSON ISLANDS AREA

In the Richardson Islands area, the Nagyuktomiut originally traded into Bernard Harbour, but later there were posts on the islands for varying periods of time. However, in the absence of a permanent post nearby, these people tended to break into smaller groups and spread out between the south coast of Victoria Island from Byron Bay to Lady Franklin Point, each trading into the most convenient post.

There were few caribou to hunt, once the herds had ceased to cross the strait. They hunted Victoria Island caribou northeast of Nagyuktok River and deeper inland north of Byron Bay, especially during winter or spring while trapping and fishing, but they had to travel to the mainland to obtain sufficient caribou meat and skins. Some went to Lady Franklin Point and inland from Cape Krusenstern, or to the Coppermine and Richardson River area for moose and caribou, and others travelled to the Tree River area, Kent Peninsula, or sometimes to Arctic Sound west of Bathurst Inlet.

The south coast of Victoria Island, from Wellington Bay to Lady Franklin Point, was intensively trapped. Many trapped directly inland from wherever their winter camp was that year, so that trap lines radiated from various locations along the coast. A few trapped directly north from Byron Bay to Washburn Lake, and the whole southwest area of Victoria Island was intensively trapped.

Here, as at Read Island, the people depended on fishing. They fished the major lakes near the Richardson Islands in spring, summer and fall. Farther inland, other lakes were fished exclusively in the fall, usually just before the trapping season started. During early fall, Lauchlan and Nagyuktok rivers were fished for char swimming upstream. In early spring, they jigged for fish through the lake ice near camp or along the trap lines.

Seals provided necessary fat and fuel for the people along the coastal areas of Coronation Gulf, Dease Strait, and especially among the offshore islands. During spring, they hunted seals sleeping far out on the ice, often as far as the mainland east of Byron Bay, and west to Lady Franklin Point. They also hunted the same area in summer from open boats: some seal nets were in use. During winter, when seal hunting was far more localized along the coast and among the islands, they used harpoons at breathing holes and occasionally set seal hooks. They hunted bearded seals anywhere, but especially among islands in the Duke of York archipelago.

Ducks, geese and other water fowl were an important resource in the coastal regions from Byron Bay in the east and north and west of Lady Franklin Point. They were usually hunted from boats near the Richardson Islands and northwest of Lady Franklin Point.

Except for Arctic hares, which were ubiquitous, this particular area was not richly endowed with other forms of wildlife, although they killed a few wolves inland. They travelled to the mainland to hunt caribou, musk-oxen, moose and occasionally grizzly bears. These trips were short, usually in spring or summer, and combined with social visits.

During Period III, more hunting activity in the Richardson Islands area has been concentrated on Nagyuktok River, Byron Bay and Lady Franklin Point. Actual land use has changed little, but there have been more caribou in the area recently, so hunters do not have to travel so far to find them as they did 10 years ago. Some trappers still go as far as Byron Bay for their trap lines.

STAPYLTON BAY AREA

On the south coast of Dolphin and Union Strait, the people of Stapylton Bay were the first to have contact with white men and traders. Except for those living near Bernard Harbour, the population was dispersed in small groups along the coast and inland. Once the traders came, the people quickly adopted the trapping economy, the change influenced by a number of western Inuit and white trappers who came into the area. They quickly gave up winter sealing on the sea ice for winter trapping camps on the coast, from which they hunted and trapped both on land and on the sea ice. To the east, near Bernard Harbour, they intensively trapped coastal areas to the southeast. From the Stapylton Bay area, they trapped

along the coast, as far west as Tinney Point. They trapped inland from various camps along the coast such as those at Croker, Inman, Hoppner and Harding rivers and Stapylton Bay. Many travelled toward Bluenose Lake, and near Rae River and Libby Lake. Some of this area was also trapped by people living at Coppermine and elsewhere on Coronation Gulf.

Caribou hunting stayed reasonably productive throughout the whole area, for after the caribou migration had passed in the spring, they went to calving grounds immediately east of Bluenose Lake. In spring, they got enough caribou meat from the interior to last most of the summer, but they continued to hunt throughout the summer along the north coast of the mainland by walking inland or by boat along the rivers. The area south and east of Stapylton Bay was mainly hunted by others, but Stapylton Bay residents hunted caribou as far west as Tinney Point, inland around Bluenose Lake, and occasionally farther west along Hornaday River and the surrounding hills. They hunted caribou all winter inland, but rarely went south of the north-draining watershed.

They fished most of the major rivers and lakes especially in the Stapylton Bay area and near Bernard Harbour, at various times of the year, although not so intensively as on Victoria Island. Many fished at Bluenose Lake and at the large lake south of Stapylton Bay that is the source of Harding River.

The great demand for seal continued throughout Period II, but the method and season of hunting changed. They spent most of the summer and fall hunting seals on the open water and stored much of their catch for human use, dog food, and fuel for winter. During winter, they hunted seals at their breathing holes, usually just offshore from their winter camps. Occasionally, they travelled to the floe edge, far out in Amundsen Gulf, to hunt seals in the open water there, but this was done mainly by the western Inuit. In spring, they travelled farther out on the ice to hunt sleeping seals.

The people of this area often hunted polar bears north of Dolphin and Union Strait and Amundsen Gulf where bears were plentiful, and during late winter and early spring they hunted them west of Wollaston Peninsula.

Barren Ground grizzly bears were also hunted in many areas along the north coast: the Melville Hills, west of Bluenose Lake and farther west toward Hornaday River, near Stapylton Bay and Bernard Harbour, and along all the southern fringes of this area. Although these bears were usually taken only as encountered, once the signs of one had been seen, it was often tracked a considerable distance.

They hunted the coastal areas for geese and ducks, especially in the east where there were many nesting sites. There was not mueh inland bird hunting, except at Bernard Harbour near the trading post. Inland, south of the Melville Hills, there were many musk-oxen, which were hunted on occasion, and there were small numbers of them elsewhere. Wolves were not abundant within the area, but were killed when encountered, and there were few wolverines. In Stapylton Bay during summer, white whales were often driven into shallow water with open boats and killed, a technique introduced from the west.

The Stapylton Bay area was quite thoroughly hunted during Period II, even with the changes introduced by the adoption of trapping and with a smaller population than in nearby regions. A few families moved from this area west to hunt with the Paulatuk people. However, cultural differences between the Copper Inuit and western Inuit discouraged much outmigration from the region traditionally occupied by the various Copper Inuit groups.

During Period III, land use in the Stapylton Bay area has increased owing to the existence there of a DEW-Line station. People have trapped over to Tysoe Point close to Paulatuk, and along the entire coast and inland more intensively than before. They have not recently travelled west of Bluenose Lake, but concentrated their hunting and trapping activities to the east of it as far as Coronation Gulf. This area is now trapped and hunted very effectively from Coppermine, although some individuals using the area still live along the north coast.

COPPERMINE AREA

Within the Coppermine area were groups who lived on the coast of Coronation Gulf, from the Bernard Harbour area to the Kugaryuak River, and inland to the Dismal Lakes region. The area was the regional centre of trade, travel and culture for the whole Coppermine region. Trading was started about 1916 and throve. Here, as elsewhere, the people quickly gave up their winter sealing camps to establish more permanent winter camps on the eoast, out of which they trapped.

Caribou were usually plentiful throughout most of this area, both before and after the interruption of the caribou migrations. Many hunted caribou during spring and winter inland, northwest from Basil and Klengenberg bays, an area also hunted by the Stapylton Bay people. The lower courses of the Rae and Richardson rivers were well hunted at all seasons, but the upper courses usually only during winter. Many hunted throughout the year between the Dismal Lakes and Coppermine, though less commonly during winter, and many hunted the area southwest of the Dismal Lakes. A few hunters had camps on Great Bear Lake at Hornby Bay and near Fort Confidence, and some had winter camps south of Coppermine River well into the wooded area, where caribou were abundant in spring and fall. The people living inland in the Asiak River area had the same favourable conditions, and they hunted caribou far inland to south and toward Napaktulik during spring and fall. In summer, they hunted along the coast between Coppermine and Kugaryuak River with boats.

This large area was well trapped, especially along the coasts and on the peninsula north of Basil Bay. Other favourite routes ran northwest from Richardson Bay, and from Klen-

genberg Bay toward the interior. Other trap lines ran inland up the Rae River or Richardson River valleys, and a few to the Bluenose Lake area. There appear to have been few trap lines in the Dismal Lakes area. However, many people hunted in this area while living at Coppermine or on the coast. There were many trap lines running southward to the wooded region in the upper Coppermine River and McGregor Lake area. North of Napaktulik and Inulik lakes, many trap lines ran east-west and southward toward Contwoyto Lake.

They hunted seals in Coronation Gulf and the Lambert and Cache Point channels throughout the year, as well as from Coronation Gulf east to Tree River and the Richardson Islands during summer. Here, as elsewhere, the hunting techniques changed with the altered technology and lifestyle. Near the end of Period II, seal nets were introduced, and some still use them. Lambert Channel was considered the best location to hunt bearded seals.

There were many fishing places in this large area. Coppermine, Rae and Richardson rivers provided large catches, especially after nets became common. They fished many lakes inland from Cape Krusenstern and at the large lake northwest of Richardson Bay. The latter was a favourite fishing location in fall, and fish were cached here at the end of several trap lines. Dismal Lakes were well fished, especially in spring, and Hornby Bay on Great Bear Lake was fished. Along the northern coast, just inland near Asiak River, there are many small lakes that were fished constantly, but especially during the spring. Inulik Lake, Napaktulik and other nearby lakes gave good fishing that was especially useful to those who lived inland and did not do much sealing on the coast. There were many other fishing places, often at the end of trap lines or in the vicinity of winter camps.

Birds were hunted throughout the whole area, either at and near camps or wherever they were encountered during summer. The areas near Coppermine, the west end of Coronation Gulf, and inland from the coast were intensively hunted.

Barren Ground grizzly bears occurred throughout the area, but were hunted in some places more than others. The Rae and Richardson rivers were the commonest places, for denning areas were centred here. Grizzly bears were hunted as far west as Bluenose Lake, near Dismal Lakes, and near Great Bear Lake. They were not common east of Coppermine, but were more common in the southeast, and hunters killed them while fishing near Napaktulik and Inulik lakes.

Many hunters came from other areas to hunt moose along the lower reaches of the Rae and Richardson rivers, where the willows provide favourable habitat. There were few moose south and east of Coppermine, but many in the Dismal Lakes and Kendall River area, and farther south near Great Bear Lake. Moose were generally hunted to provide a change from caribou, fish or seal meat.

Wolves and wolverines were very plentiful throughout this whole area, and they were often killed to stop their taking trapped foxes. Later, when wolf pelts became saleable, they were hunted more vigorously. Musk-oxen were hunted along the upper reaches of the Rae and Richardson rivers and near Asiak River.

Land use during Period III in the area of Coppermine settlement is now very intensive indeed, and activities centred at or near the town radiate outwards farther than before. The people usually hunt and trap in the areas from which they originated and which are therefore most familiar to them. The number of trap lines running northwest and south has increased greatly, and caribou hunting has increased in the south. Recently, since the increase of fur prices and the introduction of the snowmobile, wolf and wolverine hunting has increased greatly; many now travel to Napaktulik or Dismal lakes to hunt. Fishings areas have changed little, but now nets are more extensively used and there is less jigging.

TREE RIVER AREA

The Tree River people adopted trapping fairly rapidly despite the fact that their area did not have good trapping grounds. A trading post was established in 1917 but was closed in 1929, leading many of its original inhabitants to abandon the area, which has not been heavily populated since the mid-1930's except at certain seasons. Those who remained hunted from Daniel Moore Bay to Kugaryuak River and inland as far south as Napaktulik.

During spring the caribou migrate across Tree River from west to east on their way to calving grounds. Before the caribou migrations to Victoria Island ceased around 1930, larger numbers of people hunted in this region, but after that time, they hunted caribou only inland near Inulik Lake and James River. The people began to hunt caribou along the coast by boat from Daniel Moore Bay to Kugaryuak River, and they travelled inland up Tree River to Napaktulik. Most of the trap lines ran along the coast toward Coppermine, though some went east, others ran inland along the river valleys, and there were others among the offshore islands to the north.

Many hunters here relied heavily on seals. The coast in both directions, as well as the offshore islands, provided good hunting. In summer, while caribou hunting by boat, many would hunt seals well into Bathurst Inlet. In winter seal hunting was usually at breathing holes in the bays and close to shore. In spring, hunters travelled farther out on the sea ice in search of sleeping seals, and they travelled a longer distance out to the islands to hunt bearded seals.

Tree River and its tributaries abounded in fish. During fall, all of the people fished there, together with many others from adjacent areas. Tahiryuak (near Wentzel River) was fished spring and fall, mainly for trout, but also for char and whitefish. Farther inland, many of the lakes from which Tree River flows were fished both in spring and fall. Inulik, Kikerk, and Napaktulik lakes were also fished.

Birds in this area were usually hunted along the shoreline and among the islands. Ducks of various kinds were common, and there were also geese, loons, cranes and gulls.

Moose were hunted among the willows of Tree River and in the surrounding hills. They were a supplementary source of food rather than a staple. Musk-oxen were common and occasionally hunted, especially when starvation threatened. Wolves and wolverines were also taken, usually during trapping, but some were hunted in early spring in the hills southeast of Tree River and near Daniel Moore Bay. Grizzly bears were not common, but when signs of one were seen, it might be tracked for a long distance.

During Period III, the Tree River area has been hunted and trapped from Coppermine, although summer fishing and sealing camps are still located in the area. Caribou are still hunted along the coast and inland during summer, winter and spring, especially while trapping. Some caribou are now taken on the ice to the west and on the offshore islands near Kugaryuak River. Many people visit Napaktulik or Inulik lakes to fish in spring and fall.

CONTWOYTO LAKE AREA

The Contwoyto Lake area increased considerably in importance after the arrival of traders, for it had very good fox trapping grounds and excellent hunting. However, because it was inland and lacked seals, not many hunters could stay there through the winter until the introduction of the rifle allowed many more caribou to be killed. This area relates to the Bathurst Inlet and the Coppermine areas; therefore it has been included in both reports. The major camping areas and centres for hunting were Napaktulik, Concession, Contwoyto, Nose and Pellatt lakes.

Caribou were usually killed where they crossed rivers during their migration in spring and, especially in fall. There were many such crossings. During winter, many people lived on caribou meat stored in caches. When the supplies were exhausted, they were forced to travel long distances, especially while trapping, in search of caribou. They went southwest past Itchen Lake, and as far south as Aylmer Lake. People from the Nose Lake area hunted close to Beechey Lake and up Mara River. The whole Contwoyto Lake area was hunted very intensively, and the people also hunted on their way to trade at either Coppermine or Bathurst Inlet.

The trap lines here were shorter than in many of the coastal areas. About the same number of traps were involved, however, because a large number of traps were often set around or near the food caches. The Contwoyto, Itchen and Napaktulik lakes region was trapped most intensively, although Pellatt Lake and Nose Lake were almost as well trapped. Other trap lines extended from Napaktulik Lake westward or southwest to Coppermine River, out from Kathawachaga Lake southwest to Point Lake and northeast to Bathurst Inlet, in the Afridi and Aylmer lakes area, and southeast from Nose Lake to the Back River area.

Some people who visited the coast to trade would sometimes hunt seals, but most of them traded for seal meat with their friends and relatives living near the coast. The Contwoyto Lake people depended heavily upon fish, and they fished all the major lakes. Many had favourite places for each season: Napaktulik Lake and the lakes to the north of it, Itchen, Point, Concession, Contwoyto, Kathawachaga, Pellatt, Ghurka and Nose lakes, and many more. Most of these lakes were fished with nets in various seasons, usually in fall. They also jigged through the ice of many smaller lakes, especially around Napaktulik, Itchen and Contwoyto lakes, the area with the greatest population concentration.

Most of the birds taken were trapped during their summer moult. Not many birds were shot in these inland locations.

Throughout this area, Barren Ground grizzly bears were hunted, usually when encountered, because they were too scarce for systematic hunting. They were usually tracked down and shot when signs of them had been seen. Musk-oxen were taken at various places throughout the area, apparently most frequently northeast of Contwoyto Lake.

There were always large numbers of wolves and wolverines in the whole area, and they were often found near the meat caches. Their furs were valued for personal use, but these animals were also hunted and trapped vigorously along the trap lines because they destroyed foxes taken in traps. Near the end of Period II, when the price paid for wolf pelts increased, many more people began to hunt them.

The Contwoyto Lake area was relatively intensively used in comparison with many other areas. However, the area northeast of Kathawachaga Lake and southeast of Tree River was basically unused, nor was it used by the Tree River people or the Bathurst Inlet people.

During Period III, with the building of the DEW-Line, life changed more rapidly in this area than ever before. In the 1960's, many people started to move into the settlement of Coppermine. Some, however, continue to live at Contwoyto Lake the year round, and many others live in Coppermine only during winter and spend the rest of the year in the Contwoyto Lake area. The land northeast of Kathawachaga Lake is not used, but Nose, Pellatt, Contwoyto, Concession, Itchen, Point and Napaktulik lakes are all hunted, fished and trapped as before.

The extent of the land used during the 1950's and early 1960's decreased, for most people lived in or near Coppermine at the time, and they still used dogs to travel. The numbers of caribou and other game taken were not especially large. Then the snowmobile was introduced, and it changed the lifestyle and patterns of land use altogether. The necessity of maintaining a camp 20 to 30 miles out of town to be nearer good hunting territory became much less, so more people moved into the settlement. They are now able to travel farther

and faster with the snowmobile and, despite the more concentrated settlement pattern, they have returned to exploit most of the hunting areas they had left in the late 1950's.

Cambridge Bay Region

Located on the southeast coast of Victoria Island (69°03'N, 105°05'W), Cambridge Bay seems always to have been an important centre of activity owing to abundant fish and game in its vicinity. Dease and Simpson gave the place its English name in 1839 to commemorate the Duke of Cambridge, and the location was visited by several later expeditions of exploration. In 1923, the H.B.C. established a post in the vicinity; it was closed in 1925, reopened at a new site in 1927, and moved to its present site in 1934. There has been an R.C.M.P. detachment there since 1926, but few Inuit lived in the settlement until a LORAN beacon was built there with the assistance of local labour. In 1951, the Department of Transport took over some of the LORAN buildings for communications and a radio station, and the Royal Canadian Air Force set up a survival school in some of the other buildings. Beginning in 1955, Cambridge Bay became a major supply and transportation centre for the construction of 12 stations in the central part of the DEW-Line. At the peak of this construction, some 200 Inuit were employed along this section, and Cambridge Bay became a focus of immigration from other settlements.

In 1974, the population was 809, of which most were Inuit. Cambridge Bay has good marine and air transport facilities, primary and secondary schools (grades one to eight), a community hall, a library, a post office, telephone service, a general store, and the Ekaloktotiak Cooperative.

The Cambridge Bay region (Maps 6 and 7) includes several discrete groups of Copper Inuit, members of which now reside in Cambridge Bay, and collectively they follow a pattern of intensive land use radiating out from this large community. This section of the report will trace the development and patterns of the land use by these people. As before, the time periods used are Period I, before the traders arrived (pre-1920); Period II, from 1920 till construction of the DEW-Line in 1954; Period III from 1955–1974.

Period I (Pre-1920)

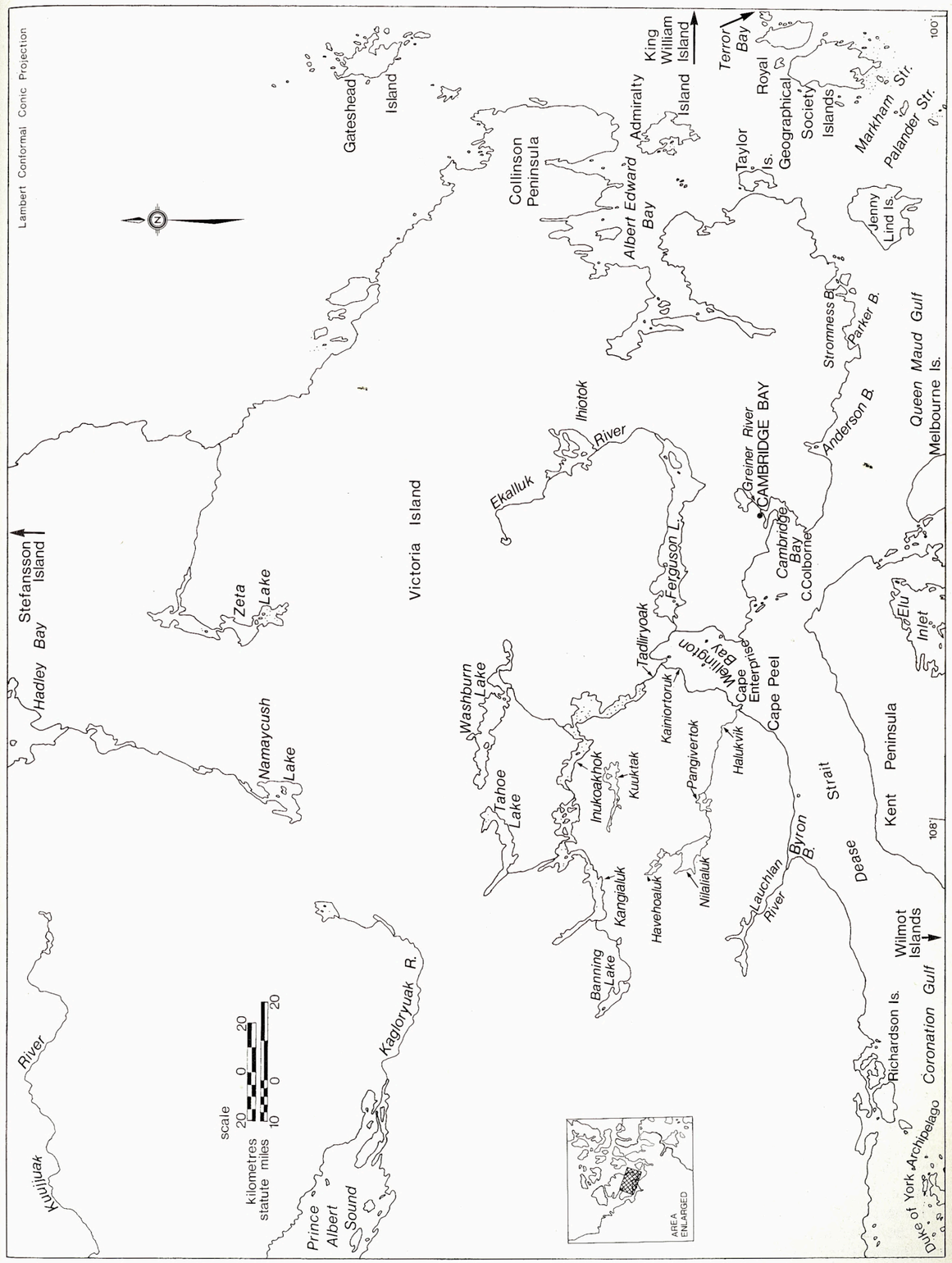
As in other areas, before white traders arrived the various regional populations had restricted and customary areas of land use, although individuals might travel extensively for social and trading purposes. For example, some visited the Baker Lake area to trade for metal knives, and others travelled in spring to the north end of Victoria Island, near Stefansson Island, in search of driftwood. For most, however, long-distance travel was not common before the arrival of traders in the area. Within the Cambridge Bay region the following groups were found:
(1) Umingmaktomiut, Kiluksuktomiut, Nenitaktumiut, and the Contwoyto Lake people, all people of Bathurst Inlet;
(2) Ekalluktomiut, the people of the Wellington Bay area;
(3) Ahiakmiut or Kogmiut, the people of Perry and Ellice rivers;
(4) Kiglinirmiut, the people of Albert Edward Bay and southeast Victoria Island; and
(5) Nagyuktomiut, the people of Byron Bay and the Richardson Islands.

The Bathurst Inlet area and its people will be discussed fully in the following section. However, since a large proportion (one-third or more) of the people now resident in Cambridge Bay originated from the Bathurst Inlet region, it is appropriate to include some reference to them in this regional report also. Especially during Period III, former Bathurst Inlet residents now living in Cambridge Bay have periodically returned to the inlet to hunt, and some Umingmaktomiut of the Kent Peninsula–Elu Inlet area have also moved to or become attached to Cambridge Bay.

Prior to the establishment of trading posts in the area (Cambridge Bay in 1923, Kent Peninsula in 1920, and Perry River in 1926), most people followed a generalized seasonal activity cycle that included spring hunting of sleeping seals and fish jigging, followed by a move inland to hunt migrating caribou; summer caribou hunting and fishing inland; fall fishing at weirs during the char run and hunting caribou for winter clothing; and, following formation of sea ice, winter camps on the ice and hunting seals at breathing holes. There were some groups who lived inland year round, for example at Contwoyto Lake and near Garry Lake. The Contwoyto and Beechey lakes areas are discussed in the Bathurst Inlet report. The majority of the former Garry Lake inhabitants now live at Gjoa Haven, Baker Lake and Whale Cove; therefore this report will include information only on those Perry River people now living at Cambridge Bay who had formerly hunted inland around Garry Lake.

The Ahiakmiut or Kogmiut, the Perry River people, generally lived between Ellice River and Sherman Basin. They moved inland in spring to hunt caribou, and to fish and collect eggs. Some stayed near MacAlpine Lake on upper Perry River to hunt caribou that had remained there after calving. Others travelled southeastwards to hunt larger caribou herds that were moving northeast to the south of Garry Lake. Later they followed the caribou to the coast where the animals often went during the warmest part of the summer. In early fall, they fished in the rivers, then went hunting inland for caribou. The caribou skins were then in the best condition for fur clothing. This hunt was usually made near the east side of MacAlpine Lake. Many families remained in

Map 6
Cambridge Bay place names 1



the area to jig fish through the first fall ice, but other families returned to the coast to fish and to hunt seals. Winter camps were established among the islands offshore from Perry River, near Hat and Nordenskiöld islands, or just north of Melbourne Island. In late winter, people sometimes travelled to Hat Island and farther north to the Royal Geographical Society Islands and even to Admiralty Island to hunt polar bears, often in the company of related hunters from Albert Edward Bay. Most of them returned to the mainland to hunt in spring, but some remained with the Kiglinirmiut of Albert Edward Bay during summer.

The Kiglinirmiut from southeast Victoria Island and Albert Edward Bay were dispersed in smaller groups, and they travelled long distance to hunt and to fish, going as far west as Cambridge Bay. During winter, they moved out onto the ice to hunt seals: those going south, near Jenny Lind and Hat islands, would meet people from Perry River. In this area, especially in Markham and Palander straits, there are many bearded seals. Here and farther north, while hunting polar bears, the Kiglinirmiut and the Perry River people would meet the Netsilik Inuit. However, at that time the Netsilik were feared by the Copper Inuit, so that contact was minimal. Other Albert Edward Bay people used to hunt seals in the outer bay, around Admiralty and Taylor islands. A few families sometimes took large numbers of polar bears during winter and spring between Hat and Gateshead islands on the east side of Victoria Island. This area was often called Umingmaktok, "the place of (abundant) musk-oxen", which the people hunted.

Later, during spring, they hunted sleeping seals near the coasts, and travelled inland a short distance to jig for fish at various nearby lakes. After caching their winter supply, many proceeded inland. Those who wintered south of Albert Edward Bay moved to the north and east of the bay because the immediate area was always poor for hunting caribou. Many ranged far inland to Namaycush and Zeta lakes and up to Hadley Bay, which had been the home of many people at one time. In the general area south of Hadley Bay, some of the Prince Albert Sound Inuit (Kanghiryakmiut) met Hadley Bay people, for both groups hunted caribou and musk-oxen and fished at some of the nearby lakes. Occasionally the Ekalluktomiut from Ferguson River were encountered.

In fall, the people began to move toward the coast after securing as many summer caribou skins as possible. They fished along the coast and at weirs in the rivers along the bay and on Collinson Peninsula. Some of these weirs are in use to this day. Once the lakes began to freeze, they jigged for fish until seal hunting began in the bays. When the sea ice was firm enough, they began their winter seal hunting.

The Ekalluktomiut were based at Ferguson River, where Ferguson Lake discharges into Wellington Bay. During fall, people gathered to fish here and at other nearby rivers that drain the lakes northwest of Wellington Bay. Cambridge Bay and Greiner River were other fishing locations at this season. They hunted caribou on the west side of Wellington Bay and inland from the coast in fall, for the caribou would congregate here while waiting for the strait to freeze so they could migrate south to the mainland.

Once the sea ice had frozen, the people moved onto it to hunt seals in two major areas: south of Umanak Island in Wellington Bay and between Cape Colborne and Melbourne Island. Occasionally a few families wintered farther west with the people from near the Richardson Islands or near the Wilmot Islands, where contacts with the Bathurst Inlet people occurred. Others often travelled east and hunted polar bears during winter with the people wintering near Jenny Lind Island.

In the spring the Ekalluktomiut returned to the land: they skirted the Victoria Island shoreline between Cambridge and Byron bays, and in small groups they fished in nearby lakes and hunted seals offshore. Once the snow had melted, they cached supplies on the coast and walked inland to fish and to hunt. Near Igloovigalik they met the Kanghiryuak from Prince Albert Sound, northeast of Banning Lake, and during summer the two groups traded and hunted together. Some Ekalluktomiut also moved farther inland, to Namaycush, Tahoe and Washburn lakes, then, with the return of cooler weather, they moved back to the coast near Ferguson River. As in other areas, little trapping was carried on in Period I, but they used stone or ice-block traps for wolverines, wolves and foxes.

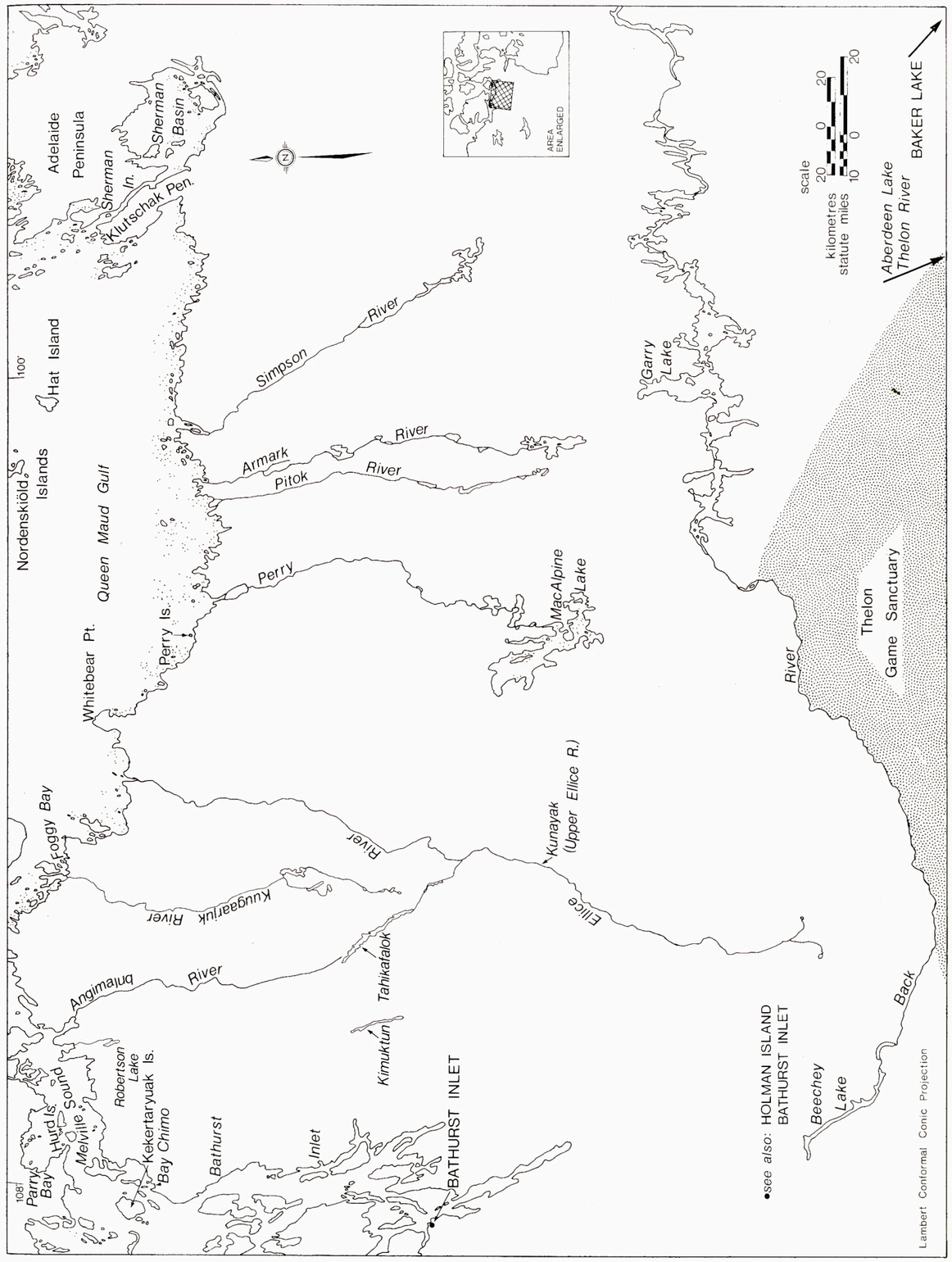
The people from the Richardson Islands farther west, the Nagyuktomiut, have always had only marginal connections with the Cambridge Bay region, although following Period I they appear to have developed stronger connections with Coppermine. The Nagyuktomiut wintered off the coast near Byron Bay, to the south near the Wilmot Islands, or to the west near the Richardson Islands. During summer, they moved inland near Igloovigalik and often joined the previously mentioned groups to hunt caribou. In fall, they fished at locations along the coast, in the same general manner as their neighbours immediately to the east.

The Bathurst Inlet people's movements have already been described. The only movement that needs further mention is that of a few of the Umingmaktomiut, who passed the summer in the Elu Inlet area and the winter near the Ekalluktomiut, either just off Cape Colborne or south of Umanak Island in Wellington Bay.

Period II (1920–1954)

In Period II, following the establishment of trading posts, the way of life of all local residents changed rapidly, especially for those living near the trading posts. Trapping, accepted slowly at first, became increasingly important. Steel traps became ubiquitous, although stone and ice traps were employed of necessity on occasion. Similarly, at a distance from

Map 7
Cambridge Bay place names 2



the trading posts, bows and arrows were in use at times until the early 1930's.

Once trapping became important, the people abandoned winter sealing camps on the ice in favour of coastal trapping locations. Seal hunting during mueh of the summer continued to provide food for the larger dog-teams that were now necessary for winter travel along the trap lines, but extensive inland travel during summer to hunt caribou and fish was ended.

At this time, people seem to have begun to visit other areas with greater frequency, even living in them for a year or two at times; some even lived inland during winter, although most lived at or near the coast, usually at the mouth of a river.

By 1930 there were three major trading posts in this area: Bathurst Inlet, Perry River and Cambridge Bay. Over the years, many other small posts operated, but because they were temporary, they did not involve large sustained population shifts. During Period II the Cambridge Bay land use was based on four major and two minor areas: Perry River, Bathurst Inlet (described in a separate report), Albert Edward Bay, Cambridge Bay, Byron Bay and Elu Inlet.

PERRY RIVER AREA

The Ahiakmiut or Kogmiut of the Perry River region were widely distributed and travelled extensively: some continued to travel toward Baker Lake (Thelon River–Aberdeen Lake area) to trade with other Inuit and to hunt; others occupied the Garry Lake area; and some travelled as far as Sherman Inlet, where there was a trading post, or even to Gjoa Haven. They hunted among the Royal Geographical Society Islands and often along the southeast coast of Victoria Island; on the mainland they hunted as far west as Melbourne Island.

The winter camps of the Perry River people were situated as far west as Ellice River; others camped at Whitebear Point, or in the vicinity of Perry River and Perry Island. The Pitok River, Armark River and Simpson River mouths and the Klutschak Peninsula were also favourite places. Following the adoption of firearms, they occupied inland areas, such as MacAlpine Lake, in winter.

They hunted over an extensive area south of Queen Maud Gulf and far inland up Ellice River, overlapping the territory used by the people of the Kimuktun and Tahikafalok lakes area who lived near Bathurst Inlet; they also hunted southeast toward MacAlpine Lake and the coastal areas near the Perry River trading post. The people living nearby at Whitebear Point had similar hunting areas slightly to the east. The Perry River valley provided an excellent route to the interior, and many hunted far up the river during their winter trapping. During fall, they frequented MacAlpine Lake to secure caribou skins for winter clothing. Farther east, many people hunted both along the coast and up the various rivers, such as Pitok and Simpson rivers. Caribou were sometimes hunted on Adelaide Peninsula and King William Island.

Farther inland, the people living at MacAlpine and Garry lakes hunted over large areas. There were not many caribou-crossing places in this area, and the caribou occurred in scattered groups. Garry Lake and the adjacent region to the south was an important location for caribou hunting, but the area to the southwest was more lightly hunted; the area approximated by the present-day Thelon Game Sanctuary, southwest of Garry Lake and south of Back River, was still more seldom used by these people.

Arctic foxes were common in the area between Ellice River on the west and Garry Lake on the east, and there were many trap lines there, most of which extended from the coast far inland along the river valleys. Some trap lines went all the way to MacAlpine Lake, and many trap lines along the coast had other shorter lines running inland from them. Many people living at Garry and MacAlpine lakes followed shorter, circular trapping routes. A few trap lines extended to the Tahikafalok Lake area in the west, and others went to Adelaide Peninsula and out to many of the nearby islands in Queen Maud Gulf.

Fishing was an important activity in this area; most of the rivers have char and, sometimes, whitefish; many of the inland lakes have lake trout as well. During fall, when the fish are running upstream, the Perry River people occupied fishing camps along the coast. Prior to Period II, fish spears were used at weirs, but after the introduction of nets, spearing became rare, except in small shallow streams. During early summer, there was some char fishing with nets in many of the small bays and around some of the points, and in fall the people jigged for cod. In spring, when they made short trips inland, they jigged for fish in the numerous lakes, and in fall they set nets in the larger of these lakes until the ice became too thick. Farther inland, there was considerable jigging in spring and summer and net fishing in fall. Larger lakes, near MacAlpine and Armark lakes, parts of Garry Lake, and innumerable small lakes were fished, especially during the early part of Period II.

Seal hunting areas were not substantially different during Period II, compared to Period I, but the actual area probably increased slightly. All the offshore areas were hunted during winter and spring while the men were checking their trap lines. Later in spring, they made longer trips onto the ice and established many spring sealing camps on the offshore islands, including Hat and Nordenskiöld islands, the islands offshore from Adelaide Peninsula and in Terror Bay, and the Royal Geographical Society Islands. These spring seal hunting trips usually began from the Sherman Inlet area, except from 1940 to 1944, when there was an H.B.C. outpost at Terror Bay. In summer seal hunting was more widespread. A number of Perry Islanders had large wooden boats, which enabled them to make long open-water journeys as far as, for example, Cambridge Bay. Such summer journeys, hunting along the way (and often stopping at Melbourne Island to pick berries),

became commonplace. Bearded seals could be caught anywhere, but they were mainly hunted in the Palander and Markham straits area.

The Perry River area is a rich bird-nesting area, and the people obtained, in season, a large part of their diet from birds, especially from ducks and geese and eggs. Bird hunting was concentrated along the coast, but it was carried out deep inland as well.

Polar bears were hunted far more often in Period II than in Period I. The hunts usually ran north from Perry Island to Hat, Royal Geographical Society and Jenny Lind islands in late winter or early spring.

Although wolves and wolverines occur here, they were not as sought after as at Bathurst Inlet. Wolves were widely killed along trap lines, either by tracking them, or on sight. Wolverines were also usually shot when sighted along or near trap lines. Musk-oxen were hunted in smaller areas closer to shore in this period, usually while trapping in winter.

The most noticeable change in land use in the Perry River region occurred during Period III, when the people living at Garry Lake moved away in 1959. The Perry River people had not hunted in that direction for some years previous to it, having become closely attached to the post at Perry River and not travelling far inland. Some, however, still went inland to MacAlpine Lake to fish and to hunt birds and caribou until quite recently.

The Sherman Inlet post, which had operated as an outpost of the Perry River post, closed in 1955. Many people stayed on for a time, trading at Perry Island or Gjoa Haven, hunting caribou around Adelaide Peninsula, Sherman Basin and south of it, and along the coast toward Perry River. The number of trap lines decreased, but not much, because the area is still trapped and hunted by people from Gjoa Haven. Fishing and seal hunting continue as before in this area.

The area around Hat Island is used more intensively than before. It had formerly been just a sealing camp, but during Period III it became a central location for trapping, hunting seals and birds, and for working on the DEW-Line. Nearby areas, around Jenny Lind and the Royal Geographical Society islands, are important for seal hunting in both spring and summer.

The immediate vicinity of Perry River and west toward Melbourne Island was, it seems, used more intensively before the people there moved to Cambridge Bay than it had been for some time. The people fished all the rivers and coastal areas, hunted caribou, and many ran short trap lines along the coast. Even after some began to emigrate from the area, those remaining still hunted polar bears around Hat, Jenny Lind and Royal Geographical Society islands. Now, since they have all moved to Cambridge Bay, they use what had been the western portion of their hunting grounds even more intensively. When leaving Cambridge Bay, they invariably travel toward the Ellice and Perry rivers area. Many visit for short periods, others spend the summer. Although no one lives permanently in the area, the use of snowmobiles has enabled hunters to travel long distance in a short time, so they can continue to exploit the resources.

ALBERT EDWARD BAY AREA

During Period II, the Kiglinirmiut of Albert Edward Bay developed trading connections with Cambridge Bay. However, their winter camps were spread out along the south coast of Victoria Island in Parker and Stromness bays, Jenny Lind, Taylor and Admiralty islands, and various parts of Albert Edward Bay. This area was always considered poor for caribou hunting, and the local population were dependent on seals and fish. They often travelled inland, northwest of the bay, where small numbers of Victoria Island caribou could be found in winter and summer. When necessary, people living on the south coast of Victoria Island travelled to the mainland to hunt with the Perry River people for meat.

They used many weirs, and the shallow rivers provided an abundant supply of char in the fall. Nets were used in the deeper parts of the river later in the season. During fall, spring and summer, nearby lakes were fished for land-locked char and lake trout. Often trap lines ended at these lakes, and in winter fish were taken for dog food as well as for human use. Cod were jigged in the bays during spring and fall.

Here, as elsewhere, trapping became an important activity. Many of the trap lines were long, running along the coast, around islands, and up river valleys. Foxes were relatively plentiful, so these people usually had enough of them to purchase the caribou skins they needed for clothing. Those who wintered in the vicinity of the Royal Geographical Society Islands trapped intensively there, too. Hat Island became a common meeting place, especially at the end of the winter trapping season.

Seals continued to be important, and a large part of the year was spent on the sea ice in search of them. During winter, when not trapping, the men hunted seals at their breathing holes all over Albert Edward Bay and around the various islands and bays. In spring, many travelled out onto the sea ice to hunt sleeping seals. In summer and fall they hunted them from open boats, usually in the inshore areas of the bay, because they had few large boats suitable for open water. Hunters travelled to the south of the Royal Geographical Society Islands to hunt bearded seals, although they might be killed anywhere.

Polar bears were also relatively plentiful, and they were hunted in the Albert Edward Bay and Admiralty Island areas; some hunters travelled up the southeast coast of Victoria Island to Collinson Peninsula, where bears were known to den; others travelled around Gateshead Island to the north and well out into Victoria Strait; still others crossed over to the Royal Geographical Society Islands and even to Jenny Lind Island.

There were many important bird nesting and feeding areas. Ducks and geese were numerous all along the south coast of Victoria Island. Ducks were often shot during seal hunting, and many birds were taken inland from Albert Edward Bay and Padliak Inlet. Admiralty Island was a well known location for collecting eggs and hunting wildfowl.

Since the establishment of the trading post at Cambridge Bay (1923), the population has moved south and now rarely uses the northeast coast of Victoria Island or the Hadley Bay region. They do, however, wander deep inland north of the upper Ekalluk River and throughout southeast Victoria Island as far west as Cambridge Bay, and they travelled on the sea as far east as the Royal Geographical Society Islands.

The Ekalluktomiut used to travel far inland to hunt caribou, to fish, and to trap white foxes, and they ranged along the coast from Cambridge Bay to Byron Bay. Many of them used to trap and hunt on the mainland near Foggy Bay, Elu Inlet and on Kent Peninsula. Because the Nagyuktomiut were the only group in this region, they and the Umingmaktomiut living in Elu Inlet will be dealt with here.

The winter camps of the people living in Elu Inlet were invariably on the coast or very near it. As Victoria Island did not support large caribou herds, the people lived near the shore and hunted seals all winter while trapping. However, the north-central area, which was little frequented during summer, was used more frequently during winter now that trap lines extended inland from coastal camps.

Caribou hunting in this region was seasonal. Before about 1930, the caribou arrived in spring from the south, crossing Dease Strait near Byron Bay and just west of Cambridge Bay. Hunters lay in ambush, the animals often guided toward them by lines of stone cairns. In fall, when the caribou were returning south, this activity was repeated. During these migrations, meat was abundant. At other times of the year, the people had to rely more heavily on store-bought foods, which increased their dependence on fox trapping in winter and required them to cache supplies of dog food on the coasts in summer. However, many hunters still travelled far inland in winter, and some occasionally went there in summer, too. They visited the area north of Ferguson Lake and the area from Ekalluk River north to Ihiotok Lake, especially in fall and early winter, to obtain caribou hides for clothing. Other inland trips led to the north of Washburn Lake and as far as Kagloryuak River. Areas that were very intensively hunted for caribou, especially in spring and fall and in winter in association with trapping, included Sunny Lake, Inukoakhoc, Kangialuk, Kuuktak, Havehoaluk, Nilalialuk, Pangivertok and Pallik, and the land between these places and the coast. During the late 1940's and early 1950's, caribou were scarce. The people had to travel very far inland to obtain meat and skins, and they began to travel to such places as Itibiak, Foggy Bay, and Kent Peninsula on the mainland to hunt caribou during spring and early fall.

The Nagyuktomiut people, farther east, also travelled far inland at times, usually to hunt around the headwaters of Lauchlan River, and occasionally they hunted around Daniel Moore Bay and Tree River on the mainland.

The Elu Inlet people rarely, if ever, left Kent Peninsula to hunt caribou on the mainland proper. During spring, caribou crossed the southern part of their territory along Melville Sound and inland near Angimajuq and Kuugaarjuk rivers. They hunted inland in summer and fall, and occasionally in winter, and on Kent Peninsula in spring and early summer, although the catch was limited there.

Many Cambridge Bay people took up trapping seriously from its beginning, and there was a concentration of trap lines, many of which were long, in the Cambridge Bay, Ferguson River and Cape Enterprise areas; the associated coastal regions were also intensively used. Trap lines ran in an easterly direction toward Padliak Inlet from Cambridge Bay; others ran northeast toward Albert Edward Bay and directly north of Ferguson Lake. Many of the lines that originated from Ferguson River ran northeastward to Washburn and Tahoe lakes. Many others went far up Tadliryoak River to Kangialuk Lake. Trap lines ran inland along various rivers from camps along the coast at Kainiortoruk, Halukvik, Cape Peel and Byron Bay. Many people crossed Dease Strait to exploit the good trapping grounds on Kent Peninsula, near Itibiak Lake, and Melbourne Island.

The Elu Inlet people also trapped on Kent Peninsula and often went south of Foggy Bay toward Tahikafalok Lake. The people living near Richardson Islands trapped the coast northeast and north of Nagyuktok River.

One man, now in his 70's and living in Cambridge Bay, worked an extensive trap line with his son. Their route extended from Read Island northeast to Tahiryuak Lake, east to Banning Lake, Kangialuk, and Washburn Lake, then directly north to Amaloktok on Hadley Bay. This trap line had 1,700 traps and took over a month to check in each direction, during which they also hunted caribou west of Hadley Bay, musk-oxen and polar bears.

Fishing was a very important activity in this region: nearly all the rivers and lakes yielded char and whitefish. The rivers were fished in the fall, and the lakes in spring and summer. Fishing places were so numerous that only major lakes and rivers are mentioned. West of Ihiotok and north of Tahiryuak and Ferguson lakes, there was an important fishing area in fall for both human and dog food, and there was another farther east near Albert Edward Bay. After fall fishing, some trappers carried their fish back to their winter camps in successive loads during winter. Ferguson Lake and Ekalluk River were the most frequently fished places, but other major rivers, such as Tadliryoak, Halukvik, Pallik and Nagyuktok, together with many minor rivers among them, were all fished intensively. In spring, cod were jigged in many of the bays and, in early summer, nets set along the shore

caught both char and cod. In fall, many of the major rivers and lakes in Elu Inlet and Itibiak were fished by people who travelled there by boat from the Cambridge Bay area.

Seals were hunted throughout Dease Strait, in Coronation Gulf as far west as Duke of York Archipelago, and east to the Wilmot Islands in Elu Inlet, and in Queen Maud Gulf as far east as Parker and Stromness bays. In winter, seals were hunted at their breathing holes in the sea ice, sometimes from temporary base camps set up on the islands. In spring, before the caribou migration appeared, the people hunted seals basking on the ice, and even after the caribou appeared during open water season, they spent the greater part of their time hunting seals to store for winter use.

Wildfowl nesting and feeding places occurred throughout the region. They caught moulting ducks in large numbers by herding them into stone enclosures.

The Cambridge Bay hunters have taken musk-oxen and wolves occasionally while trapping or hunting other animals on the island. Polar bears were rarely seen in the vicinity, but hunters sometimes travelled to Albert Edward Bay, as far as Admiralty Island, in search of bears. Hunting Arctic hares was another incidental activity, but it often yielded good results on many islands and coastal areas of Victoria Island.

During the 1950's and early 1960's, most people who lived at some distance outside the settlement of Cambridge Bay had sufficient game to support themselves. But in the mid-1960's, this pattern of life in camps was coming to an end. Families began to move into the settlement, and hunters began to use the snowmobile instead of dog-teams. This means of transport enabled them to hunt game in areas that had been unused or little used for some years before, so that, despite a centralized population, the people continued to range far and wide to exploit an extensive, if largely depopulated, hinterland.

During Period III, many hunters in Cambridge Bay travel to Albert Edward Bay, where most of them formerly resided. They are familiar with the fishing places in the lakes and rivers, and they hunt caribou in the same areas they used before. They now go farther afield to hunt polar bears, and many make long trips to the north of Victoria Island for them. The southeast coastal area of Victoria Island is fished, and seal hunting continues in combination with trapping.

The area north and northeast of Cambridge Bay is more intensively used than ever before, a fact that obliges hunters to travel ever farther in search of game. Despite the inereased intensity of land use in some places, the boundaries of the areas hunted and fished have scarcely ehanged: the same fishing and hunting areas that were important in Period II are important in Period III. This is true also of the area west of Wellington Bay and in the Riehardson Islands area. South of Cambridge Bay the area is more extensively used because it is more accessible to the settlement. One innovation is that some hunters now fly to Hadley Bay on the north coast of Victoria Island to hunt polar bears, musk-oxen, and caribou, and they have built a cabin and keep a few snowmobiles there for this purpose.

During Period III, with the construction of the DEW-Line and increased government activity in the permanent settlements, the people began to move into or closer to established centres, and by 1963 there were more than 200 Inuit in the vicinity of Cambridge Bay, and many others at Perry River, Bathurst Inlet and Albert Edward Bay. Land use in the Albert Edward Bay region also changed significantly following the establishment of the DEW-Line, for the majority of the former residents moved south to Jenny Lind Island, Stromness Bay, Parker Bay, or Taylor Island. Only a few families continued to live in the inner parts of Albert Edward Bay, and they were closely connected with Cambridge Bay. During Period III, the region has also been exploited by hunters from other regions to the south and southwest. Many trap lines run north into this region, although it is not now trapped as much as before.

The last permanent residents of the Perry River area left there for Cambridge Bay in 1968, and those in Albert Edward Bay left in 1969. In 1970–1971, many families moved away from Bathurst Inlet, and most of the people living in other areas near Cambridge Bay, such as Byron Bay, Halukvik, Ferguson Lake, Anderson Bay and Itibiak moved into Cambridge Bay about this time. Thus land use in those areas now results from the activity of former residents now living in Cambridge Bay.

Bathurst Inlet Region

Bathurst Inlet settlement (66°52′N, 108°01′W) is located near an abandoned H.B.C. post, formerly called Burnside River, which was in operation between 1930 and 1964. In 1964, the post was moved to Bay Chimo Harbour (67°41′N, 107°56′W), but it closed in 1970.

In 1974, there were 56 Inuit living in Bathurst Inlet and 75 in nearby Bay Chimo Harbour. There are no public services in either place, though there is an airstrip near Bathurst Inlet and the abandoned H.B.C. store has been made into a hunting and fishing lodge for summer tourists. Recently there has been considerable exploration in the region for gold, silver and base metals.

In the historic past, land use in the Bathurst Inlet region (Map 8) was, in broad outline, similar to that elsewhere in the Copper Inuit territory. However, owing to the greater inland orientation of the Bathurst Inlet people, there were certain distinctive features about their use of land. During the more reeent past, and, indeed, up to the present, the Bathurst Inlet people have maintained a number of relatively small, dispersed and mobile settlements, a further contrast between

this group and the larger and more centralized populations that are characteristic of other recent settlement patterns in the region.

The time periods used here are roughly the same as those used before: Period I, before the traders (pre-1920); Period II, from the traders to the construction of the DEW-Line (1920–1955); and Period III, from the DEW-Line to the present (1955–1974).

Before the establishment of trading posts, and even after, the people varied regionally in their land use and lifestyle, and they were divided into four main groups:
(1) Umingmaktomiut, the people north and east of Bathurst Inlet;
(2) Kilusiktomiut, the people south of Bathurst Inlet;
(3) Nenitaktomiut, the people west of Bathurst Inlet; and
(4) Contwoyto Lake people who lived inland and southwest of Bathurst Inlet.

Period I (Pre-1920)

There is no one living in Bathurst Inlet now who had hunted and fished during Period I, but some of the old people now living in Cambridge Bay and Coppermine were able to supply useful information for the period. Although the picture is far from complete, it is possible to offer a brief description from the information obtained from them.

The people from the southern part of the Bathurst Inlet region, the Kilusiktomiut (also called the Hanegayomiut), and the Contwoyto Lake people were the only ones who did not always follow a generalized seasonal cycle: hunting sleeping seals and fish jigging in spring, caribou hunting and fishing inland during summer, fishing during char runs and caribou hunting in fall, followed by winter sealing at breathing holes from camps established on the sea ice. They sometimes stayed inland all winter, after killing a sufficient number of caribou at crossing places on Back River, or at Beechey Lake, Nose Lake, Contwoyto Lake or Pellatt Lake. Although they might have enough caribou fat for heat and light and food, their proximity to trees and willows enabled them to use wood for fuel, and they could sometimes trade with visitors from the coast for seal blubber and oil. Most of these inland people were located south of Contwoyto Lake. In some years, most or all of the Kilusiktomiut, the people from the Beechey Lake area, would return in late winter to Bathurst Inlet to hunt seals because their supply of caribou was exhausted. In spring, when the caribou returned, they also went back inland to fish and hunt.

The Umingmaktomiut, the people of the east side of Bathurst Inlet, and the Nenitaktomiut, the people on the west side, followed the same cycle. The former spent their summers near Tahikafalok and Kimuktun lakes, at Kunayak on upper Ellice River, and occasionally in the southeast near Garry Lake. In fall, they hunted caribou farther south toward Ellice River and Overby Lake and, when they had enough skins, they returned to fish at weirs on rivers near the coast. In winter, camps were established on the ice of Bathurst Inlet and among the Wilmot Islands where they hunted seals. In spring they hunted basking seals on the ice, then caribou on their migration to the calving ground in the east.

The most northern of the Umingmaktomiut lived on Kent Peninsula and Elu Inlet and spent the summer north of Tahikafalok Lake, hunting near Angimajuq and Kolgnuk rivers as far as Brichta Lake. Although some people spent the summer on Kent Peninsula, most used this area only in spring and fall. In fall, they fished in the rivers and lakes near Elu Inlet and up to Itibiak Lake and hunted caribou in the vicinity. All the Umingmaktomiut spent the winter together in winter sealing camps on Bathurst Inlet, then in spring moved to southern Kent Peninsula where they hunted caribou and seals and fished through the ice.

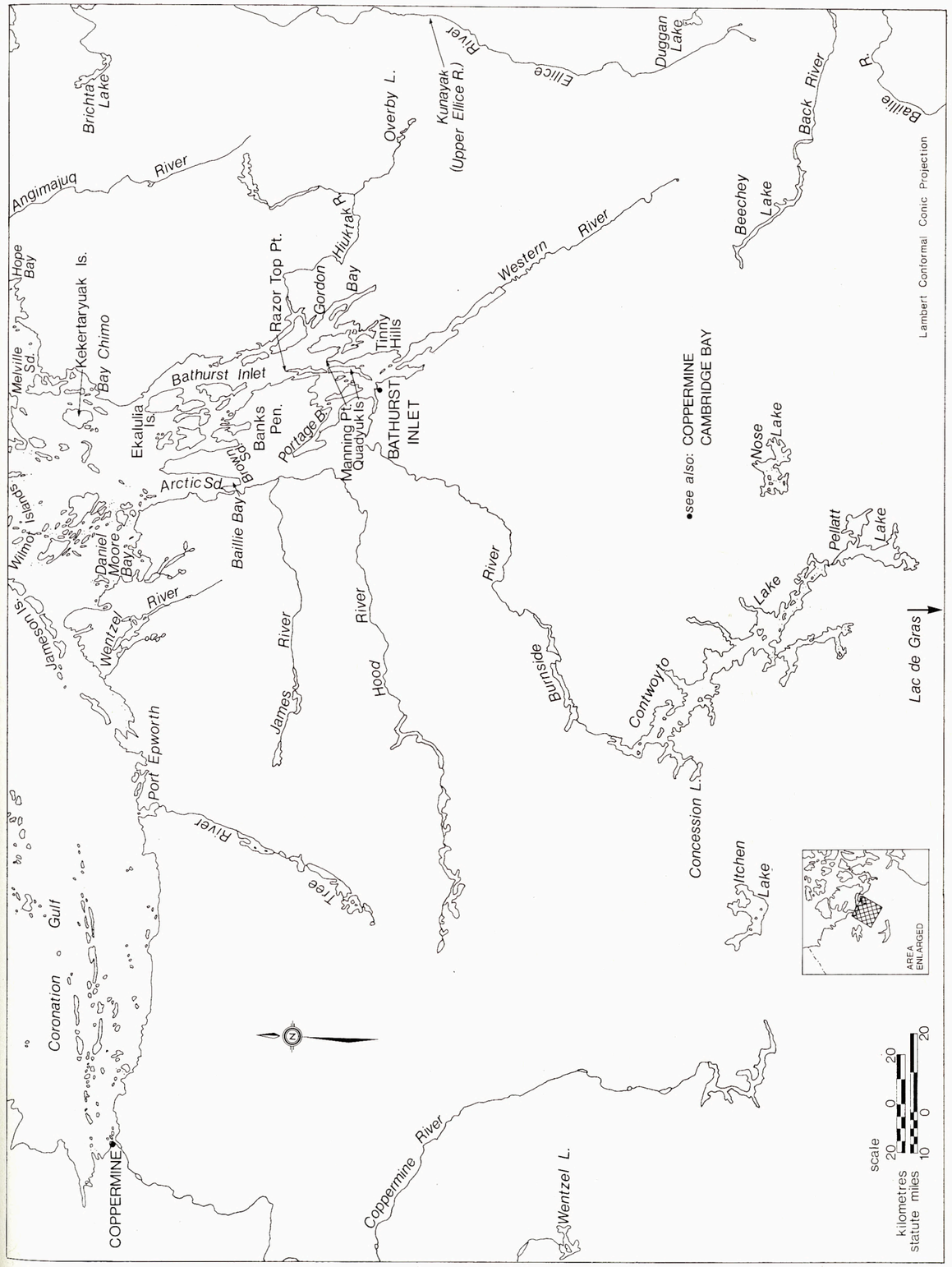
The Nenitaktomiut, on the west side of Bathurst Inlet, wintered a little to the west of the Umingmaktomiut, and the two groups often came together for festive occasions. During spring, while seal hunting and fishing along the west side of Bathurst Inlet, they ambushed the caribou as they descended from the hills and from the valleys of the James and Hood rivers. Some families moved farther west to Tree River to trade with the people there, then they hunted and travelled inland for the remainder of the summer. In fall, the population returned to fish near the coast. The land east and south of Bathurst Inlet has always been, and still is, good musk-ox hunting territory. During Period I, there was not much trapping, but some wolves, wolverines, and foxes were caught to trade for a variety of implements. Some Bathurst Inlet people occasionally, visited the winter camps of other groups, such as the Ekalluktomiut, the Kiglinirmiut and the Kogmiut.

Period II (1920–1954)

The first trading post was built at Tree River (Port Epworth) in 1917, but not until the mid-1920's was a permanent post established in the Bathurst Inlet area. As late as 1930, there were some hunters who still could not afford rifles. For some time after the introduction of rifles, some hunters still carried their traditional hunting implements to use when they ran out of ammunition and as a safety precaution. By the late 1920's and early 1930's, most if not all people were engaged in trapping, at least to some extent.

This change from subsistence hunting to a combined hunting-and-trapping economy radically changed the people's way of life. Many more stayed inland all winter to hunt and trap. The use of rifles and nets enabled them to obtain enough meat and fish to last the winter, and cash from the sale of fox skins enabled them to buy supplementary food when necessary.

Map 8
Bathurst Inlet place names



Other people established semi-permanent camps on the coast and trapped therc. They did not spend so much time inland during summer hunting caribou, but eoncentrated on seal hunting during spring, summer and fall to obtain sufficient food for their dog-teams, whieh increased on average from two or three dogs to between seven and 13.

During Period II, both inland and coastal groups stabilized their seasonal cycle of activity to include trapping. Trapping, however, has tended to blur the limits of the former territorial groupings of the population based primarily on other forms of hunting, because people started to move about in search of better trapping grounds. The intensively used area around Bathurst Inlet has seen the greatest change. Present-day residents of the region have only rarely hunted and trapped outside this area, and many Cambridge Bay and Coppermine people, including many former residents of Bathurst Inlet, have trapped or continue to trap within this area.

By 1930, Old Post at Bathurst Inlet was the trading centre for the area, although many residents of Kent Peninsula travelled to Cambridge Bay to trade. The Bathurst Inlet post was convenient, as it was equidistant from most of the other people in the region. The Contwoyto Lake people used to trade at both Bathurst Inlet and Coppermine, although in the 1930's and 1940's they usually went to Bathurst Inlet.

During Period II, six main areas can be delineated as the locations most frequented by men involved in trapping from winter camps. They were:
(1) Contwoyto Lake,
(2) Beechey Lake,
(3) Kimuktun and Tahikafalok lakes,
(4) Bathurst Inlet–Old Post,
(5) Arctic Sound and Daniel Moore Bay, and
(6) Elu Inlet and Kent Peninsula.

CONTWOYTO LAKE AREA

The people of this area usually preferred to camp in one of three or four general areas: Concession Lake, the eentral east side of Contwoyto Lake, Pellatt Lake, and Nose Lake. Each of these areas included one or more good hunting places at caribou crossings and numerous good fishing lakes. Concession Lake seemed to be the best one for netting and jigging fish. Between caribou migrations, the people had to travel farther afield to hunt caribou. Some people had hunted and even lived near Itchen Lake to the west. They had met Indians near the upper Coppermine River and Lac de Gras, where they had gathered wood. Some had travelled as far as Napaktulik.

The area north-northeast of Contwoyto Lake, on the upper reaches of the James and Hood rivers, was seldom used, although caribou hunting was said to be good there.

Trap lines in the areas described above, as well as farther inland, were short, but they generally had as many traps as longer trap lines elsewhere, for with large caches of caribou meat in the vicinity, many foxes could be attracted and caught in the 50 to 75 traps set around each cache.

The Contwoyto Lake area was also good country for both wolves and wolverines; both were caught with extra-strong traps set among the fox traps. These animals were hunted not only because they ate dead foxes in traps, but because their furs were valuable. Wolves were more numerous and got a better price; wolverine fur was kept for personal use.

Birds were hunted incidentally in this area, and Barren Ground grizzly bears were hunted only when encountered.

The use of land during Period III has not appreciably altered from the pattern described for Period II. The Contwoyto Lake area used has not decreased much in size, although there has been some decrease on the individual level following the adoption of a more sedentary way of life. Camps at Coneession Lake (near the Contwoyto Lake radio beacon station), Pellatt Lake and Nose Lake have seen the construction of several wood and wood-and-canvas structures. During the past 20 years, the people, while still mobile, have tended to build more permanent bases from which to operate. Trap lines have been extended, but most hunting areas are similar to those used during Period II. A much fuller description is given in the Coppermine land use section.

BEECHEY LAKE AREA

Many people now living in Bathurst Inlet still regard the Beechey Lake area as their homeland. As at Contwoyto Lake, the caribou hunt was centred mainly on three or four major crossings close to the camps. However, between migrations, hunters occasionally made long journeys to the south, well up Baillie River, and west, to Nose Lake.

Other well hunted areas included lower Back River to the east, Duggan Lake to the northeast, upper Ellice River, and the land between Beechey Lake and Bathurst Inlet. The key caribou hunting areas were at the migration erossings, near to which people established their winter camps.

Beechey Lake at its both ends and Back River, were the eentre of fishing, but smaller lakes nearby were fished by one or two families each year. Other favourite fishing spots included Ellice Lake, Tahikafalok Lake, and upper Western River.

The pattern of trapping was basically similar to that described for Contwoyto Lake: trap lines, while still short, were centred on the meat caches. This whole area was intensively trapped, and it was also good wolverine and wolf eountry. During the fall caribou migration so many wolves were taken that their skins were traded in bundles. During winter, wolves were hunted along trap lines and at their dens.

Occasionally a Barren Ground grizzly bear was sighted and shot. There was not as much bird hunting as in other inland areas. Musk-oxen were hunted in earlier times but, during most of Period II, they were hunted only when starvation threatened.

There has been little change in the Beeehey Lake area from Period II. The people still hunt caribou in most of the same places, although some of the younger people do not travel far afield, relying on nearby earibou crossings. Hunters still travel south to Baillie River and to the west of Nose Lake. There have been changes in fishing: most of the people now use only nets, and the more produetive lakes have increased in importance recently. Fish are no less important today than in Period II. Wolf and wolverine hunting areas have not changed. Both species are now hunted more regularly than formerly, although traps are used for these animals less frequently. Fox trap lines appear to be slightly longer than before. Apart from the fact that fewer lines run south and more lines run southwest, there is little change. Recently more Barren Ground grizzly bears have been sighted and shot near Beechey Lake. Both musk-oxen and birds are still hunted, but they remain of minor importance.

KIMUKTUN AND TAHIKAFALOK LAKES AREA

This area was closely connected with Bathurst Inlet, even though people may have lived there all year round. The people here did not originally stay inland during winter, but spent their time at two main focal areas: at Kimuktun Lake, the source of Hiuktak River; and at Tahikafalok Lake, one of the sources of Ellice River. Both lakes were in the centre of the caribou calving grounds. Hunting was very good here in spring and early summer, and caribou crossings were of lesser importance than elsewhere. During winter, extensive areas were hunted for caribou, and were trapped: to the south, from Beechey Lake towards Ellice Lake and southeast up Ellice River; east to Ellice River and northeast to Queen Maud Gulf, where hunters met and traded with Perry River people while hunting caribou at Brichta Lake; west along Angimajuq River to a meeting place with the Elu Inlet people. In spring, caribou hunting was carried on concurrently with trading and visiting.

Trap lines radiated from this focal point southeast to Ellice River, northeast to Brichta Lake, and northwest to Angimajuq and Kolgnuk rivers area. A few trap lines ran south from Kimuktun Lake to Ellice Lake, and over to Western River and north Beechey Lake area. The largest number of trap lines extended westward toward the Hiuktak River mouth and Elu Inlet.

Many people hunted in the Elu Inlet and nearby in Hiuktak River and Gordon Bay when visiting in spring and while trading. Seal blubber was highly valued and earried inland to use for fuel and light. Indeed, many extended their trap lines to the inlet to hunt seals for dog food and blubber; others traded for blubber or oil with relatives who lived near the coast.

Three large lakes near the winter settlements were the focus of most fishing activity. Brichta Lake, in the northeast, was a noted trout lake, and they fished many smaller lakes as well. In fall, many travelled down to Hiuktak River and Gordon Bay to fish for char and to hunt seals for the winter.

During spring, when the caribou were calving, hunters took many wolves and some wolverines and trapped others on their fox trap lines. Bird hunting was common, especially around the major camps, and special trips were made to hunt geese and collect eggs on the west side of Brichta Lake. In fall, they hunted ducks while fishing and sealing, especially near Hiuktak. Barren Ground grizzly bears and musk-oxen were very rare.

This area has strengthened its ties to Bathurst Inlet during Period III through the people who live along the coast, and through an increased number of trap lines that run along the river valleys to the coast. The only major change in the area hunted for caribou appears to be that no hunter has recently travelled south up Ellice River. Caribou have more often been hunted inland near Bay Chimo Harbour since the trading post moved there. Most people still hunt caribou when the animals are concentrated on the calving grounds and at river erossings. Seal hunting has increased in importance, although seals are now less often hunted at their breathing holes. Nets are increasingly used in fishing, but the catch is probably about the same as before. Trap lines have changed direction considerably; few of them now run directly north or south, and more of them appear to follow an east-west direction. Wolf and wolverine hunting has increased, as in the Beechey Lake area, but the areas hunted have changed little.

BATHURST INLET–OLD AREA

During Period II, the people started to live year round at their winter camps on the coast near Burnside River, Gordon Bay, Kilusiktomiut, Hiuktak and Portage Bay. However, they often returned inland to the Beechey Lake area or near Kimuktun and Tahikafalok lakes to hunt caribou in the fall or to fish. Most of their hunting took place near Bathurst Inlet because of its abundant resources.

Spring caribou hunting, in which they ambushed the herds during their spring migration across southern Bathurst Inlet on their way to the calving grounds, remained an important activity. Most of the meat obtained at this time was dried for winter use. Other groups who hunted Bathurst Inlet in the spring did the same thing. During summer, they hunted caribou on the numerous islands and peninsulas of Bathurst Inlet, inland up the river valleys, and in the hills on both sides of the inlet. The fall hunt, which was important for winter clothing and meat, occurred in the Western River and Beechey Lake area. During winter, they took few caribou, and those they got were chance encounters on the inland trap lines.

Trap lines here were much longer than those of the inland areas, although probably about the same number of traps were used. They usually ran along the coasts, around the islands and up the rivers. Many trap lines ran inland toward

Tahikafalok Lake, where these coastal people occasionally hunted caribou.

Seal hunting was an important activity for the people of this area, although not as important as it was for the Coppermine and Richardson Islands people, and they spent most of the summer sealing to store meat and blubber for winter food, dog food and fuel. In fact, seals were hunted the year round: in spring they stalked basking seals on the ice; in summer they hunted them in open water by boat; and in winter they hunted them at their breathing holes, usually in the southern part of Bathurst Inlet. When trapping or visiting relatives farther north, they hunted seals there.

All the major rivers flowing into Bathurst Inlet, and many lakes south of Old Post and Bathurst Lake, and east of the Tinny Hills, were fished throughout the year. There were weirs on many of the smaller rivers.

Wolves and wolverines were abundant in this area. Wolves were taken in the area around Old Post, in the hills south of there, and inland east of Gordon Bay, especially in spring. Most wolverines were taken during trapping, usually north of Old Post.

This area was also good for bird hunting. In early spring, Canada geese were abundant along Burnside and Western rivers and, during summer and fall, the Gordon Bay and Hiuktak area was good for duck hunting. Eider ducks were known to nest on a few small islands, south of Quadyuk Island, east of Tinny Hills, and north of Manning Point, and their eggs were considered a great delicacy. During summer, the whole of Bathurst Inlet was rich in ducks and other waterfowl.

Musk-oxen were plentiful in the area, but they were hunted only in necessity. Barren Ground grizzly bears were hunted when encountered. Sometimes they found moose near the mouth of Hood River. The islands nearby were known to be good places to hunt Arctic hares.

Here again, the effect of the move to Cambridge Bay during Period III can be plainly seen. Whereas the southern and western part of this region continues to be used intensively by Bathurst Inlet people, it is no longer used as much as before by those who have moved to live at Cambridge Bay. However, each spring, many of the immigrants return to Bathurst Inlet, if only to hunt caribou during their eastward migration, and several hunters travel south from Cambridge Bay each spring as far as Bay Chimo for the same reason. These visits may be prolonged through the summer and, while there, the visitors participate fully in whatever land use activity is carried out at that time, including caribou hunting, fishing, seal hunting, and wolf and wolverine hunting. In winter, too, many of the former residents run trap lines deep into Bathurst Inlet and across Kent Peninsula. Some men, who rarely hunt at Cambridge Bay, hunt when they travel south to Bathurst Inlet through territory with which they are familiar, and they seize every opportunity to make such trips. Thus, the area of upper Bathurst Inlet, Elu Inlet and Kent Peninsula is now used more intensively than before by the former residents who now live in Cambridge Bay and by the Bathurst Inlet residents themselves.

During Period III, this area has been and is one of the most intensively used in the western part of the central Canadian Arctic, not only by the residents of the area, but also by their neighbours from the Kimuktun and Tahikafalok lakes area, and Beechey Lake. This intensive use is due to the abundance of caribou in spring and fall. Fishing is good in the lakes south of the post, in the Bathurst Lake area, south of Gordon Bay and in Hiuktak River. The total catch has increased with greater use of nets. The seal hunting areas are the same as before, although there has been a shift from hunting at breathing holes to hunting from boats during the season of open water. There has been no noticeable change in the hunting of birds. As at Beechey Lake, more Barren Ground grizzly bears have been taken and hunters report an increase in the number of musk-oxen in the area. Wolf and wolverine hunting has increased in importance, although the area in which they are hunted has not changed.

In all of these hunting activities, the emphasis has shifted slightly to the north with the move northward of the trading post, but this shift has not decreased land use immediately to the south. Many trap lines run in that direction, and some seal hunting and fishing camps are on the west side of Bathurst Inlet, near Razor Top Point. Many people use the Kimuktun and Tahikafalok lakes area. Trap lines run from Old Post across Bathurst Inlet and inland, where the trappers hunt other species as well. There is also much hunting along the travel routes to Arctic Sound.

ARCTIC SOUND AND DANIEL MOORE BAY AREA

During Period II, the people of this area appear to have relied on sealing and fishing more than their neighbours to the south. They hunted seals in the bays and among the islands in the upper part of Bathurst Inlet. Many families moved out onto the islands to live during winter and ran trap lines from their camps toward Kent Peninsula. These islands and bays offered excellent sealing, and some areas were especially good for bearded seals.

They also hunted caribou in spring around Bathurst Inlet and as far east as Kent Peninsula, and they dried the meat for summer and fall use. They also hunted up Hood and James Rivers, inland from Arctic Sound and Daniel Moore Bay, and along the coast as far west as Tree River. They did not hunt far inland southwest of Daniel Moore Bay nor south of Tree River.

In general, trap lines ran either along the indented coastlines and occasionally up the river valleys or across the chain of islands to Kent Peninsula. Some trappers ran lines nearly as far as Cambridge Bay, where they occasionally traded and visited. A few people trapped deeper inland, and others

trapped all the way to Old Post and back. Many of the trappers who ran long lines now live in Cambridge Bay.

The major rivers, such as Hood and James Rivers, and many of the larger lakes, including Wentzel Lake and the lakes south of Daniel Moore Bay and on Banks Peninsula between Baillie Bay and Brown Sound, offered good fishing. At the end of their trap lines on Kent Peninsula, men jigged cod (for dog food on the return journey) and caught good supplies of char in nets near river mouths in the sea.

Some wolves and wolverines were taken in association with trapping, but these animals were much scarcer here than farther south. Eider and other ducks were hunted along the coast. They hunted geese inland, especially up Hood River. Moose could be found among the willows near the mouth of Hood River and throughout Banks Peninsula. Grizzly bears were trapped or hunted when encountered. The Wilmot Islands were known to be a good place to hunt Arctic hares.

This area has changed least of all during Period III, and traditional campsites in Daniel Moore Bay, Arctic and Brown sounds are used to the present day. The major difference is that the winter camps are now fairly permanent. Although the areas of land use have not changed, in some cases the exploitative techniques have been altered.

The caribou hunting areas have changed scarcely at all. The people here, as elsewhere in the Bathurst Inlet area, still depend on the caribou's spring migration for supply of dried meat to last through the summer. Fishing methods have changed: people still jig for fish during spring, but nets are now increasingly employed at other seasons. The men spend much of the summer hunting seals from power boats. They store seal meat for winter use and do not, therefore, have to depend so much on hunting seals at breathing holes during winter. Many trap lines now include a short diversion toward Bay Chimo Harbour and its trading post; otherwise the pattern of trapping is similar to that of Period II. Most trap lines still run north across the islands to Kent Peninsula or southeast along the coast, and a few run inland.

Wolves and wolverines have increased in importance during the past few years because of the high prices they eommand in trade, and the area over which they are hunted has increased slightly. Moose and Barren Ground grizzly bears are believed to have increased in number recently, and there has been some increase in the area over which they are hunted. The same may be said of musk-oxen. The hunting of birds remains unchanged.

ELU INLET AND KENT PENINSULA AREA

During Period II, the local population of this area used the southern section of Elu Inlet and Kent Peninsula, and went well into Bathurst Inlet. They hunted on the islands of north Bathurst Inlet, often going as far as Old Post; and inland, south of Hope Bay, up Kolgnuk and Angimajuq rivers east of Bay Chimo, as far as Tahikafalok Lake, in summer and sometimes during winter.

Until the 1920's, caribou used to cross Kent Peninsula to Victoria Island. Since the crossing ceased, caribou hunting in that area has declined in importance, except in spring. Kent Peninsula was trapped by local people and by others from Arctic Sound and Cambridge Bay. The trappers preferred rivers and coastlines, and most of the trap lines were short.

Fishing in this area has always been good; the lakes north of Parry Bay and the lakes and rivers south of Melville Sound are rich in trout and char. Fishing was also good in the south toward Bay Chimo and on the Ekalulia and Kekertaryuak islands. Great catches of cod were made throughout Parry Bay, north of Bathurst Inlet, and Melville Sound, especially near the Hurd Islands.

Seals were hunted in the whole of Elu Inlet as far west as the Jameson Islands and, occasionally, as far south as Old Post. North Bathurst Inlet and Melville Sound saw the most intensive seal hunting. The people here used the same seasonal seal hunting techniques that were employed by all other groups in the Copper Inuit territory.

Bird hunting was seasonally important. Huge flocks of ducks and geese descended on the inlets, islands and inland lakes in spring and summer, providing a plentiful supply of eggs and meat. The Perry River area in the east offered still better wildfowl hunting.

The few wolves and wolverines taken were killed as encountered, generally during trapping. Wolverine fur was usually kept for personal use, but wolf fur was traded. Other dietary supplements included ground squirrels and Arctic hares, especially near camp sites. Musk-oxen were taken only occasionally.

During Period III, this area has been used by more people than ever before because a large number from Cambridge Bay have begun to hunt and trap here, in addition to the people from Bathurst Inlet who use the area. The focus of hunting activity has moved southward toward Bay Chimo Harbour, especially during the past few years, and there is increased activity east of the harbour, especially in fishing and hunting of birds, wolves and wolverines. Kent Peninsula is intensively trapped by people who live at Bay Chimo Harbour, Arctic Sound, Parry Bay, Robertson Lake and Hope Bay. A few trappers have begun to work east of Hope Bay, where there had been little previous activity. Bird hunting still provides a welcome addition to the diet, but it has decreased. Sealing, especially from boats in open water, has increased.

During Period III (1954–1974), far-reaching effects resulted from the movement of the people from the land into settlements. Bathurst Inlet did not develop into a central settlement, and suffered heavy losses from out-migration, with most people going to Cambridge Bay or to Coppermine.

During the last 10 years, however, this migration has progressively slowed, and recently it has stopped altogether.

Holman Region

Holman (70°43'N, 117°43'W) is located on the west coast of Victoria Island on the north side of Prince Albert Sound. The settlement is often called Holman Island, although it is in fact on Victoria Island and Holman Island lies nearby to the southeast. In 1923, the H.B.C. established a trading post about 18 miles away. This post was twice moved, before it was located close to its present site in 1939, near a Roman Catholic mission that was built there in the same year. In 1962, the H.B.C. abandoned its post at Read Island, an event that led to the immigration of many Inuit families to Holman. In 1962 also, the Anglican Church built a mission at Holman. Holman was again moved a short distance in 1965.

In 1974, the population was 241, most of whom were Inuit. There are twice-weekly scheduled air service from Yellowknife, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to six), two churches, a community hall, a library, weekly mail service, a general store, and the Holman Eskimo Cooperative.

Members of three Inuit groups make up the population of Holman: the Kanghiryuachiakmiut from Minto Inlet, the Kanghiryuakmiut from Prince Albert Sound, and the Puivlingmiut from Read Island. There are also a number of individuals from Banks Island and Tuktoyaktuk, who have helped to form the three groups into a community by introducing the orientation to trapping that, together with hunting, is focus of much of Holman life today.

This account of land use in the Holman area (Map 9) is divided into four time periods: Period I, before the traders (pre-1923 in the northern part and pre-1919 in the southern part); Period II, from the arrival of traders until the establishment of the H.B.C. post (1923–1939); Period III, from the establishment of the H.B.C. to the movement of the village (1939–1965); and Period IV, since the establishment of the new village (1965–1974).

Period I (Pre-1923)

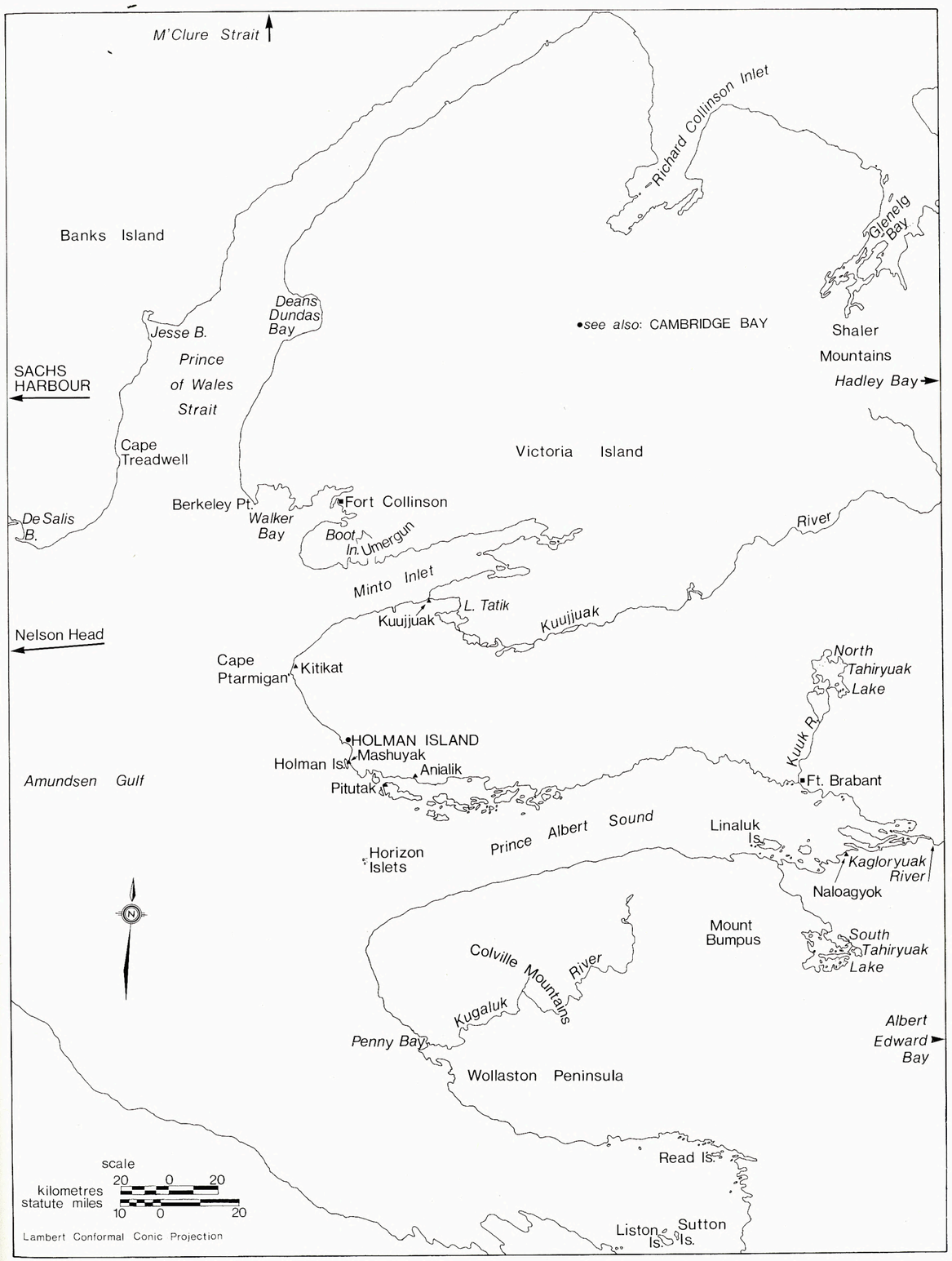
The area occupied by the Holman people was very extensive and, before the white traders came, they lived a life similar to that of other Copper Inuit groups. The Kanghiryuachiakmiut lived farther north than the other two groups and were centred on Minto Inlet. Even though many members of the group might be absent for years at a time, each fall the majority of the people would gather at Tatik Lake, a traditional meeting place near the mouth of the Kuujjuak River, to fish for char and trout. Many would then leave for the north side or the east end of Minto Inlet to hunt caribou for winter clothing skins. Some had already been hunting before coming to fish at Tatik Lake or at other rivers and lakes in the area.

Once the sea ice was thick enough, they moved onto Minto Inlet to begin hunting seals at breathing holes. Camps were moved only when the seals in the immediate area were depleted. Occasionally in winter they visited the Prince Albert Sound people and, when spring arrived, they hunted basking seals on the ice and fished in nearby lakes. As spring advanced, they moved inland in small groups. Some went directly north toward Richard Collinson Inlet to hunt caribou and musk-oxen, others went northeast toward Glenelg Bay (a centre where many people lived all year round), still others hunted just south of Minto Inlet, and a few hunted along upper Kuujjuak River. Those who travelled up the west coast of Victoria Island often crossed over to Banks Island, where there were camps all along the east coast and deep inland. These people were the historic inhabitants of Banks Island. With the return of fall, some returned to Tatik Lake to fish, and others fished either on Banks Island or at other favoured places. Nearly everyone returned to Minto Inlet to hunt seals in the late fall.

The Kanghiryuakmiut were centred on Prince Albert Sound. During winter, they moved out onto the ice, at the east end of the sound near the mouth of Kagloryuak River. During winter seal hunting, they moved camp periodically, and by the end of winter they were often located near Horizon Islets, south of Holman Island. During winter they lived mainly on the seals, fish and caribou they had stored during the previous summer and fall, and on polar bears. They hunted polar bears on the sea ice as far west as Banks Island. In spring, they returned to the head of Prince Albert Sound, and many walked inland to fish in the lakes. Others travelled north up Kuuk River to North Tahiryuak Lake, where they often met some of the Minto Inlet people, and some went to South Tahiryuak Lake to meet people from Read Island. After spending some time together fishing, they dispersed into small groups and moved east or northeast farther inland. Many people hunted along Kagloryuak River toward Namaycush Lake, where they often encountered people from Albert Edward Bay. Others went south to hunt north of Banning Lake and near Igloovigalik, where they often met Ekalluktomiut and Nagyuktomiut. They occasionally hunted north of Washburn Lake, often spending a year or more in that locality, where they sometimes met and hunted with people from Hadley Bay. However, once fall approached, most of them returned to Prince Albert Sound, hunting caribou and fishing along the way. There were fish weirs in several rivers. Kuuk and Kagloryuak rivers were favourite traditional places, but they fished other lakes and rivers in the vicinity. When the sea ice was thick enough, they moved out onto it for the winter sealing.

Because the Puivlingmiut of Read Island have been discussed in the Coppermine report also, this section will be brief: more detailed information is to be found in the other section. These people usually wintered on the sea ice west of Read Island, some of them going as far west as Stapylton Bay on the mainland, where they met people from south of

Map 9
Holman Island place names



Sutton and Liston islands. During winter, they moved camp only when the seals in the area had been depleted. Occasionally men went polar bear hunting in Amundsen Gulf some distance to the west. With the first appearance of migrating caribou, they left the ice to hunt them. However, until rifles became common, they could hunt caribou only in the hills, not on the ice. They also jigged for fish in this season. Many travelled north to Tahiryuak Lake to fish, and there they met people from Prince Albert Sound. Others fished in numerous lakes south, southeast and southwest of that lake. With the approach of summer, some moved east to hunt caribou and to fish in the Colville Hills and around Kugaluk River, some went east and south of Read Island to hunt caribou, to fish and to collect eggs, and others stayed in the area south of Tahiryuak Lake. In fall, some of them returned to the coast to fish through the new ice. When winter came, everyone moved out onto the sea ice to resume seal hunting.

Period II (1923–1939)

During Period II, people began to change from being only hunters to being hunters and trappers, a transition that introduced changes in the pattern of land use and in other aspects of life. In the early part of Period II, the Minto Inlet people only rarely visited the new trading post. At first they had few traps and traded only enough furs to buy themselves guns and ammunition.

However, the trapping of white foxes soon became an integral part of their annual cycle of activities, and permanent winter camps on the coast began to replace sealing camps on the sea ice. The coastal camps were concentrated on the Walker Bay and Minto Inlet area, which was easily the most populous; the Glenelg Bay and Richard Collinson Inlet area, which had fewer people, most of whom were of the older generation; Holman, where most of the Inuit from the west lived; and Banks Island and Deans Dundas Bay. These were areas of population concentration, not formally delimited areas. The land use associated with each camp overlapped that of its neighbours, and most people had also visited or lived in Prince Albert Sound and Read Island at one time or another. During summer, the Minto Inlet people travelled far inland, hunting caribou and musk-oxen and fishing in the numerous lakes, especially during the first part of Period II. The people from the west usually made only short quick trips inland. Many of them had schooners and would visit Banks Island, Baillie Island, Tuktoyaktuk, or Aklavik during the summer. Many of them travelled as far north as Prince Albert Peninsula and east of Deans Dundas Bay to hunt caribou; some visited or hunted with the people who wintered at Richard Collinson Inlet or Glenelg Bay; and others hunted on the northern side of Victoria Island, near the Shaler Mountains. In late summer, they began to move back toward their winter camps, and they hunted caribou all around Minto Inlet to get skins for winter clothing. Those who had travelled to Jesse and De Salis bays and Cape Treadwell on Banks Island or had hunted far inland on Victoria Island returned to hunt and fish along the coast. During winter, they usually obtained only a few caribou while trapping. Caribou were hunted during spring, usually near the coast, often when the herds were crossing Minto Inlet from the highlands south of Kuujjuak River.

The people lived on seals during most of the year; in spring, they hunted basking seals on the ice. Even later in spring, when most of the hunters had gone inland to hunt caribou, many families stayed to hunt seals and birds in Minto Inlet and far out on the sea ice. They hunted in the bays and open water near the winter camps, across Prince of Wales Strait to Banks Island, Richard Collinson Inlet and Glenelg Bay. With the season of open water, they hunted along the coasts in their boats, and in fall they resumed seal hunting on the ice. Some travelled northwest from Minto Inlet to Berkeley Point to hunt bearded seals. In winter, they hunted seals at their breathing holes near their winter camps or along their coastal trap lines. They also killed seals as encountered while hunting polar bears in winter and early spring. The best areas for bears were considered to be directly offshore, some distance from Walker Bay; near Nelson Head on Banks Island; near Horizon Islets south of Holman Island; and in the northern part of Victoria Island.

Fishing was pursued intensively. Most of the people gathered at Lake Tatik near the mouth of Kuujjuak River, in early fall to fish and visit each other, and they also fished many of the nearby lakes and rivers and hunted caribou at this time. As char did not migrate up these rivers as much as in other areas, the people relied more on jigging for trout and landlocked char in the lakes until nets became available. The lakes on the north side of Minto Inlet offered very good fishing, and many people travelled there in fall to obtain a supply of fish for winter, caching their catch along or at the end of a trap line. People wintering at Deans Dundas and De Salis bays, Richard Collinson Inlet and Glenelg Bay had preferred fishing places nearby. Those who lived at Kitikat, Pitutak, Mashuyak and Anialik on the peninsula between Minto Inlet and Prince Albert Sound favoured several nearby lakes for late fall and spring fishing.

Trapping greatly increased in importance during Period II. At first, most of the trap lines were very short and ran along the coast. However, as desire for and dependence on trade goods grew, and as the Minto Inlet people learned more about how to trap from the western Inuit, they extended their trap lines far inland. People living at Berkeley Point, Boot Inlet, and on Kuujjuak River directed their trap lines toward the H.B.C. and Canalaska Company posts near Walker Bay. Many of the western Inuit trapped from Holman east toward Kuuk River.

In spring, they moved to camps located near good wildfowling areas on the coast and carried on sealing and bird hunting at the same time at such places as Kitikat near Cape Ptarmigan (for ducks and sandhill cranes), Mashuyak (ducks), Anialik (ducks), Kuujjuak (ducks and geese) and Umergun (ducks). They also hunted some geese during summer, but took many more ducks than geese during the summer seal hunts.

Wolves were hunted as encountered during winter, but that was not often, for they were scarce in this region. There were always a number of musk-oxen taken, and they often provided a welcome and sometimes necessary addition to the diet.

PRINCE ALBERT SOUND AREA

During Period II the Kangiryuakmiut quickly adapted to a trapping economy. When the post near them closed in 1928, they were obliged to trade at the posts at Walker Bay and Read Island, and many traded at both. However, most of the people preferred the post at Read Island, and in time some of them decided to live near it. Although the population of Prinee Albert Sound was slightly reduced by this movement, it did not affect the extent and nature of land use. With the new technology, the land and sea continued to be harvested as thoroughly by the people who remained in the region.

In spring, many of them visited the two lakes, both of which are called Tahiryuak, one north and the other south of Prince Albert Sound, to fish and to hunt caribou. Most of them returned to the coast for the summer, but they often made other hunting trips inland later in the summer. Some spent all summer inland hunting caribou, either along Kagloryuak River or north near the Shaler Mountains, and a few might go to Glenelg Bay, perhaps staying there more than a year. Most of the people, however, spent the summer hunting for only short distances inland, while travelling by boat along the east and north side of Prince Albert Sound. In fall, they usually hunted caribou on the north and east side of North Tahiryuak Lake and upstream on Kagloryuak River. In winter, many hunters and trappers worked the north coast of Prince Albert Sound near North Tahiryuak Lake and often went far inland as far as Namaycush Lake. They would also hunt on trips to the Read Island post. Toward the end of Period II, after 1930, few caribou crossed from the mainland to the area south and southeast of Prince Albert Sound, so people rarely travelled in this direction. From that time, they hunted the Victoria Island caribou exclusively.

Many of the Prince Albert Sound people had become well established and successful trappers by the end of Period II, with long trap lines that extended along the coasts, the major river valleys, and in favourable places elsewhere inland. Many trapped far up Kagloryuak River and others went farther northeast to Namaycush Lake. They trapped the north coast of the sound from Kuuk River westwards, and the south coast from its eastern end as far west as Penny Bay. The group camped at Penny Bay ran trap lines north and also to the east.

Fishing areas remained the same as in Period I. During spring, the people jigged for fish at the two Tahiryuak lakes while they were hunting earibou inland. They also fished many other lakes nearby and some that were farther inland; in summer they used nets. The many rivers that flow from the interior are well stocked with char and whitefish. The people still used weirs, but nets were becoming more common, and they were more productive. Frozen and dried fish often provided a substantial portion of the diet during the trapping season.

Prince Albert Sound was always very rich in ringed and bearded seals, and the men would hunt seals at breathing holes while they trapped along the coasts and between trips. Ringed seals were found everywhere, but the bearded seals, which were more localized in their distribution, were usually hunted toward the middle of the sound. In early spring, the men hunted basking seals all over the sound, often as far as Holman Island and even around to Walker Bay when they went there to trade. In summer, they hunted seals from boats, usually in the eastern half of the sound. In late fall and winter, the people established their camps near or on the ice, where they hunted seals at breathing holes. In winter and early spring, during the early part of Period II, they hunted polar bears in the immediate vicinity of their camps, but later, as bears became scarce, they travelled as far as the Horizon Islets to hunt them. However, these people did not depend on polar bears as much as the Minto Inlet people did, nor did they consider themselves to be primarily polar bear hunters like their neighbours.

Near Linaluk Island, Naloagyok and Kagloryuak River is one of the largest eider duck colonies. Eider ducks also fly from Banks Island over Holman, stopping at Mashuyak, and then to their nesting grounds. A very large number of these birds were taken during late spring and summer and were preserved frozen in pits through the summer and often well into the winter. The hunters usually shot ducks, but earlier in the period they used to capture many moulting birds at once in stone enclosures. They also shot some geese, but not regularly.

As in Minto Inlet, there were few wolves here; those that were taken were usually encountered along the trap lines. Musk-oxen seem also to have been scarce in the region during this period.

Occasionally a few white whales and, more frequently, walruses were caught in the shallow waters close by. These animals were not available on a regular basis, but were welcome additions to the diet. Here, as in Minto Inlet, Arctic hares were ubiquitous, and they also provided a welcome supplementary source of food.

Little change occurred in the Prince Albert Sound area between Period II and Period III. When a post was established

at Holman, about half the people traded there and the rest continued to trade at Read Island. When caribou became scarce south of Prince Albert Sound, hunting concentrated on herds to the north, although some Read Island people would sometimes still hunt and travel to the south of the sound. With increased emphasis on trapping, the attention given to bird hunting also increased.

In Period IV, when the Holman settlement was moved again, the associated patterns of land use became more centralized. The Read Island people began to move to or near the new settlement in 1962, and the Prince Albert Sound people followed soon after. Within a few years, almost every family in the region had some type of permanent dwelling located in the Holman settlement, and they have since used the surrounding camps only on a seasonal basis. Once spring comes, the settlement itself is almost deserted until fall. Most of the camps are within one day's travel of Holman.

Caribou are now hunted mainly by snowmobile. In fall, many people hunt them along the coast, but they also hunt far inland, east of Minto Inlet as far as the Shaler Mountains. They continue to hunt caribou during the winter trapping season, often far inland north of Minto Inlet, along the south coast, and to the east of Holman past Kuuk River. In early spring, the caribou come close to Holman and are hunted on the peninsula, south of Minto Inlet along Kuujjuak River, and along the coast east of Holman as far as Kuuk River. After break-up, many people hunt along the coasts by boat. Caribou killed inland in late summer may be cachcd for later retrieval by snowmobile. The mountainous area to the northeast of Holman is not now hunted, because it is difficult country to travel.

Trapping has also changed because of the centralized settlement pattern. Nearly all the trap lines begin at Holman: many go north, either across the land or around the shoreline or even out on the sea ice. The entire coastal area of Minto Inlet, Walker Bay, and Prince Albert Peninsula is fully trapped. From Minto Inlet trap lines fan out to extend north and east deep inland; the best areas are considered to be directly to the north. The north coast of Prince Albert Sound, east from Holman to Kagloryuak River, and parts of Wollaston Peninsula are also trapped.

The major fishery is still centred on Tatik, near the mouth of Kuujjuak River; during fall, this place and nearby lakes and rivers are fished intensively, and almost the entire local population moves there for two or three weeks. Later in fall, the men fish with nets at lakes along or at the end of their trap lines. In spring, they jig for fish in many lakes on the peninsula north of Holman. When they move to their summer camps, they fish both in nearby lakes and in the sea, especially near Holman and the Albert Islands to catch the fish that have come down Kuujjuak River. They dry much of this catch for later consumption.

These people still hunt seals in winter, sometimes with a harpoon. Seal hooks are still used here and are usually put out near the settlement or, occasionally, where a trap line crosses the sea ice. In spring, seals basking on the ice are hunted throughout Minto Inlet, in most of Prince Albert Sound, and northward along the coast of Prince of Wales Strait. As the people all now have boats and outboard motors, they hunt seals extensively during the open water season.

Polar bears are hunted far to the west in Amundsen Gulf, along the whole length of Prince of Wales Strait, and as far as Glenelg Bay. Many people at Holman maintain dog-teams primarily to hunt polar bears.

Bird hunting is perhaps more popular than before. The spring camps are all located near the travel routes, feeding grounds, or nesting areas of migratory birds and are also close to good seal hunting areas. In summer, they often take ducks while hunting for seals from open boats.

Since the introduction of the snowmobile and an increase in fur prices, wolves have been hunted more frequently than before, despite their relative scarcity, especially during spring, in the area north of Minto Inlet.

Some of the Read Island people often spend the summer at or near Coppermine, and they usually travel there by plane. However, some of them go by snowmobile in spring, returning before the ice breaks up. During these trips, they would hunt caribou and seals and, often, wolves or wolverines.

READ ISLAND AREA

The post at Read Island closed in 1962. Because most of the people connected with it eventually migrated to Coppermine, most of the details for the Read Island area are given in the Coppermine land use section.

Period III, which extends from the establishment of the H.B.C. post at Holman in 1939 to 1965 when the settlement moved, may be viewed as an extension of Period II, for the pattern of land use remained generally the same. However, mention will be made here of the differences.

The establishment of the DEW-Line seems to have affected the people here as little as at Holman Island because few of the Read Island people worked on it. The mid-1950's is not, therefore, a significant period in this area. However, during these years, the people began to trap more systematically. Some trap lines became longer, and they also had short lines to tend between the extended trips on the longer trap lines. These changes were probably introduced or, at least, influenced by trappers from Banks Island, with whom the Read Island people had more contact during this period, although in general their relations were stronger with the Holman and Minto Inlet people. Many Read Island men had long trap lines crossing to Banks Island and they sometimes lived on Banks Island.

Nets replaced weirs for fishing, but weirs were still used in shallow streams or in emergencies. Nets greatly increased the productivity of fishing, but the people continued to jig for fish through the lake ice at various places in spring and fall. Power boats and schooners beeame more common and facilitated mobility during summer. The size of dog-teams increased to facilitate rapid winter travel and trapping.

MINTO INLET AREA

During Period III, the area was trapped and hunted with the same, if not greater, intensity than before. Many more families centred their winter camps on the inlet and trapped and hunted as far inland as the north coast of Victoria Island; others trapped to the south, on Wollaston Peninsula. The lakes in the interior continued to be well fished. A few people lived at Glenelg Bay, but that area was mainly worked by hunters from farther south. Polar bears were hunted much more widely during this period: far out on the ice, south of Nelson Head on Banks Island, southwest of Holman Island, and far north in Prince of Wales Strait nearly to M'Clure Strait. Contacts with Banks Island increased, with many people from Minto Inlet living at times at Sachs Harbour and Cape Treadwell.

The highland area northeast of Holman seems to have been little used except to hunt Arctic hares in the foothills. Apparently many caribou winter there, but the area is too rough for fast and easy travel. The Prince Albert Sound inhabitants did not hunt there either. During Period III, there was a greater concentration of seasonal eamps near Holman, and people began to move, especially in the late 1950's and early 1960's, toward – but not often into – the settlement and to harvest the resources of the area.

Inuit Land Use in the East-Central Canadian Arctic

by Carol Brice-Bennett

Repulse Bay

The settlement of Repulse Bay (66°32'N, 86°15'W) is located on the northeast shore of Talun Bay, an inlet on the north shore of Repulse Bay. The name derives from the failure of a mid-18th century expedition to find a Northwest Passage through it. Inuit of the Thule culture lived here at least 800 years ago, and Inuit occupation of the region seems to have been continuous since then. Repulse Bay is one of the more remote of the Canadian Arctic settlements.

Since 1920, the H.B.C. have had a post at Repulse Bay, and between 1924 and 1936 Revillon Frères operated a competing post nearby. In 1932, the Roman Catholic Church established a mission there. In 1974, the population was 276. The settlement has an airstrip and weekly air transport from Churchill, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to seven), two churches, telephone service, a general store, and the Naujat Cooperative, which was organized in 1968.

Period I (Pre-1921)

Subsistence in this area (Map 10) has always been dependent primarily on marine mammals: walruses, ringed seals, bearded seals, white whales, narwhals and bowhead whales. Polar bears, harbour seals, harp seals and caribou were of less importance.

The use of firearms in hunting was common by the beginning of the 20th century, and several hunters then owned whaleboats they had obtained from whalers in the Roes Welcome Sound area. The use of firearms and whaleboats made hunting in general easier. It increased productivity by facilitating sea mammal hunting in summer and hunting from the floe edge in winter and spring. Seals had been hunted at their breathing holes throughout winter and while they basked on the ice in spring, but as more ammunition became available, less time was spent at the breathing holes because hunting at the floe edge was more productive.

In the early trading period, foxes were caught in traps made of ice or stone and constructed within walking distance of winter and spring camps. When metal traps, introduced by the H.B.C., became more common, hunters began to trap more intensively in winter, which was another reason why breathing hole sealing became less important. Winter trapping was an established part of the seasonal hunting cycle by the time the H.B.C. opened a post at Repulse Bay settlement.

Period II (1921–1962)

Following the H.B.C.'s establishment of a post, still more time was given to trapping, and it gradually became the major winter activity, necessary as a means of obtaining goods in trade. Although the Roman Catholic mission attracted families for church services and religious holidays, the H.B.C. encouraged the people to eontinue to live in scattered camps to exploit remote and better trapping areas.

During Period II, the core areas in the region for settlement and hunting were Repulse Bay, Gore Bay, Lyon Inlet, Ross Bay, and the west coast of Roes Welcome Sound. Some families also wintered and hunted in southern Committee Bay, Wager Bay, and in Duke of York Bay on northern Southampton Island. The southern limit of hunting for the majority of hunters was Wager Bay. Several hunters had camps on the Savage Islands, and they hunted ringed and bearded seals and white whales in Wager Bay, and caribou on the mainland to the north and inland, but not usually a great distance on the south coast. Only two hunters now resident in Repulse Bay settlement hunted extensively south of Wager Bay. One, whose major summer and winter camps were located at Daly Bay, hunted throughout the area between Daly Bay and Brown Lake. Another followed the coast more closely while hunting caribou south of Wager Bay and along the coast of Roes Welcome Sound. The west coast of Roes Welcome Sound, although not an area exploited by many local hunters, is known and travelled from Repulse Bay settlement to Chesterfield Inlet.

- *Seal Hunting:* Ringed seals were hunted at floe edges that extend across the mouth of Repulse Bay, area from Winter Island to Vansittart Island, at the mouth of Wager Bay, in Falcon Strait (Duke of York Bay), off the west coast of Wales Island, and along the northeast and south coasts of Committee Bay. Basking bearded seals were hunted on the ice near the floe edge in spring. Both ringed and bearded seals were hunted in the open water during summer in Lyon Inlet north to Ross Bay, in Gore Bay, Hurd Channel and Repulse Bay, and along the west coast of Roes Welcome Sound. Both species were also hunted in Wager Bay, in Duke of York Bay, along the southeast coast of Melville Peninsula, and along the east and south coasts of Committee Bay. Ringed seals were the species mainly hunted in both Wager Bay and Committee Bay.
- *Other Marine Mammal Hunting:* In summer, harp and harbour seals, white whales, narwhals, and walruses migrate along the coasts. Harp seals, white whales, and narwhals were hunted in Lyon Inlet, Gore Bay, Hurd Channel, Repulse Bay, and south into Roes Welcome Sound. White whales were also hunted in Wager Bay, Duke of York Bay, and occasionally in the narrows separating Wales Island and the east coast of Committee Bay. Harbour seals were intensively hunted in Lyon Inlet, in Norman, Culgruff and Sherer inlets, in Hurd Channel, near the mouth of Snowbank River, off the northwest coast of Roes Welcome Sound, and occasionally in Repulse Bay.

Walruses were hunted from the floe edge in spring and in open water during summer off the west coast of Vansittart Island to Gore Bay, in Hurd Channel, in Repulse Bay, off the southwest coast of Roes Welcome Sound, off the south

coast of Opposite Island, around the Sturges Islands, in Duke of York Bay, and around the Savage Islands at the mouth of Wager Bay. Walruses were most intensively hunted around the Sturges Islands, around Bluhme, October and Bushnan islands in Frozen Strait, around the Harbour Islands and Ubliardjuk area near Gibson Cove in Repulse Bay, and along the southwest coast of Roes Welcome Sound in the Ublialuk area north of Bury Cove.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears were not usually deliberately hunted during Period II. Most hunters, however, shot them as sighted in two primary areas, both of which were major denning and feeding locations: around Vansittart and Winter islands, and on Wales Island. They were also hunted from Freuchen Bay on the southwest coast of Melville Peninsula, west on the ice and along the coast to the mouth of Repulse Bay, off the west coast of Haviland Bay and around the Harbour Islands in Repulse Bay, at the head of Lyon Inlet, along the east coast of Committee Bay from Lefroy Bay north to Cape McLoughlan, and in southern Duke of York Bay.

● *Fox Trapping:* Trapping foxes led to a gradual decline in the importance of breathing hole sealing, and most winter camps were then established along the coast or near river mouths rather than on the sea ice. Families generally occupied the same winter camp site each year and set extensive trap lines along the coast or inland along major river valleys. The majority of traps were set in four locations and directions: north from Repulse Bay settlement to the head of Committee Bay following the Amitut, Anigorchli and Wilson lakes; east from Repulse Bay settlement to Haviland Bay and north along Amituardjuk and Peringajok lakes to Ross Bay; east from Haviland Bay to Kuugajuk and Gore Bay, or along the coast of Hurd Channel to Gore Bay, and from the eastern Gore Bay coast southeast to Sturges and Opposite islands, and along the east coast of Vansittart Island; and along the south coast of Repulse Bay, or inland via Tasialuk to Snowbank River, to Roes Welcome Sound as far south as Bury Cove. Less intensive trapping was carried out along the east coast of Committee Bay, north from Lefroy Bay to Wales Island; from Ross Bay south along the east coast of Lyon Inlet; north along the southeast coast of Melville Peninsula; along the coasts in Duke of York Bay; and in Wager Bay along the northeast coast and following the Piksimanik River.

● *Fishing:* Char and trout were speared from the late winter ice on lakes in spring, at weirs and from lake and river shores throughout summer, and through thin ice in fall. The most important fishing was in late summer, when char returned to the inland lakes after feeding along the coast during the summer. The use of fish nets became common after the establishment of the H.B.C. post. Some nets were available earlier, but not many hunters had them.

The major char and trout fishing area is the river and lake system that extends north from Repulse Bay and includes North Pole, Christie and Miles lakes. Char was the primary species fished here and at Munroe Inlet; at the Natsiligardjuk, Pamirluk and Natsilinardjuk lakes at the head of Ross Inlet; in Salt Lake; at Tuurvik, Ujarasukjulik, Kadna and Tasirjuar Kuunga north of Ross Bay; at Nadluk and Kuugajuk rivers which empty into Haviland Bay; at Itirjuk, Ammojartorvik and Etirjutasir in Gore Bay; at the river leading from Talu Tasir into Hoppner Inlet; at Sanararok and Snowbank rivers which empty into Roes Welcome Sound; in Piksamanik River, which empties into Wager Bay; and in Thomsen and Cleveland rivers, which empty into Duke of York Bay.

Trout are to be found in most inland lakes and were frequently fished at Talurosirk, Talur, Amitut and Anigorchli lakes; at Irke Lake and in small lakes directly north of Repulse Bay settlement; in Qukiutitalik north of Ross Bay; and in Innrranilik north of Hoppner Inlet.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Elderly informants recall that, before firearms were commonly used in hunting, caribou had been abundant near the coasts of Repulse Bay and were frequently seen crossing the ice from the south to the north coast. Later, as firearms became common, caribou left the coastal areas for two major inland areas: around Curtis and Stewart lakes, and north of Mierching Lake and Ross Bay. Although caribou were extensively hunted during Period II throughout southern Melville Peninsula, the Rae Isthmus area, and south as far as Wager Bay, they were most intensively hunted in any season in the area bounded by Stewart Lake in the west and Matheson River in the northeast. Several men hunted on the mainland between Repulse Bay and Wager Bay and along the south coast of Wager Bay, especially in summer.

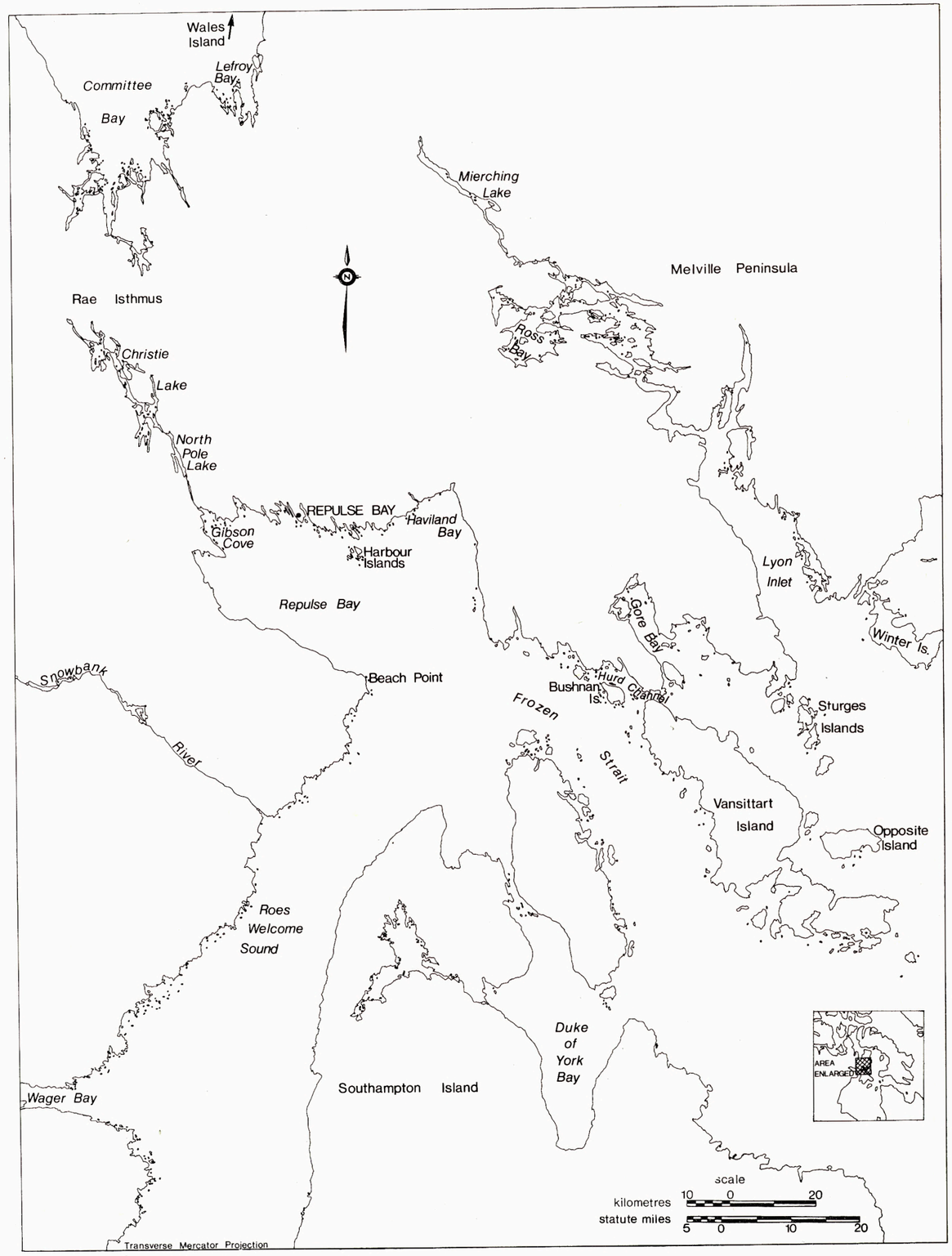
● *Minor Resources:* They usually shot wolves and wolverines on sight while hunting caribou or tracked them from trap lines. Wolves were found mainly around Ross Bay and inland north of Repulse Bay settlement, and wolverines were found mainly south of the head or off the east coast of Committee Bay.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese, ducks, swans, loons and cranes are among the many species that migrate north in spring. Birds were hunted and eggs collected along the north coast of Repulse Bay; at Beach Point; on Bluhme and October islands in Frozen Strait; at the head of Gore Bay and in Moyle Bay; on Winter Island and on adjacent smaller islands in Hoppner Strait; along the west coast of Roes Welcome Sound; around the Savage Islands at the mouth of Wager Bay; along the southeast coast of Duke of York Bay; and on the southern point of Wales Island.

Period III (1963–1974)

Hunters continue to exploit the resources of the region; families still travel to spring and summer camps near good fishing lakes and rivers, and hunters still travel to good sealing and caribou hunting grounds. Because of the concentration of population in Repulse Bay settlement, most hunting acti-

Map 10
Repulse Bay place names



vities are focussed on the immediate area, although Wager Bay and Committee Bay are still commonly hunted.

● *Seal Hunting:* Ringed seals are hunted in winter from the floe edge that crosses Repulse Bay east to Hurd Channel, along the west coast of Vansittart Island, across the mouth of Gore Bay and Lyon Inlet to and around Winter Island. In summer, ringed, bearded and harp seals are hunted in Repulse Bay, Hurd Channel, Gore Bay, Lyon Inlet, and south along the west coast of Roes Welcome Sound. However, only ringed and bearded seals are hunted in Ross Bay and Wager Bay. Harbour seals are occasionally sighted and hunted near Repulse Bay settlement and in Hurd Channel.

● *Other Marine Mammal Hunting:* White whales and, occasionally, narwhals are hunted in Repulse Bay, Lyon Inlet, and off the northwest coast of Roes Welcome Sound. Walruses are hunted primarily around the Harbour Islands and near Gibson Cove in Repulse Bay. They are also, and secondarily, hunted around Bluhme, October and Bushnan islands in Frozen Strait; along the west coast of Vansittart Island; around the Sturges Islands; and off the southwest coast of Roes Welcome Sound. In the years since Repulse Bay has developed as a permanent settlement, three bowhead whales were hunted when they came close to the settlement. They are only occasionally seen in Repulse Bay, but they are thought to be abundant in the Lyon Inlet area.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bear hunting is centred on the two denning and feeding areas in the region, Vansittart Island and Wales Island, although several bears have been hunted when they were sighted close to the settlement.

● *Fox Trapping:* The major trapping season is now in spring, around March and April. The same pattern of trapping, although less intensive, as observed in Period II is evident. Trap lines extend north from Repulse Bay settlement to the head of Committee Bay; northeast to Ross Bay; southeast to Gore Bay and Sturges and Vansittart islands; and south along the coast of Repulse Bay or inland via Snowbank River to Roes Welcome Sound. Traps are also set along the southeast coast of Melville Peninsula, and north from Lefroy Bay to Wales Island, but the most intensive trapping is undertaken in the four major areas described above.

● *Fishing:* Char and trout are fished primarily in the small lakes and rivers north of the settlement; at Amitut and Anigorchli lakes; along North Pole and Christie lakes; in Kuugajuk near Haviland Bay; at Itirjuk and Ammojartorvik in Gore Bay; in Salt Lake; Pamirluk and Netsilinardjuk lakes near Ross Inlet; and at Tuurvik and Ujarasukjulik northwest of Ross Bay.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The most significant change affecting land use has been the recent increase in the number of caribou in the coastal areas. Most winter hunts occur within a few miles of the settlement. Caribou are also hunted, especially in summer and fall, north to Ross Bay, east to Lyon Inlet, and south along the coast to Wager Bay. Caribou are also hunted south of Wager Bay, from Cape Dobbs to Kamarvik Harbour, by hunters travelling to or from Chesterfield Inlet.

● *Minor Resources:* Wolves, usually sighted where caribou are abundant, are hunted on the ice and along the coast near the settlement and around Ross Bay. Wolverines are usually sighted and shot close to trap lines and hunted south of the head of Committee Bay. Approximately three years ago, one hunter sighted and shot a lynx at Tikirak, the southern point of Gibson Cove. However, this species is rarely seen on the tundra.

● *Wildfowling:* Ducks, geese, loons, swans and cranes are hunted and eggs collected, primarily along the coast and on offshore islands near the settlement, but also around Beach Point, and at the head of Gore and Moyle bays.

Pelly Bay

The settlement of Pelly Bay (68°53'N, 89°51'W) is located at the mouth of Kuugarjuk River in southeastern Pelly Bay, a feature named after a 19th century governor of the H.B.C. The first recorded contact between Inuit and Whites in this region occurred when John Ross's Northwest Passage expedition of 1829–1833 wintered here. In 1854, John Rae met Inuit in Pelly Bay who gave him news of the tragedy that overcame Franklin's last expedition, of which nothing had been heard since 1845.

Traditional methods and technology were used in hunting until the H.B.C. opened a trading post at Repulse Bay in 1920. Supplies of wood and iron had been, for a long time, obtained from Victory *abandoned by Sir John Ross in 1832 at Felix Harbour in Lord Mayor Bay, and through barter with Inuit at Repulse Bay and Chesterfield (who traded at the H.B.C. post at Churchill), and from whaling ships wintering at the Harbour Islands in Repulse Bay. The usual items sought in trade from the whaling ships and the H.B.C. post at Repulse Bay were firearms, ammunition, metal, knives, tobacco and coffee. These goods and, in addition, metal fox traps, became more regularly available after the H.B.C. post opened at Malerualik on King William Island, in 1923.*

The first white person to live in Pelly Bay was a Roman Catholic missionary who arrived in 1935. His stone-built mission formed the nucleus of the present settlement. In 1961, the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources built a primary school (grades one to six), and in 1966 the Koomiut Cooperative Association opened a general store. In 1974 Pelly Bay had a population of 245. There is an airstrip and weekly air service from Cambridge Bay, a nursing station, a church, and a community hall.

Period I (Pre-1935)

In this period, the area used for hunting by the Arvilijjuarmiut of Pelly Bay extended far beyond the immediate limits of Pelly Bay (Map 11). Extensive movement to the north and northeast for visiting, trading, or hunting with other regional groups (the Sinimiut, Ittuaqturvingmiut and Netsilingmiut), was characteristic. The Sinimiut occupied Ross Peninsula, Northern Archipelago extending south to Halkett Inlet and the Harrison Islands at the mouth of Pelly Bay. The hunting area of the Ittuaqturvingmiut extended north from the Northern Archipelago to include the Thom and Lord Mayor bays area. West of the Ittuaqturvingmiut lived the Netsilingmiut. They generally hunted around and to the north of Boothia Isthmus, south to Netsilik Lake, and west to St. Roch Basin and Matty Island.

Seals, caribou, and fish were the most important species in the traditional economy. The availability of these species, however, varied locally. The Netsilingmiut and Sinimiut lived in the best caribou areas, the Ittuaqturvingmiut and Arvilijjuarmiut in the best sealing areas, and the Arvilijjuarmiut in the best fishing areas. Basically, the same seasonal cycle of hunting was followed by all groups.

By January, at the latest, families were again at their winter camps on the sea ice. At that season and, more especially, during the long daylight hours in spring, family groups would travel overland to visit or trade at Repulse Bay settlement, Gjoa Haven, or north into the Netsilik area. Either of two travel routes was followed to Repulse Bay settlement, depending on the type of game required by the hunters. One along an inland route, south from Kellett River to Curtis and Stewart lakes (caribou were hunted and soapstone obtained north of Stewart Lake). From there, a route followed northeast to Miles Lake and south via Christie and North Pole lakes and North Pole River; and another route southeast from Stewart Lake, along minor river and lake systems, into Repulse Bay. If the hunters preferred to go after seals, the other route was followed from Kellett River or Kuugarjuk River to the coast of Committee Bay, along the coast either to Curtis River, to Salt Lake, or to Ross Inlet, and then south following the river and lake systems leading to or parallel with Christie Lake into Repulse Bay settlement. Seals were hunted along the southwest coast of Committee Bay.

The route to Gjoa Haven went west across Pelly Bay to Simpson Lake, along Murchison River to Inglis Bay, and across Rasmussen Basin to King William Island.

Travel to the Boothia Isthmus and Spence Bay area was generally undertaken north along the west Pelly Bay coast to Halkett Inlet, and west from Lord Mayor Bay via Netsilik Lake, Pangniqtuuq or Middle Lake. Repulse Bay settlement and Gjoa Haven were focal points for visiting and trading during this period, because there were H.B.C. posts at both places, whereas there was no post in the Boothia Isthmus area until 1949. Travel to a H.B.C. post at Fort Ross, on southern Somerset Island (opened in 1937), was sometimes undertaken. However, the posts at Gjoa Haven and Repulse Bay settlement were preferred because they were closer.

● *Seal Hunting:* Around November or December, families would begin to move from the mainland towards the sea and would set up winter camps on the sea ice from which ringed seals were hunted at their breathing holes. Winter camps were the largest and most important of the seasonal camps, because sealing was more successful if there were several hunters watching the breathing holes within a specific area. Camps ranged in size up to about 100 people. Seals were hunted at the breathing holes or basking on the ice in spring until break-up, which usually began around the end of May. The large bearded seals were also hunted at their breathing holes or basking on the ice. Spring sealing was undertaken from camps on the mainland coast or on islands.

Three major seal hunting areas were used in Period I. The Arvilijjuarmiut hunted ringed seals throughout Pelly Bay, whereas bearded seals were hunted at the mouth of the bay around the chain of islands, from the Harrison Islands east to Logan Bay, and off the west coast. The Sinimiut hunted seals primarily south of Halkett Inlet, but sometimes in southern Lord Mayor Bay. The Ittuaqturvingmiut hunted throughout the Thom and Lord Mayor bays area, as did the Netsilingmiut, who also covered south of Halkett Inlet and west in the St. Roch Basin area. Bearded seals are abundant and were hunted by the latter groups around the Sons of the Clergy Islands, in southern Lord Mayor Bay, and north of the Astronomical Society Islands.

In addition to these major areas, ringed seals were also hunted in the area south from St. Roch Basin to Chantrey Inlet by hunters, who were either wintering or travelling through this area on their way from either the Spence Bay area or Pelly Bay to the H.B.C. post at Gjoa Haven. The only area where bearded seals were hunted was south of Matty Island off the northeast coast of King William Island. Ringed seals were also hunted in a small area on the west coast of Committee Bay, near the mouth of Keith Bay, and off Cape Barclay, by hunters wintering there.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* During winter and spring, two other animals were hunted: polar bears and foxes. Polar bears were chased whenever they were seen, espeeially if they came too close to the winter camps. Dogs would keep the polar bear at bay until a hunter could spear it with a harpoon. Extensive polar bear hunts were not possible prior to the use of firearms, because an average of only two or three dogs could be maintained by a hunter using traditional technology. The increased game returns that resulted from the more successful hunting with rifles allowed for an increase in the dog population and, as a consequence, an increase in the distance over which polar bears could be pursued.

Three major areas were used in polar bear hunting:
(1) in the north, in Thom Bay and around the Astronomical Society Islands; north and east of the Northern Arehipelago from Nuvutiruq (an island northeast of Ross Peninsula) to the northernmost part of Simpson Peninsula;
(2) generally along the coast of Simpson Peninsula, from Nuuvoslit (a large lake nearest the point) southeast to Keith Bay;
(3) particularly at major polar bear denning areas on the Astronomical Society Islands, and along the northeast coast of Simpson Peninsula to Keith Bay.

● *Fox Trapping:* Trapping for foxes became an important winter activity after H.B.C. posts were established at Repulse Bay settlement and at Gjoa Haven. In the early trading period, traps made of ice or stone were constructed around either the winter and spring camps or near fox dens. The H.B.C. encouraged trapping and would trade only fox pelts for firearms, ammunition and other goods. Trapping, although important to the developing trading economy, was not seriously undertaken by the Arvilijjuarmiut in the pre-mission period. Metal traps were available at the H.B.C., but hunters generally had only a few, and they set those they had, not in a line, but scattered over a small area.

Traps were set mostly along the coast, with the majority in the Lord Mayor Bay area; in the northern part of Pelly Bay; along the east coast of the Northern Archipelago around Halkett Inlet and the Harrison Islands; along the east and west coasts of Pelly Bay; along the Kuugarjuk and Kellett rivers; and scattered inland across Simpson Peninsula to Keith Bay. A few people trapped at this time from winter camps around Shepherd and Inglis bays and along the east coast of King William Island, but these areas were not used by the majority of Arvilijjuarmiut.

● *Fishing:* In spring, before melting of the ice made travel impossible, families prepared to move to spring camps, where char were speared at weirs or in tidal pools that formed along the coast. Lake trout were speared from the ice that remained on the inland lakes in late spring and from lake shores during summer. Coastal spring camps were abandoned for inland summer fishing camps prior to the late August up-stream char run. The most productive fishing occurred during this period when the char were fat and most valued. Whitefish, which migrate in the same way as char, were also caught.

The Kellett and Kuugarjuk rivers were the most important sites for late summer char fishing. Becher River and other smaller rivers, Kuuqajjuaraarjuq, Tinujjaarjuq, Tinujjaq, Tinujat and Tinippajuk rivers, which drain to the west coast of Pelly Bay, were used primarily during the spring down-stream run. Lake trout were fished mainly in lakes on the Simpson Peninsula: in Barrow and Ballenden lakes, and Naluarjuk, Ammaaqtuq, Kramaneq and Isluulik lakes. Whitefish were caught primarily along Kellett River.

At the end of September, when the lakes and rivers froze over, the major activity was fishing for char and whitefish by jigging through the thin fall ice. Fish camps were set up along Kellett River, the main fishing river, and fish were caught and cached until the ice became too thick for fishing.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou were occasionally hunted in spring and summer as they moved northward to the coast, but the major hunts were undertaken in late August or early September, when the herds had reformed and the southward migration began. At this time the caribou were fat, their hair was not too thick, and the skins were therefore most suitable for winter clothing. The most productive hunts occurred at places where the caribou usually crossed lakes or rivers, or toward which they could be driven. As they swam across the narrow lakes or rivers, they were easily speared by hunters in kayaks. Caribou were stalked in summer by hunters using bows and arrows and stone blinds for concealment, but only a few caribou could be obtained by this method.

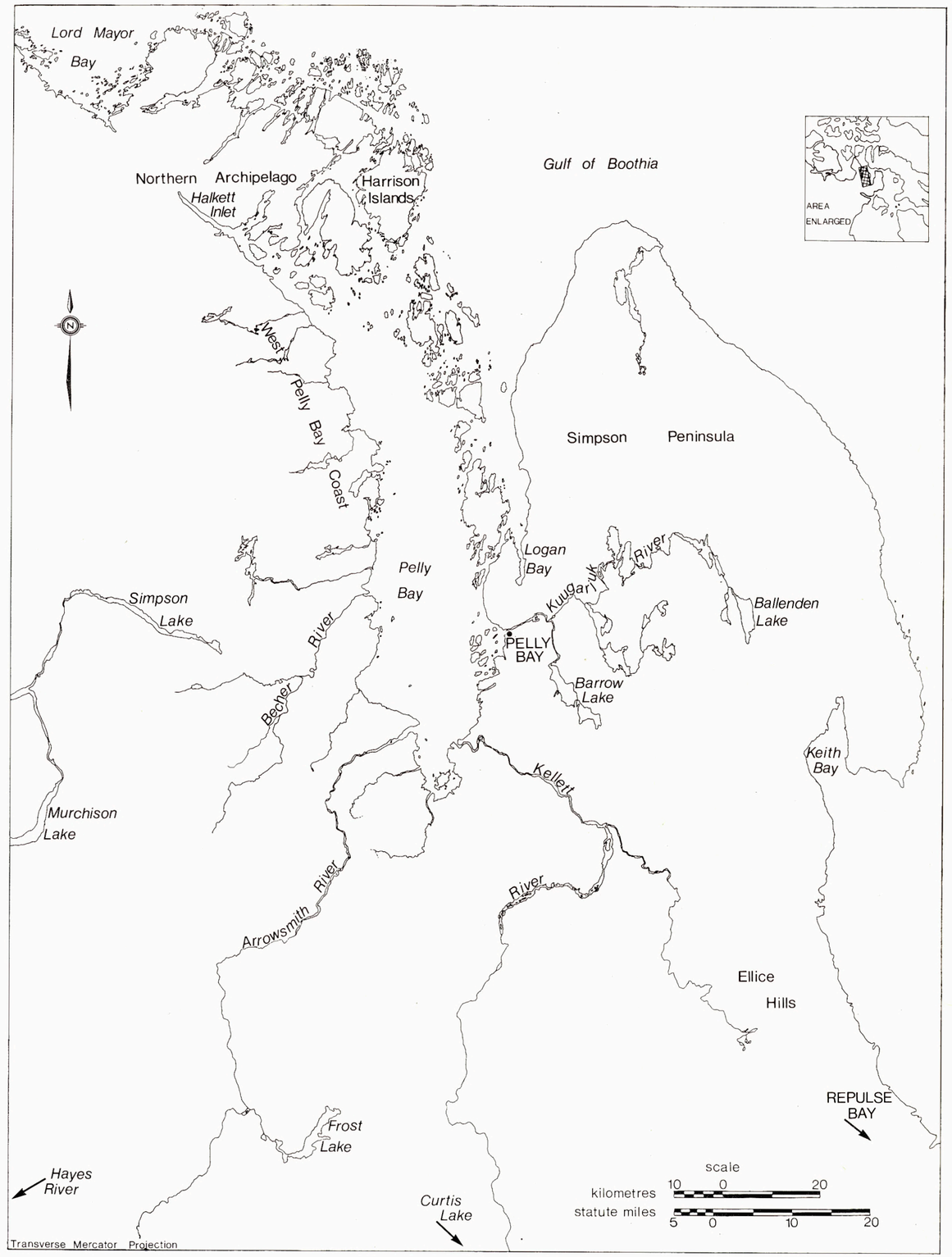
Before the use of firearms, the best caribou hunting area was the lake region in Boothia Isthmus, which caribou crossed in spring and fall to and from their summer feeding grounds north in Boothia Peninsula. Caribou were hunted from kayaks during the fall migration at three major crossing places located at the northeast and southwest ends of Pangniqtuuq Lake, and on Netsilik River. South of Willersted Inlet and Netsilik Lake, it was the custom for men, women and children to howl like wolves and thereby to drive the caribou into lakes or rivers where they were speared by waiting hunters. Two areas are remembered by the Arvilijjuarmiut as places where dogs were used in hunting caribou calves in spring: near the head of Halkett Inlet, and on Simpson Peninsula east of Logan Bay. Caribou were formerly abundant in summer in the Northern Archipelago area and on the northern islands at the mouth of Pelly Bay. They were also found crossing the iee in spring from the northwest coast on their way to Simpson Peninsula.

There were three caribou crossings in the immediate Pelly Bay area, two in the east at Oatliirq (a lake northeast of Simpson Lake), and Ibjurtuuq (a lake northeast of Murchison Lake), and one on the west at Ammaaqtuq (a lake southeast of Barrow Lake). Caribou were formerly abundant in summer both on the mainland west of Pelly Bay and in Simpson Peninsula.

Few caribou stayed in the region during the winter, and a hunter using a bow and arrow could rarely approach close enough on the creaking snow to make a successful kill. Once rifles were in use, however, caribou were hunted throughout winter as well as during summer and fall.

However, the large spring and fall caribou migrations to and from the northern regions ceased in the 1920's, leaving only a small number in the area. Thus caribou became less plentiful near Boothia Isthmus and in Simpson Peninsula, and their

Map 11
Pelly Bay place names



major summer feeding ground was now in the area south and west of the head of Pelly Bay.

The area used for caribou hunting during this period extended from Simpson Lake west of Pelly Bay, south to Hayes River, east to the Ellice Hills bordering Committee Bay, and north into Simpson Peninsula. The area west and south of the head of Pelly Bay was the most intensively hunted.

- *Musk-Ox Hunting:* In late fall and early winter, musk-oxen were hunted with bows and arrows and heavy spears, and later, with rifles. The major hunting area was southwest and southeast of the head of Pelly Bay; around Arrowsmith River and upper Kellett River; and from Frost Lake to southwest of the Ellice Hills. Musk-oxen were also hunted around Murchison Lake and Becher River, but these were secondary areas.
- *Minor Resources:* Three other minor activities were conducted during spring and summer: egg collecting, bird hunting, and berry picking. The king eider ducks, Canada geese, snow geese, swans, loons and cranes are the most important species migrating to the area in spring. The majority of nesting and feeding sites used by these species and by gulls are located on the northern islands at the mouth of Pelly Bay, along Kellett, Kuugarjuk and Arrowsmith rivers, and in the interior lake region of Simpson Peninsula. Eggs were gathered and birds caught near campsites throughout summer. Before rifles were used, birds were hunted with bows and arrows or caught with a bola made of caribou antler. Berries were picked in late summer near the fishing camps. Small game, such as ptarmigans and hares, were hunted in season around campsites in all the historical periods being considered. These species are of secondary importance to the local economy.

Period II (1935 – 1962–67)

After the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission at Pelly Bay, the Arvilijjuarmiut began to restrict most of their land use activities to the immediate Pelly Bay area. Few families continued to spend seasons with their relatives in adjoining northern areas, and gradually most people began to winter near or at the mission station. The Arvilijjuarmiut had, in addition to the H.B.C. posts at Repulse Bay settlement and Gjoa Haven, two other sources for trade goods. In 1947, the H.B.C. post at Fort Ross on Somerset Island was moved to its present location at Spence Bay, and the Roman Catholic mission at Pelly Bay also operated a trading store. The seasonal routine followed by the Arvilijjuarmiut and the areas they used for hunting during this transitional period differ only slightly from those described for Period I.

- *Seal Hunting:* Seal hunting remained the major aetivity during winter and spring, but not as much time was spent hunting at breathing holes. The small wooden boats that were first introduced toward the end of Period I, and large freight canoes that later became available, resulted in more intensive and more productive sealing in open water during summer. Ringed and bearded seals were hunted throughout the Pelly Bay area. Other minor areas used, primarily for ringed seal hunting, were the southwest coast of Committee Bay, Lord Mayor Bay, James Ross Strait, and from Inglis Bay into Rasmussen Basin.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Bears were hunted extensively from the Astronomical Society Islands southeast to Keith Bay in the same polar bear denning and feeding areas previously described.
- *Fox Trapping:* Fox trapping activity during this period inereased. Although trapping beeame more important to some hunters, the majority of hunters were not serious trappers and merely set a few traps along the coast on the route they followed to their sealing areas. The major trapping area was around the islands at the mouth of Pelly Bay from the Harrison Islands to Helen Island, and along the northwest and northeast Pelly Bay coasts. Traps were also set from the mission station to the northwest coast of Committee Bay and to Keith Bay along Kellett River, and from the mouth of Becher River to Simpson Lake.
- *Fishing:* The major areas used for char and trout fishing did not change, although Frost, Darby and Murchison lakes, and south of the head of Pelly Bay and west of upper Kellett River were used for trout fishing. Kellett and Kuugarjuk rivers continued to be the most important rivers for char fishing. Following the introduction of fish nets, the caching of fish, especially in fall, was significantly increased, and fishing at the weirs was abandoned.
- *Caribou Hunting:* Summer inland trips for caribou were still undertaken, but extensive trips in early and late winter became increasingly important. Caribou became less abundant around Boothia Isthmus and in the interior of Simpson Peninsula. They were still to be found all year round in a large area bounded by Burwash Lake west of Saniraq, Hayes River in the southwest, Walker Lake in the south, Curtis Lake in the southeast; and in the area near the Ellice Hills in the northeast. Caribou were hunted throughout this area, and most intensively southwest and south of the head of Pelly Bay. Circuits were made along either Kellett or Arrowsmith rivers, or west across the bay to Becher River and Simpson Lake.
- *Musk-Ox Hunting:* The areas used for musk-ox hunting did not differ from those described earlier. The headwaters of Kellett and Arrowsmith rivers continued to be the most productive hunting places, although musk-oxen became less plentiful during Period II.
- *Minor Resources:* Two other animals, not previously hunted in Pelly Bay, were hunted during this period. White whales were taken off the southwest Pelly Bay coast and in Logan Bay during summer, and one walrus was taken near the mouth of Kellett River.

Period III (1962–67 – 1974)

Most families now remain year round in the settlement. Some still go to summer camps where fish, seals and birds are hunted. Spring camps are now only irregularly used.

Seal hunting is no longer a primary winter activity. Most seal hunting is now undertaken in spring (for bearded seals), or in open water during summer. Ringed and bearded seals are hunted throughout the Pelly Bay area in summer. Other marine mammals hunted in summer are white whales, narwhals, and walruses. These species are uncommon, so they are hunted only when they are sighted: narwhals are more abundant than white whales. Both species appear in Pelly Bay in summers when there is a limited amount of floating ice. White whales and narwhals are hunted off the southwest Pelly Bay coast. Walruses are rarely taken, although one was secured at the mouth of Kellett River and another at the southern end of St. Peter Bay. Polar bears are hunted in the areas previously described, namely from the Astronomical Society Islands southeast to Keith Bay.

Trapping has declined in importance for most hunters. During Period III, most trap lines extend east from the settlement across Simpson Peninsula, where fox dens are abundant, to Keith Bay. Other areas used for trapping are the northwest Pelly Bay coast, around the northern islands at the mouth of the bay, the northeast Pelly Bay coast, and along Kellett River.

Few of the inland lakes and rivers used for char and trout fishing in Period II are currently exploited. Kellett River, especially, and Kuugarjuk River continue to be the major char fishings areas, with only a few of the interior lakes of Simpson Peninsula used for trout fishing. Char are also sought in Arrowsmith and Becher rivers. None of the remote lakes south of the head of Pelly Bay are currently exploited, primarily because extensive inland caribou hunts during summer have decreased.

Although some hunters have walked inland in late summer and fall, the majority of caribou hunts now occur in early and late winter. Although caribou clothing is still valued by hunters for winter travel, large numbers of clothing skins are no longer required for each family. The areas used by hunters in search of caribou are similar to those described for Period II, except that caribou have become more abundant farther south of the headwaters of the Kellett and Arrowsmith rivers. Caribou are hunted as far south as Walker, Pierce and Stewart lakes. Usually short trips of only a few days duration are made to hunt caribou.

No musk-oxen are hunted. They are presumed to have moved southwest of the head of Pelly Bay toward the upper Hayes River area.

Spence Bay

Spence Bay (69°32'N, 93°31'W) is on the west side of Boothia Isthmus, the narrowest part of Boothia Peninsula. The settlement marks the division between the eastern and western Canadian Arctic, and it straddles the boundary between the District of Keewatin and the District of Franklin. The region was explored by Sir John Ross's Northwest Passage expedition, 1829–1833, which spent four winters locked in ice on the east side of Boothia Peninsula. Ross was finally obliged to abandon his ship, Victory, *in Felix Harbour, Lord Mayor Bay. For a long time afterward, this ship was a valuable source of wood and iron for the Inuit of this region.*

The Boothia people, Netsilingmiut from the west side of the isthmus and Ittuaqturvingmiut from the east side, frequently met to trade with the people of King William Island and Chantrey Inlet. The latter group obtained firearms and ammunition from an H.B.C. post opened at Baker Lake in 1914 and retraded them to the northern groups. The Netsilingmiut and Ittuaqturvingmiut frequently made journeys to Repulse Bay where they obtained rifles and ammunition from whaling ships wintering at the Harbour Islands and from an H.B.C. post opened there in 1920. In 1923, the H.B.C. established a post at Malerualik on King William Island, and they made frequent trips in winter and spring to trade there.

Some of the present population of Spence Bay came originally from Cape Dorset and Pond Inlet. In 1934, families in these settlements had volunteered, at the suggestion of the H.B.C., to leave their homes to settle at Dundas Harbour on Devon Island. Living conditions there proved unfavourable, so the H.B.C. moved them in 1936 to Arctic Bay, north Baffin Island, then in 1937 on to a new post, Fort Ross, on the south coast of Somerset Island at the east end of Bellot Strait. Here they lived until 1949, when the H.B.C. closed Fort Ross owing to the difficulty of supplying it. The people then moved east to establish a settlement at Spence Bay.

In 1974, the population numbered 406. The settlement has an airstrip and weekly air transport from Cambridge Bay, a police detachment, a school, a nursing station, two churches, a community hall, and the Spence Bay Handicrafts Cooperative.

Period I (1903–1948)

Two major population groups traditionally exploited the region associated with Spence Bay (Map 12): the Netsilingmiut and the Ittuaqturvingmiut. The Netsilingmiut based their major winter camps west of Boothia Isthmus and hunted north and south of the isthmus, while the Ittuaqturvingmiut focussed their hunting activities on the eastern part of Boothia Isthmus and in the Thom and Lord Mayor bays area.

Traditional methods of hunting were used until about 1930 because ammunition was often scarce. Hunters made their

own bullets with gunpowder, primer and lead, and sometimes carved rocks to fit into the gun barrel as a substitute for bullets if supplies were especially scarce. Ice or stone traps, constructed close to winter and spring campsites, provided the fox pelts needed for trade until metal traps became available from the H.B.C. posts.

● *Seal Hunting:* The major winter activity before the introduction of firearms was seal hunting with harpoons at breathing holes from camps set up on the sea ice in late November to January. Basking seals were hunted in spring from camps located along the coast. A unique method of hunting seals was practised in the northeast part of Thom Bay, near the Copeland Islands. Seals were attracted to and were abundant in this area because they were able to breathe freely in the ice cracks formed by sea currents. The method of seal hunting involved tricking the seals into using artificial breathing holes. A hunter would build a snow-house over one of the open cracks and make the interior as dark as possible, he would then cover the crack with a piece of ice, which had an artificial breathing hole in the center. A seal would be attracted to the artificial breathing hole and easily harpooned by the waiting hunter. This method was very productive in winter and spring.

After firearms were introduced, seals were hunted at the floe edge, where they were shot and allowed to drift in or were retrieved with small wooden boats obtained at the trading posts at Gjoa Haven and Fort Ross. Hunters began to spend less time sealing at breathing holes, partly because the hunting of basking seals and of seals at the floe edge with firearms was more productive, but also because trapping gradually increased in economic importance and became more profitable than winter seal hunting. Coastal rather than sea ice locations were sought for winter camps. The introduction of wooden boats also enabled hunters to go after seals in open water during summer. Seal hunting thus became a year-round activity, made necessary to support the now large number of dogs being kept by hunters to facilitate trapping and trading.

Both ringed and bearded seals were hunted all along the Boothia Peninsula and east and west coasts of Somerset Island; in Peel Sound off the east coast of Prince of Wales Island; and in an area across Prince Regent Inlet between the northeast coast of Somerset Island and Port Bowen on Brodeur Peninsula on Baffin Island.

Seals were most intensively hunted off the east Boothia Peninsula coast: around Brentford Bay, in the Abernethy Bay area, and especially in Thom and Lord Mayor bays. These areas were favoured over the west Boothia coast because the floe edge is close to the shore in the east, whereas in the west the sea is covered with continuous ice in winter. Winter ice is also continuous in Peel Sound, thus linking Prince of Wales Island and Somerset Island, and in Prince Regent Inlet, linking the northern part of Somerset Island with northwestern Baffin Island. The latter ice bridge was important to hunters who travelled to Arctic Bay to trade whenever supplies ran out at Fort Ross.

Ringed seals were also hunted south of Boothia Peninsula in St. Roch and Rasmussen basins. Both ringed and bearded seals were hunted in eastern Queen Maud Gulf and in Pelly Bay by hunters travelling through or spending seasons in those areas.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears were hunted in winter and spring in an area that closely parallels that of sealing, although, in the case of bear hunting, the limit extends farther east into the Gulf of Boothia and west into Larsen Sound. Polar bears were not hunted in Rasmussen Basin or in Queen Maud Gulf, although they occur in the latter area. The most productive areas for polar bear hunting, used by the majority of hunters, were Lord Mayor and Thom bays, and the northern part of King William Island around Cape Felise. All are major bear feeding and denning areas.

● *Fox Trapping:* Fox trapping as a seasonal activity gradually increased in importance, so that a combined hunting and trapping economy had developed by the time the H.B.C. opened a second post in the region, Fort Ross on Somerset Island, in 1937.

Three major trapping areas are evident during this period. Trap lines cluster around and predominantly follow the coast and river valleys of Brentford Bay, the Thom and Lord Mayor bays area, and around Spence Bay south to Inglis Bay.

Trap lines were also set along the east coast of Boothia Peninsula, along the east coast of Somerset Island from Brentford Bay to north of Creswell Bay, along the west coast of Boothia Peninsula and Somerset Island from Pasley Bay to Four Rivers Bay, and along the east coast of Prince of Wales Island. However, these were secondary areas for trapping and as locations for winter camps, compared to the three areas outlined above.

King William Island constitutes a fourth area important to the Netsilingmiut during this period, and hunters wintered, hunted and trapped in the area while on trading trips to the post. Traps were set along the coasts of King William Island, north Adelaide Peninsula, and in the interior north and west of Gjoa Haven. Hunters wintering in Pelly Bay also trapped along the east and west coasts of the Bay.

● *Fishing:* Char, trout and whitefish were speared from the winter ice remaining on lakes in early spring; at fish weirs in the rivers and from lake and river shores throughout summer; and through the thin ice in fall.

Cod were jigged along the coast through the thin ice in spring and fall, especially in Spence Bay and Willersted Inlet.

The most productive fishing occurred in late summer (late August or early September) when char migrated upriver to winter in the lakes. Once the use of fish nets became common, fish catches increased, and there was a decline in the importance of fishing at weirs.

Boothia Isthmus was one of the major traditional areas for spring and summer fishing. Camps were located on Netsilik River, Netsilik, Pangniqtuuq and Middle lakes, Lake Jekyll, Krusenstern Lake, and near Netsiksiuvik and Sagvak inlets. At these locations, char and trout were fished. Whitefish were most abundant in Netsilik Lake.

Along the east Boothia Peninsula coast, important char fishing areas were near Lord Lindsay Lake; Abernethy River emptying into Stilwell Bay; in Nalluqtaq River and Lake; in the river and lake south of Kangirlukutaak Inlet; and in Union River and Stanwell Fletcher Lake emptying into Creswell Bay. On the west Boothia coast, the major char fishing places were Garry and Josephine rivers, Pattinson Harbour, Amituryunaq Lake and Wrottesley River.

Fish camps were also located on Dolphin and Fisher rivers, and Fisher Lake on Prince of Wales Island. Char, trout and whitefish were also caught on King William Island, in northern Adelaide Peninsula, and in Back River by hunters spending seasons in those areas.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Boothia Isthmus and Boothia Peninsula were the major hunting areas. Before the introduction of firearms, Boothia Isthmus was one of the most productive areas in the region for caribou hunting. Caribou crossed the isthmus in spring and fall on their annual migrations and passed the summer near the mainland coast and in Boothia Peninsula. Hunters gathered in this area, especially during the fall migration, when the caribou were fat and their skins in prime condition for winter clothing. Caribou were hunted in spring and summer north and south of the isthmus, but the most intensive and productive hunts occurred at the narrow lakes and rivers where the caribou erossed, and were speared by hunters in kayaks. During summer, caribou were hunted with bows and arrows by hunters who either stalked them or used stone blinds for concealment.

The major crossing places in Boothia Isthmus were at the northeast and southwest points of Pangniqtuuq Lake, Netsilik River, Sagvak Inlet, south of Middle Lake, at the narrows in the middle of Lake Jekyll, and at the southwest point of Krusenstern Lake. Blinds are also to be found in the northern part of Boothia Peninsula, south of Brentford Bay between Malluqtaaq Inlet and Nalluqtaq Lake, and at Ungaaqvik Lake southeast of Nalluqtaq Lake. Man-like stone monuments, constructed in lines to lead caribou toward crossings, are especially abundant in Boothia Isthmus and west of Thom Bay. They are also found south of Brentford Bay and east of Wrottesley Inlet, but they are scarce on Somerset and Prince of Wales islands.

Prior to the introduction of firearms, caribou were hunted only in summer because creaking snow in winter made it virtually impossible for a hunter using a bow and arrow to get close enough to make a kill. However, once hunters started to use guns, caribou could be hunted all year round. Shortly after the trading post opened at Gjoa Haven, caribou became less abundant and ceased crossing Boothia Isthmus. Hunters then sought other areas for caribou, notably on Prince of Wales and Somerset islands, and they began combining winter seal and caribou hunting with trapping.

The major caribou hunts were undertaken in spring, fall and winter after firearms were introduced. Barren Ground caribou were hunted in an extensive area from south of Boothia Isthmus to north of Creswell Bay on Somerset Island. Trips inland were usually made along river valleys and lake systems from the head of major bays: such as Thom, Abernethy and Brentford bays; Wrottesley Inlet; north from Fort Ross; and north and south from Creswell Bay. The smaller Peary caribou were hunted throughout Prince of Wales Island from travel routes that began at either Browne Bay or Young Bay on the northeast coast, or at Le Feuvre Inlet and Guillemard Bay on the southeast coast. In fall and spring, Peary caribou and Barren Ground caribou cross the ice of Peel Sound to and from the west coast of Somerset Island and northern Boothia Peninsula, and Prince of Wales Island.

The southern limit of hunting for most Netsilik hunters was Murchison River and Simpson Lake on the mainland between Rasmussen Basin and Pelly Bay. Caribou were hunted south to Hayes River which flows into Chantrey Inlet; west of the head of Chantrey Inlet; and east of Pelly Bay in Simpson Peninsula by hunters temporarily living in those areas.

● *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen were hunted traditionally in fall and spring with bows and arrows or spears, and later, with rifles at any time of the year, whenever they were sighted. Musk-oxen were principally found and hunted in two major areas: along the east coast of Prince of Wales Island, and south and west of the head of Pelly Bay. The former area is in the Netsilik hunting territory, whereas the latter area was used by Netsilingmiut living in the Pelly Bay area.

● *Other Land Hunting:* Wolves were usually shot on sight or tracked near trap lines. They were found primarily along the east coast of Boothia Peninsula, from southwest of Brentford Bay to Thom Bay. Wolverines were not common in Boothia Peninsula, Somerset Island or Prince of Wales Island, but they were trapped south of Boothia Isthmus, between Inglis and Pelly bays.

In summer, birds were hunted and eggs collected along the coasts in the same areas that were used for fishing. Common and king eider ducks, Canada and snow geese, loons, swans and gulls were the major species sought.

● *Other Marine Mammal Hunting:* Narwhals, white whales and walruses migrate south in summer along the east and west coasts of Somerset Island and Boothia Peninsula. These species are especially abundant and are most intensively hunted in Creswell, Brentford and Abernethy bays along the east Boothia Peninsula coast. They are occasionally found as far south as Lord Mayor Bay and even Pelly Bay. The southern

limit along the west coast is Wrottesley Inlet. In Thom Bay and along the coast of Lord Mayor Bay, narwhals and walruses were hunted around the Sons of the Clergy Islands off the south coast. Narwhals were hunted in Browne Bay on Prince of Wales Island. In Wrottesley Inlet, both narwhals and white whales were hunted.

Period II (1949–1961)

This period is essentially a transitional phase leading to the development of Spence Bay as a permanent settlement. A major shift in hunting emphasis to southern Boothia Peninsula and the abandonment of northern Somerset Island and most of Prince of Wales Island as feasible hunting areas occur during this period.

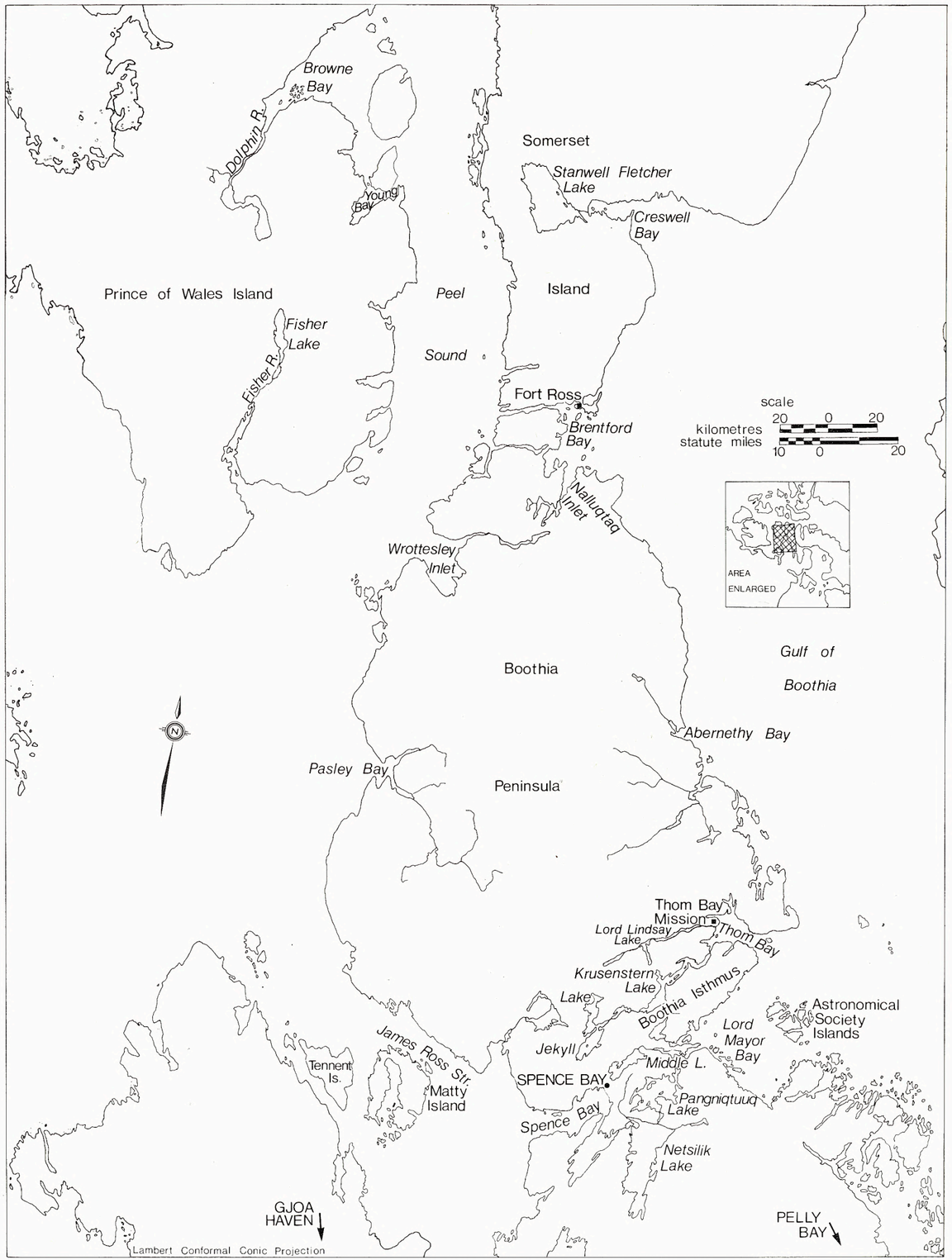
- *Seal Hunting:* Seal hunting at the floe edge in winter, hunting basking seals in spring, and seal hunting in open water during summer continued to be major seasonal activities. The areas where both ringed and bearded seals were hunted were similar to those described earlier, except that no seal hunting took place north of Creswell Bay. The Thom and Lord Mayor bays area and the area from Spence Bay west into James Ross Strait were the most intensively hunted.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Extensive hunts were undertaken for polar bears in the denning and feeding areas previously described, except that no hunts occurred north of Creswell Bay.
- *Fox Trapping:* The pre-eminence of the Thom, Lord Mayor and Spence bays areas as focal points for subsistence activities is most clearly demonstrated by the pattern of trap lines. In Period I, equal emphasis was given to the Brentford Bay, Thom Bay–Lord Mayor Bay, and Spence Bay–Inglis Bay areas. After the relocation of the Fort Ross post, the major clustering occurred in the latter two areas. Trap lines were set along the east coast of Boothia Peninsula and in a small area along the east coast of Prince of Wales Island. However, trapping in these areas was limited as compared to the intensive activity that occurred in the southern part of Boothia Peninsula. A complex web of trap lines along the coasts and stretching inland along river valleys and lake shores covered the area from Abernethy Bay southwest across Boothia Peninsula to Shepherd and Inglis bays. Trapping was still undertaken on King William Island and in Pelly Bay by hunters wintering in these areas, but King William Island was not the important trapping or hunting area that it had been when the Netsilingmiut were dependent on the Gjoa Haven post for supplies.
- *Fishing and Wildfowling:* Fishing for char, trout and whitefish, egg eolleeting and bird hunting were undertaken from spring through fall in the same areas as described earlier, except on Prince of Wales Island. Increased emphasis was placed on the area from Spence Bay east to Thom Bay. Cod were jigged in Willersted Inlet, and Spence and Josephine bays.
- *Caribou Hunting:* The areas used in caribou hunting show a similar contraction and shift in emphasis to the southern part of Boothia Peninsula and to the mainland south of Boothia Peninsula and Boothia Isthmus. Barren Ground caribou were hunted in spring and winter in either of two major areas: on the mainland south of Netsilik Lake and almost to Hayes River, and in Boothia Peninsula. Caribou were plentiful in both areas in winter, although the area north from Spence Bay and west from Thom Bay was favoured by the majority of hunters. Caribou were also hunted on Somerset Island, along the west coast and south of Creswell Bay, and in a small area along the east coast of Prince of Wales Island, but all these areas were secondary in importanee and not used as intensively as Boothia Peninsula. The majority of hunters followed the rivers emptying into Thom Bay, Abernethy River, or Nalluqtaq Inlet and Lake south of Brentford Bay, in search of caribou. Hunters wintering or travelling near Inglis Bay followed the Inglis or Murchison rivers into the interior of the mainland.
- *Wolf Hunting:* Wolves were shot on sight or tracked primarily along the east coast of Boothia Peninsula, where caribou were abundant in winter. They were also hunted north from Fort Ross along the southeast coast of Somerset Island.
- *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen were not hunted during this period, although some were present along the east coast of Prince of Wales Island.
- *Whale and Walrus Hunting:* The most productive areas for narwhals, white whales and walruses were Creswell, Brentford and Abernethy bays. Intensive hunting occurred in these areas and along the coast in Thom and Lord Mayor bays. Only narwhals were hunted in a small area in Young Bay on Prince of Wales Island and in Wrottesley Inlet. Both narwhals and white whales were shot when sighted in Spenee Bay.

Period III (1962–1974)

Families began to settle permanently in Spence Bay and to use the community as a base for seasonal hunting activities after 1962. By the time the Thom Bay mission closed in 1969, the gradual movement of families to Spence Bay settlement was complete. Before 1969, a few families were still scattered in winter camps along the east coast of Boothia Peninsula at Brentford, Abernethy, Illaunnalik and Thom bays; along the west Boothia coast at Pasley Bay; and at Young Bay on Prince of Wales Island.

Travel to northern Boothia Peninsula, and Somerset and Prince of Wales islands gradually ceased. The southern part of Boothia Peninsula and the mainland south of Spence Bay remain the areas most intensively hunted. Although hunters continue to take advantage of the resources of the

Map 12
Spence Bay place names



region, extensive seasonal hunts are not undertaken. Hunts usually last from one to a few days, except in summer, when camps are established on good fishing lakes and rivers or on the coast, for sealing.

Hunting areas are as described for Period II for all species, except that game is not sought in or around Creswell Bay. Most hunting occurs now off the coasts of southern Boothia Peninsula. Hunters who maintained winter camps, prior to settling in Spence Bay, and at Brentford, Abernethy, Illaunnalik, Pasley and Young bays continued to hunt in these areas. However, once settled in Spence Bay, the majority of hunters did not go farther north than Abernethy Bay on the east and Pasley Bay on the west Boothia Peninsula coasts.

- *Seal Hunting:* The major seal hunting areas are in Thom and Lord Mayor bays, and west from Spence Bay into James Ross Strait. Ringed and bearded seals are hunted extensively along the east and west Boothia coasts to north of Brentford Bay and to Young Bay on Prinee of Wales Island. Most seal hunting is done from spring to fall in either Spence Bay or Netsiksiuvik Inlet areas.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears are most intensively hunted off the west coast of Boothia Peninsula in James Ross Strait; north of Cape Felix on King William Island; or around the Astronomical Society Islands in Lord Mayor Bay. Hunting also takes place in Peel Sound, along the coasts of Prince of Wales Island to Young Bay; and to Brentford Bay on the coast of Boothia Peninsula.
- *Fox Trapping:* As in Period II, trap lines follow the coast, river systems and lake shores. Thom and Lord Mayor bays no longer appear as core areas, although traps are set there. The lines also ran along the east Boothia Peninsula coast as far north as Brentford Bay, and along the west coast to north of Pasley Bay. They are also set along the shores of Young Bay and Pandora Island by hunters wintering on Prince of Wales Island.
- *Fishing and Wildfowling:* Fishing for char, trout and whitefish, egg collecting and bird hunting from spring to fall are undertaken primarily around Boothia Isthmus. However, fish and birds continue to be sought in rivers and lakes along the east Boothia Peninsula coast to Brentford Bay, and south of Young Bay on Prince of Wales Island by families who lived in these areas before moving to Spence Bay. Cod are jigged in Willersted Inlet, and Spence and Josephine bays.
- *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou are hunted throughout Boothia Peninsula, north along the west coast of Somerset Island, and across Peel Sound to the east coast of Prince of Wales Island. Peary caribou are hunted on Prince of Wales Island and on the ice in Peel Sound, as they cross in fall and spring to and from the Somerset Island coast. Caribou are most intensively hunted north of Boothia Isthmus and west of Thom Bay, although several hunters prefer hunting on the mainland south of Netsilik Lake, almost as far south as Hayes River. In the latter area, intensive hunting occurs around Inglis and Murchison rivers.
- *Whale Hunting:* White whales and narwhals are shot when sighted in Spence and Thom bays, and along the northwest coast of Lord Mayor Bay to Netsiksiuvik Inlet. In recent years, however, these species are more rarely seen. White whales, narwhals and walruses are also hunted in Brentford, Abernethy and Illaunnalik bays, and in Young Bay on Prince of Wales Island. Only narwhals are taken in Pasley Bay.

Gjoa Haven

This settlement (68°38′N, 95°57′W) is on a bay of the same name on the southeast coast of King William Island. The name derives from Roald Amundsen's ship, Gjoa, *the first vessel to navigate the whole Northwest Passage. Amundsen spent the two winters between 1903 and 1906 in Gjoa Haven. In 1923, the H.B.C. established a post on a small bay near Peabody Point on the south coast of King William Island, then moved it to its present location in Gjoa Haven in 1927. Between 1927 and 1938, the Canalaska Trading Company operated a rival post nearby.*

In 1974 the population was 370. The settlement has an airstrip and three flights a week from Cambridge Bay, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to seven), a community hall, telephone service, two churches, a general store, and the Kekertak Cooperative.

Period I (1903–1926)

Several discrete population groups were scattered throughout this region (Map 13) during Period I, which covers the pre-trading and early trading days in the region. Each group had its own customary hunting territory, but considerable movement among the groups for visiting, hunting and trading occurred. The major groups in the King William Island area were: the Qiqitarmiut on King William Island; the Kukigurmiut in Simpson Strait; the Iluillirmiut in Adelaide Peninsula; the Utkusikhalingmiut in the Back River area; the Ugjulingmiut around the islands in central Queen Maud Gulf and in western Adelaide Peninsula; and the Kuuqruaqmiut in the Perry River area. In addition, the Netsilingmiut, who hunted primarily around Boothia Isthmus, west into James Ross Strait and northern King William Island, and frequently travelled and hunted south and west toward Queen Maud Gulf. The Utkusikhalingmiut and Kuuqruaqmiut sometimes hunted and traded with the Haningajuqmiut and Ualiakliit who occupied the eastern and western sections of Garry Lake on the mainland south of Queen Maud Gulf. To the west of King William Island on Victoria Island, lived the Kiglinir-

miut. Although bows and arrows were still used in hunting, rifles seem to have been more common.

Before the adoption of firearms, the hunting territory of the various groups in the region was most clearly identified by the area eaeh preferred for caribou hunting and seal hunting – the two principal seasonal land use activities.

- *Seal Hunting:* Before the introduction of firearms, the major winter activity was sealing at breathing holes from eamps set up in December and January on the sea ice along the coast or near the mouths of rivers. Seals were hunted through the ice or basking on the ice in spring until May or early June. When rifles were used in hunting, seals were shot from the floe edge and allowed to drift in. Hunting basking seals with a rifle was more productive than by harpoon alone.

In the early trading period, most winter camps were located on or near the sea ice, from which seals were hunted until spring. The Kuuqruaqmiut hunted ringed and bearded seals primarily around the islands at the mouth of the Perry and Simpson rivers. The Ugjulingmiut hunted around the Royal Geographical Society Islands in Queen Maud Gulf and around the islands in Wilmot and Crampton bays off the west coast of Adelaide Peninsula. The Qiqitarmiut also hunted ringed and bearded seals off the northwest coast of King William Island in St. Roch Basin and James Ross Strait. Bearded seals were found around Matty, Tennent and Clarence islands. Only ringed seals are to be found in Chantrey Inlet, where they were hunted by the Utkusikhalingmiut only near the mouth of Back River. Seals were also hunted in Lord Mayor Bay; off the south coast of Victoria Island, and in Pelly Bay by hunters wintering in those areas.

- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears were hunted in winter and early spring, usually close to the winter camps and in known denning and feeding areas. Before the use of rifles, bows and arrows and spears were used for the kill.

Major polar bear denning areas are located on the Royal Geographical Society Islands and in the northern part of King William Island near Cape Felix. Dens are also located on Graham Gore Peninsula on the southwest coast of King William Island and, in the west, off the coast of Victoria Island on Admiralty and Taylor islands. The primary polar bear feeding areas are in Victoria Strait off the west coast of King William Island, and in Larsen Sound off Cape Felix. Polar bears were hunted throughout eastern Queen Maud Gulf to Simpson Strait, in the northern part of King William Island, and on the ice in James Ross Strait.

The Utkusikhalingmiut did not hunt polar bears because they were not found in the Chantrey Inlet area, nor did they go elsewhere to hunt them.

- *Fox Trapping:* Trapping during the early trading period was a secondary activity. Traps made of ice or stone were used because few metal traps were available. Most of the trapping was done close to the winter and spring camps or near fox dens. Traps were usually scattered over an area rather than along a line. No pattern of trapping developed during this period, and no particular areas were distinguished as good trapping areas.
- *Fishing:* In spring, when seal hunting on the sea ice could no longer be undertaken, families left their winter eamps and scattered inland where spring and summer camps were loeated close to good fishing lakes and rivers.

Char, trout and whitefish were speared from the winter ice remaining on the lakes in early spring; at weirs and from lake and river shores throughout summer; and through thin iee in fall. Cod were jigged through the thin ice in spring and fall and provided an additional reserve supply of food. However, the most productive fishing occurred in late summer, around the end of August or in early September, when the char returned from the sea to winter in the interior lakes.

The major fishing river in the region is Back River, where char, trout and whitefish are especially abundant. Other rivers used for these species are Hayes, Kaleet, Simpson, Perry and Ellice rivers. Fish were also sought in the interior lakes north of Simpson Strait, on King William Island, and in the Lower Garry Lake area. The major cod fishing area was along the north eoast of Adelaide Peninsula.

- *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou migrated north from the treeline in spring and scattered in small herds for summer grazing throughout the coastal mainland areas. They crossed Simpson Strait via Eta Island and summered in the interior of King William Island. Caribou were hunted throughout summer by hunters using bows and arrows; sometimes they were stalked and sometimes the hunters used stone blinds for concealment. The major hunts oeeurred in late August or early September when the herds reformed and the southward migration began. As the caribou crossed narrow lakes or rivers, they were speared by hunters in kayaks. These were the most productive and important hunts because the caribou were not only easy to kill as they swam slowly, but their hides were in prime condition and most suitable for winter clothing.

The Qiqitarmiut hunted caribou in summer in the interior of King William Island, the Kukigurmiut hunted on both sides of Simpson Strait, and the Iluillirmiut hunted in the northeast part of Adelaide Peninsula. The Ugjulingmiut hunted caribou along the west coast of Adelaide Peninsula as far south as Klutschak Peninsula. These groups gathered in fall at the Eta Island crossing. A crossing to the south in Sherman Inlet near the mouth of Sherman Basin was also used. The Utkusikhalingmiut hunted caribou in summer and fall at crossings primarily around Franklin Lake. The Kuuqruaqmiut hunted caribou around Perry River, especially at MacAlpine Lake.

After firearms became available and were commonly used in hunting, several changes occurred. First the late summer caribou hunts at the crossing places became less important, not only because hunters did not have to depend on the

crossings to make successful kills, but also because with rifles hunters could now hunt at any time of the year. Secondly, the caribou migration pattern changed. Caribou ceased crossing Simpson Strait to King William Island, although they were still found as far north as Adelaide Peninsula and along the mainland coast. However, as more caribou were now found wintering on the tundra (rather than south toward the treeline), caribou hunting became a more important winter activity. Thus winter sea ice camps, from which seals were hunted at breathing holes, were gradually abandoned in favour of inland or coastal locations, where trapping and caribou hunting could also take place. Seals continued to be hunted at breathing holes from the coastal winter camps.

The changes described above resulted in the movement of several of the groups. For example, the Qiqitarmiut and Kukigurmiut began hunting in the northeastern part of the Adelaide Peninsula and south of Sherman Basin. The Iluillirmiut also hunted in this area, but they extended their range west to Simpson and Kangowan rivers. The Ugjulingmiut began hunting in the area from Armark River east to southwest of Sherman Basin. The Utkusikhalingmiut continued hunting around Franklin Lake, but they also hunted southeast of the lower Back River. The Kuuqruaqmiut continued hunting along Perry River and south to MacAlpine Lake.

There were three extensive areas of caribou hunting. One of them extended into both Netsilingmiut and Arviligjuarmiut hunting territory and was used by hunters residing in those areas. The second area was used by the groups whose territory centred on King William Island, on Adelaide Peninsula and Back River, and extended from the northeast part of Adelaide Peninsula, southwest to Simpson and Kangowan rivers, south almost to Lower Garry Lake, east almost to Laughland Lake, and north to Hayes River and Chantrey Inlet. This was the area used by the majority of hunters active at the time. Two southward extensions of this basic area included land between Lower Garry and Aberdeen lakes, and an area southeast of Back River to St. Clair Falls on Quoich River near Baker Lake. Caribou were not hunted in the area around Tehek Lake between these two southward extensions. The Kuuqruaqmiut hunted caribou around Perry and Ellice rivers and from the coast of Queen Maud Gulf south to MacAlpine Lake. The area used by Netsilingmiut hunters now resident in Gjoa Haven extended from Boothia Isthmus south to Murchison Lake and east to the eastern coast of Pelly Bay.

- *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen were also hunted with bows and arrows and spears, and later with rifles. Sometimes musk-oxen were driven into lakes, where they were speared by hunters in kayaks. At other times musk-oxen would be driven into deep water, by men and women making loud noises, and would drown because of the weight of their horns and skull. They were hunted in two areas: along Simpson River; and between Simpson and Kaleet rivers south of Sherman Basin.
- *Other Land Hunting:* Other smaller animals hunted during this period are ptarmigans, hares, wolves and wolverines. Ptarmigans and hares were hunted around all campsites. The snaring or tracking of wolves and wolverines were very minor activities undertaken primarily around the lower Back and Hayes rivers.
- *Wildfowling:* In spring, ducks, geese, loons, swans and cranes migrate north to breed and nest along the coasts. Eggs were collected and birds caught in snares or speared with a lance from kayaks throughout summer. Birds were hunted and eggs gathered along the mainland coast bordering Queen Maud Gulf, from Sherman Basin along the east coast of Adelaide Peninsula to Simpson Strait, and from Sherman Basin east to Franklin Lake and Back River.

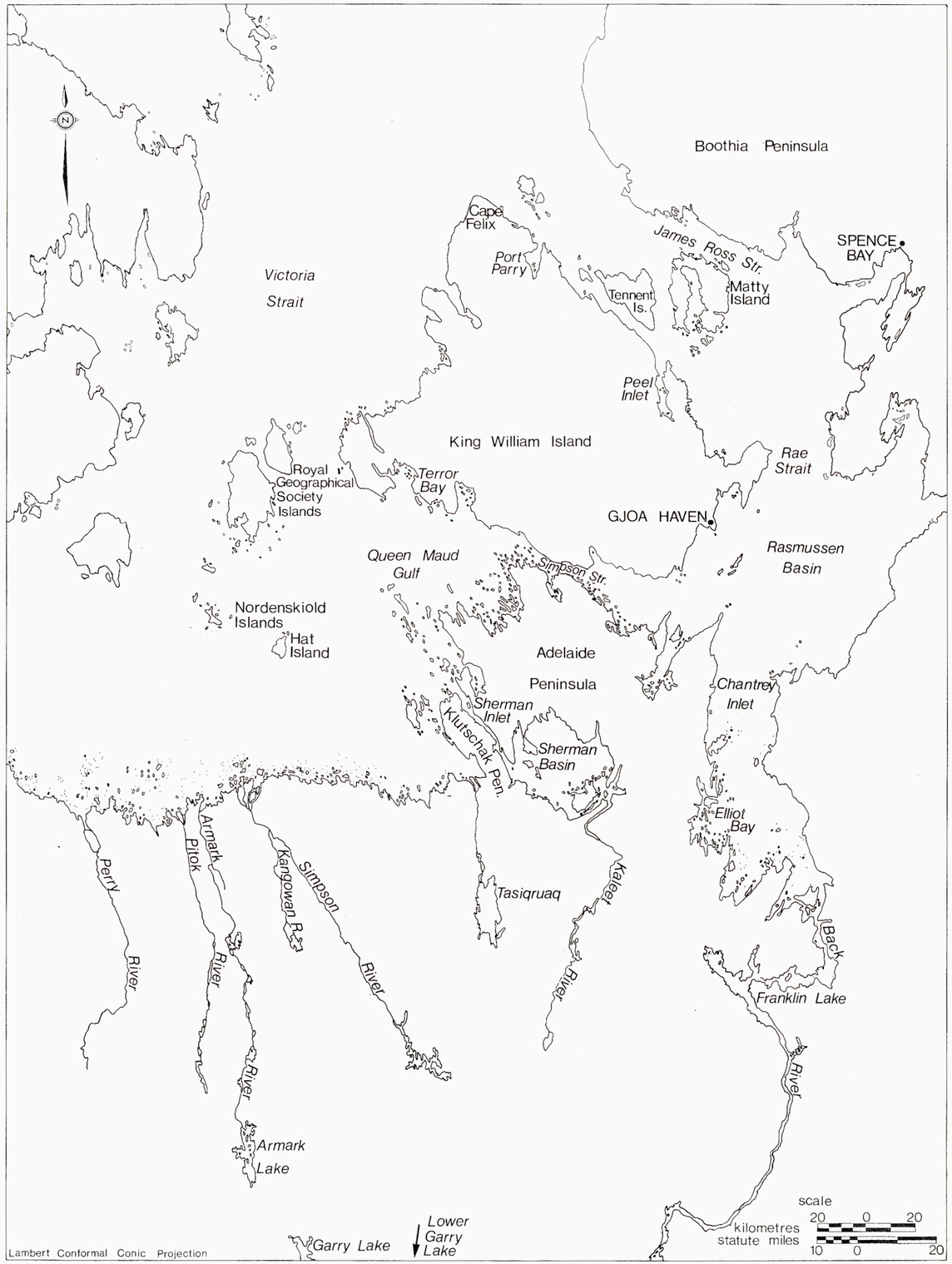
Period II (1927–1954)

- *Seal Hunting:* A combined hunting and trapping economy developed in Period II. More winter camps were established along the coasts and in the interior than on the sea ice. Winter seal hunting at breathing holes became secondary to trapping, although at other seasons extensive hunting of basking seals, hunting at the floe edge, and hunting in open water during summer increased with the use of rifles. Small wooden rowboats and, later, canoes obtained from the trading posts were used to retrieve the kills.

Seals were hunted in all the waters surrounding King William Island, in Chantrey Inlet, in Sherman Inlet and in Sherman Basin. From the northwest coast of King William Island into Victoria Strait was not a good seal hunting area, but elsewhere ringed seals were common. Bearded seals, however, were hunted primarily off the mainland coast in Queen Maud Gulf: between the mouths of Perry and Simpson rivers, in eastern Queen Maud Gulf from the Royal Geographieal Society and Nordenskiöld islands, east to Wilmot and Crampton bays and Simpson Strait. They were also hunted off the northeast coast of King William Island from the Clarence Islands in the north to south of Tennent and Matty islands.

- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears were hunted in the same denning and feeding areas described for Period I, the extensive area from the Nordenskiöld and Hat islands in eastern Queen Maud Gulf, north into Victoria Strait and Larsen Sound, and off the northeast coast of King William Island in James Ross Strait. The Royal Geographical Society Islands and the Cape Felix area were the major hunting areas.
- *Fox Trapping:* From winter camp sites on the mainland, trapping was combined with caribou and seal hunting when the camps were close to the coast. In comparison to Period I, there was an increase in the number of traps used and in the use of trap lines rather than trapping areas in some regions. Although trapping areas were still used in the interior main-

Map 13
Gjoa Haven place names



land, trap lines were now in use along the coasts and river valleys.

Both trapping areas and trap lines were used in the Chantrey Inlet–Back River area. Trapping areas were used south and southeast of the mouth of Back River, and from southwest of Franklin Lake to Lower Garry Lake. Trap lines radiated from the mouth of Back River north along the east and west coasts of Chantrey Inlet, along Hayes River, and southeast of Back River to Brown Lake.

Trap lines were set all along the coasts of King William Island, Adelaide Peninsula, along the south coast of Sherman Basin, along the Queen Maud Gulf coast from Ellice River to Simpson River, along Perry and Simpson rivers, and along Pitok, Armark and Kangowan rivers. In the interior, south of Perry River, trap lines were set around MacAlpine Lake, and trapping areas were in use between Armark and Garry lakes.

● *Fishing:* Fishing for char, trout and whitefish continued to be an important activity from spring to fall. The use of nets in Period II increased catches, especially during the important fall up-stream char runs. Fish were caught in all the major rivers and in scattered lakes throughout the region: in Chantrey Inlet from the mouth of Back River to Wolf Rapids; along Hayes River; along Montresor River; in the river and lake emptying into Elliot Bay, in small lakes north of Hayes River, near Mungles Bay; and, in the southeast, along Brown River and in Brown Lake; in Inglis Bay in the delta formed by the Inglis, Murchison, Castor and Pollux rivers; in the Sherman Basin area along Kaleet River and in the large lake southwest of the basin; in the rivers emptying into Queen Maud Gulf, Simpson, Kangowan, Armark, Pitok, Perry, and Ellice rivers; in the lakes to the south, MacAlpine, Armark and Garry lakes; and on King William Island, in the rivers and lakes near Port Parry, Peel Inlet and Terror Bay, and in the interior north of Gjoa Haven at Tasiqruaq, Malerualik, Douglas Bay, Koka Lake and Petersen Bay.

The major cod fishing area was south from Malerualik, and along the north coast of Adelaide Peninsula east to Barrow Inlet. Cod were also fished in Sherman Basin and along the Queen Maud Gulf coast near the mouth of Perry River. Birds were hunted and eggs collected in spring and summer around all the major fishing rivers from Ellice River in the west to Back River, and along the south and southeast coasts of King William Island.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou hunting was no longer restricted to summer, but was undertaken all year round and combined with winter trapping or summer fishing. Caribou were less abundant than formerly and were sought in an extensive area that included the whole of the mainland coast from Ellice River east to Brown Lake (near Wager Bay) and north from Hayes River to Murchison and Simpson lakes and Inglis Bay.

Caribou were also hunted north of Boothia Isthmus, in the mainland area between Inglis and Pelly bays, and east toward Committee Bay, by hunters living in the Spence and Pelly bays areas during this period. Caribou were most intensively hunted along the mainland coast from Perry River east to Back River, and south as far as Joe Lake. They were also occasionally hunted in the Garry Lake area.

● *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen were hunted in two areas, primarily in fall and winter: west of Perry River south of Tasiahiq; and south of Sherman Basin, near the mouth of and along Kaleet River and near the large lake, Tasiqruaq. Musk-oxen were also hunted in a large area south of the head of Pelly Bay. Fewer musk-oxen were hunted during this period than in Period I.

● *Wolf and Wolverine Hunting:* These animals were either shot when sighted or tracked from the trap lines. Both species were especially abundant near the mouth of Back River, along Hayes River, south of Sherman Basin between Tasiqruaq and Kaleet River, and along Simpson River. Wolves were also hunted in an extensive area between the Pitok and Simpson rivers, west to MacAlpine Lake, south of Garry Lake, southeast of Hayes River, and in small areas scattered on the mainland from Perry River east to Chantrey Inlet.

Period III (1955–1962)

The hunting areas used during Period III follow closely those described for Period II. A detailed discussion of land use for all species will, therefore, not be offered, and reference is made only to the differences in pattern that developed during this period. Several hunters who normally hunted and trapped in this area began to direct more of their hunting activities to the east: for caribou along the coast of Queen Maud Gulf to Adelaide Peninsula and south of Sherman Basin; and for spring and summer sealing around Hat and Royal Geographical Society islands, off the west coast of Adelaide Peninsula in Wilmot and Crampton bays, and in Simpson Strait.

● *Seal Hunting:* The area used for seal hunting was as extensive as that described for Period II. However, seals were more intensively hunted off the coasts of King William Island, in Rasmussen Basin, Simpson Strait, and in eastern Queen Maud Gulf.

● *Fox Trapping:* The increased attraction to the Gjoa Haven area is most clearly evident in the trapping pattern. Most of the trap lines were found on King William Island, Adelaide Peninsula, along the coasts of Chantrey Inlet and near the mouth of the Back River, and along the east coast of Rasmussen Basin north to Shepherd Bay and Rae Strait. The trap lines elosely follow the coast, except for two small trapping areas, one around a small lake southeast of MacAlpine Lake and the other north of Garry Lake. Trap lines do not extend very far into the interior mainland.

King William Island was the most intensively trapped area. Trap lines radiate inland north of Gjoa Haven and follow the east coast, and south coast to west of Terror Bay. Trap lines were also set along the Perry and Simpson rivers and along the Queen Maud Gulf coast between these river mouths.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Owing to the increased orientation of the Kuuqruaqmiut to Cambridge Bay, caribou were hunted farther west of Ellice River than during Period II. Caribou were not hunted as far to the southeast as Brown Lake, partly as a result of the closing of the H.B.C. post there in 1947, and partly because fewer people were hunting in the Back River area. Caribou were most intensively hunted in the area extending from west of Sherman Inlet, south as far as Whirlpool Rapids on Back River, and northeast to Darby Lake.

● *Wolf and Wolverine Hunting:* The major area where wolves and wolverines were caught was around Back River from the coast of Elliot Bay south to Franklin Lake and north to upper Hayes River. Wolves were also caught near the mouths of the Ellice and Pitok rivers, between Pitok and Simpson rivers, and on the mainland from MacAlpine Lake to Armark Lake, and south as far as Garry Lake.

● *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen were only rarely hunted, and then only at the mouth of Kaleet River, during Period III.

Period IV (1963–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* Seals are hunted in as extensive an area as previously described, although in recent years, with most families having moved to the settlement, intensive hunting is undertaken only in Rasmussen Basin, Simpson Strait, and in eastern Queen Maud Gulf. Seals are hunted mainly in spring and summer.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears are hunted throughout eastern Queen Maud Gulf and north into Victoria Strait and Larsen Sound, primarily around the denning sites on the Royal Geographical Society Islands and near Cape Felix.

● *Fox Trapping:* The majority of the trap lines are set along the southern and eastern coasts of King William Island and radiate west from Gjoa Haven along the south coast as far as Terror Bay. They also extend inland north from the settlement to Peel Inlet on the northeast coast. Trap lines are also set along the north coast of Adelaide Peninsula, inland from Barrow Inlet to and around Sherman Basin, and they follow the west coast of Chantrey Inlet to Back River. Until very recently a few families wintered on Back River, and hunters set trap lines radiating from the mouth of the river southwest to Franklin Lake and east along Hayes River.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou are hunted in an area that extends about 60 miles inland along a corridor following the mainland coast from west of Ellice River northeast to Murchison River. The majority of hunts are undertaken on Adelaide Peninsula along the west coast of Chantrey Inlet to Sherman Basin, south to Franklin Lake, and from around Back River to the Hayes River area.

● *Fishing and Wildfowling:* Char, trout and whitefish are now taken only from the major rivers and lakes close to the mainland coast and near Gjoa Haven: in Back and Hayes rivers; in the river and lake emptying into Elliot Bay; along the Kaleet, Simpson, Perry and Ellice rivers; along Murchison River at Koka Lake; in Petersen Bay; in lakes north of Gjoa Haven; and in small lakes north and south of Hayes River. Except for Franklin Lake, southwest of Sherman Basin, no interior lakes are fished.

Cod are fished in Petersen Bay, at Malerualik, and along the north coast of Adelaide Peninsula as far east as Barrow Inlet.

Birds are hunted in summer along the coasts and in all areas where fishing is undertaken.

● *Wolf and Wolverine Hunting:* Wolves and wolverines are trapped or shot on sight primarily near Back River, although wolves are also hunted near M'Clintock Bay, along the south coast of King William Island, and near the mouth of Ellice River.

● *Musk-Ox Hunting:* Musk-oxen are hunted only at the mouth of Kaleet River, although they are known to occur on Adelaide and Klutschak peninsulas, near the mouth of Simpson River, and west of Franklin Lake near Back River.

Inuit Land Use in Keewatin District and Southampton Island

by Tony Welland

Southwest and Central Keewatin

Period II (1924–1959)

As the southern area of the region borders the treeline, Inuit and Indian hunting lands often overlapped in the past. Mutual fear and hostility then existed, and a "buffer zone" existed between the two peoples. As the northern Indian population died off from disease and starvation following contact with white men, Inuit territory extended farther south.

By 1900, Inuit are reported to have traded furs as far south as the trading post at Brochet, Manitoba, about 150 miles south of the treeline. By 1926, Revillon Frères had moved this post north from Manitoba to the edge of the treeline, near the west shore of Nueltin Lake. By 1928, when the fur trade was booming, the H.B.C. and two independent traders established posts in the same area. Although the independent traders soon moved away, trading posts continued to exist in this area until the 1940's.

This trading era, from the 1920's to the 1940's, caused a major shift in the lifestyle of the Inuit hunters of southwest Keewatin. Whereas they had once hunted with bows and arrows and spears for a living, they now began to depend on rifles and on supplies obtained by trading furs. The hunters became trappers, and the 1930's and 1940's brought many periods of hunger and starvation. In 1950, the last trading post in the area closed, leaving the people with no other source for the supplies they had come to depend upon except a Department of Transport weather station on Ennadai Lake, which was hardly adequate for their needs. In 1950, the federal government sponsored a commercial fishing venture at Nueltin Lake, but it was unsuccessful and was closed in 1951. The Inuit of the Ennadai and Hicks lakes area could then trade only at the H.B.C. post at Padlei, 150 miles away.

The post at Padlei, established in 1926 on Kinga Lake, served the people of the south-central Keewatin District until it closed in 1960. Inuit from this area also occasionally traded at the coastal posts on Hudson Bay, and others travelled north to trade at Baker Lake. The Padlermiut and the Ihalmiut of southwest Keewatin suffered great hardship throughout the fur trade years, and the people of the central and north-western areas also suffered years of scarcity and starvation.

The people living in the Ennadai Lake area of southwest Keewatin (Map 14, p. 99) did not travel to the sea coast to hunt sea mammals nor to trade. Occasionally they made trips to the North Henik Lake area and to Padlei, particularly in the latter years of the fur trade period, when the trading posts in the Nueltin Lake area had closed. At other times, some of them travelled to Churchill to trade. People from the sea coast and southeast Keewatin did not travel to the Ennadai Lake area, although occasionally R.C.M.P. patrols went there. As caribou and fish made up the diet of these people, fall and winter camps were located near the major caribou crossings and near good fishing spots. In spring, they moved their camps to the best locations for open-water fishing and to be near caribou migration routes.

Many people lived along the north shore of Ennadai Lake as far south as the treeline. Others lived south and west, on the west shore of Kasba Lake, and north along Kazan River, particularly in the Dimma Lake area. Another popular camping spot was the north shore of Hieks Lake, to the north-east and farther east along Bate Lake. People also camped on the north shore of Windy Lake and west of Nueltin Lake to be near the trading posts. Other camps were located on smaller lakes and rivers, including Calhoun, McCourt and Boland lakes, and Kognak River.

People living in the central and northern parts of southern Keewatin travelled more extensively than the Ennadai people, and occasionally they travelled down to the coast in spring to hunt and trade. They were, however, essentially an inland group. They relied primarily on caribou and fish, and their movements throughout the year refleeted this adaptation. During fall and winter, for example, they camped at places where caribou crossed rivers and lakes and, in spring and summer, they camped where fish were abundant.

People lived around the shores of North Henik Lake, particularly at the narrows between North Henik and South Henik lakes, a major caribou crossing place. Another settlement area was Oftedal Lake and around some of the smaller lakes in that area. People also camped along the shore of South Henik Lake and south to Roseblade Lake. Other popular locations were Imikula Lake and Maguse River between Imikula Lake and Padlei. Padlei itself and all around the shores of Kinga Lake was a major camping area. Others lived on Heninga Lake; along upper Maguse River; on the shores of Turquetil Lake east of Padlei; on many of the lakes north of Padlei; and particularly along Kogtok River. Many people camped at caribou crossings on the west coast of Kaminak Lake and to the north between Victory and O'Neil lakes. In the northern part of the area, there were popular camping areas at the major caribou crossings on the west arm of Kaminuriak and Ferguson lakes, and especially in the Yathkyed Lake area. Sometimes people camped as far west as Tulemalu Lake. Because there are trees just east of South Henik Lake, people rarely lived there, although they did travel through the region. West of South Henik Lake, people lived on various lakes and on Kognak River.

Padlermiut in the central inland area moved their camps frequently from year to year. They often travelled great distances on the land, meeting with Ennadai Lake people in the west as well as coastal people in the east and with northern people in the Baker Lake–Kazan River area and, in the northeast, with the Qaenermiut of Chesterfield Inlet.

The area of southwest Keewatin with trees was not intensively used by the Inuit, except as a source of wood for

fuel, sleds and tent poles. The other area of southwest Keewatin occasionally used in recent times was the area near Angikuni, Kamilukuak and Dubawnt lakes, west of Yathkyed Lake. The area to the east, however, near the treeline was more heavily used, especially along Thlewiaza River and in the vicinity of Edehon Lake, where spring and fall eamps were located.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* In winter, camps were located near caehes of caribou meat made during the previous fall. People hunted during early winter, and throughout the winter they brought in caribou meat from caches that were scattered about the region. They heated their houses with caribou fat, which was also used for cooking if there was enough. If the meat supply began to run low toward the end of winter, they often moved to another location where earibou could be found; at such times, too, they fished in any suitable nearby lakes. Ptarmigans and Arctie hares were also hunted for food throughout the winter.

Sometimes people made long journeys to find other camps that had an adequate supply of food. Such journeys were sometimes to the coast or to the Chesterfield Inlet area, where winter food supplies were usually more abundant than in the interior. Thus in times of hunger and starvation, extensive areas of land were hunted, although at the end of winter, even if their hardship inereased, they travelled less, because they were then weakened, and their dogs were either weak or dead.

Before rifles became common, the people trapped caribou in trenches cut deep into snowdrifts. In the southeast area, they hunted south into Manitoba and west of Ennadai Lake. They also hunted north of Ennadai Lake up Kazan River and east along a major corridor of occupation toward North Henik Lake. The western limit of caribou hunting in the central area extended about 20 or 25 miles west of Yathkyed Lake, although some people made trips west of Angikuni and Tulemalu lakes.

In southwest Keewatin, as in other parts of Keewatin during Period II, one of the people's major winter oecupations was fox trapping. Caribou meat was the usual bait, and traps were often set in the vicinity of caribou caches. Fish was also used as bait. Often trap lines extended great distanees from the eamps. As the men travelled by dog-teams along trap lines, they hunted caribou, ptarmigans, wolves and wolverines whenever any were encountered along the route.

The important trapping areas were in the Maguse River system and the Padlei area; north along Kogtok River, around Imikula Lake; east and north of Yathkyed Lake; and in the Ferguson, Kaminuriak and Kaminak lakes area. People trapped all along the shores of Yathkyed Lake; around the shores of North and South Henik lakes and Roseblade Lake; south of Roseblade Lake; and west to Fitzpatrick and Sealhole lakes. Traps were set between North Henik and Ennadai lakes, and throughout the Ennadai and Hicks lakes area. People going to the trading posts near Nueltin Lake would set traps along the route. A few people trapped well to the west toward Angikuni Lake and the northern shores of Tulemalu Lake. All of these areas were trapped extensively, and the only area where very little trapping was done was the wooded area east of South Henik Lake in the Savard and Corbett lakes area.

● *Spring:* In late winter and early spring with the depletion of meat caches, fishing became important, and camps were often moved to good fishing locations. Some people, especially those living in the eastern area, moved down to the coast, often by following Maguse River, to hunt seals and geese. Many remained inland and fished while waiting for the return of the earibou. Most of the lakes have been fished, but particularly important locations were the lakes near the trading post at Padlei, Kinga and Yathkyed lakes. Near Padlei, on the south end of Maguse Lake, was a favourite spring and summer fishing place for many Padlermiut. As the Maguse River people moved from the area to hunt seals at the sea, other Padlermiut moved in to set up major fishing eamps where they dried fish for winter use. An important fishing eamp called Oyaralik was located on Turquetil Lake. It was used in winter and spring owing to its always having some open water.

Geese and ducks were hunted on their northward migration during late May and June. An important hunting place for this activity was Ferguson Lake and the small narrow lakes between Ferguson and Yathkyed lakes. Eggs were also gathered during spring.

By late spring, when caribou began to return, food was abundant once again. Caribou killed during the spring could not be cached for winter use, although the fat was preserved to provide heat and light in the snow-houses during winter. In some years, only a few caribou might pass through a given area in spring, and families there would have to move to other areas in seareh of better hunting.

● *Summer:* The summer months were spent fishing and caribou hunting. Everyone ate fish during the summer, and the people in the Padlei area and on southern Maguse Lake dried large quantities of fish for winter use. People walked over the land hunting earibou and carried the meat back to camp. Usually, however, hunters did not go great distances during summer because all hunting had to be done on foot or by canoe. During summer, much time was spent preparing for the all-important fall caribou hunt. People repaired their kayaks or built new ones and ensured that their weapons were in good order.

● *Fall:* The people who had gone down to the coast in spring now returned to be near the caribou crossing places on lakes and rivers. The success of the fall caribou hunt was critical to the people's well-being during winter, and they positioned themselves at the crossings before the expected arrival of the migrating caribou. While waiting for the herds, women and ehildren gathered moss, willow twigs and driftwood to use during the winter as fuel, and they eaehed the fish they caught in the lakes for winter food and dog food.

Unlike the caribou's spring migration, when they usually eame in very large herds and passed quickly through the area, the fall migration usually lasted over a period of weeks as smaller herds passed through the hunting areas. In the early days of the fur trade, before rifles and ammunition were readily available, people hunted caribou in the water from kayaks with spears. Some people hunted caribou after they were guided into position by lines of man-high stone cairns. However, water crossings were by far the preferred hunting places. Sometimes the cairns were used to guide the caribou to a water crossing, where the hunters hid in ambush. Because of the nature of the land and its many lakes and rivers, there were many places where caribou were forced to swim and, therefore, many places where hunts could be successfully carried out. Some of these popular crossings were the narrow strip of water between North and South Henik lakes; the northwest shore of Kaminak Lake between Victory and O'Neil lakes; the north and east shores of Hicks Lake just north of Ennadai Lake; and along the Thlewiaza River, in the section south of Hurwitz Lake.

If these fall hunts were successful, people did not have to continue to hunt the small bands of caribou that lingered in the land well into late fall and early winter. Once an adequate supply of caribou meat had been stored for winter, they turned to trapping foxes as a primary occupation.

South Keewatin Coast

Period II (1924–1959)

Although trapping dominated the winter months for most people in Period II, activities in summer and fall continued much as they had in earlier times. During spring, trappers and their families moved down the major river systems to the sea coast to trade fox pelts for supplies; following this, they established spring camps for seal hunting, goose hunting and fishing along the coast (Map 14). After the break-up of the sea ice, people usually waited until the H.B.C. supply ship arrived before trading for the goods they needed.

Although some families camped along the coast throughout winter, the majority of people moved back inland during late summer to hunt caribou at river and lake crossings and other places along their migration routes during fall. Once the caribou had passed and the meat they needed for themselves and their dogs during winter had been cached, they established camps near the eaches and began the winter's trapping.

In the southern part of this region, many people lived about 30 miles inland, near Geillini and Ranger Seal lakes. Some families camped farther up-river in the Thuchonilini Lake area and as far inland as Edehon Lake, about 100 miles from the eoast. Other families wintered on the shores of Hyde Lake, going inland from the coast along the Tha-anne River, and still others wintered at many of the small lakes west of Eskimo Point, particularly at Dionne Lake and in the Camp Lake area. There were also winter camps at Bay and Thaolintoa lakes.

The Maguse River and Maguse Lake system northwest of Eskimo Point was a favourite wintering area. Many families camped along the southern shores of Maguse Lake, and others camped at the various narrows in the lake system. Some families travelled west along Maguse River to the Padlei area, where they spent the winter, and others moved north to the Kaminak Lake area; the Kaminak and Kaminuriak lakes area; along the Ferguson River system; and to Maze on the Wilson River.

In addition to these main settlement areas, people occasionally camped on any of the small interior lakes if the fall earibou hunting had been successful in that area and they had meat cached there. People usually stayed at one camp throughout the winter, unless their meat supply was low and no caribou could be found in the surrounding area. Then they would often move to the camp of relatives or others in the area. Generally, only the hunter would go to a trading post for supplies during winter, but at Christmas time many families visited the posts for social and religious activities. People in the upper Maguse Lake and Maguse River system and those in the Kaminak and Kaminuriak lakes area often went to Padlei at Christmas, but those nearer the coast went to trading posts at Eskimo Point, Tavani, or Maguse River.

In spring, although some families stayed inland, the majority of people travelled by dog-team down the various rivers to the coast, where they established spring sealing camps. The people relied heavily on seal oil obtained at this season to heat and light their snow-houses during the following winter, so spring seal hunting was an important activity. They also fished, hunted geese and collected eggs. Spring camps were usually oceupied into early summer, with some people moving their camps to different places along the coast, depending upon the game they sought. Most of the coastal area and islands were at some time used as summer camps as far south as below the Manitoba border, where there was a trading post at Nunalla, and some people from southern Keewatin hunted and traded in that area.

Spring and summer camps were established at the mouth of Geillini River, and the delta of the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers was a major camping area. Other people had summer camps inland at Hyde Lake. The area near the mouth of McConnell River was popular as a goose camp, and the mouth of Maguse River and Maguse Point were popular for both

fishing and seal hunting. Other popular camping areas were Sandy Point, the Tavani area and Term Point. There were other camps along the northern coast, especially at the mouth of Wilson River and on many of the islands.

At the end of the summer people moved back inland. Some people returned to the same camping area every year, but others moved their camp to new winter loeations. Although most of the people living along the coastal river systems followed the land use pattern described above, others travelled inland, and it was not uncommon for a family to go inland quite far to the west or northwest. Inuit living on the southern coastal region of Keewatin District travelled by boat south to Churchill, Manitoba, and occasionally north to trade at Chesterfield Inlet or Baker Lake. Some people made trips by dog-team to Baker Lake or as far north and northwest as Garry Lake or Beverly Lake respectively.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* During winter, the people lived in snow-houses heated primarily by the seal oil they had stored the previous spring and summer, but occasionally they used caribou fat. The camps were located near caches of caribou meat they had made the previous fall. Generally, this supply of meat lasted until early spring, and hunting was then usually limited during the winter to shooting caribou sighted while trapping, but if the meat supply was low, they hunted caribou more actively. Often winter camps were located near good fishing places, but they did not normally try to fish during winter unless the food supply was low. Many of the best fishing spots were identified by stone markers so that anyone coming upon that lake would know where the fishing was best.

Throughout the winter, trapping was the primary occupation, although caribou, wolves and wolverines were hunted if seen near the trap line. Wolves and wolverines were a menace to the trappers because they removed the bait and destroyed foxes already caught in traps. Wolf skins were sold at the trading post, but wolverine skins were generally kept for personal uses, such as for parka trim. Ptarmigans and Arctic hares were shot whenever they were seen.

People living in the southern part of southeast Keewatin District occasionally made trips farther south to the treeline to get wood for fuel, sleds and other purposes. The coastal people, like the inland people, depended on caribou during the winter, and their primary occupation was also trapping. However, those wintering on the Hudson Bay coast hunted ringed and bearded seals and eider ducks at the floe edge.

Just as the winter camps were scattered over the land, so were the hunting and trapping areas. The entire area has been trapped extensively, except for the wooded area in the southwest, and the area to the east of South Henik Lake, where the treeline extends northward. Most of the foxes caught were white Arctic foxes, although coloured foxes are also common in the southern area. Caribou was the usual fox bait, although fish was also used, and seal was used by people trapping along the coast. Traps were placed near the caches of caribou meat that had been made the previous fall and in fox denning areas. People trapped out from their main camps. The distances travelled and the number of traps set varied greatly. Some trappers had a line as much as 100 miles long, and they often spent two weeks or more checking their traps.

The most intensively trapped areas were naturally the areas in which the winter population was the greatest, although the area south and east of Kaminak Lake, where few people lived, was also intensively trapped. Major trapping areas were the Ranger Seal and Hyde lakes area, the McConnell River and Camp Lake area, the Maguse and Kaminak lakes area, and the Wilson and Ferguson rivers area. Some people had trapping areas extending westward to the North and South Henik lakes area, and to the Yathkyed Lake region. Others trapped in the Kaminuriak Lake region and around Banks Lake. The entire coastline was trapped, and some people trapped near the floe edge.

● *Spring:* In late winter and early spring, as the winter's supply of meat was depleted, caribou hunting increased, and people began to fish through the ice on various lakes. The caribou then began their spring migration northwards, and people again had a ready supply of meat.

In late May and June, people travelled down the river valleys and by other routes to the sea coast, where they hunted young seals in their birth lairs and seals on the ice and at the floe edge. The entire Keewatin coast has been hunted for seals. The fat was preserved, and the skins were sold at the trading post or used by the people themselves for footwear and clothing. Walruses were also hunted along the floe edge, particularly along the northern coast. At this same period, vast flocks of snow geese and Canada geese arrived to nest in the flat coastal areas of southern Keewatin District. The McConnell River area was a favourite egg gathering and goose hunting area at this time, but there were many other such places all along the coast and on many of the islands. Ducks were also hunted and their eggs collected, particularly on the islands and on the coast from Bibby Island to Rankin Inlet. The people who had wintered on the coast moved in spring to their favourite goose hunting or fishing locations.

At spring camps men went out on the ice to hunt seals, while the women and younger children collected eggs and fished. Occasionally, the men met polar bears along the floe edge. When the river ice broke up in June, nets were placed near the mouths of the rivers to catch the abundant char as they migrated to the sea.

● *Summer:* In late June or early July, with the break-up of the sea ice, people began to use canoes to hunt ringed and bearded seals along the coast, and harbour seals in the mouths of many of the rivers. Walruses were hunted, generally with Peterhead boats, in the Rankin Inlet area and among the coastal islands, particularly Walrus Island, and occasionally as far south as Eskimo Point. White whales were hunted along the entire coast, although the major whale hunting areas were at the mouths of the large rivers: particularly at the mouth of the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers; the mouth of Maguse River; and the coastal waters between Bibby Island and Whale Cove, which are fed by the Ferguson and Wilson rivers. Whale skin was a favourite food, and whale meat and fat were cached along the shore for use as winter dog food and trap bait. These caches, and other walrus meat and fat, were later used mainly by people who spent the winter on the coast or by others in the coastal area.

During July and August, when caribou came to the coast to escape the hordes of flies in the interior, the people hunted along the coastline by canoe. Fish nets were set along much of the coast to catch char. In late summer, after the ship arrived to resupply the trading post, people traded for their winter supplies, then moved back inland to hunt caribou on their southward migration.

● *Fall:* Caribou hunting camps were generally set up at narrow river and lake crossings, and here the people killed caribou for their winter's supply of meat, clothing, and dog food. Only at this time of year were caribou skins suitable for good winter clothing. As caribou was the staple food throughout the winter, it was essential that hunters be at the crossing places in time for the migration. During the early part of this period, they waited at crossings with kayaks and speared the caribou as they swam. In later years, this method of hunting was abandoned, for they could easily shoot caribou with rifles. Some of the major caribou crossings where people hunted were between Kaminuriak and Kaminak lakes; on the west side of Kaminak Lake; at the narrow passages in the Maguse Lake and Maguse River system; along McConnell River; and along the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers. People cached large quantities of caribou meat at these sites, where they intended to spend the winter. Caribou killed at a distance from camp were cached, then picked up later in winter, when the hunter could haul the meat with dogs. If not enough meat had been taken during the main migration, men continued to hunt in late fall and early winter until they did have an adequate winter supply, for there were few caribou to be found in the area during winter. During such late fall and early winter hunting, they travelled long distances and covered a large area. All of southern Keewatin District was hunted for caribou, except the wooded area in the extreme southwest.

During fall, while the men were hunting caribou, the women were busy catching the winter's supply of fish from nearby lakes. Most of the lakes throughout southern Keewatin District have been fished at one time or another for char, lake trout and whitefish.

In contrast to the inland people, who hunted and cached caribou near their winter camps, the people living on the coast walked inland in the fall to get their winter supply of caribou. They also waited for the caribou at river and lake crossings and elsewhere, and they cached their kill until they could pick up the meat by dogsled after snowfall or later. Fox traps were set near all the caches during winter, whether built by inland or by coastal people. Just before the sea froze over, the coastal people hunted polar bears, which were found along the coast at that time.

Northeast Keewatin Coast

Period II (1912–1954)

During the whaling period, from 1850 to about 1910, the Inuit of this area had considerable contact with the whalers. They crewed in whale boats, traded, and often established winter camps near the ships, which wintered at Marble Island and Depot Island.

In 1903, the R.C.M.P. established its first post in the Keewatin at Cape Fullerton. The first H.B.C. post and the first Roman Catholic mission were established in Chesterfield in 1911 and 1912, respectively, and from 1913 to 1919 F.N. Monjo and Company operated a trading post at Cape Fullerton. In 1919, the H.B.C. opened a post at Bury Cove, which was moved to Repulse Bay in 1920.

During the early years of Period II, Inuit from Southampton Island, Repulse Bay, Baker Lake, the southern Keewatin District coast, and even as far away as Igloolik, travelled to the posts at Chesterfield and Cape Fullerton to trade. However, by 1929, H.B.C. posts had been established at Baker Lake, Repulse Bay, Southampton Island, Wager Bay and Tavani. For the remainder of Period II, Chesterfield served only the Inuit along the coast between Rankin Inlet and Nuvuk Point, and in Chesterfield Inlet itself.

In general, the people who inhabited this coast during the days of the fur trade represented two major grounds: Aivilingmiut and Qaenermiut. The population also included many persons who travelled up and down the coast, from Repulse Bay in the north to Churchill in the south, and went to Baker Lake, by dog-team in winter and by Peterhead boat or canoe in summer. Often they were carrying mail, supplies or white men. Most of the Inuit along this coast lived in scattered camps by hunting, fishing and trapping. They made regular trips to a trading post, the frequency depending on the distance they had to travel. Christmas was the most popular time to visit a post. Members of families were then reunited, and they attended religious services.

Camps were located at points all along the northeast Keewatin coast to Cape Jones (Map 16, p. 103). The areas of major concentration were Bernheimer and Daly bays, Winchester Inlet, Depot Island, Cape Silumiut, Chesterfield and Rankin

inlets. The people spent winter, spring and summer on the coast, then moved inland in fall to hunt caribou. These hunting camps were usually 30 or 40 miles inland, depending on the availability of caribou. People from Roes Welcome Sound usually camped up Mistake Creek and Borden River. Those from Daly Bay camped up Lorillard River, and those from Winchester Inlet up Connery River and around Armit Lake. South of Chesterfield, people hunted along Josephine River. From Rankin Inlet they travelled northwest toward Gibson and Meliadine lakes, along Diana River to Peter Lake, and they also camped in the Banks Lake area. The people all along this coast were very mobile, but many families lived in particular areas for long periods of time.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* During the dark and often stormy days of mid-winter, the people on this coast lived in snow-houses, eating the supplies they had cached from the fall hunting. Consequently they did not need to venture out more than necessary. As the days grew longer and food ran low, the men went out on the sea ice to hunt seals at the floe edge and through holes in the ice. Ringed and bearded seals were hunted near winter camps all along the coast. During these late winter months, seals were the primary source of food. Occasionally, they took walruses at the floe edge, and they supplemented their diet with such small game as ptarmigans and Arctic hares taken near the camps, and eider ducks taken at the floe edge. They hunted any polar bears they saw on the ice, especially in the area between Cape Silumiut and Whale Point and in Roes Welcome Sound. While following their trap lines inland, men hunted caribou, wolves and, occasionally, wolverines. They trapped the entire coastline, except for an area near the mouth of Wager Bay, setting traps not only along the shore, but also on the sea ice and around the offshore islands. Their caches of seal and whale meat along the coast attracted foxes, and they used the meat for bait. Inland they used caches of caribou meat in the same way, and trapped as far as 50 miles up Lorillard River from Daly Bay, 50 to 60 miles inland from Chesterfield to the head of Barbour Bay, and even further inland from Rankin Inlet. However, most trapping was done along the coast, close to the winter camps and to the supply of seal meat, which was used as bait. When an ice bridge had formed during winter across Roes Welcome Sound, the people from Southampton Island crossed it to hunt caribou in the Nuvuk Point area, just south of Wager Bay.

● *Spring:* At this season, young seals were hunted in their birth lairs on the sea ice and older seals hunted at the floe edge where an occasional walrus or polar bear might also be taken. They collected goose, duck and sea bird eggs near their camps. They often lived near particularly good egg gathering locations, of which there were many along the coast and on most of the islands. People hunted geese and ducks wherever they might be found. Fish was another important food during spring. Women, especially, went to jig fish in lakes just inland from the coast.

● *Summer:* As soon as the river ice broke up, the people fished for char in the streams and rivers along this coast and set nets for them in the sea. They hunted ringed and bearded seals from boats from Beach Point in the north to Cape Jones in the south and in Chesterfield Inlet, but not at the entrance to Wager Bay where tides and fast water made hunting dangerous. Walrus hunting was very important to these people. In summer, they tried to cache enough walrus meat to provide dog food and fat to provide heat and light for the winter. Walruses were hunted in the water, especially near the animal's regular hauling-out places, from Cape Jones in the south to just south of Karmarvik Harbour in the north, and in the Bury Cove area. Hunters ventured as far as 30 miles off shore in their open boats to look for walruses. Harp seals and white whales are summer migrants along this coast. Harp seals were hunted from Rankin Inlet including Marble Island, to Cape Fullerton. White whales were hunted from Cape Jones to Cape Fullerton, around Karmarvik Harbour, and Bury Cove. Seal, whale and walrus meat was cached along the shore and on the island for winter use.

While travelling along the coast, they also hunted caribou, which came down to the shore at this time of year to escape insects inland, and harbour seals, particularly around the mouth of Chesterfield Inlet and north to Daly Bay. They hunted geese, especially when flightless, and ducks. In August they caught char as the fish went up-stream to the lakes. At this time also, the people walked inland to hunt caribou to get skins for winter clothing and to cache meat for winter use. They often had to walk considerable distance to find the caribou, which were then on their way back to their winter range in the hills farther inland. When people had enough skins for clothing, some returned to the coast, while others remained inland.

● *Fall:* When the lakes and rivers had frozen, the caribou hunters who had stayed inland moved down to the coast, hauling meat and skins on sleds. The season, late summer and fall, was very important to the Inuit, and the coastal people ranged inland across an expanse of land 30 to 80 miles wide. Some of them occasionally made camp inland near their caches within reach of the caribou herds' winter range, and they set traps around their caches and camps. Most of the people, however, had their winter camps on the coast, where they had cached their seal, whale and walrus meat and fat, and were near seal hunting areas and sea ice travel routes to the trading posts. During fall, they also set nets below the lake ice while it was still thin and cached the fish they caught for winter use.

Wager Bay: Period II (Pre-1947)

Wager Bay was populated during the early years of the 20th century by Aivilingmiut from near Roes Welcome Sound and Repulse Bay. These people often spent the winter camping inland, hunting caribou. Their winter camps were situated in the hills north, south and west of Wager Bay. In late winter or early spring, they moved down to the coast to camp in snow-houses on the sea ice to hunt seals, then spent the summer and early fall fishing, collecting eggs and hunting seals in the bay, and then they moved back into the hills. Some families probably wintered along the shore of the bay and on the sea ice in snow-houses, as did later inhabitants of the area after the establishment of the H.B.C. post at Chesterfield Inlet in 1912. At that time, many of the Wager Bay people moved to be closer to the post, but others remained in Wager Bay and either traded at Chesterfield or simply carried on the life they had been living before the establishment of the trading post.

Between 1919 and 1920, an H.B.C. post operated at Bury Cove, just north of the entrance to Wager Bay, and in 1920 the Bury Cove post was moved to Repulse Bay. Between 1920 and 1926, the Wager Bay people traded either into Repulse Bay or Chesterfield, but between 1926 and 1947, they traded at an H.B.C. post at Ford Lake, near the head of Wager Bay. For part of this time, the trader was an Inuk, Wager Dick, and during this period the area was visited by Roman Catholic missionaries from Repulse Bay. In 1929, a trader travelled by tractor with a group of Inuit down Hayes River to Chantrey Inlet, and he presumably encouraged the people of that area to trade at Wager Bay. With the exception of Inuit who came from the Back River–Chantrey Inlet area to trade, the Wager Bay post served only the residents of the Wager Bay area.

At this time, the population of the Wager Bay area included not only the Aivilingmiut from near Repulse Bay and Roes Welcome Sound, but Qaenermiut from the Chesterfield Inlet area, a few Netsilingmiut from the north, and some Utkusiksalingmiut from the Chantrey Inlet area. During this period, the people of Wager Bay were generally oriented to the coast and seal hunting, in contrast to the situation in earlier years of the century, when many of them wintered inland to hunt caribou and only a few families wintered on the coast. Wager Bay is the only area in northeast Keewatin District where the people hunted seals while living in snow-house camps on the sea ice, as they did farther north in the Repulse Bay area. In spring, they hunted seals on the ice and collected eggs at various places, and in summer they moved their coastal camps close to fishing spots, usually the good char rivers. In late summer they walked inland to hunt caribou for winter clothing and to cache meat for the winter, and in fall they moved back to the coast to set up their winter camps. Except for a few families, Wager Bay did not have a stable population, but it was occupied by Inuit who continuously moved in and out from other areas.

The major routes of these movements were overland from Douglas Harbour to Repulse Bay; overland to Bury Cove and thence by sea ice to Repulse Bay; and overland from the head of Wager Bay and down Hayes River to Chantrey Inlet. Another, but seldom used, route was south from Brown Lake and overland to the Quoich River area just north of Chesterfield Inlet. When the H.B.C. post closed in 1947, many people moved to areas closer to the trading posts at Repulse Bay, Southampton Island and Chesterfield. However, a few people continued to occupy and hunt the area, usually trading into Repulse Bay, until 1961, when these people moved to the permanent settlement at Repulse Bay.

Camps were located along the north shore of Wager Bay; at Douglas Harbour; at the mouth of Piksimanik River; near Alda Lake; at the head of Bennett Bay on islands and on the shore; on Brown and Ford lakes, where the trading post was located. Along the south shore of Wager Bay, there were few camps because of the steep hills, although people did camp just opposite Paliak Island. Farther down, there were camps at Handkerchief Inlet, a popular place because of a shipwreck that gave the people wood and metal. There were also camps on the Savage and Nudliak islands. Winter camps were situated almost anywhere on the ice of Wager Bay. There were inland camps south and west of Brown Lake and to the northwest, near the headwaters of Hayes River.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* During the coldest and darkest period of mid-winter, the people of Wager Bay lived in snow-houses along the shore a short distance from the caches of seal and caribou meat they had made the previous fall. They checked their traps and travelled to the trading post, especially at Christmas. When their caches were used up as the winter advanced, they moved into snow-houses on the sea ice, where they hunted seals at breathing holes or along the floe edge near the entrance to Wager Bay. They also hunted seals near the head of the bay, where a reversing falls keeps the water open. At the same time, trapping was a major activity. They trapped both shores of Wager Bay, the south less than the north, and a distance inland of between 20 and 50 miles. Brown and Ford lakes, and the head of the bay were important trapping areas, and trappers travelled about 50 miles south, as far as Lorillard River, and north from Douglas Harbour to Bury Cove and Repulse Bay. Along the coast, their caches of fish, seal and whale provided most of the bait. In conjuntion with trapping, they hunted caribou, especially in the hills south, west and north of Wager Bay, but caribou hunting in winter was not a major activity. The people relied almost entirely on seal. Occasionally, however, some families would choose to winter inland, where they

had to rely almost entirely on caribou for food. Fewer families wintered inland after the establishment of the H.B.C. post in Wager Bay. Musk-oxen were hunted along Hayes River by the occasional family, usually from Chantrey Inlet, who wintered in the area. Wolves were hunted around the head of Wager Bay, around Brown Lake, and south of Wager Bay, usually in conjunction with trapping and caribou hunting. Wolverines were occasionally taken, especially in an area just north of Bennett Bay. Arctic hares and ptarmigans were taken near the camps.

● *Spring:* In early spring, the people continued to hunt mainly seals and to live in snow-houses on the iee; at this season they took many young seals from their birth lairs on the sea ice. Everyone, especially the women, jigged for fish through the lake ice. Following the return of migratory wildfowl, egg collecting was also a popular activity. The best place for this was the eider duck colony on the Savage and Nudliak islands. Other kinds of eggs were gathered at various locations near the camps, particularly on the north shore of Ford Lake and on the islands near the head of Wager Bay.

● *Summer:* When the river ice broke up and the char migrated to the sea, the people fished in Brown and Piksimanik rivers and in rivers flowing into Bennett Bay, Handkerchief Inlet and from Alda Lake. After the downstream run was over, fishing continued to be a major activity and nets were set in Douglas Harbour, Bennett Bay, Handkerchief Inlet and at the head of Wager Bay. Men hunted seals from boats and cached the meat and blubber along the shore, where they also hunted caribou. In late summer, they hunted white whales in Wager Bay and made caches of whale meat along the shore to use as dog food and bait during the winter trapping. Occasionally, they killed walruses in Wager Bay, but usually walruses were taken in Roes Welcome Sound. They again fished for char when the fish returned from the sea in late summer.

● *Fall:* In late summer and early fall, the people walked into the hills to hunt caribou for winter clothing and to make meat caches inland. Later in fall, except for a very few families who wintered inland near their caribou meat caches and near the earibou winter range, they returned to the coast and fished with nets in the lakes while thc ice was still thin. As soon as the lakes and rivers were frozen and there was enough snow cover to permit travel by dog-team, they went back inland to pick up the meat from their caches, to set traps and to hunt more earibou in the hills north, west and south of Wager Bay.

Some regions near Wager Bay were seldom or never used. The population of the whole area was not large, and it depended heavily on seals, therefore hunters never had to travel long distances over rough terrain to find caribou. The deep interior between Wager Bay and Chesterfield Inlet and west of Brown Lake toward Back River was not reported to have been used since 1912.

Chesterfield Inlet: Period II (1912–1954)

The whaling period, from 1850 to about 1910, influenced the Chesterfield Inlet people, although perhaps less than the coastal hunters, who were employed as crew on whaling boats. Most of the Chesterfield Inlet men were employed to supply caribou meat, and of course the whalers traded with them, principally at Depot Island, where the ships frequently wintered.

The H.B.C. established the first permanent trading post in the area at Chesterfield in 1911. Other traders soon moved into the area, so there were a number of posts. The H.B.C. had a post at Big Hips Island in Baker Lake from about 1914 to 1926; Lampson and Hubbard had a post at the narrows at the eastern end of Baker Lake from 1920 to 1922; Revillon Frères had a post at Baker Lake from 1924 to 1936, and the H.B.C. established a post there in 1925. The people who lived at the head of Chesterfield Inlet, particularly in the Cross Bay and the Quoich River areas, often traded at Baker Lake, and those who lived in Barbour Bay and at the eastern part of the inlet usually traded at Chesterfield.

The Roman Catholic Church established the first mission in the area in 1912, and in 1926 and 1927 the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, respectively, opened missions at Baker Lake; in 1930 the Roman Catholic Church opened a hospital at Chesterfield.

The first police post in the region was established at Cape Fullerton in 1903, and it was moved to Chesterfield in 1924. In 1929 a detachment was sent to Baker Lake. During Period II, there were usually a few families who lived near the trading posts and missions and were employed there, but most of the people of Chesterfield Inlet continued to live in camps scattered throughout the region.

The Qaenermiut were the original inhabitants of the Chesterfield Inlet area (Map 16, p. 103). Other groups moved into the area in response to trading, mission and other influences. These immigrants included Aivilingmiut from the northern Hudson Bay coast, Netsilingmiut from the northwest and north, and Padlermiut and others from the west.

The Inuit of the Chesterfield Inlet area divided their attention equally between the land and the sea. They were usually inland in winter and on the coast in spring and summer, as were their neighbours in south Keewatin.

Chesterfield Inlet served as the major travel route between Hudson Bay and Baker Lake, and there was considerable movement both east and west along it. People from as far away as Eskimo Point in the south and Wager Bay in the north travelled to Baker Lake via Chesterfield Inlet. The people of this area generally had food enough all year round, and it sometimes happened that other Inuit, especially those living inland, would run out of food in winter and would then depend upon the Qaenermiut, who provided for them until

spring, when they returned to their traditional hunting grounds.

Therc were three main concentrations of camps: the Barbour Bay–McManaman Lake area; the St. Clair Falls area on the Quoich River; and the south channel narrows area at the Bowell Islands. Many camps were concentrated around Chesterfield itself and the islands immediately off shore. Other camps were located along the north and south shores of the inlet, along the north channel leading to Baker Lake, at the eastern end of Baker Lake and on Christopher Island. The area around the entrance to Chesterfield Inlet is included under the discussion of the northeast Keewatin eoast.

These coastal camps were generally used in spring and summer. Fall and winter camps were located south and north of Chesterfield Inlet on most of the lakes. Beeause in winter the caribou are scattered in small herds, the people then depended mainly on caches of caribou meat, and their winter camps were also widely scattered. Spring and summer camps, on the other hand, were concentrated at river mouths or at other coastal loeations suitable for fishing, egg collecting and sealing.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* During winter, the people lived mainly on caribou meat they had cached in the fall, and on dried and frozen fish. For fuel they used caribou fat as well as seal oil and fat they had hauled inland from caches on the coast. Trapping was the major activity and, as elsewhere, the people set their traps near their meat caches and winter camps. In areas where they had no caches, they used caribou meat for bait. In late winter, if the caches were depleted, they trapped farther from camp, often hunting caribou at the same time. At this time of year, they set traps in fox holes and denning areas. The outer limits of the trapping area were 60 to 80 miles north toward Wager Bay, Lunan and Tehek lakes, and south of Chesterfield Inlet toward Banks Lake and Rankin Inlet.

They occasionally hunted wolverines, which interfered with traps and caches, and because their fur was valued. The Bowell Islands and Barbour Bay were the principal areas for wolverines. They hunted wolves more frequently, for the same reasons, inland both north and south of Chesterfield. Small game, such as Arctic hares and ptarmigans, was hunted near the winter eamps.

● *Spring:* When spring came, the people supplemented their diet with whitefish, char and lake trout, which they caught through holes in the lake ice near camp, and they also hunted caribou. Before the snow melted, they began to move toward Chesterfield Inlet, down Quoich River to St. Clair Falls, or to Cross and Barbour bays, or to various other bays along the north and south shores of the inlet. Many people went to trade at Chesterfield and to hunt seals. As soon as the birds came back, they hunted ducks and geese and collected eggs along the shore and on the islands. At this season also, they hunted young seals in their birth lairs and older seals basking on the sea ice.

Late in spring, they camped at the mouths of several rivers to catch the downstream run of char. The principal rivers for char were those flowing into Barbour Bay from Gibson and McManaman lakes, and Quoich River.

● *Summer:* Families spent the summer along the shores of Chesterfield Inlet, Cross and Barbour bays, or went east to Hudson Bay, where they camped along the coast and on the islands. They hunted seals in Chesterfield Inlet as far west as Promise Point, and in Hudson Bay, and they cached the meat and fat for winter food and fuel. They also hunted white whales and harbour seals, which migrated into Chesterfield Inlet during summer. The latter were hunted especially in Ranger Seal and Barbour bays, and McManaman and Gibson lakes. People planning to winter in the Gibson and McManaman lakes area cached harbour seal meat and fat for later use. Those with large enough boats hunted walruses in Hudson Bay and carried the meat back to Chesterfield Inlet, where they eached it for winter dog food. Because most of the people spent the winter inland hunting caribou, a supply of seal oil was essential for light and heat, but they did not use the meat of sea mammals for fox bait as much as the coastal people did.

Fishing with nets was common in summer, principally in Chesterfield Inlet and along the shore at the eastern end of Baker Lake and South Channel. At the same time, men hunted caribou along the shore and on the islands by boat. They also hunted ducks and geese near the camps: ducks near the Barbour Bay area and St. Clair Falls, and geese near St. Clair Falls and among the islands near Ekatuvik Point. In late summer, they caught char during its up-stream migration and dried and cached fish for winter use.

● *Fall:* The people moved inland in fall to hunt caribou for skins to make clothing and for meat. They left some equipment behind at the fish and meat caches, intending to collect it later by dogsled after the rivers had frozen and the first snow had fallen. Where the people established their winter camps depended very often on where they had killed and cached caribou in the fall, for that was the meat they would be eating later in winter. Fall camps were usually located near a lake, and they fished with nets through the ice until the ice became too thick, and the weather too cold, to fish anymore.

The most important caribou hunt was in the fall. Caribou were hunted up Quoich River toward Tehek Lake and at a distance of 80 or 90 miles inland north of Lunan Lake and Chesterfield Inlet in the direction of Wager Bay. South of the inlet, they hunted caribou in the Banks Lake area, around the Gibson and Peter lakes area, and in the country between Rankin and Chesterfield inlets.

Northwest Keewatin District

Period II (1916–1956)

The Inuit living in this area had very little contact with Whites until the early 1900's, although during the whaling period, these inland people acquired trade goods from their neighbours living in the Chesterfield Inlet area. Few of the inland people visited the coast, and only a few white travellers passed through their region.

With the establishment of inland trading posts, first at Baker Lake in 1914, and others elsewhere in the 1920's, these people began to shift from their traditional life to the trapping of white foxes, and they gradually came to depend upon trading goods.

Kazan River–Thelon River–Baker Lake Region

During Period II, people from northwest Keewatin (Map 17, p. 107) trading into Baker Lake often had to travel more than 150 miles from their settlements. Populations of Inuit were then centred along the shores of many lakes and rivers, especially along the Kunwak and Kazan rivers systems and along the Thelon River system as far inland as the Beverly Lake area. Many people also lived northwest of Baker Lake in an area that extended north to Garry Lake. During the fall caribou migration, people camped at many of the caribou crossings in the area, and these camps were often subsequently used as winter camps. During winter, people trapped and hunted from their main camps, then in the spring they often moved to favourite fishing places or to camps where they could shoot wildfowl.

The Kazan River system was a popular travel route, and people lived at camps along its length from Yathkyed Lake to Baker Lake, along the shores of Forde Lake, and at a particularly important winter camping area at the west end of Thirty Mile Lake. The Kazan Falls area and the mouth of the Kazan River on Baker Lake were favourite spring and summer fishing camps. The Kunwak River was also an important travel route, and many people lived along the shores of its three large lakes, Tebesjuak, Mallery and Princess Mary. Others have lived on Tulemalu Lake at the headwaters of the Kunwak River, and on Ferguson, Kaminuriak, Parker, Banks and MaeQuoid lakes. Many people camped in the Pitz Lake area and the west end of Baker Lake, which was a favourite fishing spot.

The Thelon River system was well populated, with many camps at caribou crossing places. The Akilingmiut lived all along the shores of Shultz, Aberdeen and Beverly lakes, and they sometimes travelled west along the Thelon River system to gather wood. People often lived along the small lakes south of Beverly Lake and along Dubawnt River in the Wharton and Marjorie lakes area. People have camped along the Dubawnt system to Outlet Bay on Dubawnt Lake, but no one lived beyond that during the fur trade period.

In the northern part of the area, people lived throughout the chain of small lakes between Baker and Garry lakes. North of Baker Lake, a large number of camps were located on Whitehills, Woodburn, Sand, Naujatuuq and Deep Rose lakes and on many of the smaller lakes throughout the area. The area between Baker and Garry lakes was used intensively by people from the Garry Lake area who traded at Baker Lake.

All the people of this area depended on caribou and fish for their survival. They often moved if the caribou were scarce in their area, and they cached large quantities of caribou meat in fall for use during winter. If people in one camp became hungry late in winter, they would move to look for those who had more food, or to hunt any caribou they might find in the area before the herds arrived during spring migration. There was considerable eommunication among the different groups of people in northwest Keewatin. Occasionally, people visited from the southeast Keewatin coast or the Wager and Repulse bays area. Sometimes these people made long journeys to other parts of the Keewatin.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* In winter, the people lived on caribou that had been killed during the fall migrations. The winter camps were generally located in the area where the most caribou had been cached beside a lake, which was suitable for fishing. During early winter, if the fall caribou hunt had been poor, people went on extensive caribou hunts to increase their winter food supply. These early winter hunts often took them over a large area of land, and caches were made wherever caribou were killed. Some meat was taken back to camp, but the rest was cached to be picked up later when food supplies ran short.

Caribou hunting was of critical importance to all of the inland people, and it was only after enough meat had been secured to last the winter that trapping began. Trapping was a major winter activity, and people trapped in areas where they had caribou caches or in areas where they knew there were fox dens. They generally trapped near their camps, although some people travelled long distances from camp to trap. While trapping, people were constantly looking for any other game – caribou, ptarmigans, wolves, wolverines, and occasionally grizzly bears.

People have trapped in all of the areas in which they have lived over the years, although certain areas were more favoured than others. Thus all the area south of Baker Lake has been trapped intensively. Other major areas were Kazan River as far as Yathkyed Lake, the Pitz Lake area, and the Mallery and Princess Mary lakes area. To the west, the area along the north shores of Aberdeen and Beverly lakes was important as was the area south of Beverly Lake to Wharton

Lake, the Shultz Lake area, and along Thelon River. To the north and northwest of Baker Lake, all of the area was trapped: major areas included Whitehills and Tehek lakes; the Woodburn Lake and upper Meadowbank River area; and the area north of Shultz Lake as far as Back River, including the Sand, Naujatuuq and Deep Rose lakes area. People did not trap in the area northeast of Baker Lake nor in the areas far west of their camps. Very little trapping was done west or north of the Beverly Lake area nor much, west of Wharton Lake to the Dubawnt Lake area. The Marjorie Hills area, south of Aberdeen Lake, was not popular.

In late winter, if caribou meat was in short supply, people often started to move over the land hunting caribou or other game. They often had to fish through thick ice during late winter to obtain food.

● *Spring:* People hunted caribou along their usual migration routes, or moved their camps to favourite fishing lakes to fish through the ice. Most of the lakes throughout the region were fished at one time or another, although many people returned to the same favoured locations each spring. Some of these lakes were at Kazan Falls, the mouth of Kazan River, the west end of Baker Lake, and Whitehills, Beverly and Garry lakes.

Although geese do not nest in most of the interior, there are a few places where people collected eggs and hunted ducks and geese: especially on the islands between Beverly and Aberdeen lakes; along the south shore of Baker Lake near the mouth of Kazan River; on the east side of Whitehills Lake; and along the shores of Garry Lake. People sometimes travelled well to the west of Thelon River in spring to get wood to make kayak frames, tent poles, sleds, and other important tools.

● *Summer:* The people lived mainly on fish and caribou, and spent much time preparing for winter. They travelled by kayak and canoe along many of the rivers, hunted caribou and searched for driftwood on the south shores of Beverly and Baker lakes. Peat was gathered in special areas for shoeing sled runners, soapstone was quarried at different locations, and the women picked berries.

● *Fall:* During late summer or early fall, the people left their summer fishing camps and moved to caribou crossing places, where they camped. Women would then gather moss and willow twigs for later use as fuel.

Some of the major caribou crossings south and west of Baker Lake and along the Kazan and Kunwak rivers systems were Kazan Falls; the east and west ends of Thirty Mile Lake; the north and west branches of Kaminuriak Lake; and the Kunwak River where it flows between the major lakes. The Thelon River system had many caribou crossings, and stone cairns were built often to guide the caribou along chosen routes. Important crossings were at the west end of Beverly Lake; the islands between Beverly and Aberdeen lakes; the central arm of Aberdeen Lake; and the narrows between Aberdeen and Shultz lakes, particularly in the Qamanaarjuk Lake area. Caribou also crossed at plaees north of Thelon River, and many camps were established there. All of the narrows on the Garry River system were important.

After intensive hunting at these crossings during early fall, the people continued to hunt caribou even after the major migrations had passed, although generally not far from their camps, for they were travelling on foot. As caribou were killed the meat was cached on the land to be picked up later and hauled back to camp by dog-team. Fish were also taken during fall while the lake ice was still thin, and large quantities were stored for the winter. Fishing places were usually near the winter camps.

Back River Region

The people camped in winter at all the narrow crossings along the Garry River system, all along the shores and throughout the area south of Garry Lake to Deep Rose and Sand lakes, and most of the other lakes in the area north of Garry Lake, particularly at Armark Lake, and northwest through the Pelly Lake area to MacAlpine Lake. Important winter settlement locations on MacAlpine Lake were at the south end and on the narrow spit of land at the north end. During spring, many people from the upper Garry Lake area and MacAlpine Lake followed Perry River to its mouth to trade at Flagstaff Island, to hunt seals on the spring ice, to hunt geese and to gather eggs. Favoured camping areas were Flagstaff Island and along the coast to the east toward Sherman Basin. Occasionally, people wintered in camps along the coast, but usually they returned to their fall caribou hunting camps inland. People living in the Garry Lake area and south of it often traded at Baker Lake at Christmas, as well as at other times during the winter.

The people of the lower Back River area had certain fishing camps which were utilized year round. Fish camps were grouped on the lower Back River near Franklin Lake and at the entrance to Chantrey Inlet. Other important areas were up Back River near the mouth of Hermann River, at three successive rapids in the area, west of Mount Meadowbank, and at other rapids on Back River. Some people stayed at these camps year round, but others moved back and forth along the river between Chantrey Inlet and the inland areas. In spring, people moved down to Chantrey Inlet to hunt seals but they returned in fall to their fishing camps up-stream to dry fish for winter use.

In addition to the major camping sites along Back River, people also camped in the Montresor and Joe lakes area, along the shores of Franklin Lake, and up Hayes River to the northeast. People occasionally spent winter inland, between Chantrey Inlet and Wager Bay, as it was a popular travel route to the trading post at the head of Wager Bay. The area at the headwater of Quoich River east of Back River

and an area north of Joe Lake were not used by Keewatin hunters during Period II.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* People of the upper Garry and MacAlpine lakes area depend on caribou. A poor fall hunt at the caribou crossings required them to continue to hunt through late fall and early winter. Although the areas around Garry Lake and to the southeast were the most popular caribou hunting areas, they also hunted the MacAlpine Lake area and on the plains north of Garry Lake. The area north of Armark Lake was not particularly popular, and areas west and southwest of Garry Lake were not hunted.

The people of lower Back River and Chantrey Inlet depended more on fish than caribou. There were only scattered herds in the area, but they were often hunted in winter throughout the lower Back River–Montresor River–Chantrey Inlet area. The Hayes River area, between Chantrey Inlet and Wager Bay, was hunted, particularly by people wintering there or travelling to the trading post.

Musk-oxen were occasionally hunted in the uplands between Chantrey Inlet and Wager Bay, and wolves, wolverines and Arctic hares were hunted in various locations throughout the area.

Throughout winter, people fished along the lower Back River, particularly at the narrows just east of Franklin Lake; small snow-houses were built over fishing holes that were kept open. Many of the inland lakes were also fished, particularly during late winter if the supply of caribou meat was running low.

As in most other parts of the Arctic throughout the fur trade period, trapping was a major activity during winter. People trapping in the Garry Lake area usually used caribou as bait, whereas the Back River people generally used fish, and the people trapping along the coast of Chantrey Inlet and Queen Maud Gulf used seal meat. Most of the area that people have lived in or used for caribou hunting has also been used for trapping.

The most intensively trapped area was the area south and southeast of Garry Lake and along the Back River system all the way north to its mouth at Chantrey Inlet. People also trapped along the coast of Chantrey Inlet and west toward Sherman Basin, along the coast and inland of Queen Maud Gulf, on the lower Simpson River, the lower Perry River, and around camps in the MacAlpine Lake area.

● *Spring:* Many people from the upper Garry and MacAlpine lakes area travelled north to trade at the Perry River post, at which time they often hunted seals through the ice on Queen Maud Gulf. Eggs were collected and geese and caribou hunted along the route. Occasionally they spent summer on the coast. Inland in the Garry Lake area, people hunted caribou on their spring migration, fished through the ice of Garry Lake and many other lakes in the area. Geese and ducks were hunted and their eggs collected at various locations around the shores of Garry and MacAlpine lakes.

Many of the people living along the lower Back River moved north to Chantrey Inlet to hunt seals through the ice and to hunt for geese and ducks and collect their eggs. Seals were hunted in all of Chantrey Inlet. Some people also travelled to Sherman Basin and to Queen Maud Gulf to hunt seals and birds and to trade at the post on Sherman Basin. People also fished through the ice of the Back River in spring.

● *Summer:* People living along Queen Maud Gulf continued to hunt seals, caribou and geese, and they also fished for char. Back River provided good fishing for lake trout, char and whitefish. People living along lower Back River and in the Chantrey Inlet area began intensive fishing during early summer, and continued throughout the summer to obtain and process large supplies of fish. They boiled fish to separate oil, which they stored in fishskins for winter use as fuel and food. They also hunted seals in Chantrey Inlet throughout the summer and hunted caribou near their camps and along the shore. However, fish were the major resource for the Back River people at this season.

Farther inland, in the Garry and MacAlpine lakes area, people fished for lake trout, whitefish and char, hunted caribou and birds, and prepared their kayaks for the fall caribou hunt.

● *Fall:* In the Garry and MacAlpine lakes area, people depended on the fall hunt at the caribou crossings to obtain winter food supplies. Unlike the huge spring migration, caribou were dispersed in fall, and the hunt lasted over a period of weeks. Caribou hunting often continued, if necessary, across the land until enough meat had been cached for winter use. People also fished through the early ice on the lakes and cached the fish for winter. Along Back River, caribou were hunted over a wide area, and the people fished through the ice.

Southampton Island and Coats Island

Period II (1924–1962)

During the fur trade era (Period II), the Inuit of Southampton Island (Map 19, p. 113) lived at various locations along the coast. In some years, they went by Peterhead boat to Coats Island to spend the winter. Camps were usually established on the northern part of Coats Island.

On Southampton Island, most people lived in the South and Native bays area. There were winter camps from Native Point all along the coast west to Bear Cove Point. They also lived along the east coast of Bell Peninsula, particularly around Seahorse Point, Junction Bay and Leyson Point; in the Caribou Island–East Bay area; and in the southwestern

part of the island at Manico Point and near the Bay of God's Mercy. Occasionally people lived inland at Salmon Pond and at Cape Low. The Duke of York Bay area in the north was an important area for many Aivilingmiut families, who occasionally traded at Repulse Bay and maintained communication with the people of Repulse and Wager bays.

The people did not generally live at the same location for extended periods, but would move from camp to camp, year by year, although sometimes they might stay at one settlement site for two years and occasionally for five or six years. There was great mobility of population, and a group might move back and forth along the coast to live in any of several preferred areas. However, there were a number of places especially popular owing to the particular resources. These places were used at one time or another by all the people on the island.

With very few exceptions, the people lived on the coast. Most camps were in the southern part of the island and in the Duke of York Bay area. The east coast was not settled because of mountainous terrain, and the west coast lightly settled because of sparse animal populations. However, even though the people did not live on all parts of the island, nearly all of it was used for a variety of purposes at some time or another.

During the open-water months, mid-July to early October, much travelling was done by Peterhead boats. Hunters have been all around the shores of Southampton and Coats islands looking for seals, walruses, polar bears and caribou. They have also travelled to Repulse Bay; along the coast of Roes Welcome Sound to the head of Wager Bay; down to Chesterfield Inlet; and, on occasion, to Churchill, Manitoba. They have gone by Peterhead boat from Southampton Island across Hudson Bay, via Coats and Mansel islands, to settlements in northern Quebec, and to the Igloolik area in Foxe Basin.

LAND USE

● *Winter:* During Period II, the economy of Southampton Island was based primarily on the trapping of Arctic foxes. All of the island has been trapped, except for the northwest tip, which is very roeky and flat with unsafe sea ice along the adjacent Roes Welcome Sound coast. The Inuit spent their winter at coastal camps, dividing their time between hunting for food, primarily seals and caribou, and trapping. Frequently, coastal trapping was combined with seal hunting. Seal meat was used for bait as well as for food. Other bait was usually walrus or polar bear meat that the hunter had cached in his trapping area earlier. When inland, trappers often used fish as bait. One of the major trapping areas was Bell Peninsula, where the entire coast and much of the inland area was trapped intensively. The East Bay area, Caribou Island and trapping corridors running from there to South Bay were also used extensively. Another area of intense trapping was the south coast, from Coral Harbour to Cape Low and into the Bay of God's Mercy. A large number of trap lines also crossed the southwestern part of the island and its coast. Another major trapping corridor extended from Coral Harbour towards Salmon Pond. The western half of the island, and the mountainous region to the north of the settlement were also well trapped. On Coats Island, people have trapped all around the coast, and a number of trap lines have been set through the interior.

While trapping, the men often spent two weeks living on the land in snow-houses along their route. They set traps near previously cached meat, and carried meat on their sleds to tempt the foxes to the traps. Any other game – polar bears, caribou or ptarmigans – were hunted wherever seen.

Although, during Period II, trapping provided the means for trading, hunting remained important, because meat, fat and skins of animals were used for subsistence purposes. Seals hunted at the floe edge near the winter camps provided the main source of food. Hunters near Native Point also obtained walruses at the floe edge. The major winter caribou hunting area was north of Coral Harbour in the high hilly area where the animals wintered. Polar bears, hunted in the mountainous northeastern area of the island, provided food, and the pelts were sold or used for bedding or sled covers. People wintering on Coats Island hunted caribou on all parts of the island, seals at the floe edge, and polar bears along the trap lines and in the northern part of the island.

During the 1920's and 1930's, when caribou were abundant on Southampton Island, they were a major source of winter food, but as their numbers declined people had to travel farther to find caribou and had to rely more and more on seals as their primary winter food. By the mid-1950's, there were no caribou left on the island, and people occasionally crossed the ice bridge on Roes Welcome Sound to hunt caribou on the mainland south of Wager Bay.

Several times during the winter, people would travel to the trading post at Coral Harbour to trade their foxes and get supplies. Such trips were frequent because many of the winter camps were located nearby; people living in the Duke of York Bay area visited the post less frequently. Most people in the camps tried to go to Coral Harbour each year at Christmas, not only to trade their furs and get supplies but also to attend religious and social events.

● *Spring:* During April and May, the Southampton Island people hunted basking seals on ice to provide food and fuel for the next winter. New-born seals were hunted in their birth lairs, and adult seals were hunted at the floe edge near the camps and at favourite seal hunting areas elsewhere. Some of the most important of these were in South Bay; the Native Bay and the Native Point area; East Bay; Bay of God's Mercy; Duke of York Bay; and Canyon River Bay. Often polar bears were encountered and killed, and walruses were hunted at the floe edge in the South and Native bays area and in Duke of York Bay. In May, people travelled to their

favourite fishing spots to fish for char and, occasionally, lake trout. Some of the favourite fishing spots were the lakes of the Canyon River and Cleveland River systems; below Kirchoffer Falls; and Sixteen Mile Brook Lake.

When geese appeared on their annual migration northward, they formed a welcome addition to the diet. In June, while the sea ice still held, families often moved to camps located closer to better seal and goose hunting areas. Some of the most important areas where geese were hunted and their eggs collected were the Boas River area as far north as Ell Bay; the Bear Cove area; Native Point and Native Bay; and all of the land around East Bay.

● *Summer:* In early July, after the rivers broke up, the people fished for char. Favourite fishing spots in the south of the island were Sixteen Mile and Rocky brooks, and Kirchoffer River; in the north, Thomsen and Cleveland rivers in Duke of York Bay. Later in July, when the sea ice broke up, people put their canoes in the water and began to hunt seals, caribou and geese along the shoreline. Fish were netted between Coral Harbour and Sixteen Mile Brook. Harp seals were abundant in the South Bay area during the summer, and during August and September white whales were hunted from Native Point through the Native and South bays area as far west as Bear Cove Point. Polar bears were occasionally seen in all the summer hunting areas and killed from boats.

Walruses were usually hunted from Peterhead boats, but sometimes from whaleboats or canoes. In early summer, walruses were hunted in the Ruin Point area, at Native Point, and along the coast of Bell Peninsula as far north as Terror and Gore points. During summer, the people often hunted walruses on Walrus and Coats islands. Hunters sometimes travelled to Walrus Island from Bear Cove Point in South Bay by canoe or whaleboat, but more usually in larger and safer Peterhead boats. There were large walrus hauling-out areas on Bencas Island and on the northern shore of Coats Island. All of the water between Southampton and Coats islands has been hunted for walruses. Harbour seals were hunted in Bay of God's Mercy and near Cape Low. Duke of York Bay was a summer hunting area for seals, walruses, white whales and narwhals, and for fishing.

Coats Island was always a favourite place for hunting caribou in summer, and boat trips were often made around its whole coastline in search of game: not only caribou, but also seals, walruses or polar bears. The walruses killed during these summer hunts were necessary for dog food during the winter. Large caches of walrus meat were stored along the coast of Southampton Island in areas where people expected to camp or trap during the winter.

In late summer, fishing was a major activity at the mouths of Sixteen Mile and Rocky brooks, and Kirchoffer River in the South Bay area, and at Thomsen and Cleveland rivers in Duke of York Bay. Fish nets placed near the mouths of the rivers eaught large quantities of char during their migration up-stream. Summer was generally a time of plenty, and much of the meat taken was prepared and stored for the coming winter.

● *Fall:* In late summer and early fall, before the sea ice began to form, walruses and caribou were the main objects of hunting, but polar bears, white whales and seals were also taken, and the meat was cached in suitable places for the winter.

When the ice had formed on the lakes and the first snow had fallen, generally in October, some families devoted themselves to polar bear hunting, espeeially along the southern coast between Cape Low and Bell Peninsula, where at this time of year the bears were found on the land.

Fishing was very important in the fall. Nets were set under the new ice on lakes to catch fish for winter dog food, for trap bait and for human consumption. The most important fall fishing lake was Salmon Pond, near the centre of the island, which was fished by most people for char. However, many other lakes were also fished.

Most fall activities were directly related to securing an adequate supply of human and dog food and trap bait for winter. The caribou killed on Coats and Southampton islands in the fall were used as food, and their skins were sewn into winter clothing. In late fall, attention was again focussed on trapping, although seal hunting and fishing continued, the latter until the lake ice became too thick to fish. Then the people concentrated on hunting seals and caribou for food and spent much time tending their traps.

During Period II, all of Southampton Island was used, although the northwestern end of the Roes Welcome Sound area was seldom hunted owing to the scarcity of game. There are no parts of the island that have not been visited by people now living on it.

South Keewatin Coast

Eskimo Point: Period III (1959–1974)

Eskimo Point (61°07'N, 94°03'W) is located about 10 miles south of Maguse River on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Inuit along this coast have been in intermittent summer contact with H.B.C. trading expeditions since the mid-18th century, but there was no permanent trading post until 1921. In 1924, and 1926, the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches respectively established missions there. In 1925, the H.B.C. opened an outpost at Maguse Lake and, in 1926, moved it 100 miles up river to Padlei. In 1929, the H.B.C. post at Churchill opened an outpost, Tavani, at the mouth of Ferguson River, and Revillon Frères opened a competing post in the same year, but it lasted only three years. In 1938, a private trader opened a post at the mouth of Maguse River and in 1940 another outpost on the upper Tha-anne River, but both were closed by 1950. In 1951, the H.B.C. closed its post at Tavani, leaving Eskimo Point the only trading post on the south Keewatin coast.

During the 1950's, many inland Inuit moved toward the coast and when, in 1960, the H.B.C. closed Padlei, most of the remaining inland population moved to the coast, too. Many residents moved to Rankin Inlet in 1957 and some moved back to Eskimo Point a few years later. In 1937 an R.C.M.P. detachment was established, and in 1959 federal services there began to expand. By 1974, the population was 681. There is a landing strip, thrice-weekly flights from Churchill, a police detachment, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade eight), three churches, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, a general store, Maguse River Fishery, and an arts and crafts cooperative project.

People at present living in Eskimo Point (Map 14) came primarily from inland and coastal areas of southern Keewatin: from the southwest as far as the Ennadai Lake area, from the northwest as far as the Yathkyed and Tulemalu lakes area, from the north along the coast as far as the Rankin Inlet area, and from as far to the northwest as the Aberdeen and Beverly lakes area. A large number of these people continue to rely on trapping and hunting to provide most of their earned income, and everyone depends upon game for food. Caribou is the most important resource, and to a lesser extent, fish. The people who traditionally lived on the coast during the spring and summer all eat sea mammals, but this is less true of the people who have moved to Eskimo Point from the interior. Geese, ducks and eggs are eaten seasonally, and ptarmigans and Arctic hares are hunted throughout the year. Aretic fox skins provide an important source of income to hunters during winter, and wolf skins are also valuable. Seal, wolverine and some polar bear skins bring additional income.

LAND USE

Although some families have moved back onto the land for varying periods of time since their arrival in Eskimo Point, the settlement is now the permanent winter home of all the residents, with the camps established on the land primarily during the spring and summer months. Some people have cabins or other semi-permanent camps in trapping areas far from the settlement; they usually occupy these camps for short periods of time throughout the winter year after year. The most important time of year for camping is spring, particularly June, when many families leave the settlement to camp in areas favoured for fishing, seal hunting, goose hunting, egg collecting and berry picking. Some families live in camps on the land throughout the summer, returning to Eskimo Point in the fall.

Much of the coastline is used for spring camping, but the most popular areas are at the delta of the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers; near the mouth of McConnell River; the mouth of Maguse River and Maguse Point; and Sandy Point. People also eamp along the coast south of the Manitoba border and, in the spring of 1974, a number of people set up a sealing camp near Nunalla. The delta of the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers is important for char, seals and geese. It was the site of a federally funded whale hunting operation in the early 1960's. The McConnell River mouth area is a goose hunting and egg and berry gathering area, and the lower Maguse River and Maguse Point areas are favourite fishing places. Sandy Point, a good sealing area, is used by a number of families every spring and summer.

People also have spring and summer camps inland, at Hyde and Thaolintoa lakes, and in the Napajut (Camp) and Dionne lakes area west of Eskimo Point. The whole Maguse River and Maguse Lake system, as far inland as Padlei, is an important spring and summer camping and fishing area. There are other spring camps inland from Sandy Point and along the shores of Kaminak Lake. People have camps as far inland as North Henik and Imikula lakes, and near the eastern shore of Yathkyed Lake, but these are primarily winter camps for use when trapping. Some families return to the same spring camps every year, but others may move to different locations in different years. All of the areas used today have been used by the people of Eskimo Point in the past.

● *Trapping:* White foxes are abundant in the southern Barren Grounds, and there are also some coloured foxes. All the inland area within a radius of approximately 70 miles from the settlement and all the coastline from Eskimo Point south to the Manitoba border and north to the Sandy Point area are intensively trapped. The most heavily trapped areas include the Tha-anne River and Hyde Lake area; the McConnell River system, particularly toward Ray Lake; the Maguse River system to Turquetil and Kaminak lakes; north along the coast, and throughout the inland area between Sandy Point and Kaminak Lake. In recent years, people have trapped in the southwest toward Edehon Lake, about 130 miles from the settlement; about 120 miles to the west around the shore of South Henik Lake; and southwest from there as far as Hawk Hill Lake, about 150 miles from Eskimo Point. The Maguse River and Maguse Lake system is trapped as far west as Padlei and north from there to the Carr and Kaminak lakes area, about 100 miles from Eskimo Point. Some people trap even farther west and northwest, occasionally travelling more than 200 miles from the settlement. In recent years, they have trapped around Imikula Lake; west of Yathkyed Lake; and north and east of Yathkyed Lake in the area of Nutarawit and Forde lakes; as well as near Kaminuriak Lake.

No boundaries exist between trapping areas of the different settlements. Trappers from Eskimo Point often encounter

trappers and hunters from Whale Cove and, occasionally, from Baker Lake. Some people trap in the same area year after year, but many go in different directions every year. Sea mammal meat is used for bait in the coastal areas, but caribou, fish or artificial bait is usually used inland.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou, the most important local food, is hunted throughout the year. During fall and winter, hunters cover extensive areas, and in summer, they hunt caribou along shores and rivers from canoes. Favourite caribou hunting areas include the Hyde Lake and Tha-anne River area to the south; the McConnell River system; the Maguse River system west to the Padlei area; and north to the Kaminak Lake area. During winter, herds can sometimes be found near the settlement. In other years they are much farther away, and the people go to where herds are known to be wintering. All of the land within 100 miles of Eskimo Point is considered especially important for caribou hunting. In addition, hunters go as far as about 130 miles southwest to the Edehon Lake area; westward about 150 miles as far as Hawk Hill and Imikula lakes; and northwest to the trapping areas near Yathkyed Lake, 200 miles or more from the settlement. People hunting caribou north of Eskimo Point often meet hunters from Whale Cove in the Kaminak Lake area or along the coast.

● *Other Land Hunting:* Wolves are often killed in conjunction with caribou hunting or while trapping, although sometimes hunting trips are made primarily for wolves, because the skins are valuable. To the south of Eskimo Point particularly the Hyde Lake area and the McConnell River system, the Maguse River area, and the inland area between Sandy Point and Kaminuriak Lake are good wolf hunting areas. Wolverines are taken when sighted.

In spring, the people set up weekend goose hunting camps in the Eskimo Point area. Favourite places are the coast between Eskimo Point and the mouth of McConnell River; the Maguse River area and near Maguse Point; and at the mouth of the Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers. Eggs are also collected in all these areas and on offshore islands. Geese and ducks are hunted along the coast and on offshore islands during late summer, before they migrate to the south.

During winter and spring seal hunting at the floe edge, eider ducks are occasionally killed. Ptarmigans are hunted everywhere, primarily during winter caribou hunts or while trapping.

● *Marine Mammal Hunting:* Ringed and bearded seals are found all along the Hudson Bay coast, and Eskimo Point people hunt them from the Manitoba border north as far as Rankin Inlet, but not usually north of Whale Cove. Harbour seals are found along the coast during summer, and they are hunted where they haul out on rocks near the mouths of the larger rivers.

Winter and early spring seal hunting is generally carried out at the floe edge, which may be as far as 15 miles offshore from Eskimo Point; when the people move to their spring camps in May and June, the seal hunting areas are greatly extended. Favourite seal hunting areas are the Dawson Inlet and Sandy Point area in the north; the Maguse and Eskimo points area; the mouth of Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers; and south along the coast into Manitoba. Summer hunting by canoe takes place near the settlement; adjacent to summer camps; and along the coast while travelling south to Churchill or north to Rankin Inlet and beyond.

White whales are hunted during summer from the Manitoba border to north of Rankin Inlet, generally near the river estuaries, but often at some distance from the coast. The mouth of Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers, Sandy Point and Dawson Inlet, the Maguse River mouth, the coastal waters near Eskimo Point, and the McConnell River mouth are favoured areas for whale hunting. At present polar bears are hunted all along the coast in the fall before the sea ice forms.

● *Fishing:* A large variety of fish are found in the lakes and rivers of the Eskimo Point Area and as far west as North and South Henik lakes; the most preferred and important fish are char, lake trout and whitefish. During spring, the people fish through the lake ice and in the rivers as soon as they break up. The most popular spring fishing areas are Maguse River from its mouth inland to near Padlei; Maguse Lake and the upper Maguse River system as far as North Padlei and Kinga Lake. Other small lakes west of Eskimo Point are also fished in spring.

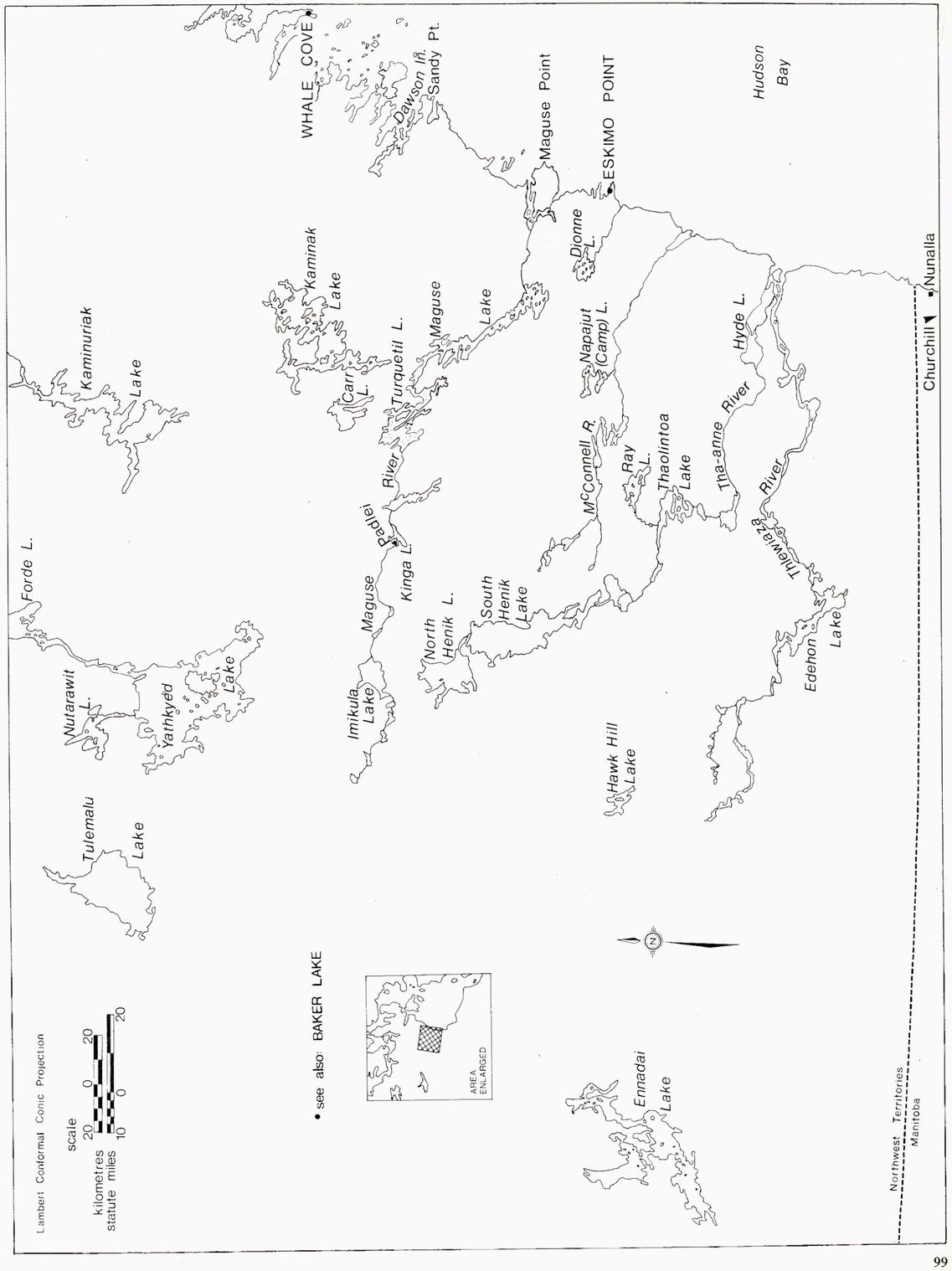
After break-up in the early summer, the people net char in the estuary of Tha-anne and Thlewiaza rivers; along the shore south to Maguse River; around Maguse Point; and as far north as Sandy Point. They also fish in many of the rivers and lakes throughout summer. In the fall, they catch char as they migrate up stream, particularly in Maguse and McConnell rivers. After freeze-up, they fish through the ice on Maguse Lake, inland from Eskimo Point to Dionne and Camp lakes, and at a number of other locations.

● *Summary:* The only area to which these people have not returned since they began to be permanently based at Eskimo Point is the Ennadai Lake area and Tulemalu Lake in the extreme northwest of the region. Not many people have returned to the Yathkyed Lake area either. The rest of the land in southern Keewatin is intensively used by the Eskimo Point residents today, much as it was during Period II.

Whale Cove: Period III (1956–1974)

Whale Cove (62° 09'N, 92° 35'W) is a recent settlement located at the entrance of Wilson Bay on the west coast of Hudson Bay. It was established in 1959 as a rehabilitation project for Inuit leaving inland Keewatin and Rankin Inlet following closure of the mine there. The Issatik Eskimo Cooperative has operated a trading post at Whale Cove since 1963.

Map 14
Eskimo Point place names



In 1974, the population was 243. There is a landing strip and twice-weekly air service from Churchill, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to six), three religious missions, a community hall, telephone service, a post office, a snowmobile sales and service shop, and the cooperative.

LAND USE

The people of Whale Cove (Map 15) use the land approximately 60 to 70 miles inland from the settlement very intensively, and the land 100 to 125 miles inland somewhat less intensively. Their hunting and trapping grounds often overlap with land used by people from Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake. Northern and southern limits are difficult to describe because many residents have hunted close to other settlements. They continue to depend to a large extent on local wildlife resources: caribou, seals and fish comprise the main items of their diet.

The transition from camp to settlement life was very quick for most families. Whale Cove was new to all of them. A few families had lived at camps near Whale Cove before moving into the settlement, and a few other families camped nearby for a few years to become familiar with the area. Others moved out into camps for extended periods while they adjusted to settlement-based life.

Today, during winter, the men often camp inland while trapping or caribou hunting. Most families go out camping in spring and summer for periods of a month or more to fish, collect eggs and berries, and hunt seals, caribou, geese and white whales. Many people who came to Whale Cove from inland areas return inland to fish and to hunt caribou, but those who originally lived on the coast are likely to choose a camp convenient for seal and goose hunting and fishing. Popular coastal camping areas are Pistol Bay, Dunne Foxe Island, Wilson Bay, Tavani, Nevill Bay, Dawson Inlet, Sandy Point, and many of the small islands in the bays. The people who prefer to camp inland move up to the heads of the bays, then follow all the major river systems, including those going far inland to North Padlei, Henik, Kaminak and Kaminuriak lakes. The most important areas for camping are at the mouths of the Wilson and Ferguson rivers, where fishing during the char runs is an important activity.

● *Trapping:* For most Whale Cove families, trapping is the major source of earned income throughout most of the year. Trappers go south to the Maguse River and Turquetil Lake area; west to Kaminuriak and Parker lakes; and north to Barbour Bay. Within these limits, the area about 75 miles west and 100 miles northwest toward Banks Lake is most intensively trapped. Trappers also work along the coast and on the sea ice from the mouth of Rankin Inlet to Eskimo Point. The coast and sea ice out to the floe edge is intensively trapped from Sandy Point to Pork Peninsula. On the ice and along the shore, seal is primarily used as bait. Trap lines are also run inland, the traps being set close to caribou kills and caches of both meat and fish. Traps are often set in fox holes or scattered through denning areas, particularly in sandy places and on river banks. Artificial bait is also used.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou meat is the mainstay of the diet of the Whale Cove people. Because many of them formerly lived inland, they continue to prefer caribou to seals. People hunt caribou all year round, inland in fall, winter and spring, and by boat along the shore and along navigable rivers in the summer months. Caribou are hunted south to Maguse River, southwest to Kaminak Lake, west to Kaminuriak Lake, northwest to MacQuoid Lake, and north to Chesterfield Inlet.

The major caribou hunting area is within a 50 to 70 mile radius of the settlement. During most winters there are sufficient caribou within this area, but occasionally hunters go farther afield, for example, north of Chesterfield Inlet and to the North and South Henik lakes and Padlei areas, and they often hunt caribou while travelling along the coast by boat to visit other settlements.

People sometimes go hunting for wolves, but these animals are usually taken in conjunction with caribou hunting or trapping. In fall and winter, wolves may be hunted anywhere, but in spring they are often hunted in known denning areas. Occasionally they are taken within a few miles of the settlement, but generally the outer limit of the wolf hunting area is from Rankin Inlet to Derby Lake, Kaminak Lake, and Eskimo Point. Wolf skins provide an important source of income.

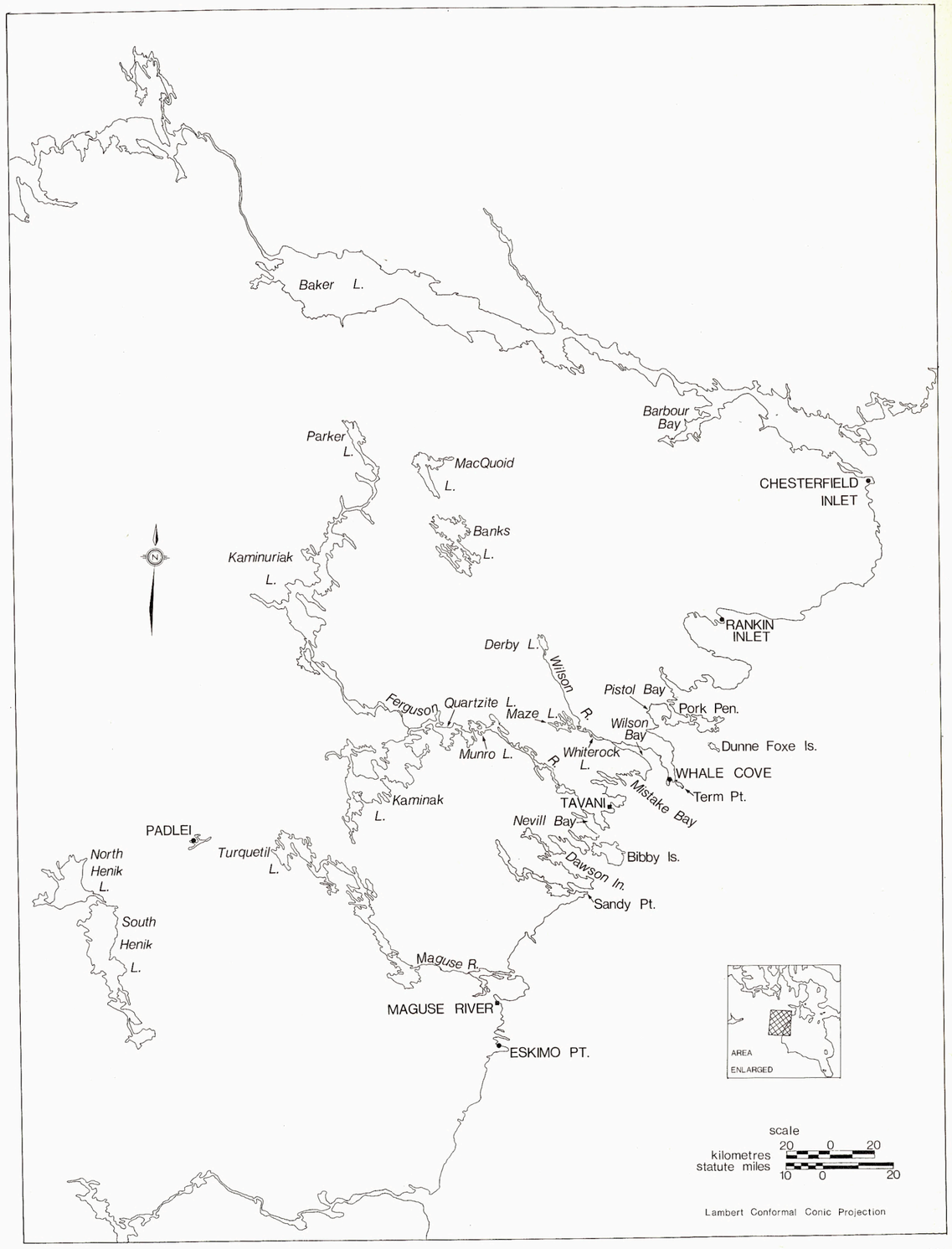
Arctic hares are very abundant in the immediate vicinity of the settlement and common throughout the area. Children often hunt them, but adults usually take them while hunting some other animal.

In spring and summer, people hunt geese and ducks and collect eggs on the islands and along the shore from Sandy Point to Pork Peninsula. Ducks and geese are also hunted at the floe edge in early spring before the ice on the inland ponds melts. Eider ducks are hunted all winter long at the floe edge. Ptarmigans are found throughout the area and are hunted whenever they are seen, particularly in fall, winter and spring. All small game is much enjoyed as it is usually available only seasonally and adds variety to the diet.

● *Marine Mammal Hunting:* Seals provide an important source of food and income. They are hunted primarily by people who had formerly lived along the coast. However, former inland residents also hunt seals now at the floe edge and have acquired a taste for seal meat, though they may still prefer caribou.

Seals are hunted all year round, but especially at the floe edge in spring and by boat in summer. Young seals are hunted in their birth lairs on the ice in spring. Both bearded and ringed seals are hunted from the Manitoba border north to Chesterfield Inlet, often during boat trips between settlements. The area from Sandy Point to Pork Peninsula is hunted intensively and considered to be very important.

Map 15
Whale Cove place names



The Whale Cove people hunt white whales in summer when they migrate up the coast, mainly in the area from Dawson Inlet to Rankin Inlet. A few years ago they also netted whales for the whale meat cannery, but now they shoot them. Whales are particularly abundant near the settlement and at the mouth of Wilson River, where they are frequently found feeding.

Walruses are now very scarce and so can no longer be considered an important resource to the people of this area, but they used to be hunted among the islands east of Bibby Island.

Polar bears are hunted in the area from Bibby Island to Pork Peninsula, usually during the fall, when they migrate up the coast before the sea ice forms. They are also hunted at the floe edge in winter and spring. However, there are not many polar bears in the area, and hunting them is not a major activity.

● *Fishing:* In early spring, people begin to fish through the lake ice, especially on Term Point near the settlement. In summer, they camp near the mouths of rivers, such as Wilson and Ferguson rivers. They also fish with nets in the sea, particularly in Nevill, Pistol, Mistake and Wilson bays, or travel up the rivers to fish in the lakes. In fall, people fish with nets through the ice and freeze quantities of fish for winter use.

The most important fishing areas are the Ferguson River system, including Kaminuriak, Kaminak, Quartzite, and Munro lakes; and the Wilson River system, including Derby, Maze and Whiterock lakes. Many smaller rivers and lakes in the area are also fished. Char and lake trout, and whitefish in the larger lakes, are the most important species. Fishing is an important activity, not only for the food it provides, but also because it is a recreation activity enjoyed by people of all ages.

● *Summary:* Except for a few persons who are employed by the government or the cooperative, all families are dependent on the land and sea for their living. Everyone depends on caribou, seals, fish and other game for the main part of their diet. All of the coast is used for hunting sea mammals, and caribou hunting and trapping are generally carried on within about 100 miles of the settlement. The most important rivers for fishing and camping are the Ferguson and Wilson rivers, and spring camps are set up at many locations along the coast and on the offshore islands near the settlement.

Rankin Inlet: Period III (1956–1974)

Rankin Inlet settlement (62°45'N, 92°10'W) is at the north end of the inlet of that name on the west coast of Hudson Bay. The settlement came into being in 1955, when North Rankin Inlet Nickel Mines decided to exploit a body of nickel-copper ore there. Production of nickel concentrate began in 1957, and by 1959 it was realized that the ore body would soon be exhausted. The mine was closed in 1962.

Before the mine opened, few Inuit actually lived in the region. However, the prospect of wage employment attracted people from other communities, and soon the townsite had a large population. Between 40 and 100 Inuit worked at the mine, depending on the season, and others were employed in related services. In 1958, a second settlement, Itivia, was founded by the Department of Northern Affairs about a half-mile from the mine to accommodate and rehabilitate Inuit evacuated from inland areas of Keewatin. Various economic projects were attempted, including an arts and crafts project. After the mine closed, many families returned to their communities of prior residence, but the settlement remains an important administrative centre for the Keewatin region.

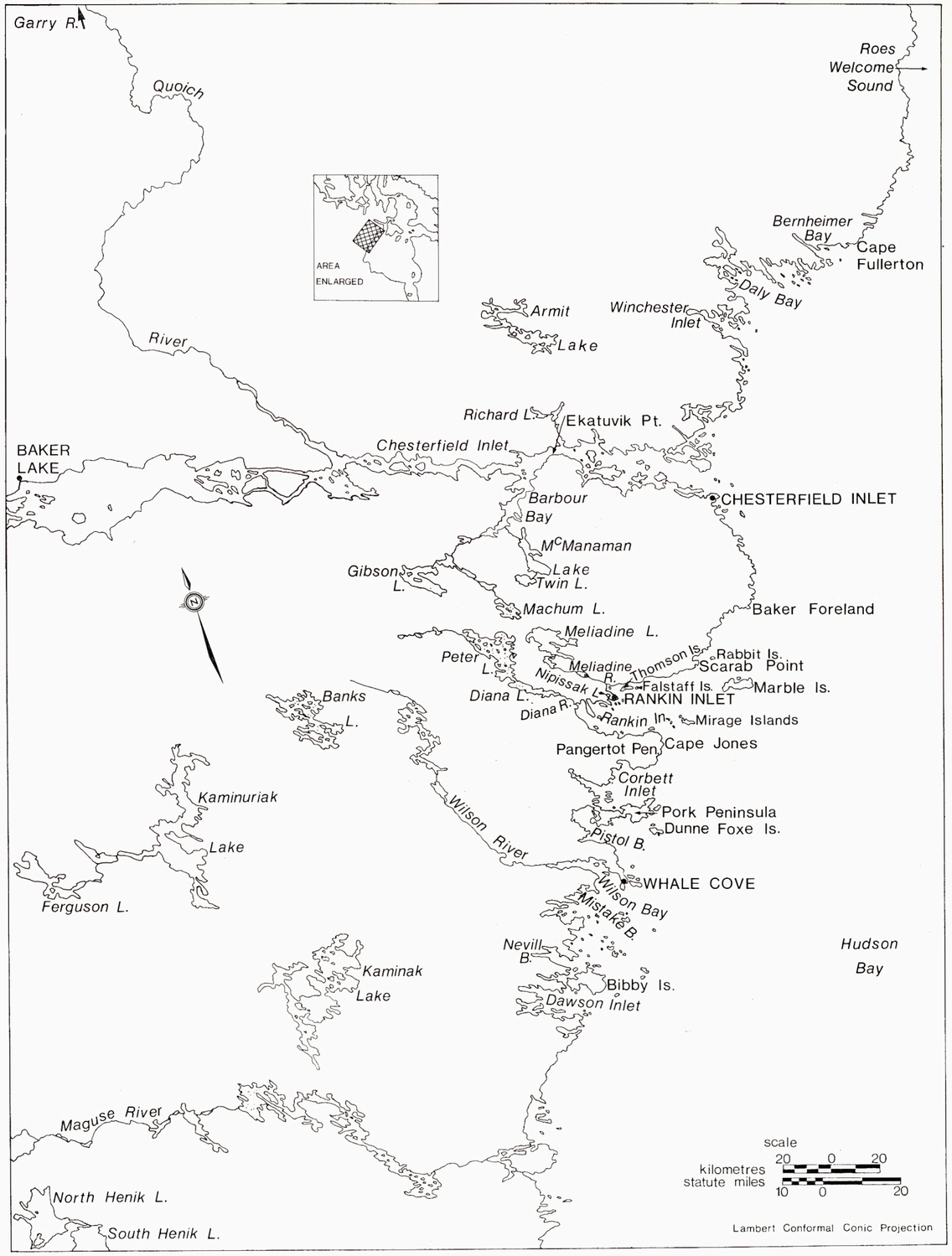
In 1974, the population was 645. There is an airstrip, almost daily flights from Churchill, a police detachment, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to nine), two churches, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a tourist lodge, general stores and services, and the Kissarvik Cooperative.

LAND USE

Although most of the Rankin Inlet (Map 16) people's land use since 1956 has been settlement-based, a few families have gone back to live on the land for varying lengths of time. In 1959 one family, originally from the Back River and Garry Lake area, left Rankin Inlet to camp on Pangertot Peninsula. They later camped at Nevill Bay in the south of Whale Cove, but in 1961 they returned to the settlement. In 1962, another family moved by dog-team to Daly Bay, where they trapped and hunted for two years in much the same way they had lived before 1956, but they returned to Rankin Inlet in 1964.

During the years that the North Rankin Nickel Mine was in operation, land use in the region was limited to weekend hunting and trapping, or for short periods in the spring and summer spent in camps at fishing lakes and rivers and for seal hunting. After the mine closed in 1962, some people returned to full-time trapping and hunting, even while living in the settlement. Many families then camped for several weeks during spring and summer, either on the coast to hunt seals, at river mouths to fish, or near inland lakes to fish and hunt. A few trappers have base camps north of Chesterfield Inlet. Recently some people have started to hunt and trap on a full-time basis, and a few others, who are wage employed, seasonally hunt and trap full-time in the winter. For the majority of persons, however, the most important land use activities are weekend hunting trips to hunt for food and spring and summer camping holidays for the entire family. A commercial fish cannery at Rankin Inlet encourages extensive land use, and people travel by boat and plane to inland fishing places as far away as the Henik Lakes, Kaminak

Map 16
Rankin Inlet place names



and Kaminuriak lakes, Barbour Bay and Winchester Inlet to fish for the cannery.

Spring and summer camps are located along the coast at Corbett Inlet; Cape Jones and the Mirage Islands; the mouths of Diana and Meliadine rivers; Scarab Point; Baker Foreland; and Barbour Bay on Chesterfield Inlet. Inland camps are located in the Peter Lake area and in the Machum, Twin and McManaman lakes area.

● *Trapping:* The people of Rankin Inlet do not trap as much as the people of most other settlements. However, almost all the men in Rankin Inlet have trapped in the area, and a few of them continue to make trapping their primary winter occupation.

Generally traps are set along inland travel routes, near caribou kills and caches, and scattered throughout fox denning areas. Sea mammal bait is generally used along the coast, but commercial bait is also used there and elsewhere.

The most important areas for trapping are along the coast from Pangertot Peninsula to Baker Foreland; inland toward the Banks and Gibson lakes area; and north across Chesterfield Inlet, including the Barbour Bay and McManaman Lake area. People also trap along the coast to Whale Cove and southwest toward Wilson River. Occasionally they have trapped south to Bibby Island; west to Kaminuriak Lake; northwest to Quoich River; and northeast to Chesterfield Inlet. Some people, living in camps, have trapped in the area around Daly Bay, Maguse River and Ferguson Lake, and near the Manitoba border.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The people of Rankin Inlet are fortunate that in recent years caribou have wintered within easy reach of the settlement. Caribou, the most important local food, are hunted inland in fall, winter and spring by snowmobiles, and in summer, when they come down to the coast, by boat. Rankin Inlet people have hunted caribou along the coast of Hudson Bay from the Manitoba border north to Bernheimer Bay, including the shores of Chesterfield Inlet as far inland as Baker Lake. The outer limits of caribou hunting are 80 to 100 miles west to Kaminuriak Lake, 120 miles northwest to the Quoich River area, and about 100 miles north to the Armit Lake area. The most intensively hunted coastal area is between Whale Cove and Baker Foreland. The outer boundary of this area is from Mistake Bay, along Wilson River to a distance 50 to 60 miles west of Rankin Inlet, north to the Gibson Lake area, across Chesterfield Inlet to about 80 miles north of Rankin Inlet, and from Richard Lake southeast to Baker Foreland. During the past few years, the Peter and Gibson lakes area has been the best winter caribou hunting location. Before then there were fewer caribou in the Rankin Inlet area, and hunters often had to go north of Chesterfield Inlet. The overland route between Rankin and Chesterfield inlets is hunted, but the catch is generally poor.

Today, by using snowmobiles hunters can transport larger loads of caribou for considerably longer distance back to the settlement than they could when they used dog-teams. However, some people still cache meat inland, returning later to bring it back to the settlement.

● *Other Land Hunting:* The people of Rankin Inlet frequently hunt wolves, whieh generally are to be found where there are caribou. In recent years the principal wolf hunting area has been the Peter and Gibson lakes area, where the caribou are centred. Wolverines are rarely hunted. However, some are taken in the Barbour Bay area, or killed when sighted by people while trapping or hunting caribou. Arctic hares are hunted at several locations along the coast, particularly on Baker Foreland, along the north shore of Rankin Inlet, and on Pangertot Peninsula. Ptarmigans are frequently hunted near the settlement and on trips inland.

During spring, eggs are collected on many islands in Rankin Inlet and along the coast, especially at Mirage, Thompson and Rabbit islands, Scarab Point and Baker Foreland. South of Rankin Inlet, eggs are collected at Cape Jones and on nearby islands, Dunne Foxe Island off Pork Peninsula, and at the head of Pistol Bay. Eggs have also been collected on the shores of Rankin Inlet and at the many ponds and lakes where ducks and geese nest. Wildfowl are hunted in spring and summer all along the coast from Baker Foreland, around Rankin Inlet, across Pangertot Peninsula and on Mirage Island. Ducks and geese are hunted in spring at the floe edge. Eider ducks are also hunted there in winter.

● *Marine Mammal Hunting:* The people of Rankin hunt ringed and bearded seals by boat in summer, or at the floe edge at other times of the year, particularly in spring. Young seals are also hunted in early spring in the birth lairs on the sea ice. Seals have been hunted from the Manitoba border north to Cape Fullerton and, in summer, northwest along Chesterfield Inlet to Ekatuvik Point. People frequently journey between settlements, hunting along the way. In summer, seal hunting may extend some miles offshore, but, in winter and spring, the floe edge is the seaward limit. The farthest offshore hunting is approximately 30 miles from Scarab Point, about 10 miles east of Marble Island. The area most intensively hunted for seals is from Whale Cove around Marble Island to Baker Foreland, including Corbett Inlet, Pistol Bay and especially, Rankin Inlet. Harbour seals are hunted from Bibby Island to Baker Foreland, particularly at the heads of bays where the water is freshest. Harp seals are hunted in summer, when they migrate through the area.

In summer, white whales migrate along the coast and are hunted by boat from just south of Eskimo Point to Cape Fullerton, including Chesterfield Inlet as far as Ekatuvik Point. They are hunted mainly for their skin, a favourite food.

Walruses have been hunted from Bibby Island in the south to Baker Foreland in the north, and seaward to a distance of 10 miles from Marble Island. However, walruses are scarce in these waters today, and they are rarely taken. People occasionally travel by Peterhead boat to Roes Welcome

Sound and to Walrus Island near Southampton Island to hunt walruses.

Polar bears are hunted from Whale Cove to north of Scarab Point, at the floe edge from 10 to 20 miles offshore, and around Marble Island. They are also hunted on Pangertot Peninsula, around Rankin Inlet, and in the Bibby Island area.

● *Fishing:* After ice break-up, the people fish for char in the streams and rivers along this coast, principally in Meliadine and Diana rivers and in the rivers that flow into Corbett Inlet and Pistol Bay. During summer they fish with nets in salt water, principally in Rankin Inlet, near Scarab Point, and at the heads of Corbett Inlet and Pistol Bay. They fish in many inland lakes in spring, summer and fall; McManaman, Twin, Peter, Meliadine and Diana lakes; the lakes at the heads of Corbett Inlet and Pistol Bay; and on Pangertot Peninsula. Nipissak Lake, near Rankin Inlet settlement, is very popular in the spring and fall, when people jig for fish through the ice. They have also fished in lakes north of Chesterfield Inlet, the Daly Bay area, the Maguse River and Bibby Island area. For the commercial fish cannery, they have fished in Kaminak, Kaminuriak and Henik lakes, Winchester Inlet and Barbour Bay. The most important fish are char, lake trout and whitefish.

● *Summary:* Because most of the Rankin Inlet people now live in the settlement on account of jobs or school, the concept of recreation has become increasingly important. During the spring and summer, many families leave the settlement to camp on the land. The most important recreational areas are Meliadine Lake and River; Diana River and Lake; Scarab Point; Baker Foreland; the Falstaff Island area; Pangertot Peninsula and offshore islands; and Corbett Inlet and Pistol Bay. During summer, people gather berries near the settlement and near their camps. Soapstone is quarried for the Rankin Inlet carvers east of the settlement, near Falstaff Island.

Given the history of Rankin Inlet, it is not surprising that, except for a few families, the people there are perhaps the most wage-work oriented in the Keewatin District and have, consequently, moved farthest away from their traditional lifestyle. However, most people continue to depend heavily on local sources of food, principally caribou but also fish and seals.

Central Keewatin

Baker Lake: Period III (1956–1974)

Baker Lake (64°18'N, 96°03'W), the only inland settlement of Inuit in Canada, is about 200 miles west of Hudson Bay and, at about 150 miles south of the Arctic Circle, it is nearly at the geographical centre of Canada. It was named after Sir William Baker, a director of the H.B.C. in the mid-18th century.

Inuit seem always to have inhabited the area, and few Whites visited the region until this century, although they had traded for some time at posts on the Hudson Bay coast. In about 1914, the H.B.C. established a post elsewhere on the lake and, in 1924, Revillon Frères established a rival post on the site of the present settlement. In about 1925, the H.B.C. closed its first post to rebuild near Revillon Frères, where the two companies competed until the latter establishment was purchased by the H.B.C. in 1936. Between 1920 and 1922, Locker and Lampson operated a trading post at the east end of the lake; both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches have been active in the area since the late 1920's. The R.C.M.P. operated temporary posts nearby and, in 1938, established a permanent detachment in the present settlement. In 1946, Baker Lake served as an advance base for the Canadian Army's Operation Musk-Ox and an airstrip was built for the service of this exercise. Other federal departments have established offices and, gradually, during the 1950's and 1960's, most of the Inuit living in scattered groups inland moved into the settlement.

In 1974, the population was 860. The settlement is served by a summer landing strip on gravel and a winter one on ice, twice-weekly flights from Churchill, a police detachment, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to eight), four churches, a community hall, a post office, a tourist lodge, a general store, and the Sanavik Cooperative.

LAND USE

There are many camps all around Baker Lake (Map 17). During a long transition period, which lasted well into the 1960's, many families alternated a long period of residence in the settlement with a long period spent on the land. Some who were reluctant to leave the land visited the settlement only briefly. However, most of the camps today are used by people who spend most of their time in the settlement. They may spend a month or more in the camps, or they may visit them over and over again for shorter lengths of time. The shorter visits are common during the caribou hunting season and while trapping. The camps may be as far as 200 miles from the settlement, for the concentration of people at Baker Lake makes it necessary for hunters to range far for both caribou and foxes.

Except for those who live permanently on the land, people spend a month or more in spring or summer camps at fishing places, caribou crossings, or in goose and duck hunting areas. Many of the camps in the Aberdeen and Beverly lakes area are used for goose and duck hunting and egg collecting in spring. Camps on lakes and rivers throughout the region are used for fishing during spring and fall, whereas camps on Baker Lake and Kazan and Thelon rivers are also used in

summer. Whitehills Lake area north of Baker Lake is important for camping and fishing. Summer and fall camps are often located near caribou crossings, particularly at the eastern end of Baker Lake, Kazan River, and at narrow points along Thelon River, especially between Shultz and Aberdeen lakes. Camps on Chesterfield Inlet are used for seal hunting in summer. Many camps throughout the area are used in winter for both trapping and caribou hunting.

People often return to camp in areas they had occupied in the past, especially south, west and north of Baker Lake. East of Baker Lake, particularly on Quoich River, only a few camps were previously used by persons now living in Baker Lake. Most of the former inhabitants of the Quoich River area now live in Rankin Inlet or Chesterfield.

● *Trapping:* Many families depend on trapping for income. Because of intensive trapping near the settlement, many of them have to go to distant areas to be successful. As in the past, hunters continue to set their traps in areas where they have killed caribou or cached the meat, and in known fox denning areas, especially around Thirty Mile and Princess Mary lakes and Thelon River.

The limits of trapping areas away from Baker Lake are about 80 miles east to the Quoich River and Cross Bay area; about 100 miles southeast to the Banks Lake area; 110 miles south to the Kaminuriak and Ferguson lakes area; 80 miles southwest to the Forde Lake area; 150 miles northwest to the area of Deep Rose, Sand and Garry lakes; and 130 miles north to Back River. Within these outer limits, the most intensively trapped parts are the area south of Baker Lake from Andrews Lake through the Kazan River area to Thirty Mile and Forde lakes; the Parker and Banks lakes area; the St. Clair Falls area; the Princess Mary and Mallery lakes area; the Pitz Lake and Thelon River area; and the Whitehills and Tehek lakes area.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The Baker Lake residents, who are almost entirely inland people, have traditionally depended on caribou for most of their food supply. Today they are often unable to get enough caribou unless they travel a long distance, up to 200 miles, from the settlement. However, hunters now use snowmobiles, with which they can travel great distances and transport heavy loads. They sometimes cache meat on the land for later collection.

Caribou are hunted throughout the year, but especially at river or lake crossings in summer and fall. Large migrating herds cross, spring and fall, at all the narrow places on the Thelon River system, especially between Shultz and Aberdeen lakes. There are similar important crossings on the Kazan River system, at the eastern end of Baker Lake, and elsewhere in the region.

Generally the outer limits of the caribou hunting area were east to Chesterfield Inlet; south to Banks, Kaminuriak, Ferguson and Yathkyed lakes; west to Tebesjuak Lake and west of Beverly Lake; and north to Pelly and Garry lakes, Back River and Franklin Lake. Inside these limits, the most intensively hunted area is within an approximately 100-mile radius of Baker Lake. When travelling overland by snowmobile in fall, winter and spring, hunters might travel in any direction, but most frequently they go east to St. Clair Falls and Cross Bay; southeast to Banks Lake; south along Kazan River; southwest toward Forde Lake; west to Mallery and Aberdeen lakes; northwest to beyond Shultz Lake; and north to Tehek Lake. In summer, when travelling by boat, they hunt caribou along the shores of Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet and on the Kazan and Thelon rivers, especially at the caribou crossing places.

● *Other Land Hunting:* Fish, foxes and caribou are by far the most important local resources, but a few other animals are hunted on occasion. Seals are hunted in Baker Lake and along Chesterfield Inlet, mostly by the few residents who originally came from such coastal areas as Chantrey Inlet, Queen Maud Gulf or Wager Bay.

Wolves are hunted during trapping or caribou hunting. They are not very abundant, although the lower Thelon River area is considered good for wolf hunting.

Geese and ducks are hunted in spring and summer, particularly on the shore and islands of the Aberdeen and Beverly lakes area.

Arctic hares are hunted, especially in winter, near the settlement and in the South Channel area at the eastern end of Baker Lake, where they are plentiful. Ptarmigans are hunted throughout the area.

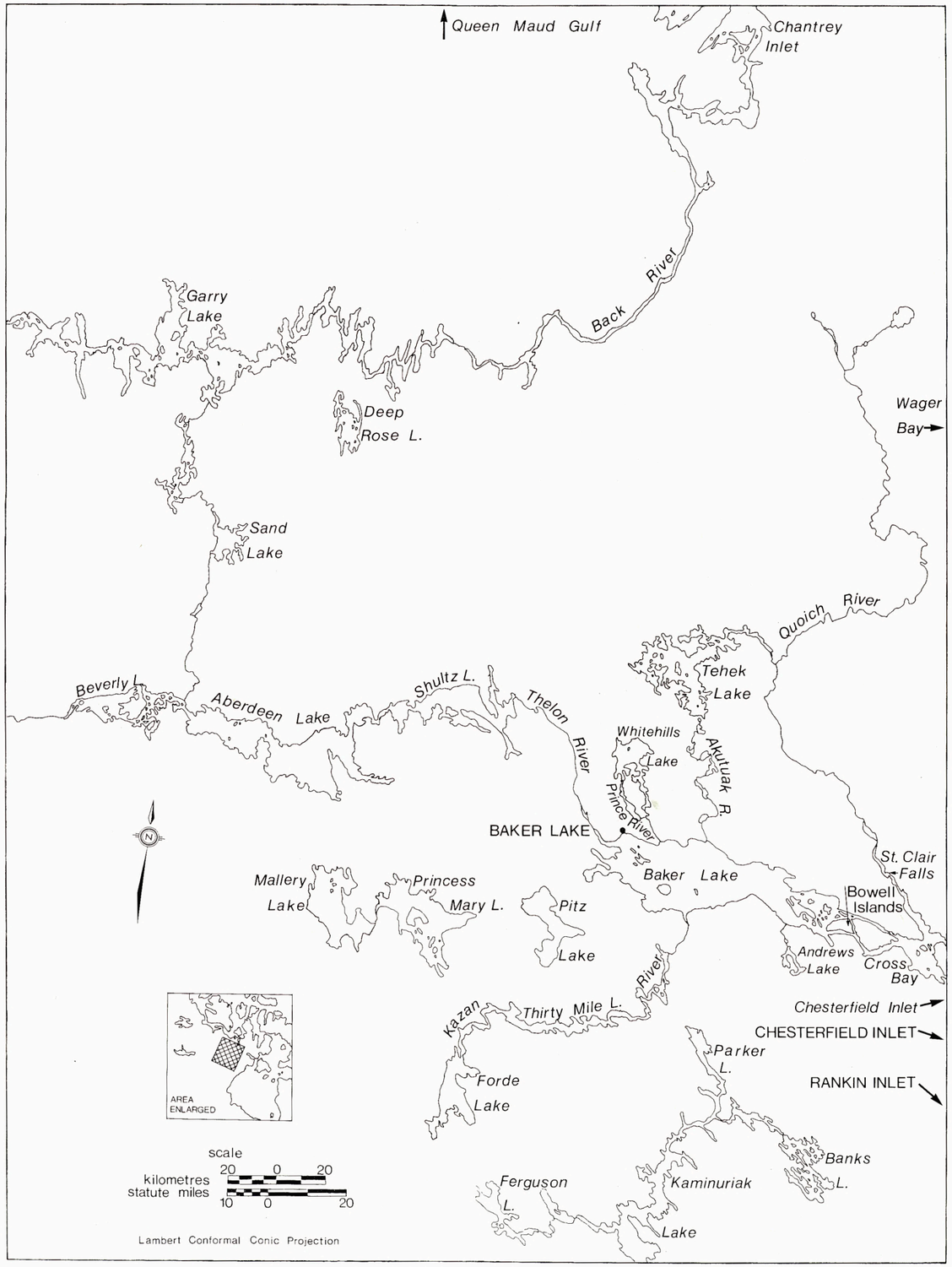
● *Fishing:* After caribou, the second major resource of the Baker Lake people is fish, especially sea-run and land-locked char, lake trout and whitefish. Fish is all the more important when caribou are scarce.

In spring and fall some people travel overland to their camps to fish through the ice of many inland lakes. In summer, they use nets as well as fishing rods. The most important summer fishing areas are along the shores of Baker Lake, Kazan and Thelon rivers, and Whitehills and Pitz lakes. In addition to these areas, which are reached by boat, whole families spend summer fishing at inland lakes. There are many important fishing places around the shores of Baker Lake, especially at the mouths of the Kazan, Thelon, Prince and Akutuak rivers.

● *Soapstone Mining:* This material is a very important resource to the people of Baker Lake, for many of them support themselves by carving and making stone blocks for prints. Large quantities of soapstone are quarried at various locations, including Cross Bay, Bowell Island, Baker Lake, Thelon River and Tehek Lake.

● *Summary:* The people of Baker Lake are the only Inuit in Canada who do not have ready access to the sea and to sea mammals. They are almost totally dependent on caribou and fish. For this reason they use a larger part of Keewatin for caribou hunting than do the members of any other com-

Map 17
Baker Lake place names



munity. Hunters sometimes travel a great distance to find caribou, and they often camp inland away from Baker Lake for long periods while hunting or trapping. The people of Baker Lake still use most of the land they used during the fur trade era, although not many now hunt as far north as Garry Lake, and trips to the lower Back River area are very rare. It is not uncommon for hunters to travel 100 to 150 miles from Baker Lake. This group shares the outer limits of their hunting and trapping areas with hunters from all four coastal settlements: Eskimo Point, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield.

Northeast Keewatin Coast

Chesterfield: Period III (1954–1974)

Chesterfield (63°21'N, 90°42'W) is located in Spurrell Harbour on the south shore of the entrance of Chesterfield Inlet. The inlet has been the object of European and other exploratory and scientific activity since the mid-18th century. In 1911, the H.B.C. established a post, the Roman Catholic Church built a mission in 1912, and the R.C.M.P. a detachment in 1914. The church built a hospital in 1930, and for a long time Chesterfield was the only trading and administrative centre on the west coast of Hudson Bay north of Churchill.

In 1951, the church opened a school, which in 1954 was expanded to include a hostel for students from all parts of Keewatin. Many of the residents moved to Rankin Inlet when the mine opened there in 1956, and when the mine closed in 1962, some returned.

In 1974, Chesterfield had a population of 294. It has a landing strip, weekly air service from Churchill, a church, a community hall, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to seven), telephone service, a post office, a hostel, a general store and the Pitsiulak Cooperative.

LAND USE

Land and sea in the Chesterfield Inlet area (Map 18) are rich in game, and the people who live there seldom have to travel far to make a successful hunt. A herd of caribou seems to be located permanently just north of the inlet, not far from the settlement. Sea mammals are abundant year round in nearby waters, and in spring and summer ducks are numerous on nearby islands. The area used by Chesterfield hunters and trappers is, therefore, not as great as that in other Keewatin settlements because of their plentiful local resources.

Speaking generally, all of the camps in the area are used by people who are based permanently in the settlement. However, in the late 1950's and the early 1960's, a few families moved back to the land for a while. Most of the camps are along the coast, on small islands or at the mouths of rivers, but a few are inland. Most of them are spring and summer camps for fishing, egg collecting and seal hunting. People camp all along the coast from Baker Foreland to Cape Fullerton and along Chesterfield Inlet to Barbour Bay. The most popular locations are the islands in and at the mouth of the inlet, the Cape Silumiut area, and the coast as far as Daly Bay. Many families use the same camp year after year. In spring the men travel by snowmobiles to their seal and goose hunting camps, particularly along the coast toward Daly Bay, but later entire families travel by canoe to summer camps for fishing, hunting and berry gathering. Some families have camped at Barbour Bay and Winchester Inlet to fish commercially for the cannery at Rankin Inlet.

● *Trapping:* Most Chesterfield people do not depend primarily on trapping, but trap only to supplement their incomes. Generally they set traps near caribou kills and meat caches and in fox denning areas. Seal is used for trap bait along the coast.

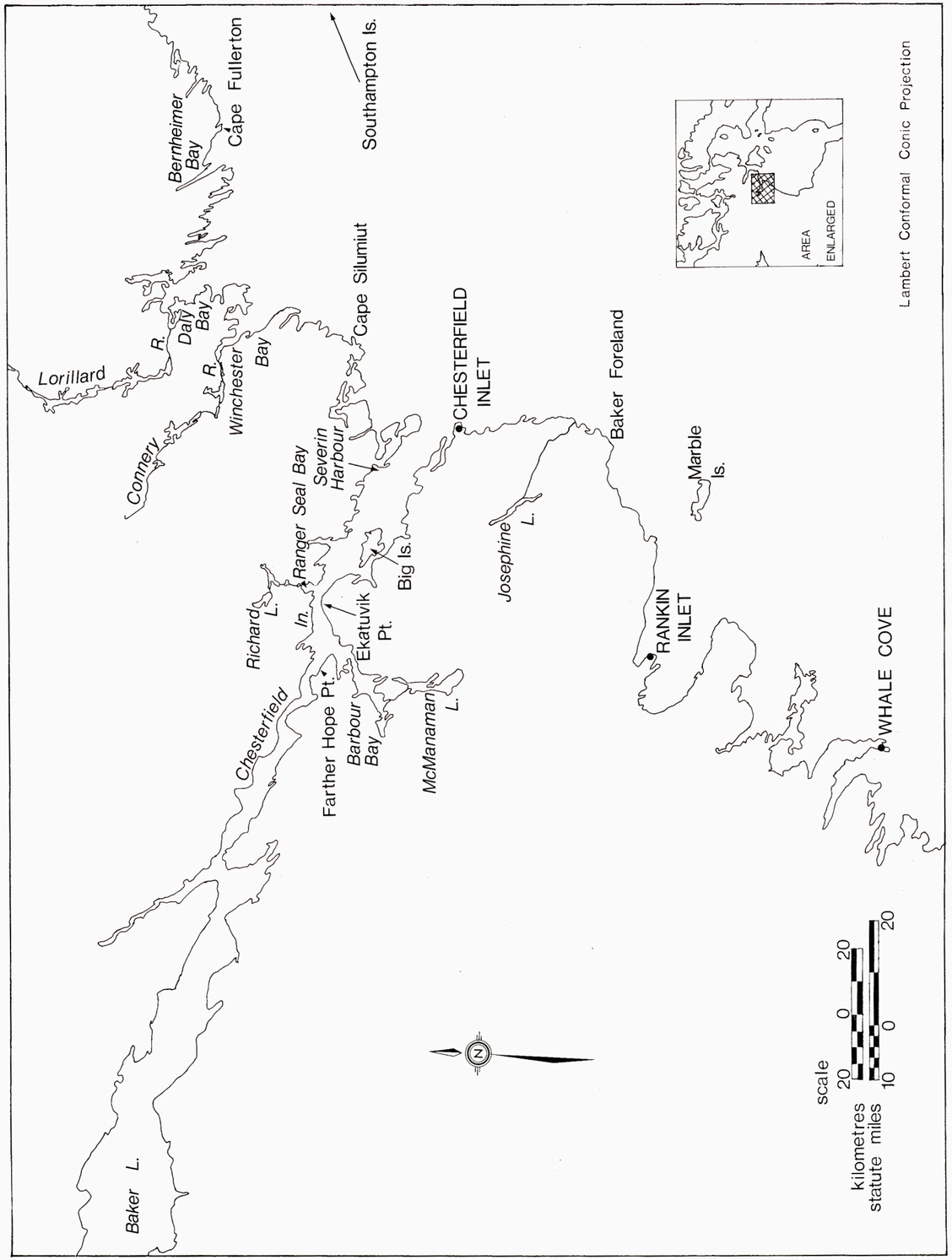
Whereas trappers in other Keewatin settlements may travel a long distance to trap, many Chesterfield people trap within 20 to 30 miles of the settlement. A few trap farther away, west to the McManaman Lake area, northwest toward Richard Lake, and northeast to the Daly Bay area. The area from Winchester and Daly bays to Cape Fullerton and Yellow Bluff, and an area from Daly Bay about 65 miles inland, are trapped. These, however, were more intensively trapped during the late 1950's and early 1960's, when people were living there year round.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou are available all year round near the settlement. During the summer the animals come down to the shore to escape from biting insects inland, and the people hunt them while travelling along the coast by boat. At other times of the year, caribou are hunted and the meat is cached inland. The outer limits of caribou hunting now run along the coast from Rankin Inlet to north of Yellow Bluff, and a distance of 60 to 70 miles inland. The Chesterfield people have hunted south of Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake when they lived there. The principal caribou hunting areas are the Josephine Lake area; west along Chesterfield Inlet; the Barbour Bay and McManaman Lake area; and the Cape Silumiut to Daly Bay area. Caribou is the principal food of the Chesterfield people, and all the men hunt caribou throughout the year.

● *Other Land Hunting:* Wolves are hunted inland, often in association with caribou hunting, particularly in the Daly Bay area, north of Chesterfield Inlet, and west toward Josephine Lake. Arctic hares are hunted near the settlement, along Chesterfield Inlet and on the islands.

Many species of birds are abundant on the coast. In spring, eggs are collected on the islands all along the coast as far as Daly Bay. Ducks and geese are hunted at the floe edge during spring, and along the shore in summer. Eider ducks are also hunted at the floe edge in winter. Ptarmigans are hunted

Map 18
Chesterfield Inlet place names



throughout the area, whenever seen, most often when people are hunting caribou or trapping.

● *Marine Mammal Hunting:* Both ringed and bearded seals are hunted all year round. In summer people hunt along Chesterfield Inlet to Farther Hope Point including Barbour Bay, and the coast from Whale Cove to Karmarvik Harbour, and up to 20 miles inland. For much of the year people hunt along the floe edge, which is usually three or four miles out from the settlement; however, the distance varies along the coast. The principal seal hunting season is spring, when seals bask on the ice. At this time, too, young seals are hunted in their birth lairs. The area from Baker Foreland to Bernheimer Bay and along Chesterfield Inlet to Big Island is well used. The Cape Silumiut area is extremely popular for weekend hunting trips, and people often hunt at the floe edge near the settlement.

Harp seals migrate into the area in summer and are hunted from Rankin Inlet around Marble Island to Bernheimer Bay, and along Chesterfield Inlet to Ekatuvik Point. Harbour seals are hunted, particularly in summer, when they haul out on rocks in bays and rivers. Important areas are Barbour and Ranger Seal bays, Severin Harbour, Cape Silumiut, and Daly and Bernheimer bays.

White whales migrate through the area in summer and are hunted from Rankin Inlet to Bernheimer Bay, and along Chesterfield Inlet to Farther Hope Point.

Walruses were hunted from the Marble Island area to Cape Fullerton. Today they are seldom found south of Chesterfield Inlet, but to the north they are most common in the Daly Bay area. In the summer they are hunted in the water from Peterhead boats, and at other times of the year on floating ice or at the floe edge. Occasionally people go to Walrus Island off Southampton Island to hunt them.

Some polar bears are hunted on the ice and at the floe edge at the mouth of Chesterfield Inlet and from capes Silumiut to Fullerton, including the Winchester Inlet, Daly Bay and Bernheimer Bay areas.

● *Fishing:* Fishing is an important activity in Chesterfield Inlet, and in spring the people jig through lake ice near the settlement. In both spring and fall people travel to many lakes, particularly in the Cape Silumiut area, along Chesterfield Inlet, and to lakes in the Winchester Inlet and Daly Bay area. Nets may be used under the ice, particularly in the fall, when quantities of fish caught are frozen for winter use. During the char migrations, people fish in many streams and rivers along the coast and the inlet, including the Connery and Lorillard rivers to the north.

In summer people set nets in the sea near the settlement and south to Baker Foreland; along the inlet to Big Island; and to the north, especially in Winchester and Daly bays. They also fish during summer in lakes near the settlement and near the camps. Fishing provides the people with income as well as food.

● *Summary:* In comparison with other Keewatin settlements, the people of Chesterfield use a relatively small area of land. Chesterfield is a small close-knit settlement, and everyone shares the land and game of the area. There is usually sufficient supply of game nearby without their having to travel very far. Many people are also wage earners and are limited to day and weekend hunting trips, except for holidays in the spring and summer.

The area most important to the people of Chesterfield is the mouth of the inlet, north along the coast from Cape Silumiut to Daly Bay, and inland to nearby caribou hunting and fishing areas. This region is rich in game, and it constitutes the traditional hunting ground for most of the Chesterfield people. It does not overlap with land commonly used by any other settlement, although people from Rankin Inlet do occasionally use it. From Chesterfield northwest to Ekatuvik Point and from the inlet south along the coast to Baker Foreland are other major areas of activity. Most of the land used lies within an area of 30 to 40 miles south, 40 to 50 miles west, 60 to 70 miles northwest, and 70 to 80 miles north of the settlement.

Southampton Island and Coats Island

Period III (1962–1974)

Coral Harbour (64°08′N, 83°10′W) is the only settlement on Southampton Island. It is located at the head of South Bay on the central south coast. Sadlermiut were the original occupants of the island, and they had substantial contact with whalers during the 19th century. During winter 1902–1903, the island's whole population was destroyed by an epidemic. About 1910, some Aivilingmiut serving as crew on a whaler visited the island and, later, they brought their families to live there. They traded at Chesterfield Inlet until, in 1916–1918, H. T. Munn operated a trading and whaling post on the south coast of the island. In 1918, the H.B.C. opened a post on Coats Island, but moved it to Coral Harbour in 1924. The Coats Island post was reopened for a year in 1927. The population at Coral Harbour has gradually increased with more Inuit moving in from the mainland to the west, and with the earlier inhabitants of Coats Island.

The Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches opened missions on Southampton Island in the 1920's. In 1942, the U.S. Air Force built a large airstrip north of the settlement, which was later maintained by the Department of Transport. Later immigrants to the island included Inuit who had worked for the Department of Transport on Resolution and Nottingham islands. There was a decrease in population during the construction of the DEW-Line, but many men returned to the island following construction.

A federal school was built in 1950 and more federal services were soon added to the settlement. In 1974, the population was 404 and served by an all-weather airstrip with weekly flights from Churchill, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade eight), a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, a motel, a general store and the Katudgivik Cooperative.

Although everyone on Southampton Island at present lives in the settlement of Coral Harbour, camping in the spring and summer remains a significant part of the people's yearly round (Map 19). Many hunters camp at important fishing and seal hunting areas. Every June, most families, including those whose members hold full-time jobs, go to camp for several weeks at various places, where the men hunt seals on the sea ice and at the floe edge, hunt geese and collect eggs. Most of these camps are at places where they have lived in the past, and many people return to the same camp every spring. The most important sites are in the South and Native bays area, and include Native, Prairie, Ruin and Bear Cove points. Other spring sealing camps are in the East Bay area, where many geese nest. There are summer fishing areas near Coral Harbour at the mouths of char rivers, especially Kirchoffer River, Rocky and Sixteen Mile brooks. Camps here remain occupied throughout the fishing season.

Some years, in spring, a few families move north to camp at various locations in the Duke of York Bay area. After snow falls, they return to the settlement, which the men now use as a trapping base during the winter. In fall, a large number of people make overnight eamps in the Salmon Pond area, where there are two cabins. There are no permanent winter camps on Southampton Island, but hunters tending their trap lines may spend nights in snow-houses.

Coats Island remains important. During the winters of 1969–1970 and 1971–1972, groups of more than 20 persons lived on the island. These people went to Coats Island by Peterhead boat in the fall, lived there all winter while they hunted and trapped, using only dog-teams, and then returned to Coral Harbour the following summer.

LAND USE

Although the population of Southampton Island now live in the settlement of Coral Harbour, their use of the land in recent years is almost as extensive as in the past. Many people still depend on trapping to earn income during winter, and all of the people rely heavily on local food for daily use. Seal meat is the main staple, with walruses, caribou, fish, geese, ducks and eggs, polar bears, white whales, and Arctic hares contributing importantly to the diet. All animals hunted in the past are still hunted today, and all areas formerly used for hunting are still in use. The best hunting areas are well known to the people and they return there year after year. Although some people hunt only on weekends or during holidays, the use of snowmobiles enables them to travel to their old hunting areas for short visits. Many who are not employed full-timed continue to trap and hunt in all parts of the island.

● *Trapping:* Trapping continues to be a major source of income. A network of trap lines covers Southampton Island as it did during Period II. Both coasts of Bell Peninsula remain very important, and the East Bay area north to the Ascension Islands is heavily used. Many people have trap lines running southwest from the settlement to the Cape Low area, around Cape Low to Bay of God's Mercy, and overland between South Bay and Bay of God's Mercy. Some people still trap in the Cape Kendall area, more than 130 miles from Coral Harbour. Very important trapping routes are from Coral Harbour to Salmon Pond, where fish are often cached in the fall for use as fox bait; and northward along the west side of the hills to Duke of York Bay, where some trap lines circle the coast. Other trap lines extend from the Salmon Pond area to the west and northwest. The coast of Roes Welcome Sound from Ell Bay to Battery Bay is trapped extensively, a distance of 200 miles. Trap lines run north from Coral Harbour and along Kirchoffer River to join the route to Duke of York Bay. Other lines run up Kirchoffer River to Canyon River, and there are still others through the mountainous area to the north.

A number of short trap lines extend in all directions from the settlement and are used by weekend trappers, generally by men who have full-time employment. The area on the northwestern tip of the island has not been used by people living in Coral Harbour, and there has recently been less trapping in the Cape Kendall area. Coats Island has been trapped in recent years, particularly by seven trappers who lived on the island in the winter of 1971–1972. Their trap lines extended around the coast and crossed the island at several places.

Bait for traps consists of char, seal or walrus caught during the summer, although occasionally seals are hunted where traps are being laid at some distance from the settlement. Some trappers now use commercial "smelly stuff" as bait. Many Southampton Island people, including some men in their early twenties, consider trapping to be their profession and hope to continue in it. Because Southampton Island and, to a lesser extent, Coats Island are considered good trapping areas, and because fur prices are high, they regard trapping and hunting as an enduring and worthwhile occupation.

● *Marine Mammal Hunting:* Seal meat is still a staple item of diet, and seals are hunted extensively throughout the year. During winter the Southampton Islanders hunt both ringed and bearded seals, mainly at the floe edge of Native and South bays. Trappers on their trap lines also hunt at the floe edge all around the island. During late winter and early spring, the seal hunting range is extended to include such areas as Duke of York Bay, Canyon River Bay, Kokumiak Harbour and East Bay. During June, seals are hunted from spring camps

at Bear Island and on adjacent coasts of South Bay. After the ice breaks up in July, people hunt seals along the coast, particularly on the south of the island. Seals are also hunted in summer in Duke of York Bay by people who inhabit the area and anywhere along the coasts of the island, wherever people travel by canoe or boat. During summer, harp seals migrate into the South and Native bays area and are often killed there. Harbour seals are sometimes taken in the Cape Low and Bay of God's Mercy area, where they haul out on the rocks, or are taken at the floe edge during winter. In late summer and early fall, when people go to Coats Island for walruses and caribou, seals are hunted between Southampton and Coats islands and all around the coast of Coats Island. Seals caught at a distance from the settlement are sometimes cached under rocks in areas where a hunter expects to be trapping during the following winter. Seals are important not only for their food value but also for their skins, which are traded or used to make boots, mitts, ropes and handicrafts.

During winter, walruses are occasionally taken at the floe edge off Native Point or between Hut Point and Cape Low. In spring they are hunted from canoes along the floe edge from Native Point to Ruin Point, and in the Duke of York Bay area. During summer, walruses are hunted, mainly from Peterhead boats, near Native and Ruin points, Walrus and Bencas islands, and capes Prefontaine and Pembroke on the north coast of Coats Island. Walruses are also found along the shores of Bell Peninsula north to Terror Point, all around Coats Island, and in the straits between Southampton and Coats islands. Walruses are important today as human and dog food and for their ivory tusks, which are carved. Walrus meat is also caehed at various places on the island for use during the winter as fox bait. Fewer walruses have been taken in recent years because there are now not so many dogs to feed.

White whales visit the South Bay area during August and September in large numbers. They are hunted near the coast, and their meat and fat is stored near the settlement, where it is used during the winter for dog food or trap bait. White whales are not hunted extensively, usually only when seen on seal hunting trips. White whales and narwhals are also hunted in Duke of York Bay, the only place near the island where narwhals are regularly seen. White whales are also hunted on the northeastern coast of Coats Island.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bear hunting starts in October, as soon as the land can be travelled. Most of the men then leave Coral Harbour to hunt polar bears. The most intensively hunted areas are the coast of Bell Peninsula and southwest of the settlement toward Bear Cove Point and Cape Low. Bears are also hunted inland between South Bay and the Bay of God's Mercy. They have been hunted as far as Cape Kendall in the extreme southwest of the island. Bears are sometimes hunted in the mountainous area along the east coast of the island during fall, but more often during spring. They are also hunted in Duke of York Bay; around the coast of Coats Island; and in the south-central part of the island. Little hunting occurs in the winter when the bears go into their dens.

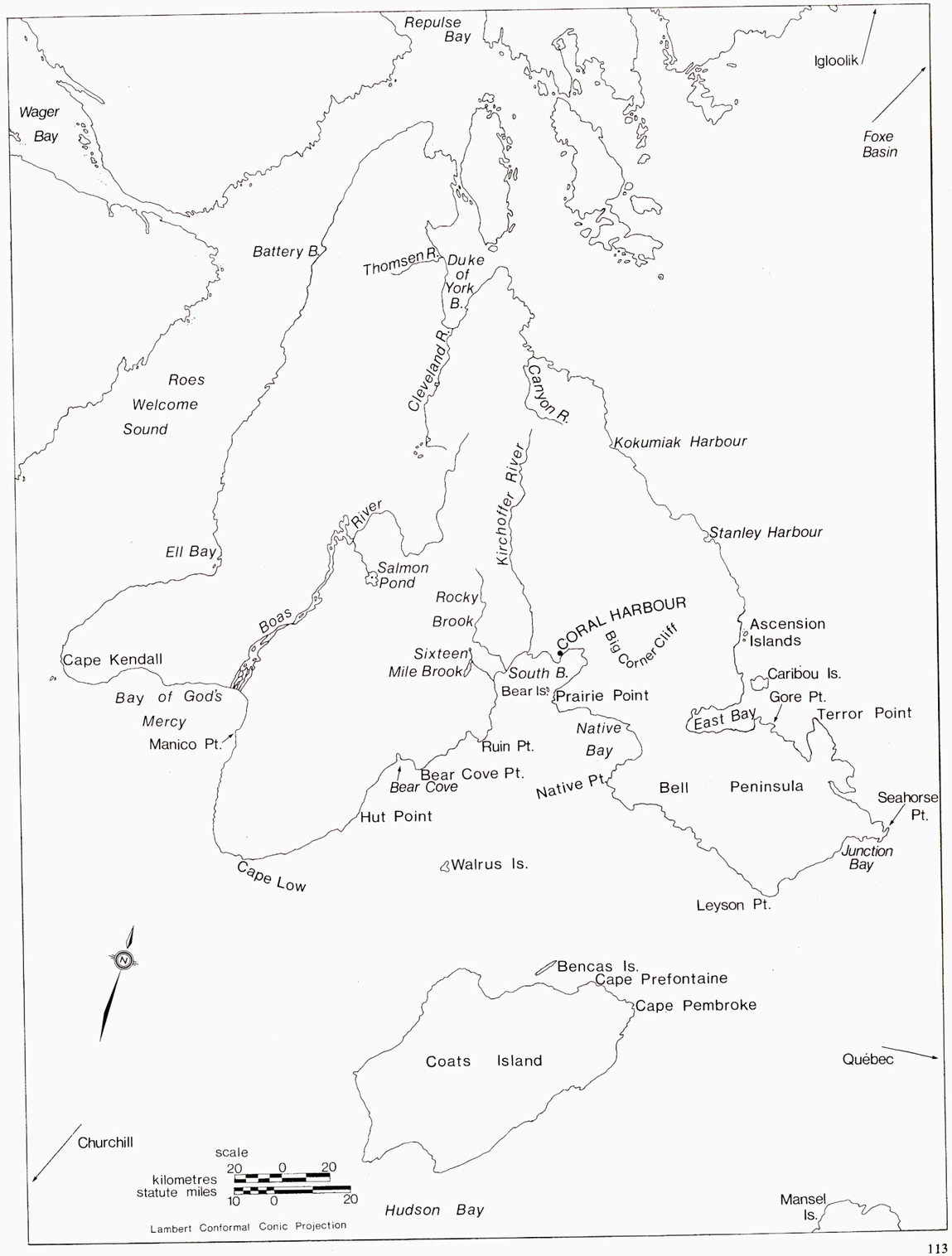
● *Caribou Hunting:* The last caribou was killed on Southampton Island in the mid-1950's, and no caribou have been hunted there since then, although in 1967 caribou were re-introduced to the island from Coats Island. As it is not yet permitted to hunt the re-introduced caribou, the most important hunting area for Southampton Islanders today is on Coats Island. Each year in late summer and early fall, the coasts of Coats and Bencas islands are searched for caribou. The people who until recently had lived on Coats Island hunted caribou over much of the island's interior while trapping there. During winter, people occasionally travel across Roes Welcome Sound on the ice bridge to the mainland and hunt caribou south of Wager Bay. People have also crossed from Duke of York Bay and hunted caribou on the mainland south of Repulse Bay.

● *Fishing:* Fish is an important source of food to the people of Southampton Island. During the early months of spring, while the lakes are still frozen, people travel great distances to get an early supply of fish by fishing through the ice. Some of the favourite fishing spots are near Stanley Harbour, the Canyon River lakes, and the Cleveland River lakes. During early July, when the rivers break up and the char migrate to the ocean, they are caught with rods and nets in Kirchoffer River, and Rocky and Sixteen Mile brooks. Whole families often go on late summer fishing trips, which are considered important recreational holidays. In fall, when there is snow on the land and the ice on lakes is still thin, Salmon Pond, about 40 miles from the settlement, becomes the favourite fishing spot. Almost all the men in the settlement set nets under the ice there for char, which is valuable for food and trap bait during the winter.

Fishing is also important to people resident in the Duke of York Bay area during spring and summer. The Cleveland and Thomsen rivers, as well as the coast of the bay, abound in char. Other fishing spots on the island are also used, but they are less important.

● *Wildfowling:* Each June, with the return of birds from the south, people go to spring camps for goose hunting; major hunting areas are Bear Cove, Native Point and East Bay. Eggs are also collected at these places. During summer, geese are hunted all along the coast of Southampton Island from Native Point to the Bear Cove Point area. A few hunters have been to the Boas River delta to hunt geese. Geese and the eggs of ducks and seabirds are also used by people on Coats Island, and the birds are normally hunted in the northern portion of the island. Ducks are also hunted by the Southampton Island people during the spring and summer, and during the winter eider ducks are shot along the floe edge while men

Map 19
Southampton Island place names



are hunting seals. Ptarmigans are hunted everywhere, but especially in the Big Corner Cliff area east of the settlement.

● *Summary:* The areas formerly used on Southampton and Coats islands are still used extensively today. People hunt or trap on all parts of Southampton Island, except for a small portion of land in the northwestern tip, on all of Coats Island, and on the waters around and between the two islands. During winter hunting is primarily for seals, and Arctic foxes are extensively trapped. During spring, seal, walrus and goose hunting, egg collecting, and fishing are the main activities. During summer, seal, walrus and white whale hunting, and caribou hunting on Coats Island, are important. In fall, polar bear hunting is the main activity. However, fishing, caribou hunting on Coats Island, and walrus hunting are also very important in the early fall.

The Land Today

Land use throughout Keewatin District has changed significantly in recent years, yet most of the land formerly utilized is still used today. Though people are concentrated in settlements, they travel long distances on hunting and trapping trips, often more than 150 miles from their homes, and occasionally as far as 200 miles, in pursuit of game. The people of Baker Lake, over 150 miles inland from Hudson Bay, use the largest area of land, and the people living in the resource-rich area of Chesterfield Inlet use the least. Caribou have been hunted all along the mainland coasts of Keewatin and on Southampton Island. All of the animals hunted in the past (except musk-oxen and Barren Ground grizzly bears) are still hunted today.

The economy of Baker Lake, the largest settlement in Keewatin and the only Inuit inland community in Canada, is based largely on hunting and trapping, although arts and crafts have provided some employment in recent years. There are, however, few jobs available, and land resources, especially caribou, are of critical importance to them. Eskimo Point has a large population, mainly from inland areas, who depend on a hunting and trapping economy, for job opportunities are very limited there. Both the land and the sea are critically important to them, too.

The other large population centre, Rankin Inlet, has a largely wage economy, and the population is growing as it becomes Keewatin's regional administrative centre. Rankin Inlet once again has the appearanee of a boom town, as it did during its mining days, and most people there can find employment. Although many people use the land in a way different from that of the other large settlements, these people also need the land and sea as a source of food, as well as for a recreational outlet. The economy of Whale Cove, the small hunting community south of Rankin Inlet, is based almost solely on hunting and trapping, and the people depend on the land and sea for their livelihood. Chesterfield, the oldest Keewatin settlement and situated just north of Rankin Inlet, has a mixed economy of wage employment and hunting and trapping. Although many of the people have full-time employment, hunting is still essential for food. Trapping supplements many persons' income, and the sea and land remain very important. Rankin Inlet serves as a centre for Whale Cove and Chesterfield, and people in the smaller settlements who want work can often find jobs in Rankin Inlet.

Coral Harbour, on Southampton Island, is rather isolated from the mainland, although eommunication exists, especially with Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point. The island's economy is based on trapping and hunting, though many people hold full-time jobs. All parts of the island and of Coats Island are used extensively, and the sea and land remain essential to the people.

The hunting and trapping areas of the communities overlap, and no boundaries exist except those imposed by geography. Coral Harbour's hunting area and Chesterfield's hunting area which is mainly north of the inlet overlap very little with those of other settlements, although hunters from Chesterfield occasionally meet hunters from Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake. Whale Cove hunters meet those from Eskimo Point, Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake; and Baker Lake hunters occasionally share hunting and trapping areas with people from all the other mainland settlements.

Most of the areas used during the fur trade period are still used today, but there are three notable exeeptions: Ennadai and Garry lakes and Wager Bay. Since being evacuated to the coast in the late 1950's, the people of Ennadai Lake, for example, have never returned to their homeland, and Garry Lake has been visited only occasionally in recent years by people from Baker Lake. Wager Bay has not been hunted by people who live to the south now, but some people now at Repulse Bay lived in the Wager Bay area as recently as 1961. Nevertheless, these three areas, once well populated, still have a very strong cultural and spiritual importance to the people of Keewatin District. They still feel these areas to be precious to them, and they want to be assured that the land and the animals there, especially the caribou, will be treated with respect in the future.

Inuit Land Use in Hudson Bay and James Bay

by Fred H. Schwartz

Belcher Islands

Sanikiluaq, the southernmost settlement in the Northwest Territories, is located in southwest Eskimo Harbour (56°32'N, 79°30'W) and is the only settlement on the Belcher Islands. A group of islands named the Belcher Islands have been marked on maps since Hudson's exploration of Hudson Bay in 1610–1611, but their true shape and extent were not realized until 1915, when Robert Flaherty verified Inuit descriptions of them. The islands' residents have had a long association with trading posts on the Quebec mainland, especially with the one at Great Whale River (Poste de la Baleine).

In 1928, the H.B.C. established a seasonal trading post on the southwest coast of Flaherty Island. The post was moved to Tukarak Island in 1934, and in 1961 it was moved to its present site at Sanikiluaq. During the latter part of this period, the islands' population has gradually concentrated around the post. In 1960, the federal government built a school at Itidliao, or South Camp, but it was later moved to Sanikiluaq, where various other facilities have been built.

In 1974, there were 272 persons living at the settlement, which has an airstrip, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to eight), a church, a community hall, telephone service, twice-monthly postal service, two general stores, one of which is operated by the Metiq Cooperative Association.

Period II (pre-1960)

● *Seal Hunting:* Ringed and bearded seals were hunted in all the waters around the Belcher Islands (Map 20) during Period II. In early winter, most sealing occurred at the floe edge, the seals were shot in the water and retrieved by boat. As winter progressed and the distance to the floe edge increased, sealing shifted to hunting at the breathing holes. As the temperature warmed towards spring, breathing hole hunting continued together with the shooting of seals on the ice. The best winter sealing areas were used well into spring. During June, these favoured areas included the safe ice of sheltered bays. In early summer, sealing in pack ice was favoured, especially north of the islands. Most bearded seals were taken during the open-water season.

Around the northern Belcher Islands, seals were hunted as far as 30 miles north of Johnson Island around the Sleeper Islands and, less frequently, around the King George Islands. Extending from Split Island to the south and west, the people hunted seals along the western coasts of the archipelago up to 25 miles out into Hudson Bay. South from there, the sealing area contracted toward Kugong Island and to within about 15 miles of the southwestern extremity of Flaherty Island. Seal hunting extended approximately 50 miles into Hudson Bay from the south coast of the Belcher Islands and a similar distance to the east coast of Tukarak Island, from where the seal hunting area continued north to beyond the Bakers Dozen Islands.

Although ringed and bearded seals were generally hunted in the same areas, the latter were found mainly in the western regions of the archipelago. Bearded seals were hunted northeast of Johnson Island, southwest of Split Island, north of Kugong Island, and southwest of western Flaherty Island. They were also hunted off the central south coast of Flaherty Island, and in the area to the east of Broomfield and Innetalling islands.

Hunters of the Beleher Islands hunt seals very intensively in a few areas, the northernmost of which is used by the residents of the north Belcher Islands and Eskimo Harbour. This area forms an arc that extends from the southwest of Split Island, around the north coast of Johnson Island to the north coast of Wiegand Island. Another such area is about 20 miles off the south coast of the Belcher Islands near several small groupings of islands. The third lies east of Innetalling Island, near a group of three small islands. This was an especially important area to people travelling to the Quebec mainland from the Belcher Islands.

● *White Whale Hunting:* White whales were hunted throughout the Belcher Island archipelago, and as far north as the Sleeper Islands. During spring, white whales followed the cracks in the ice and then, as the ice opened, followed the shoreline. Whale hunting was carried on through the summer months until, near freeze-up, the whales began to leave for areas of open water. Whales were hunted east of Split Island, mainly by people from the settlement known as Koyoto; along the east shore of Johnson Island; all around Wiegand Island and elsewhere in Eskimo Harbour; and south toward Gushie Point. People living in Eskimo Harbour and on Kugong Island hunted whales along the eastern coast of Kugong Island. They were also hunted off the southern coast of Flaherty Island, including, especially, Wetalltok Bay, Kipalu Inlet, and the east coast of Mukpollo Peninsula. The east coasts of Broomfield and Innetalling islands were also heavily hunted for whales.

● *Walrus Hunting:* During Period II, walrus hunting was an important seasonal activity, especially near the north Belcher Islands and south and east of Split Island. Other heavily hunted areas included the Sleeper Islands, the south coast of Johnson Island, and south of Kugong and Flaherty islands.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* During Period II, bears were not often hunted on the Belcher Islands. They were encountered in the north: east of the Sleeper Islands, around Split Island, east of Johnson Island, and north of Wiegand Island. They were also hunted on the southern part of Kugong Island and immediately to the north near Lillico Point. Farther south, they were hunted in the south of Coats Bay, southwestern Robertson Bay, and on the sea ice off the south and southeast coasts of the archipelago.

● *Fox Trapping:* Although the fox population of the Belcher Islands was not considered to be large, the Inuit trapped foxes throughout the archipelago, including small offshore islands such as the Bakers Dozen, Sleeper and King George islands. Intensive trapping occurred on a corridor of land across the north of the Belcher Islands, which included Split, Johnson, Kugong and Moore islands, Howard Peninsula, and Flaherty and Tukarak islands.

● *Wildfowling:* Almost all of the smaller islands among and around the Belcher Islands were breeding grounds for many species of ducks and geese, although eider ducks were the most prized. They were found year round on open water and near the floe edge, even during winter.

Duck hunting and egg collecting took place on almost all of the smaller and some of the larger islands. There were about nine intensively hunted areas: Sleeper, Split, Johnson, Moore, Bakers Dozen, Tukarak and southwest Flaherty islands, and an area west of Eskimo Harbour. Ducks were also hunted around the King George Islands and in Robertson and Wetalltok bays.

During Period II, geese represented an important food resource. They were hunted throughout the archipelago, but especially on Split, Johnson, Kugong and Moore islands on north Howard Peninsula, at Eskimo Harbour on north Flaherty Island, in southwest and south-central Flaherty Island, and on Tukarak and Bakers Dozen islands.

● *Fishing:* Char were caught in many lakes and streams on the Belcher Islands. Many were taken with hooks and leisters before the end of May through the lake ice. They were netted as they migrated to the sea in early June, or when they returned in early September. Major char fisheries were found on Split Island; along the east coast and inland on Kugong Island; on southwest, south-central and north-central Flaherty Island; and near the site of the old trading post on Tukarak Island.

Whitefish were also netted in many small lakes throughout the archipelago. Cod could be jigged anywhere inshore, especially at tidal cracks in the sea iee in late spring.

● *Other Resources:* Arctic hares and ptarmigans were hunted at all seasons of the year, wherever they were encountered on the islands. There were no special areas for hunting these species.

Berries were gathered mainly near camps, but they could be found in late summer and fall throughout the islands.

Various plants were commonly used for fuel and for mattresses in tents and in snow-houses. Some grass was gathered for basket weaving.

Mussels and sea urchins were collected at a number of inshore locations at any season. In spring, mussels were gathered at tidal cracks in the sea ice. During periods of bad weather in summer and fall, when hunting was impossible, shellfish, cod and sculpin were useful additions to the food supply.

Period III (1960–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* The hunting of seals has occupied somewhat less area during Period III, for seals are not now hunted around the Sleeper and King George islands. Before the establishment of a single permanent settlement on the Belcher Islands, at Sanikiluaq in 1970, seal hunting was more evenly distributed throughout the islands. The most important hunting areas are the same as those used in Period II, although there has been expansion northward to include the area bounded by Radar, Laddie, Johnson, Wiegand and Bakers Dozen islands, with the heaviest hunting north and west of Wiegand Island.

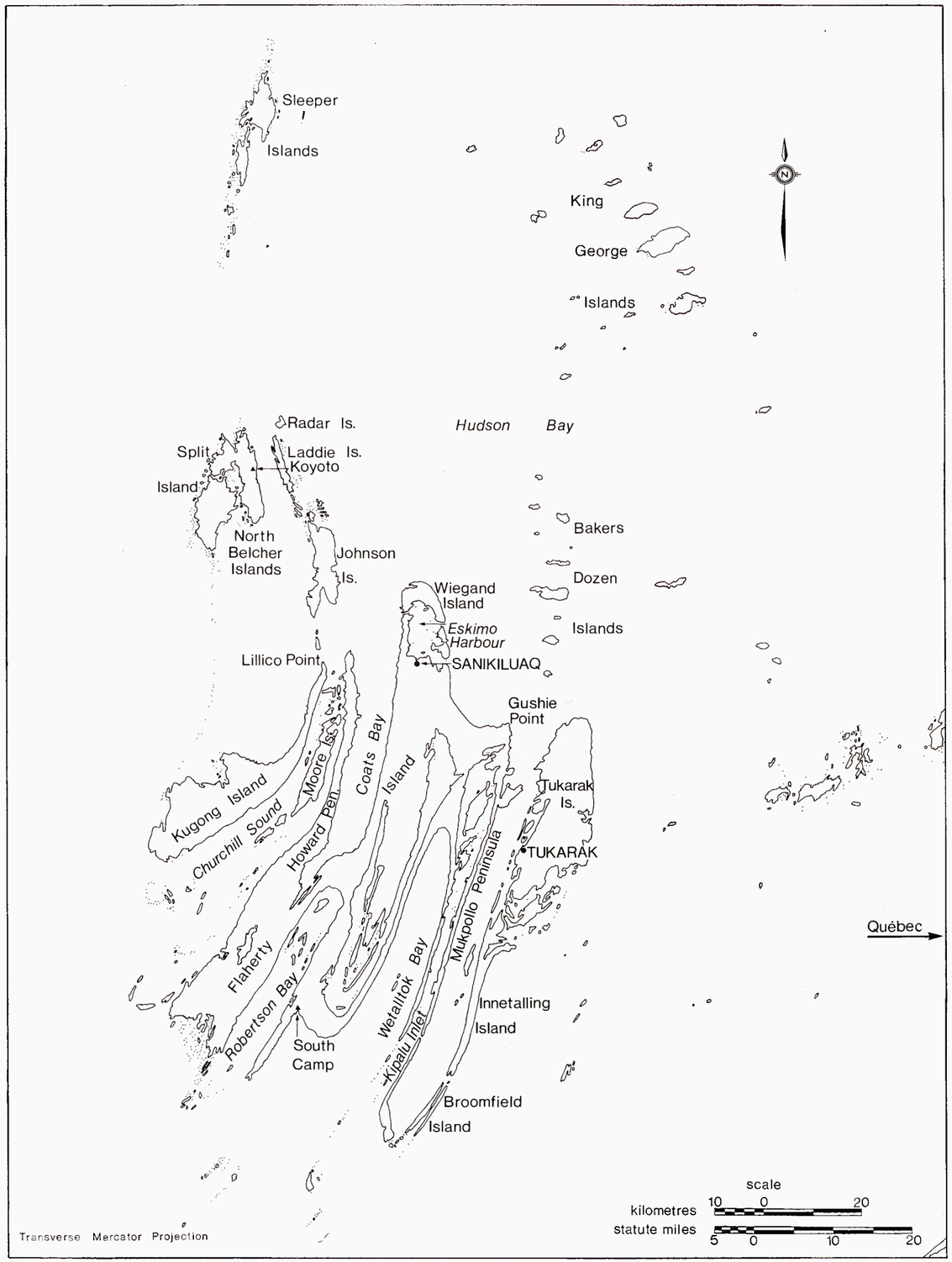
● *White Whale Hunting:* White whales are no longer hunted at the Sleeper Islands, along the entire coast of Kugong Island, at the southeast part of Churchill Sound, or around the coast of Broomfield and Innetalling islands. However, they continue to be hunted near South Camp and to the east in Wetalltok Bay, although not to the head of the bay as they were during Period II. The area around Kipalu Inlet and Mukpollo Peninsula is still heavily hunted and, since 1970, the waters within a radius of 40 miles of Sanikiluaq have been heavily hunted, especially around Wiegand Island. Two large hunting areas not formerly used for whale hunts lie between Kugong and Split islands. The total area used for whale hunting in Periods II and III, although having shifted somewhat to the north recently, remains about the same.

● *Walrus Hunting:* The area used for walrus hunting in Period III has been substantially reduced, because some walruses have reinhabited the Sleeper Islands, and because people have moved to Sanikiluaq. However, two small areas are still used at the south of the archipelago: one at the southeast extremity of Churchill Sound, and the other at the southern extremity of Robertson Bay. There is another small area at the northern end of Moore Island, and yet another around the King George Islands. However, as in Period II, the most coneentrated walrus hunting now occurs around the Sleeper Islands, especially in the southern and northern ends.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* During Period III, polar bears have been hunted more consistently over a much larger area than before. The heaviest hunting has occurred in the northwest and southwest of Sanikiluaq. Bears are hunted in a large area centered on Split Island and to the east. Southwest of Sanikiluaq, the area around Kugong Island is heavily hunted, especially along its western coast, as well as Coats Bay and Churchill Sound. A third important bear hunting area, off the south coast of Flaherty Island, extends about 40 miles into Hudson Bay from South Camp. The only area no longer in use is east of the Sleeper Islands.

● *Fox Trapping:* During Period III, fox trapping has become concentrated in a few areas, although almost all of the Belcher Islands continue to be used. Intensive activity occurs on Split, Laddie, Johnson, Kugong and Moore islands,

Map 20
Belcher Islands place names



Howard Peninsula, northern Flaherty Island, and Tukarak Island. Trapping in the southern part of the archipelago is lighter than in Period II, and a few areas on Flaherty Island and Mukpollo Peninsula are no longer used. However, the area has contracted only slightly, and the change can be mainly accounted for by the movement of the population to Sanikiluaq, which has led to heavier use of the territory in the northern Belcher Islands. The Sleeper Islands are no longer used for fox trapping.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese are hunted in the same areas during Periods II and III. However, hunting in the southeastern part of the Beleher Islands is much lighter now that the population has moved to the Eskimo Harbour region. During Period III, duck hunting has become more localized and is confined to six major areas: the coasts of and small islands around Split, Laddie and Johnson islands; from southern Johnson Island into Churchill Sound and south of Moore Island; Eskimo Harbour; the Bakers Dozen Islands; the southern end of Tukarak Island; and many small islands at the southwestern extremity of Flaherty Island. Although the areas for duck hunting during Period III have contracted, they have become more important in the northern part of the archipelago. The areas around Tukarak Island and southwestern Flaherty Island remain popular for duck hunting.

Islands in James Bay and Southeastern Hudson Bay

There are not many Inuit camps along the James Bay and southeastern Hudson Bay coasts (Map 21). *The area is also used by the Cree Indians. However, Inuit have used these offshore islands and coastal waters for settlement, hunting and travel. If the Belcher Islands are included, this expanse of territory covers about 24,500 square miles.*

Long Island was usually occupied by Indians during winter, but sometimes Inuit lived there, too. Indians also usually occupied Charlton Island to hunt and to trap beaver, but Inuit visited and sometimes camped on this island because it had a trading post. Inuit occupied Cape Hope and Strutton Islands. Weetaltok, a noted Inuit leader, moved with his family to the Cape Hope Island area around 1900 from the Belcher Islands; he sometimes trapped on Charlton Island. In 1935, two other Inuit families moved to Cape Hope Island to be with Weetaltok, to make a community of eight Inuit families living there. The coastal Indians and the Inuit visited each other and sometimes hunted, fished and camped together. Inuit knew the whole coastal territory from Akimiski Island in southern James Bay north along the eastern coast of James Bay and Hudson Bay.

James Bay Islands: Period II (Pre-1960)

● *Seal Hunting:* Most seal hunting aetivity occurred in southeast James Bay or along coastal travel routes. Ringed seals were hunted intensively in the immediate vicinity of Cape Hope and Strutton islands. Before and sometimes after about 1940, the people summered on Cape Hope Island and hunted seal south and east of the island. After 1940, when a school was opened at Eastmain, they usually spent their summer there. In fall, the Inuit would return to Cape Hope Island to hunt seals within a 25-mile radius of the island. Winter sealing oceurred immediately to the west of the island. Sometimes, after James Bay had frozen they moved for the winter to the Strutton Islands, which are not far from the trading post on Charlton Island. They hunted seals primarily along the north and western shores of the Strutton Islands. Before spring break-up, they returned to Cape Hope Island and, when the ice had cleared, went to Charlton Island for supplies.

● *White Whale Hunting:* In spring, white whales were hunted when sighted along the James Bay coast. In winter, the whales retreat to areas of open water west of Charlton Island, where they were occasionally trapped by encroaching ice. Whales were hunted over a large area of southeast James Bay, from north of Old Factory to near Rupert Bay and out into the bay past Tuktutili and Kiyuktuk islands, an area of some 3,000 square miles.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears were hunted wherever seen all along the James Bay coast and among the islands. More specifically, they have been hunted around Weston Island and on an island about 25 miles farther east, and along the coast near Roggan River.

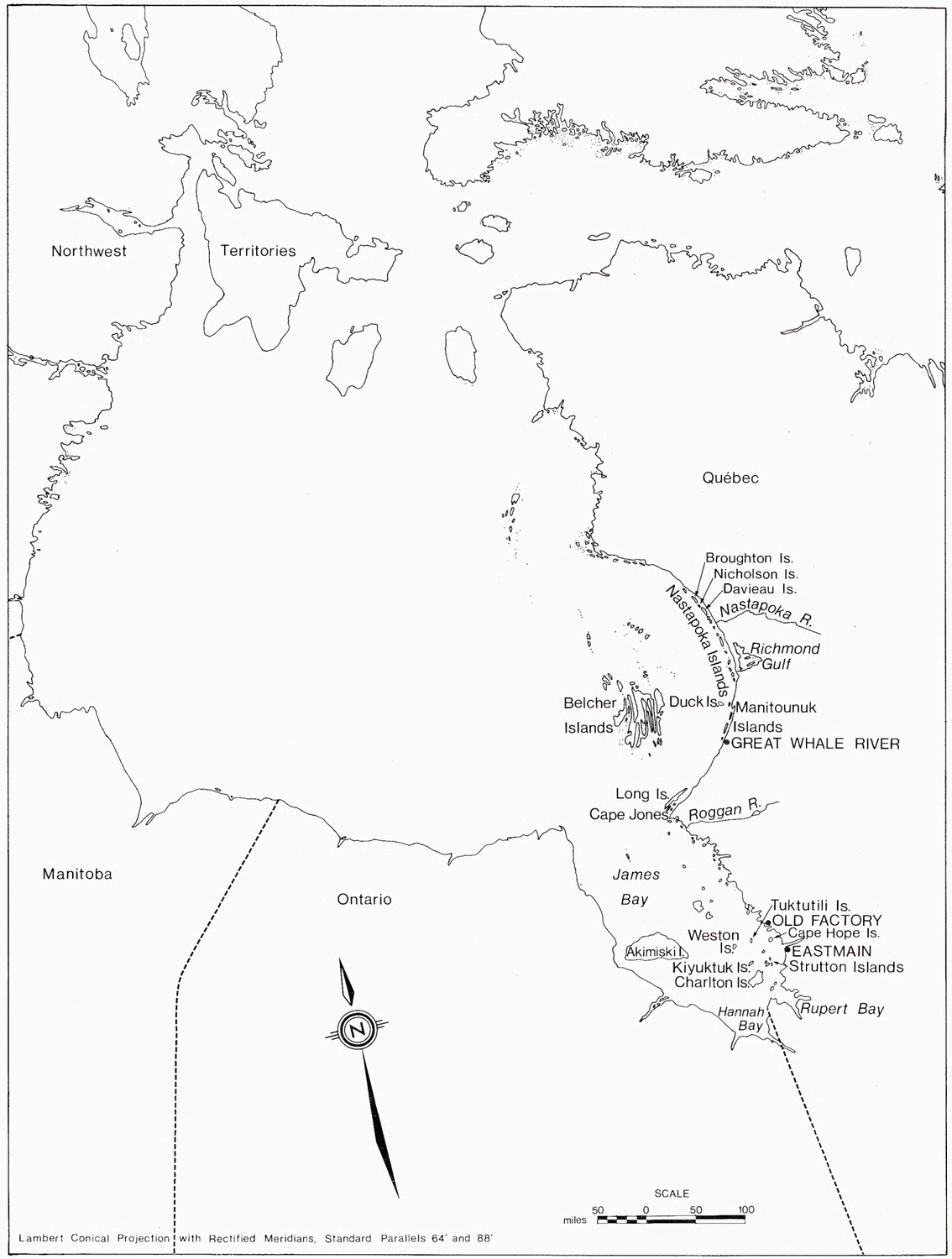
● *Wildfowling:* In spring, a vast number of geese and ducks return to breeding grounds on the islands and coasts of James and Hudson bays, where they were hunted. In season, hundreds of geese may be taken in a few days, and constituted an important part of the diet of the Cape Hope Islanders.

Inuit hunted geese on Weston and Tuktutili islands; about 25 miles farther east; along the shores of Hannah Bay and to the south; north of Eastmain; and near Old Factory. Few geese stopped on Cape Hope Island, but they were intensively hunted around the Strutton Islands, and they could be found on virtually any of the islands along the coast.

Several species of dueks, primarily eider ducks, were hunted in the immediate vicinity of Cape Hope, Strutton and Tuktutili islands. Ducks were hunted and their eggs collected on most of the James Bay islands, particularly on those near major camps or along travel routes.

● *Fishing:* Fishing occurred all along the James Bay coast, in the larger river mouths and inland at many lakes. Near Old Factory, whitefish and char were netted along the shore and in several of the rivers. Trout were eaught in many of the streams flowing into James Bay.

Map 21
James Bay and other Hudson Bay Islands place names



Long Island, Nastapoka Islands, Broughton Island

● *Seal Hunting:* Ringed seals were taken all along the Hudson Bay east coast, but hunting concentrated on Long and Nastapoka islands, especially on Broughton Island, and in the Richmond Gulf area. Most of the Inuit who lived at Great Whale River hunted north to the Richmond Gulf area and along coastal travel routes, although some hunted south toward Long Island and James Bay. Broughton Island, which is one of the northern Nastapoka Islands, was used as a winter camp, and seals were hunted at a distance of some 40 miles out on the ice of Hudson Bay.

South of Great Whale River, seals were hunted around Long Island, which was mainly used by Indians in winter, although Inuit are known to have wintered there to trap foxes. Before and during freeze-up, sealing occurred between the island and the mainland. When the bay had frozen, seals were hunted far out on the ice, but never as far as the Belcher Islands. Inuit used Long Island more frequently in spring and summer, when they hunted seals adjacent to the island.

● *White Whale Hunting:* As in James Bay, white whales were hunted from break-up to freeze-up, particularly in sheltered bays close to shore northwest and southeast from Long Island; between the northern Nastapoka Islands and the mainland; and along the coast to Broughton Island.

● *Fox Trapping:* This area does not seem to have been trapped much by Inuit in recent years, but one hunter reported trapping foxes on Broughton Island and on the Quebec mainland near the mouth of Nastapoka River.

● *Wildfowling:* Most of the islands along the east coast of Hudson Bay serve as resting places or breeding grounds for geese. Every year, Inuit took a large number of geese on or around many of the southeastern islands and on the Quebec mainland. The main areas were Long, Duck and Manitounuk islands, and all of the Nastapoka Islands, particularly those between Davieau and Nicholson islands. Eider ducks were taken in many of the same locations and all along the coast, especially in one large group of islands between the mainland and the Belcher Islands, a well-known breeding ground for ducks.

● *Fishing:* In the Long Island area, fish were netted in summer along the mainland coast. In fall, trout and whitefish were speared in a river system just south of Cape Jones.

James Bay and Southeast Hudson Bay Islands: Period III (1960–1974)

● *Summary:* Since the Inuit moved to Great Whale River in 1960, there has been little hunting around Cape Hope or Strutton islands, but hunting has continued sporadically along the whole east James Bay coast.

From Great Whale River, most hunting occurs along the coast from Long Island to Broughton Island. Inuit visit Long Island during summer to hunt seals and game and to fish. Whales are hunted when encountered. During winter, polar bears may be taken near Long Island and between Long and Belcher islands. Seals are hunted while people travel along the coast from Great Whale to Long Island. Ducks and geese may also be taken along the way. Seals are also hunted north along the coast from Great Whale River to the Richmond Gulf area. Geese are taken all along the Nastapoka Islands, where whales are also hunted when sighted, usually between the islands and the mainland. Ducks and eggs are taken on a group of islands half-way between Richmond Gulf and the Belcher Islands. There is also some trapping in the area, especially on the mainland.

Inuit Land Use in the Port Burwell Area

by Erik Val

Port Burwell

Port Burwell (60°25′N, 64°50′W) is on the southwest coast of Killinek Island, just off the northern tip of Labrador. In 1884, the federal government established a temporary meteorological station. There were temporary trading stations on the island before the Moravian Church opened a trading and mission station in 1904. In 1916, the Moravians sold their trading interests to the H.B.C., and they closed the mission in 1924. The H.B.C. withdrew from the area in 1939. However, people continued to live and hunt on Killinek Island, owing to the abundance of seals and char. In 1960, the residents organized the Kititayoak Eskimo Cooperative, which has flourished.

In 1974, the population was 121. The settlement has helicopter charter service from Fort Chimo (there is no airstrip), police supervision from Frobisher Bay, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to six), a church, telephone service, irregular postal service and the cooperative.

● *Seal Hunting:* In the Port Burwell region (Map 22), the species of seals hunted are ringed, bearded, harbour and harp seals. They are hunted from freighter canoes, netted in Forbes Sound, and hunted from the shores of McLean Strait. In both Periods II and III, hunting occurred from Alluviaq Fiord on the Quebec coast, north along the shore to McLelan Strait, north again to the Button Islands, and from there south along the Labrador coast to Hebron Fiord. In addition, seal hunting has occurred as far south as George River during Period III. Occasionally, harbour seals are hunted on the south eoast of Resolution Island.

The most important areas for seal hunting during both Periods II and III have been from Alluviaq Fiord, northward to around the Button Islands, the McLelan Strait region, then south to Noodleook Fiord on the Labrador coast. Bearded and ringed seals are most commonly hunted along the Quebec and Labrador coasts, but harp and harbour seals are hunted around the Button Islands. From late October through winter, harp seals are hunted in the open waters of McLelan Strait.

● *Whale and Walrus Hunting:* In both Periods II and III, there has been little white whale hunting. In Period II, hunting occurred just south of Jackson Island west of Port Burwell, and at Grenfell Sound at the east end of McLelan Strait. In Period III, hunting takes place in Forbes Sound, south of Jackson Island, and off Cape William Smith on the Quebec coast. In Period II, only two areas of occasional walrus hunting are recorded: Forbes Sound and Grenfell Sound. There has been no walrus hunting in Period III.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* In Period II, polar bears were hunted during winter on the west part of Killinek Island and on the sea ice immediately offshore, both in winter and spring. In addition, bears were hunted in an area that extended from the east end of McLelan Strait south to Noodleook Fiord in both winter and spring. In Period III, bear hunting occurs over much of Killinek Island, and south along the south side of McLelan Strait to Noodleook Fiord.

● *Fox Trapping:* In both Periods II and III, fox trapping has taken place on the north side of Killinek Island and south along the east coast of Ungava Bay as far south as Alluviaq Fiord during Period II, but only as far south as Singer Inlet during Period III. Most trapping in Period III occurs along the south and north shores of Killinek Island.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The core caribou hunting area extends from the southern tip of Alluviaq Fiord west to Rivière du Vent d'Ouest and then south to Lac des Essais, just west of the Quebec-Labrador border. This area, Senikijuak, has been used by everyone in the region who hunts caribou, and it can be approached either from the west, by way of Alluviaq Fiord, or from the east by way of Kangalaksiorvik Fiord or by Ryans Bay and Rivière du Vent d'Ouest. This area was used in both winter and summer.

Summer caribou hunts also occurred on both sides of Alluviaq Fiord, and the same area is exploited farther inland in winter. Another winter area, also close to Alluviaq Fiord, is immediately south of Weymouth Inlet. On the Labrador coast, caribou have been hunted in both Periods II and III in inland areas, south of Noodleook Fiord, and along the coast from Eclipse Channel to the head of Kangalaksiorvik Fiord. Other areas that are hunted include Koroc River (upstream from George River), the north side of Saglek Fiord in Labrador, and around the coast regions of Hebron Fiord. However, because of the distance from Port Burwell, these latter areas are not used as frequently as others.

● *Wildfowling:* In Period II, duck hunting was limited to the shore areas of McLelan Strait, extending from Jackson Island in the west to Grenfell Sound in the east. Duck eggs were collected in the summer months in the same area. During Period III, duck hunting extends around Killinek Island and south along either side of the Torngat Mountains peninsula. Along the Quebec coast, hunting extends as far south as Singer Inlet, and on the Labrador coast hunting extends south to Saglarsuk Bay. These two are conneeted by a hunting area in the Tunnissugjuak Inlet. There are islands, off Cape Kakkiviak, that are used both for duck hunting and egg collecting.

Goose hunting in the spring and fall has occurred only along the Quebec coast. In Periods II and III, the area extended from Singer Inlet northward to just south of Young Inlet.

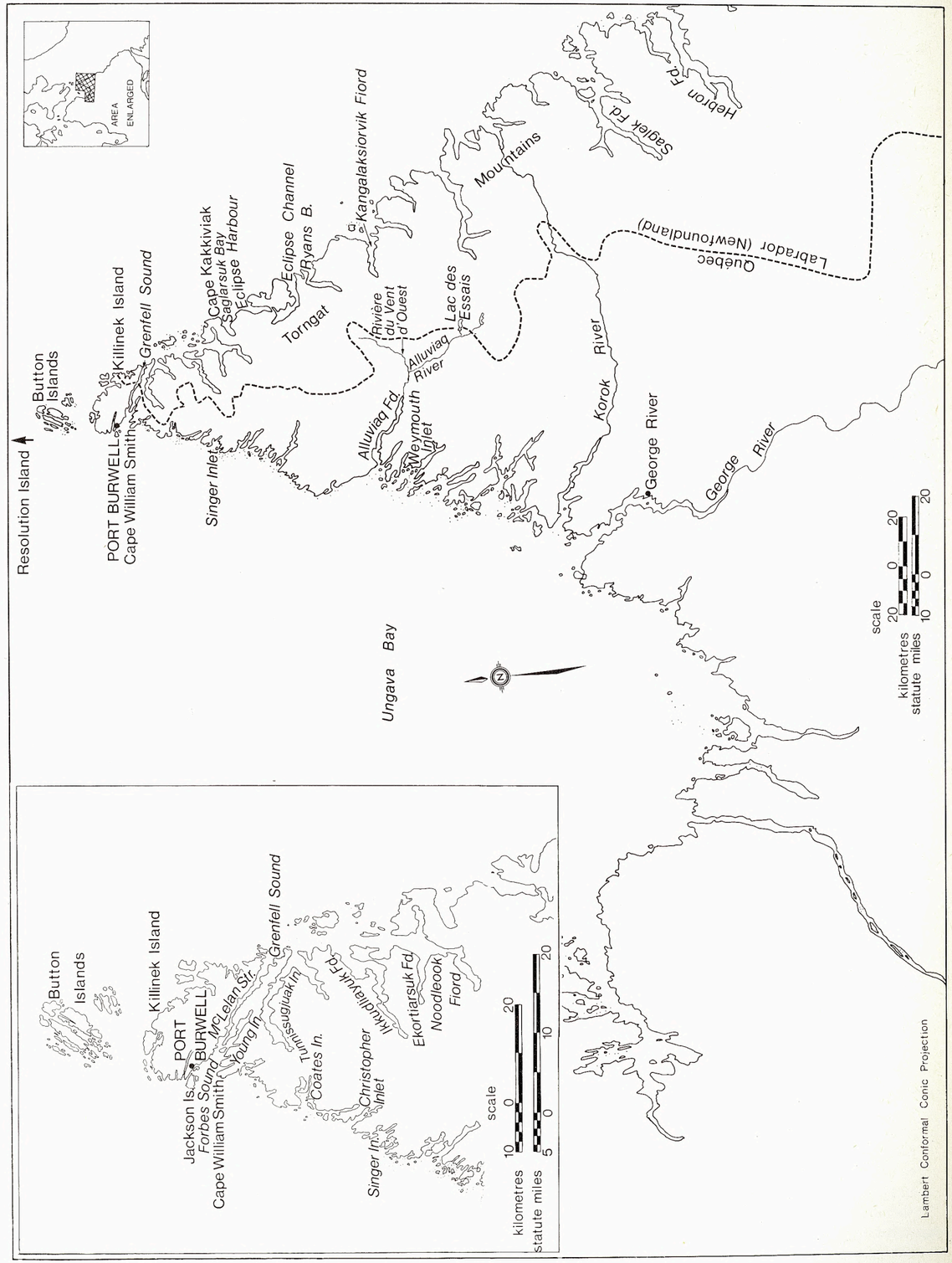
Ptarmigans have been hunted along the Quebec coast from Singer Inlet north to Young Inlet and Cape William Smith, and, during Period III, inland on Killinek Island.

● *Fishing:* In both Periods II and III, cod have been netted in Jackson Inlet, just west of Burwell. Char fishing occurs mainly on the Labrador side of the Torngat Mountains penin-

sula. In Period II, char fishing occurred in Ikkudliayuk, Ekortiarsuk and Noodleook fiords. In both periods, fishing occurred at the east end of Alluviaq Fiord where the Rivière du Vent d'Ouest meets the Alluviaq River. In Period III, fishing on the Labrador coast extends from Ikkudliayuk Fiord along the coast to Eclipse Harbour. Char are netted from Cape Kakkiviak on the Labrador coast in salt water during summer.

● *Minor Resources:* In both Periods II and III, berries have been collected along the Quebec coast from just north of Alluviaq Fiord northward to just south of Cape William Smith. In Period III, the northern limit of this area extends to Coates Inlet, and berries are also collected near the settlement on Killinek Island. Clams are plentiful in McLelan Strait. In Periods II and III they have been collected in Young Inlet, and in Period III, they are also collected on the Quebec coast in Singer and Christopher inlets.

Map 22
Port Burwell place names



Inuit Land Use in South and East Baffin Island

by William B. Kemp

Cape Dorset

Cape Dorset (64°14'N, 76°32'W) is located on the southern tip of Dorset Island, one of a group of islands off the south coast of Foxe Peninsula, southwest Baffin Island. Luke Foxe, who explored parts of Hudson Bay and Foxe Basin in 1631, named the cape after the Earl of Dorset; one of the ancient Eskimo cultures, the Dorset Culture, is named after the cape, for the first evidences of this cultural horizon were found there.

In 1913, the H.B.C. established a trading post at Cape Dorset, and it became the nucleus of later settlement. Between 1938 and 1960 the Roman Catholic Church operated a mission there, and between 1939 and 1949 the Baffin Trading Company carried on a competitive trade with the H.B.C. store. The Anglican Church established a mission in 1961, although it had been active in the region since the early 1900's. The R.C.M.P. detachment was opened in 1965. Cape Dorset's artistic productions are internationally recognized for their variety and quality. The West Baffin Cooperative, which was organized in 1959, not only operates a general store but is also the main distributor of the soapstone carvings, prints, drawings and engravings. The cooperative is the settlement's largest employer. In 1974 its sales, including raw fur, amounted to about $700,000.

In 1974, Cape Dorset's population was 690 persons. The settlement has an airstrip and twice-weekly flights from Frobisher Bay, a primary school (grades one to seven), an adult education centre, a nursing station, police, a church, a community hall, telephone service, a post office, and five general stores, including the cooperative.

Period II (1913–1960)

The Cape Dorset area (Maps 23 and 24) had three major regional settlement areas. In the northwest, at Cape Dorchester, there were two major camps, Noovoojuak and Nuwata; there was a second group in the Andrew Gordon Bay area, including camps that are still used, Iggalalik, Ittidliajuk, Ikirasask and Akatolaolavik; and the third group was in the Amadjuak Bay area.

The general seasonal pattern of movement was to occupy the permanent mainland settlements in winter, then to move out in spring and summer to camps located on offshore islands such as the West Foxe Islands and the islands in Andrew Gordon Bay, Chorbak Inlet and Shugba Bay. In the Amadjuak Bay region, camps were located on Chamberlain Island and on islands in Keltie Inlet. Caribou and fishing camps were also located at Burwash Bay and along the northwest shore of Nettilling Lake, and there were camps at Figgures Point and in Hantsch Bay on the southeast coast of Foxe Basin.

- *Seal Hunting:* The outermost limits for the area's seal hunting extended from Dorchester Bay on the north side of Foxe Peninsula south to Nottingham, Salisbury and Mill islands, then southeast through White Strait to the North Bay area. Except for the extension south to include Nottingham Island, the outer limit was parallel to the coast. In winter, the boundary approximated the floe edge and, at this season, was closest to the land. The Cape Dorset people did not use the area southeast of Amadjuak Bay intensively, except when travelling through the area by boat in the summer. The coastal waters off Nottingham and Salisbury islands were never used exclusively for seal hunting except by the families who lived on Nottingham Island after the establishment of a weather station there.

Within the region adjacent to Cape Dorset, seal hunting was concentrated where there were winter and spring settlements. The clustering of camps between King Charles and Amadjuak Bay made this a very important seal hunting area. Spring and early summer seal hunting mainly took place between King Charles Cape and Cape Dorset and winter hunting was concentrated in the regions of Andrew Gordon Bay, Chorbak Inlet and Amadjuak Bay. At least eight or 10 winter settlements were maintained in this coastal stretch because of productive winter hunting for ringed and bearded seals at breathing holes, at tide- and current-maintained open-water areas, and at the floe edge. In spring, basking seals were abundant in areas of fast ice and at tidal cracks. Both ringed and bearded seals were available in the deep bays and around protected islands in fall and immediately following freeze-up.

Intensive hunting was carried out along the northwestern coast of Foxe Peninsula and in Foxe Channel. The most productive region was associated with a major winter settlement at Cape Dorchester and with a large spring encampment southwest of that cape. Most of the hunting took place in Finnie Bay and northeastwards along the coast to Dorchester Bay. South of this area, large shoals extend seaward, and the coast is steep without many harbours. Frequent rough water made the area unproductive, and travel along this coast was infrequent.

Harbour seals are rare on the south coast of Baffin Island and were rarely hunted in this region except at certain locations during the summer months, such as Amadjuak Bay and a small bay to the northwest.

- *Walrus Hunting:* Walruses were important to the economy of all the settlements in the Cape Dorset region throughout Period II. The major hunting grounds were at Salisbury and Nottingham islands, Cape Dorchester, and along the coast west of Cape Dorset. Less important areas were along Andrew Gordon Bay, Chorbak Inlet, and Amadjuak Bay. Hunting in the Chorbak Inlet area extended far into the open water of Hudson Strait.

Residents of the south coast of Baffin Island got most of their supply of walrus meat from Nottingham and Salisbury islands in fall. Walruses were available in this region throughout the year, but hunting near the settlements in winter was

infrequent because the people preferred to hunt on Nottingham and Salisbury islands. The best walrus hunting area on the south coast itself was located west of Cape Dorset, near King Charles Cape, where most of the hunting took place in fall, although there was some hunting at the floe edge during winter.

People on the north coast of Foxe Peninsula hunted walruses near Cape Dorchester, either from the land or in coastal waters during fall, or at the floe edge in winter.

● *Whale Hunting:* In fall, the people hunted white whales along the eastern shore of Markham Bay and off Fair Ness as the pods moved southeast along the coast. Other areas of fall whale hunting were from Amadjuak Bay westwards to Chamberlain Island and throughout the many small islands in the region, thereby extending the hunting area far seawards. Hunting also took place close to shore, immediately west of Chorbak Inlet, and from Andrew Gordon Bay along the coast to Cape Dorset. There was no whale hunting anywhere else on Foxe Peninsula, except for one area just west of Cape Dorset, and a small one along the north shore of Salisbury Island.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* There were three major areas of polar bear hunting in the Cape Dorset region. The first was on the coastal islands just south of Amadjuak Bay, during winter and spring. The second covered a large part of western Foxe Peninsula, from just west of Cape Dorset inland across to Finnie Bay, with an extension farther east into the interior. The third and perhaps most important region was north of Finnie Bay toward Cape Dorchester. It also extended inland.

Other hunting locations, of perhaps less importance during Period II, were to the northwest of Andrew Gordon Bay, on Nottingham, Salisbury and Mill islands, and on the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak, south of Koukdjuak River. However, hunters say that bears were rare on the plain, which is inland.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The main area of caribou hunting covered a large expanse of territory including all but the western and northern coast of Foxe Peninsula. The eastern boundary extended along the coast as far as Markham Bay, then north to Nettilling Lake and west into the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak. A narrower strip of hunting territory ran from Amadjuak Lake southeast toward Frobisher Bay. Farther north, there was another but smaller region of caribou hunting along the northern shore of Nettilling Lake that extended as far as the Foxe Basin coast. Other smaller areas were hunted mainly by individuals.

Within the territory, the exact areas of intensive activity shifted according to changes in the size of herds and seasonal patterns of feeding and movement. In general, the major hunting locations were the southeast corner of Amadjuak Lake over to Mingo Lake, the Burwash Bay area of Nettilling Lake, and an area north of Markham Bay. There was one area in which no activity took place: a rarely visited area of rough, barren terrain between Amadjuak and Keeka lakes.

● *Fox Trapping:* The trap lines during Period II originated from the camps widely distributed along the entire coast. Fox trapping was frequently related to caribou hunting, especially during years when foxes were scarce and long trips inland were not profitable. During Period II, the Cape Dorset area was the most intensively trapped land in all southern and eastern Baffin Island, in addition to the exploitation of the interior of Foxe Peninsula. Trap lines extended west from Chorbak Inlet to Mingo Lake and then south to the Amadjuak Bay region. In the northern part of the region, trap lines extended around the western perimeter of Nettilling Lake and onto the Great Plain of the Koukdjuak.

Other than those on land, traps were also set on the sea ice in Andrew Gordon Bay east to Markham Bay, and off the coast of Foxe Peninsula. However, along the northern coast of Foxe Peninsula, from Garnet Bay to Bowman Bay, trap lines did not extend on to the sea ice.

The network of trap lines on Foxe Peninsula very often followed the region's small rivers and lakes. Certain areas in the interior were not trapped at all, but others were densely trapped. The trap lines that ran eastward from Foxe Peninsula toward Amadjuak Lake avoided the western shore of the lake because of its rocky terrain.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese are widely distributed throughout the region. Hunting was concentrated on most of the main nesting areas, especially along the coast from Chorbak Inlet around Foxe Peninsula to Cape Dorchester, and in the interior between Amadjuak Bay and Foxe Basin. There were other smaller hunting areas as well; for example, the head of Amadjuak Bay was used intensively but almost all the river valleys and small coastal bays were also hunted for geese.

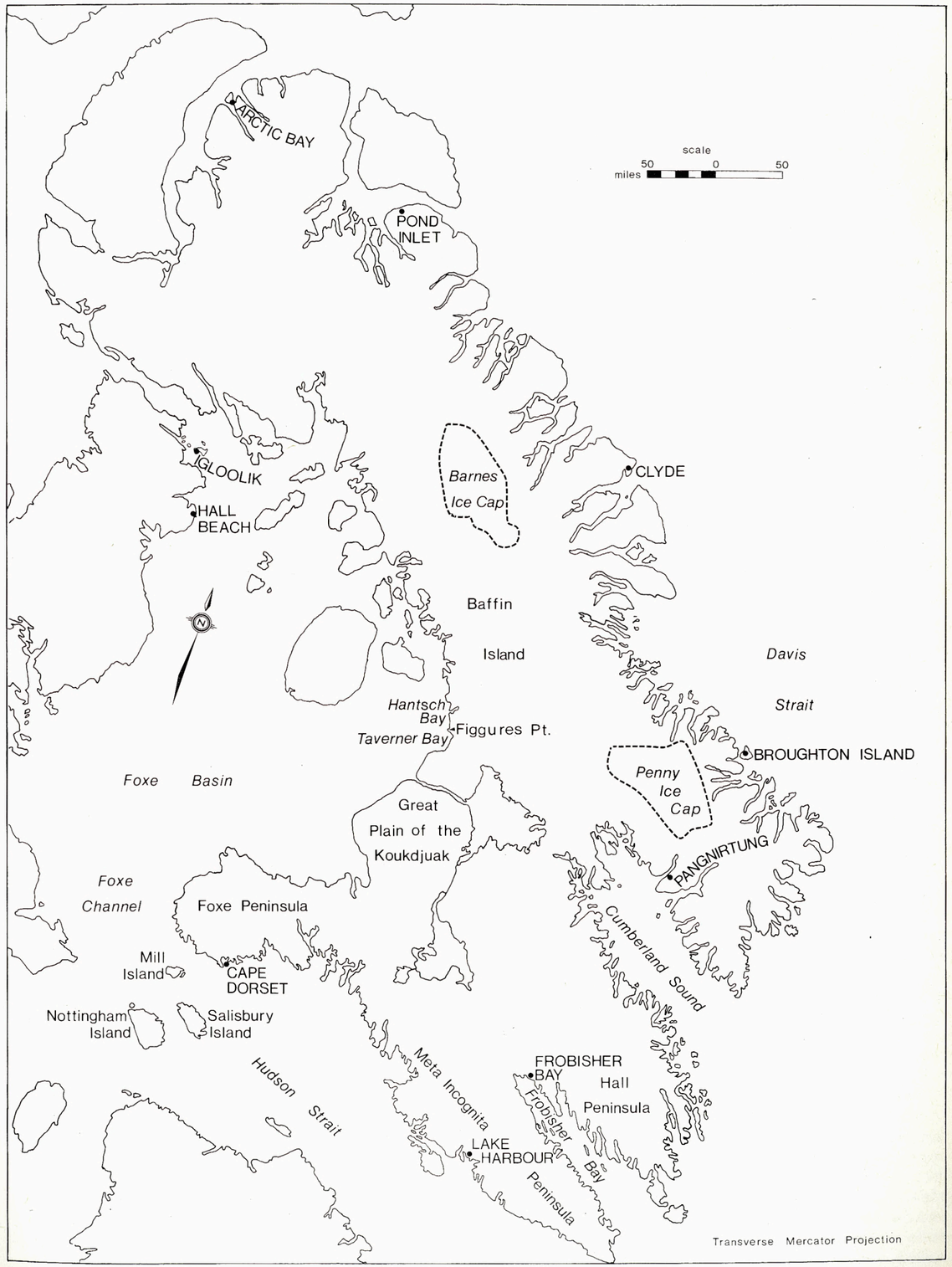
Ducks have a much wider distribution than geese. The hunt extended into the open water in summer and along the floe edge in winter. It was especially active on the small coastal islands. Egg collecting took place in early July, but might continue through the month. Duck hunting was mainly carried on during the nesting season.

● *Fishing:* There are many small lakes, rivers, and inlets along the coast and in the interior of Foxe Peninsula that were used for char fishing. In Period II, Koukdjuak River was not heavily fished, and only the northernmost and southernmost parts of Nettilling Lake were used. Small lakes throughout Foxe Peninsula were fished in fall and winter. Major activity occurred in the river system inland from MacNabb Lake and the head of Keltie Inlet, the Amadjuak Bay area, the lakes northeast of Amadjuak Bay, and several small lakes within 10 miles of Cape Dorset.

Period III (1960–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* The general pattern of seal hunting during Period III remains much the same as in Period II, except for the Foxe Channel and White Strait areas. Most of the hunting

Map 23
South and East Baffin Island



now takes place in the area between King Charles Cape and Markham Bay, particularly between Cape Dorset and Chorbak Inlet. Most of the present Cape Dorset residents establish summer camps in this area, and the most intensive seal hunting season is in May and June. Nottingham, Salisbury and Mill islands are no longer important hunting areas, although they were used sporadically during the early years of Period III.

In winter, hunting is most intensive along the floe edge off Cape Dorset, although hunters using skidoos will range farther west to hunt at breathing holes or in areas of open water in Chorbak Inlet. Seal hunting eastward is usually associated with travel inland to hunt caribou, or to the Markham Bay region to mine soapstone.

- *Walrus Hunting:* The general pattern of walrus hunting did not change significantly from Period II, primarily because of the continued importance of walruses in the early part of Period III. Subsequently, the inereasing use of snow vehicles and a corresponding decline in the need for dog food eliminated hunting around Nottingham and Salisbury islands and near Cape Dorchester. However, hunters again visited both islands to hunt walruses in 1974.

Present hunting areas have expanded now that formerly separate regions of settlement have coalesced into larger units, covering territory that was only occasionally hunted in earlier days. Hunting is now most intensive immediately west of Cape Dorset, but there is little elsewhere.

- *Whale Hunting:* During Period III, hunting for white whales has been carried on in only a narrow zone just east of Cape Dorset, from Andrew Gordon Bay to Chorbak Inlet. Hunting is done in spring along the floe edge, and in fall close to shore.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* In Period III, the hunting patterns changed, especially in the eastern part of the region, where the large hunting area near Amadjuak Bay is now reduced to only a few of the larger islands, and hunting is sporadic. The large hunting zone on the coast and inland on Foxe Peninsula is still in use. There is also a cluster of smaller hunting areas along the coast from Andrew Gordon Bay to Cape Dorset – inland on some offshore islands and at the floe edge. There is no longer any hunting at Cape Dorchester, but some bears were shot in the Bowman Bay region during Period III. Only two small areas on the north side of Nottingham Island and on the west of Salisbury Island are now hunted.

Between Periods II and III, polar bear hunting has contracted in area, but has become more widely distributed. The major zone continues to be along the coast from Cape Dorset to Harkin Bay and inland from this coast.

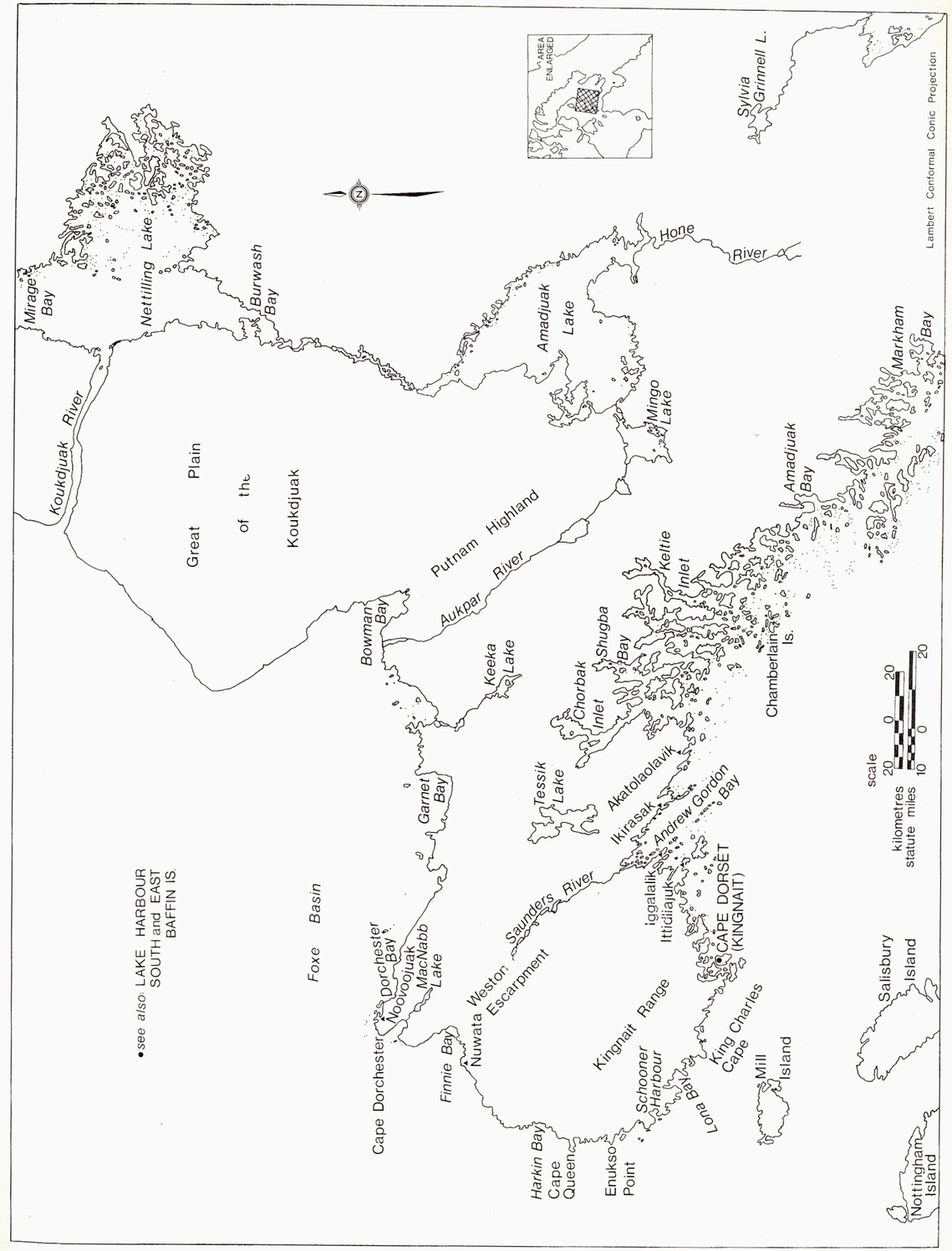
- *Caribou Hunting:* During Period III, caribou have increased in number in Foxe Peninsula, and the hunting area now extends west beyond the Saunders River system as far as the west coast. The hunting around the southern part of Amadjuak Lake has contracted to only the area just east of Mingo Lake. A new area has opened up between Frobisher Bay and Sylvia Grinnell Lake, continuing northwest to the Hone River system and along the eastern shores of Amadjuak Lake. Hunting in the early part of Period III around Nettilling Lake was the same as in Period II, but the area is no longer used by Cape Dorset people.
- *Fox Trapping:* There has been a major reduction in the intensity of fox trapping during Period III, although much of Foxe Peninsula is still crossed by trap lines. Corridors of intensive trapping activity still extend from Andrew Gordon Bay northward and from Cape Dorset northwest towards Finnie Bay, although many trap lines along the coast have been given up, primarily because of the abandonment of winter settlements in that area. All trap lines now converge on the Cape Dorset area, including the lines on the sea ice from Andrew Gordon Bay westwards. There is almost no trapping east of the Andrew Gordon Bay nor in the Nettilling Lake area.
- *Wildfowling:* There is almost no goose hunting in the interior, except a little along Koukdjuak River. Other hunting is done in the course of spring and early summer seal hunting in the immediate area of Cape Dorset. The general pattern of hunting ducks and collecting eggs between Amadjuak Bay and King Charles Cape is the same as it was in Period II, but is much attenuated.
- *Fishing:* The small interior lakes of Foxe Peninsula are no longer used. MacNabb and several other lakes in the interior are still fished, and Koukdjuak River is now exploited. Fishing in Nettilling Lake has increased to cover all of the shore and islands from Burwash Bay to Mirage Bay. Other fishing activity is now concentrated on Cape Dorset.

Lake Harbour

Lake Harbour (62°51'N, 69°53'W) is on the south coast of Meta Incognita Peninsula, southern Baffin Island. The Inuit of this coast have long been in contact with Whites, for the annual supply ships of the H.B.C. posts always sailed close to the north shore of Hudson Strait when entering and leaving Hudson Bay. The American whalers who were active in Hudson Bay between about 1860 and 1910 recruited many Inuit from this area as crew, and there was a mica mine in the neighbourhood at the turn of the century. Missionaries of the Anglican Church have been active here since 1909. In 1911, the H.B.C. established a trading post, which became the nucleus of the present settlement. The R.C.M.P. built a post in 1924, and during World War II there was a U.S. Air Force radio station nearby.

In 1974, the population was 260. The settlement has no airstrip (landings are made on sea ice in winter and on a sandbar in summer), but there is scheduled air service from

Map 24
Cape Dorset place names



Frobisher Bay. Lake Harbour has a police detachment, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade eight), a church, a community hall, telephone service, a post office, a transient centre, a general store, and the Kimik Cooperative, which in 1974 had a turnover of about $200,000, including raw fur sales.

Period II (1930–1964)

The major settlement areas in the Lake Harbour region (Map 25) were the North Bay area, Crooks Inlet, Markham Bay, and Big Island. South of North Bay, there were camps in Carew Bay, Shaftesbury Inlet, Observation Cove, and Balcolm Inlet. Farther south there were other camps on the Middle Savage Islands and at Pritzler Harbour.

● *Seal Hunting:* Lake Harbour hunters hunted seals from Nottingham, Salisbury and Mill islands along the entire north coast of Hudson Strait, and northward across the mouth of Frobisher Bay to Brevoort Island in Davis Strait. However, the Nottingham Island and the Brevoort Island areas were the less intensively hunted extremities of a much more intensively used centre between Markham Bay in the northwest and Shaftesbury Inlet in the southeast. Within this area, four species of seals were hunted.

The most productive hunting was in North Bay, White Strait, Crooks Inlet, and Markham Bay. These locations formed a core area that was hunted throughout the year. Complex coastlines and deep bays provided protection for open-water hunting in summer and fall, and stable land-fast ice maintained breathing holes for hunting in winter. The most intensively hunted area extended from the north end of White Strait through North Bay to Juet Island, and was centred on the floe edge between Juet and Big islands. The next most intensively used parts of the core area were the southeastern portion of Markham Bay and the coastal waters south of Fair Ness. Within North Bay, the north shore of McKellar Bay was hunted most intensively in fall and early winter, although the actual focus of activity shifted according to changes in weather.

Bearded seals were hunted throughout the Lake Harbour region during the open-water season. In winter, however, they were hunted only at breathing holes in new ice near the floe edge or in open water off the floe edge, especially between Juet Island and Big Island. During summer, important areas for bearded seals were White Strait, the northwest coast of Big Island around Emma Island, and almost all of North Bay, which yielded good late summer harvests of first-year seals.

Hunting was less intensive south of Shaftesbury Inlet, where the floe edge seldom extended beyond the mouths of the inlets, thus limiting the number of breathing holes during winter. During summer, little hunting occurred in these narrow fiords because of winds and rough water and because the larger seals seemed to leave for North Bay in late July and August.

All the permanent winter villages along the southern coast of Baffin Island had economies based partially on seals. They were less important in the Lake Harbour area, however, than in settlements between North Bay and Cape Dorset and those in Frobisher Bay.

Harp seals are a summer migrant along the south coast of Baffin Island, and are available for only a short period of time, usually between mid-August and early September. They were hunted in the North Bay and Beaumont Harbour areas, the northern outlet of White Strait, and just south of Fair Ness in the Markham Bay region.

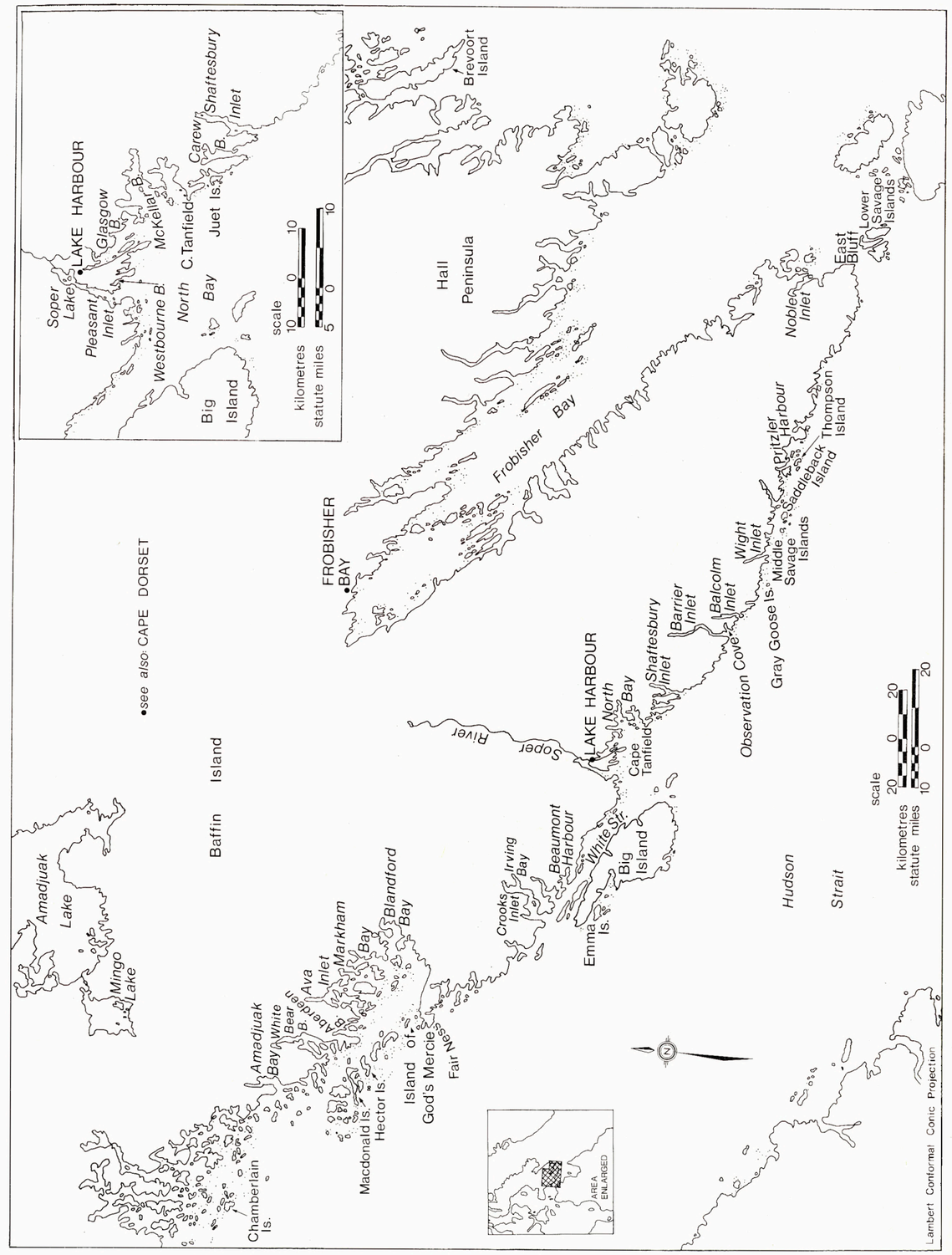
Harbour seals, because of their limited distribution, were only infrequently hunted on the south coast of Baffin Island. However, during Period II, they were occasionally hunted in Wight Inlet, in Carew Bay just north of Shaftesbury Inlet, and in Amadjuak Bay. They were not hunted in winter.

● *Walrus Hunting:* Walrus hunting was important to the economy of the region, especially to the people who lived along the southeast coast of Baffin Island. One of the two major walrus hunting areas was a narrow zone from Pritzler Harbour to Shaftesbury Inlet, particularly at Pritzler Harbour and Observation Cove. The other was at East Bluff at the southern tip of the Meta Incognita. Farther west along the south coast, walruses were hunted along the floe edge of Juet Island and, in summer, at some hauling out places in the central part of North Bay and along White Strait. Fair Ness was the farthest significant hunting area in the Lake Harbour region, but occasional hunts by Peterhead boat took place along the Davis Strait coast of Hall Peninsula, north of Frobisher Bay.

● *Whale Hunting:* White whales were hunted all along the south coast, from Thompson Island northwest into North Bay and along the northern coast of Big Island. In late spring, this hunt was carried on along the retreating floe edge, especially in the Fair Ness area of Markham Bay. Before freeze-up in fall, an important hunt took place in the area between Pleasant Inlet and the head of Glasgow Bay, in McKellar Bay, and around Cape Tanfield. After freeze-up, whales were hunted at the floe edge, which runs in an eastwest direction from the Island of God's Mercy to Hector Island, and in the Blandford Bay area of Markham Bay. In late winter and early spring, whales were hunted at the floe edge in Markham Bay itself. Narwhals have been taken only rarely in the Lake Harbour region, usually in the North Bay area.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Three areas were most important for polar bear. One extended from Fair Ness as a long narrow zone along the shore into North Bay; another started at the south side of Big Island, took in the area of the floe edge near Juet Island, and continued toward Shaftesbury Inlet; but the most important was from the Middle Savage Islands to just

Map 25
Lake Harbour place names



east of Pritzler Harbour. This last area was used in summer in conjunction with duck hunting and egg collecting.

Although the Lake Harbour region was not considered to be especially productive, polar bears were not infrequent and were hunted throughout the year.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The residents of southern Baffin Island hunted caribou in eertain areas that might vary from year to year. The herd on Meta Incognita Peninsula was considered to be too small for attention, and was frequently difficult to locate. Hunting there was never eonsidered to be reliable, except for an area of valleys and lakes between MeKellar Bay and the highlands north of Frobisher Bay, but even here, there was no certainty of finding caribou in winter. There was more intensive and reliable hunting in the Crooks Inlet and Markham Bay areas, where small herds spent the whole year. Winter caribou hunting there was considered to be the best in the region. Lake Harbour people only occasionally visited the area east of Frobisher Bay. The valley of and the hills along Soper River were an important hunting area in summer.

● *Fox Trapping:* With few exceptions, the important trap lines of the Lake Harbour people were contained in an area that corresponded to the outer limits of caribou and seal hunting. Areas where caribou hunting was largely confined to well-defined valleys were especially important for fox trapping. However, areas in which caribou were more widely dispersed had few or no trap lines as was the situation in the southeastern part of Meta Incognita Peninsula and the area northwest of Markham Bay.

Trapping in the Lake Harbour region was, therefore, carried out along the coast and, inland, along the river valleys. Except for the rivers flowing into Barrier Inlet, almost all inland travel routes were used for fox trapping. Some trap lines, such as those extending inland from Balcolm Inlet, crossed almost the whole peninsula. There was intensive trapping along the rivers running inland from McKellar Bay and in Soper Valley, two major travel routes to Frobisher Bay that were also intensively hunted for caribou in winter.

A large eoncentration of trap lines extended inland from the winter settlements along White Strait, particularly at Pleasant and Crooks inlets. Big Island was intensively trapped, but trapping in the northeast Markham Bay area was mainly confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the winter settlements, to the sea ice, and to the Aberdeen and Amadjuak bay areas. All along the coast, trapping areas were confined to the land-fast ice, which extends only a short distance offshore, or to broader regions in the North Bay–White Strait area, where traps were spread over a wide area of sea ice. Fox trapping was often associated with hunting seals at breathing holes, as seal remains were left to serve as bait. Hunters in winter camps southeast of Lake Harbour, where the floe edge is close to shore, trapped on the small offshore islands.

● *Wildfowling:* Geese were hunted far inland up Soper Valley, in McKellar Bay, around Cape Tanfield, and on the southwestern eoast of Big Island. Almost every small lake along the eoast and all the inlets were good hunting areas. The hunters of Lake Harbour considered that geese were "everywhere", and they hunted them all along the south coast in conjunction with open-water seal hunting in late spring and summer.

The range of duek hunting overlapped but was larger than that of geese. A major duck hunting area was from Fair Ness northwest to Amadjuak Bay, and it included almost all the coastal islands in the Markham Bay region. The south side of Big Island and the Middle Savage Islands were also important areas, as was the whole coast from Shaftesbury Inlet to below Pritzler Harbour.

The Middle Savage Islands, an area of Big Island and southeastern Markham Bay were important areas for collecting eggs, but they were in fact collected all along the south coast.

● *Fishing:* Most of the fishing in the Lake Harbour region was done in coastal lakes and rivers. Few lakes far inland were fished as most of them were thought not to have enough fish to warrant travelling so far. There were major fishing lakes, rivers and bays in the Middle Savage Islands, the Pritzler Harbour area, and near most of the larger inlets along the south coast. Shaftesbury Inlet was said to be most productive for fall fishing, both in salt water and in the river; in spring, the people fished through the lake ice. Winter fishing in the region was not important, although the lake near Observation Cove was occasionally used.

Many of the lakes near White Strait, from Pleasant Inlet to Beaumont Harbour, as well as those on Big Island were fished in spring and fall. The lakes and rivers on the west shore of Markham Bay were heavily fished, including in winter. This area was perhaps the most important in the region, with lesser fisheries near White Bear and Ava inlets and in Amadjuak Bay.

Period III (1965–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* Although ringed seals are hunted over a large area, its western and eastern extremes, Nottingham and Salisbury islands and the Davis Strait region, are no longer hunted. The area between Markham Bay and Shaftesbury Inlet is still the most important. Hunting is less intense in other parts of the region because of the recent abandonment of permanent winter settlements. Only a limited amount of seal hunting, usually during June, oceurs beyond Shaftesbury Inlet.

The Markham Bay area is still considered good for seal hunting, but it is visited for only short periods in spring and during caribou hunting in fall. Hunting areas for bearded seals remain much the same as during Period II. Summer hunting takes place mainly in the White Strait, Big Island, and Emma Island area, and winter hunting is concentrated between Juet and Big islands. There has been a marked decrease in the numbers of harp seals in the North Bay area during Period III, so that the hunting of this species has been restricted. Harbour seals are now found only in the Wight Inlet area, where they continue to be hunted by oecasional travellers.

● *Walrus Hunting:* During Period III, there has been a reduction in the territory used for walrus hunting. The larger contiguous areas hunted in Period II have broken up into smaller localized ones close to the remaining camps. Lake Harbour residents no longer hunt the Davis Strait region. Some small areas, such as North Bay, White Strait, and Fair Ness, and the floe edge off Juet Island continue to be important for walrus hunting.

The shrinkage of most hunting areas, particularly west of Lake Harbour, has resulted from changes in settlement patterns and from the redueed need for dog food. Many Lake Harbour people express an aversion to walrus meat, and seal remains plentiful enough to provide for humans and needs for the smaller population of dogs. At present, there is occasional winter hunting of walruses in North Bay; summer walrus hunts occur to the southeast, always in conjunction with the hunting of seals and ducks.

● *Whale Hunting:* Whale hunting continues throughout the North Bay area, at the floe edge in late winter and early spring, and inshore in fall. Whales are no longer hunted in the Thompson Island area, and rarely so along the floe edge from Shaftesbury Inlet to White Strait. The Markham Bay area is no longer used at any time of the year because of the abandonment of permanent winter villages there during Period III.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bear hunting is now carried on in small areas around Fair Ness and inland from Irving Bay in Crooks Inlet. The south coast of Big Island, together with White Strait and the Middle Savage Islands, remain important. However, the sparse distribution of bears in the region make intensive hunting impossible.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The eastern boundary for caribou hunting in the region is now located just north of Shaftesbury Inlet, and follows a line extending across Meta Incognita Peninsula to Frobisher Bay. Caribou are hunted from Frobisher Bay east to Amadjuak Bay, although no longer as far as Mingo and Amadjuak lakes. Hunting is still carried on in the central part of Hall Peninsula around MeNeid River, and in small areas near Noble Inlet and Pritzler Harbour. The Soper River Valley, Crooks Inlet and the Markham Bay area continue to be important. Lake Harbour hunters say that a general deeline in the caribou population of the region has reduced the number of caribou hunts.

● *Fox Trapping:* There has been a major reduction in trapping areas in the region. The inland routes from MeKellar Bay and Soper River Valley continue to be used oecasionally, and the area inland from Pleasant Inlet and White Strait remains the most important.

Trapping on the fast ice of North Bay continues out to the floe edge and to the north side of White Strait. Crooks Inlet and a narrowing strip inland to Fair Ness remain important. The south coast of Big Island has been trapped throughout Period III, but areas southeast of Shaftesbury Inlet are no longer used.

● *Wildfowling:* Goose hunting areas are the same as during Period II, although the hunting intensity varies depending on the open-water areas being used to hunt seal. The major areas for duek hunting are also the same as during Period II, the most important being Pritzler Harbour, the Middle Savage Islands and the south side of Big Island. There is no longer any hunting beyond the island cluster west of Markham Bay, although the southeastern section of the bay is still used. Areas for egg collecting are the same as for Period II.

● *Fishing:* Many of the lakes and rivers mentioned in Period II are still used, but there is a general decline in the intensity of fishing. Many areas no longer have resident populations, and travel to or through these areas may not coincide with the seasonal availability of fish.

The Shaftesbury Inlet area and the lakes west of Pleasant Inlet have become heavily used since the general movement of the region's population to Lake Harbour. The people comment on the substantial reduction in the number of char in these waters. They say that if there were more fish, there would be more fishing in the region.

Frobisher Bay

Frobisher Bay (63°44′N, 68°28′W) is located on Koojesse Inlet at the head of Frobisher Bay. The first European to explore the area was Martin Frobisher in 1576. He visited again in 1577 and 1578 to mine ore that was wrongly thought to contain gold. In 1861, C.F. Hall proved that what Frobisher had thought was a strait was, in fact, a bay, and since then it has frequently been visited by whalers, traders, and other expeditions.

In 1914, the H.B.C. established a post in Charles Francis Hall Bay, not far from the present settlement; the post was moved to Hamlen Bay in 1920 and moved again to Ward Inlet in 1922.

In 1941, at the beginning of World War II, the U.S. Air Force established a weather station on Pugh Island, but moved it in 1942 to a site near the mouth of Sylvia Grinnell River, where a major airport was built as part of the Northeast Staging Route to Europe. The H.B.C. moved its post from Ward Inlet to Frobisher Bay in 1950. In 1951, the airport became a centre of increased activity for various reasons: transshipment of material to Thule, Greenland; construction of a radar station; a centre of supply and distribution during the construction of the DEW-Line in the years 1955–1957;

and a base of the U.S. Strategic Air Command from 1960 until 1963, when the U.S. Air Force finally withdrew from the area.

The employment opportunities offered by so much construction and so many services drew many Inuit to the settlement of Frobisher Bay. In 1955, the federal government began construction of a complex of schools and residences, and in 1959 Frobisher Bay became the regional headquarters of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and it is also the Eastern Arctic Subdivision Headquarters of the R.C.M.P. An Anglican mission was built in 1957 and a Roman Catholic mission in 1960. A hospital was opened in 1964.

The settlement is now divided into four distinct sections: the Federal Building, which accommodates government offices and most single employees; Lower Base, a group of temporary apartments and other buildings about 1.5 miles away, mainly occupied by Whites; Ikaluit, the Inuit settlement; and Apex Hill, about 2.5 miles away from Ikaluit, which is a government-planned residential area mainly occupied by Inuit.

In 1974, Frobisher Bay's population was 2,360. The settlement has a 9,000-foot paved airstrip, a fire department, police detachment and subdivision headquarters, scheduled flights from Montreal, local taxis and buses, a 30-bed hospital, primary and secondary schools, an adult-education centre, three churches, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, a bank, a variety of recreational facilities, a public accommodation, a liquor store, a newspaper, many public services, special and general stores, and the Ikaluit Cooperative.

Period II (1925–1955)

The heaviest concentration of camps was on the north shores of Frobisher Bay, with camps in Ward Inlet, Cormack Bay, Waddell Bay, Royer Cove, Hamlen Bay, Newton Fiord, and Wiswell Inlet (Map 26). Because of steep cliffs along the southwest side of the bay, there were camps only in Hidden Bay and Newell Sound. However, there were various camps on islands on the southwestern side including those on Bishop, Hill, Pike, Chase, Johnston, and Nouyarn islands.

Following the seasons, many families moved their camps to the heads of fiords and inlets to fish for char in late summer and early fall, and to island camps to hunt seals and ducks and to collect eggs in late spring. Permanent winter camps were located at Mingotok on Nouyarn Island and at Kangiliarjait at the tip of Anna Maria Port. In fall, there were many camps based on the east side of Hall Peninsula for walrus hunting, such as those in Cyrus Field Bay, Cornelius Grinnell Bay, and at the north end of Smith Channel. One important camp, Singalya, was located at Cape Haven on the southeast tip of Hall Peninsula.

● *Seal Hunting:* During Period II, the population that now lives in Frobisher Bay hunted ringed and bearded seals in the region between Cape Dorset in the southwest and Cumberland Sound in the north and within Frobisher Bay itself. Seals were intensively hunted along the entire east side of the bay, from Ward Inlet to Cyrus Field Bay. Winter hunting was carried out at the floe edge or at breathing holes scattered across the fast ice, though the mouth of Ward Inlet and the east coast of Frobisher Bay were considered to be the best hunting areas. Bearded seals were hunted at the floe edge in winter and spring.

Spring seal hunting was widely dispersed, but there was more of it from Ward Inlet along the east shore, in the bays, and throughout the cluster of islands. In summer, almost all seal hunting was concentrated in the Hamlen Bay area or along the headland of Hall Peninsula until August, when harp seals begin to migrate into the region. Harp seals were very important to the local hunters and were hunted in an area that extended from Hill Island south to the north tip of Pike Island. Harp seals have also been hunted at the southeast tip of Meta Incognita Peninsula. Harbour seals were hunted in Cyrus Field Bay, in the river by Frenchman Cove, and occasionally in the Wight Inlet area.

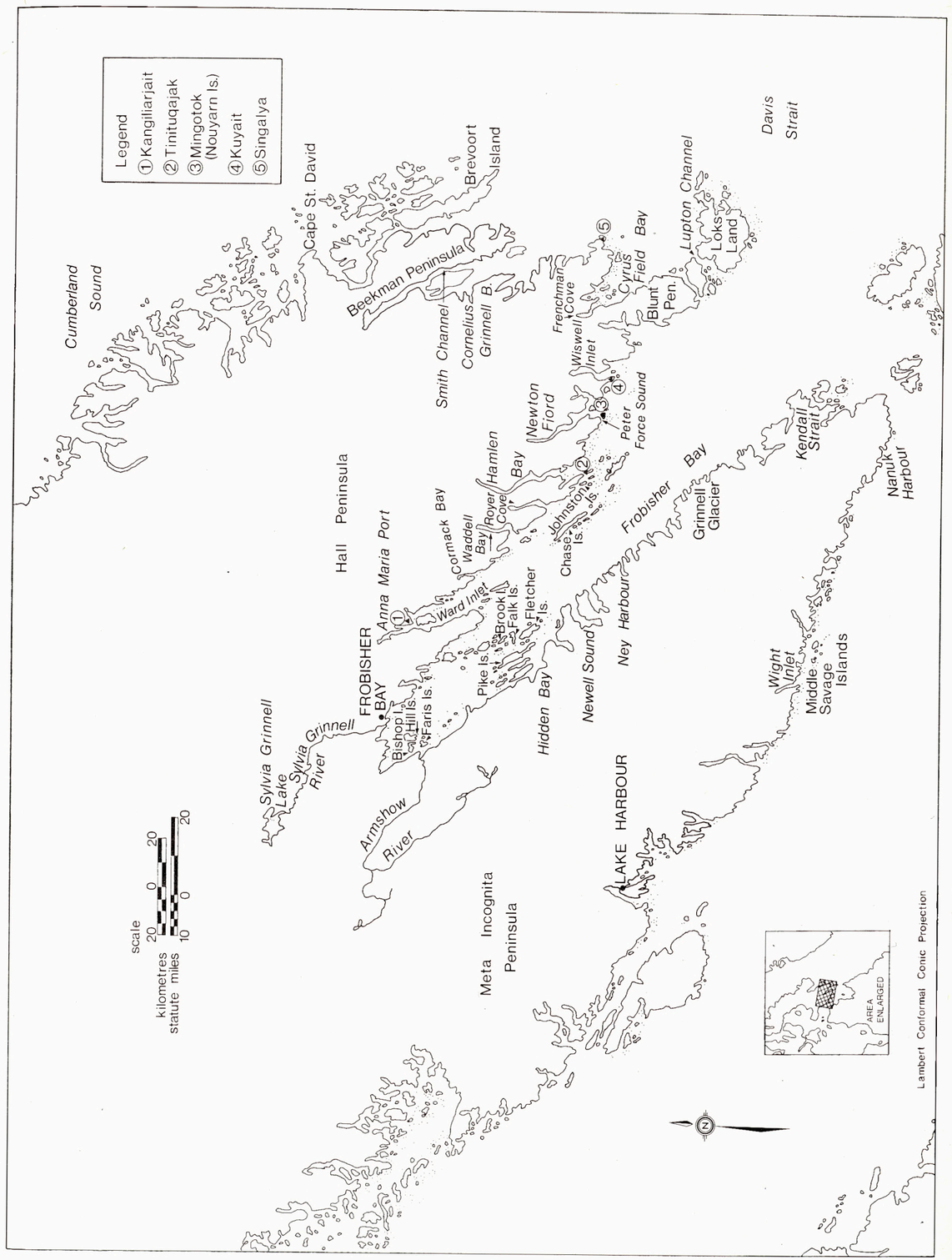
● *Walrus Hunting:* Walruses were intensively hunted in Frobisher Bay, especially from the Middle Savage Islands southeast along the coast to the vicinity of Nanuk Harbour, in Ward Inlet, and in a small area just south of Fletcher Island. A large and intensively used area extended from Hamlen Bay, south along the east coast of Frobisher Bay, around Loks Land, and north to Beekman Peninsula, terminating at Cape St. David.

● *Whale Hunting:* Spring and fall whale hunting was widespread in the Frobisher Bay area, especially in the area from Lewis Bay, just south of Frobisher Bay settlement, then farther south along the coast past Brook Island. Whale hunting was also carried on in Ward Inlet, Waddell Bay, and Royer Cove, and at the base of Hamlen Bay.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Three major areas of polar bear hunting were important to the Frobisher Bay people. The rugged southwest coast, from Grinnell Glacier northward, was considered to be a good bear hunting region in fall and spring, although there was not a large population of bears in this area. Another extensive hunting area was around the southwestern tip of Meta Incognita Peninsula, where the inland and island areas were hunted primarily during summer. The largest and most important area for polar bears, however, was on the east coast; it stretched from Hamlen Bay, around Loks Land, up as far as Cumberland Sound. The deeply indented peninsulas and islands in this particular region have been consistently used with good results.

● *Caribou Hunting:* In the Frobisher Bay area, caribou were hunted on much of the land that surrounds the bay. Hunters ranged north to the shores of Amadjuak and Nettilling lakes,

Map 26
Frobisher Bay place names



east from there to Nettilling Fiord and Cumberland Sound, and across most of Hall Peninsula. The western hunting areas have included the south coast of Baffin Island and the southern part of Meta Incognita Peninsula.

During winter, the hunting area north from the head of Frobisher Bay and extending south along Hall Peninsula was used. Major hunting areas included Sylvia Grinnell Lake and the areas southwest and east of that lake. East of Sylvia Grinnell Lake, caribou hunters covered most of Hall Peninsula. To the west, they travelled as far as Mingo Lake and south to Amadjuak Bay. Caribou were also hunted inland along the southwest shore of Frobisher Bay and south to the area opposite Thompson Island. Another large caribou hunting area was the southern part of Meta Incognita Peninsula.

In spring and summer, when overland travel was difficult and the caribou tended to move toward the sea shore, hunting was carried on by boat along the coast especially along the whole eastern shore, from the head of Frobisher Bay to Loks Land, and then northward to Beekman Peninsula. In addition to coastal hunting, many hunters walked inland looking for caribou, especially north and east of the head of Frobisher Bay.

- *Fox Trapping:* The area used for fox trapping in the Frobisher Bay region during Period II was very limited; the major concentration of activity was in the area between Sylvia Grinnell River and Sylvia Grinnell Lake, the group of large islands along the southwest peninsula of Ward Inlet, the river valleys near Ward Inlet, the islands and coastal area of Hamlen Bay, and from there along the east coast. The areas where trap lines were set were said to be productive during "good" fox years. However, during Period II, most of the trappers who live in Frobisher Bay today were resident elsewhere, mostly in the Lake Harbour region, and the trap lines of some of these individual trappers contributed significantly to the pattern of fox trapping on the south coast.
- *Wildfowling:* In the Frobisher Bay area, there was intensive hunting of ducks and geese at the north end of the bay and at other areas on the east coast south of Ward Inlet. Duck hunting took place in Cornelius Grinnell Bay and in nearby Frobisher Bay, especially among most of the island clusters in the central part of the bay and along the east coast, where eggs were also gathered.
- *Fishing:* The people consider that the rivers and lakes draining into Frobisher Bay and the shallow salt water bays are better fishing places for char than anywhere along the south coast of Baffin Island. There were important fishing locations at the head of Frobisher Bay, inland in the lake and river systems that drain into the bay, and along the entire northeast coast of the bay. The most important areas in the past, however, have been the rivers that flow into the head of Frobisher Bay, particularly Sylvia Grinnell River, which were fished in early summer and again in fall during the char runs. Inland lakes were also fished, especially in late fall and winter.

The many lakes, rivers, and bays along the northeast coast of Frobisher Bay vary in their productivity, and the people say that the expected size of fish will vary from lake to lake. The lakes along the eastern shore of Ward Inlet, for example, have plentiful but small fish, whereas the lake and river systems farther to the southeast around Hamlen Bay produce much larger fish. Fishing was particularly good in rivers flowing into the head of Cyrus Field Bay, in the small lakes near Cornelius Grinnell Bay, and on Beekman Peninsula. Fishing in this region extends along the Davis Strait coast north to Cumberland Sound.

Other species of fish, particularly land locked cod, are found in the area, and the largest specimens come from a lake behind Ney Harbour on the southwest coast. Only a few locations elsewhere on the southwest coast were fished.

Period III (1955–1974)

- *Seal Hunting:* In the early years of Period III, hunting continued in the same areas as before, but it was reduced in extent in peripheral localities. At present, seal hunting occurs throughout the Frobisher Bay area, with the most important hunting areas around Chase Island and Hamlen Bay. Hunting extends as far south as Loks Land and north into Cornelius Grinnell Bay. The hunting areas for harp and harbour seals are similar to those described for Period II, although the harp seal hunting area has been reduced because there is a smaller number of them in the Frobisher Bay area.
- *Walrus Hunting:* Walrus hunting was as important in the early years of Period III as it was during Period II and, as a consequence, the hunting areas remained the same, with only a slight reduction in the total area used. The major area of intensive hunting was still Hamlen Bay, Lupton Channel, and north along Beekman Peninsula. Since the reduction in number of dog-teams, however, walrus hunting has become restricted to the coast area on the east and west of Blunt Peninsula.
- *Whale Hunting:* At present, whale hunting occurs in the fiords along the southwestern shores of Frobisher Bay and follows the same seasonal pattern as in Period II: spring hunting at the floe edge and open-water hunting during summer and fall.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* The important areas for polar bear hunting are the same as in earlier times. In the southeast they are parts of the mouth of Frobisher Bay and Loks Land and, in the north, in and around Cornelius Grinnell Bay.
- *Caribou Hunting:* Most of the extensive caribou hunting territory described for Period II continues to be used with only a slight reduction at present. Caribou hunters range as far northwest as Amadjuak Lake, south to Mingo Lake and Markham Bay, southeast along the western shore of Frobisher Bay to Jaynes Inlet, and north of Frobisher Bay to Cumberland Sound.

- *Fox Trapping:* In Period III, the length and density of trap lines have increased in the Frobisher Bay region, primarily as a result of immigration to the settlement of individuals from the south coast. The river and island trapping patterns described for Period II continue in use, but with an extension farther inland from the northeastern coast of Frobisher Bay. Trapping along Sylvia Grinnell River and areas to the east is now intensified.
- *Wildfowling:* Geese are hunted in the same areas as before, mainly during spring, when seasonal camps are reoccupied at good hunting locations along Frobisher Bay. In Period III, duck hunting and egg collecting are carried on in the Frobisher Bay area from the north end of the bay, including all the northern islands south to Chase Island, and along the coast to Loks Land. A small area of duck hunting occurs on the west coast between Watts Bay and Jackman Sound.
- *Fishing:* There have been few, if any, changes in the overall use of char fishing areas between Periods II and III. The intensity of fishing remains about the same as before, with the possible exception of fishing within the Ward Inlet area and along the northeast coast of Frobisher Bay in spring. Although early summer fishing is still intensive at the head of the bay, since the abandonment of permanent settlements, seasonal ice conditions usually prevent people from moving into the area early enough to fish in late spring.

The heavy pressure on fishing, together with the earlier attempted development of a commercial fishery in Sylvia Grinnell River, has resulted in a major decline in the usefulness of that river, which at one time was considered to be the most important in the whole of southern Baffin Island. At present, the fishing areas on the northwest side of the bay are used in spring until boat travel in summer allows the people to move to locations elsewhere in Frobisher Bay.

Pangnirtung

Pangnirtung (66°08'N, 65°44'W) is located on the southeast shore of Pangnirtung Fiord, which is on the north shore of Cumberland Sound. John Davis visited Cumberland Sound in 1585, and the land north of it was named Cumberland Island (later found to be a peninsula) by William Baffin in 1616. John Ross in 1818 confirmed Baffin's discoveries and his report of the abundance of whales in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait led to the expansion of the whale fishery into those waters. William Penny revisited Cumberland Sound in 1839, and it became a focus of whaling activity. Some of the whalers maintained stations on Baffin Island, to which many Inuit were attracted by the trading and employment opportunities. In 1894, an Anglican mission was opened at a whaling station on Blacklead Island and continued in operation until 1926. In 1921, the H.B.C. opened a post at Pangnirtung, and in 1928, the Anglican Church opened a hospital and re-established its mission. At various times there have been outposts of the H.B.C. and private trading stations in the region, most of them short lived. The R.C.M.P. established a post at Pangnirtung in 1923, and the federal government began to build a school there in 1960.

In 1974, the population was 906. The settlement has an airstrip, twice-weekly flights from Frobisher Bay, a police detachment, a nursing station, a school (kindergarten to grade eight), a church, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, a public accommodation, three general stores, and the Pangnirtung Eskimo Cooperative. Pangnirtung is the primary access point to the newly created Baffin National Park.

Period II (1928–1962)

In the Pangnirtung–Cumberland Sound area (Maps 27 and 28), major camps were located at places easily accessible to both marine and inland hunting areas. Thus, camps were at the mouths and heads of many inlets throughout Cumberland Sound, and others were located on islands usually no more than 15 miles offshore. Outside of the sound and to the east, there were major camps along the shores of Cumberland Peninsula, specifically in Hoare Bay (Tuvakjuak), and farther north, Durban Island and Padle Fiord (Padloping). West of Cumberland Sound, there were camps inland in the Nettilling Lake area, that were associated mainly with the hunting of caribou and the trapping of foxes.

In Cumberland Sound itself, there were at least five major camps between Ptarmigan Fiord and Brown Inlet (Blacklead, Kingmiksok, Kipisa, Opingivik, and Iglootalik). Three camps (Nauyayakbik, Ekallulik, and Imigen) were associated with Nettilling Fiord, the latter camp affording easy access to both Nettilling and Kangilo fiords. Camps in the northern fiord area of Cumberland Sound included Bon Accord, Ipashuk, Simirling, Nunatak, and Ushualuk. Ipashuk and Simirling were in Clearwater Fiord, where seal, whale, and caribou hunting was close at hand. Bon Accord gave good access to Kangilo and Clearwater fiords and to northern Cumberland Sound. Ushualuk and Avatuktu camps were located between Kekertelung Island and the settlement of Pangnirtung.

South of Pangnirtung, a total of eight major camps existed on the east coast of the sound. Uguyaluk and Avalikuk were associated with Brown Harbour, Kingnait Fiord and Tuapait Island, and Kekerten with the Kikastan Islands. Iqalujuak, Kumlein and Ujuktuk fiords had campsites (including Analuajut in Abraham Bay), and Nauliniavik was located on the southernmost extremity of Cumberland Peninsula.

- *Seal Hunting*: Seal hunting occurred in all the waters of Cumberland Sound south to Wareham Island, the approximate location of the floe edge in winter. South of there, the

area hunted closely followed the coastline. On the south side of the sound, hunters regularly travelled to Popham Bay and the Lemieux Islands, to the south of Anderson Channel, to hunt seals particularly during summer. This area was easily accessible from several camps to the north. On the north side of the sound, hunting extended eastward around Cape Mercy and northward along the east coast of Cumberland Peninsula into Exeter Sound and Totnes Road. Along this northern coast, Hoare Bay was used both in summer and winter and was considered to be excellent for seal hunting. In spring, people from Tuvakjuak in Hoare Bay preferred to hunt seals north from Angijak Island, in Clephane Bay, Exeter Sound, Totnes Road and Sunneshine Fiord.

Within Cumberland Sound itself, most hunting occurred along the coastal and bay areas and was associated with several fairly dense groupings of camps, especially in the north. Ptarmigan Fiord was a favoured hunting area for Kingmiksok camp residents, particularly in summer. The area between Kingmiksok and Kipisa was used year round. North from Kipisa, seals were hunted both in Irvine Inlet and Nettilling Fiord in summer and winter, as well as along the coastline between the camps and these locations. In winter, open-water hunting occurred in the west end of Nettilling Fiord; in the middle part of the fiord during summer.

Nettilling Fiord was frequently hunted in association with Kangilo Fiord. In east Kangilo Fiord, the open-water areas around its many islands were hunted for seals during winter, as were the open waters near False Passage Peninsula. In spring, the mouth of Kangilo Fiord, which could be reached easily from Bon Accord and Imigen, was a favoured location. In summer, harp and ringed seals were hunted in the fiord.

All the waters of upper Cumberland Sound, including Clearwater and Shark fiords, were intensively hunted for seals. Bon Accord, Ipashuk, Simirling, and Nunatak camps gave the most direct access to this area, in which other marine mammals were also hunted.

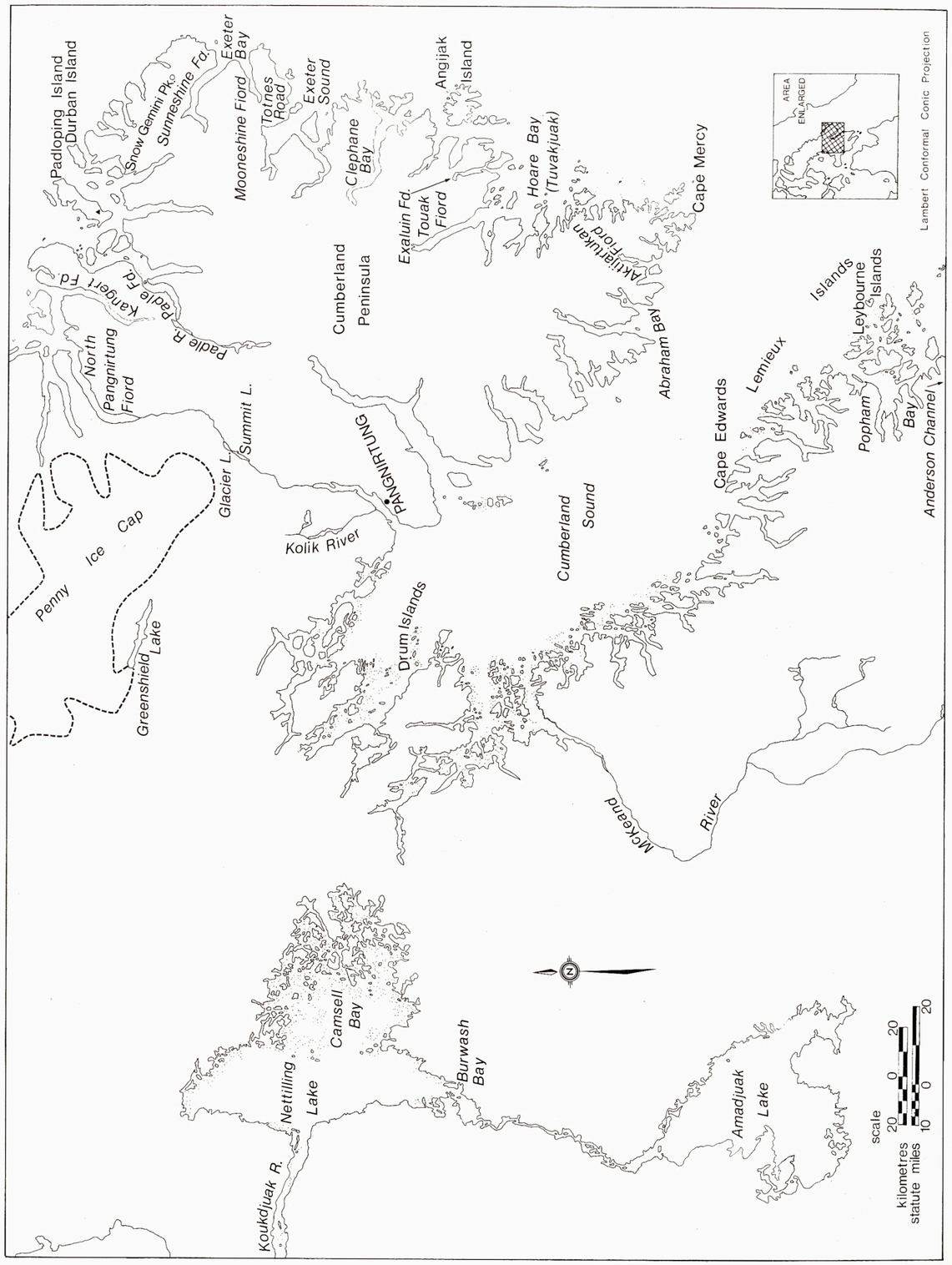
North of Pangnirtung, the upper Cumberland Sound region was used both in summer and winter. In winter, hunting frequently occurred across the whole of Cumberland Sound, either at breathing holes or at the floe edge, and in summer, boats were used for open-water hunting. Pangnirtung Fiord was not an especially important seal hunting area.

Along the east coast of Cumberland Sound, south of Pangnirtung, there were eight major camp areas reported. The area around the Kikastan Islands was important for seal hunting, although hunters frequently travelled far along the coast to the floe edge near Wareham Island in winter and spring. Iqalujuak and Kumlein fiords were used, and the Abraham Bay area was reported to be used in summer. Local hunters said the area east of Abraham Bay was not good for winter hunting because of rough ice conditions, although people have hunted seals in the open water just north of Cape Mercy.

- *Walrus Hunting:* Walrus hunting occurred along much of the south shore of Cumberland Sound, especially near Igloolik, Opingivik, Kipisa, and Kingmiksok. South of there, walruses were hunted off Harrison Point and Cape Edwards, in Salut and Neptune Bays, Ptarmigan Fiord, Littlecote Bay, and among the Leybourne Islands. Walruses were found close to shore in spring and summer, but they went farther out in the sound during winter.

  On the east shore of the sound, walruses were hunted off Brown Harbour near the mouth of Kingnait Fiord, and southward off Iqalujuak Fiord. The area of Shomeo Point, Kumlein Fiord and Wareham Island, and the coast southeastward to Cape Mercy were hunted. In this latter area, hunting was especially good in Abraham Bay, Ujuktuk Fiord, and in the mouth of Aktijartukan Fiord. Along the east coast of Cumberland Peninsula, walruses were hunted in Hoare Bay, and north of there in Clephane Bay and Exeter Sound in summer.
- *Whale Hunting:* Whales were hunted throughout Cumberland Sound, but the most concentrated hunting occurred in Clearwater Fiord during summer, with especially large kills made in the Millut Bay area of the fiord. Shark Fiord was also an important area, as was Kangerk Fiord, when the whales moved eastward in fall. In this region, whales were regularly hunted in summer from the camps at Ipashuk, Simirling, Nunatak, and Bon Accord. Farther south in Cumberland Sound, whales were hunted in Nettilling Fiord, Irvine Inlet, and near Opingivik. During break-up, a large area around the Kikastan Islands was favoured, and most of the floe edge along the east side of the sound was hunted. Both narwhals and white whales were hunted at the floe edge in winter, and both were also hunted in Hoare Bay in summer.
- *Polar Bear Hunting:* Bears were hunted throughout the Lemieux Islands and along the east shore of Cumberland Peninsula. Along the south shore of Cumberland Sound, the area from Ptarmigan Fiord south to the Anderson Channel was hunted: Popham Bay and a coastal area along the Lemieux Islands were most heavily used. Bears were not often met north of there, although they have been killed near Nimigen Island. Along the east side of the sound, there was occasional hunting north of Shomeo Point. In early winter, the areas around Hoare Bay, Exeter Sound, and Exeter Bay were considered to be good for bear hunting.
- *Caribou Hunting:* In the past, the hunters who now live in Pangnirtung ranged far inland in pursuit of caribou. Hunting occurred along a coastal strip inland from the heads of fiords and along the river valleys of the eastern Cumberland Peninsula, particularly inland from Tuvakjuak in Hoare Bay. Hunting occurred from just north of Snow Gemini Peak inland from Sunneshine Fiord across to Totnes Road, then inland and south from Clephane Bay to offshore islands including Angijak Island. The area around Touak Fiord, the west shore of Hoare Bay, and inland from there along river

Map 27
Pangnirtung place names 1



valleys as far as the shore of Kingnait Fiord and Padle River, were all hunted. The rest of the caribou hunting territory on the northwest shores of Cumberland Sound extended from north of Pangnirtung Fiord along Kolik River and inland to the edge of Penny Ice Cap and Greenshield Lake. The area north of Nunatak was used in summer and winter, although the area north of Clearwater Fiord was usually preferred in summer, when the people walked inland.

To the west, the region around Tasiolujuak Lake and Freshwater Lake was hunted, especially in winter. A large proportion of the caribou on southern Baffin Island congregate in wintering areas near and east of Nettilling Lake, and the people frequently hunted inland from camps in Clearwater, Kangilo and Nettilling fiords.

In winter, the north shore and the Camsell Bay and Burwash Bay regions of Nettilling Lake were favoured hunting areas. The west shore was hunted only during summer, at which season there was also hunting between Freshwater Lake and Camsell Bay.

Along the coastal areas of Nettilling Fiord, caribou were hunted mainly by canoe in summer, and the area to the west was favoured in winter. Hunters consistently reported that the area between Nettilling Lake and Amadjuak Lake was good caribou hunting territory.

In summer, caribou moved south toward the shores of Cumberland Sound and, at that season, they were hunted inland from Kipisa and Kingmiksok camps as far as McKeand River. South of Kipisa, hunting occurred around and inland from all the bays and fiords to a point immediately south of Anderson Channel in the Lemieux Islands. The people resident at Kingmiksok frequently hunted around Chidliak Bay in spring and summer, and in summer around Ptarmigan Fiord, farther south at Moodie Island, Popham Bay and the Lemieux Islands. The inland border of this summer hunting territory corresponded closely with McKeand River and its tributaries, and went as far as about 70 miles from Cumberland Sound.

● *Fox Trapping:* Many fiords in Cumberland Sound were used for trapping. For example, foxes were trapped in Ptarmigan Fiord, Chidliak Bay and around Kikiktaluk, Blacklead and Nuvujen islands, north of there in Irvine Inlet, and on most of the Kaigosuiyat Islands. All of Nettilling Fiord from Livingstone Fiord west was trapped, and trap lines ran from Livingstone Fiord and West Nettilling Fiord inland to Camsell Bay and Nettilling Lake. Foxes were heavily trapped on the ice of Camsell Bay, and all of the central and southern shoreline of Nettilling Lake carried trap lines, as did the north and south banks of Koukdjuak River.

North of Nettilling Fiord, traps were set across the ice of Kangilo Fiord and along the shores of Clearwater and Shark fiords, as well as in the northwest area of Tasiolujuak Lake.

Along the east coast of Cumberland Sound, traps were set along Kekertelung, Ushualuk and Sanigut islands. Inland, traps were set near "the falls", along and north from Kolik River. Traps were set along both sides of Pangnirtung Fiord, and they completely encircled the Kikastan Islands. Both shores of Kingnait Fiord and the coast to the south were trapped, and a line ran from Iqalujuak Fiord to Hoare Bay.

Traps were set in Aktijartukan Fiord, and Exaluin Fiord in Hoare Bay and encircling the area around Kekertaluk Island.

● *Wildfowling:* Ducks were hunted and eggs were collected in many areas of Cumberland Sound, particularly on offshore islands. Ducks were hunted extensively in an area between Kingmiksok and Iglootalik, and north of there along the coastal islands from Brown Inlet to the Kaigosuiyat Islands. Much of upper Cumberland Sound was used, including the Drum Islands and all the islands in eastern Kangilo Fiord. On the east side of the sound, the area from south of Nunatak Island to the Sanigut Islands, and the area around the Kikastan Islands were used.

● *Fishing:* Char were fished in many lake and river systems around Cumberland Sound and in the sound itself. Along the south shore of the sound, fishing was heaviest in the region inland from Kingmiksok to Ekallulik. The southern portion of Littlecote Channel was also fished. Fishing occurred from Kipisa along the southern extremity of Robert Peel Inlet, and in the lakes inland from Opingivik and Iglootalik. Char were caught in the mouth of McKeand River and north of there in an arm of Nettilling Fiord. Fishing occurred just off Ekallulik at the mouth of Nettilling Fiord, and Koukdjuak River from Nettilling Lake provided excellent results.

Freshwater and Tasiolujuak lakes, Clearwater Fiord, and several lakes just to the north were fished. Shark Fiord was used from Nunatak and from Ushualuk, and "the falls", *Ikalujuat,* were used from Nunatak, Ushualuk and Pangnirtung.

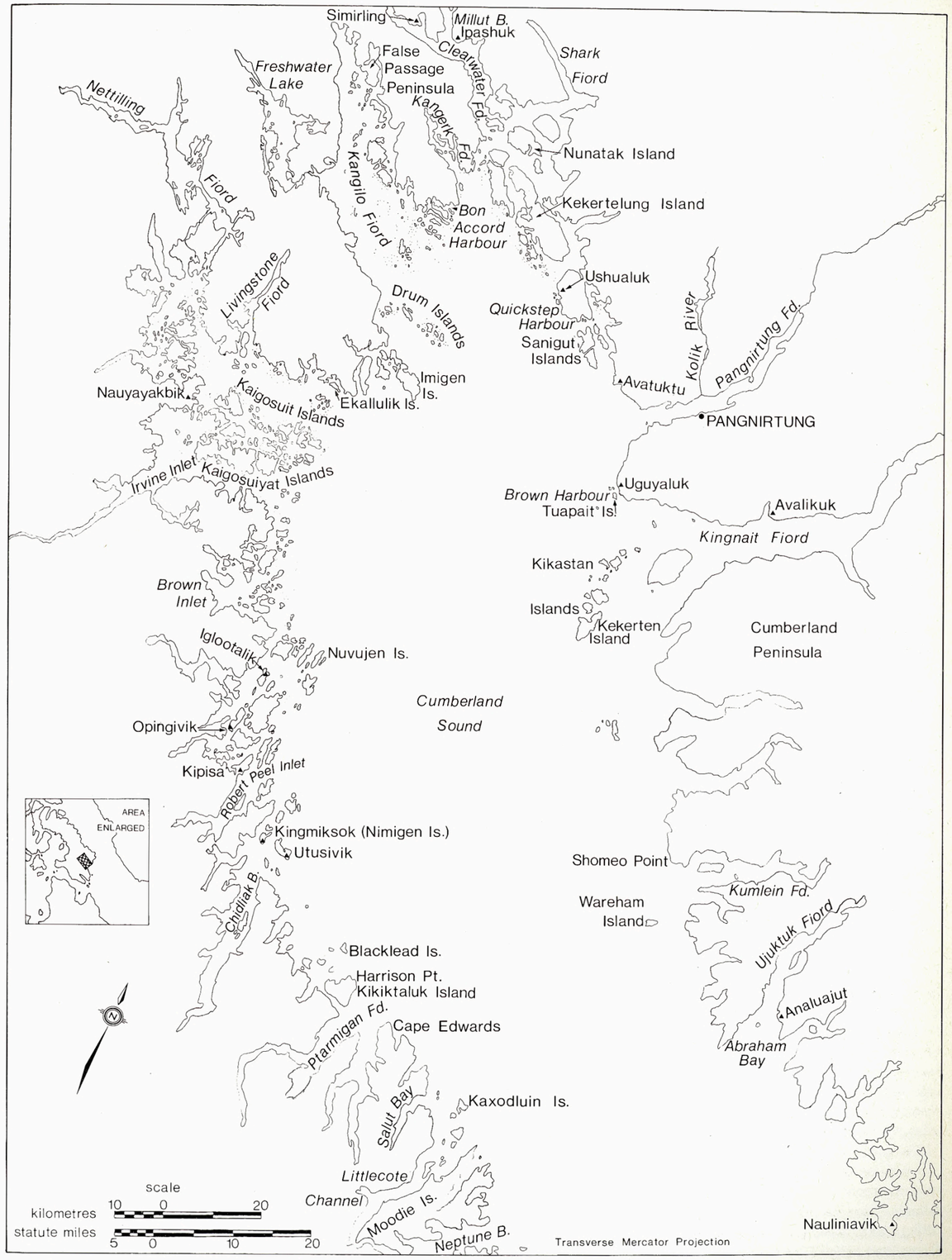
Pangnirtung Fiord, several lakes inland from Kingnait Fiord, the head of Iqalujuak Fiord and inland from there, inland from Kumlein Fiord and Abraham Bay, a large part of Aktijartukan Fiord and a smaller fiord immediately to its south were all fished. In the Hoare Bay area, the heads of Touak and Exaluin fiords and several lakes between Kairolik and Touak Fiord were fished.

Period III (1962–1974)

In summer, a number of camps are occupied by the hunters, especially in the upper part of Cumberland Sound. One winter camp, Kipisa, is still occupied.

● *Seal Hunting:* The area of seal hunting remains essentially the same as in the past, except that Sunneshine Fiord and Exeter Sound are not now in use. Hunting continues around Wareham Island at the floe edge in winter. The upper Cumberland Sound region is heavily used. The area south of Nunatak Island around Kekertelung Island is hunted in winter, and the whole of northeast Cumberland Sound is favoured

Map 28
Pangnirtung place names 2



in winter and spring. In addition, hunters still travel to the Hoare Bay area to hunt seals.

● *Walrus Hunting:* Walrus hunting along the southern shores of Cumberland Sound now focusses on areas near Kipisa, Utusivik, the mouth of Salut Bay, and the Leybourne Islands. Along the east coast of the Sound, walruses are hunted from the mouth of Iqalujuak Fiord to Kumlein Fiord and Wareham Island. South of there, they are hunted out from the mouth of Aktijartukan Fiord and in an area near Kekertaluk Island in Hoare Bay.

● *Whale Hunting:* Hunting areas for whales are little changed from those described earlier. The south shore of Kangilo Fiord, including the Drum Islands, appears to be the only area added to the overall territory. Hunting still takes place at the floe edge along the east coast of Cumberland Sound from near Wareham Island to Kingnait Fiord, and across the north of the Kikistan Islands out into Cumberland Sound. Both Clearwater and Shark fiords are still important, although it appears that the number of whales migrating into the area has recently declined.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* The hunting of polar bears is about the same as in earlier times. Hoare Bay, Exeter Sound, Exeter Bay, the area south from Kaxodluin Island, and the Lemieux Islands are heavily used.

● *Caribou Hunting:* The hunting of caribou has remained basically the same as during Period II. The land around upper Cumberland Sound continues to be an important hunting territory in both summer and winter. The north shore of Clearwater Fiord and the territory north and west of it are now hunted in summer and winter. Nettilling Lake, particularly the Camsell Bay region, and the area west of Nettilling Fiord, are hunted in winter, and caribou continue to be hunted along the whole south shore of Cumberland Sound and for a considerable distance inland. Some reduction in the overall caribou hunting range has recently occurred. No hunting occurs in the Exeter Sound and Hoare Bay areas. Hunters no longer travel to the north of Nettilling Lake or as far inland from Kipisa as McKeand River.

● *Fox Trapping:* Trapping occurs in many of the same areas as in earlier times, with expansion occurring into certain previously unused regions; some other areas are no longer used. The south shore of Cumberland Sound has fewer trap lines than before, although traps are still set on Blacklead Island and in Ptarmigan Fiord. Trapping is also reduced in the area west of Nettilling Fiord and Irvine Inlet, and traps are now set more densely in the central and eastern part of these inlets.

The mouth of Nettilling Fiord, which was not previously trapped, is now in use, and there has been an expansion of trapping territory into the northern Kaigosuiyat and Kaigosuit Islands. Trapping areas west from Nettilling Fiord to Nettilling Lake, along the shores of Nettilling Lake, Koukdjuak River, and aeross Camsell Bay remain essentially the same. Traps are now set along the coast between Nettilling and Kangilo fiords, and there has been an expansion of trapping territory into the eastern portions of Kangilo Fiord, including the Drum Islands.

Upper Cumberland Sound is now more heavily used, with a major expansion of trapping territory into Clearwater and Shark fiords, and out onto the ice of the sound. Inland from this region, trap lines remain essentially the same; however, Kolik River area is no longer trapped. There has been a reduction of trapping in Pangnirtung Fiord, but an expansion from the mouth of the fiord south to the Kikastan Islands. The remainder of the trapping territory, Kingnait, Iqalujuak and Aktijartukan fiords, and the Hoare Bay area is unchanged from earlier trapping times.

● *Wildfowling:* No substantial changes have occurred in the recent past, except that Ushualuk and the Sanigut Islands Islands remain in use. The Drum Islands, the islands in east appear to be no longer used. The area from Kingmiksok to Iglootalik, and the area from Brown Inlet to the Kaigosuiyat Kangilo Fiord, and the islands south of Nunatak, including Kekertelung and Kikastan islands, are still used.

● *Fishing:* Some reduction in the extent of the fishing areas has occurred in the regions farthest from Pangnirtung, although in the south Cumberland Sound and Hoare Bay regions, some fishing occurs on occasion. On the east side of the sound, from Iglootalik north, fishing remains much as described earlier. The lakes inland from Brown Inlet and McKeand River remain in use. Fishing in the northern part of the sound and inland is essentially the same, with Freshwater Lake, Millut Bay and the lakes to the north, and Shark Fiord providing good fishing areas. Lakes on Kekertelung Island, "the falls", the lakes inland from Quickstep Harbour, and the lakes inland from Kingnait Fiord continue to be used. Inland from Pangnirtung Fiord, fishing now occurs in Glacier and Summit lakes.

Broughton Island

Broughton Island (67°35'N, 63°51'W) is located on an island about 1.5 miles off the east coast of Baffin Island. The settlement has a short history. In 1956–1957, a DEW-Line site was built about 10 miles from the present settlement and the airstrip. Among the workers hired to build it were people from Kivitoo (a former whaling station north of Broughton Island, now abandoned), Clyde River, Pangnirtung and nearby camps. The H.B.C. built a post there in 1960, and a federal school was opened the same year. An Anglican mission was established about 1962.

In 1974, the population was 390. The settlement has an airstrip, twice-weekly flights from Frobisher Bay, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade six), a church, a community hall, telephone service, a post office, and a general store.

Period II (1927–1955)

● *Seal Hunting:* The Broughton Island people hunted ringed seals along the entire coast of east Baffin Island, from Clyde Inlet southeast to Durban Harbour in Merchants Bay (Map 29). Within this area, local hunters were reluctant to identify specific places that were more important than others for seal hunting. However, the Home Bay area was considered to have the heaviest seal concentration, particularly in spring and early summer, and it was, therefore, heavily used. Merchants Bay and from Broughton Island north to Kivitoo were also considered to be important seal hunting areas.

Hunting in specific areas is dependent on seasonal conditions. There is a tendency to hunt in fiords during summer and in the mouths of fiords and on adjacent sea ice during winter and spring. After break-up, seals continue to bask on drifting ice pans. Hunting success is related to the continued presence of such ice; when the ice moves away from the land, the availability of seals decreases abruptly.

Important areas for winter seal hunting tended to be in the Padloping–Cape Searle area, partly because the floe edge was more accessible there, and also of the large leads that opened in the sea ice off Cape Searle and Padloping Island. Hunters then concentrated on the open water in the leads, or on breathing holes that were easily observed in the new ice that formed across the leads. In spring, the focus of hunting shifted north toward Home Bay and, during the summer open-water season, almost all hunting was confined to the region south of Kivitoo.

The hunting pattern for bearded seals closely followed that of ringed seals, except that they were not so commonly found on the ice during spring; hunting, therefore, tended to be more restricted to the open-water season and to winter hunting at the floe edge. The headlands southeast of Kivitoo were especially important for hunting bearded seals.

Harp seals were mainly hunted during their migration northward along the Davis Strait coast in late summer, and the hunt continued until freeze-up in November. However, a few harp seals remained in the region during winter, and they were hunted at breathing holes in the sea ice, sometimes deep in the fiords. The two most important places for hunting harp seals were south of Kivitoo and in the Padloping Island area.

● *Walrus Hunting:* There were important walrus hunting locations in the Alexander Bay area of Home Bay, northwest of Kekertaluk Island, in the mouth of Okoa Bay and the Nedlukseak Island area, between the northwestern headland of Kivitoo Peninsula and Nedlukseak Island, and among the islands in the southwest part of Kivitoo Bay. The southeast corner of Broughton Island, the islands directly to the south of it, and Duck and Padloping islands, Cape Searle, and Durban Island in Merchants Bay were all important walrus hunting areas in summer and fall, and there was an extension of this area in a narrow zone southward from Cape Durban to Cape Dyer. Walruses were also hunted in the Totnes Road area of Exeter Sound, throughout Kairolik Fiord, near Kekertuk Island, and in Hoare Bay.

● *Whale Hunting:* White whale hunting during this period tended to be concentrated in the Rocknoser Fiord, and Kangirlugag Fiord areas of Home Bay. It also occurred along the southeast coast of Kivitoo Peninsula and in its fiords (but not around the headland itself), and among the channels and islands around Broughton Island.

Other major hunting areas included the length and mouth of North Pangnirtung Fiord, two fiords immediately south of Padloping Island, Totnes Road, and Touak Fiord in Hoare Bay. White whales were also hunted along the east and west coasts of Cumberland Sound, especially at the heads of its various fiords, and in Clearwater Fiord.

Narwhal hunting occurred in Home Bay, Rocknoser Fiord, Kangirlugag Fiord, around the foreland of Kivitoo Peninsula, in Broughton Channel, and in the mouth of North Pangnirtung Fiord. The coastal waters around Padloping Island and Touak Fiord were also good hunting areas.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bear hunting occurred along the Davis Strait coast from Brodie Bay to Kangert Fiord, west of Merchants Bay. The foreland of Kivitoo Peninsula and the island between Kivitoo and Nedlukseak were intensive hunting areas. In the Padloping area, polar bears were hunted throughout, from Kangert Fiord almost as far south as Cape Dyer, including every fiord to the south; two fiords east and south of Padloping were considered to be especially good areas. Bears were hunted anywhere along the coastline from Cape Dyer as far south as Cape Mercy, especially in Hoare Bay, and north to Exeter Sound at the confluence of Mooneshine and Sunneshine fiords.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Whereas caribou hunting from Clyde River north to the Cambridge Fiord area was focussed on the herds that moved between Barnes Ice Cap and the heads of the fiords, hunting in the region from Clyde River south to Kivitoo was focussed on the inland herds that moved to the coast in fall and spent spring around the margins of Barnes Ice Cap and in the Dewar Lake region.

From Kivitoo south to Cumberland Sound, hunting was concentrated on the smaller herds of caribou that were scattered through the region's fiord and valley areas. Hunting conditions varied within this large expanse of territory. The region from Kivitoo southeast to Merchants Bay was thought to be a very poor hunting area, whereas Padloping Island and the Exeter Sound area were thought to have populous and easily accessible herds.

The Cumberland Sound people carried out some localized hunting along the fiord coasts but, for the most part, they concentrated on the margin of the highlands in the northeast

and more intensively on the northwest interior and inland toward Nettilling Lake.

● *Fox Trapping:* Trap lines were set along the north and south shores of Maktak, Coronation and North Pangnirtung fiords, along the north shore of Kangert Fiord, and in the Merchants Bay and Padle Fiord area. The coast of Padloping Island and the other large islands in Merchants Bay, the south shore of Broughton Island and the headlands toward Kivitoo, and almost every other fiord of the area were trapped. Trapping was considered to be good from Kivitoo northward. Traps were set along the headlands of the Kivitoo Peninsula, from Kangeeak Point northwards around some of the islands at the head of Narpaing Fiord, and into Home Bay.

● *Fishing:* Char have never been plentiful close to Broughton Island. In fall, people living at Kivitoo used to walk overland from the head of the fiord west of Kivitoo to the fishing lake on the east shore of Narpaing Fiord. There were two other small lakes between Narpaing and Quajon fiords; Narpaing Lake was commonly fished in early summer. During summer, fish were caught at the head of Narpaing Fiord and, in fall, when the char returned from the sea, they were caught in the river flowing into it.

In summer, the head of Nedlukseak Fiord, the lakes above it, and the waters surrounding Nedlukseak Peninsula were important fishing areas. The lake northwest of Nudlung Fiord and a small lake west of Fox Charlie Glacier were also important. A lake about 30 miles inland west of Ekalugad Fiord was often fished in conjunction with summer caribou hunting in that area. For people living in settlements on Henry Kater Peninsula and Cape Raper, the two rivers that flow eastward from the top of the peninsula and a series of lakes between Nedlukseak Fiord and Okoa Bay were important fishing locations.

The river and lakes that drain into North Pangnirtung Fiord, the salt water at the head of that fiord, and the three lakes on Tasseloouit River, which flows northward into Canso Channel, were also important for fishing. In the Merchants Bay area, the best fishing occurred in the river and lake system that leads from the head of Padle Fiord as far south as Tundra and Circle lakes. Indeed, the entire area of Padloping Island was said to be important for fishing: the mouths of any of the fiords in or near Merchants Bay, particularly to the west.

Period III (1955–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* There have been no significant changes during Period III in the hunting of either bearded or harp seals. The Padloping Island area is now used more during winter, and the Home Bay area is hunted most intensively in spring and early summer. Fall hunting is carried out in the region between Broughton Island and Kivitoo, and it is focussed in the waters off Kivitoo.

● *Walrus Hunting:* In the Padloping area, walruses became much less plentiful in the early years of Period III. However, they are now gaining numbers again, and they are hunted over an expanded area around Durban and Padloping islands, Cape Searle, and occasionally immediately west of the islands in Canso Channel, near the southeastern corner of Broughton Island, and off the headland that forms the south shore of Kivitoo. The islands around Nedlukseak Island and Brodie Bay continue to be important for walrus hunting, particularly in good fox trapping years, because trappers use walrus meat as bait. Hunting also continues just north of Kekertaluk Island, in Nudlung Fiord, and around some of the smaller islands in the northwestern part of Home Bay.

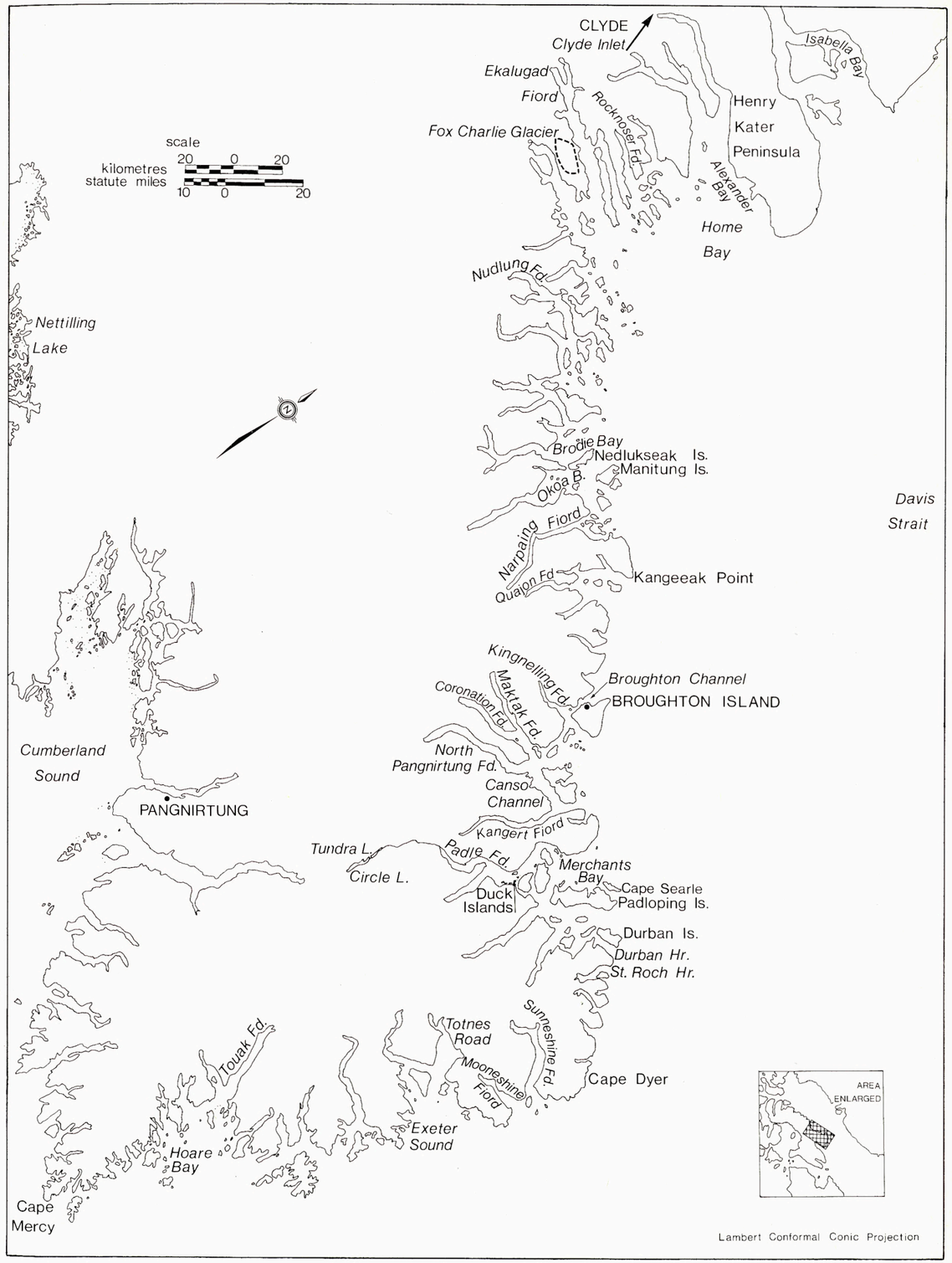
● *Whale Hunting:* White whale hunting in the Home Bay region is now focussed on Ekalugad Fiord. Whaling in most other areas remains unchanged, except that there seems to be an expanded range of hunting from Kivitoo all the way down the coast to Broughton Island. However, now that the settlements near Padloping have been abandoned, there is no whaling there.

Narwhals are hunted in every fiord in Home Bay, except those directly southeast of Henry Kater Peninsula. Narwhal hunting remains unchanged since Period II in the Kivitoo area and in the bay southeast of Kivitoo, in the channel behind Broughton Island, and along the coast between Cape Searle and Padloping Island. There is no longer any narwhal hunting between Exeter Sound and Hoare Bay because the settlements in that area have been abandoned.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Bears are taken in a 30- to 40-mile radius of Broughton Island, and trips are now made especially to hunt bears. These hunts generally go as far north as the headland of Kivitoo Peninsula and Manitung Island, but they may be directed to Kingnelling, Maktak, Coronation or North Pangnirtung fiords. Bears are also hunted as far south as Kangert Fiord on the west side of Merchants Bay. In winter and spring, bears are most often hunted on the sea ice for distances up to 30 miles in the area east of Broughton Island, and between Kivitoo and Kangert. An area southeast of Padloping Island, along the coast toward Cape Dyer, and into the fiord immediately south of Paugnang Island was the main bear hunting area for people who lived at Padloping Island before 1968. These people also crossed overland to Sunneshine Fiord and Totnes Road to hunt bears. Bear hunting has now expanded into the Hoare Bay area, and they are now hunted in Touak Fiord.

● *Caribou Hunting:* Caribou hunting areas have become smaller in the south, especially in the region between Padle Fiord and Merchants Bay, whereas the caribou hunting areas inland to the north have expanded as compared to Period II. The retraction of areas in the south is a result of the relocation of settlements of the Merchants Bay area, which coincided with the disappearance of local herds. Caribou hunting is now carried out in spring, usually in April or May, when

Map 29
Broughton Island place names



the hunters intereept the northward caribou migration northeast of Nettilling Lake. Caribou hunting areas also extend northward into the northern parts of Home Bay, Isabella Bay, and Clyde River.

● *Fox Trapping:* The Broughton Island region is not a particularly good area for foxes, although residents say that in the 1960's the region provided better trapping than Cumberland Sound did. The most important trapping areas are around Nedlukseak Island and Padloping Island.

● *Fishing:* In summer, fishing is carried on in Narpaing Fiord and, in fall, in the lake northwest of Nudlung Fiord. The inland lakes between Nedlukseak Fiord and Okoa Bay are fished, but char are fewer now than in earlier times. South of Broughton Island, fishing takes place in Canso Channel at the mouth of Tassealoouit River, and the rivers flowing into Padle Fiord remain important fishing locations for many people in the Padloping area.

Clyde

Clyde, or Clyde River, settlement (70°25'N, 68°30'W) is located on Patricia Bay on the north side of the mouth of Clyde Inlet on the central east Baffin Island coast. The H.B.C. established a post in 1923 and brought some Inuit families from Lake Harbour and, later, from Frobisher Bay to live there. The population grew from 32 persons in 1931 to 128 in 1951, and to 210 in 1961.

In 1942, Clyde River began to expand when the U.S. Air Force built a weather station and navigational aid station. Between 1955 and 1957, the construction of the DEW-Line was at its height. In 1954, the U.S. Air Force began to build a LORAN station at Cape Christian, 10 miles to the east on the other side of the peninsula that separates Patricia Bay from Baffin Bay. An airstrip begun at the same site in 1957 was gradually extended until it reached 5,000 feet by 1960. In 1954, the R.C.M.P. and U.S. Coast Guard both established stations at Cape Christian. A federal school was built at Clyde River in 1960 and an Anglican mission was established in 1961. An airstrip was built at Clyde River during 1970.

In 1974, the population numbered 357. Because of its remote location, the settlement lacks many services common to other Arctic settlements, but it has an airstrip, weekly air service from Frobisher Bay, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to six), a church, a community hall, telephone service, a general store, and a cooperative.

Period II (1923–1954)

● *Seal Hunting:* Three species of seals have been exploited in the Clyde River region (Maps 30 and 31). Ringed seals were the most important, and the area used extended from Buchan Gulf south to Cape Hooper. According to Clyde River hunters, the entire area was excellent for hunting ringed seals. Winter hunting at breathing holes occurred throughout the area, and all the fiord mouths and the larger bays were considered to be very productive. In spring, basking seals were hunted in the same territory and offshore onto the sea ice. Areas of sea ice with large leads and cracks formed off many of the headlands and peninsulas, such as Cape Christian, were used for winter and spring sealing whenever possible. These cracks sometimes became large enough to be used in much the same way as the floe edge. Open-water hunting, which was carried out along the entire coast, tended to be concentrated within the fiords and around the islands.

Bearded seals, floating on ice pans, were hunted mainly in late summer and early fall especially at the mouths of fiords and bays. Although they were hunted throughout the region, hunters said that Scott Inlet, Eglinton Fiord, the mouth of Inugsuin Fiord, Isabella and Alexander bays were the most important hunting areas for both bearded and ringed seals.

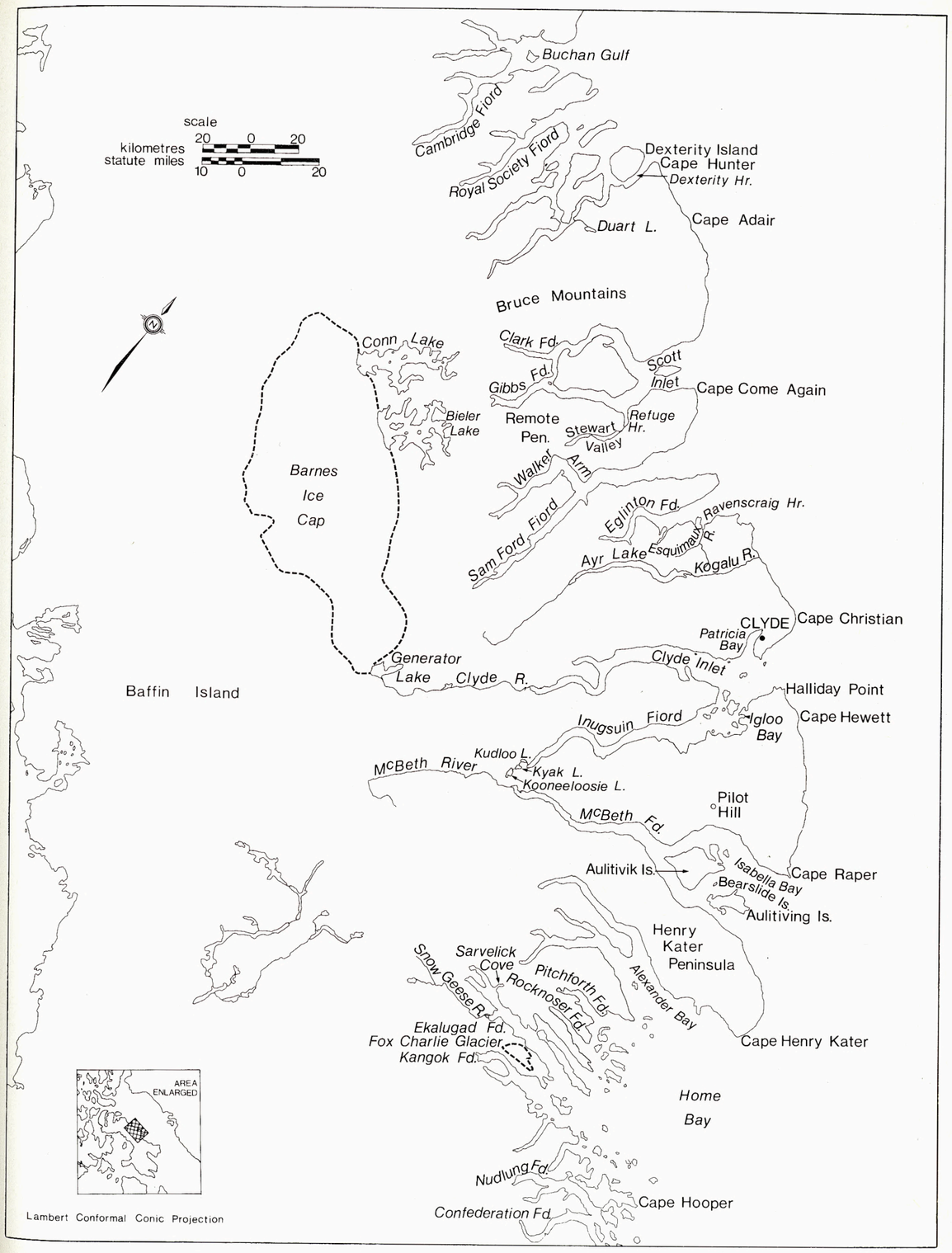
Harp seals, the third species, were of less economic importance in the Clyde River region. They were usually found and hunted only in a well defined area near Cape Christian about six miles off the coast.

● *Walrus Hunting:* Walruses were hunted, mainly in fall, in five major areas. In the southern area, hunting occurred at the mouth of Alexander Bay and extended into Tinggin, Nallulik and Itirbilung fiords. A second major area was in central Isabella Bay, around Bearslide and Aulitiving islands. Hauling out locations off Henry Kater Peninsula and in Alexander Bay offered excellent hunting, and were more important than Isabella Bay. Another excellent hunting area was near the mouth of Inugsuin Fiord and in Clyde Inlet. Farther north, there was another important area along the south side of Eglinton Fiord, from Ravenscraig Harbour toward the mouth of the fiord. The last major area was Scott Inlet.

● *Whale Hunting:* Two species of whales were hunted in Period II: white whales and narwhals. White whales were rarely hunted, although they were on occasions taken in Alexander Bay. Narwhals were sometimes taken through the ice, if they were close enough to the shore during their northward spring migration. However, according to informants, the migration normally occurred offshore near the floe edge, and consequently, very few, if any, narwhals were taken in spring. The fall migration of narwhals was much more important. Then narwhals were found in a large number of shallow feeding areas in almost all the fiords and inlets along the coast as long as open water lasted.

Narwhal hunting areas extended from southern Home Bay northward to Scott Inlet. One very important area was around the mouths of Inugsuin Fiord and Clyde Inlet, where large numbers of whales were taken during the fall migration. This area includes Patricia Bay, the site of the present-day Clyde River settlement. Other areas of good hunting were at the

Map 30
Clyde place names 1



confluence of Clyde Inlet and Inugsuin Fiord, in the southern portion at Isabella Bay north of Henry Kater Peninsula, and in Alexander Bay south of this peninsula.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bears have always been a major resource in the Clyde River region, and they have probably accounted for a significant portion of the meat taken during any one year. Most polar bear hunting was carried out on the land and sea ice in an area that extended from Cape Hooper north to Buchan Gulf. Within this general region, however, hunting tended to be concentrated in several smaller areas that had close association with bear feeding and denning locations. Henry Kater Peninsula, the southern shores of Isabella Bay, and the seaward shores of Home Bay were important hunting locations for the camps in those areas. The Home Bay hunters also obtained bears in the area just seaward of Rocknoser and Pitchforth fiords. In fall, hunting in this area was carried on close to the shore or along Henry Kater Peninsula, but winter and spring hunting was done on the sea ice between Cape Henry Kater and Cape Hooper. Farther north, there was a major bear hunting area in an important denning location on the low lying forelands between Isabella Bay and the north side of Eglinton Fiord. The foreland north of Isabella Bay was hunted primarily during fall, when bears were on the land, but in the area north of Clyde Inlet most of the hunting was done on the sea ice. This coastal zone has always been considered very good for hunting, because bears were hunted along the tidal cracks that remained open throughout the winter.

North of Sam Ford Fiord, there was more good polar bear hunting territory: the headlands of Remote Peninsula, the entire coastal foreland of the Bruce Mountains, and seaward of Cape Come Again on Remote Peninsula were especially important locations. Bears were hunted along Stewart Valley, a travel route between the bear denning areas and the coast, and on a large area of sea ice northeast of Remote Peninsula, which had open water throughout the winter at tidal cracks that gave bears easy access to seals.

North of this region, there was only one minor bear hunting area, Buchan Gulf. The northern part of the region was not much used, although some hunting occurred along the route from Clyde River to Pond Inlet.

● *Caribou Hunting:* A large caribou hunting area stretched from Home Bay, north along the heads of the fiords as far as Cambridge Fiord, and inland along valleys and rivers to Dewar Lake and the margins of Barnes Ice Cap. However, within this area, hunting was confined to the major river valleys, and only certain locations were regarded as important. For example, in the northern part of the region, Royal Society and Cumberland fiords inland as far as Barnes Ice Cap were considered to be important for summer caribou hunting. Farther south, the rivers flowing into Sam Ford Fiord from Bieler Lake were important areas during both summer and winter. In spring, caribou were hunted while they were feeding along the exposed slopes near the heads of Sam Ford Fiord and Walker Arm, whereas in fall they were hunted while they fed along the lower reaches of the rivers flowing into these fiords.

From Clyde Inlet south to Home Bay, hunting extended inland from the heads of the fiords toward Dewar Lake and to the western margins of Barnes Ice Cap. In fall, there was some coastal hunting in the Pitchforth and Kangilugak fiords areas, but most hunting was confined to the heads of valleys in early fall, and to the river systems and interior lakes during winter and spring. Summer hunting was mainly concentrated along the eastern margins of Barnes Ice Cap in the uplands near Dewar Lake. The late summer and early fall caribou hunting was particularly important in the Dewar Lake region, and many hunters frequented the area from camps in Home Bay, McBeth and Inugsuin fiords and Clyde Inlet.

● *Fox Trapping:* Trapping areas in the Clyde River region extended from Home Bay to Buchan Gulf. Trap lines themselves were usually confined to the sides and heads of fiords, but they extended well out onto the sea ice. The physical nature of the region made it almost impossible to trap on the land, so traps were usually placed around kill and cache sites within a few miles of shore.

The most important trapping areas were located along Henry Kater Peninsula, which has a low undulating surface that offers easy travel, and the sides of Inugsuin Fiord, Clyde Inlet, and Sam Ford Fiord and Walker Arm area.

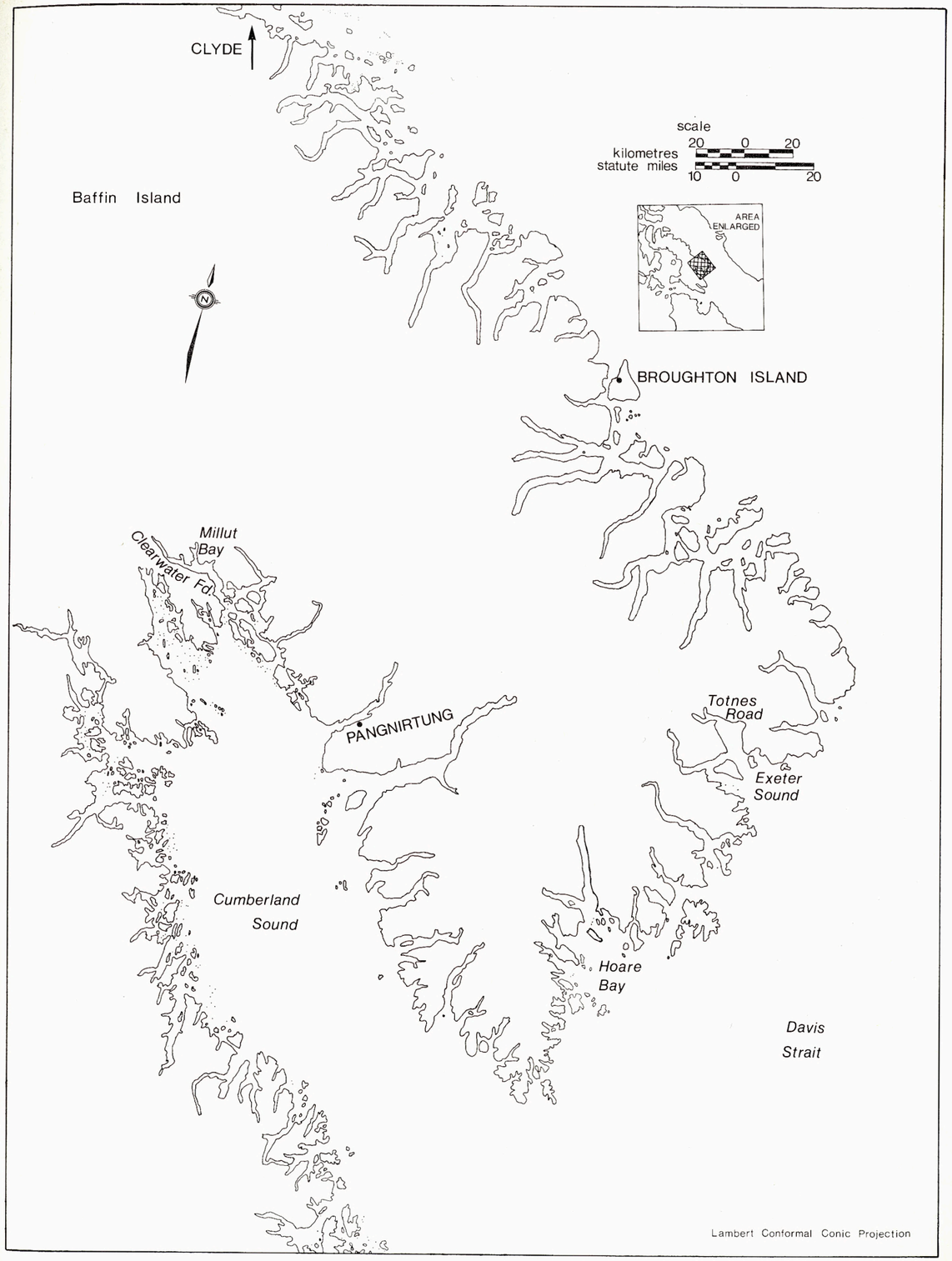
● *Wildfowling:* Ptarmigan hunting was carried out everywhere inland during caribou hunting or fox trapping. Similarly, ducks were not especially hunted, except sometimes at the mouth of Clyde Inlet, and in late summer in another larger area from Dexterity Island north to Buchan Gulf.

Goose hunting was also relatively unimportant in this region. However, there was some hunting near the head of Kangirlugag Fiord and at Cape Eglinton, particularly in late summer and early fall, when the geese congregate along the headlands and in the interior river valleys. The Scott Inlet and Cape Hunter areas were locally important for goose hunting.

● *Fishing:* Important areas for char fishing occurred in Ekalugad Fiord near Fox Charlie Glacier and at Sarvelick Fiord. Rivers draining lakes into Sarvelick Fiord were fished in fall at weirs. Farther north, streams and rivers from Kooneeloosie, Kyak and Kudloo lakes were well fished at weir in fall, and the river near Pilot Hill had at least one weir near its mouth, just north of Isabella Bay. On the same peninsula near Igloo Bay, people fished through ice on lakes and in streams draining them.

Where Clyde River enters Clyde Inlet, there were two fish weirs, and people also fished in the stream flowing from a lake near the old village of Clyde River. Immediately north of Cape Christian, other rivers were fished, but because they were deep, no weirs were constructed. The Kogalu River, and a

Map 31
Clyde place names 2



lake just northwest of Esquimaux River were important for char fishing. Other noted char fishing areas were located at weirs on the rivers from Conn and Bieler Lakes draining into Walker Arm, and Gibbs and Clark fiords. In the Bruce Mountains, there is one excellent river for char fishing that runs down from Duart Lake to the coast near Cape Adair. Another river, which drains into Royal Society Fiord, was also fished at a weir.

Period III (1954–1974)

● *Seal Hunting:* There has been a general contraction of nearly all seal hunting areas in Period III as compared to Period II, although more intensive hunting now occurs in the waters immediately off Clyde Inlet. Surf in the summer and rough ice in the winter cause discontinuities of hunting areas at many headlands. For example, the absence of seal hunting from Cape Hewett to Cape Raper and south of Inugsuin Fiord can be explained in these terms. However, apart from the intensification and contractions noted, the general pattern of seal hunting remains the same as for Period II.

Bearded and harp seals are also still hunted, but again the bearded seal hunting area has contracted because of the recent abandonment of certain settlements. The localized hunting of harp seals, however, is the same as it was in Period II.

● *Walrus Hunting:* The areas immediately north and south of Cape Hooper are both moderately important for walrus hunting, and the area extending from the entrance of Alexander Bay to Cape Henry Kater is also important. Farther north, in Isabella Bay, the areas around Aulitivik and Aulitiving islands are fairly good locations, and so are the waters between Alitiving Island and Cape Raper. Minor hunting areas for walruses occur in Eglinton Fiord, Scott Inlet, and Isabella, Alexander and Home bays. These areas were more important in the immediate past, and at present few hunters from Clyde River travel this far in fall.

● *Whale Hunting:* During the past few years, there has been some narwhal hunting in Sam Ford Fiord, Walker Arm, and immediately off Refuge Harbour in Gibbs Fiord. Occasionally open water occurs during winter at these locations, and narwhals may be trapped by ice. When that happens, they may be hunted throughout the year, but they are usually hunted from late April to early May.

● *Polar Bear Hunting:* Polar bear hunting conforms closely to the pattern in Period II. Hunting on the sea ice of Home Bay has expanded into the interior of the bay and southward past Cape Hooper. A small area near Nudlung and Confederation fiords is also used. North of Henry Kater Peninsula, major areas have remained unchanged as far north as Dexterity Harbour, although bear hunting has been intensified within these areas. In particular, the areas around Home Bay, Halliday Point, and Cape Raper continue to be heavily exploited. The Clyde River area is also well hunted and continues to be productive. The areas around Scott Inlet and Sam Ford Fiord are not now as frequently travelled during winter, so they are no longer intensively hunted.

● *Caribou Hunting:* During Period III, there has been a greater confinement of hunting in the interior near Dewar Lake and in McBeth River valley. This change is a result of the decline of the Home Bay caribou population and a subsequent intensification of hunting in the fiords north of Home Bay. Areas intensively hunted are located on the south side of Inugsuin Fiord, at the mouth of McBeth River, in the area extending inland toward Generator Lake, down Clyde Inlet, and inland to Ayr Lake, where small herds may be found during early winter. At present, the most important caribou hunting area for the Clyde River hunters in both winter and summer is up Clyde Inlet as far as Clyde River, where, from August to mid-September, caribou are found all along the coast.

● *Fox Trapping:* The most significant change in the pattern of fox trapping has been the abandonment of trapping at the periphery of the territory formerly used by people living in dispersed settlements. Otherwise the pattern is similar to that described for Period II. The intensity of trapping has probably decreased in some areas, particularly around Scott and Clyde inlets, Inugsuin and McBeth fiords area, Isabella and Home bays, and some of the islands in Home Bay.

● *Wildfowling:* There are no significant changes between Periods II and III, except an extension of goose hunting in the Isabella Bay area. The Clyde River and Patricia Bay areas and a valley in the Bruce Mountains are also important. As noted before, duck and goose eggs are not collected, although some seagull eggs are collected at the mouth of Patricia Bay. Some ptarmigan eggs are collected around Eglinton and Sam Ford fiords, particularly on a small island at the northern entrance of Sam Ford Fiord, by people travelling through this area in late June or early July.

● *Fishing:* The lakes and rivers used for char fishing are mostly the same as those in Period II, namely, on the north side of Ekalugad Fiord around Sarvelick Fiord and Kangirlugag Fiord. People continue to travel down Inugsuin Fiord to Kooneeloosie, Kyak and Kudloo lakes. The river that runs from Pilot Hill to the coast south of Clyde is very popular for fishing in late August when the char are migrating up stream. Other major fishing areas include an unnamed river north of Cape Christian, and Kogalu River. Nets set at mouths of both these rivers in late summer give large quantities of char.

The lake on the south side of Eglinton Fiord and the lake adjoining Clyde River settlement are still fished. Rivers off Walker Arm and Sam Ford Fiord are also important, particularly in fall and early winter, although sometimes until as late as February. Other winter fishing locations include several small lakes between Bieler and Conn lakes and the

fiords. Winter fishing is done with leisters through holes in the ice, not with nets. Fishing trips generally last about two weeks. The continuing interest in winter fishing is emphasized by the local belief that char taste better during winter and spring, when they are less fat, than in fall when they return from the sea.

Inuit Land Use in North Baffin Island and Northern Foxe Basin

by Hugh Brody

Introduction

This report is coneerned with land use in two quite dissimilar landscapes. The landscape of the Igloolik people, covering Melville Peninsula, the lands north of Fury and Hecla Strait and the eastern side of Foxe Basin (Maps 32 and 33) is essentially flat tundra and low hills, whereas that of the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay people (Maps 34 and 35) is mountainous and heavily glaciated, with a coastline indented by a multitude of long narrow fiords. The people of north Baffin Island frequently discuss the several merits of the different terrains, discussions that invariably return to the opposition between flat lands and steep lands. In the language of the Igloolingmiut, the disjunction between the two opposite types of lands is explicit: the Igloolik area is characterized as *puqtutuq,* without depth; the Pond Inlet area is *purtujuq,* with depth.

The two geographical areas are also associated with different ecological systems. The flat, more southern region has shallow waters (good for walruses), more topsoil and sod (good for earibou, geese and ducks), and much deeper drifts of snow (bad for caribou in winter). The more northern region has deep inlets and fiords (good for narwhals and, in spring, for seals), shorelines marked with deep valleys and uneven rock formations (good for bear denning), and valleys where light snowfall searcely eovers the grasses (good for winter caribou).

Despite the different terrains, the area has a cultural unity based on geography. A series of floe edges follow a line that parallels the shoreline of Baffin Bay, passes elose to northeast Bylot Island, along the south side of Lancaster Sound, and around the head of Brodeur Peninsula. Although the floe edge carries across to Somerset Island, the uncertainty of ice movements in Prince Regent Inlet, combined with another floe edge close to the eastern shore of the Gulf of Boothia, creates a partial boundary west of Brodeur Peninsula that continues down to Fury and Hecla Strait. The circle is completed by the floe edge that exists in most years in northern Foxe Basin. It is winter and spring ice that demareates the lands of the Igloolik culture as a definite area.

Within that area there is a network of routes that takes advantage of the local geography. Essentially flat land stretches from Igloolik northward to the southern tip of Milne Inlet, then eastward offering a route from Milne Inlet or Tay Sound to Steensby Inlet. That even ground, eombined with the fiords of the Eclipse Sound area, provides a travel route for the southern to the northern and eastern population groups. The link between Navy Board and Admiralty inlets follows either along deep valleys cut into Borden Peninsula, or along the flat lands southwest of Milne Inlet, which continue to Moffet Inlet, or the ice around the Borden Peninsula headland. West of Admiralty Inlet, the country is again flat, and allows comparatively easy access (iee conditions permitting) to Somerset Island and Boothia Peninsula. Bylot Island and the northeastern coasts of Baffin Island constitute the most precipitous section of the region, although some sledging routes exist even there. The mountains within 15 miles of the fiords rise to 5,000 feet and offer a remarkable contrast to the land around Igloolik, which, so the hunters say, is in winter scarcely distinguishable from the sea ice.

Culture and History

The people of the north Baffin and Igloolik region comment on both the differences and similarities among the various groups in the area. Early anthropological work in the Melville Peninsula area identified all these people as Igloolingmiut, suggesting that the population had its eultural and geographical centre at Igloolik Island. In fact, the people of the area contained by the floe edges note that differences and similarities among themselves have undergone significant change within living memory. There is a general view that marked differences in dialect and material culture have always existed among the peoples known in anthropology as the Igloolingmiut, the peoples to the southeast (beginning approximately at Clyde River), the peoples of the west (beginning approximately at Boothia Peninsula), and the peoples south of Melville Peninsula.

The evidence collected in Arctie Bay and Pond Inlet strongly suggests that the cultural heart of the region has always been in the Eclipse Sound area, with the stronger concentration of population on the west side of Navy Board Inlet and the fiords south of Eclipse Sound. The inhabitants of that region are collectively known as the Tununirmiut, the "people of a shaded or shadowy place" (literally, "because of backing mountains"). People relate that Tununirmiut sites have continuously been occupied at all times, and probably far into the distant past. In contrast, the country around the Arctie Bay region, which comprises most of Admiralty Inlet, was occupied only intermittently. The secondary importance of that region relative to the Eclipse Sound area is shown by the name for its people. They are the Tununirusirmiut, a name that takes the term *Tunuiq* (as in Tununirmiut) and adds the morpheme *rusiq,* which indicates secondariness. People explain that it is like saying "little brother". The Tununirmiut are the "older brother" of the northern part of the region. Even more significant is the fact that the people of the Igloolik region used to be known as the Itivingmiut, "the people across the way", a term that also suggests that the country of the Tununirmiut was the eentre.

In comparatively reeent times, there have been marked shifts in population distribution. The Arctic Bay area was empty of people for some years and was repopulated only in the 1930's by a family that moved in from Navy Board Inlet, whereas, in the same period, the area around and

slightly east of Bernier Bay was the more important centre of population. In general, the movements of population within living memory, with other evidence, suggest that the region has four principal centres, of which the lands of the Tununirmiut have constituted the cultural heart. The peoples are categorized as shown in the following table.

The names do *not* indicate specific campsites. Rather, they are the main areas in which clusters of campsites were located and the people as a whole tended to move. They comprise the main centres and give an idea of how the territory was divided. Because the population was highly nomadic, these divisions do not cover the entire hunting range. Many families moved at times far into the Netsilik country to the west. All of the groups reached deep into southern Baffin Island.

All the evidence suggests that, throughout living memory, movement within the region has been recurrent and that no important divisions existed between one terrain and another. However, European whalers, who exploited the resources of north and east Baffin Island throughout the last half of the 19th century and until the collapse of the whalebone market around 1915, on their annual visits to and during occasional winterings around Pond Inlet and Eclipse Sound, drew the majority of the population in that region into trade and labour relationships. Those relationships had important implications for later land use and occupancy.

Whalers paid Inuit mainly with items of southern material culture, most importantly, of course, with guns and ammunition. Consequently no one alive today can recall a life without firearms, though many remember times when ammunition had run out or was scarce, and can recall hunting with spears and even bows and arrows. The whalers encouraged hunters to bring ivory and furs to trade, a demand that inevitably resulted in the hunters effecting appropriate adjustments to their seasonal movements. In particular, the whalers' demand for polar bear skins resulted in a shift towards northern locations in which bears had always been most numerous. Some families who considered themselves Igloolingmiut based on Melville Peninsula began to spend more time in the country of the Ikirasarjurmiut. Tununirmiut began to make more frequent attempts to cross Lancaster Sound to hunt bears toward and along the south coast of Devon Island. Because the whalers stationed themselves at one edge of the culture area, the inhabitants of the farther edges were bound to make more frequent journeys toward them in the hope of acquiring more of those important new goods.

All these trends were consolidated by the traders whose activities overlapped with the last years of the whalers, activities that rapidly became the focus of Inuit economic life. Some whalers who had become attached to northern Baffin Island after successive years of whaling there, and men who believed that fortunes could be made from the fur trade, established trading posts in the Pond Inlet area as early as 1905. A succession of free traders, some of them still well remembered for their exotic or dangerous ways, continued to exert pressures by which hunters were being converted into trappers. Among the childhood recollections of the oldest men of the region are whale ships and the early traders. Living memory does not, therefore, go back to a time when hunters lived the aboriginal life of subsistence hunting: trade and trade goods pre-date the oldest of today's population.

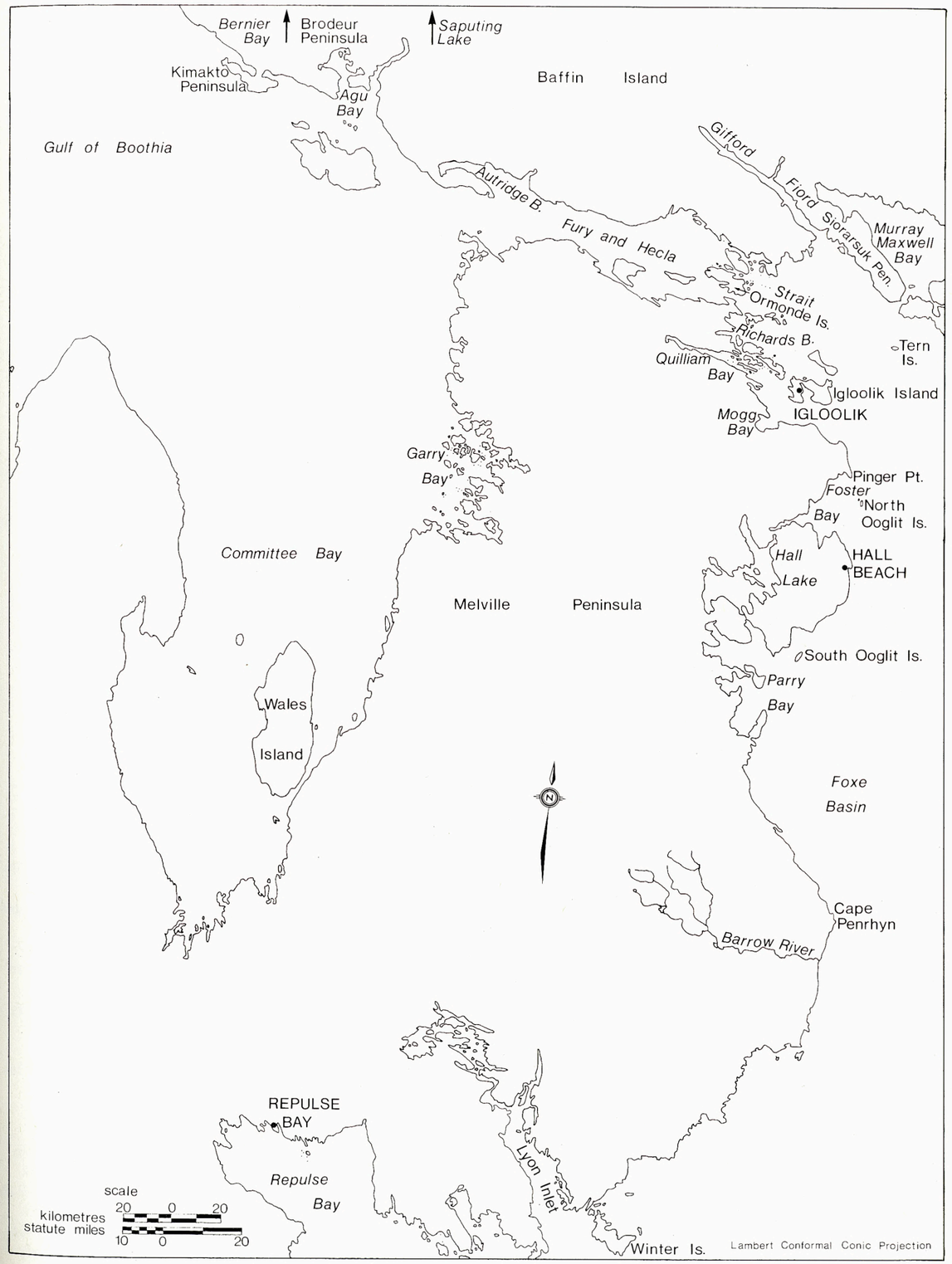
The presence of traders in the northeastern and southern parts of the region preserved or enhanced the tradition of making long regular journeys, especially of those living in remote places. The trend begun during the 19th century continued. The Itivingmiut, Ikirasarjurmiut and Kuuganajangmiut went at least once a year from their favoured hunting grounds to the trading posts, which were first located among the Tununirmiut. Everyone in the region was, therefore, brought up to a life that involved long journeys for the purpose of trade, a life that took families back and forth across the whole region, thereby maintaining the use and knowledge of a vast area.

It is striking that there was little relocation toward the northeast and that the Tununirmiut appear to have continued to make use of caribou and walrus hunting areas well to the south, along the same travel routes that families living in the south followed on their way to trade. A number of reasons maintained this mobility: the distribution of caribou led hunters who wanted skins for good clothing into the flatter, more southern parts of north Baffin Island; the presence of Whites was a mixed blessing, and many families were reluctant to live too close on a permanent basis to those strange newcomers; and as trapping came more and more to be the

Centres	
Tununirmiut	People of the shaded place
Ikirasarjurmiut	People of the small narrows
Itivingmiut	People across the land
(or Amiturmiut)	(or people of the small region)
Anaulirialingmiut	People of the (fish) clubbing place

Subsidiary Locations	
Kuuganajurmiut	People of the fast and large river
Ikirisangmiut	People of the low narrows
Agurmiut	People where the wind comes from
Anarnaajurmiut	People on the side
Uqqumiut	People of the lee side
Tujjarmiut	People of the ground on which it is painful to walk

Map 32
Igloolik and Hall Beach place names 1



basis of the economy, trappers spread far and wide in their search for good fox trapping grounds. Although the presence of Whites may have led to some contraction of living range, simply by drawing families to the northeast, it also set up a contrary pressure that had both social and economic dimensions. Families were, on one hand, encouraged to move toward the Whites, but, on the other, they were pushed into making the fullest use of their lands, both to preserve independence through distance and to make best use of the resources.

It should be apparent that all these factors tended to maintain very extensive land use throughout the trading period. Families needed to acquire quantities of skins and worked hard and ranged wide to do it. Bear hunting in the northern parts continued, while trap lines were set in virtually every part of the region. Seals and narwhals were hunted for purpose of trade. Yet as this intense collection of furs for trading did not reduce the need to hunt caribou for clothing skins or walruses for dog food, the caribou of the interior and the walrus herds of Foxe Basin were also harvested. This wide and elaborate use of virtually all of the region's resources is a central feature of the culture that evolved at the time, and provides the broader context within which land use throughout living memory has its rationale and meaning.

Families, from the 1920's to the 1950's, were scattered throughout the region, moving frequently from one area to another. As trading posts appeared in successive locations, the pattern of movements shifted. The Itivingmiut traded into Pond Inlet when there were posts there but nowhere else. Then there was a movement from the western edges of the region toward Fort Ross and Gjoa Haven, then toward Arctic Bay, and finally toward Igloolik Island and Hall Beach.

Continuities and Time Periods

There is a clear continuity in the history of the region on the use and occupancy of land within living memory. The movements and the economic rationale for the movement were not altered by shifts in the southern or white presence that have marked various phases of white activity during the first half of this century. The pattern and its continuity can be shown by describing in skeletal outline the biography of the oldest inhabitant of the region.

Born at Igloolik, approximately 1894.
Remembers moving to Qaqulluit at the mouth of Cambridge Fiord.
Moves to Anaulirialik, at the end of Cambridge Fiord, and recalls walking far inland as a child, hunting caribou in summer.
Moves back to Igloolik, going overland in early spring.
Moves to Repulse Bay, where her husband worked briefly for whalers based at Daly Bay.
Moves to Igloolik.
Moves to Admiralty Inlet and spends some years in the Arctic Bay area.
Moves to Pond Inlet area about 1920.
Moves to Arctic Bay area about 1920 to 1928.
Moves to Gjoa Haven by ship.
Moves to north Somerset Island by ship.
Moves to Pond Inlet area by dogsled in early spring.
Moves to Anaulirialik area about 1930.
Moves to Peel Sound.
Moves to Arctic Bay in 1959.

While based in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas, she accompanied several bear hunting trips across Lancaster Sound, going close to southern and eastern Devon Island, but not camping there.

All of the moves involved trade. Within each area there were various campsites suitable for procuring different animals and serving as hunting bases according to the season. Because even the oldest of the region's inhabitants were nomadic participants in southern-based trading activities, the first noticed discontinuity in the region's history and culture came with the introduction of administrative and welfare services at the end of the 1950's. The services have expanded and have continued to evolve since then. The data for the Igloolik – Hall Beach – Pond Inlet – Arctic Bay area as a whole is most intelligible when presented in two time phases: before the trend toward settlement life (Periods I and II) and the settlement period (Period III).

The Settlement Period

Some movement of population to each settlement in the region has occurred since the establishment of permanent agency posts. Pond Inlet was the first loeale selected by traders and missionaries, followed by Arctic Bay, Igloolik, and Hall Beach, successively. Until the 1950's, however, when schools were built, the settlements were little more than a collection of a small number of families around the agencies on a comparatively permanent basis. The R.C.M.P. and H.B.C. employed some men for varying periods of time, and it was they and their families who came to be a nucleus of settlement dwellers. Even those families came and went, and the R.C.M.P. were themselves somewhat nomadic, fairly often setting out on journeys of remarkable length and obscure purpose using local men as guides and providers. At first, therefore, settlements were small and had only a few temporary residents.

The location of a settlement had an influence only in attracting population. Pond Inlet, for example, is located at a natural camping place. Archeological evidence suggests that it is among the most ancient Eskimo campsites in the Canadian north. Arctic Bay has no such history of occupancy, and the settlement alone has encouraged movement into a region that had little else to recommend it. Arctic Bay grew more slowly

Map 33
Igloolik and Hall Beach place names 2

than Pond Inlet, while Igloolik, which is also situated near ancient campsites, grew very rapidly. Hall Beach became a centre of population after the construction of a DEW-Line station in the early 1950's.

All the settlements have, however, absorbed the camp population of their respective hinterlands. By the time day and residential schools had been established in each settlement, every camp had clearly come to be seen as within the province of one or another H.B.C. post. And when the occupants of a camp decided to move into a settlement, it was clear, in virtually all cases, which settlement it would be. Thus the Tununirmiut looked to Pond Inlet whereas the Tununirusirmiut inclined to Arctic Bay, and the Agurmiut and Anarnaajurmiut naturally went to Igloolik. The people of Somerset Island divided between Resolute, Spence and Arctic bays, and the Anaulirialingmiut divided between Pond Inlet and Clyde River.

As the movement to settlements gained strength from 1955 to 1965, there began to be another movement, which continues, between settlements. That movement has increasingly involved shifts to locations outside the inhabitants' original culture area. It is due to recent greater ease of travel, but, most significantly, is due to government attempts at redistributing population. Families from Pond Inlet were encouraged to move to Grise Fiord, Resolute Bay and Devon Island; families from Cape Dorset were encouraged to move to the Arctic Bay area. These transfers occurred between the 1930's and 1950's, and have inevitably led to successive relocations, which still continue. Also, some people from Melville Peninsula have moved southward into Aivilingmiut country.

The residents of settlements today notice that the differences between various groups are shrinking. The language is becoming more uniform and the details of dress and custom that were once precise cultural insignia are no longer features of Inuit life. In their hunting and trapping patterns, however, the people of the four settlements discussed here still constitute a distinctive group. Pre-settlement ways remain an important part of local self-identity and provide the basis of attitudes to land and its use. The remainder of this report is devoted to details of that use; material relating to the people's attitudes toward the land is presented in the chapter on Land Occupancy: Inuit Perceptions.

Hall Beach

Hall Beach (68°46'N, 81°11'W) is a relatively new settlement on the northwest coast of Melville Peninsula. The name derives from the American explorer, C.F. Hall, who lived in the vicinity in the 1860's.

The settlement came into being during 1955–1956, when Fox Main, one of the principal DEW-Line stations, was built near the present location of the settlement because of its excellent beach. The construction attracted many Inuit labourers and their families, who worked on Fox Main and other radar stations in the region.

In 1974 the population was 315. There are twice-weekly flights from Frobisher Bay to the all-weather DEW-Line airstrip, a nursing station, a primary school (kindergarten to grade eight), two churches, a community hall, a post office, a transient centre, a general store and the Hall Beach Cooperative.

Igloolik

Igloolik (69°24'N, 81°49'W) is situated on Igloolik Island near the eastern entry of Fury and Hecla Strait. From prehistoric evidence, Igloolik Island, where the modern community of Igloolik is sited, has always been an important settlement area for the Inuit and their forebears living in the Foxe Basin region.

The earliest European contact with the area occurred in 1822–1823 when the two ships "Fury" and "Hecla" wintered in Turton Bay, at Igloolik Island. Parry reported then 155 Inuit camped in the immediate area. Other 19th century explorations were those of John Rae and C.F. Hall, both during searches for the missing Franklin expedition.

In the 20th century the Igloolik people traded at posts in north Baffin Island and Repulse Bay until the H.B.C. opened a trading post on Igloolik Island in 1939.

The first mission activity in the area occurred around 1920, when an Anglican catechist arrived from north Baffin Island. From about 1930 Catholic missionaries have resided in the Igloolik area. It was around this period that traditional items such as the kayak were replaced by imported wooden whaleboats, and access to supplies of ammunition for hunting became more regular.

When the DEW-Line stations were built in the Foxe Basin region in 1955, a few local men worked on the construction phase and others, seasonally, as stevedores. The presence of building materials at the Hall Beach DEW-Line site encouraged settlement in that area. These materials were also transported to other settlement sites for house and frame tent construction. One such site was on Igloolik Island near the trading post, where in 1959 the Anglican Church built a mission which has since been occupied. A school opened at the same time.

In 1974 the population living at Igloolik was 611. The community is served by thrice-weekly flights from Frobisher Bay and Resolute Bay. There is a nursing station, an R.C.M.P. detachment, a school (to grade nine) and an adult-education centre, cultural and recreational centres, a motel, a cooperative and H.B.C. store, a library and telephone service.

Arctic Bay

The settlement of Arctic Bay (73°02'N, 85°11'W) is located on the north shore of Adams Sound off Admiralty Inlet.

The north Baffin region was visited in the early years of the 19th century by European exploration parties. The local population experienced the effects of contact with whalers and explorers both in Foxe Basin and on east Baffin Island. By the time trading posts were established near Pond Inlet in the early years of the 20th century, people were using firearms and other trade items introduced into the region through these earlier contacts. Since Pond Inlet has grown rapidly as a permanent settlement for outside agencies, neighbouring Arctic Bay has not grown as fast. The H.B.C. opened a trading post in 1936, though they had a short-lived post in operation in the region for one year in 1926–1927. Missionaries and R.C.M.P. visit the community from Pond Inlet. There is a school (grades one to six), a nursing station, radio communication and twice-weekly aircraft flights from Resolute.

Pond Inlet

Pond Inlet (72°41'N, 78°00'W) is situated on Eclipse Sound in northeastern Baffin Island. The northern part of Baffin Island was first visited by Europeans in the early years of the 19th century when Ross landed on Bylot Island and named the place "Ponds Inlet" after an eminent astronomer of that period. The explorations of Parry followed a few years later. Whalers entered the area, trading with the local Inuit later in the 19th century.

The first trading posts were associated with whaling and attempts at mining in the region, and date from 1903. From then till the H.B.C. established a trading post at Pond Inlet in 1921, there was a succession of small trading operations in the area. The R.C.M.P. opened a detachment at Pond Inlet in 1922, and Anglican and Catholic Churches established missions in Pond Inlet in 1929 and 1930 respectively. The federal school opened in 1959, and the growth of the permanent community as the trade and government centre accelerated since the mid-1960's.

In 1974 the community of Pond Inlet numbered 550. There are two or three regular aircraft flights per week from Resolute, telephone service, churches, a school (kindergarten to grade eight), an adult-education centre, a nursing station, an R.C.M.P. detachment, a motel, a post office and a library.

Land Use Findings

The following species have been hunted in the region.

- Caribou
- Ringed seals
- Harp seals
- Bearded seals
- Walruses
- Narwhals
- White whales or beluga
- Bowhead whales
- Polar bears
- Char (sea-run)
- Char (land-loeked)
- Lake trout
- Cod
- Sharks
- Sculpin
- Ptarmigans (two species)
- Canada geese*
- Snow geese*
- Eider ducks*
- Old-squaw ducks*
- Sandhill cranes
- Common loons
- Red-throated loons
- Arctic loons
- Kittiwakes*
- Arctic terns*
- Black guillemots*
- Glaucous gulls*
- Fulmars
- Thick-billed murres*
- Dovekies
- Wolves
- Wolverines
- Arctic hares
- Berries (four species)

Obviously not all the species on the list have equal importance, while some of them have always been rare. Only two cases of hunting bowhead whales were reported, whereas every hunter reported hunting narwhals. Some of the birds are far more important than others: the sandhill crane is only an occasional visitor, but the eggs of the murre occupy an important place in the diet of most families now living in these northern settlements.

Caribou

Caribou have always occupied a central position in the region's hunting patterns, primarily because caribou skins are by far the most important source of clothing material, and secondarily because caribou meat is a favoured diet. It is not possible to understand the pattern for caribou hunting without some idea of the way in which caribou fit into the overall ecological picture. Moreover, the caribou in this region show more

*The eggs of the species are also collected.

marked shifts in range and population than do any other species.

Because caribou were essential for clothing, the hunting was distinctly seasonal. Skins for garments are at their best toward the end of summer, when the animals were intensively hunted. The regional term for summer hunting means "the search for material for clothes". In winter and spring, caribou were hunted closer to the coasts and, occasionally, during overland journeys on the easterly routes between Igloolik and Pond Inlet. In recent years, there has been a shift toward winter and early spring hunting and a more or less complete end to the long summer walks inland, which continued into the early 1950's.

Hunters were very specific about where they hunted, and their maps were usually composed of sets of relatively small circles. This was especially striking when the data were collected campsite by campsite, for it appeared that many spring camps were related to specific caribou grounds inland. Thus, as a hunter moved from camp to camp over the years, he accumulated a set of caribou hunting sites. The camps, however, often lay on different sides of an area that approximately constituted a single caribou hunting ground, and the series of circles often overlapped or linked up in the centre. Even on one hunter's caribou map, therefore, the final circles that indicated range did not reveal the elaborate detail whieh the whole area in fact represented. Caribou hunters showed some tendency to be overspecific in their mapping and to indicate the core of their hunting ground rather than its total area. For example, men who recorded their long summer walks did not say that the entire length of the walk gave one of the diameters of the hunting range; rather, they showed the walk, then circled an area that lay close to its end. When asked if they had ever killed caribou at earlier points along the walk, they frequently said they had, but that they did not consider that as anything more than "merely killing caribou". They felt that such kills lay outside their "caribou hunting ground". In some cases, hunters recognized that the total range was the objective of the mapping, and they adjusted their maps accordingly, but in many instances, they preferred to leave the circles as small highly specific areas. Although this tendency no doubt resulted in many individual understatements of caribou range, the summary map shows that a large proportion of the inland area of northern Baffin Island was used by one or another hunter and that much of it was used by many. Probably the individual understatements do not greatly affect the final picture, except on the east side of Foxe Basin, which had been used by too few hunters from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay for an aggregate to overcome the tendency toward too much specificity. However, maps from Igloolik and Hall Beach show heavy utilization of this area, which is regarded as an integral part of the caribou grounds on which the people of these regions depend for their hunting.

There have been remarkable changes in caribou population between Periods I and II on one hand, and Period III on the other. Bylot Island and the land southwest of Low Point, for example, has had no caribou during Period III because the herds disappeared before 1959. There has, however, been a gradual shift of hunting toward the northern edge of the area, and hunters today say they will soon be hunting caribou on Bylot Island again, for tracks were seen there during early spring 1974.

The remarks above have applied mainly to Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. The people of Igloolik and Hall Beach also hunt caribou in every season over a vast area. Access to their inland areas is easiest in winter and spring, when hunts are carried out by dog-team or snowmobile. Both groups hunt herds west of Hall Lake, and Hall Beach hunters also travel farther south to the area inland from Parry Bay. Igloolik hunters travel to Baffin Island to hunt in the Neergaard Lake area and around the eastern side of Steensby Inlet. Other winter areas, which are hunted less frequently, extend down to Baird Peninsula on the eastern side of Foxe Basin, and along the travel routes to Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Repulse Bay.

Late summer and fall hunts, conducted largely by canoe, extend around the coast of Steensby Inlet, into the fiords of Grant-Suttie and Aqe bays, and along Ikpik Bay to Baird Peninsula. Caribou are especially numerous in the low, wet area north of Steensby Inlet where hunters can reach Tariujaq Arm by canoe. Hunts are made south from Hall Beach along the coast of Parry Bay and, occasionally around Cape Penrhyn and beyond, particularly on the way to Repulse Bay by boat. Walking hunts inland are made from Agu and Quilliam bays, Gifford Fiord and other camps.

In late fall, when ice conditions prevent boat travel, hunters from Igloolik and Hall Beach concentrate on central Melville Peninsula west of Igloolik and go as far west as the coast in the Garry Bay area. Land use patterns of caribou hunting reflect the complexity of game movements, seasonal distributions and long-term change. Caribou range began to shrink, both on Baffin Island and on Melville Peninsula, in the early 1900's, so that hunters had to go farther and farther inland. In the 1930's and 1940's, the only accessible caribou were on Baffin Island inland from Baird Peninsula on the eastern coast of northern Foxe Basin. Beginning in the 1940's, however, caribou began to move back into former range, and the repopulation is continuing.

Certain recent reduction in hunting areas is due to the increased availability of caribou in areas close to the coast and settlements. Hunters do not have to travel as far to find caribou now as they did 10 years ago. In other cases, there has been an expansion of hunting areas because caribou are now available where they were not found before, such as on the west side of Steensby Inlet, Jens Munk Island, and near Hall Lake, where caribou are now closer to the coast.

Map 34
Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay place names 1

Ringed Seals

Ringed seals have always constituted the other of the two principal mainstays of life in this region. They are accordingly hunted widely. Throughout living memory, they have provided skins for trade and clothing. In earlier times seals supplied the basic materials for tents, heating and light, and its bones were used in games. The meat of the ringed seals has probably always been the most important part of the people's diet. This useful animal's importance is matched by its abundance, an abundance that is exploited in various ways, which in turn lead to problems in mapping. The summary map does not reveal that elaboration, although it does show the comprehensive use made of the inlets, fiords, bays and floe edge of the region. We often found it easier to ask a hunter where he had *not* hunted seals.

Despite the ringed seals' general distribution and each hunter's extensive range, there was a tendency for him to mark highly specific locations on the maps. This tendency of course corresponds to seasonal variations in seal behaviour. In winter, seals are killed at their breathing holes, which are usually situated in large late-formed cracks. Many of these large cracks form in the same places each year, thus giving highly specific locations to the winter hunting of ringed seals. Once the seals begin to bask on the ice, hunting locations become less specific. When seals are hunted in open water there are no clear locations at all, although hunters still have definite preferences for some areas. The full summer range of ringed seal hunting includes all the fiords and inlets of the central area that can be reached by boat. The range is extended to Devon Island, Barrow Strait and across Prince Regent Inlet during winter and early spring hunting, often concurrent with journeys to hunt bears.

In general, hunters did not consider they were seal hunting when they were travelling, even though they might kill seals along the way. A number of men said that they would not bother to hunt seals on their way to trade, but would hunt them on their return, notably, in Navy Board Inlet. Many hunters' maps of ringed seal hunting areas are made up of apparently bizarre patches and narrow loops – reflections of the scrupulousness with which they composed the maps. In almost every case, the range is understated, and hunters incline strongly to mark core areas and favoured sites rather than the full area over which they have in fact hunted the species. On the summary map, however, these loops and patches overlap and merge to cover virtually the entire region, showing a fullness of use that corresponds very closely to the hunters' actual exploitation of the ringed seals. There is no major difference between Periods II and III, except for northern Foxe Basin and Peel Sound. The change in these areas corresponds to the change observed in the range of polar bear hunting, and probably indicates that the outer range of ringed seal hunting was a consequence of journeys principally devoted to bear hunting.

Bearded Seal

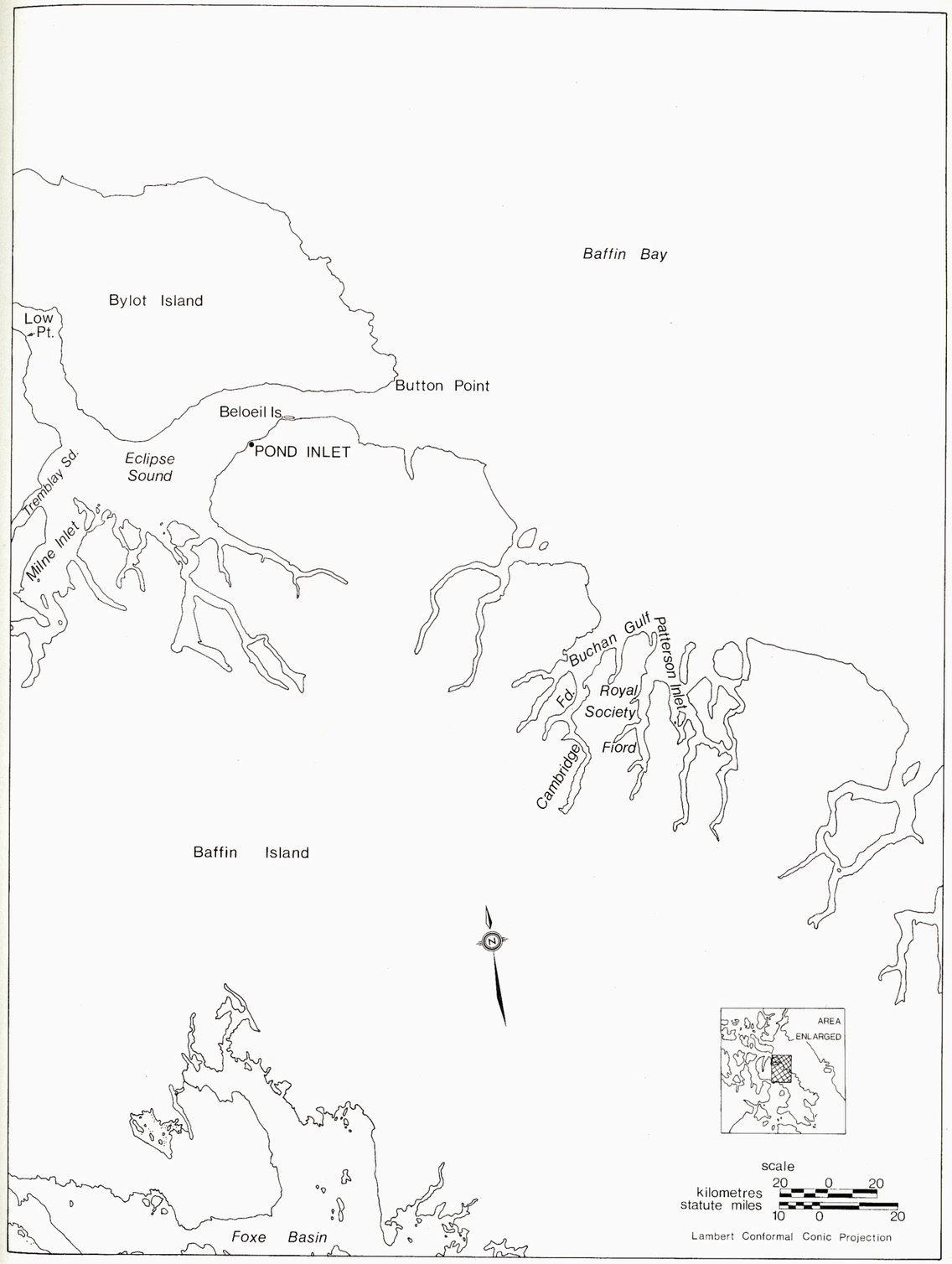
Although bearded seals are far less common than ringed seals, they are among the most important animal speeies of the region. Their skin was formerly used to make the best rope, and it continues to be used by preference for boot soles. The meat and blubber are important in the domestic economy. Moreover, the bearded seal is the largest of the seals in the region and it enjoys high status among the hierarchy of animals that the Inuit hunt.

There are seasonal variations to the pattern of hunting of bearded seals. In winter they are occasionally killed at breathing holes, especially by hunters who are close to the floe edge when a period of wind brings the pack ice close to the fast ice. But breathing hole hunters expect to kill ringed seals, and the appearance of a bearded seal is as unanticipated as it is welcome. Bearded seals are not often killed on the ice before break-up. The most important season for hunting them is during the late spring at the floe edge and during summer in open water. A harpoon is essential then, for a bearded seal sinks quickly when killed.

Although one might have expected the hunters to give a general range for this species, they in fact tended to locate them in very precise areas, notably in Baffin Bay directly off the fiords of Buchan Gulf and Patterson Inlet, at the floe edge area at the mouth of Pond Inlet, and at the northern edge of Admiralty Inlet.

These specific locations are certainly core areas and reflect the cartographic problem mentioned earlier: species that enjoy high status and low specificity tend to be understated. The hunting of bearded seals is a subject of importance and pride, and hunters tend to record the places where they have actually made kills rather than to indicate the total range over which they have hunted them. When hunters use boats in open water, they are hunting for *any* species of seals and, because ringed and bearded seals are the two predominant species, particularly for them. It follows, therefore, that the full hunting range of bearded seals cannot really be any smaller than the hunting range of ringed seals in summer. However, the summary maps show patches of bearded seal hunting sites in Navy Board Inlet and Eclipse Sound, an area which is, for Pond Inlet hunters, one of the most completely hunted in the entire region, and every part of which is regarded as a hunting area for ringed seals. Once again, the scrupulous honesty of the hunters creates a map that seriously understates actual range over which they hunt a species. The Arctic Bay area is more completely mapped, and the whole of Admiralty Inlet emerges as a bearded seal hunting area. That is because we made the Arctic Bay maps after the Pond Inlet ones, and it was in Pond Inlet that we began to discover

Map 35
Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay place names 2



some of the methodological difficulties and to attempt to offset the bias they caused.

There is no significant difference in bearded seal hunting between Periods II and III. As long as seals are hunted by boat during summer, the hunting range of bearded seals will be maintained, although there have been contractions in recent years because some distant campsites are no longer in use. It is interesting to note, however, that bearded seal hunting during Period III shows an extension of range into Foxe Basin and Fury and Hecla Strait, probably a reflection of the growing use of power boats in comparatively recent times.

Harp Seals

Harp seals are rarely found in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area, but they make occasional appearances in Eclipse Sound and Admiralty Inlet, exclusively during the season of open water. They are not specifically hunted. Although a number of Arctic Bay hunters noted that the best location for them is in Admiralty Inlet just off the Arctic Bay headland, they are only occasionally killed even there. They are seldom, if ever, seen in northern Foxe Basin, and no Igloolik or Hall Beach hunter mentioned them.

Walruses

Walruses have traditionally been of great importance to the people of northern Foxe Basin. Far less attention is given them in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area. The Igloolik region was long noted for its dogs, which could be supported by walrus kills, even when dogs elsewhere were dying of starvation. Walruses, particularly when hunted in the winter, are still a prestige game. The Igloolik people have a great store of information about walrus behaviour and the environmental conditions that are important in hunting them.

Walruses, like bearded seals, are killed during winter and spring when wind has brought the drifting pack ice close to the floe edge. When these conditions occur, the old men consult each other and, if weather and ice look right, the hunters take several dog-teams to the floe edge and out onto the moving ice to look for walruses in the leads of open water. One of the reasons that the Igloolik – Hall Beach people say they keep dog-teams is because snowmobiles cannot be used safely on the moving ice.

A few walruses are killed in early summer when seal hunters in canoes encounter them, but not until later in the summer are they actively sought. When the weather is calm, whale boats and canoes go out into Foxe Basin hunting walruses among the floes, sometimes crossing 40 miles of open water toward the Manning Islands. When walruses move closer to shore in fall, they are hunted near Calthorpe and Igloolik islands, Pinger Point, and the North Ooglit Islands in Foster Bay and South Ooglit Island in Parry Bay. After freeze-up begins, walruses are taken at the end of the advancing floe edge. Some walruses stay close to shore through freeze-up and feed under the ice, using their thick skulls and tusks to smash upward through the ice to breathe. Walruses are sometimes hunted on such thin ice. The first major change in the pattern of walrus hunting in northern Foxe Basin occurred when whale boats were introduced to the region in the 1920's. They greatly extended hunting range and enabled hunters to kill in open water. A second major change occurred much more recently. The hunting range shifted out into Foxe Basin away from the coastal areas around Jens Munk and Igloolik islands, and Foster and Parry bays, following changes in the animal's seasonal movements – fewer and fewer walruses were coming into the bays and along the coastal areas. The hunting range for walruses has shrunk during Period III because people have moved into the settlements. There are, however, places where walruses are killed that are not described as hunting areas. They include the hunting grounds of the Ikpikitujuak camp and the coast of Foxe Channel, especially near Lyon Inlet, which is visited by hunters on their way to Repulse Bay.

In the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas, walruses are hunted in numbers only in late spring when they appear at the floe edge. They may also be hunted during summer, either in open water or at hauling out and breeding sites on land. Hauling out sites are found on southern Devon Island and on the Wollaston Islands at the top of Navy Board Inlet. In summer, walruses are occasionally seen and hunted over a wide area, but their numbers are so few that hunters would not set out to hunt only walruses. Hunters have not, therefore, marked their theoretically large summer range on their individual land use maps, but only the few places where walruses can usually, if not always, be found.

The main change in the walrus hunting range between Periods II and III is near Devon Island which, during Period II, was exploited by men who ran trap lines along its shores. Hunters now living in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay have hunted walruses in Foxe Basin to about the same extent during both periods, except in the Parry Bay area.

Narwhals

The narwhal is one of the most interesting Arctic animals. Its range is restricted, at least in this century, and hunting it is a great delight to the people of north Baffin Island. It is also very useful to them. Narwhal has always been an important source of dog food in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area, where it takes the place of walrus, the favoured dog food in the Igloolik and Hall Beach area. With the advent of whalers, the narwhal tusks became and have remained a valuable trade item. The skin, both fresh and deliberately rotted, has always been a favourite delicacy. The meat itself was and is eaten only if other meats are unavailable. It is difficult to convey in words the enthusiasm that narwhal hunting inspires

in the people of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. When the pods pass through Pond Inlet and Eclipse Sound, the entire village is consumed with excitement. No other game has a higher priority than the narwhal. This priority was reflected in the care with which the hunters mapped their narwhal hunting range. Even the younger men had hunted narwhals extensively.

Narwhals enter the Igloolik and Hall Beach region from the Gulf of Boothia. They move east through Fury and Hecla Strait in summer, then return west in fall. The Autridge Bay area, near the west end of the strait, is a noted hunting area. Narwhals are scarce in northern Foxe Basin, but the frequency of sightings is increasing. Several hunters thought that increased activity in the Arctic Bay area was frightening narwhals that would normally travel down Admiralty Inlet into going instead down Prince Regent Inlet into the Gulf of Boothia. Narwhals are hunted from canoes in the shallow waters around Igloolik Island, Richards Bay, and the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait.

Narwhal hunting takes place predominantly during summer. The people of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay developed distinctive kayak techniques for taking them, techniques that are still followed by men in powered canoes. These techniques try to overcome the disadvantages inherent in hunting such a large and powerful creature in usually ice-free and deep water. However, each spring, narwhals are hunted at the floe edge, either in patches of open water among the loose ice that is pushed against the fast ice or, with greater difficulty, in open water at the edge of the fast ice. Only very rarely are narwhals taken in winter, although it sometimes happens that large numbers of them are trapped by the sudden formation of sea ice, and are found breathing in a small patch of water that they have been keeping open by repeated surfacing. In those rare instances, large numbers are killed with relative ease.

The narwhals range widely, and they may be shot anywhere in open water, but the technique usually used makes narwhal hunting sites far more specific than the distribution of the animals themselves. These sites are mainly along the coastline and through a number of favoured inlets. The most striking example is a narrow strip that runs along Navy Board Inlet, then into Tremblay Sound and Milne Inlet; there is a comparable strip along Admiralty Inlet. Individual hunters tended to give quite specific, favoured sites, but the aggregation of those sites reveals the pattern on the summary map. The positions mapped at a distance from the shoreline are, in most instances, either at the floe edge or along cracks. There are important hunting areas at floe edges at the Baffin Bay end of Pond Inlet, at the mouth of Buchan Gulf, and on the west and east sides of Borden Peninsula. The areas marked on the northern third of Admiralty Inlet represent a series of cracks that open in the sea ice every spring, and they are among the most favoured narwhal hunting areas in the entire region. Other marked locations are probably more occasional in nature, not because narwhals are not found elsewhere, but because it is difficult to hunt them throughout their range.

Beeause of the hunting techniques and because each hunter tends to favour certain places in which to practice them, the majority of individual maps show specific locations. However, most hunters at one time or another will have tried to kill narwhals over much larger areas than their maps reveal. The summary map shows the sites that can usually be used successfully, not the range of sites that *have* been used.

There are a number of elear changes between Period III and earlier times in the exploitation of narwhals. The very southern end of Admiralty Inlet, the northeastern shore of Bylot Island, and the western end of Fury and Hecla Strait have no Period III sites. In part, this change reflects the people's departure from campsites distant from a settlement, and in part the edge of the narwhal range itself, which is the case with Fury and Hecla Strait. But in the northern part of the region, which is the real centre of narwhal hunting, the range of hunting shows how very important this resource continues to be.

White Whales

Although white whales occasionally appear in the waters of the north Baffin Island region, they are too uncommon to have become the object of any specialized hunting. In the northern part of the region, they are occasionally taken by narwhal hunters in the same places and by the same methods. In the southern part of the region, particularly in Foxe Basin where narwhals are not found, white whales have a greater importance. Residents of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay recorded a number of sites in northern Foxe Basin, but otherwise they merely noted that they had occasionally seen them in the course of hunting narwhals at the floe edge or, more rarely, along the shores where narwhals are found.

People in Igloolik and Hall Beach say that white whales spend the winter in Hudson Bay but, when the snow starts to melt, they begin to move north close to shore on the west side of Foxe Basin and arrive in the Igloolik area by about July. The migration takes them around Igloolik Island, through the shallow waters and many islands northwest of Igloolik, and west through Fury and Hecla Strait. They also travel into Murray Maxwell Bay, Steensby Inlet and Grant-Suttie Bay. In late fall, they move back through these same waters and travel south along the coast.

Bowhead Whales

Bowhead whales were, apparently, once relatively common in northern Foxe Basin, judging from bones found in archeological sites, but they have been an infrequent visitor to this area for a long time. There is some evidence, however, that in recent years more bowhead whales are visiting the region.

Many sightings have been made in the past 10 years, particularly off Tern Island and between Igloolik and Kaersuit islands, and a few have been killed.

Foxes

Foxes occur along most of the coastal areas, inland on the lowlands of Melville Peninsula, and on parts of Baffin Island. They hunt anything smaller than themselves, but they also do a great deal of scavenging, coming along behind polar bears and men to feed on the remains of their kills. Trapping begins in late fall and continues through winter and spring until about April, usually in conjunction with other activities, such as visiting walrus or caribou meat caches in midwinter or while caribou hunting. Many trap lines follow travel routes to good caribou hunting areas.

Arctic foxes were and are the one real focus of trapping. Weasels, some 30 years ago, played a very minor role, although they never brought a good price from the traders. Fox trapping is a winter activity, for then fox pelts are at their best. Although the silver fox is the most valuable of fox furs, it is very rare. Red, black and cross foxes have always been trapped, but they have not been of such importance economically as Arctic or white foxes, which are white only during winter.

Trapping was the one part of a hunter's activities that was carried on exclusively to secure cash or trade goods. The importance of trap lines is, therefore, a measure of the importance of trade and, in turn, of the people's dependence on southern goods. Because that importance and dependence began generations ago, and because they have grown in the course of living memory, the significance of a family's trap lines can hardly be overemphasized. A trapping year that is bad, either because of poor prices or few furs, usually leads to some hardship. A succession of bad years could threaten disaster.

Trapping may have helped create the pattern of widely dispersed camps that was typical of the 1940's and 1950's. Igloolingmiut say that trapping from the settlements is not very good because there are too many people trapping and because it is too far to go to better trapping areas.

Several men in each settlement make long trips, which last from several days to a week or two, to check their traps. There are trap lines along the coast of Perry Bay, near Agu Bay, and in the Neergaard Lake area, where there is also good caribou hunting. Foxes are particularly plentiful in bays where much seal hunting has been done in the previous summer and fall, because many seals that were not recovered drift ashore or freeze into the new ice. Caches of seals used to be deliberately left in such areas to attract foxes.

In fall, foxes along the eastern side of northern Foxe Basin move from the coast out among the islands, then during winter they return to the coast. One man said that while living on the Siorarsuk Peninsula, he was happy when he heard that the Kapuivik people on Jens Munk Island had many foxes around their caches, because he knew that, during winter, the foxes would move up the peninsula and that he would, therefore, take many of them in his traps.

The summary map shows clearly enough that coastlines have been predominantly used for trap lines, with only occasional lines reaching inland or out on the sea ice. The exception to this pattern is around the floe edge and near the better winter sealing areas. Seal hunters usually leave a few traps around the remains of their kills, hence the complex of lines that appears along east Bylot Island, across Eclipse Sound and Navy Board Inlet.

The accuracy with which trap lines were drawn varied from trapper to trapper, but generally each trapper could pinpoint the majority of the individual traps he had set. A line drawn along a coast or inland on any individual land use map in fact represents a series of widely separated traps, each of which was set year after year in more or less the same spot. Trap lines on the sea ice obviously could not preserve such a regularity.

The combined trapping activity of the people now resident in Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet covers virtually every inlet and bay of the entire coastline of north Baffin Island, and there is apparent continuity between Periods II and III.

In the Igloolik, Hall Beach and Steensby Inlet area, however, a movement toward the two permanent settlements in the area started at the beginning of Period III (1959). Thus the absence of trap lines during Period III in some areas reflects the new settlement patterns. However, the extent of the trap lines that occur in both time periods is a reflecion of the degree to which trapping was, and remains, an essential part of regional land use, despite the movement of people toward a more sedentary way of life in the settlements.

Wolves

Wolf hunting has not played a central part in the economic lives of the region's hunters and trappers. Although wolf pelts earn high prices from traders, the wolf population is small and uncertain in most of the region. Since the species enjoys comparatively high status and probably has done so during living memory, hunters are glad to pursue wolves. There are a few areas where wolves are more likely to be found than others, most importantly in the eastern Foxe Basin region. Circles that hunters mark on their maps are, therefore, in some cases areas over which wolves have in fact been hunted, and in other cases areas where there is a comparatively good chance of finding wolves. In general, the areas that are marked on sea ice represent only occasional wolf hunting, whereas the circles marked inland, south of Milne Inlet, are likely to be real wolf hunting areas.

In the Igloolik and Hall Beach regions, areas where caribou and wolves are particularly abundant include the east side of Steensby Inlet, and the Grant-Suttie and Ikpik bays area. Because of current high prices for wolf pelts, caribou hunters are always on the watch for wolf signs. Trips are occasionally made with wolf the primary and caribou the seeondary interest.

Wolves are hunted at any time of the year, but they are most frequently taken in winter and early spring in the course of caribou hunting, which gives an appearance of seasonal variation that is only incidental. As hunters do not appear to have pursued them with any regularity in their denning areas, the hunting ranges do not show any clear location; rather, the ranges are only as predictable as the location of caribou herds, which the wolves follow.

The summary map probably is not an understatement of the areas in which wolves can regularly be found, but, as in the case of other species that are not often specifically hunted, the range over which they might be seen, and no doubt have on occasions been seen and followed, is much larger than the circles shown on the map, which are a blend of core areas and occasional kills. It is not the whole range of wolf hunting, which would be much more nearly co-terminous with the caribou range. The two ranges will expand and contract together. There is no evidence to suggest that wolf hunting is less significant than it used to be 50 years ago. High-powered rifles have brought more of them within the hunters' shooting range, and their skins are now more valuable. The trend is probably toward more rather than less wolf hunting.

Polar Bears

The importance of polar bear hunting in the north Baffin Island region can hardly be overstated. As a source of both income and prestige, the killing of polar bears stands at the pinnacle of a hunter's desire. The polar bear quotas are rapidly filled, and the restriction that the quotas impose on the hunters' activities is a source of frustration and complaint. The hunting of polar bears now has an importance probably greater than at any time within living memory. That importance has helped to maintain the overall hunting range of Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay hunters. Prior to the establishment of quotas, bears were killed at any time of the year, although usually during winter and spring. Since the quota system began, they are virtually all taken between January and March.

Polar bears roam over vast distances, and, accordingly, the hunting areas for them on north Baffin Island are large. Nonetheless, there are core areas that relate to denning and migration routes as well as to the position of the floe edge. The core areas vary with the time of year, a factor that affected year-round bear hunting before federal restrictions were introduced. Since their introduction, and since the movement into settlements and the gradual adoption of the snowmobile, the core areas of bear hunting territory have become specific to each community. Pond Inlet hunters expect to find bears around the southeast edge of Bylot Island and in a line from there to the northeast headland of Baffin Island. Arctic Bay hunters look to the Admiralty Inlet and Lancaster Sound region and to travelling across Brodeur Peninsula. Each hunter has his own idea about where bears are found in greatest abundance at each season.

There is no reason to think that the bear range for either time period has been understated or overstated. The perimeters of the range during Period II were determined largely by ice and land formations, and the maps show that many hunters hunted bears close to the edges of their own possible range. But there has obviously been a considerable diminution in bear hunting range as a result of the quota system. That diminution is not evident on the land use maps, for it occurred after 1959, the beginning of our Period III. Even so, it is striking that, in recent times, hunters have used Lancaster Sound and the shores of Devon Island, as well as Peel Sound and the eastern shores of Prince of Wales Island. This is an indication of the readiness with which hunters of the region have undertaken extremely long journeys despite the difficult ice conditions they were sure to encounter on the way. Recently, bears have begun to come much nearer the settlements, and the quotas are soon filled by hunters who did not need to travel very far. Thus, there is some extension of the hunting range in the Pond Inlet area but, in general, all the major hunting areas around both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay are about the same for both Periods II and III. There appear to have been contractions of the range on the southern edges of the region, notably in Foxe Basin and the Gulf of Boothia. It must be remembered, however, that the summary maps represent the individual land use of only those hunters and trappers now resident in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, the great majority of whom have not done any extensive hunting in the Igloolik or Hall Beach areas since the late 1950's.

In northern Foxe Basin, polar bears have been killed almost everywhere, incidental to the hunting of other species, but hunters actively seeking polar bears generally travel to Committee Bay or the Gulf of Boothia area. These hunts, formerly by dog-team but now more commonly by snowmobile, usually take place in early spring (March or April) or in fall (late October). Hunters usually search along the floe edge between Garry Bay and Kimakto Peninsula. The fall hunt may largely centre on the latter area because bears are said to be concentrated there at that time of year. Hunts sometimes extend north around Brodeur Peninsula to Bernier Bay and beyond, or south to Wales Island. Bears have often been killed around the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait and near the mouth of Steensby Inlet. They are also reported to frequent the Prince Charles and Foley islands area and Rowley Island. When the DEW-Line site was operating on Rowley Island, they were especially numerous near its garbage dump. They

are also relatively common near Lyon Inlet and Winter Island, and they have been killed by hunters travelling to or from Repulse Bay by boat. Occasionally a hunter from Hall Beach goes to Repulse Bay hunting for caribou along the coast, and watching out for polar bears.

The mapping of polar bear hunting is difficult because there is a considerable difference between the areas to which a man has gone in active search for polar bears and the areas in which he has actually killed them. Generally, only the former areas have been delimited on the land use maps; to map the latter would have taken too much time. The maps, therefore, properly stress the importance of the Committee Bay area for polar bear hunting, but they perhaps understate the fact that polar bears have been and continue to be killed almost everywhere in the region, even inland from Parry Bay on Melville Peninsula.

Freshwater Fish

Char has always been the most important of the various species of freshwater fish that are available to the people of north Baffin Island, and char fishing is among the most important of a hunter's concerns. The small and ubiquitous lake trout makes a delightful change of diet, but it is not considered worthy of much serious attention. On the other hand, the giant lake trout is important where it can be found. They occur only on the very southwestern edge of this region, and, therefore, have marginal importance. The fishing of land-locked char is an extension of fishing sea-run char: they are prized when taken, but they attain neither the size nor the vast numbers that give such importance to the sea-run stocks of char.

Char and trout fishing are, therefore, complex, and the fishing varies according to species, time of year, and location. During Periods I and II, numerous stone weirs were used to catch most of the fish each summer. More recently, the weir has given way to the net, which is used in early summer and midsummer. During open water, nets are set at river mouths and virtually anywhere along the coast. Most of the year's char catch is taken in these nets. In fall, fishing is carried on through holes in the new lake ice with a jigging line and leister. In winter, nets are set under the lake ice mainly to catch char. In spring, jigging for lake trout or char at holes in the lake ice is resumed. The former are taken on small lures, and the latter are speared with leisters. In late spring, jigging is carried out at the edge of the fast ice bordering on open river mouths, and at the same time the people begin to put nets in the open water.

There is considerable specificity in the location of fishing lakes, but very little for sea fishing. The larger lakes, which are worked in winter and spring, are known to have good and bad places for fishing, but during summer many hunters set their nets at any convenient point along the coastline, often in locations that are good for seal hunting, which may well be the main reason for visiting there in the first place.

This variation in specificity of location means that sea fishing range tends to be understated, but that it is more or less accurately stated for char lake sites. The comparative arbitrariness of placing nets along the coast and in the fiords results in the hunters not marking their full range, which, in fact, could be anywhere. Probably all the main char fishing lakes and river mouths are marked, but the lake trout sites are incompletely marked. Virtually every lake contains small lake trout, and a multitude of such small lakes have at one time or another been fished, particularly by women and children. Some of these small lakes could not be found on the map, and hunters said that many were simply not marked; others would not have been considered worth mentioning. The sheer number that any older person has fished would have resulted in some discrimination, with only the better or more frequently used sites being mapped. Fishing sites for giant lake trout are probably accurately marked, if only because they are found in so few places.

Although there are no fish weirs in the records of fishing sites in Period II, there is no evidence to suggest that fish are in any way losing their importance to the hunters of the region. The use of nets has probably increased the possible fishing range in open water, although that increase pre-dates Period III by some years and is revealed in the significant number of extensive sea water areas that were marked for Periods I, II and III. The west side of Brodeur Peninsula and Autridge Bay appear to be the only two areas in which fishing ranges show contraction. In numerous other areas the ranges have expanded.

It is no doubt significant that several hunters have begun to consider what new resources might be found in the region of north Baffin Island. In the spring of 1974 they made journeys to lakes that had not been fished for a generation. It seems possible that the freshwater fishing range may well be on the verge of expansion.

In northern Foxe Basin, the most important species fished are lake trout and two varieties of char. Char occur in almost all the rivers of the region, except a few, such as Barrow River, in which waterfalls obstruct their movements. Large lake trout are found in certain lakes on Melville Peninsula, particularly in Hall Lake and other large lakes. Sea-run char are particularly important because of their wide distribution. Stone weirs are still used in a few locations, notably at Agu Bay, but nets set along the coast and near the mouths of rivers are now the common means of catching them.

Land-locked char and large trout spawn at about the same time in fall, when the lake ice is thick enough to walk on. Near some lakes, such as Hall Lake, people would camp by a spawning area, which is always in shallow water, chop a hole through the ice, then spear the male char as they came to mate

with the female. Char were also taken with hooks through the ice, but more commonly by nets set under the ice.

In the Igloolik area, Mogg Bay has long been popular for spring char fishing but, in recent years, declining catches have obliged the people to travel greater distances to fish at this time of year. Several rivers along Gifford Fiord and Gifford River are popular for fishing, and some men go as far north as Saputing Lake, which opens early in spring. Fishing from Hall Beach is concentrated on the two outlets of Hall Lake. Several people told stories of the gigantic lake trout in Hall Lake and in lakes near Garry Bay.

Marine Fish

In the north Baffin Island culture area, marine fish enjoy extremely low status. Many hunters said they had never eaten sculpin and had fished for them only as children. A large majority of them said they had caught cod only incidentally, perhaps while jigging for char. All those interviewed said that they had never eaten shark and never would. Many hunters laughed heartily at the very idea of being asked about sculpin. One colleague suggested that we not bother asking, for the question could never be taken seriously. Two men said that sculpin are "the devil's likeness" and were, therefore, inedible. Nonetheless, it emerged that sculpin have been useful enough in times of scarcity, especially during early spring. It seems that cod have never been important, and many people were surprised to learn that cod were eaten with any regularity elsewhere.

Hunters appear to have killed sharks in large numbers, even though the meat was never considered fit for human consumption. Sharks congregate around narwhal kills, and can then be harpooned with comparative ease. There seems to have been a variety of motives for taking them: it is fun; sharks seriously damage narwhal carcasses; and in a few cases, shark meat has been a useful supplement to the supply of dog food.

Sculpin and cod are caught on lines jigged through small cracks in the sea ice. There seems to be no reason why they should not be taken throughout the year, and, no doubt, they have occasionally been caught during winter, but it is easiest to catch them in spring, when fissures and cracks begin to appear close to the shore. Sharks are killed during the season of open water, although in recent years a small number have been taken on lines set through the ice in front of Pond Inlet.

Marine fish have a generally wide range, although it appears that sculpin may be found in certain definite locations. One of the fiords off Eclipse Sound has an Inuit name which means "there are sculpin", and many hunters indicated they had fished for sculpin there. By contrast, sharks are ubiquitous and they appear anywhere that narwhals are killed. Shark hunting sites are thus given a somewhat spurious specificity because of their relation to narwhal hunting areas.

The accounts of sculpin range are probably understated, if only because it was men who made the maps. Spring jigging through cracks in the sea ice is predominantly the work of women and children. If women had been asked to make maps of their fishing, both sculpin and cod would have figured much more extensively. The locations that were marked probably reflect the principal or favoured sites around the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area, though Button Point was not marked as a major fishing site, when it is generally known to be a good location for sculpin in spring. On the summary map, sculpin and cod areas tend to be small circles inside bays or at the edge of inlets, whereas shark areas are spread along steep coasts and out into the bays, most clearly from Pond Inlet to Beloeil Island and along the west side of Admiralty Inlet.

Capelin, which are washed ashore in large numbers during a few days in summer, have been used as dog food.

The summary map shows that marine fish have been only slightly less important during Period III than during Period II. Although the Cambridge Fiord area has no Period III record, virtually every other principal area was used in both periods if it was ever used. The trend is probably toward smaller ranges, although hunters would still want to be able to fish anywhere in an emergency for sculpin or cod, and they would kill sharks in the course of narwhal hunting.

Ptarmigans

Ptarmigans are a favourite food, though they have only a small place in the economic lives of the people of the region. They have been and still are extensively hunted, and can be found in virtually every part of north Baffin Island. These birds seem to winter in considerable numbers in the region, but are hunted all year round. However, it is in spring, when the snow begins to melt, that the ptarmigans' white plumage makes them conspicuous, and then they are killed in large numbers. During late spring and summer, the females of both species, rock and willow ptarmigans, undergo a plumage change to the mottled brown and grey that makes them virtually invisible on the tundra, and fewer can be killed then. Also, once breeding begins, the small flocks that have congregated during winter and early spring break up into pairs and scatter widely. The eggs are eaten when found.

Because ptarmigans do not have any specific locations, though they favour certain kinds of terrain, the hunters had difficulty indicating anything other than core areas or places where they had happened to hunt the birds – places close to campsites or along trap lines. The map showing the range of ptarmigan hunting is inevitably an understatement of the real range over which ptarmigans can be, have been and still are hunted.

The changes in ptarmigan hunting between Periods II and III reflect the move away from remote camps, especially those in the Cambridge Fiord area.

Ducks

Eider ducks are well liked as food, although their skins have only very rarely been used for clothing. Old-squaw ducks have very low status as food and are less often eaten. The eggs of both species are eaten when found. Old-squaw ducks are much more common than eider ducks, and their eggs have, therefore, been taken over a much wider area. Most eider and old-squaw ducks are taken in late spring and summer, when they may be found spread over a wide range of locations. Eider ducks are killed at the floe edge, and old-squaw ducks appear on virtually any lake and shoreline as soon as there is open water. The nesting sites of eider ducks are highly specific and concentrated, notably around Foxe Basin.

The summary map probably does not understate the range over which these birds are hunted, but there are concentrations of them around the floe edge near Button Point (especially of eider ducks), and at the southern end of Admiralty Inlet, where all kinds of waterfowl abound. In fact, hunters have probably occasionally taken ducks throughout their ranges, and certainly have killed eider ducks along the south shore of Devon Island. However, the comparative insignificance of this resource means that the mapping is limited. There is one important gap on the summary map: old-squaw eggs were certainly collected over vast areas inland during caribou hunting trips in summer. None of those egg collecting sites have been marked, even though there is virtually no place inland where hunters could walk and not find the occasional old-squaw nest. In this regard the range is understated. The summary map suggests that there has been an increase in duck hunting in Period III, probably because areas near the settlements are now more intensively hunted, whereas areas farther from the settlements, notably inland, are understated for Period II.

Geese

Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay hunters only very rarely hunt any geese other than the greater snow geese. Canada geese are found in numbers in the Igloolik region, and are hunted. Blue geese have rarely been killed south of Bernier Bay. Greater snow geese, which are comparatively abundant, are the most favoured of all birds hunted, and special journeys are made for them.

Geese appear in the region in spring, just as the snow is beginning to leave the land. They nest early, and can be found on their nesting grounds before the sea ice begins to break. Toward the end of summer, when the birds are undergoing their moult and plumage change and are unable to fly, they can be taken either on the nesting grounds or along the shores adjacent to those grounds. They have very specific nesting grounds, many of which have been of special importance. By far the most important lies on southwest Bylot Island, although there are many locations near other campsites. Because the sites are so specific, the hunting range shown on the summary map is probably very close to being complete and accurate. Goose hunting increased during Period III, although some of the sites that are distant from the principal settlements have not been used since Period II.

Loons

Although a majority of hunters recorded some loon hunting, these birds are among the least important of the region's resources. Many people have at times eaten one or another of the three different kinds of loons that are found in the area. The eggs are often found but rarely eaten. Loons are always taken in late spring and summer when they are breeding. They are killed at sea, along the coasts, and near the lakes where they have their nests. The hunting range is consequently larger than, but is focused on, the nesting sites. The summary map probably gives an accurate statement of the areas in which loons were and are hunted. The killing of loons has diminished over the past years.

Sea Birds

The various species included in the seabird category have different status in different places. The eggs of murres, taken on the cliffs of southeast Bylot Island, have been perhaps the most important harvest of or from the sea birds. The eggs of Arctic terns and glaucous gulls, as well as the meat of the fulmars, have all been welcome additions to the diet. Murres and dovekies have also featured occasionally in local diets, as have the eggs of black guillemots and kittiwakes, but these last items have been and are of comparatively little importance.

Although the dovekies and black guillemots winter in the region, these species are all harvested virtually exclusively in late spring and summer. The murre eggs are gathered during only an approximately two-week period at the beginning of July, although other birds and their eggs are accessible for much longer periods. In general, however, the time for egg collecting is during early spring, when the land is free of snow, but the sea ice continues to provide a means of reaching the cliffs and islands where the birds breed. Once the sea is open, birds are only occasionally killed incidentally during other forms of hunting.

The specificity of hunting ranges, which focus on nesting sites of birds that are highly gregarious, is obviously high. There are fulmar nesting cliffs on the northeast shore of Admiralty Inlet and in Cambridge Fiord at which the birds can easily be clubbed in numbers. The small islands that lie at the eastern end of Fury and Hecla Strait provide nesting sites for terns, gulls and black guillemots. Dovekies are generally found at the floe edge.

One man, when asked to map his sea bird hunting range, included the whole Admiralty Inlet area, saying that he had hunted various sea birds everywhere there during open water. That was an exceptional case, however, and most maps show small locations for the various species, locations that are for the most part nesting grounds or the floe edge. During Period III, there seems to have been an increase in sea bird hunting at the floe edge, although many distant sites have not been used since Period II.

Arctic Hares

Arctic hares are not among the more important of the region's game resources. Their skin was rarely used (although a hare foot is one of the best things to use to ice sledge runners), and it is an animal remarkably devoid of fat. Nonetheless, their meat is and always has been greatly enjoyed, and hunters devote time and effort to killing them for that reason alone. They are to be found at any time of the year, although most are taken during spring, when the ground they frequent is then snow free and the sea ice still offers a good thoroughfare, and the hares themselves are most conspicuous. Smaller numbers are killed during summer. Arctic hares are found in quite specific locations throughout the year, and each hunter can list the places that he has hunted them most. In this respect, the hares are different from the ptarmigans, which enjoy comparable status in the hierarchy of game, but which are ubiquitous. Whereas some hunters had difficulty marking ptarmigan sites, none had any difficulty marking the places they had hunted Arctic hares. There are places where hares are known to live and can be hunted readily, and there are also sites, which are generally somewhat larger and correspond to trap lines, along which hares could often be found.

The number of sites in which a hunter has taken Arctic hares tends to be so great that the task of marking them all is formidable. Some men painstakingly marked literally dozens of sites; others were satisfied with only a few. In general, the sites actually marked constitute only some of the sites actually worked, and, therefore, represent locations that were favoured and used with greatest regularity. Once again, the summary map almost certainly gives only part of the total Arctic hare hunting range. The principal sites show comparable use for Periods II and III, except for locations near campsites that were abandoned before 1959. Because Arctic hares are not of central importance to hunters, they are not likely to undertake long journeys simply to hunt hares at a particularly good site. Hence the sites around Royal Society Fiord and Patterson Inlet have not been used in Period III, although they were probably important Arctic hare locations for Period II.

Berries

Questions to hunters about berry gathering were regarded as amusing; looking for berries is woman's work or an occasional diversion for men. It is not real work, as hunters see it, although berries are regarded as a delicacy. For the most part, hunters noted berry picking areas either near important campsites or along routes taken by caribou hunters. Older men tended to locate sueh areas well inland, in places they walked after caribou during summer; younger men more often noted areas along the sides of fiords and inlets in which they had travelled by boat to hunt caribou. Berries are a highly seasonal aspect of land use, although some berries are at their best only after the first frosts of early fall.

Despite the vast areas over which hunters used to range during summer while hunting caribou, when they most often looked for or found berries, specific locations were usually marked very carefully and probably with a high degree of accuracy. In a sense, all the land walked over during summer constitutes the berry range, while the maps indicate only places that are remembered as specially good places for finding berries.

Once again, therefore, there are reasons for supposing that the range is understated. As well as restriction to the best or core areas, there is the tendency for men to disavow berry picking as a subject of importance. Even the core areas marked are likely to be fewer in number or less detailed than those that women could have marked. Remarkable as a hunter's recall may be, many locations were not marked simply because they could not remember them. Finally, berry areas are certainly understated because of a translation problem. The dialect of the region distinguishes among four kinds of berry. Interpreters tended to use *paungait* as a generic term, whereas *paungait* is in fact just one of the four. When asked to mark *paungait* picking sites, hunters tended to mark only the places where they had in fact looked for that one species of berry. Moreover, that tendency was strongest in the older men, for it is they who pay closest attention to exact discriminations in the language, and it is they who have covered the most extensive areas, especially on foot during summer. If their maps are incomplete, then the summary map is certainly a considerable understatement.

On the summary map, only near Cambridge Fiord is there a berry site at any distance from the coast for Period III. More striking, there are few sites marked along the routes that caribou hunters walked in summer, even for Period II. Whereas the inland area is seriously understated for Period II, probably the paucity of inland areas during Period III is a more accurate reflection of present-day land use. The inland area is still extensively used, but not during summer. With the decline in walking inland for caribou hunting in summer, berry picking has also declined. In more recent times, berries have been searched for only near the summer hunting camps on the coast.

Inuit Land Use in the High Canadian Arctic

by Roderick Riewe

Resolute

Resolute is a recent settlement on the west shore of Resolute Bay (70°41'N, 94°54'W), facing Barrow Strait on the south shore of Cornwallis Island. W.E. Parry named the island in 1819 after an English admiral; Resolute Bay was named after one of H. T. Austin's ships, which wintered nearby in 1850–1851. Several 19th century expeditions in search of a Northwest Passage or for the lost Franklin Expedition visited Resolute Bay. It became a focal point of Canadian Arctic transportation after the establishment there of a weather station in 1947. The R.C.A.F. operated an airfield at Resolute between 1949 and 1964, after which the Department of Transport took over its management.

Although ancient house ruins indicate former occupation of the area, no Inuit had lived there in historic time until 1953, when three families from Port Harrison, Quebec, and one family from Pond Inlet volunteered, at the suggestion of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, to settle there. They were joined in 1955 by six more families. Between 1968 and 1972, other families from Somerset Island and Great Whale River immigrated to Resolute. In 1974, there were about 200 residents in 32 households. The settlement has good marine and air transport facilities, scheduled air services from Edmonton and Montreal, a nursing station, an R.C.M.P. detachment, a primary school (grades one to six), two churches, a community hall, a library, telephone service, a post office, a bank, a curling rink and theatre, a hotel and an Inuit cooperative. Resolute is separated by a five-mile service road from the airbase, where between 250 and 600 (depending on the season) Whites live and work. It is also the supply and distribution centre for large-scale petroleum exploration in the Canadian Arctic islands.

In 1953, most of the Inuit families at Resolute supported themselves by hunting and trapping, but with the rapid development of the airbase and the construction of the DEW-Line, there was a shift to a wage-based economy and a consequent change from full-time to part-time hunting and trapping. Although the intensity of land use may have been reduced, the actual area of land used remains about the same. The two time periods referred to in this report, Period II (pre-1960) and Period III (post-1960), represent this change from a land-based to a wage-based economy.

During the years following the arrival of the Inuit immigrants from Baffin Island and Arctic Quebec (in 1953), there has been a variable degree of involvement with wage-employment as well as with hunting and trapping. The change to part-time hunting has resulted in a change in the frequency of land use in individual cases but not in the extent of land actually used by the community (Maps 36 and 37). The time periods referred to in this report, namely Period II (Pre-1960) and Period III (1960–1974), respectively represent the periods before and during which hunting and trapping has become a part-time activity for the majority of Resolute men.

- *Char:* There are numerous lakes, inlets and river systems in the area that support sea-run or land-locked char. On Cornwallis Island, there are about 20 sites that char frequent at some time of the year. Most of them are within six miles of the coast, primarily along the east coast between Copeland and Depot points and along the southwest coast from Assistance Bay north to Midshipman Bay. The most important fishing lakes on Cornwallis Island include Eleanor, Sophia, Trafalgar, and Kate Austin lakes, and the lake at Becher Bay. They are usually fished during May and October. Apparently the lake and river systems along the east coast of Cornwallis Island support sea-run char, whereas the rest have land-locked populations.

  Char are known to exist in at least four lakes along the southeast coast of Bathurst Island. The Bedford Bay lake, the one most often used, can be reached with ease during May and June, when weather and travelling conditions are best. On Prince of Wales Island, inner Browne Bay is the only area exploited for char. There are numerous char-supporting lakes, rivers and bays along the west coast of Somerset Island, from Four Rivers Bay north to Aston Bay. Stanwell Fletcher Lake, Union River and the head of Creswell Bay are well known. All fishing sites on Cornwallis, Bathurst, Prince of Wales and Somerset islands have been used by Resolute Inuit during Period III (post-1960). Before 1960, only Stanwell Fletcher Lake and a few smaller lakes on the west coast of Somerset Island were heavily used.
- *Ptarmigans:* Ptarmigans are said to make local migrations in the area, southwards in fall and northwards in spring. During spring, ptarmigans may be found just about anywhere, and they are killed whenever and wherever they are seen, usually around the settlement and while the men are hunting caribou and polar bears.

  During Period II, noteworthy ptarmigan hunting grounds were located along the shoreline of Creswell Bay and in the vicinity of Mount Walker on Somerset Island. During Period III, they have been hunted on Cornwallis Island near Read Bay, along the south coast from Assistance to Allen bays, on the lowlands east of Intrepid Bay, in the area south of Midshipman Bay, and along the southeast coast of Bathurst Island, where they are known to breed both north and south of Bateman Bay. On Somerset Island, ptarmigans have been harvested during Period III primarily along the northwest coast from Aston Bay to Birmingham Bay, and have been hunted as far as six to eight miles inland. Ptarmigans have also been hunted in the uplands northwest of Stanwell Fletcher Lake and along the shore at the head of Creswell Bay.
- *Sea Birds:* Inuit do not depend on sea birds for subsistence, but they are well aware of the birds and could easily use them, if necessary. Many sea bird concentrations are known: such as Browne Island's kittiwake and glaucous gull colonies;

the gull colonies on Moore and Baker islands, Prince Leopold Island's large thick-billed murre, fulmar, glaucous gull and black guillemot colonies; the extensive fulmar, glaucous gull, kittiwake and guillemot colonies on Cape Clarence; Limestone Island's nesting murres, fulmars, kittiwakes and guillemots; the colonies of murres and guillemots on Griffith Island; Cape Hotham's colony of nesting guillemots; the sea bird colonies on De la Roquette Island; and the large kittiwake colonies on Houston Stewart Island and at Washington Point on Baillie-Hamilton Island.

● *Geese and Ducks:* Greater and lesser snow geese nest on Bathurst Island in Polar Bear Pass, and greater snow geese nest on Somerset Island along the north shore of Stanwell Fletcher Lake, around the mouth of Creswell River, and along the shores of Fiona Lake. Brant geese are known to breed in smaller numbers in Polar Bear Pass, near Bedford Bay on Bathurst Island, and along the shores of Allen Bay on Cornwallis Island. Hutchin's geese have been reported just east of Assistance Bay on Cornwallis Island. The hunters believe that Prince Regent Inlet is a noteworthy goose migration route in spring and fall. Geese are present in the Resolute area during only four mouths, June to September. Because goose concentrations are far from the settlement, and because of the difficult summer travelling conditions, the people harvest only a few geese annually, mainly on Cornwallis Island at Assistance Bay and on Bathurst Island near Bedford Bay, but also on Prince of Wales Island around the small ponds and at the mouth of Dolphin River. On Somerset Island, geese have been hunted on the inland ponds along the northwest coast from M'Clure Bay south to Cape Court, around Stanwell Fletcher Lake, near the mouth of Creswell River, and along the coast near Cape Clara.

Eider ducks are known to nest in many places in the region. On Cornwallis Island, eider ducks have been reported nesting along the southwest coast and on the small inshore islands from Assistance Bay to Pioneer Bay, on the small islands in Midshipman Bay, and around the bay at the mouth of Rookery Creek. Eider ducks also nest along the southeast and east coasts of Bathurst Island and in Polar Bear Pass. Ducks commonly nest on the offshore islands, including Neal, Baker, Moore, Somerville and Griffith islands. On Somerset Island, eider ducks are known to nest along the shore of Stanwell Fletcher Lake. Old-squaw ducks are common in many areas, for example, Allen Bay on Cornwallis Island. Ducks, like geese, are available only from June to September. They are usually harvested only incidentally to other, more important game, such as seals. They are shot in leads in the sea ice in spring and later in open water. Occasionally eggs are collected. Most ducks are harvested along the west and southwest coast of Cornwallis Island and near Lake Eleanor, along the southeast coast of Bathurst Island, around Lowther Island, at the head of inner Browne Bay on Prince of Wales Island, and the vicinity of Creswell Bay on Somerset Island.

● *Arctic Hares:* Aretic hares are found in small scattered groups wherever there is sufficient vegetation to support them. They are said to be plentiful in the vicinity of Bedford Bay Lake on Bathurst Island. Hares are usually hunted or trapped incidentally to the harvesting of caribou or fish.

● *Caribou:* The Inuit recognize two major groups of Peary's caribou within the region. Northern populations inhabit Bathurst, Little Cornwallis and Cornwallis islands; southern populations occupy Prince of Wales and Somerset islands and the islands in Peel Sound. Caribou on the southern islands are typically larger, in superior condition and darker than those on the northern islands.

In the past, Cornwallis Island supported only a small caribou herd on the northwest half of the island. They migrated from summering at the north end of the island to wintering grounds on the west end in September, and then went back in April and May.

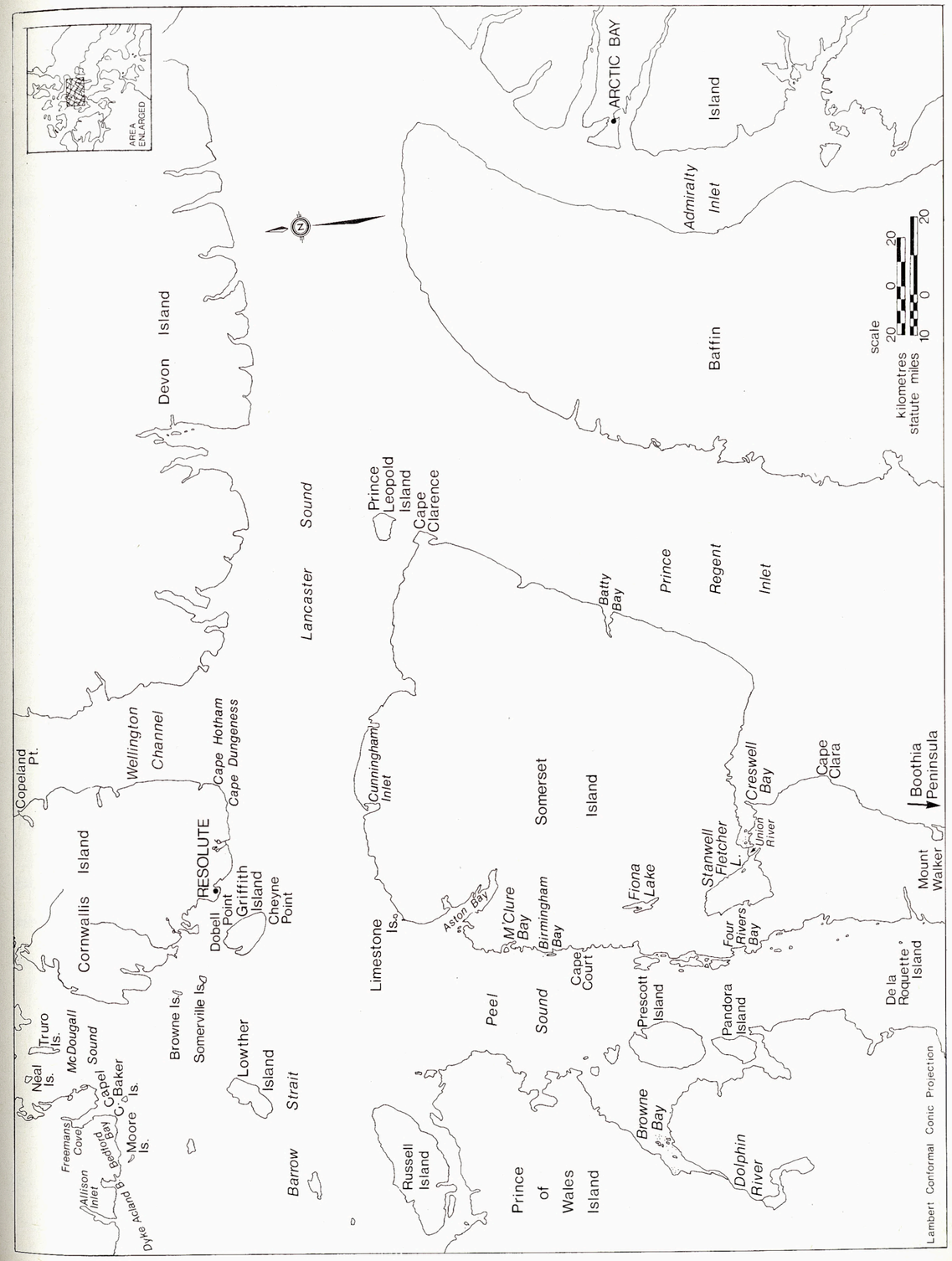
A much larger population of caribou has resided on Bathurst Island. These caribou summered on the upper end of the island north of Polar Bear Pass and wintered along the southeast portion of the island. Caribou have been found in late March principally in the southern part of Bathurst Island in two main concentrations, one around Freeman's Cove and another to the west and northwest of Allison Inlet.

On Somerset Island, caribou summer on the central portion of the island and winter on the southwest part. Caribou on Prince of Wales Island move in spring from the lowlands on the southern half of the island to the plateau on the northern half. In November, some caribou migrate east across Peel Sound to wintering grounds on Somerset Island, and in spring some caribou on Somerset Island head across to Prince of Wales Island.

Other than seals, caribou is by far the most important resource available to the Resolute Inuit. During Period II, caribou were hunted primarily on Somerset, Prince of Wales, Prescott and Russell islands. During Period III, the major hunting area for caribou has been southeastern Bathurst Island. Little Cornwallis Island and the southwestern part of Cornwallis Island have been hunted less intensively owing to the poorer stock of earibou. In early spring, commencing in March, caribou on the western part of Somerset Island and on Russell Island are heavily hunted, in many cases while the men are in search of polar bears. To a lesser degree, the east coast of Prince of Wales Island is also hunted for caribou in the spring.

In 1968, the hunters began to notice that caribou were becoming scarcer in certain hunting areas, and they began to fear that the animals might move out of their hunting range in search of other grazing grounds. The evidence suggests that caribou are moving away from traditional winter feeding areas on Bathurst Island, and that, in their search for suitable grazing areas, they are being forced away from the northern part of the Resolute region. A slight increase in the importance

Map 36
Resolute place names (south)



of Prince of Wales and Somerset islands as winter hunting areas, and recent sightings of Bathurst Island caribou on Boothia Peninsula suggest that displacement is taking place southward.

● *Musk-Oxen:* Resolute Inuit know of musk-oxen on Cornwallis, Bathurst, Truro, Lowther, Russell, Prince of Wales, Prescott and Somerset islands. The largest concentrations, by far, exist on Bathurst Island along the southeast coast and in Polar Bear Pass. Resolute hunters have never hunted musk-oxen because of federal restrictions on killing them but, when a carcass is discovered, they would frequently take the horns to make tools or souvenirs to sell to transients and tourists at Resolute airbase.

● *Arctic Foxes:* Arctic foxes are common throughout the Resolute region whenever the fox population cycle is high. The Inuit report that foxes den and give birth to their pups in June on the grassy areas of Cornwallis Island near Lake Eleanor, Intrepid and Midshipman bays, along the southeast coast of Bathurst Island and Polar Bear Pass, and in the interior of Prince of Wales Island. During summer, foxes prey primarily on lemmings and nesting birds and scavenge on caribou and musk-ox carcasses. When the sea ice forms in fall, they disperse and take up a wandering existence on the sea ice, scavenging after polar bears.

Fox trapping activities are concentrated along the coastlines, and there is no attempt to trap inland areas. Before Period II, the men trapped primarily along the coastline of Somerset Island and along the shore of Stanwell Fletcher Lake. During Period III, the main trapping areas have been extended from the southeast coast of Cornwallis Island to the south coast of Bathurst Island, including the shorelines of Griffith, Somerville and Browne islands, and along the coast of Somerset Island.

● *Wolves:* Wolves are rare in the Resolute region. In recent years wolves or their signs have been most frequently noted on Bathurst Island, where they are associated with the ungulate herds. There are known denning areas in the vicinity of Allison Inlet and south of Variscan River on Bathurst Island. Hunters encounter them only rarely and harvest very few.

● *Polar Bears:* Polar bears are common in the Resolute region, because their chief prey, ringed seals, are abundant. In fall pregnant female bears den, usually in deep snowdrifts along river valleys, give birth to their cubs in November, and emerge from their dens in March. Male bears are usually active all year long. The Inuit report that the main bear breeding and denning areas are situated along the entire coast of Prince of Wales Island and that there are smaller, isolated denning areas on the southeast tip of Somerset Island, on Devon Island south of Viks Fiord, in the valley of Ward River on Cornwallis Island, and between Dyke Acland Bay and Allison Inlet on Bathurst Island. Bears are known to occur almost anywhere on the sea ice while they are feeding on seals, and they have been noted many times crossing overland, especially through Polar Bear Pass on Bathurst Island. In late December, January and February, however, bears usually remain close to shore, hunting seals and, in March and April, move into pressure-ice areas.

Resolute Inuit begin to hunt bears in October along the south coast of Bathurst and Cornwallis islands and in McDougall Sound. They stop in December and January because of the difficulties of travelling in winter darkness and extreme cold. Most bears are killed between February and May, when travelling conditions are ideal, and the men then extend their hunting range to the area between the southwest corner of Bathurst Island and the northwest corner of Prince of Wales Island, and from the northeast corner of Somerset Island to southeastern Devon Island, including all of Barrow Strait. To a lesser extent, the northwest corner of Somerset Island and Peel Sound are also hunted at this time. By June, bear pelts are beginning to yellow and become rubbed, and are less valuable than those taken earlier in the year.

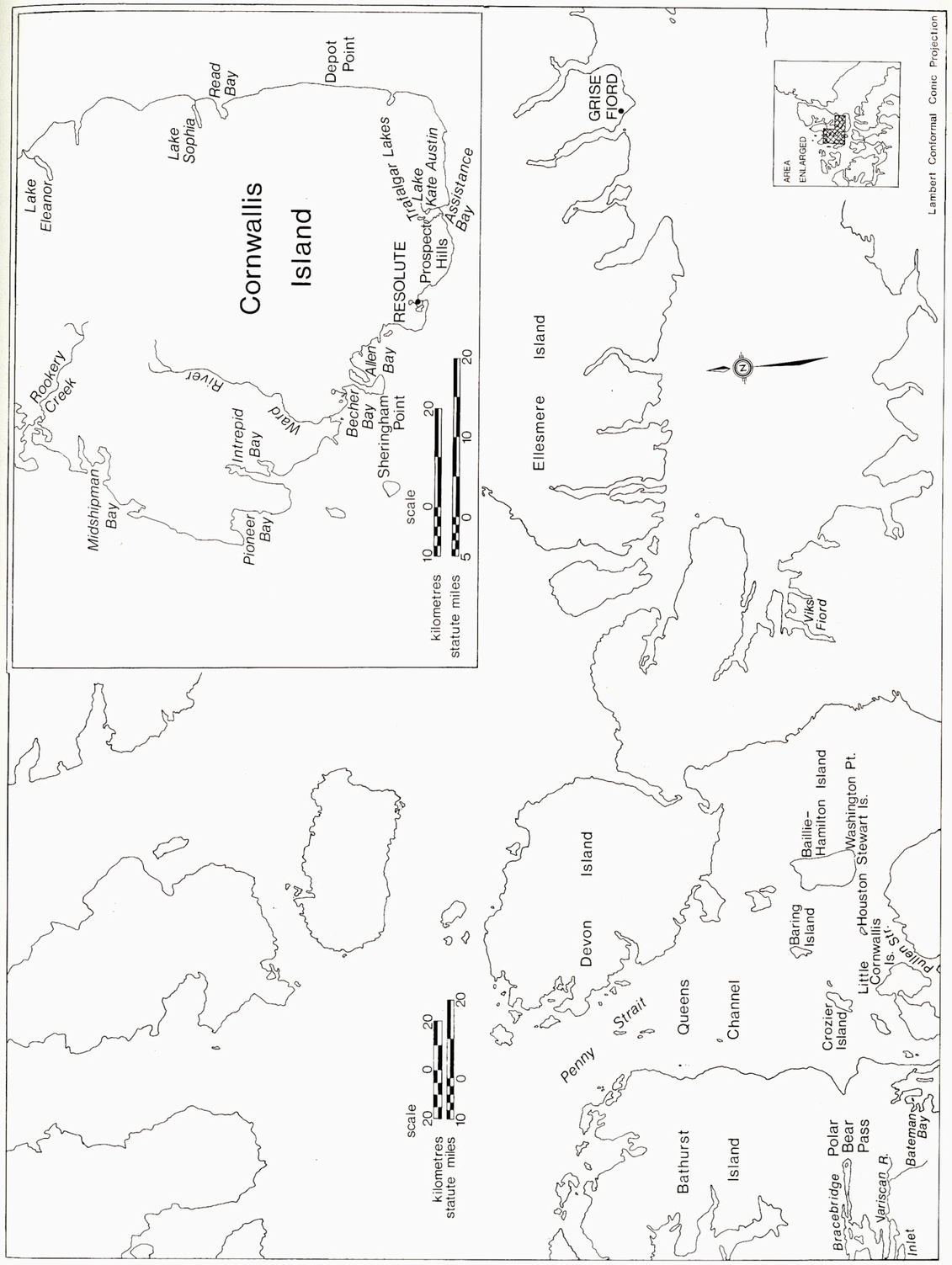
● *White Whales and Narwals:* These animals migrate into the Resolute region via Lancaster Sound, then move westward into Barrow Strait, northward into Wellington Channel and McDougall Sound, and southward into Prince Regent Inlet and Peel Sound in June or July. Narwhals are the first to enter the area, and white whales follow later, waiting for the sea ice to break up. They migrate in reverse order in fall as the sea ice forms. The Inuit report major narwhal feeding grounds along the east side of Somerset Island at Batty and Cresswell bays, but they are not commonly encountered in the vicinity of Resolute Bay. White whales are noted more frequently and in much larger groups often numbering in the hundreds. They usually appear in Resolute Bay in late August and September and leave the area in October.

● *Ringed Seals:* Ringed seals are abundant throughout the marine waters of the Resolute region. In summer and fall, they can be found in most of Barrow Strait, Wellington Channel, McDougall Sound, Prince Regent Inlet and Peel Sound. These areas also possess a year-round population of seals which maintain breathing holes in the ice during winter months. This population is augmented by seals that migrate into the region in spring and out of the area in fall.

Owing to currents and the shape of the ocean floor, cracks develop in the same location in the sea ice every winter. Ringed seals are concentrated along these cracks, because they find it easier to maintain breathing holes in the thinner ice of the cracks than in the surrounding thick, stable ice. Ringed seals give birth to their pups in April in dens excavated in the snow on top of the ice. There are, however, no known concentrated pupping areas in the region.

These seals are the Resolute people's most important natural resource, for they provide the bulk of the protein requirements for diet as well as skins for clothing and trade. There is considerable seasonal variation in the ringed seal hunting

Map 37
Resolute place names (north)



territory that the hunters use. On extended polar bear and caribou hunting trips, seals are taken over a broad zone that extends from southeastern Bathurst Island east to southwestern Devon Island and south to Somerset and Prince of Wales islands. During the period of open water, July through September, ringed seals are harvested in conjunction with extended boat trips in Wellington Channel, on char fishing trips to Lake Eleanor, and in McDougall Sound and Pullen Strait. In winter, seal hunting takes place only on the sea ice near the settlement. The ice cracks that are most used for hunting are between Sheringham and Dobell points and between Cheyne Point and Prospect Hills, because they are readily accessible. Other ice cracks are less important in terms of seal hunting, but they may offer good polar bear hunting zones.

Ringed seals are hunted by a variety of methods, according to the season. On extended spring hunting trips, seals are stalked from behind white shooting screens and shot while they bask on the ice or swim in open leads. In late spring, the hunters make trips to the floe edge and hunt them with small boats or canoes. During the open-water season, seals are shot from boats and canoes.

Because of the relative scarcity of pupping areas and of the extremely hard wind-packed snow in the region, Resolute hunters do not actively hunt the young ringed seals in their birth lairs. In the past, attempts have been made to net ringed seals near Cape Dungeness and in Allen Bay, but strong currents made this practice difficult. However, with the change from dog-teams to snowmobiles after about 1965, the need to net seals has declined.

● *Bearded Seals:* Bearded seals occupy roughly the same waters as ringed seals, but in much lower numbers. McDougall Sound and Prince Regent Inlet along the east side of Somerset Island reportedly possess relatively high concentrations of them. The Inuit say that bearded seals give birth to their pups in June on the moving floe ice, usually in the middle of straits where the ice first breaks up.

Bearded seals form their breathing holes in areas of relatively thin ice. They are said to be commonly found during winter using breathing holes off Cape Capel on Bathurst Island, where fast currents keep the ice thin. They are hunted primarily in late May and June, while they bask on the ice. Others are harvested during the open-water season from canoes. The main hunting zone for these seals is in Allen Bay and McDougall Sound.

● *Harp Seals:* Harp seals migrate westwards through Lancaster Sound into Barrow Strait, Wellington Channel and McDougall Sound after the sea ice breaks up in July. They remain and feed in the area during the period of open water and begin to migrate eastwards out of the region in late August and early September. These seals are of only minor importance to the Resolute people, partly because of their short-term availability in the area. However, when available, harp seals are usually hunted in and around the bays and inlets close to the community.

● *Walruses:* According to Resolute hunters, walruses winter in the loose ice of Lancaster Sound and migrate into the Resolute region as the ice breaks up in late spring. On their westward migration, walruses used to move into Barrow Strait through Resolute Passage and into McDougall Sound, Queens Channel and Penny Strait, but, supposedly owing to human disturbances and to pollution from ships at Resolute, most walruses now migrate south of Griffith Island rather than through Resolute Passage. Walruses still spend the summers in McDougall Sound, Queens Channel and Penny Strait.

In years when the ice does not break up in Barrow Strait, walruses migrate in large numbers down into Prince Regent and Admiralty inlets or up Wellington Channel. In fall, most walruses migrate back to Lancaster Sound, but some winter in Penny Strait. A few are even occasionally stranded in bays and inlets where they are forced to maintain breathing holes throughout the winter. Hauling out places are known to exist at Rapid Point on Bathurst Island and, in the past, on two small islands in Allen Bay. Those on the islands, however, were abandoned in the 1950's because of human disturbance.

Resolute Inuit hunt walruses in spring, usually in conjunction with seal and whale hunts in the area just outside Resolute Bay. They hunt them in the area around Cunningham Inlet on Somerset Island in both spring and fall. There are isolated walrus hunting areas in Penny Strait, around Baring and Crozier islands, and along the south coast of Bathurst Island. The number of walruses killed has sharply declined with the reduction in the number of sled dogs in the community since the mid-1960's.

Grise Fiord

The settlement of Grise Fiord (76°25'N, 83°01'W) is located at the entrance of Grise Fiord on the south coast of Ellesmere Island. It is the northernmost settled place in Canada. The recent occupation of Grise Fiord dates from 1953 when families from Port Harrison, Quebec, and Pond Inlet settled nearby. For three years their trading needs were supplied by the R.C.M.P. detachment situated a days travel to the east. In 1956, the R.C.M.P. detachment was moved from Craig Harbour to Grise Fiord. Favourable reports of hunting in the region encouraged other families from Port Harrison, Pond Inlet, Pangnirtung and Arctic Bay to immigrate to Grise Fiord. In 1974, the population stood at about 100.

The settlement has few services, but there is an R.C.M.P. detachment, a nursing station, a primary school (grades one to six), an Anglican church, a community hall and a local cooperative.

Land use by Grise Fiord (Maps 38 and 39) hunters and their families is mostly confined to the Jones Sound region, which encompasses approximately 60,000 square miles and, except for an occasional Greenlander who may hunt along the east coast of Ellesmere Island and for the Resolute Bay Inuit who regularly hunt on Cornwallis Island and Wellington Channel, this vast area is the exclusive hunting domain of the Grise Fiord people. Their main efforts are directed toward harvesting the marine mammals in Jones Sound and in the inlets and fiords of southern Ellesmere and northern Devon islands. To a lesser extent, they harvest the terrestrial wildlife, most of which occurs on the lowlands and rolling hills of Ellesmere and Devon islands. Much of the mountainous topography in the region is virtually devoid of game. Some fishing is also done in the region.

● *Char:* Char are highly valued, not only because of their delicious flesh but also because char was a customary item of diet when the Grise Fiord people lived in Baffin Island and northern Quebec. There are few lakes in the region that support char population, and none were found until 1961. Since then, hunters have located some 20 lakes in the region that sustain char, only three of which have been harvested to any extent.

A lake at the southwest end of Makinson Inlet is most intensively used. It can be reached in October only after the sea ice is strong enough for travelling and again in March, April and May, after the sun has returned and before the snow conditions in the mountains become too soft for travelling. A fishing lake at Baad Fiord was discovered in 1970; it can be reached in spring by snowmobile and in summer by canoe, although the latter journey can be extremely hazardous because of frequent high winds and rafting ice along southern Ellesmere Island. A char lake located on the Truelove Lowland on Devon Island can be reached only during spring. It has not been fished frequently.

Most char fishing is carried on during April, May and June. Char are lured to a hole chopped through the lake ice by jigging of shiny objects, such as empty brass cartridges, white cloth or a piece of walrus ivory on the end of a short line. As the fish approaeh to investigate the lure, they are harpooned with a leister. A few men use short nets set below the ice, a technique introduced by the former residents of Port Harrison.

● *Ptarmigans:* Ptarmigans are likely to be found in small numbers in any rocky area that supports Arctic willow. They are usually shot with .22 rifles in fall or late winter while the hunters are in pursuit of more important terrestrial game, such as caribou or musk-oxen. Occasionally young boys will make trips within 10 miles of the settlement specifically to hunt ptarmigans and Arctic hares. Ptarmigans are eagerly consumed.

● *Sea Birds:* Glaucous and/or herring gulls scavenge throughout the Jones Sound area. The hunters know of nesting colonies on the cliffs of Coburg and Smith islands, Makinson and Sverdrup inlets, Baumann, Harbour, Grise and Starnes fiords, and at Cape Combermere. During spring, the Inuit sometimes collect a few eggs, and in summer they occasionally shoot immature gulls while hunting marine mammals.

Black guillemots and thick-billed murres are known to nest on the cliffs of Thomas Lee and Sverdrup inlets and on Smith and Coburg islands. Only an occasional bird is shot and eaten during summer hunting.

● *Geese and Ducks:* Greater snow geese nest or moult in scattered lowlands around the region. A major moulting site on the Cape Sparbo Lowland, where hundreds of geese congregate annually, is generally inaccessible. The Inuit have access to only a few small groups of geese on southern Ellesmere Island and to small flocks that migrate past the settlement.

Common eider, king eider and old-squaw are the only ducks that frequent this region, and there are nine known nesting areas. While hunting marine mammals by canoe in summer, the men occasionally harvest a few eggs, usually from the small rocks off the mouth of Harbour Fiord or from Lee Point. When they have the chance, they will shoot ducks as they fly over the ice or along the shore.

● *Arctic Hares:* Arctic hares occupy most of the lowlands and talus slopes in the Jones Sound region, but usually only in small groups of two to five animals. Large concentrations, numbering from the tens into the thousands, are known to occur in Sör Fiord, northern Bjorne Peninsula, near Blind Fiord and near Eureka. Only the concentrations in Sör Fiord and on Bjorne Peninsula are within the people's normal hunting range. They have, however, on a few occasions hunted hares as far away as Lake Hazen. Hares are usually hunted only when encountered during caribou and musk-oxen hunts in fall or late winter.

● *Caribou:* The people know that caribou have not been abundant in the region since at least 1953. Because of the scarcity, they know relatively little about the behavior of the animals, except for their occurrence. Although they have never seen caribou calving in this region, some of the hunters think that the uplands east of Fielder Point and between Makinson Inlet and Baumann Fiord may be calving areas. Others think that caribou may calve on the uplands, wherever they happen to be in that season.

From signs observed on hunting trips, the hunters believe that caribou make local migrations in the region. Caribou in the Bjorne Peninsula and Vendom Fiord area make a short fall migration converging on Sör Fiord. A few trails on spring ice have also been noted. It is not known, however, whether these trails were made by migrating caribou or merely wandering animals.

In 1953, caribou were often hunted on the lowlands between Craig Harbour and Harbour Fiord, but by 1968 caribou had disappeared from this area. Since then, the major

caribou hunting grounds have been in the Bjorne Peninsula–Svendsen Peninsula–Makinson Inlet area, Graham Island, southwestern Ellesmere Island, and western Devon Island.

The only relatively large concentration of caribou observed recently (in 1973) was in the vieinity of Blind Fiord on Raanes Peninsula, where there was an estimated 300 animals. This area provides considerably better grazing than areas farther south on Ellesmere, Graham, Buckingham and Devon islands. Raanes Peninsula is at present just north of Grise Fiord hunting range, but undoubtedly the men will expand their hunting activities to this area as soon as possible.

When there were caribou along the south coast of Ellesmere Island near Grise Fiord, they could be hunted year round. Skins of animals taken during summer made excellent clothing, essential for hunters on the trail between October and March. Caribou skins obtained between October and April provide first-class bedding material, but are useless for clothing because they are too heavy. Only the thin-skinned legs of winter caribou skins are occasionally used to make boots.

Owing to seasonal travelling conditions, the Bjorne Peninsula–Svendsen Peninsula–Makinson Inlet hunting area can be reached by hunters only during October and November and during March through May. Graham Island, southwestern Ellesmere Island, and western Devon Island can be reached only between March and May. Since the caribou have disappeared from near the settlement, the hunters have not been able to harvest summer skins, and their winter clothing must now be made either from imported Barren Ground caribou skins or from sheepskins. The women still use caribou sinew when sewing skin clothing, particularly waterproof boots.

Caribou is now most important to the Inuit for their meat, all of which is eagerly consumed locally. Caribou hunting means a great deal to the people of Grise Fiord. It not only provides skins, sinew, and a welcome change of diet, but also plays a major role in their cultural identity.

● *Musk-Oxen:* Before 1969, the hunters knew there were musk-oxen in the region, but, owing to the federal ban on musk-oxen hunting since 1917, hunters avoided them. Musk-oxen occur throughout the Grise Fiord hunting territory, and the largest concentrations are located on northeastern Devon Island, Bjorne Peninsula, Sör and Vendom fiords and Raanes Peninsula. In 1969, the Northwest Territories Government opened a musk-oxen hunting season in the Jones Sound region, and the Grise Fiord people were allowed to harvest 12 musk-oxen annually. In 1973 this quota was raised to 20. Hunters from Grise Fiord selectively shoot adult bulls because they provide more meat and have larger and more valuable horns. Occasionally, however, cows have been shot by mistake. All of the meat is consumed.

● *Weasels:* Weasels appear to be relatively scarce in the Jones Sound region, and their pelts have been worth very little during the past 20 years, so usually only the children have bothered to trap them, although some have been accidentally caught in fox traps by the men.

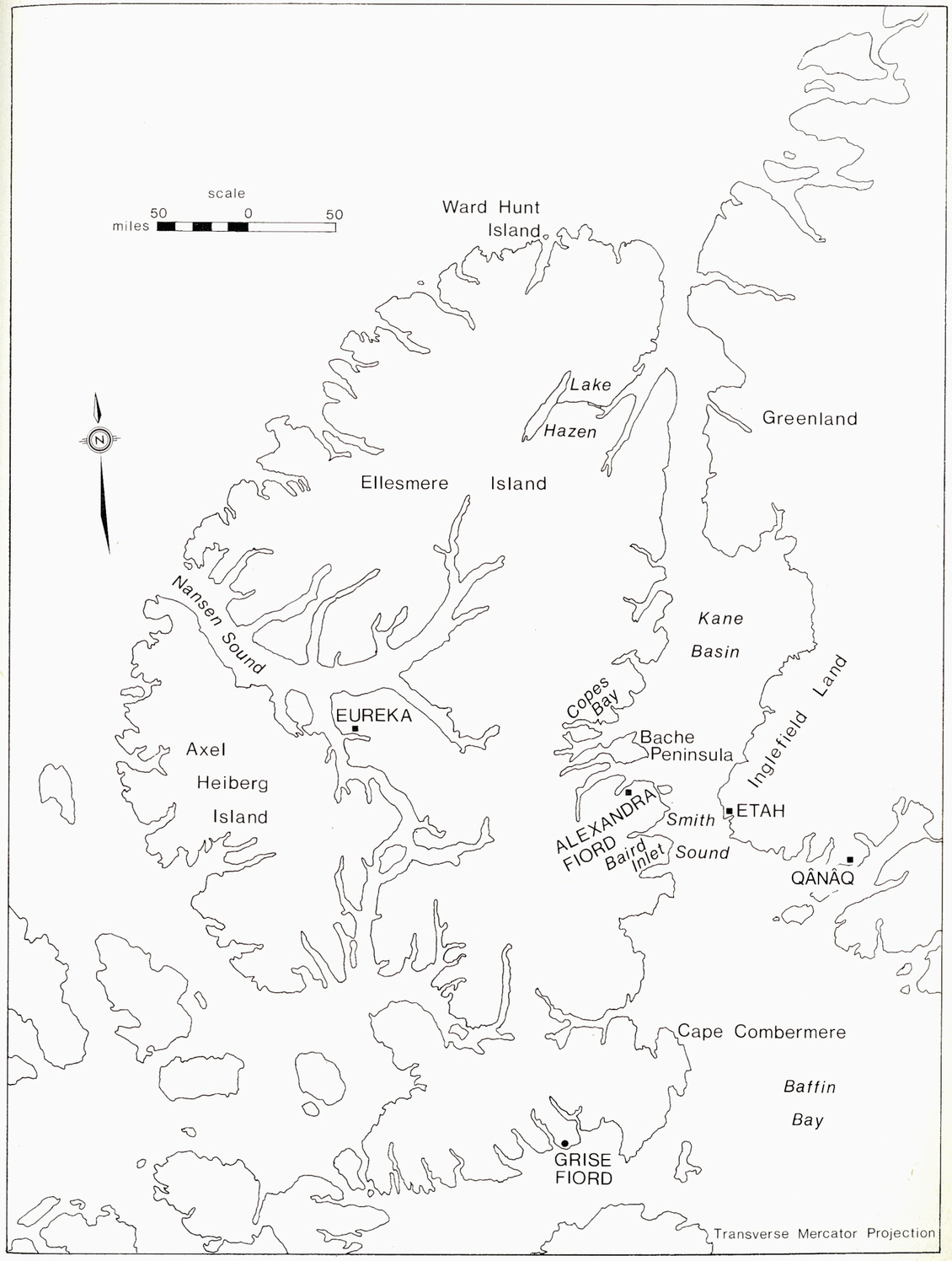
● *Arctic Foxes:* The Arctic fox population fluctuates greatly from year to year, but even during years of low population, hunters have found fox tracks just about anywhere on land or on the sea ice. For most of the year, the foxes are directly or indirectly dependent upon the sea for their existence. In winter, most foxes scavenge on ringed seal remains left by polar bears or hunters. During late April, foxes are less dependent on scavenging, because they are able to capture new-born ringed seals by digging them out of their birth lairs. During summer, they prey heavily upon nesting birds wherever they are available. On Bjorne Peninsula and on the plateaus northwest of Vendom Fiord, foxes make lemmings their principal food. In some localities, foxes mainly hunt Arctic hares. Where wolves are present, foxes scavenge on their kills.

The Grise Fiord Inuit rely on fox furs for a modest portion of their annual income. The hunters have regularly trapped along the south coast of Ellesmere Island between Craig Harbour and Harbour Fiord since 1953. During years of high fox population, they have trapped along northeastern Devon Island, southwestern Ellesmere Island, and across Ellesmere Island from the head of Grise Fiord north into Baumann Fiord. In these latter areas, the men usually set traps when they go hunting for bears, caribou, or musk-oxen, and they check them on return to the settlement. Despite a relatively large fox population in Baumann Fiord, they do not regularly set trap lines there, because the trapped foxes are often destroyed by wolves.

● *Wolves:* Wolves are not abundant in the Jones Sound region. The greatest concentration of them is on southern Ellesmere Island in the vicinity of Baumann Fiord. In the Jones Sound region wolves depend on musk-oxen, caribou, Arctic hares, and occasionally on trapped Arctic foxes. There is some evidence that they may sometimes kill seals, and they will eat seals the Inuit have killed and cached. Since 1964, when the wolf bounty was reimposed in the Northwest Territories, Grise Fiord hunters have turned in 45 carcasses for bounty payment. Until 1968, most of the wolves taken were either poisoned, accidently caught in fox traps, or shot as they curiously approached the hunters or their dogs. After snowmobiles came into general use in the late 1960's, any fresh wolf track encountered on the trail was usually followed in the hope of catching up with it. The increase in wolves taken between 1968 and 1971 is due to snowmobile hunting, not to an actual increase in the number of wolves in the area.

● *Polar Bears:* Polar bears are fairly numerous in the Jones Sound region. According to the hunters, one of the largest concentrations of bears is in Bear Bay on the north coast of Devon Island, where nearly 150 bears have been shot between 1959 and 1971. There are also high concentrations near Coburg Island and in the vicinity of Hell Gate, but owing to

Map 38
Grise Fiord place names 1



the treacherous ice conditions, these areas are hunted only infrequently. Other areas of high bear concentrations include the south coast of Devon Island, Norwegian Bay and Makinson Inlet. The men know of bear denning in the snow-filled valleys that extend from Thomas Lee to Sverdrup inlets. From the tracks of sows and new-born cubs noted in February and March, the hunters presume that there are other denning sites in the region.

● *White Whales:* As leads in the sea ice begin to widen in Jones Sound, white whales move into the area from the east and the Hell Gate area, usually between mid-July and mid-August. If there is open water, whales avoid the leads; if no open water is present, they migrate along the leads. When the shoreline is ice free, the hunters shoot them as they migrate in large numbers past the settlement, then retrieve the sunken carcasses from the shallow water at low tide. They also pursue them into shallow water with their canoes then shoot and harpoon them. Most of the skin, meat and fat was fed to the dogs, but some of the skin was eaten by the people. The whales usually leave Jones Sound during September, just before freeze-up.

● *Narwhals:* Narwhals also migrate into Jones Sound from open-water areas to the east as the ice begins to break up in July. They usually arrive somewhat earlier than the white whales, and they enter the fiords of Jones Sound to feed in pods of 30 to 150 animals throughout the period of open water. They are hunted in the same manner as white whales. Narwhal skin is considered to be superior in taste to white whale skin; the Grise Fiord residents regard it as a delicacy. Most of the narwhal carcasses have been used for dog food.

In recent years the ivory tusk of the male narwhal has been sold for as much as $300 per tusk. Narwhal sinew is both longer and stronger than caribou sinew, and the women prefer it for sewing skin clothing.

● *Ringed Seals:* Ringed seals are the most abundant species of seals in the eastern High Arctic. Jones Sound has a large year-round population, which maintains breathing holes in the sea ice throughout the winter. This population is augmented by large numbers of other ringed seals, which migrate from Baffin Bay into Jones Sound for the summer. The hunters believe this migration starts slowly during the breeding season in April and that it reaches its peak as the tide cracks open in July. Ringed seals are solitary animals and are usually found within 15 miles of shore.

The ringed seals are the main object of hunting activity, the preferred food, and the most stable game population in the region. Approximately 590 ringed seals were harvested annually by Grise Fiord hunters between 1956 and 1972. These seals are hunted anywhere in the region, wherever and whenever anyone happens to need a seal, but the primary sealing area is within a 40-mile radius of the settlement.

The hunting techniques used would depend upon the ice conditions and on the ringed seals' behaviour, which varies with the season. According to these conditions, the following methods are used: open water hunting, hunting at breathing holes, stalking, hunting at birth lairs, shoreline hunting and netting.

● *Harp Seals:* During the period of open water, harp seals frequent Jones Sound in large numbers, in herds of 30 to 50 animals, but sometimes many more. When harassed by hunters, a herd will often split into small groups or into individuals. Most harp seals seen in the Jones Sound region are adults of three years or older; only rarely are younger animals seen.

● *Bearded Seals:* Bearded seals, according to the hunters, migrate into Jones Sound from Baffin Bay as soon as the leads begin to open up in June. They follow no particular route but move into the fiords as the leads permit. They usually travel as individuals or in pairs. In fall, they migrate back to open water in Baffin Bay, although occasionally some remain in Jones Sound and maintain breathing holes through the ice during winter.

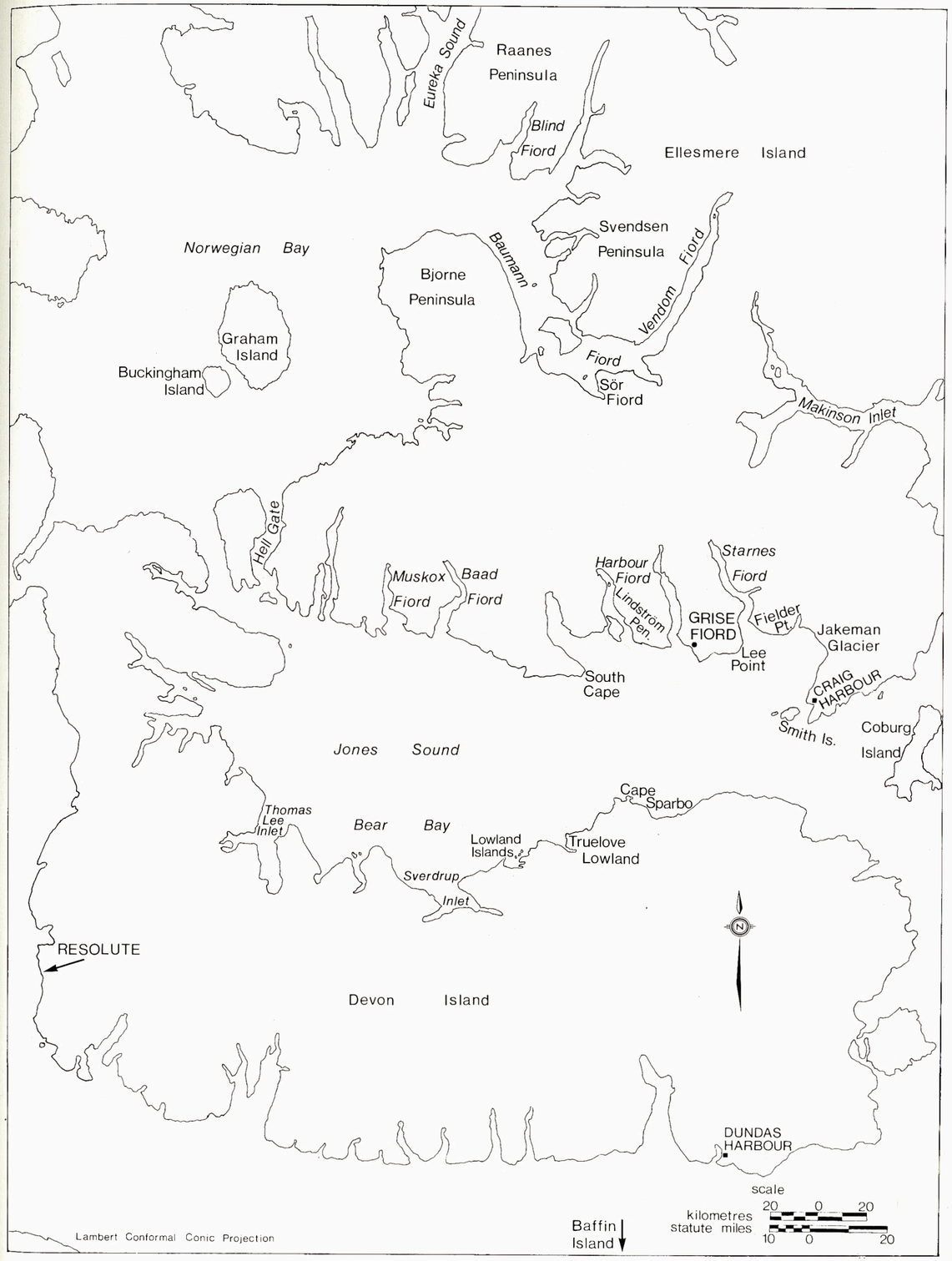
Bearded seals are easy to approach and shoot, but they usually sink on being killed at any time of the year, and it is difficult to retrieve them. If a bearded seal is shot while it is basking on the ice, it will often make a final lunge, fall into the lead, and sink before a hunter can secure it with a harpoon. It is often easier to retrieve these seals by hunting from a canoe. Because of the great demand for bearded seal skin, coupled with their unwary behaviour, a very high percentage of the bearded seals encountered by the hunters are killed or wounded, but, unfortunately, a large proportion of them are lost due to their sinking. Most of the bearded seal meat is eaten by the people or their dogs.

● *Hooded Seals:* Hooded seals are extremely rare in Jones Sound, but a few have been taken. The former Baffin Island residents are familiar with the species and have no difficulty identifying it.

● *Walruses:* Walruses are said to migrate into Jones Sound from Baffin Bay when the sea ice begins to break up in June or July. Females and the young congregate for the summer along the lip of Jakeman Glacier, but males travel farther west toward the Hell Gate area. During open water, walruses have often been seen hauled out on the lowland about 10 miles west of South Cape and in Muskox Fiord. Just before freeze-up, walruses have been seen in herds of hundreds near Cape Sparbo, migrating eastwards out of Jones Sound. Concentrations of walruses are known to winter near small areas of permanently open water in Baird Fiord and Copes Bay, as well as in the open water of Hell Gate. Walruses are sometimes stranded in Jones Sound by a quick freeze-up and are forced to maintain breathing holes through the winter. Others regularly winter off the coasts of northeastern Devon Island and southeastern Ellesmere Island.

Walruses normally feed on bivalves, but occasionally some of them change to a diet of ringed seals. The walruses that

Map 39
Grise Fiord place names 2



feed on mollusks can be distinguished from those that feed on seals by the colouration and wear of the tusks. Ringed seals usually leave areas inhabited by walruses, and the hunters interpret any absence of seals from their usual summer sealing grounds as an indication of walruses in the vicinity.

The Inuit hold the prowess of walruses in high esteem, and the willingness of the hunters to attack them in open water is variable. A few men, some of whom have had near-fatal experiences with walruses, would stop hunting seals and head directly to shore if they encounter walruses in open water, whereas others would attack walruses from their canoes, even when there is ice about. The ice places the men in an extremely vulnerable position: it impedes the canoes, but it does not affect the maneuverability of a wounded and attacking walrus.

The Grise Fiord hunters usually hunt walruses during the fall migration by attacking individuals and small groups from their canoes. They avoid attacking large herds for two reasons: the increased danger of being attacked by a walrus and the desire not to frighten the large herds out of the hunting grounds. The men first wound the walrus by shooting it in the body, then they get close enough to harpoon it. The harpoon is attached by a line to a 10-gallon steel barrel float. After the harpoon is secure, the men dispatch the animal with head shots. If the walrus were not secured to a float, it would sink immediately after death.

When walruses are encountered, in summer, sleeping on ice pans, the hunters approach quietly in their canoes, then open fire, attempting to kill as many animals as possible before they escape in the water. When a walrus is seen basking on the ice before break-up, the men stalk it on foot and try to kill it before it can escape down its breathing hole. Occasionally, walruses have been stranded in Jones Sound for the winter by a sudden freeze-up. They drag themselves for a long distance over the ice and even over land in search of open water. Under such circumstances, a walrus is easy prey, and several animals have been taken under these conditions. Walrus meat is considered to be the very best dog food, though some is consumed by the people.

Land Occupancy: Inuit Perceptions

by Hugh Brody

Introduction

The following account of how Inuit across the Arctic assess their own relationship to their lands tries to show at least some part of what occupancy really means (Map 40). It is, therefore, a subjective account: its themes arise from what Inuit throughout the north in fact put on record during the Land Use and Occupancy study. Many different individuals in many settlements across the north volunteered their opinions and knowledge on a variety of topics related to land use and occupancy. Nevertheless, several main themes emerged from the transcripts, and they show a remarkable similarity from settlement to settlement: everywhere the Inuit share many of the same concerns. Despite differences in history, members of communities in regions as far apart as the Mackenzie Delta, the High Arctic, and the Keewatin focussed on the same things: the importance of ancestral land use, intergenerational difficulties, links between Inuit identity and land occupancy, and the kinds of dangers that they consider to be inherent in their present situation. This unanimity determined the structure of the occupancy report, and gives special confidence and authority to its general findings.

We must nonetheless be aware that certain types of difference did emerge. For example two men, one from the Mackenzie Delta and the other from the central Arctic, were sure that Tuniit were very small, and, according to one of them, used caribou ears as sleeping bags. And, on a less mythic level, there were near opposing views that reflected common feelings which came with people's having been transported by southerners from a particular region of the north to a distant place. Other recent changes have brought confusion to the Inuit social and economic systems on the local level. But the transcripts are remarkable for their unanimity, and differences, in almost every case, are related to matters of detail and are of secondary importance.

Those extracts from the transcripts that were originally recorded in English are marked with an *(E)*. But the large majority are translations, and have inevitably suffered for that reason. The Eskimo language, *Inuttitut,* does not readily translate into English – there are grammatical constructions, sets of notions, and a vast specialized vocabulary. Moreover, many of those who recorded their views for the Land Use and Occupancy study are men and women who have lived most of their lives on the land. They are persons steeped in Inuit culture and knowledge, and they use their language superbly. Inuttitut has many levels and, according to older persons, it is a language of a richness and subtlety that are acquired only over many years of life on the land. Yet richness and subtlety of that kind are not easily conveyed in English, even by a translator who has a complete grasp of Inuttitut at its best. In fact, most translators are, inevitably, young persons who have spent many years at school learning English, which is to say that they have not spent their years so far learning Inuttitut as it is spoken by their elders. For these reasons, the English of the transcripts often has a grammatical and verbal simplicity that is not part of the original. Despite some effort directed to this problem, the occupancy essay is correspondingly weakened: the flavour of the Eskimo language, with its elaborate and precise forms, has been lost.

However, we believe that the essay does convey some measure of the feeling that the Inuit have for their land. The evidence here may be only a crude sign post, but it points in directions that the Inuit themselves suggested.

Sivullirmiut: The First People

Before there were any Inuit, the first people were called Tuniit. They were strong, but the Inuit killed them and took the land away.
Louis Uqsuqituq
Repulse Bay

There is another thing which is very valuable to us and that is the footprints of the Tuniit. I don't know what you call the Tuniit in English, but we call them Tuniit. They are the people who used to live long ago. We call them Tuniit. There are some footprints that you still can see in that camp, so that campsite is very important to us.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

> All peoples feel that their lands have a richness and life that go far beyond themselves. No person's sense of himself has to do only with the present, nor with only his own people. His lands have been occupied by other generations, other peoples, and their marks are, in a way, some part of his own mark on the land. The past – even the remote past – enters the present, becomes part of it in stories, in myths, and in what is gathered together in the word "culture". When the Inuit of today tell their stories, talk about the past and about the first occupants of the Arctic, they are also talking about themselves. Their predecessors are a part of the place of which they also are now a part.

When the Inuit travel their lands, they see everywhere evidence of peoples who travelled before them. There are old house sites, tent rings, stone cairns and bones. It is not a landscape moulded and shaped by occupation; there are no large mounds, fields, or other geographical transformations that show what people have done. But it is a landscape dotted with, and given life by, the remnants of former peoples.

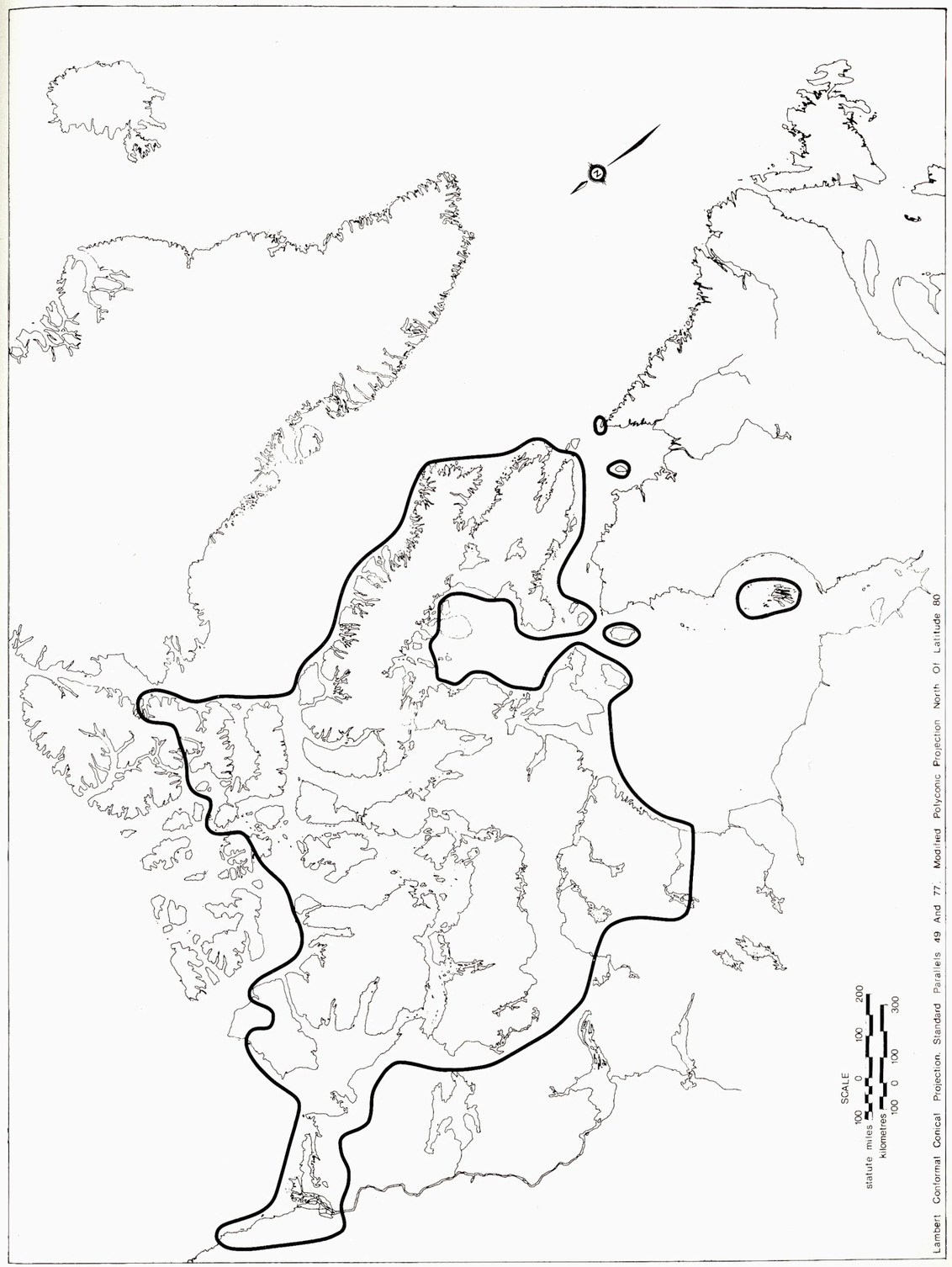
Tuniit inhabited all of the Canadian Arctic, from the coast to deep inland. They were, in some ways, different from Inuit. Their old houses were often built with stones that today's people could not move: the Tuniit were bigger and stronger. Sometimes it is said that they had neither boats nor dogs, but that they walked great distances, killing walruses with harpoons and hauling the carcasses onto the beaches. Sometimes it is said that, despite their great strength, they were more gentle and more nervous than Inuit. It is usually said that, when Inuit came to the land, they found Tuniit there and that they gradually displaced them. In some places, the Tuniit ran away as soon as the Inuit appeared, for they had heard of these newcomers and had become afraid of them.

It's told by the older people before us of Tunik places; they were very strong and they could lift rocks that we cannot even move. They made them into houses, used them for houses, and to cache the meat.
Anilnik Paniluk
Broughton Island

In the old graves we sometimes find skulls. We notice that they're so flat and smooth. I've heard that Tuniit ran to the north, away from this part of land, because of war. Yes, they were Inuit, but they were very strong people.
Joanassie Ilkalee
Broughton Island

There was a man who arrived in a small campsite; he was a Tunik. Tuniit people were more powerful than ordinary people of long, long ago. At that time, this man came to the camp carrying only a piece of wood shaped like a harpoon. People at the campsite asked him what he hoped to catch with just a piece of stick, but he answered that he could catch any animal he chose with it. People did not believe him, and one camp Inuk told him, "We will believe you only if you show us how". The Tunik put one end of the stick on his foot and kicked it into the air: it landed on the snow, point first. One of the people told him that this was not good enough to satisfy his curiosity. There was a dog that was in the distance, and it wasn't of much use as a sled dog. So the camp Inuk told the Tunik that if he could spear that dog he would know. So the Tunik put the stick down on his foot and kicked it high in the air and, when it started down, it hit the dog with the large end first, and it went right through the dog. Afer he killed the dog, he took his stick and ran away, for he did not want anything to do with the camp Inuit. The Inuit coaxed him to stay and told him he was not going to be harmed, but the Tunik was too fast for them to catch him, and he disappeared forever. Before the Inuit left the campsite, they built a stone cairn in memory of the Tunik who had visited their camp. It is still there today.
Pie Koksut
Whale Cove

Map 40
Outer extent of Inuit land use within living memory



The Tuniit took over a piece of land (Sherman Inlet) and seeing that the Inuit were trying to get back, they fled. They had been travelling for quite a while when they landed at Grenadier Island and relieved themselves. Further on they crossed over to other islands, and they named them.
John Ullikataq
Gjoa Haven

> So the Inuit took over the land from the Tuniit and, like their predecessors, occupied all of it. But as the Inuit used the Tuniit's land, they followed and used many of the same techniques. The Tuniit handed on stone weirs, cairns and place names: despite the differences between them, Inuit and Tuniit used the land in similar ways.

People from the sea (Victoria Strait and Queen Maud Gulf) took over Chantrey Inlet from the Tuniit. The Tuniit had built fish weirs, storehouses and *qarmat,* sod and earth houses.
Matthew Toonee
Gjoa Haven

A long time ago there used to be some Tuniit. These people were two or three feet taller than us, but they used to do the same things that we do. They used to live on meat.
Pauloosie Lyta
Lake Harbour

> The Sivullirmiut were on the land long before living memory, long before anyone of today's great-great-grandparents was alive. Inuit of today point out the Tuniit house: slight mounds of earth that are often scarcely noticeable, far up on the beaches. Yet their occupation of the land merges with more recent occupations, and people today think of themselves as the latest stage of a continuing occupancy. Many of the house sites of the Sivullirmiut are close to locations that were in use until the late 1960's, locations that are still the bases for much hunting. When a group of hunters spend extended periods on the land – as many do each spring and summer – they frequently camp at those favoured locations, a few yards from house remains that mark a long succession of generations' use of the identical locale. Because campsites are the same, it is supposed that the hinterlands of those sites were used in the same way. The occupants of the ancient houses are presumed to have fished at the weirs, taken advantage of the shorelines, and hunted the caribou feeding grounds that are today the reason for camping in one place or another. That supposition is borne out by the evidence of land use, by the ancient harpoon heads, skin scrapers, stone lamps, and other artifacts that are so plentiful and so old.
>
> And the land everywhere is given life by the signs that remain of those earlier inhabitants. Some places are made frightening and others are given special importance – almost a sanctity – by the stories of Tuniit that refer to or explain features of the land.

There is a great beauty near this place. It is mostly covered with pebbles, and it has a legend about a giant who roamed there and fished. There is still a footprint that the giant made when he stopped for a rest and took a load off his back. While doing this he almost fell, and made a great footprint. There are also very old, huge tent remains in that place. Also, nearby, there are caribou tracks on the rock hills. The tracks are right in the rocks!
Martha Koksut
Whale Cove

> The Tuniit's world merges with the world of giants and monsters, who also give importance to the land. Everywhere that Tuniit or strange, scarcely knowable creatures have been, they have left their signs. Everywhere the land records the use that has been made of it. To use it now is to reuse it and to be involved with those who have used it before. Stories of the Tuniit are an ancient record and a living celebration of the land. Everywhere the people of today live and travel they see the remains that are left from much earlier times.

Two orphan sisters were left behind when their travelling companions crossed a river. On the beach, they found a hairless caribou skin and some flint stones. They lived in a stone house during the winter. They produced noises on the skin and struck the flint stones together. The following summer, they both turned into thunder. The stone houses they built can still be seen today.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

Once, a certain lady refused ever to get married. A man came during the summer in a kayak. He was wearing snow-goggles. Without getting out of the kayak he said, "Get in". In answering she said, "Remove your snow-goggles first". An argument resulted, and it ended with the lady tearing the snow-goggles from the face of the man. Underneath she saw that his eyes, or where his eyes should be, were hollow holes filled with worms. As she started to walk home, compulsively she started thumping her hands together. Slowly she began turning to rock. Reaching her tent, she told her father who was outside, "Father, I'm turning into a stone". Her father replied in return, "I'm also turning into stone". They both turned into stones that can be seen today. The place name is derived from the white on black belt-like lines on the stones, which look so like trimmings on a parka.
Matthew Toonee
Gjoa Haven

There is a place up near Garry Lake, I remember, which used to be used as a campsite by our ancestors. It has been used by people for so long that it smells from the distance. There were old animal bones in that place. Also, near there I remember seeing a giant footprint. I had heard about it before I went there. The footprints were huge – footsteps reaching from here to next door. I have heard that those footprints have been there for a long, long time.
Mike Angutituak
Rankin Inlet

> The use of the land, and many of the systems that such use has required, were first those of the Tuniit. Many of the themes of Inuit life, from hunting techniques to some beliefs, also have their place in stories about Tuniit. There is no great divide between the first peoples and those who followed. It is they as a whole who have occupied the land.

There is a short story about Tuniit. In Talarituq there's a river and a fish trap. A woman was forbidden from going into the water by a shaman. People were superstitious. She was not allowed to go into the water, but she did. In the following year, the river no longer ran through the *saputit,* the stones of the fish weir. It's running now on the other side of the *saputit*. It was because of that woman who went into the water when she was forbidden it.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

Yes, and the Tuniit were here before, but they are gone. They're gone from here, but the house sites are around. They were other people besides our ancestors. We are here because our ancestors are real. There will be our descendants who won't be *Qallunaat,* white people.
Louis Alianakuluk
Igloolik

Taissumanialungmiut: People of Long Ago

Inuit can probably be here because people died along the shore and mainland everywhere. Our ancestors have graves everywhere. Inuit being everywhere in the past is something to think about today. The lakes in the land with fish, the sea with seals, and the land with animals are much to think about.
Leo Ussak
Rankin Inlet

There are graves where people used to live and where they had their campsites long ago.
Leo Kalujuk
Whale Cove

> The Tuniit were displaced *taissumanialuk,* a long time ago. The people who displaced them are often referred to as *Taissumanialungmiut,* the people of long ago. They are the true ancestors of the Inuit of today. Knowledge, beliefs, techniques, and a whole system of life come from them. They are the grandparents of grandparents, reaching from long ago down into the settlements of today. Their houses, tools, campsites, fishing weirs, cairns and travel routes are all part of contemporary knowledge and use. The *Inummarik,* the real Inuk, knows and respects them and has continued their occupancy of the land.
>
> The old people of today, by following and revering the people of long ago, are superbly competent. The life of the *Taissumanialungmiut* was not easy, for it preceeded guns, trade goods, tea and tobacco. However, difficulties were overcome by skill.

The people of long ago, before they had rifles, went after birds by throwing something made out of caribou horn. When the ducks were flying low, they tossed the caribou antler up in the air. That's how they knocked out the ducks. They used to go after sea gulls' eggs in the spring. In summer they would go after young ducks when they were unable to fly – as long as the lake was not too deep and you could cross it without drowning.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

A long time ago there used to be Inuit who could run very fast, and there were those who were very strong. Those things were very slowly vanishing here. That is one of the reasons we care about our north land.
Mosesie Idlout
Resolute Bay (E)

> The life of the old days merges with the life of the present. Older Inuit remember it well; young Inuit are expected to learn as much of it as possible.

I also remember way back when people used ice (not snow) to make a shelter in the fall when there was insufficient snow. They used an ice-chisel to make small holes around the ice wall, built on lake or sea ice. They put caribou tents over the ice wall and fixed ropes to the hole around the shelter to support the tent. They made the doorway just like a snow-house entrance. They were much colder than a real snow-house because they were made of ice.

I never actually lived in or built one, but I have seen them and could make one now. I was too young at that time, and people were losing that tradition. People used to make caribou sleds, too, in winter. They used to take the fur off the caribou, make it narrow and round, stuff it with fish and the leg skins of caribou, and sew it all up. They soaked it in water and froze it. I have seen men making sleds out of caribou skins and frozen fish. I didn't make these sleds myself, but I have seen others make them.
Mike Angutituak
Rankin Inlet

They used to travel on the land during the summer, entirely on foot, just walking. In winter they would travel by sled. In the earlier days we used to know where to find a seal or caribou or birds and fish. When we travelled there were various rivers and we used to know where it was possible to ford each river.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

> And even though it was a life that developed long before traders and whalers came to the north, there are stories about the old ways that celebrate skills using southern equipment.

He used to take an empty bullet shell and fix it, adding rock with the lead to make bullets. He used to use them to shoot with. He had a rifle and its bullets – to him they were very precious. The rifle was the one thing that kept him alive. We did not even have matches in those days. I remember people not having matches. They had neither tobacco nor tea. My father used caribou moss and paper as well as the powder, gravel, little bits of stone, and the lead, and so he made two bullets out of one. I used to see him do that and I have not forgotten it. When my mother was alive she had no matches. The only way she made fire was from wood. My wife and I can make fire in that way, if there is the right kind of wood. You can make fire with some, but not with other kinds of wood. I used to see my grandmother make fire with flints, a long time ago, when I was young but old enough to remember.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

The expression most often used to describe those men of the past, and the past of older men alive today, is *ajurnalaungitiatut,* they sure did not go wrong. It is a term of high praise for the individuals themselves and for the culture of which they were such excellent exponents. The real Inuit way was and is a fine thing. Not to go wrong was often particularly difficult during the early days of the fur trade, especially the 1930's and 1940's. In many regions, older men and women recall the difficulties they sometimes experienced, but they also recall the skills – real Inuit skills – with which they were often able to overcome these difficulties. The fur trade did not cause the skills of *Taissumanialungmiut* to suffer: the fur trade was hard, but it still allowed the real Inuit to have a good life.

No one forgets that during fur trade days, things sometimes did go wrong, as when, for example, the price of fox skins was too low to enable a family to purchase the goods on which they depended, or when there were no foxes within travelling distance, or when weather made hunting impossible. Yet even these hardships are said to have been tolerable, and they were part of a life that had coherence and many rewards. An elderly man in Pond Inlet who favours settlement life had this to say about those days:

Some time ago, when we were living here, the trading post was the only one of those (southern institutions). It was before the government was here. We were not being helped out by the government then. Only the Hudson's Bay Company helped us – by buying fox pelts. We were in need at times, but only rarely. It was seldom that we had difficulties, not like today. Yes, of course, some things would run out, like tobacco, but nothing on which we *really* depended. I remember when my companions and I ran out of tobacco: we would smoke any old thing and share out whatever could be smoked! When we travelled we had no primus stoves, nor did that bother us. There was just the stone lamp for heat. It was no bother, was it?

> Most older and some younger people insist that life in the old days, when the economy centered on trade, was comparatively rich. It was of course a richness of eulture as well as of essentials.
>
> Anyone who travels on the land or listens to those who know their land well is made aware of the richness. The people of long ago had chosen and named campsites and hunting grounds, and their stories about these names have been passed down to the present. It is thanks to *Taissumanialungmiut* that the Inuit have been able to hunt and travel in recent times.

The people in Coral Harbour made some maps of where they hunted. They marked where they have hunted seals, caribou, walruses and other animals on this island. They did not just put anything on the maps, but every area they have hunted. We are still hunting in places where our ancestors hunted; places where our ancestors lived before are still being used, even today. The places named by our ancestors are the names still being used on this island.
Tooma Nester
Southampton Island

We live here because our ancestors did before us. If they had not lived here, I don't know what we'd do, we wouldn't have anything. They tried hard to hunt animals in order to live – that's why we are living.

Those old places are easy to spot. I've been to many places by dog-team, in the direction of Pond Inlet and others, where you would have thought no people have ever been before. I've seen rocks piled one on top of the other. They were fixed like that by Inuit. They are everywhere.
Lucien Ukkalianuk
Igloolik

When the weather is nice and warm in the spring, men used to fix the fishing weirs. After the weirs were fixed, the young and middle-aged men walked deep inland to hunt for caribou, while the old men stayed behind to fish at the weirs. People stayed away from the weirs all day and did not go to the weirs until night time. One man would close the entrance to the fishing weirs and shout. Then people all used leisters to catch the fish in the weirs. Everybody was busy – even children helped catch fish. Women cleaned the fish; men speared the fish and threw them on the land, or strung them on the line they carried. Everyone enjoyed fishing at the weirs. These fishing weirs are very, very old, made by our ancestors.
Martha Kossut
Whale Cove

Yes, we followed those cairns in the lakes for fish. Our ancestors made them when they found lakes that had enough fish. They put these cairns on the shore or on bigger rocks where they could be seen. Also, our ancestors put red coloured rocks on the spawning grounds of lake trout. That way we were able to find more fish in the lakes.

Our ancestors put the cairns at the lakes and we found them. They are definite indications of where to find lake trout and char. The Inuit we fish with did not put these cairns in place. They have been there for generations. These cairns have helped us – they have even kept us from starvation.
Atuat
Whale Cove

> There are often marks on the land (Map 41) that have been left by the Inuit of long ago, not signs made for hunting, nor houses on the shores. These marks are reminders of the people who left them, and they give special value to the land itself, a value that goes beyond its use. The places where the Inuit have lived have very many kinds of importance.

In this place there are the remains of an old tent. When I went there, I took a small gift and put it on the floor of the old tent remains. This tradition has been carried on since our ancestors' time. I saw there some gifts that were left many years ago. Some gifts are underground because of age. My friend told me to take gifts there; I don't know what for. Inuit go and place gifts, even small gifts, in that place. Our ancestors knew the reason why, but I do not know.
Neory Aniksak
Whale Cove

Q: What is at Iratuk that made you put it on your map?
A: I marked it because I've lived there and know that there's an old piece of stone about which a legend is told. There is a stone on which Kiviuq's mother once sat, and it figures in an Inuit tale. I have heard there was once a man who went hunting for seals and did not come back, and his parents sat on the rock, and we can see where their tears have fallen. They became white stones, just where they were sitting.
Monique Kopanuak
Eskimo Point

It's a rock. Once it used to be a bearded seal. A long time ago, one of the people at that camp got a bearded seal and he brought it to the camp and put rocks on top of it. After a while that seal turned into a rock; so it's a rock now. We call that big rock *ujjuk.* Long ago, before we had metal, people used rock for making arrowheads or making women's knives. You can still see that piece of rock. It's something valuable, too, because people once used that rock for making arrow-heads and knives.
Bernard Iquugatuq
Pelly Bay

To me the land is precious because it has been precious to the old Inuit. And the animals on the land are precious to me because they have been precious to Inuit in the past.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

> Places and things that were made by or are strongly associated with people of long ago inspire feelings of awe, joy, or even fear. They command respect. They are details that tie the Inuit to their land, and the land to the Inuit.

Our ancestors used to go to certain places where we don't go very often anymore, but animals still use these places. Things our ancestors made should never be destroyed by mining and oil companies. These places are seen and used by people today. Even when we grow old they will still be there.
Peter Alogut
Southampton Island

These rocks were probably placed in that river by our ancestors, for storage. They are of different sizes and are very well made. I do not really know when they were made, but they are wonderful to see. People probably used the storage place before they left the area to go hunting.
Leo Kalujuk
Whale Cove

There is a place where no man could go because long ago there was a kayak accident. The two statues there are of the girls who were left behind by their parents, and who did not know where to go. They turned into statues, so from then on no man could even go near the place. They are absolutely not allowed to go there. These two girls were barefoot or naked when they landed, so they were shy of men. From that time on no man could go near them.
Monique Kopanuak
Eskimo Point

The things our ancestors had before still remain today. Are they going to be destroyed? It is very sad to see our ancestors' belongings being destroyed. Even burial grounds and the things they left behind bring back memories. Even a *Qallunaak,* a White, would feel the same way if he or she were to see an old cabin of an ancestor – that is why *Qallunaat* have got their museums down south. This is how the Inuit feel when they go out hunting and see the things that our ancestors left behind.

When the Inuk hunter passes by an old grave, it brings back his pride in his ancestors.
Leo Ussak
Rankin Inlet

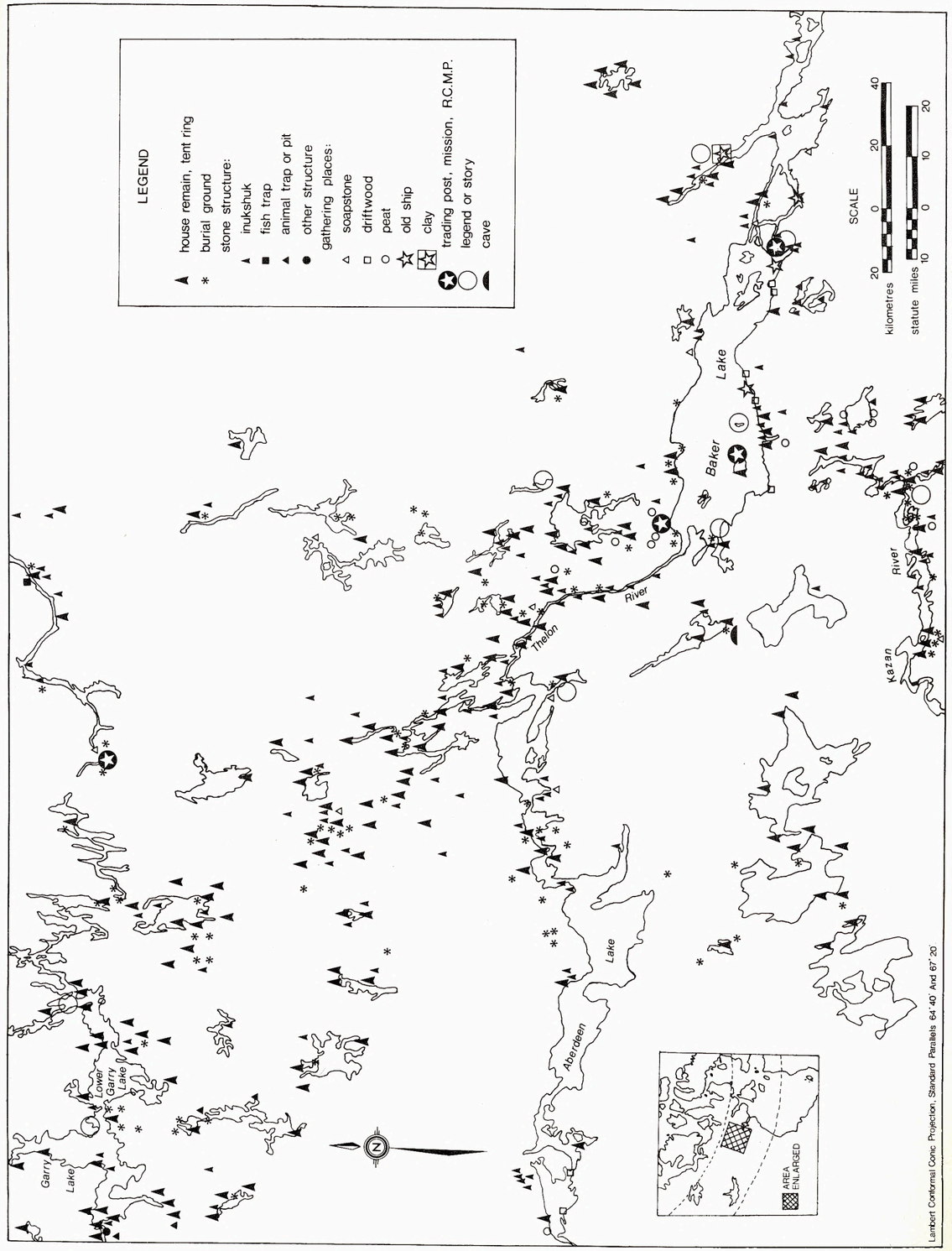
Many places that are given special importance because of their connection with the Inuit of long ago are still known by and are still important to the Inuit of today. The stone cairns and weirs that were built long ago are still of real practical use. The stories that recall the doing and ways of long ago are still told. The *Taissumanialungmiut* are essentially linked to contemporary people. The life of older people is a living thing, and it establishes a continuity of land use and social customs.

This is our land. Our ancestors were here. They knew about this land. We older people, like myself, know about our land. Our ancestors were here long ago. We travelled the land and the sea, and we know where to find caribou, seals and fish. We travelled without any maps; we can travel without using a map. We can tell you the names of the places and the islands and many other places without using a map.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

The places I have been to are the places that many people have been to before me, and the lakes where people go fishing. You can tell that they have been used for a long time. The way we know that people have previously been there is by the stone structures, the *inuksuit* or *taluun,* or other signs. We can tell that all those signs have been made by people who once used these places. We were taught by our parents where all the good hunting areas were, and the places we used to go to are all useful.
Mariano Aupilarjuk
Repulse Bay

It's only very recently that things have begun to change as far as our way of life is concerned. Through this knowledge of our way of life, and since it is the only kind of life we know, it has become so that we know all the areas where there is game and where the animals can support us.
Jonassie Kooneeliusie
Broughton Island

Map 41
Cultural map of Keewatin District



The link between the past and present is established in a multitude of ways. Generally, a social system, a whole way of being that involves practices and knowledge of every kind, has endured from long ago down to the present. But the continuity between the Inuit of then and those of today has been preserved in one very special way: many who have died have returned to the land as the *atiq* of another person.

When a child is given a name it is, in fact, provided with a second person, an *atiq,* by whom the new person is thenceforth inhabited. The *atiq* selected for the infant is usually a person who died not long before the infant was born, and naturally enough this person is usually one who was much respected by those who are choosing the new name. This second, spiritual person within each person is recognized explicitly by the way people address one another. If your child is named after your grandmother, then you address the child as "grandmother"; if your child is named after the wife of the person after whom you yourself are named, then you might address the child as "wife". The personality and characteristics of the child are thought to have much in common with those of its *atiq,* and the child is, therefore, accorded respect and concern that are commensurate with those qualities.

This naming system gives a cyclical quality to the Inuit population. Since *atiit* recur generation after generation, there is a pool of people who continue to live on the land, despite the actual succession of deaths. The bones of the dead are everywhere, but the *atiit* of many of these dead persons still travel and hunt where they lived a generation or generations ago. There is continuity to land occupancy that is secured by the intellectual culture of today's occupants. Many of the Inuit of long ago are still here as the Inuit of today.

. . . the dying grandfather or grandmother, or someone else who is dying, might say to his daughter or son, "If you have a child, name him after me". Or he might tell his friend on his dying day, if the friend had been really good to him while he was alive, "I want you to name your child after me". And that is how some people are named after their grandfathers.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

> Life continued from generation to generation. The system that maintained life, and is dignified by the Inuit who are remembered as the ones who ideally practised it, also continued. Some people remember ways in which order was maintained by the real Inuit. One man described the way theft was treated by a community. After giving details of questioning, seeking and finding, he commented: Somehow they would find out who did it. People used to do strange things in the past. They would tell him not to do it again, they would scold him and say, "You might have done things like this before, but do not do it again". But they would not hurt or punish him. Usually he would never steal or do anything like that again.
> *Charlie Inukshuk*
> *Rankin Inlet*

> It is not possible here to do more than hint at the ways and memories and stories of the Inuit of long ago. Nor can the feelings that sueh memories and stories evoke be more than suggested. Appeals to the past – and often it is to a recent past – emphasize the way in which the people believe they are because of what they were, and that they should go on being that way. Celebration of the past consolidates and makes strong the idea of how people ought to be in the present. In a similar fashion, even in recalling the most difficult aspects of tbe past, times of hunger and exhaustion, speakers are still concerned with Inuit identity in the present.
>
> It would be a serious mistake to dismiss or belittle either positive or negative statements about tbe past. Such statements have mythic properties; they are actively important elements in contemporary life. They affirm self-identity and self-respect, and they offer some of the clearest insights into central cultural values. Questions about the historical accuracy of such statements may raise doubts about exactly what light they throw on the past, but their importance in contemporary society is very clear. Reminiscences and stories are among the best ways of learning how people feel about their land and their relation to it. To the extent that the ways and attitudes of old days eontinue into the present, many Inuit say they are strong and well. Insofar as the old ways and attitudes are eroded or eclipsed by recent changes in social and economic circumstances, life in the region is said to be experiencing difficulty.

Our ancestors survived on the land and sea, depending only on animals. It was not always easy for them, but they survived through many dangerous journeys and bitterly cold winters. They not only survived for themselves, they also survived for the future.
Mike Angutituak
Rankin Inlet

We Inuit do not want it to change. We just try to help our people. Our ancestors kept it good for us. They lived in different places, not in the same places . . . If they had stayed in one area, that area would be the same as now. I really thank the people who used to live before us. We do not forget them.
Iqalukjuak
Clyde River

The Land

If you look at the land, it all seems the same, but some parts of it are rough, with rocks all around . . . But even on rocky land, if there is moss, that is where the caribou stay during warm seasons. That kind of land we used to occupy. We did not stay right on one spot, expecting the game would always eome back there . . .

The land changes with the seasons. In spring, plants grow better where it is moist, and in summer we get to see the ground more clearly, so we get to see green leaves, and the red of other plants. In summer time, people pick plants for food.

When the plants started to die they seemed to turn white, and then people pieked different kinds of plants from those they had picked in summer. Right at the end of fall, they began picking moss and other vegetation to use as wicks for their winter lamps. Some of them used big bags. I myself used to gather wick material. I used to fill my pockets. If you use moss alone for wicks, it was usually not much good; it fell apart too easily. But mixed with other plants, moss was fine. In fall, the ground starts to freeze, and at that time people begin to move to new camps. They used to go back to camps they had used before, and they would take many caribou and caribou skins.

Some men used to change: they got skinnier from so much work.

The only time they did not travel was when they were caching meat. They cached the meat so it would not be eaten by the foxes or birds. The meat was used in winter . . .

In different places, they have so many different ways of hunting and living. In one place we hunted walruses, and in another place we hunted seals. If one camp has good hunting, then people from other camps would move into the good area. They tried to help each other in every way they could.
Evalak
Hall Beach

> In every community, from the Mackenzie Delta to southern Hudson Bay, the Inuit insist on the vital importance of their land. Virtually everyone has hunted, does hunt, and, apart from the very sick and very old, hopes to do much hunting in the future. In order to hunt it is vital to use the land. In order to use the land it is vital to understand, enjoy and, in recent times, to have some influence over how others make use of it.

The land is so beautiful with its high rivers and lakes waiting to be fished. It has great mountains, and images form as if you could be caribou among them. Caribou sometimes come peeping round the hills.
Rosie Paulla
Gjoa Haven

In our land, we Inuit feel more free. We ean walk here and there without having to cross someone else's property, without having to stop at a stop sign, without having to wait for a car to pass. We feel more free here. We can get ice without having to pay for it. We ean get moss, grass or whatever we want without having to ask permission. We feel more free here. We know about this land. We know where to find the things we are looking for. We know if the weather is going to be bad tomorrow, or what kind of winter we are going to have. We must know this land because it is ours, and that is how we know about these things.

Even when you are beyond the horizon over there, a thousand miles away, you cannot forget the land here and its animals. You cannot forget the places where you used to go. If you go somewhere, for the first two days you might not think about your land. After two or three days, it always comes back. My land! No matter where you are, even though you are beyond the horizon, over there beyond the hills and mountains, it is hard to forget the place where you were brought up and where for a while you made your living . . .

You have a lot of time to think about your land. Some people are there (in the hospital) for two or three months, perhaps more. While I was in hospital, I'll tell you what I thought. The first thing I thought was "My land, our land". Right in my hand, I could see the shorelines, beaehes, lakes, mountains and hills that I had been to. I could see the seals, birds, and game that I used to pursue when I was living off the land. Some older people have told me that while they were in hospital, even though they were thousands and thousands of miles from their homes and their lands, all of these thoughts were comfort to their minds. They could see their land: the sea, mountains, the lakes and everything.

Even though you are in hospital, or thousands and thousands of miles away, you cannot forget your land. That is why no matter where we are, we do not forget this land. It is our land.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

If I were asked by a *Qallunaak,* "Are you happy with your land?" I'd tell him that I was very happy with it. It has animals and you can see for miles. It seems barren, but if you travel you see animals. Seeing live animals gives the greatest joy to Inuit.
Louis Alinaluk
Igloolik

There are two huge rocks in Itimnakjuk, side by side, that are almost impossible to move. But people carry on the old tradition of trying to move those two big rocks every time they go there. In Itimnakjuk, the two big rocks are located near a small island. When people go fishing at the weirs they try to move the two big rocks. When the rocks can be moved, they know there are going to be more fish going up the rivers. When they cannot move these two rocks, there are hardly any fish running up the river, and there will not be very many to catch.
Pie Koksut
Whale Cove

It is just what I said before, people tend to go back to the place they started from. It is the same thing. As for myself, I will go to a particular spot, a spot that I was the first to find. It is a beautiful place. I just love it there. It is so very peaceful. The only thing that I can communicate with is wildlife. It brings me down to earth. I guess these other people feel the same way. They grew up in a certain area, they know that area, and they have a feeling for it. I guess they feel that they can communicate with themselves and with what is around them.
Tom Sammurtok
Chesterfield (E)

We do not want the land to be taken away from us. We have been living here always, and we get good only in our land and from our sea. We do not want the animals to be driven away from us by companies with their noisy machines. Only in recent years have our children started going to school, yet some are already forgetting the old life. Our people are going to become more and more White in their way of life, and they will forget some of the old hunting skills. We once used to hunt for a living, even in the very coldest weather. That was our only life. We like this land, and it is our land. We get food from our land. Because of this we do not want our land to be taken from us.
Saggiak
Cape Dorset

At this lake, in the old days, people were told that they were not allowed to take the legs off the caribou they had killed, when they skinned them. If a person were to cut the legs off a caribou he would surely die. They were not even allowed to make holes in seal skins in this place. I have heard of one man who snapped his line (made from bearded seal skin) by accident, and threw it to the dogs so he would not have bad luck. The dog died that day.
Neory Aniksak
Whale Cove

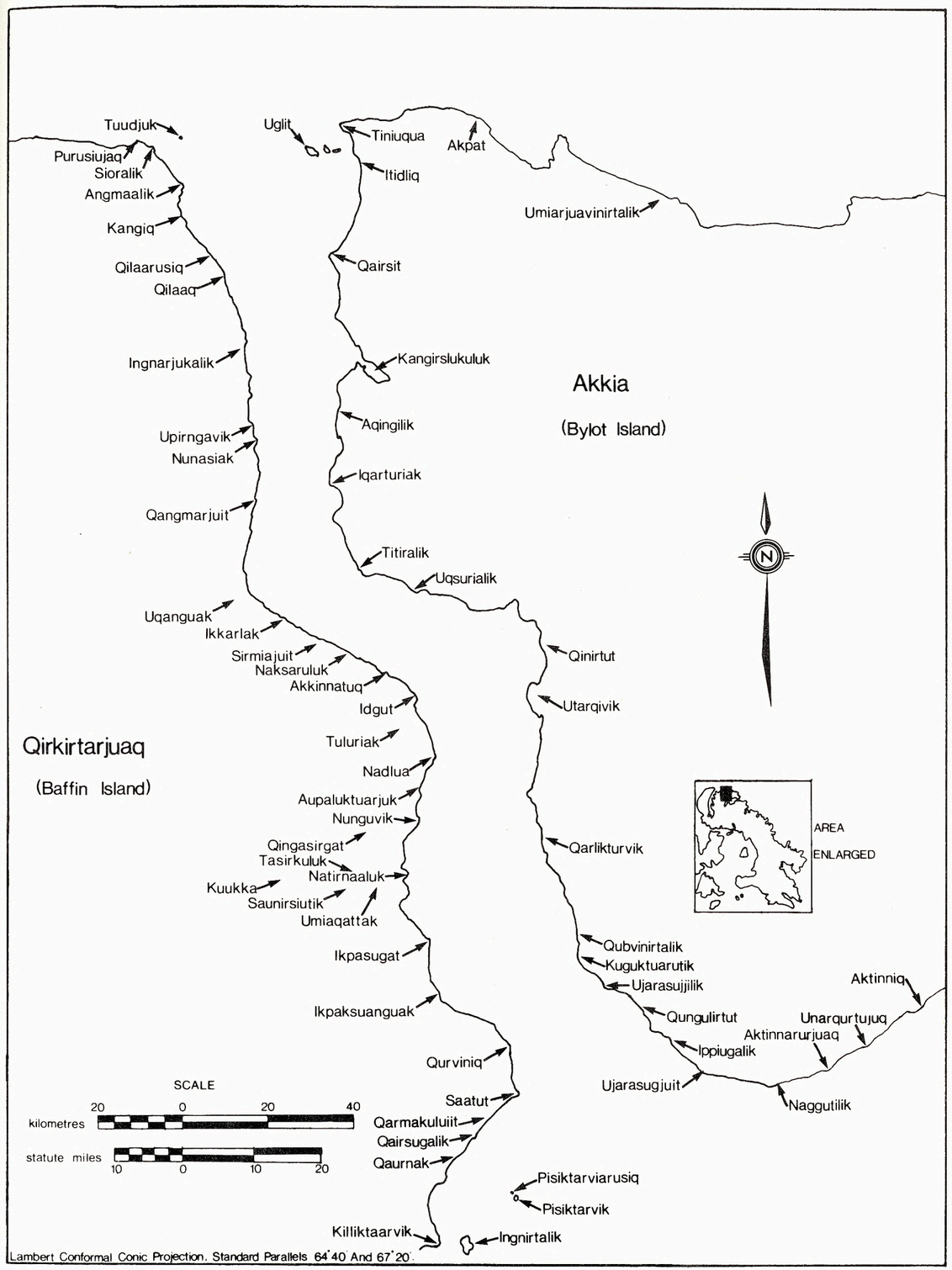
I cannot remember all the places I have been to but, when I return to a particular place, and it has stayed the same, I recognize it at once. It is like a person you have been close to but have not seen for a long time. There is never an unrecognizable place. Different places seem to have a character of their own.
Simon Qirngnirq
Gjoa Haven

Feeling for the land does not exist alone. It is a barometer of knowledge that is of day-to-day practical importance. Such knowledge is expressed directly by naming the land. The land use and occupancy project assembled place name maps for each settlement (Map 42). The data are incomplete, especially in respect to inland areas, which are everywhere harder to identify than coastal locations on 1:250,000 scale maps. However, such maps give at least an impression of one important feature of contemporary occupancy.

Many of the names have meanings that seem to describe the surrounding land: Big Lake, Fast River, Huge Cliff or Reddish Place. These names are perhaps not so much real as they are descriptions of the land. In Inuttitut, a proper name works grammatically in just the same way as any definite description: if the name is plural, then its verb is pluralized. So, for example, Inuit would say, "Small Glaciers *are* on the west side of Navy Board Inlet", although in English, if "Small Glaciers" were a place name, the sentence would be, "Small Glaciers *is* . . .".

In fact, the difference between place names and descriptive terms was often noted by Inuit who recorded the place names for the project's maps; they said that such-and-such was not the name, but only what the land was like. For example, there is a complex of pseudo-names for the inland area east of the confluences of Admiralty and Berlinguet inlets that are related to the absence of ground cover. Thus a large area is called *ijjuittuq*, "there is no sod", and in relation to that name, there are expressions precisely locating other places: "the far side of there is no sod", "the top of there is no sod", etc. When giving that set of precise locations, people remarked that those terms were "what we here say" and "they are not the names". Because many names are not definite descriptions, there is a clear model for what a genuine proper name is and, therefore, no doubt about which are and which are not merely descriptions. In fact, a considerable number of names seem to be, but are not, descriptions. Examples of them include places named after persons whose names in turn mean something that might be applicable to the land. The name for Pond Inlet is such an example: *Mittima* was the name of a man who is said to have died there and after whom the place was perhaps named *Mittimatalik*, "where there is Mittima", although a number of people said it was possible (and amusing) to regard the name as being derived from a large boulder by the shore on which sea gulls frequently pereh, for the man's name *Mittima* is based on the word for a bird's alighting.

Map 42
Inuit place names in Navy Board Inlet



I have numbered that area No. 4 as a means to an end, because it is a way of reliving the event. This is how we went to an island: we got to the island, and there were caribou there. The area with caribou is No. 13. Its name is not "Caribou", I just called it the area with caribou because there were caribou there at the time. It had caribou and wolves.
Markosie Piunngittuk Inaaluk
Grise Fiord

All the lakes where you can find fish or caribou have names. That is the only way we can travel. The one way we can recognize lakes is by their names. All the larger mountains and hills, they have names. Sometimes we name them on account of their size or because of their shape. The names of places, of camps and of lakes are all important to us, for that is the way we travel – with names. We could go anywhere, even to a strange place, simply because plaees are named. That would be how we would find our way. It is the way we can find how far we are from camp or from the next camp. Most of the names you come aeross when you are travelling are very old. Our ancestors named them because that is where they travelled.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

Kiviuq dried the skin of a brown bear on some rocks, having killed him in battle. The place is named because he had dried the skin there.
John Ullikataq
Gjoa Haven

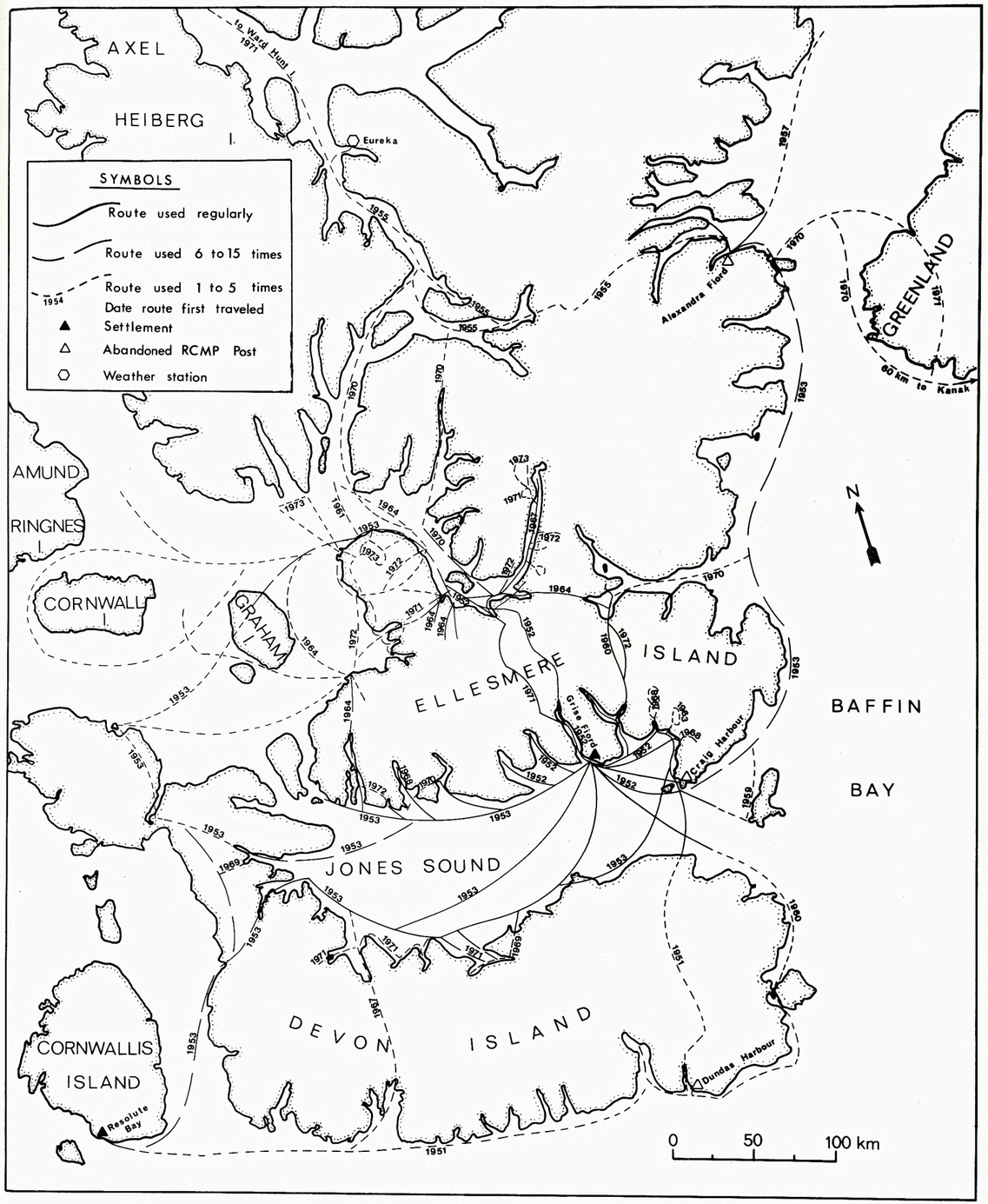
Place naming is more complex than the maps suggest. Whole districts have names, but maps record only specific locations and features. In fact, there is a name for the Arctic as a whole, *Inuit Nunangat,* the people's land. There are names for districts within the Arctic, for example, *Anaulirialik,* the lands of the Anaulirialingmiut; names for campsites within that district (of which *Anaulirialik* is also an example, being the central site of the district); and for parts of the land that are specifically named (for example, *Taartualuk,* very shadowy and dark, known in English as Dexterity Island). Many place names recur, some of them many times, because each site is named in relation to, or by the people of, a larger centre. Illustrative of that pattern are names like *Upirngavik,* spring camping site; *Kangirllukuluk,* wee inlet; *Saputik,* fish weir; *Qikirtaruluk,* goddamned island. "Spring camping site" is where people of that distriet tend to live in spring; "wee inlet" is one of the smaller inlets within the district; "fish weir" is used each summer by the district's inhabitants; and the island is one of the region's lesser islands, if it is shown by the derogatory affix *-ruluk.* The names marked on the map are largely made up of clusters that concentrate around a main centre.

In some places, there may be a number of centres close together; over time the land around such centres will have been named in great detail. But everywhere there are names for islands, lakes, streams, valleys, campsites and fishing grounds that have been used regularly. Everyone knows many place names, and most Inuit know very many of them. The meanings of some are now lost, and there is doubt about the meaning of others. But the vast and intricate complex of names that cover so much of the land demonstrate something of the full and complex way in which the land is occupied today and has been occupied in the past.

Knowledge of the names of the land's main features has helped families to move and hunt in an area they had never seen before, since travelling, often over enormous distances, is among the most important aspects of Inuit life.

I remember when we were travelling from Repulse Bay to Pelly Bay. We did not have many dogs and they were not very well fed, so it was a hard time for us. At first we went to Pelly Bay. We were not very far from the settlement, toward the sea. We stayed for a few days and then moved to Igluligaarjuk, a spring camp. There were others staying at Igluligaarjuk. Qaqsuvik was one of them, and he was living with the others. From there we went on to the next spring camp, Igluvigaqturvik. In Igluvigaqturvik, there were some other people, Kukuvak, Pallak and Innakatsik. From there, we went to the next spring camp, Sattiktuq, but there was no one living at that camp. It was spring, so we moved on to the next camp, on the other side of Pelly Bay.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

Map 43
Travel routes from Grise Fiord



We Inuit moved around looking for animals to hunt. That is why we move around. We of the Baker Lake area go out onto the land and look everywhere for animals. We do not just stay in one place. We, the Inuit, move around, and we do not go home to just one snow-house. We, the Inuit, are trying to survive. We, the Inuit, do not just stay in one place, neither in summer nor in winter.
Inukshuk
Baker Lake

We Inuit used to be told not to live in one area too long; Inuit thought the land would carry sickness if it were lived on for too long, or the animals would become scarce. They did not like to live on land that had no animals. So they used to move camp all the time, since they so wanted to be healthy and to live on healthy land.
Mariano Aupilarjuk
Repulse Bay

Before game laws were laid down by the government, people used to hunt in places until the animals were no longer plentiful. Instead of hunting all the animals until there were none, they would move elsewhere (Map 43), to where the animals were more abundant, so that the animals they left would multiply. I used to hunt musk-oxen on Prince of Wales Island until there were not many animals left. The musk-oxen there were no longer plentiful. Instead of staying to hunt all of the musk-oxen, we moved to another area around Pelly Bay where we then hunted musk-oxen again.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

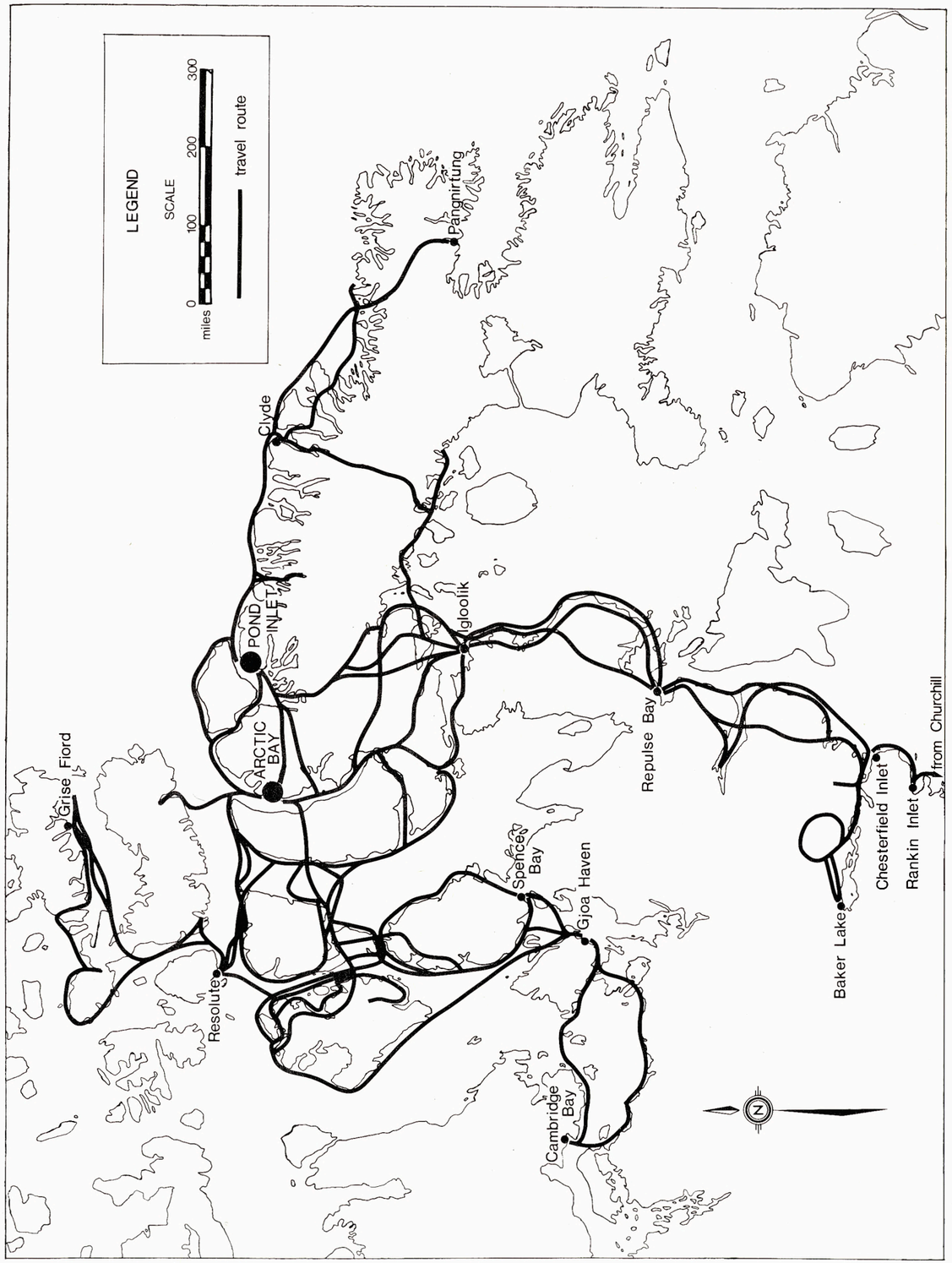
A long time ago, long before there were *Qallunaat* teaching here, Inuit were like this: they travelled anywhere they wanted, lived on any land. Their first concern, after each move, was to examine the abundance of game in the area they had decided to live in. Sometimes they hit the right area naturally, and in that way they tried. Sometimes they did not move to the right area. In this way, sometimes finding and sometimes not finding animals, we came by our knowledge, we as Inuit.
Akkeagok
Grise Fiord

Whenever the hunting was good in winter, that land had to be occupied. Just as now we are in a spot where the seal and walrus hunting is good in winter. Even if other places seem to be the same, the land used for hunting is usually different, just as some currents are better than others. The Inuit occupy land wherever it is convenient for going to other places, to hunt in all directions. And other old people used to move from one place to another to reach the food they needed. For instance, we are usually in need of whale blubber from Repulse Bay or Igloolik. That is how they moved, wherever they could get different types of food, that is where they went. Some people of Repulse Bay are now in need of walrus meat . . . Whenever a man hunts, he does not hunt only for himself, so he has to be assisted by the land where he is hunting. The game never moved around in only one area. In some years the people occupy some parts of the land, and at other times they occupy another part of the land. The people from the north used their land before, so they know how to use it now.
Evalak
Hall Beach

> But some Inuit also made journeys that went far beyond the lands they usually used for hunting (Map 44). One group from north Baffin Island was famous in the 19th century for having travelled to Greenland; other epic journeys are less well known. There have been many travellers who went great distances to visit other communities, to see places they had merely heard of, or to guide southern explorers, traders and policemen. Hunting techniques, travel skills, and other forms of traditional knowledge gave the Inuit the confidence to use any part of their land. Where their techniques and skills could work defined the extent of the land that they could use, and many epic journeys have demonstrated their ability to occupy vast areas. Yet the Inuit do not feel that their land is itself vast. They know that any land that can be travelled has been travelled: *all* their land has been used, and all their land is needed.

This land is going to belong to our children. I want it to be a good land, and I want it to belong to them. We have lived poorly on it ever since the beginning, but it was really well used by our ancestors. Our ancestors lived on it before anybody else, and we too are going to use it. This land of ours is a good land and it is big, but to us Inuit it is very small. There is not much room. It is our own land and the animals are our own, and we used to be free to kill them because they were our animals. We cannot live anywhere else, we cannot drink any other water. We cannot travel by dog-teams in any other place but our land.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

Map 44
Travel routes from Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay



I want to say myself that my footsteps are all over the land, where I used to walk hunting caribou.
Tagongak
Frobisher Bay

Even when you go to a place you thought was empty, there is always something that tells you that people were there.
Ipiak
Chesterfield

> The land represents the values of the past and their continuity into the present. It represents security and all that is best about being Inuk. From the land come the best foods, and from knowledge of the land comes personal strength, as well as collective viability. The land gives identity, and it gives purpose. Notions of land ownership may be unfamiliar, at least according to southern Canadian legal terms, but the feelings that an imagined loss of ownership inspire among the Inuit are acute and real. The tundra has not been shaped by ploughs; river banks have not been remade; fiords have not been fenced; whatever lives or grows in the north lives or grows according to natural laws over which the Inuit have exercised no control. But the uses to which generations of Inuit have put their land have left their own marks and signs. The people look upon it with no less feeling and attachment than would a farmer who regards his fields with satisfaction. For the land has given and, if Inuit are to endure, it will always give them life.
>
> Although trappers on Banks Island know the exact location of as many as 800 traps, they keenly feel that the land they occupy and on which they depend is more than the areal extent of a trap line. Individuals throughout the Arctic identify themselves with the land they feel is theirs, upon which they depend, even though some parts of that land may not lie within their own direct experience. But the land is of use, actual or potential, as long as it is occupied in ways that are consistent with Inuit culture. Fences would spoil the land. The Inuit occupy their land in their own way, a way that requires perfect freedom of movement, detailed knowledge, many skills, and a whole culture that is inextricably interwoven with the land itself. All of these ideas and forms of knowledge create a sense of belonging.

Donald Suluk: . . . we are going to talk about the land, about whether it has always been our land or if it was our ancestors' land, or if it belongs to the Inuit. Long ago it belonged to the Inuit.
John Arnalukjuak: I know it belonged to the Inuit. I know the names of places very well – lakes, land, hills – and I think it has belonged to the Inuit from the beginning until now.
Donald Suluk: I too think it belongs to the Inuit. A man from the south looks after his own. A man from the north looks after his own.
John Arnalukjuak: It would be good if they understood that. If everyone would agree at every meeting, it would be easier for the Inuit, for the land has belonged to us for a long time.
Donald Suluk: The land will be the subject. If the people in the south would like to know about our land – and they sure need to know – it has been our land from the beginning . . . We are not just lending the land, it is ours, and we have got a right to say it is our land and that nobody owns it, no one but the Inuit.
Donald Suluk and John Arnalukjuak
Eskimo Point

I want you to think about this land which is ours, because we should think who gave us this land, who gave it to all of us. I think *Qallunaat* should think this is Inuk land, just as we think about their lands.
Aggiak Petaulassie
Cape Dorset

It is hard to say to whom the land really belongs, but this place we are living in, Broughton Island, which seems to be pretty small on the maps, I think it is *our* land, *our* home. I think the land where people are living belongs to the people. We are, you know, the occupants, the people who live there.
Anilnik Paniluk
Broughton Island

We think we own it, and we do what we want with it. When we want to hunt, we go where we please, whether to hunt caribou or seals, because we are not borrowing. If we did not own it, we would not do what we want to do.
Louis Alianakuluk
Igloolik

I would like to say, just as an example, that I have not heard, nor have any Inuit heard, of land being bought by the *Qallunaat* or southerners. I have heard no word mentioned that this land belongs to the south, or to anybody, or was bought by anyone. I have not heard that the land was for sale or for use by just anyone. I know this because this is our land. We never bought it. We lived on it, occupied it.
Peter Aningmiuq
Cape Dorset

The Natural Environment

> The land use maps of individual hunters and trappers give a detailed picture of a living earned from the land. These maps are the basis of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project. But there is another kind of information that gives a detailed picture of how the natural environment made possible or influenced individual land use, and it takes the form of local accounts of the natural system, of explanations of where certain animals can be found, and of why hunting is carried on the way it is. Such information touches one aspect of the environment, then another; an explanation leads from a description of animal habits, to aspects of the weather, to plants, to ice movements, to features of geography, and to theories of animal behaviour. All these things together give a picture of the natural environment as the Inuit know it, and they comprise another demonstration of occupancy, for a profound sense of commitment and hence of belonging is derived from familiarity with and control of such comprehensive knowledge.

This is the way I think. A person is born with animals. He has to eat animals. That is why the animals and a person are just like one.
Peter Okpik
Gjoa Haven

> Eeological information, so vital to hunters, so central to living in the Arctic, is not easily conveyed. It is immensely detailed for every camp, and an explanation of the local complexities and variations seen in any one camp would go far beyond the limits of this volume. No amount of investigation could ever do justice to any attempt at giving a total account of the whole Inuit domain. In the following pages, ecological facts are offered for just one region, north Baffin Island, together with some corroborating statements from elsewhere. These are facts as given by the people of only two settlements, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. Through their statements it is possible to glimpse something of the range and detail of local knowledge. By such a presentation, it is impossible to do much more than suggest some shadow of the enormous wealth of knowledge that the hunters and trappers of just these two communities possess. Every creature of their world is known, and much more could be said about the role each creature plays in the ecological system of the region than the sum of all that is written here. Inevitably, the material presented here is a result of sifting – here are only a few examples that relate to a few of the more important species that are represented on the land use maps, with supplementary notes to add fuller detail. These details at least hint at the richness and fullness of local knowledge, and the same kind of knowledge could be assembled from any other group of Inuit to describe the animal life in their area.
>
> Since the observations represent local perceptions of an ecological system, it is not easy to separate them into those on the natural environment and those on more general matters of culture. Southern scientific notions insist upon a separation of the natural from the social world. The social and metaphysical notions of hunters and trappers intertwine with the ecological system on a daily level and make social life possible. There can be no clear distinctions between the two worlds. Discussions of the region's natural resources include matters of material and social culture and features of the supernatural world, because such discussions move naturally from the hunter to the hunted, and from the hunted to the determinants of the natural setting as a whole. To learn about the walrus, for example, means learning about the kayak and about the exact moment when a walrus should be harpooned (you must throw the harpoon or shoot only after the walrus knows you are there), and about the ways in which a hunter deals with an enraged walrus (you must strike him flat in the face with a paddle). The hunting of animals is itself thought to be an important part of the ecological system. Indeed, Inuit believe that a species that is not hunted will begin to decline – which is why they believe that hunting regulations can be inimical to the animals they are claimed to protect.

People knew very well where the animals went and whether there would be plenty of animals or no animals at all.
Pie Koksut
Whale Cove

The most important thing is the animals – where they stay, and the best places to catch them. It is not the land, it is the animals.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

> Any account of the ecological system draws on ideas and stories that are central to the lives of many people, and they are a form of knowledge in which the people take great joy. Old and young all had information to offer, and if it was the older people who contributed most, that was a measure of their knowledge and not only of their interest. Knowledge and comprehension of the ways of animals and of the land is itself an on-going living thing. There may sometimes be uncertainty about detail, but there is no uncertainty whatever about the importance and value of the subject as a whole.

ANIMALS, BIRDS AND FISH

I would like to say a few words about this land. The only food I like is meat.
Salluviniq
Resolute Bay

For a minute I am going to talk about two things. They have differences between them. For instance there are the *puijiit,* the bases of human sustenance, the sea animals. And there are *nunatuttiit,* the plant-eating animals. I just want to make it clear about the differences, and also because I need to be understood. *Puijiit,* the sea animals, are what they are called by the Inuit, those sea animals that are fit for human consumption.

Then polar bears, caribou, hares and foxes are called *pisutiit,* walking animals.

It is known that the *puijiit,* the sea animals, travel by climbing up (ascending) to the fiords to feed and to fatten. All of them do that. Then, of course, they too return to their territories. They go where they know, where there are creatures that they hunt as their food. These fiords, I have heard when I was a child, they were the best places to go to. They used to be the first places to be checked during spring, when we would go to see which had the most basking seals or other game. That is why, even when the fiords are free of ice, they are the best places to hunt. I do not know this by hearsay only, but by experience, and it is true that basking seals and other game are most plentiful there. This knowledge comes from the Inuit having studied these things, and they are known facts to them.
Akkeagok
Grise Fiord

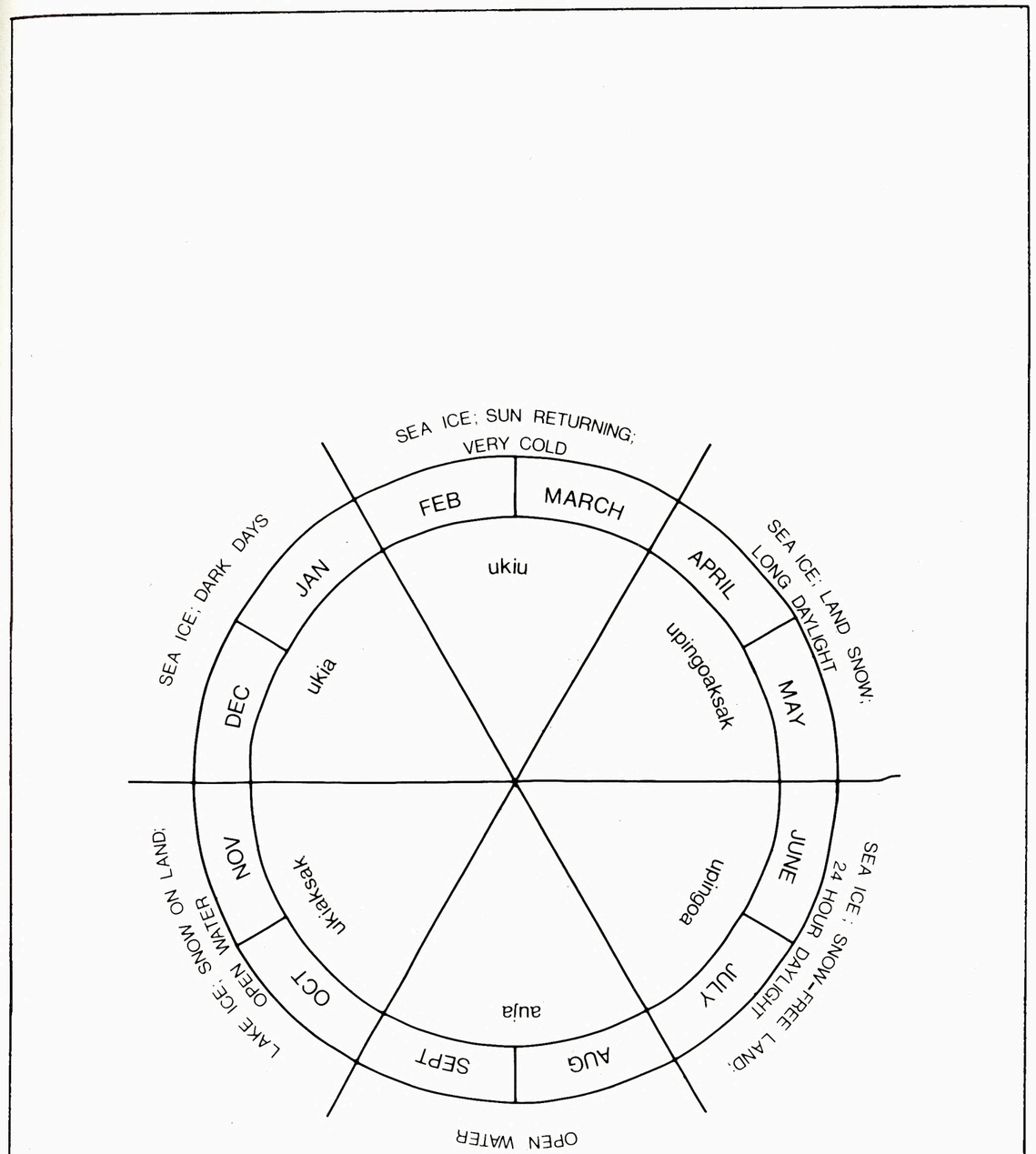
Just as the year is divided into seasons (Map 45), there are categories of animals. The two most important classes of creatures are opposites, those of the land and those of the sea. Two of the terms used in north Baffin Island are *nirjutiit,* mammals of the land, and *puijiit,* mammals of the sea. Between them, the two categories include all possible mammals, but they do not include fish and birds. Older people of the region say that *nirjutiit* are land creatures that breathe but do not fly: caribou, foxes, rabbits and lemmings. *Puijiit* are animals that surface in the sea to breathe and are layered thickly with fat. According to some, polar bears occupy a position between the two categories, for they are not exclusively of the land nor of the sea, but of both.

Larger birds are collectively termed *tingmiat,* the fliers, and all of the smaller flora and fauna, species abundant beyond name and, for the most part, of no relevance to local economic life, are designated *nunarait.* They are the flowers, mosses, lichens, sedges, passerines, buntings, etc. A number of insects are also named, including the bee, *iguta;* spider, *aasivaq;* mosquito, *qitturiak;* butterfly, *takalikitaak;* and several varieties of flies, but they do not constitute a separate category of creature. In the same way, many varieties of fish are named, but there is no generic term for fish. On occasions, the term *iqaluk* is used to mean fish in general, but only by the younger generation; to older persons, *iqaluk* means char, although there are other names for char that are more specific, such as *tisuajuk, ivisaruk* and *nutilliajuk.*

The creatures of the land are constantly moving. In the course of each year, various species appear and disappear, in some cases moving in from the nearby southern parts of the region, in other cases coming from more remote places. Over the span of several years, the creatures of the land increase, decrease, then increase, in cycles. Foxes and lemmings come and go over short periods; the caribou population changes over much longer periods. The causes of these changes defy human comprehension, but they are surely the same principles that govern human life. In the short run, in the course of one season, there is a drift of animals toward the more mountainous terrain of north Baffin Island; in the longer run, there is some reoccupation of the lower ground and some depopulation of the mountains and steep valleys in the northeastern part of the region. But whatever and wherever these fluctuations may be, every part of the region is involved in some form of use by the creatures that live in it.

I want to stress more about animal habits. They also go where there is food. They go to hunt where there is food. Yes, animals do that too. Just like Inuit and *Qallunaat,* all of them have to get food to survive. So it is with the animals!
Akeeagok
Grise Fiord

Map 45
Seasons of the Igloolingmiut



Within both the lowland and the mountains, there are good and bad locations, distinguished according to the quality of the surface. Good lands have a deep, soft top soil; bad lands are rocky. All but the southern strip of Brodeur Peninsula, for exemple, is said to be without sod and, therefore, a poor place for *nirjutiit,* although its coasts are excellent for fox trapping. Some valleys are known for their fine ground cover, and when a hunter stands in a place and exclaims, "Nunatiavaluk!", "a really fine land!", he is usually referring to the richness of vegetation, to the sod on whieh a wealth of *nunarait* can flourish. Throughout the north Baffin Island region, even in the steepest and most heavily glaciated landscapes, there are valleys in which the sod is thick, small birds abound, caribou graze, and mosquitos torment during the warmest weeks of summer. Most campsites were at the mouths of valleys that offered such hinterlands.

Other qualities are also important. Some campsites are in valleys that face into the strong winds of summer; others are stormed by the winds of spring; still others are comparatively sheltered all year round. There are said to be four dominant winds, each of which has its typical time of year and its own strength. Experienced travellers say that no one need be lost in a storm, because each wind has its qualities. A traveller can tell by the shape and hardness of new-formed snow ridges which of the four winds is blowing, and he can then take the angle to that wind that will lead him home.

The land and many of its details are changing. It is said that 30 years ago the weather was better for travelling, that the winds were less fierce and less protracted in early spring, that the soft snow that wearies and exhausts the traveller was less of a problem, and that the sea ice was free of large cracks until later in the season. On the same time scale, there are places where the shifts of glaciers have altered the landseape: at the head of Icy Arm, one of the fiords of Buchan Gulf, there is a lake that was once deep and linked by a river to the sea, but it has now been cut by the advance of a glacier and transformed into a shallow pool. Generally the land is said to be "growing": the oldest people remember houses that were once at the seashore, but that now seem to have moved up the beach. And they note that house sites of the first people, ancient remains that dot the coastline, are high up on the beach and, for the most part, are buried by the aecumulations of time.

To these ehanges, which are of course continuous, the animals of the land make their adjustments, which are, therefore, no less continuous. But the land supports the animals, which support the people, and which will, despite these mysterious shifts and transformations, continue to do so.

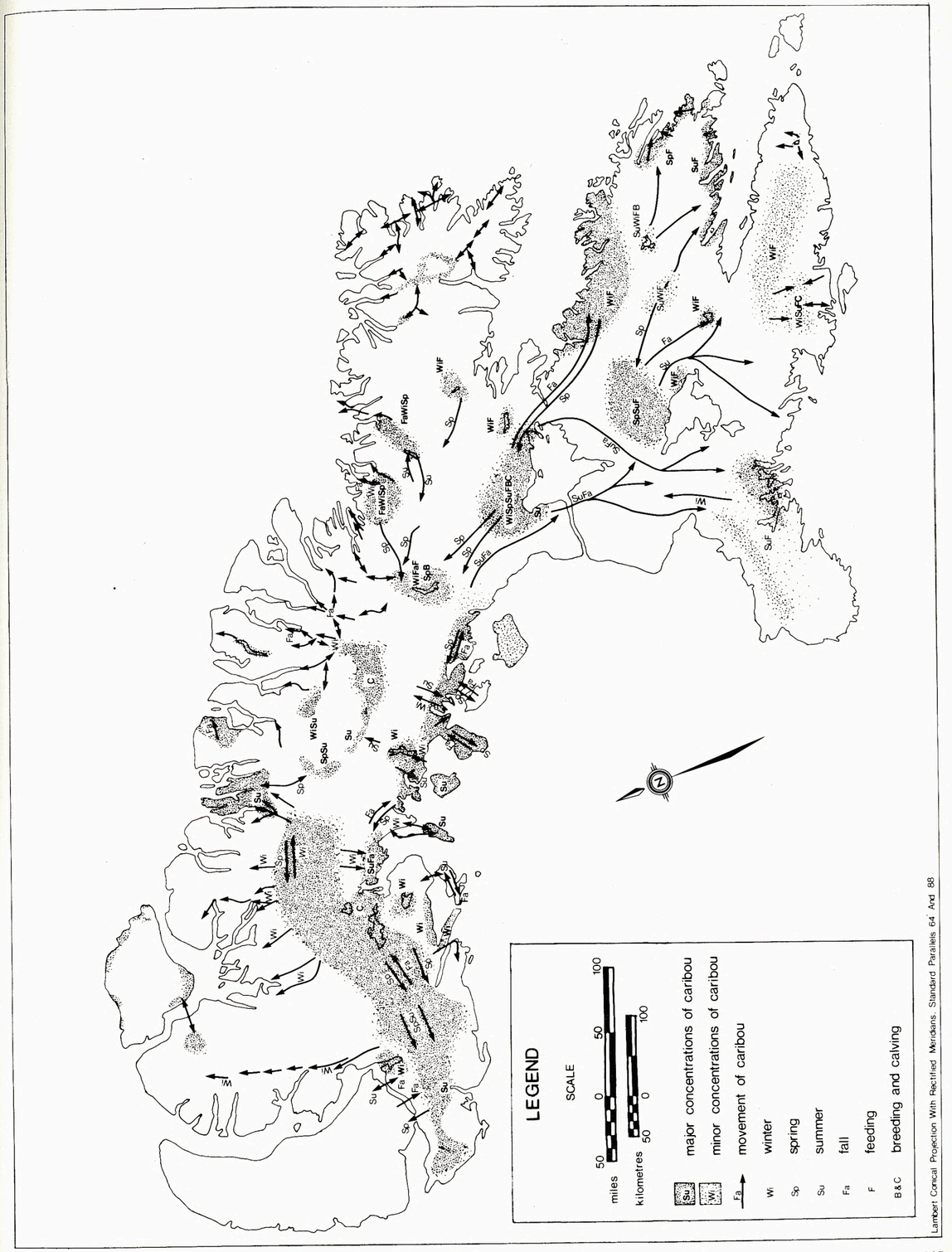
● *Caribou:* The heartland of the north Baffin Island caribou herds is the area north and northeast of Steensby Inlet, a large, wet, flat plain, from which the animals move north and west (Map 46). This heartland is connected with a band of excellent caribou territory that extends along the coast of Foxe Basin and reaches inland toward Barnes Ice Cap. Hunters from Igloolik, Hall Beach, Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay, and even some from Clyde River depend on caribou that move about on the edges of that main area.

Twenty years ago caribou only rarely reached the shores of inlets around Eclipse Sound but, in recent years, there has been a significant shift of the herds northwards. Many years ago, but within the memory of the older people, caribou were found on Bylot Island and in the valley between Navy Board Inlet and Arctic Bay. Between those herds, however, and the caribou farther south, there was land to which caribou hardly ever came. It is told that, more than 70 years before, there had been herds there too, and that they even reaehed the south shores of Pond Inlet, but that they withdrew gradually to the south or were all killed. So, during the peak of the fur trade days, hunters had to go long distances to find caribou, and they often walked far inland to obtain skins for winter clothing.

Everyone has noticed the shift in caribou population, and it is said that very soon they will once again be abundant there, even on Bylot Island. The inerease is explained in a number of ways. Some men say that the herds are being disturbed in their old heartlands; they are being hunted by others who live farther south and they are, therefore, being pushed north. Some say that the food supply in the heartland is wearing thin, that herds are beginning to move in search of new feeding grounds. Others say that the population of caribou as a whole is undergoing one of those increases that are a feature of land creatures and that the sheer number of animals has driven them to places in which they have not been seen since their last great decline, which happened only just within living memory.

Whatever the explanation, the proximity of caribou to the settlements is now a year-round phenomenon. Herds will shift from place to place during the course of the year, but some herds move within a comparatively small range at no great distance from the settlements. Hunters from Arctic Bay, for example, track the rather circular migration of caribou near them from north to east to south of Berlinguet Inlet, and hunt them at crossing places where caribou are known to have been killed during the last century. Similarly, hunters of Pond Inlet describe the locations where caribou are numerous throughout the winter, and then show the inlets along whieh they move during summer.

Map 46
Seasonal distribution and movement of caribou on Baffin Island



In the month of June, caribou go to the rocky and rough areas and have their calves at the end of the month. The first calves are born during the first week of June, but most are born at the end of the month. The calves are, for the most part, born within 24 hours, in large herds . . . Some caribou calve during their migration to the north.
Pie Koksut
Whale Cove

Knowledge about caribou focusses on the movements of the herds. A good hunter is said to be able to watch a lone animal with such attention that he comes to think like the animal, so that he can judge exactly where the herd to which it belongs can be found. But some lone caribou, usually male, do not stay with the herds all year. Angalurjuak Lake is famous for the male caribou which can be found on its shores, animals that, some hunters say, are too large and, therefore, too old and lazy to keep moving all the time.

When you are old you will care more about food and less about sex. So it is with the caribou.
Arnaujumajuq
Arctic Bay

There is much that might be said about the differences between the various herds that are found in different parts of the region. Although the caribou heartland on north Baffin Island includes the small offshore island, there are also distinct herds, on which the region's hunters have at times depended, that never come to Baffin Island. Thus, there are caribou on Melville Peninsula that move south outside the region and connect with herds on the mainland; there are also herds on Somerset and Prince of Wales islands that are linked with those found on Boothia Peninsula; and there are other herds on Prince of Wales Island that remain separate. Boothia Peninsula animals are exceptionally dark in colour; the herds north of them are of smaller animals; and the animals in the herds to the west are sometimes nearly white. Wherever they are found, however, caribou are afraid of men and dogs. Hunters approached them by pretending to be another caribou, but a hunter had to make judicious use of terrain and wind to enter a herd and then to pick his kills. The snowmobile has changed that. Caribou are not so afraid of the noise of an engine, and they sometimes will approach a hunter on his snowmobile in apparent curiosity. With good rifles and snowmobiles, the caribou has become comparatively easy quarry.

There are few connections between caribou and other animals, except for the wolf, which follows and preys almost exclusively on them, making its kills on the edge of a main herd. Wolves are able to kill full-grown, healthy animals, but they are often seen close to caribou that are apparently unafraid. Caribou must know when a wolf is hungry.

The wolf can hunt just like an Inuk. I have seen one wolf at Garry Lake that went ahead of the caribou herd on the route, like we do, and waited until they were close enough for attack.
Ugjuk
Whale Cove

In midsummer, caribou are sometimes found walking on glaciers. They do this because they want to escape the mosquitos that abound in the country they usually like best. Otherwise they are animals of the valleys and flatlands, and they make their way into the mountains through valley passes. They also cross inlets and fiords, and their tracks are seen in snow on the sea ice. Along the coasts, on islands, and in the valleys of the region, there are few places where caribou have not appeared or are never likely to appear. In fact, the only such place is the main part of Brodeur Peninsula. Otherwise, the entire region is used or needed by the caribou, which appear and disappear from month to month and decade to decade, exemplifying more fully than any other land animal the cycles that so greatly influence environmental relationships, cycles at which humans can only wonder.

● *Birds:* Although children spend much of their time each summer hunting small birds, the people give little thought to the place of birds in the ecological system of the region. Only the larger birds that are useful food are discussed at all. But this does not mean that birds are not named. Semipalmated sandpipers, ringed plovers, northern phalaropes, Lapland longspurs and horned larks are just five species that are separately identified but that have no particular use. Species that are only occasionally used, for example loons, are named with some elaboration. Similarly, kittiwakes, glaucous gulls, ivory gulls, and Bonaparte's gulls are all separately named. Indeed, three of them, although outwardly very similar, have very different names: glaueous gull, *nauja;* kittiwake, *tartaraa;* fulmar, *qaqulluk*.

There are many places in which many species of birds abound. The area west of the mouth of Tay Sound is one such place. It is famous for its ravens, two kinds of falcons, two kinds of jaegers, the occasional pair of cranes, three different loons, and various species of shorebirds. Another such place lies just to the east of Berlinguet Inlet, and a third is at the northeast end of Boothia Peninsula. Many birds congregate to breed on the southwest bulge of Bylot Island, and a multitude of birds nest throughout the region, without specific sites.

The first birds to arrive in spring are snow buntings. They are sometimes so anxious to return north that they arrive too early for their own comfort, and they can then be seen sheltering around houses and feeding on abandoned scraps. Ravens, which, with owls, ptarmigans and some sea birds, stay in the region all year round, are the first to nest, and it is a wonder to many that their eggs do not freeze solid.

Some raven eggs are frozen in early spring. Ravens, snowy owls and sandhill cranes lay eggs before the rest of the birds do. In the middle of June, geese and ducks lay their eggs. The gulls lay eggs before geese.
Pie Koksut
Whale Cove

Of all the birds in the region, the snow goose has been seen to change most in distribution. Before 1920, the snow goose was one of the less common birds, and older people remember that only 20 years ago they were rarely found in any numbers outside of Bylot Island. One middle-aged man said that he saw only four snow geese in 1947, but he has seen more every year since. Their numbers have increased sharply both at sites they have always occupied and in places they were never found before. Now they are nesting throughout the region. But snow geese are the most wary of all creatures, and they are quick to abandon a nesting site if disturbed. An old female goose is always on the watch for intruders and, if the intrusion is too great, she will encourage the flock to move away. For this reason, scientific research aimed at better understanding of snow goose behaviour has seriously affected a major nesting area. Hunters insist that the counting, netting and banding of snow geese on Bylot Island was the direct cause of the collapse of an important goose population there.

Otherwise the birds have maintained their populations. Some species are distributed more generally in the northern parts, and some are found only toward the south. One species of loons is much more common near Arctic Bay than in the Pond Inlet area. Sandhill cranes, swans and Canada geese are all more common in the Igloolik and Hall Beach regions than they are north of Foxe Basin.

● *Walruses, Seals and Clams:* Walruses are, for good reason, afraid of nothing – not even killer whales. Large and generally slow creatures, they appear each spring drifting on pans of ice. Carried by currents, the ice pans are brought to the floe edge along northern Foxe Basin, toward Pond Inlet, and north of Navy Board and Admiralty inlets.

The animals that appear in the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay areas drift in from the direction of Greenland and gradually loop around Bylot Island toward the mouth of Navy Board Inlet, following floe edges all the way. Their first appearance is in June, and a few animals begin to drift down Navy Board Inlet as the ice goes out from there in early August. Walruses are not often found in this region during winter, although hunters travelling around Devon Island soon after freeze-up have seen them there, trying to make their way to open water by dragging themselves slowly over the new ice. During summer, walrus herds gather at hauling out and breeding sites, small islands to which they return every year, such as the North Ooglit Islands in Foster Bay and the South Ooglit Islands in Parry Bay, and islands off the northwest tip of Bylot Island. So great are the numbers, and so bulky the individuals, that many are crushed each year by the weight of others. During summer, individual walruses stray considerable distances from the breeding islands, but most of each herd stays near its hauling out place.

They used to be near Southampton Island (Map 47) in the fall. They came close when the wind blew from the west, but went away when it blew from the east. They used to come on the floating ice.
Sandy Sateana
Rankin Inlet

Walruses offer disadvantages as well as benefits to hunters. Wherever walruses are common, there is a dearth of ringed seals. When numbers of walruses appear at a floe edge, it becomes a poor place for seal hunting. In the Igloolik and Hall Beach area, the centre of walruses in the region, seals are not common. In the Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay area, where walruses are far from common, there is an abundance of seals.

There is not only a great difference in the number of walruses between the two regions, but the animals themselves have different habits. The Foxe Basin herds live in comparatively shallow waters, dotted with islands and gently shelving beaches. Such waters are ideally suited to clams, the favourite food of walruses. Farther north, however, the land is mountainous, the shores steep, and the waters deep, and it is a less favourable environment for a clam-eater. There, clams are either relatively rare or inaccessible. The walruses that drift toward the Wollaston Islands from Greenland, pausing at floe edges of northeast Baffin Island and around Bylot Island, have to live in waters near the very steep shores. Walruses that cannot find clams eat seals, attacking them with their tusks, and sucking the skins with such strengtb that they can draw the blubber and meat even through the tough hide of a bearded seal. These walruses are conspicuous because their tusks are stained yellow by the fat they have eaten. They are different in quality, both as food and in temperament, from the walruses of Foxe Basin.

Game always moves around. It is the way the animals live . . . It has long been known that game have a way of searching for food, so they are always moving. Birds search for other birds. Sea animals search for food. So the seals are kept moving by other sea animals, searching for food. If sea animals did not search for food, maybe we would not have any seals!
Qayadjuak
Hall Beach

The various temperamental qualities of walruses are important to the hunter. He must be able to tell an animal that is likely to be dangerous. Yellow tusks indicate an animal that is aggressive and dangerous. Other indications are the blackness of the skin (the blacker the skin the greater the danger), the shape of the tusks (an inward bend is a sign of danger, but an outward bend is a sign of docility, for it is also a sign of age) and the sound of its breathing (short, sharp breaths signal danger, but long breaths show a more placid mood).

The vocabulary that describes various ages and kinds of walruses and seals, their breathing holes and their habits, is enormous. A breathing hole that a walrus has made with its tusks has one name; a hole that it has made with its head has another. A seal on the ice in spring has one name; a seal that is living in open water has another. The new-born seal, young seal, one-year-old seal, mature seal and very old seal all have different names. Each bone in a seal's flipper, including the joints in the fingers is named. There are specialized terms for the skin of a seal and the skin of a walrus. Habits, ranges and distinctive characteristics of ringed, harbour, bearded, harp and bladder nose seals are all separately known. The Inuit of north Baffin Island can describe the places where each of these species appears, where it is found and has been found in the past in each of the six seasons, and the fluctuations in its population. They also speculate about the habits of the rarer species. There are two places close to the south and east shores of Devon Island where walruses are known to walk on the ice; there is one rock around which seals and walruses have assembled every year in living memory; there is one small bay where old male seals congregate; there are particular fiords where seal populations have fluctuated in the past five years; there are cracks in the ice that appear each year in the same place, and in which breathing holes are numerous.

I think of the time we used to go out camping in spring. I still know where the seals are. Even though I'm sitting right here, I'm thinking of how we used to go out after seals in spring. We used to go where the seals would mostly be found. We used to take many seals. We never wasted any. We used the skin for making boots or for making a bag in which we could put seal blubber for the next winter. We used to eat the meat and give a part of it for the dogs. We would never waste any. When we got many seals, we would save some for the next winter, for dog food and food for ourselves. We would use seal skins for making a tent and storing food when we travelled. Seal skins were looked after well by our wives because the skins were so useful. We used them in summer, winter, fall and spring. In summer, we used seal skins for boots and kayaks because they are waterproof. We even used them to make harnesses for our dogs.

Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

> The range of Inuit knowledge with respect to marine mammals is vast. It collects together the habits of seals and walruses, the qualities of their skin and fat, the strength of dogs that are fed on them, the warmth of lamps that they fuel, and the quality of life in places where one or other of the species abounds at one time of year or another. It also includes references to the shape of the land, the depth of the sea, the flow of currents, the movements of fish, the direction of winds and the changes in climate over generations.

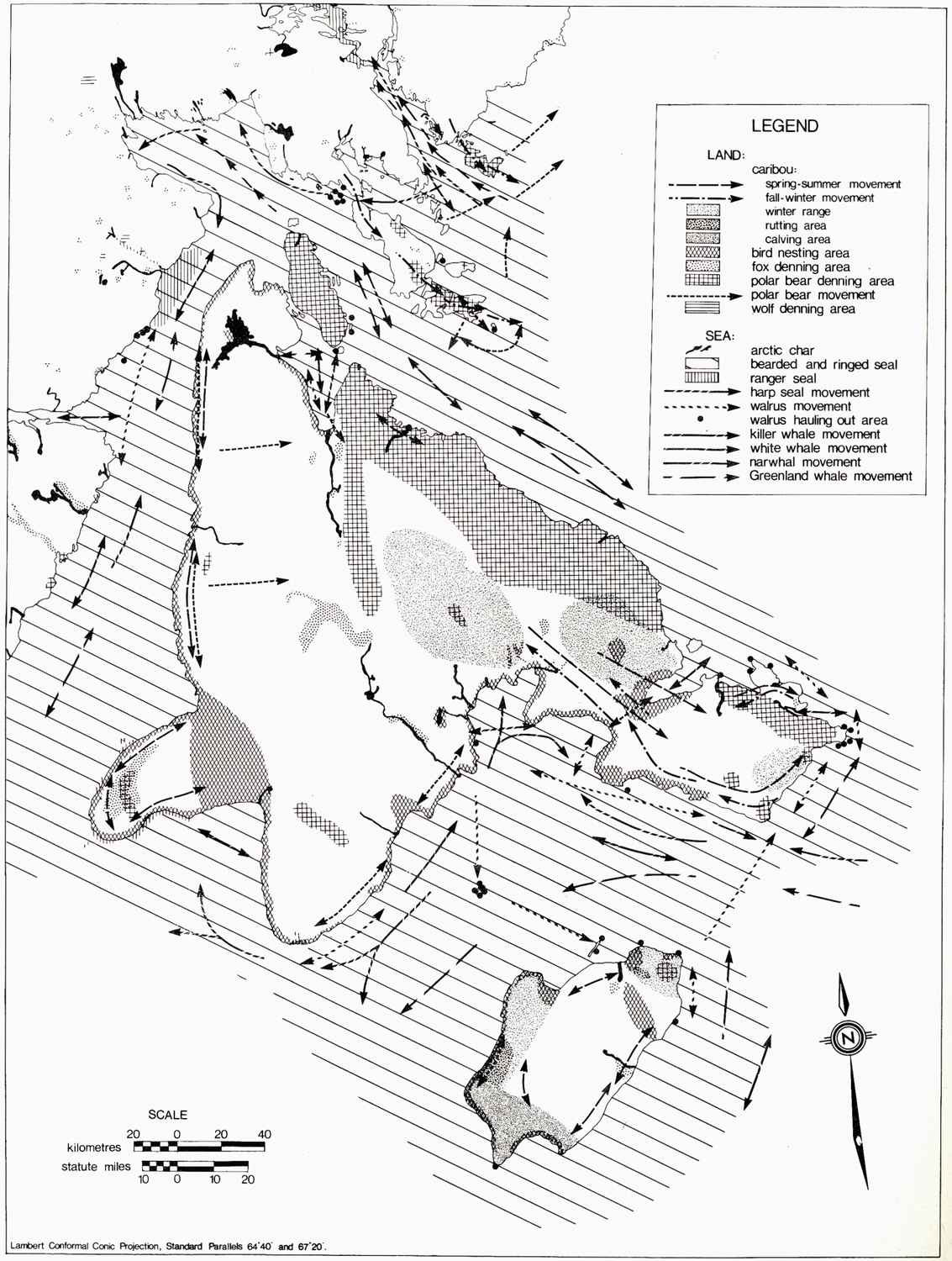
Two bears, a brother and sister, were watching the people hunting seals. They were discussing this among themselves, and they said, "Those skinny-legged things, they look so puny, on the ice their puny legs seem almost to give way from under them". They added laughing, "I'd like to have a fight with them and push them over". Their father who had been listening said, "They are not to be tampered with or made a joke of as long as they have their dogs and harpoons".

The female, having narrowly escaped the men one day, came in and said, "If I wasn't scared, I'd laugh", and she laughed.

The brother finally came in, too. He was quite out of breath.

Matthew Toonee
Gjoa Haven

Map 47
Southampton Island: Distribution and movement of wildlife



● *Killer Whales, Narwhals and Ice:* Each spring, schools of narwhals arrive at two floe edges that block access to Pond Inlet. Many hundreds of them approach the region from the east, moving through Baffin Bay, around Bylot Island and, if they do not enter either Admiralty or Navy Board inlets, continue west along Lancaster Sound and Parry Channel to turn down Prince Regent Inlet or Peel Sound (Map 48). Narwhals wait anxiously for the ice to break and move enough for them to gain access to the sbelter of the sounds and inlets. They are anxious because they are closely pursued by killer whales, which follow them through Pond Inlet, along Eclipse Sound, and the entire length of Navy Board Inlet. In the early part of the year, narwhals find protection under ice pans and sbeets of floating ice, and seek the shallower fiords which killer whales do not like to enter.

At the floe edge, in June and July, narwhals stay close to the fast ice and, if pack ice is driven against it, then they stay near any patches of open water within the pack. As soon as they can, they find their way to the large cracks that open within the main body of the fast ice, and mark the lines along which the floe edge will eventually break off and contract. As these large cracks appear more readily in Admiralty Inlet than in any otber part of the region, narwhals systematically find their way along the inlet, advancing toward the south as each crack opens. Only after the ice has cleared the fiord do killer whales follow narwhals into Admiralty Inlet.

Killer whales are immensely stronger than narwhals. A large one can seize a full grown narwhal from the side and surface with it threshing helplessly, held entirely out of water. The smaller killer whales feed on any narwhals thus imprisoned, swimming alongside the whale that has made the kill and chopping pieces from the captive's tail and head. Narwhals are defenceless against their principal enemy, and they rush about in panic when a pack of killer whales approaches. It is not surprising, therefore, that the movements of narwhals are so influenced by their enemy.

Narwhals are also influenced by the small fish on whieh they feed, and follow them along the coasts and into fiords, where they also find abundant char. Narwhals breed at any season, as may be seen by the young of all ages in the pods, some suckling and new born, others slightly larger, through all the stages to the large pale adults. Except in the rare cases, only the male narwhal bears a tusk, rarely two tusks, with which to spear fish, to stir foodstuffs from their shelter on the floor of the sea, and for defence. The tip of the tusk is highly polished all year round but, in spring, when the animals are to be found at the floe edge, almost the entire tusk is polished by the narwhal having surfaeed amid, and therefore having repeatedly rubbed against, the loose ice.

Once new ice forms, narwhals begin to move from their summer retreats to feeding grounds that are conveniently close to the region's camps. Killer whales leave the region first, and narwbals often delay leaving until dangerously late into the season. Sometimes pods of narwhals are trapped by the new ice, and are able to survive only by repeatedly surfaeing at the same spot to maintain a patch of ice-free water, the edge of tbe fast ice having formed beyond the reach of the narwhals' dive. Eventually the open patch will also freeze over, and the animals drown. After that happens, hunters later find a number of carcasses washed ashore, usually onto the west sides of Navy Board and Admiralty inlets.

Killer whales feed not only on narwhals, but turn their attention with similar enthusiasm to every other marine mammal, except walruses. Seals, frantic with fear, may be found on shore when a pack of killer whales is nearby, or crowded together on ice pans. In the latter situation, killer whales surround the pan while one whale tries to push upward beneath the seals with enough force to break the pan apart and to force them back into the water where they will be seized and eaten by the rest of the pack. Indeed, seals are more afraid of killer whales than of people and a hunter can walk up to a seal that has come ashore to escape a whale and club it to death. However, nobody hunts killer wbales.

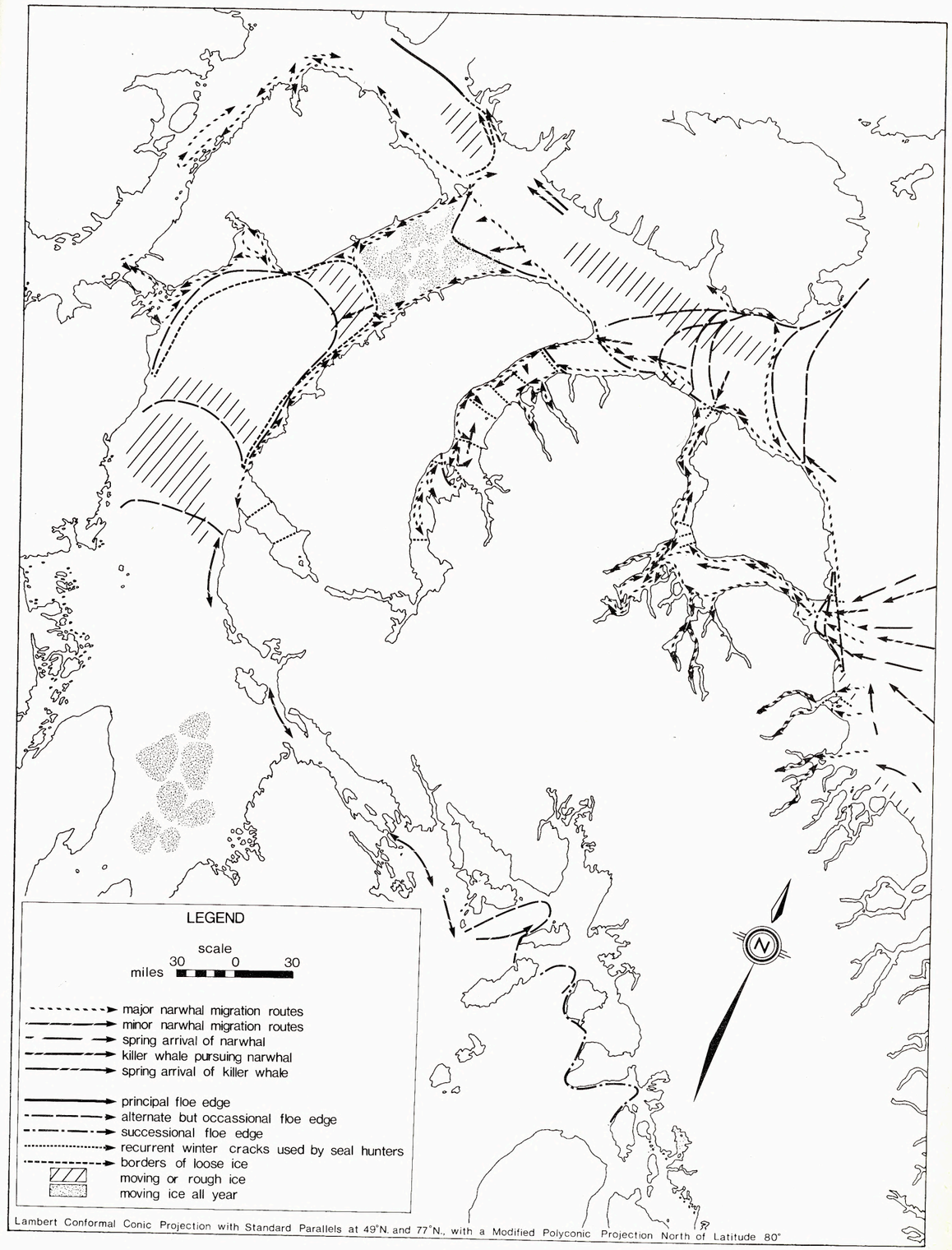
Hunters in boats are able to protect themselves against killer whale packs by at least two devices, both of which depend on the respect that killer whales show toward walruses. As the pack surounds a boat, a white enamel mug is lowered over the side into the water. When the killer whales glimpse that flash of white, they move away, for it suggests the tusks of the walrus. If a cup is not handy, another trick can be used: the hunter lowers a paddle or an oar into the water and then bellows with the voice of a walrus directly onto the part of the paddle protruding from the water. The paddle, acting as a resonator, transmits the voice underwater. A lone hunter in his kayak could protect himself in this way from the attention of killer whales.

I remember we used to watch whales playing in the water. They would get their fore flippers up and slap on the water, and there would be a big splash. And down toward the open sea, you could see what looked like fog on a river, and it would be the whales. There used to be a lot of whales. There once was a whale that came to one of the inlets just off our camp. I've heard that a whale, after being born in an area, will always come back a year later.
Mary Angmarlik
Broughton Island

The best way to kill a narwhal is by shooting it at the base of the neck close to the blowhole. If wounded there, it cannot stay long underwater, but it must surface again near the place it dived. This makes it possible to hunt narwhals even in small arcas of open water at the floe edge, an environment that would otherwise offer a hunted narwhal a multitude of escape routes. It is possible to kill a narwhal outright with a single shot from a small calibre rifle, but that is not in fact desirable. A dead narwhal rapidly sinks, and a slower kill enables the hunter to set a barpoon in its flank with a buoy attached to keep the carcass afloat.

Each spring for as long as can be remembered, narwhals appear in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay. They are no more and no less numerous than they always were, although in some years they come closer to land in larger numbers tban in other years. Where they go each fall is a mystery but they must surely go somewhere safe from their enemies, for they are many and show no sign of becoming fewer.

Map 48
Narwhal and killer whale distribution and movement;
location of floe edges – North Baffin Island



● *Polar Bears and Their Dens:* Like the hunters who know their way, polar bears depend on ice for their seasonal movements. Each year, beginning in midwinter and continuing into spring, bears move northward, following the shore ice and the floe edge. Because they also depend on killing seals on the sea ice, the location of bears is as variable as the iee conditions.

The two principal approach routes that bears in this region follow are along the Gulf of Boothia and along the northeast coast of Baffin Island (Map 49). The bears that take the more western route may be found on the comparatively firm ice that conneets Brodeur and Boothia peninsulas, with concentrations of them during the earliest part of the season at the northern and southern points of the ice. On their way north, bears most often travel overland as they turn into Bernier Bay and over the broad headland that borders Creswell Bay. Male bears arrive after the females. The mouth of Bernier Bay is notorious for large and unpredictable male polar bears. The west side of Brodeur Peninsula is equally well known as a bear-mating ground.

Bears approaching the east of Baffin Island travel along a narrower corridor, because the floe edge on that side is narrower. However, they also arrive in a large number and enter Pond Inlet from the east. Twenty years ago most of the migrating bears kept to the east side of Bylot Island, though many of them appeared at the north end of Navy Board Inlet. Similarly, there have always been many bears at the mouth of Admiralty Inlet, which they approached by either the west or east migration route. Many bears arriving from the southeast then continue still farther north and, ice conditions permitting, go on to Devon Island, which was one of the best bear hunting locations in the entire region.

Another important bear-hunting area earlier in spring is from an area between Prince of Wales and Somerset islands toward Peel Sound. It is not clear whether these bears are linked to the ones that move along the west side of the Gulf of Boothia, but they are said to have often been numerous. The movement of bears toward Devon and Cornwallis islands has drawn hunters into those regions. Where the sea ice enabled bears to go, the hunters were generally able to follow.

Denning is widespread in the region. The hunters know a number of core denning areas that include southwest Brodeur Peninsula, southern Bylot Island, and the headlands of north Baffin Island which face directly into Baffin Bay. It is the female bears that den, although they are accompanied during the early part of winter by their mates. The female bear situates her den so that it will be covered by a deep accumulation of drift snow and there will be room enough for herself and a cub or cubs to move around under the snow. At first, the female leaves the den everyday to feed. Once the cub is about to be born, she stays in the den for some months until it is strong enough to leave with her. During that time she neither eats nor defecates. Indeed, her anus is blocked by earth and sod that she has eaten during the early phase of denning to ensure cleanliness in the den.

Once the female is ready to give birth, the male is driven from the den. He leaves the area, and continues his movement northward, along with females that have older cubs.

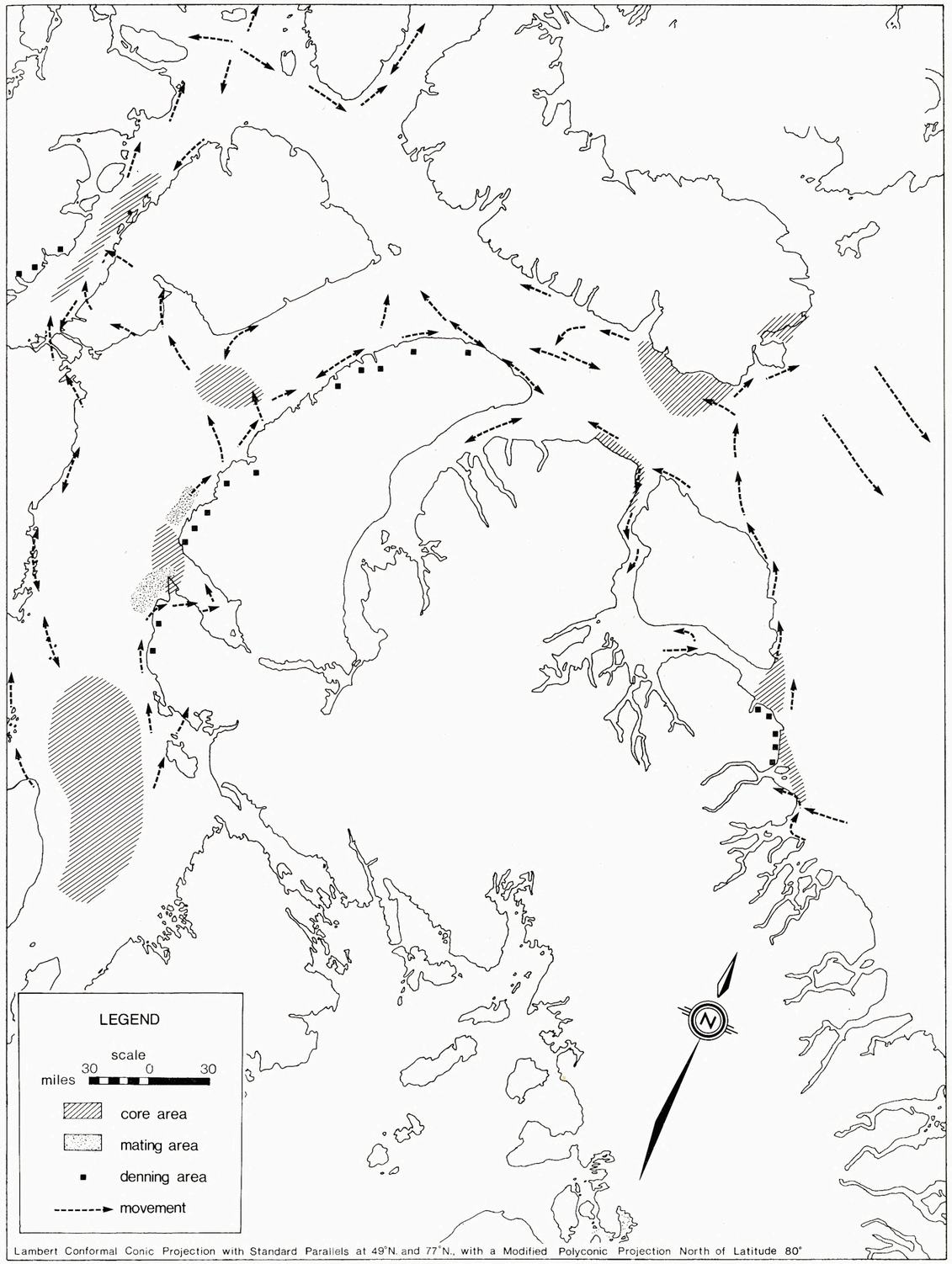
Inside the den, the female prepares a large central area surrounded by smaller "rooms". It is sometimes said that the cub is born in one of the side rooms, is moved, as it grows, from room to room, and exercises in the large central "playing room". Because the mother and cub follow a predietable course around the central den, hunters who happen upon them could sometimes calculate accurately where tbey would be at a particular time of the year, and they could, therefore, break open the den with the least danger to themselves and the best chance of killing the occupants.

Although it may be some years between dennings, the female returns to the same place, and dens close to where she has denned before. Less predictable than the movements of a bear is its mood. Although the majority of bears are not malevolently dangerous, they are nonetheless curious animals, and are not afraid of entering a tent or snow-house. They are attracted by the smell of seal and, if hungry, will stop at nothing to get that seal. Before the advent of the modern rifle, it was important to be able to judge whether or not a bear was in a bad or hungry mood. This judgement was best based on watching the animal's ears: the more of the ears that were showing, the more dangerous it was likely to be.

Polar bears eat seal fat, often leaving a seal carcass more or less intact, after eating the blubber and skin. Bears kill seals in three principal ways. In winter, they lie in wait at breathing holes, then they break the snow and ice cover with a single powerful thrust of the head and bite the head of the surfacing seal. Later in the year, they stalk seals on the ice, crawling up to them as they sleep by their breathing holes. In open water, at the floe edge or in moving ice, they swim up to seals from alongside an ice pan, then seize the seal as it breathes or surfaces. Very rarely a bear is said to kill a walrus by hurling ice on its head. In summer, when waiting on land for the ice to form, bears eat almost anything they find, from berries to fish to whale carcasses. Bears are hunted for food only by people and their dogs.

When travelling, especially in winter, the cautious hunter circles his snow-house with dogs. Polar bears are mortally afraid of dogs, and their barking and howling warn the people inside of the approach of a bear. Now that dogs are so few in number and, in some settlements, have almost disappeared, bears are far less wary of coming near camps and settlements. Places where, 15 years ago, bears only rarely appeared have now become their regular haunts. Today, hunters from Pond Inlet find bears in Eclipse Sound and along the whole length of Navy Board Inlet. It is not unusual to see bears or their tracks within five miles of a settlement. Near Arctic Bay, bears are seen in Admiralty Inlet or even closer to the settlement. In the old days, hunters found so many bears only by travelling far to the north through Lancaster Sound or to the west by Prince Regent Inlet and Peel Sound. Bears are said to be increasing more steadily than at any previous time in living memory, and are less fearful about approaching people. They are now more numerous throughout the region than ever before.

Map 49
Distribution and movement of polar bear on North Baffin Island



● *Detailed Knowledge:* It is scarcely surprising that the environmental information provided by men who have spent their lives as hunters and trappers includes a wealth of detail. Most of that detail was merely touched on during our fieldwork discussions, and only a tiny fraction of its wealth and richness can be indicated here. The central point, however, is that they have minute knowledge of the land and of the creatures that inhabit it. This minutia, the quality of which is least easily comprehended by an outsider and is most quickly lost in a report such as this, is another indication of how close the land is to the people and the people are to their land.

In conversations about char, for example, a man could say which river produced what quality of fish. The rivers that feed the heads of Milne Inlet, Tay Sound and Paquet Bay produce large, medium and small fish, respectively; there is one limited area on the north shore of Bernier Bay that has the fattest char. These small facts are items in an encyclopedic knowledge of the region in the mind of every man who has fished seriously. The knowledge draws the freshwater lakes, the rivers, and the sea into a pattern and includes all aspects of the char's life cycle in all parts of the region and its waters. The region around Pelly Bay provides another example (Map 50).

Other details are more esoteric: rabbits have stronger and larger hind quarters the farther north they live – a result of the kind of running and leaping they must do among the boulders and mountain slopes that get more rugged farther north. Such exercise creates muscle, which, on an animal that has no fat, determines its size. And there is one small area at the southeast end of Admiralty Inlet where the rabbits are two-toned.

Fundamental to the future of any people who live by hunting and trapping is some comprehension of ecological changes. The Inuit of north Baffin Island have detailed knowledge of such changes for every species. Even in the case of ringed seals, the most ubiquitous and most constant element of the region's ecological system, small changes have been noted. To organize such details in accordance with southern ideas of ecological systems would involve removing them from their context – a context that ignores many of the distinctions that are fundamental to academic science – and destroy at least one of the focal meanings of these details. That meaning indicates simply the intimacy of the relationship between the inhabitants of the region and their environment – an intimacy that includes the people's own sense of participation, of being part of a whole. To know the land in that way, for a people who have always lived directly off the land, is to know oneself.

The People

We think the same because we have one way of life.
Lucy Kaunaq
Baker Lake

We should never try and be like a *Qallunaak,* a white man, because we will never be one.
John Okalik
Rankin Inlet

> Inuit refer to the Arctic as their land, *Inuit nunangat*. It is a distinctive place with a distinctive people. It is a landscape that has nurtured a set of values, beliefs, skills, language and knowledge that have been and still are shared by its inhabitants. Inuit have much in common among themselves, and they are in no doubt about their being a people who are quite different from any other.

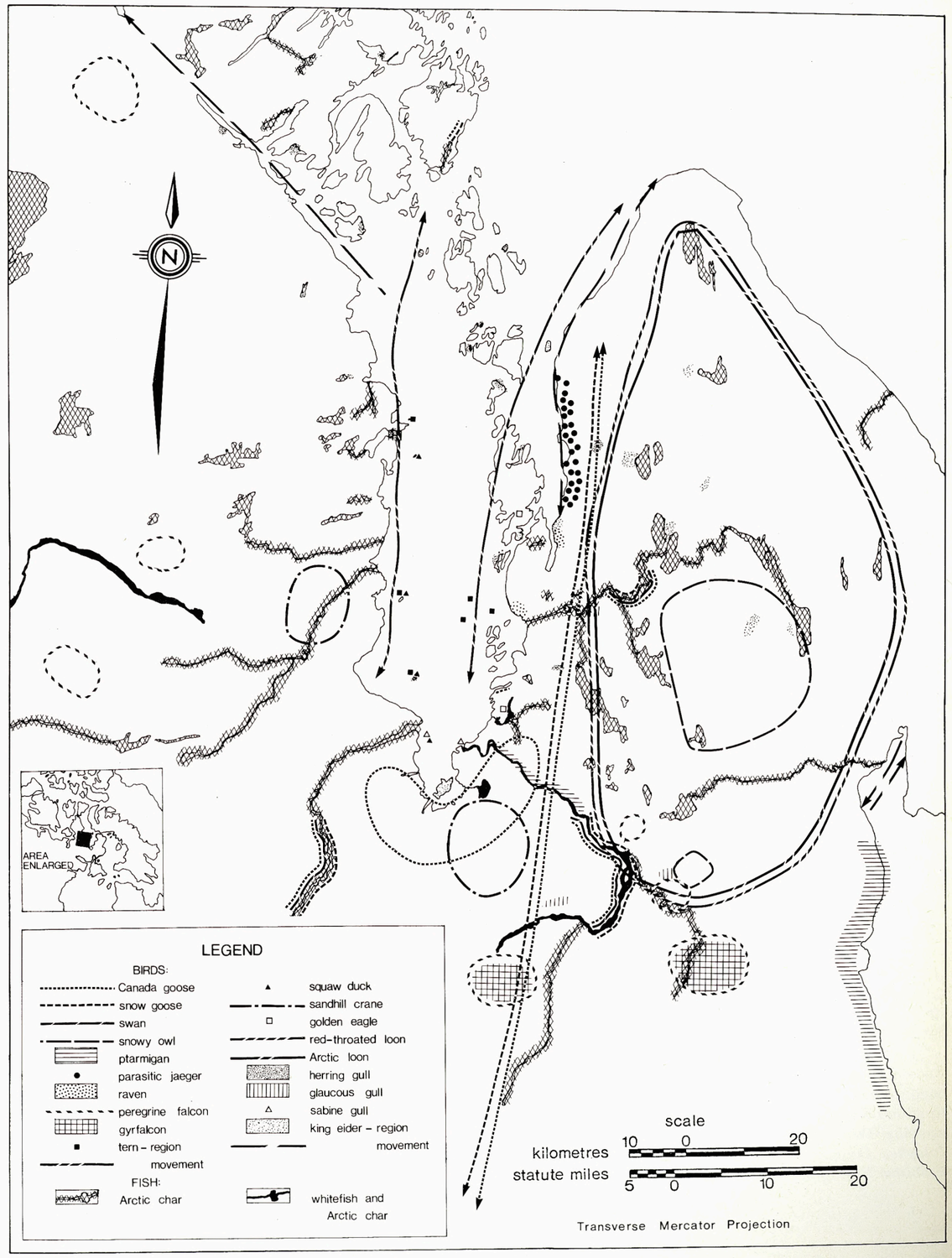
I grew up here in our land. This is my land, that is how I think about it . . . No matter where you were in the early days, you used to say "my land", "our land". We called ourselves "Inuit", "the people". When we talked about others in another camp, we used to say "their land". Beyond the hill over there, beyond the horizon, there were other people. We also called them Inuit. It was their land, and when we say their land, we are not talking about different people. We say Inuit – we call ourselves people. When we say "their land", we are still talking about ourselves because they are Inuit just like us. This land, whether you call it "their land" or "our land", we mean it is the land belonging to the people, the Inuit people. That is how we say "their land" and "our land".
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

> The Inuit, even those who now live in large settlements, need and want real meat: caribou, seal, walrus, whale skin.

If a guy eats beef all his life, the minute he is cut off beef he is crying right away, ay? He'll travel a hundred miles to get that beef. Well, we travel a hundred miles to get caribou. Miles don't mean nothing to us because we know we go there to look for it. It probably costs us quite a bit by the time we get it home and all this, but it is just a matter of just having the food that counts.

Pretty well all the people feel like that. A good percentage of us, we go hunting when it's time . . . Even on berries, that's something that northern women like to eat, and you have to take them berry picking once in a while.
Victor Allen
Inuvik (E)

Map 50
Pelly Bay: Distribution of fish and birds



I myself care about this land because of the Inuit people in the north. I did not learn much about the Inuit ways. I understand that I have learned much more of the white man's ways. But I am still Inuk, because I grew up on Inuk food.

The animals here are living a hard life because they live through winter as well as summer. The meat we get is not the same as *Qallunaat* food. The food I grew up with is Inuk food. I have been eating meat ever since I began to eat. If they continue to bother our land, we know that the animals will be gone. The Inuit would be weaker, because they have had that food for a long time. They are used to it.
Mosesie Idlout
Resolute Bay (E)

I can't stand it (store-bought food). We were brought up living off the country, and we don't like to eat the food that you buy from the stores steady, you know. It's all right for two, three days; a week maybe.
Charlie Gruben
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

Yes, I want to say this is my land. I've got my heart in it. I wouldn't say that to just anybody. As long as there are not many companies where the animals are, I am satisfied. And I want to say this: Inuit cannot be in one place all the time. It's going to be like this forever perhaps, that they will go to meet their relatives wherever they are.
Napatchie
Frobisher Bay

> Inuit have not migrated south, they have not joined the drift from country to town, from hinterland to metropolis. They have stayed in the north, close to the life and land of their ancestors, and they are anxious to hold on to all that they regard as theirs. Inuit have a strong sense of their identity as a distinct people, an identity that is closely related to the land and to their feelings for it.

I have had experiences when I was down south, when I got homesick for the north. They asked me, why do you want to go up there, where it is cold, when it is nice and warm down here? Well I consider the north my home, and I feel so strongly about it – not particularly about Frobisher Bay, itself, but about the land around and about that I used for hunting . . . They asked me why I wanted to go home since it is so cold out there. They did not understand how I feel about hunting and the north. I did not tell them that I live in Frobisher Bay, because it seems like I live wherever I've been camping. That is where I feel I belong.
Josephee Akeshoot
Frobisher Bay

But there is more to it than having a feeling for or even knowing about the land. There are also ways of being, character traits and aspects of behaviour that Inuit regard as part of real Inuit identity. A man who is quick to anger, who has no patience, who speaks out of turn, or who responds without due thought, is not unduly criticized. However, good temper, patience, and thoughtfulness are core values of Inuit society and coherent in the terms on which they live on the land.

Many hunters said that an Inuk need never fear being alone on the land; he will always know his way and will know how to behave if he is temporarily lost. Such skills are matters of character training as well as of occupational learning. Therefore it is not enough just to have been brought up on the land. They say that real Inuit are the children of Inuit. This view is, of course, reinforced by the naming of everything, as well as by an awareness that things, including people, have their cycles, which connect the present with the past, and which give an essential and continuous identity to the Inuit. It is as impossible to assume such an identity as it is to abandon it.

In more recent times, the arrival of the *Qallunaat* has given a new clarity and importance to Inuit identity. In the old days, there were Indians, whose customs and lands were different, and the Inuit had a strong awareness of those differences. But in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic, the Inuit had no neighbours, so their sense of collective identity lacked urgency. Nowadays, throughout the Arctic, Inuit are intensely conscious of southerners and of how different they are from themselves. Inuit indentify their own customs and traditions by contrasting them with those of the *Qallunaat*.

When I came to this community they had Whites, a priest and the police. I used to be very afraid of those Whites. Whenever I passed in front of their houses, I would be very careful and very nervous of the houses and the people living in them.
Tom Ugjuk
Rankin Inlet

When the *Qallunaat* started coming over, and I had heard about them for the first time, and then saw them, I was scared. It was because they were such recent discoveries. They came to discover our land, but to the Inuit it was us that discovered them. They were like a new race of people coming in. For that reason we were afraid of them. Nonetheless we welcomed them to our land because they depended on it, and on the animals, just as we did.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

I live like everyone else now, but I will never forget my own culture. I will never try to live like the *Qallunaat,* for I would never be happy the way I have been before. I will never become a *Qallunaak,* because I am Inuk by blood.
Yaha
Eskimo Point

To me, being an Inuk is not being a *Qallunaak*. When an Inuk wants to hunt, he hunts; he does not have to be told by other people.
Louis Alianakuluk
Igloolik

I also want to say a few words about you and me. I am living in *Inuit nunangat,* and I have done so for a long time. I have never been in the white man's land. I am very happy here, as you are happy in the south. I know something about being Inuit, and I am getting to know more, it seems, every minute, every day. And I suppose you feel the same way in your land as I feel in my land. When you come to our lands, you feel you do not know anything about them. If I were to go to the south, I would not know anything about it, where to go or where to stay. Whereas in our village, when we want to go hunting, we know where the hunting areas are. If I were to go south, I would not know anything about going anywhere I might want to go.

I want to say something about colours. One is green and the other is blue. They are not the same, but neither one is better than the other. You and I are not the same, and we could not be the same person; one cannot be better or worse than the other. I want to say that *Qallunaat* and Inuit are not the same. We do not want our land destroyed, as if it were just clothes getting torn or dirty. We do not want that to happen to our land.
Piungituq
Clyde River

. . . it does not matter who lives in (Canada); black, white, brown, or others. I do not want *Qallunaat* to work like Inuit, and I do not want Inuit to work like *Qallunaat*.

People form their own attitudes. If *Qallunaat* became Inuit, we would not be able to stand each other and, if Inuit became *Qallunaat,* they would not live long in 40-below-zero weather. That is why I really care for our land. I want white Canadians and Inuit people to work well with each other. What would we do if we became White?
Peter Paniloo
Resolute Bay

. . . only few *Qallunaat,* very few, can travel. I used to go with a guy and give him a ride on my sled. Even though he was an adult, when it became cold, I had to look after him like a little kid and provide warmth for him as if he were a child. I even had to change mittens with him when his hands were cold. I used to put his cold mittens on and give him my warm mittens, since his were too cold for him – although his were much bigger than mine. I had to warm his legs, just so he would be safe from being cold.
Qayadjuak
Hall Beach

There do not seem to be any Inuit bosses, because the Inuit are not bossy. If an Inuk tries, he can do a lot more than the *Qallunaat,* but the *Qallunaak* is boss. When he gets up, he very quickly sits down again, and the only thing he has in his hand is a pen or pencil. So the *Qallunaat* should not try to be such big bosses over the Inuit, because an Inuk, even if he is just a poor little Inuk, can stay outside in the cold and survive trying to catch animals, by hunting caribou, fishing or trying to kill foxes. Even if he is just a poor Inuk, he can stay outdoors, even when it is extremely stormy. But a *Qallunaak,* even when he is big and a powerful man, gets cold very easily in a storm. He is not like an Inuk.
David Mannik
Baker Lake

> Despite the strong sense of identity among the Inuit, there are many differences among them. Anthropologists have described the main groups of Inuit: the Copper, Igloolik, Aivilik, and Netsilik are a few of these groups. These descriptions represent an overview, but they are nonetheless part of Inuit reality. In fact, the larger groups are divisible into smaller groups and the smaller groups into the people of specific camps.
>
> In northern Foxe Basin, for example, around Steensby Inlet, there are camps that were and are inhabited by Igloolingmiut. But the Igloolingmiut occupy a vast region, of which Steensby Inlet is but a small area. The residents of a camp in Steensby Inlet may call themselves by their camp name, *Kuukulungmiut,* or by the name of the area around them, *Kangirlurjuarmiut,* or by the name of the region as a whole, *Igloolingmiut* (or, as they were known 20 years ago, *Amiturmiut*). The choice of name would depend on whom the speaker was contrasting himself with, or on what kinds of or degrees of difference he was observing between himself and others (Map 51).
>
> Inuit identity, then, has many levels. There are the people of the camp, the area, the region and finally, the matter of being Inuk itself, as opposed to the people of some other camp, some other area, some other region or of being a *Qallunaak* or Indian. Corresponding to such a sense of identity is a sense of belonging. Usually each nuclear family had, and may still have, a set of camps within a general area that it uses. The Kangilurjuarmiut had spring, winter and summer camps (perhaps two or more for each season) that, among them, permitted the family to make year-round use of a general area. But these general areas are not demarcated, and the area of one set of camps overlaps another. Because many groups of Inuit were highly mobile, the drift from area to area, or even from region to region, brought groups who thought of themselves as quite different from one another into regular contact. Such movement even brought different groups into interdependence. Despite these exchanges, however, a sense of regional identity remained. Support for, or collaboration with, others still meant that they were, after all, *others*.

There were no borders between us. If someone came from Southampton Island or the Netsilik country, we would help them and teach them how to hunt in any way we could. "We can learn from you, and we can also teach you how to hunt in this area. You can hunt as we do . . ." We would also say, even if it were a complete stranger, "You are welcome to stay with us for the winter", and they could in that way at least survive. They might not be given all that much, but at least they had survived the winter and, when spring came again they would go back to where they had come from.
Charlie Inukshuk
Rankin Inlet

We were all free to hunt near Pelly Bay or Spence Bay. We helped each other try to get enough food. The people from Pelly Bay would hunt where the Netsilik people hunted. We would cooperate with each other.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

When Inuit started coming over from other places, we had to share land with them and share animals because that was the only way to live. Animals were our only food, and the other people also had to live. I didn't mind; I didn't care; I was happy to share with them. It was like that. Animals are not to be used by only one people: animals were for everyone. That's the way it was . . . If you are talking about any hunter, whether it be a relative, brother, or complete stranger, I do not know of or even remember any person or hunter being rejected from an area, no matter from how far away he came.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

> The sense of belonging to an area is sometimes expressed with extraordinary force.

It seems that I am two people, because I never stay in one area for a long time. I grew up in different places, and I have lived all along the coast. I have seen all different ways of trapping and hunting. That is why I say, I seem to be two people. I have been to different places and used their ways of trapping. Each appears to have its own way of trapping. It seems the people are all different, people from Baker Lake, Whale Cove, Eskimo Point, Repulse Bay, Southampton Island, all have their own way of trapping. Although they all hunt the same species, polar bears, seals and other animals besides trapping foxes, they seem to trap a little differently in different areas. It seems people hunt differently in different settlements. I have been to these places. It seems that I am in two different areas at the same time. But they all hunt the same things, and they all have the same feelings about the animals.
Nicholas Irkootee
Rankin Inlet

> And sometimes the essential sense of unity, implicit in all talk of differences between Inuit of one or another Aretic location, is also spelled out directly.

I travelled to quite a few places when I was young and found that the people living in other places had different dialects. The way they lived, shared and traded were all different. Not much different, but different.
Matthew Toonee
Gjoa Haven

> The residents of any one place will sometimes laugh at or complain about the customs of their neighbours. People of Arctic Bay who have travelled to northwest Baffin Island and Igloolik have much to say about the Netsilingmiut who "eat the entrails of fish", "have peculiar clothes", "are frightening", and "do not make sense". The people of Belcher Islands say that the mainland Inuit at Great Whale River "talk like children", a reproach that the people of Great Whale River also direct against the Belcher Islanders.

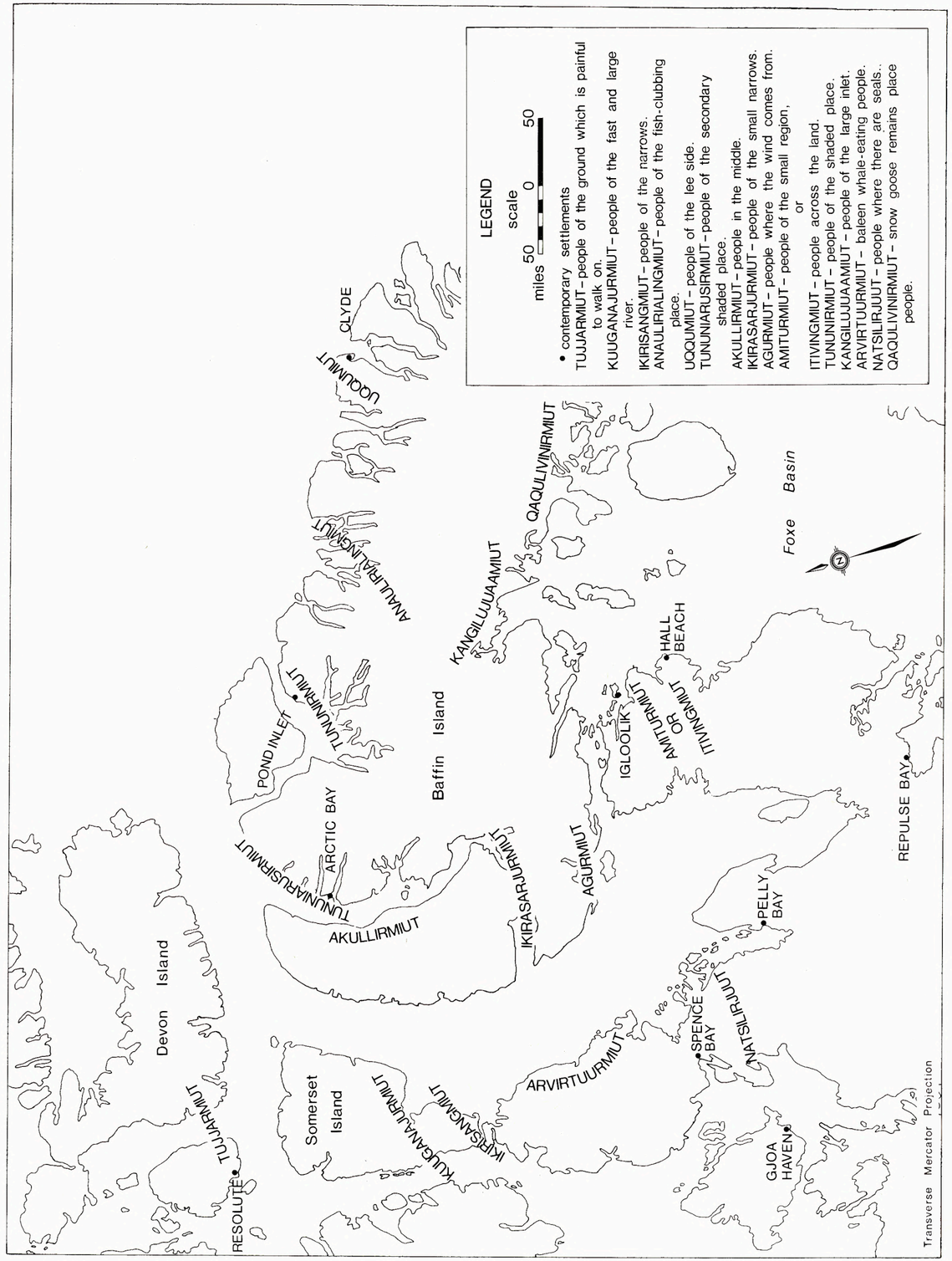
The people around Baker Lake did not seem to want to share animals. They were greedy and did not seem to want newcomers to share their land. They seemed to want to keep it all for themselves.
Matthew Toonee
Gjoa Haven

It seemed to be more difficult to live in Repulse Bay, because the people there were more individualistic and hunted on their own, whereas in Igloolik people used to help each other more often. It seemed to be a little easier.
Lionel Nutaradlaluk
Rankin Inlet

> The people of Pond Inlet laugh at the style of sealskin boot made by the Uqqumiut: "the top of the foot is pointed and sharp; it should be rounded!"

Myself, when they first started coming, I thought of them, how very poorly dressed. They did not have good clothes. Their caribou skins and blankets were very poor. But we welcomed them. We never thought of them as having come from a different region. They were here to live with us.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

Map 51
Inuit group names: Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay regions



Rivalry between neighbours demonstrates two things: differences, yet an essential similarity. Arreak, a man from Pond Inlet, travelled once to Tuktoyaktuk, and he was delighted to find that over there, on the far side of Canada, there were real Inuit! They were different in a host of details, more different than any neighbours Arreak had ever met, but they were Inuit just the same. Arnaujumajuk, of Arctic Bay, often spoke about the Inuit that he had heard live in the Soviet Union. They would now have different institutions, he said, and they probably would not have a church or trading posts and they would have a different "new" language, but they would work as Inuit, and they would be *Inummariit,* real Inuit.

This sense of belonging to widespread people overrides any idea of local difference. Indeed, there is solidarity among the members of a family on the one hand, and among families on the other. Because each camp tends to be occupied by one extended family, the relations between families and between camps are similar. Families collaborate without reference to the distances or differences that may once have separated them. It is by virtue of being Inuit that one person, or family, or camp, helps another.

In those days, if you had a partner, it was just like having a relative – a brother-in-law or a sister-in-law. I would save a special part of any animal for my partner. No one else would get that part. Then we would cut a seal into small pieces, and only those who were relatives would get pieces – as long as they were in the same camp.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

The Inuit who lived out on the land tried to help each other survive. They supported one another and, in that way, they were better able to live.
Inukshuk
Baker Lake

Yet the people who had lived mainly in one area, among one set of camps, did not lose sight of their place of origin. They were, so to speak, the *miut* of that place, whoever else might eome and share it. That is to say, Inuit shared equally the land and all that it produced, but each group still thought of itself as the people of a particular place, as though they belonged to that plaee, rather than the place to them. Other Inuit could use it, but they could not claim that they belonged to it. Just as persons remained Inuit wherever they might live, so the particular place in which a person had spent most of his life always remained his *real* place.

People used to appreciate what they got, and they shared their food with others. People used to eat the same food as they shared it. They passed the meat around until it returned again; they took a piece and passed it again. We call it *amilkatuq.*
Martha Koksut
Whale Cove

My grandfather told my father to take care of his land. He wanted my father to take good care of his hunting grounds. My grandfather even used to tell my father that he did not want any other Inuit to use his hunting ground. He used to tell my father these things, for he did not want other people to take his hunting ground for caribou hunting and fishing when I became a teenager.
Effie Arnaluaq
Baker Lake

In a few places, especially in the Mackenzie Delta and on Banks Island, fox trapping led to a deeper concern over who had what rights to which areas of land. Trap lines were established in definite areas, and each trapper used his own area year after year (Map 52). However, only one man in the eastern Arctic, among all those interviewed, commented on such a system, although others commented on the competition for land.

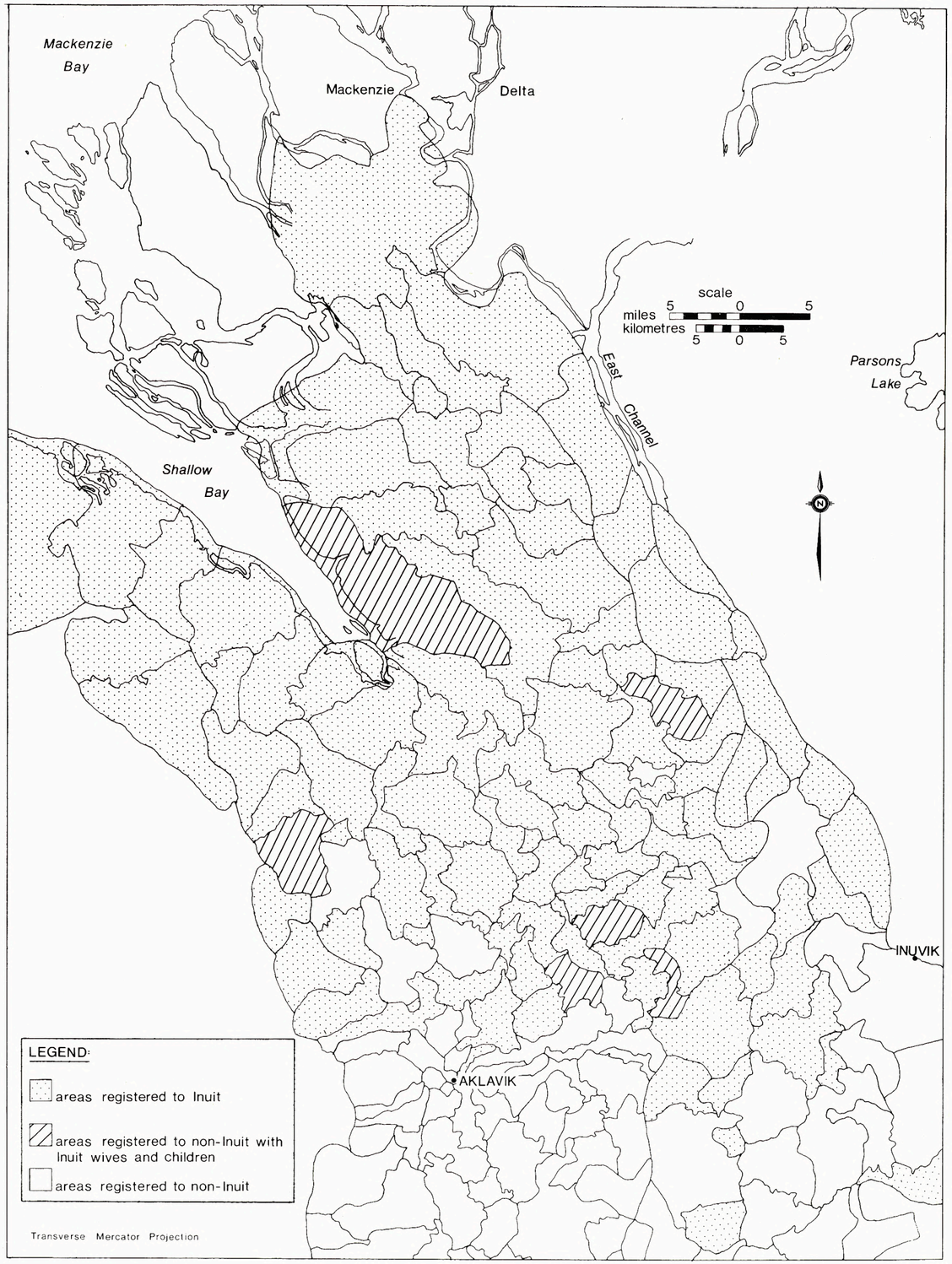
. . . they did not really try to stop anyone from hunting on their grounds, but they would always try to get the best part of that area. They did not fight for it, but they did try to keep the best places for themselves, where they would attempt to kill more animals. They would not wait for other guys to hunt there. They would just rush for the one place, their own places.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

People used to trap foxes all over the island, and even people from other settlements came to trap on the island. Sometimes these people did not get along too well because they came from other places.
Sandy Sateana
Rankin Inlet

And even in the western Arctic, the consensus was that no one ever thought that he personally owned a particular piece of land, and, therefore, he could not keep other people away, nor use the land in a selfish, harmful or destruetive way. The land was used collectively, by a whole group or settlement. Everyone in the group or village had the free use of the land as they needed it.

We criss-cross each other. I never say nothing because it's everybody's country, and we're all glad to make a living off it, so that way we don't hurt nobody. We don't hurt each other.
Charlie Gruben
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

Map 52
Registered trapping areas – Mackenzie Delta



People respect one another's trap lines and bush camps. Certain places or areas have, from time to time, been asso-eiated with certain individuals or families. But nobody has rights to any piece of land in perpetuity. If one person were to stop using a particular area, another might use it later on. Different people might use the same land at different times, or they might even use it together for hunting caribou or whales.

Conflict between groups never had its main eause in the ownership of land or any sense of an exclusive right to its use. But this does not mean that conflict was unheard of, nor that it did not include a strong conviction of definite local groups.

I have heard stories from before my time, saying that if a person happened to be killed by one group, their own group would gather together and go after the person who had killed their relative. They would fight with bows and arrows or snow knives, and sometimes they killed each other that way.
Luke Iquallaq
Gjoa Haven

If they did not like the people of some other settlement, I have heard that people used to fight; not in one line, but by surrounding the whole camp before they started fighting. I have heard they used to fight in this land, too. I suppose if there were four people against the others, they would be in a straight line, side by side. At least if one person were killed, the others would survive. They never used to fight all together. Some used to watch the fight, while others used their bows and arrows to fight the enemy.
Charlie Inukshuk
Rankin Inlet

When the Pelly Bay people killed someone from this area, a Netsilingmiut, people from here would go over to Pelly Bay and take a life for the life that had been taken. This is what I have heard from my elders.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

Perhaps the central idea can be expressed more simply.

As a matter of fact, I have never heard of people fighting over animals, because there was certainly enough for everyone.
John Taqulik
Spence Bay

Inuit throughout the Canadian Arctic feared and fought Indians wherever they found them on Inuit hunting lands. This one simple fact establishes that Inuit did have a strong sense of the right of occupancy, even though that right was enjoyed by every Inuk and it crossed every *local* cultural boundary. There is a deep cultural division between all the Inuit and all other peoples. Of course, when the Whites, complete strangers, appeared, they were treated as guests and permitted to share in the land's produce. But they were guests who have been regarded with fear and unease. Just as the Tuniit were driven from the land, so the Inuit now fear that they are being driven from their land. We shall come back to that point later. It is necessary now to say only that the Inuit are quite clear about *who* is being threatened, just as they are clear about what skills, knowledge, dispositions and values that all Inuit share, despite the complex but amusing differences among themselves. Their unity comes from the land. They share a particular kind of land, a land that has compelled certain responses from its people.

The Young People

My father taught me how to make my gear by letting me make toys for myself that would eventually become real things as I grew older. The next step in my training as a hunter was when my father started to take me on actual trips by dog team. That way I was able to learn. One particular thing that stands out in my mind is the first time I went after a basking seal. I went about it as my father would, sneaking up till I was quite close, and then shooting. I remember I missed. And I also remember that afterward my father lectured me on how some day my livelihood would depend on hunting, as well as on other people. And he also told me that this was the one and only way to earn my living, and he told me to watch carefully and do as he did. I went to distant places by dog-team and boat. As I became older, I started making trips on my own, in the area where my father had taught me.
Koveyook Natsiapik
Broughton Island

Much of what people have to say about their land today turns on the attitudes and behaviour of the younger generation. They greatly fear that much of inestimable value could be lost if the teenagers and young adults of today do not set out to achieve the kinds of knowledge, expertise, and values that the older Inuit revere. Only if the older people succeed in passing on their traditional knowledge and skills can they feel secure about the future of themselves and their culture, and all that is meant by being Inuit. So the old people recall the way in which they feel knowledge should be passed on from one generation to another.

When we were young, we tried to obey whatever our parents told us. We did not have many of the things people now have, and we had a hard time making a living with what we had, even though we were not that poor from the time we were young until now. We tried hard to do everything we could to make a good living. If we did not do all those things that were necessary to survive, then we all suffered. Our fathers were the heads of the families, so we were afraid to ignore what our fathers told us. The reason for this is that we wanted to please our fathers, and because times were sometimes difficult.
Mariano Aupilarjuk
Repulse Bay

Parents were obeyed by their children, because that was the only way of surviving in winter and summer. The oldest person in a community would be the head of the community. He had lived and hunted the land and sea, and he knew more about the land and the whereabouts of animals. He knew the different seasons to hunt for seals, fish and earibou.
Nicholas Irkootee
Rankin Inlet

The old saying is that an old person is wiser than a young one. Some older people say that the one who listens to his parents will live longest. If you listen to older people and are told to do something, you will live longer and have a better life.
Bernard Iquugaqtuq
Pelly Bay

Behind such statements lurk fears for the future, fears that come from what many of the older people regard as the failure of the young to learn Inuit ways. Their criticisms show their strong interest in land-based activities, just as their more vehement criticisms of the young show how intensely they feel that the land is at the very basis of Inuit soeiety. When the young seem to be incompetent in, or disdainful toward, traditional skills, the older people are alarmed, their view of the social order is put in doubt. Since there is widespread feeling that only the land offers a secure foundation for a viable economy and society, any sign of indifference among young people toward the system is perceived as threatening.

Last year I had no boat, and I was unable to go out hunting, especially for narwhals. So I sat with others on the rocks, watching the hunting. There were young men hunting right below the rocks here, elose to the houses. The narwhals came, and everyone hurried to his boat. Then they went after the narwhals. They shot here and there, they followed the animals hither and thither, now shooting at one, and now at another. They did not keep to one narwhal; they did not try and push them toward the shore. They would not work together. They hurried too mueh. They did not understand that narwhals must be worked into the shore, into more shallow water.
Arreak
Pond Inlet

The older people are indeed vehement in their criticisms of the young, and they regard many small signs of modernity as direct threats to themselves. The old, as in every other society, believe they must ensure that their ways are not forgotten and that the rising generation will learn the teehnieal skills and moral principles on whieh the Inuit social and economic system has always been founded. The old try to contain any divergence from the traditional attitudes to marriage just as they inveigh against any reluctance to share food, or especially, to show respect for the patterns of authority that guarantee the system's continuity. In almost every Inuit community, the same complaints can be heard.

The last couple of years we've been talking about the land, and people are starting to realize that the land is very important. At one time we thought, "Well, there's nobody there", but, when you get back up there, you realize it's a very simple living, and it's something that you can't part with. Maybe for the younger generation I can see it, where they only adapt themselves to an educational system. But people like myself, people my age, are flexible, but to be really flexible you also have to really know how to use the land, and this is something the younger generation should really study up on.
Victor Allen
Inuvik (E)

I feel that the young people now do not really seem to be interested in going back to the land. The middle-aged people still go out on the land. The younger people do not seem to be interested in going to the camps. But I think it would be a good idea if they could learn the old way of life. There are still many things they do not know about the old way of life and, even though we try to teach them, they do not seem to be interested.
Zachary Ittimangnaq
Pelly Bay

The younger people are so different compared to what they used to be like. They do not listen to the older people. Before, they would try and obey what older people told them. For example, older people would tell them not to take anything that did not belong to them. Now young people do not listen, and they take anything that is not really theirs.
Louis Uqsuqituq
Repulse Bay

In those days, the youngsters were made to get wives by their parents. Their real parents told them what to do in those days, but nowadays the children who are going to school do not listen any more. They cannot live the way of the Inuit as we used to. They do not even want to listen to their parents anymore. They even answer back to their parents, when they are told what to do and how to do it. They only know the way of the *Qallunaat*. They do not know how to sew or build a snow-house anymore. That is how they live now.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

Even we women used to kill caribou and hunt with the men, even while some of us had children. The women used to go with their husbands, and carry loads on their backs, and take the children hunting. But now the young people of today cannot do that anymore, while we cannot compete with the people who lived before us. We now worry about the younger generation when they go hunting, because they do not know what they are doing, even though they are big and should know what they are doing as we would have known in the old days. They absolutely do not know the ways of the Inuit, even though they are grown and of marrying age. Even if they are married, they do not know the old ways of the Inuit, now that we are being ruled by the *Qallunaat*.
Lucy Kaunaq
Baker Lake

The younger people mostly seem to ignore the older people. I still think younger people should go hunting the way their grandfathers used to, and follow what their grandfathers said in those days. Today there are scarcely any young people who really know how to hunt.
Charlie Inukshuk
Rankin Inlet

If we ever try to tell the young ones something about Inuit ways, they hardly listen, and they even answer us back in English.
Monique Kopanuak
Eskimo Point

The young are getting to know less and less. All the time, people get to know less and less. When we were young, we listened to the old, who taught us things. We did not know as much as they did; we knew less than them. Today's young know less than us. It seems that they find less and less to get to know. There are new things, the things of the *Qallunaat*. Real Inuit ways, real things, are not known. They are being forgotten.
Panaloo Sangoyak
Pond Inlet

What is wrong with the young people? They do not want to listen; they really do not want to listen. The real Inuit ways, they do not want to learn them. If they forget them, what will become of us all? There will be no real food. Maybe we shall be hungry.
Inooya Komangapik
Pond Inlet

The young do not know anything. They seem to be lazy about learning. In the old days, though it is not really that long ago, when the Hudson's Bay Company was here, but the government had not yet arrived, we had to work hard. Sometimes we were tired. But then we shared everything. Now the people are not sharing. These young people sometimes have money in their pockets, or meat they have killed, but they keep it. If they do not learn, if they keep on being lazy about listening to us, then we shall all be in difficulties here.
Ujukuluk
Arctic Bay

I want to talk about our youngsters. Right now, they are living easier than before. Now they do not even want to learn how to make a snow-house. They could be killed now. The youngsters do not even want to learn to be Inuit. They learn in school to be *Qallunaat*. And it is going to be hard for us, the parents. I guess everything has got to be settled. Now, they even have some whiskey bottles, booze and all that, and so much is going wrong . . . I want to talk about the hair they grow now. They even hit their mothers now, because they do not want to get their hair cut. It is a white man's style. I want to say that, a long time ago, our youngsters used to be trained to be hunters and live in Inuit style, and everything was all right. But nowadays, it is not like that anymore.
Piungnituq
Clyde River

I do not want my children to be in the same situation as I am. I want them to be completely Inuit. This winter I carried out an experiment. I tried to live the way we did long ago. I tried to do that last winter for the benefit of my children. I lived for a whole year in a place where there were no *Qallunaat*. I found that my children had forgotten too many of our ways. I was very disappointed and very disturbed when I found that my children were not able to survive on the land. I found that they had forgotten too much about hunting and about travelling on the land. I feel that it is very important for our descendants to learn how to hunt, how to travel, how to build shelters, and how to look for seal breathing holes. I feel it is important for them, especially if they are going to live in the Arctic. I found out that my own children did not have the neeessary knowledge.
Jacopie Koksat
Broughton Island

The younger people around 15 and 16 years old do not know how to hunt or listen to their parents' words, and what their parents want them to do. Maybe it was because they were taken to school down south or some place else. Maybe it is because of that or maybe because of something else. I am aware that the young people do not listen to their parents or their elders as much as they used to do in the past. I would so much like to see the younger people, especially teenagers and those in their early twenties, go hunting and learning the meaning of hunting and Inuit culture. It would be better, maybe, if the younger people accepted both the southern and Inuit cultures.
Peter Aningmiuq
Cape Dorset

> In trying to maintain traditional ways, the elders indicate their profound dependence on and belief in the socio-economic order that has served them during their lifetimes. The order is, moreover, integral to contemporary life. The traditional wisdom as well as the traditional foods sustain everyday living today, just as they always have. The vehemence with which the old criticize the young for their seeming or real indifference to the old order is another demonstration of the importance of the land.
>
> If the younger generation do not maintain the traditional values and techniques that were and still are essential to a land-based economy in the Canadian Arctic, then the whole system is threatened. That threat is *real*, however, only to those who identify themselves and their futures with a social and economic system that is based on the land. The acute alarm expressed by the older generation at every sign of such a threat is clear evidence of the extent of their identification with the land and with the culture that the land sustains. The older people depend upon their children for traditional foods and for the maintenance of a cultural environment in which traditional values prevail. Life in the settlement has not yet eroded these feelings of dependence, and the older people struggle, as the old must, to ensure that the fundamental values of their society will be preserved. These values centre on the land and on the Inuit's use of the land.

We old people are not very numerous anymore; only the young people are around now.
Lucy Kaunaq
Baker Lake

THE YOUNG TODAY

Young persons from most of the settlements participated in the collection of data related to land use. They helped to interpret, to draw maps, and to ensure that all the settlement's hunters had the opportunity to describe their hunting and trapping. Many other young persons examined the individual maps as they were being drawn, even though they did not directly participate in the study; when they looked at the maps, some were frankly incredulous at their range and complexity. They had never before realized, they said, that some families had travelled such distances or had hunted for so many different animals in so many places. Many were especially struck by the precision with which the hunters could recollect details after a lifetime on the land. Some were intrigued to see that certain places they had visited but had not hunted were once, and might still be, favoured locations for hunting or trapping. Some were fascinated by the multitude of local place names. But *all* of the young people saw the maps as examples and evidence of how much there was for them, as inhabitants of the region, to learn.

That learning was, of course, an extension of much that they already knew. Many young people pored over the maps, then discussed the information the maps represented in the light of their own information and interests. There was never any suggestion that the economic and social system that these maps partially described was fundamentally at odds with their own values and priorities. Indeed, many young men disagreed with some of the details shown: a place name was wrongly marked; a travel route was left out; or a good site for ptarmigan hunting was not shown. It became clear that there was eontinuity between the young and the old, between the men of 16 and 60, and far much greater continuity, it seemed, than discussions with the older people had suggested.

Such concern with the details of the land use, wildlife resource, and place name maps is an indieation of the young people's own identification with the land. Although it is claimed by the elderly that unmarried young people especially are losing touch with the land, it appeared that every man over 25 years on north Baffin Island is at least a part-time hunter and trapper, and many men in their late teens and early twenties are enthusiastic about the land and its resources. There are very, very few individuals in this region who are not involved with traditional pursuits and competent in at least some traditional skills. Even those teenagers who are the primary targets for criticism, who are most often accused of ignoring the old ways, are aware of the problems that reeent changes have created in their communities. One 17-year-old described his view of these problems in this way:

You know it is not the Eskimo way to speak. We learn not to be boastful; like, if you do something, if we can do something, we still do not always say it. An Eskimo does not always say about it all, you know. I mean, we do not show it. We go down south, to those schools, like in Churchill. I was down there, at C.V.C. school, for two years. Sometimes we go away to Ottawa or some place for a whole long time. Down there, we, you know, learn all kinds of things: welding even, and working with wood to make all kinds of stuff, and reading all about different things. Down south kind of stuff. Some of us, all of us, get to know a lot, you know, and we come back home, back here to Pond Inlet and those old people judge us real harsh. They say, "kids don't know anything". But they taught us, our parents are teaching us not to say, like not to boast, so we don't say [what] we can do. We don't show what we can do.

And we have learned a lot of things, hunting things, like the land. We are Eskimos and know Eskimo things. All the time we are learning our Eskimo ways. Just the same as down south; coming here, we don't show what we know, so they judge us harsh. Those old people, my dad even, he doesn't know what I know. He used to learn from an old man. A real old man used to tell him things about old days and about *angaquq*. My dad knows all about that stuff from one old man; every night that old man used to tell him stuff. And, like, just by hearing the old man talking, you know, telling old stories and things, we get to know. I listen like that. Like I get to know a lot of things.

I wish I could hear that real old man, like him talking to my dad. There's a lot of strange things, Eskimo ways and things. I guess it takes time to know those things, like I'm only 17, and I'm just learning things.

Josh Arreak
Pond Inlet (E)

Not only do young people affirm in their own way their involvement with tradition, they also devote much time to hunting. Here are some questions that were asked in a discussion with a young family man in Arctic Bay. His answers, I maintain, are accurate and representative of his generation's opinion.

Q: Is it possible that people will gradually do less and less hunting?

A: No, I do not think so. Right now many people in Arctie Bay work in the white way, either here or in other places. But they still hunt. Look at me. I have a job here, but I go out hunting. I was out yesterday. People here will always want real food, and for that reason alone we are all hunters. We'll always be hunters.

Q: But younger people, do they bother with the land or hunting? Do they know the names of all the animals?

A: It is true that some of the young people do not hunt very much. But they are young and are learning. They will be going out on the land, hunting for Inuit foods.

For the young as well as for adults, to be an Inuk is inseparable from being in touch with the land and from the possession of the technical skills and moral qualities that make such contact both possible and valuable. All Inuit agree that the land is the mainstay of their life. Even in the most wage-oriented families, local foods are valued and sought above all others. And it is, of course, the young who must be relied upon to maintain the supply of local foods so that the people may continue to be Inuit.

Young people continue to use and, of course, to develop the traditional social and hunting patterns (Map 53). They continue to occupy the land fully; that occupation is central to their sense of identity and it gives them a sense of security; life there has endured for longer than anyone can know, and it will continue to endure because they, the Inuit, will eontinue to occupy the land.

In the western Canadian Arctic, many older people have firmly expressed their confidence in the young and in the continuity of Inuit land use. Despite many criticisms and doubts, the older people in the Mackenzie Delta affirm that the land is still important because the young people do depend on it, materially as well as culturally, and that future generations will continue in the same way.

Some people always say in the future there will be no more trapping, but myself I think there is going to be trapping all the time. Some of my kids are going to trap . . . I got one that's got traps in his head already. And he's the type of guy that will be pretty good for a trapper. He likes hunting, he skins caribou and foxes. He likes to go out and shoot caribou and that.

I'm quite sure some of my kids are going to trap. And I'm going to teach them, I'll be the teacher for them. I wouldn't just let them go, I'll teach them. That's why this island [Banks Island] is pretty important to us. I got a big family, and I got lots of boys. Some of them are going to be trapping.

Peter Esau
Sachs Harbour (E)

In this country there is a time to hunt, a time to fish, and a time to catch your meat. I notice that even my younger brothers, no matter where they are working, even if they are going for holidays or something, if the job is temporary, they always come around when they know it's good hunting time of the year, no matter where they are . . . Just for the sake of hunting. You could call it tradition, I guess. You know, maybe it's in us.

William Nasogaluak
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

This new generation that is coming up, I still figure that hunting blood is in their system. I notice that every spring when it's time for geese hunting or fishing, no kids want to go back to school any more. They want to go out hunting. So I think this is going to be going on for quite a long time yet, this hunting. Natives, they make a good living, and it's also sport for them.

Charlie Gruben
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

I believe most [of the children] are going to be living here. Like I say, I was born in this part of the country, and when I go some place I don't feel right to live in any place. Not all of them are going to be right here all the time, but I can tell you, most of them are going to want to come back all the time.

Garrett Ruben
Paulatuk (E)

Even in the eastern Arctic, where the Inuit have had less experience of town life and of the kinds of transformation that southern ways can bring, there is a conviction that young people will continue to use the land. After all, they are Inuit, and they will – or must – continue to be so. It is almost unthinkable that the Inuit could abandon their land and forget the skills associated with the land, yet still preserve their identity as Inuit. Such a conviction is echoed in many positive judgements of the young.

It has been said that they do not know our way of life any more. But they still can be like us and know the traditional way of life, if they would only try. Some people say it is impossible, but I do not think it is. There are so many people saying that it is better to be living in the true Inuit way. That is true because our life was good then and was less complicated. I think we should be following the Inuit way of living rather than something else that has been shown to us. It makes no difference whether it is male or female, as long as they have someone to guide them and to do things with.

Kilabuk Kooneeliusie
Broughton Island

Though my little sons are still not fully thinking at this time about the land resources, that is because they are too young. I, too, went through a thoughtless age.
Markoosie Piunngittuk Inaaluk
Grise Fiord

My two children, my youngest sons, I teach them the Inuit ways, how to hunt. I tell them stories about it, and I assume that others are doing the same thing. Nowadays, the young children or teenagers seem to be learning more about Inuit ways again than they were in the recent past. I tell my children how the Inuit used to live and how to be hunters. I guess that is what most parents do.
Anilnik Paniluk
Broughton Island

> Even those with the most negative views of life in the past were reluctant to allow that the younger generations are not Inuit, or that there had been any real loss of identity. By comparison, perhaps, with some ideal of traditional life and ways, the young of today are lackadaisical, incompetent and immersed in new and exotic ways. But, by comparison with *Qallunaat,* the young Inuit are Inuit. They say so, and their parents say so.

Anyone who says that, in the old days, when there were only very few Whites in the land here, it was happier and better, those people are not telling the truth. It was bad then. It was sometimes frightening and sometimes hungry. The young people are right to try and get new things. They are still Inuit, still learning Inuit ways. We all knew the animals and the land. No Inuk will be lost on the land, for we have always had to live from the land.
Soola Atagutsiak
Pond Inlet

It's really hard to tell, I think. What I feel about the land is – I don't want to see it go down. I like the place around here. It's beautiful. I think it would be a sin if someone just comes in and tears everything around me.
Simon Merkosak
Pond Inlet (E)

The Present

You have heard about Inuit lands. The way you think about them is wrong. They are very important to us. You think it is some kind of land that does not really belong to anyone, but it is very important to us. I think the way you think about it may not be the way it really is. The land is very, very useful to us, and everything is superbly formed here. Yet everything is going wrong these days. As I said, if you think about it the first way, it is not the way you should think. The land is important.
Piungnituq
Clyde River

> Settlement life creates many difficulties. Modern innovations are a source of social and economic strain. The present – What does it mean? What has gone wrong? – is the subject of much discussion. Again and again, questions arise about culture, society, and tradition. Answers that are suggested move from the tensions between parents and children, to schooling, to the *Qallunaat,* to food and, finally, to the question of who owns the land. Only if the right of occupancy can be secured can the Inuit adjust fully to the present, for only then can the deep anxiety about the present and future identity of the Inuit begin to be allayed.
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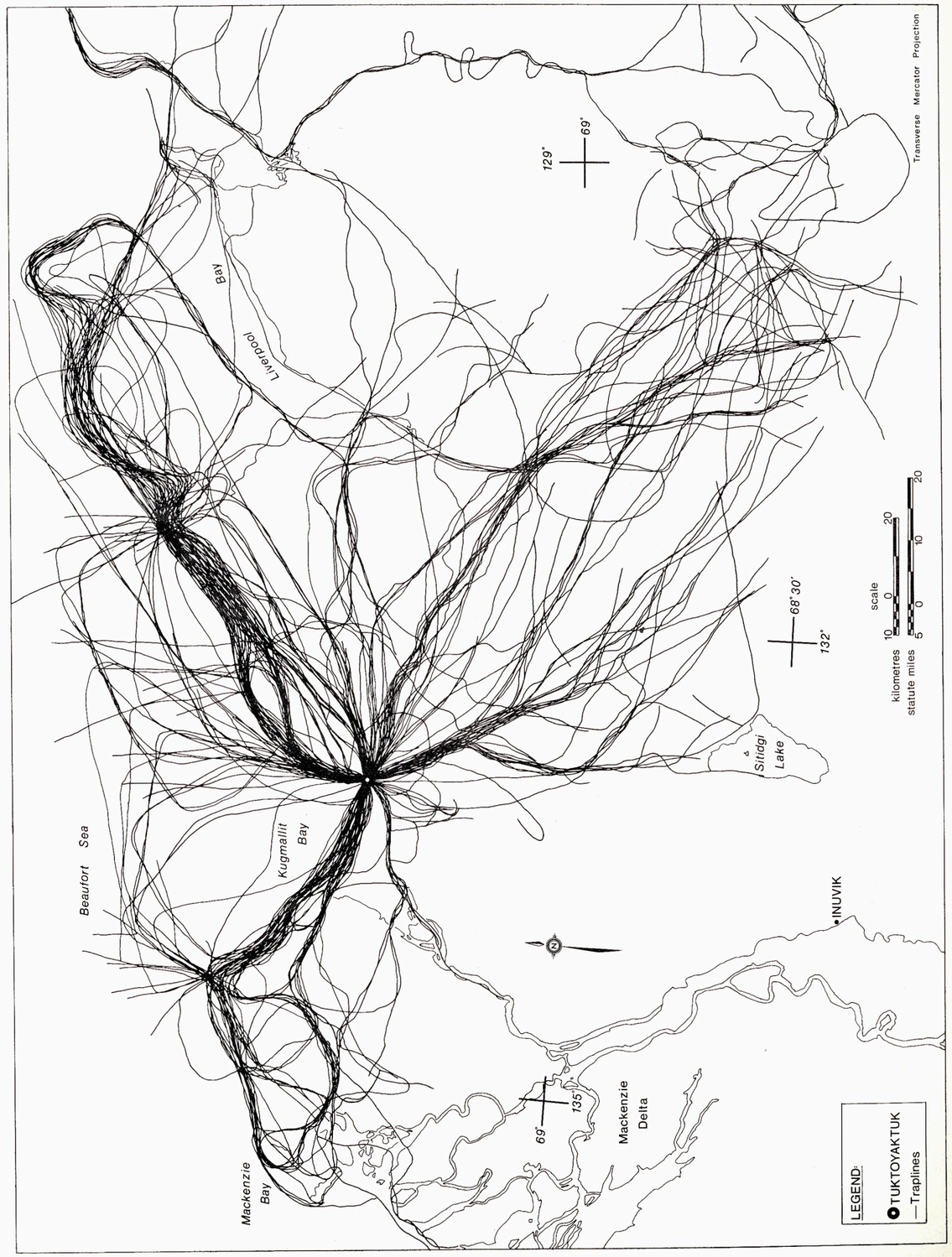
> The tension that exists between generations is a bridge of sorts between what is said about being Inuk and what is said about the present. Here again, voices across the Arctic speak in accord: modern settlements are not always easy places to live in, despite their comforts. In recent times, when families were first beginning to shift from camps to the settlements, the new locations were sometimes feared.

My great-grandmother told my grandparents to move away from too many people who were living in one place. She used to tell her children to stay away from settlements to avoid sickness. People who live in the same place used to become sick more often than those living in their old and separated camps.
Atuat
Whale Cove

Whenever people were coming to the settlement from Ennadai, they would spend the night about a mile away. If they did not, something strange would happen to a member of the family.
Yaha
Eskimo Point

> The people speak of social problems.

Map 53
Tuktoyaktuk traplines – Period III



But now we are living in the settlement, living in the same place all the time. You see the same people every day, and you get tired of seeing those other people. Before, in the old days, you used to laugh and talk and play games. Nowadays, even when you pass by somebody, you don't even say "Hi" to them anymore. You do not even smile when you look at someone.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

It seems we have everything these days, but life was more loving and life was happier before. Today, when we look at the past, we realize we have more difficulties in the present. We hear people talking about the differences between today and the past, and we find that we have more difficulties today.
Moses Aliaq
Whale Cove

> And they speak of real food.

When I was growing up, I never had money. I was never hungry hunting animals. Then why now, in this day and age, am I often hungry, although we have guns and canoes and stoves? Now, we are always hungry for our traditional food.
Max Kiasinnaq
Spence Bay

I made quite a bit of trips to Inuvik. And every time I get to Inuvik, for myself, I like to eat some meat every day. When you get to Inuvik, to have good meat you have to pay a fair amount of money. When we get back here, it seems so cheap. You do not have to buy meat.
Garrett Ruben
Paulatuk (E)

> To be away from the settlement, on the land, is to be close to one's real self.

If I am in the settlement for two or three weeks, I feel closed in, because it is in my blood. My ancestors were travellers. Whenever they felt like travelling, they were gone, they were free. I feel the same way. Whenever I stay in a place too long, I feel closed in and I cannot take it, so I just have to go out and let myself be myself. When you are out hunting or fishing and camping with a lot of people who hunt, that is, when you really see them as themselves, for what they are, it is an interesting thing. They are totally different from how they would be if you saw them in the settlement. I guess they just sort of release everything that has been pent up for a while.
Tom Sammurtuk
Chesterfield (E)

> Yet opinions about the present are complex. A majority continue to affirm many values in respect of child raising, of dealing with others, mutual aid, and they respect anyone's knowledge of language, natural history and hunting techniques. But new institutions and ideas are often regarded favourably, also medical services and social welfare are now held to be necessary parts of contemporary life. Even schooling is seen to be of some potential value to the new generation.

Living in a house is very comfortable – nice and warm and plenty of room.
Dominique Tungilik
Pelly Bay

> Acceptance of the new, however, has not compromised the Inuit's deep conviction that both their viability as a distinctive social group and their integrity as individuals come from their close relation to the land. In the circumstances, however, it is not easy for them to maintain that contact with the land. In particular, the *Qallunaat* have begun to make *their* decisions about both the land itself and about the kind of life the Inuit should have. Insofar as that life is ordered without reference to the land, it is hard for the Inuit to live as they would wish – it is hard, that is to say, to be Inuit. Economic and social domination by the *Qallunaat* is one of the most troubling features of the Inuit's present situation.

Just like little boys going to play in their friends' houses, the Whites came from the south, looking for Tuniit houses, etc., and making inukshuit. Not too long ago, there were no boats or an airstrip. So that is why Eskimo people shouldn't be pushed around or be lower than Whites. They are humans, just like you. It seems that Inuit are lying down on the ground, and the Whites walk over them. But don't forget that the Inuit were here first. When the councillor tried to find out about the guys who went to work in the north, the guys just said, it's a crown land. That means it's the Queen's land. When they say that, at first we, the Inuit, give up. But think about how they [the Inuit] used to live, and how they used to go where the animals were.
Charlie Crow
Belcher Islands (E)

When I was small we used to do what we wished, as if we were owners. We had never seen a *Qallunaak*. I finally saw one when I was growing up. That was about the time Amaq, my brother's namesake, died. That *Qallunaa*k said that Igloolik was like a living person. Some white people had tried to come here, but they could not, because it seemed to run away. He said it seemed as if it died, because it now could be reached by *Qallunaat*.
Piugatuk
Igloolik

I am going to tell you a story about a trip I made once to the Alert area, near Eureka, with Tukiqik, in 1961. That area, more to our side of the community, had neither caribou nor polar bear tracks. Even behind Eureka, as well as overland, there were not even Arctic hares, not a single sign of foxes. It had no evidence of animal life at all. Obviously *Qallunaat* had been living there. I am telling you of this event because I have some remembrance of it. But some time ago, that area, even on the sea ice between Grise Fiord and Eureka, used to have caribou and polar bear tracks. Naturally, because the animals had not then been forced to go somewhere else. I have thought a lot about this.
Akeeagok
Grise Fiord

But now these youngsters are not free on their land. They are not free now because they are being told what to do. This land of ours is going to belong to our children. It is going to belong to them, and it is going to be right, like we used to have it in the old days. We used to be free on it. The land used to belong to teenage boys and men. It used to be called theirs. This land, which is going to belong to our children, is precious to me, because if they live the *Qallunaat* way, absolutely nothing is going to be left on their land.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

There are only a few Inuit who live out of the settlement. But before, they used to be all over the land. But now we hear that *Qallunaat* want to buy our land, land they do not even know. Yet some Inuit know all the places, and I know part of it, too. But *Qallunaat* do not know where we hunt. They know their land, and we know ours.
Pauloosie Lyta
Lake Harbour

I want I.T.C. to let the government know what they are doing to our land. They have never been here before, that is why they do not know where the best hunting places are. I want the government to wake up, if they're going to come to the north and work. I want I.T.C. to say something to the government. They are doing too much to our land. If some Inuit moved you out of your land, you would not like it either. We do not want *Qallunaat* pushing us around.
Seemonie Keenainak
Pangnirtung

When the Inuit want to run something, including their land, it seems that there is no time for Inuit culture and customs.
Lucien Taparti
Rankin Inlet

We, the Inuit, should also have a say in what is going to happen to the land. We know which species of animals is sufficient in number and which is not. But we do not make decisions about these animals: the *Qallunaat* do. The same is true of the land. The *Qallunaat* make most of the decisions . . . We are starting to understand this.
Pauloosee Kooneeliusee
Broughton Island

We also had musk-ox meat to live on. Musk-ox sometimes was the only meat to be had. We tried to listen to the *Qallunaat*. We tried not to hunt musk-oxen. So we sometimes had a hard time, because we did not hunt. Some of us went hungry because we listened to the *Qallunaat* . . . Some Inuit pay attention to what they are told to do. They live by rules because they are afraid.
Inukshuk
Baker Lake

I ask the government, how many polar bears did they bring here to the north land? How many did they carry here for Inuit people?
Akashoot
Frobisher Bay

> It is important to realize that Inuit do not want to return to the days of semi-nomadic subsistence living.
>
> Changes have taken place that are welcomed and were needed: the settlement is not without its benefits. The Inuit seek some means of co-existence between the different peoples and the different traditions. In practical terms, this means that many of them want to maintain a mixed economy. Since the early days of whalers, traders and missionaries, the Inuit economy has included both labour and money. As settlements have grown larger and more complicated, so the inputs of money, through both trade and wages, have also increased. The part-time worker can be a part-time hunter; the full-time worker is able to help the men in his family who are hunters. The mix is within families as well as within individuals. Owing to the mix, everyone can live on local foods and take satisfaction in knowing that their lands are being used and protected. In that way, a mixed economy will allow the Inuit identity to endure and, perhaps most important of all, it offers some prospect of security in the future.

I think it is much cheaper for a family to eat seals and caribou and white whales. Cans of food from stores are much more expensive and harder to acquire . . . And it would be much better for my children and the children of all Inuit to learn how to hunt and live on the land, and to work part-time as a means of providing for their families in both ways. I am aware that ammunition and other supplies are expensive, and that prices are going up higher still. It will be much easier for a man, for anyone, to work and to hunt, using both as a way of living, for this generation and the generation to come.
Napatchie
Frobisher Bay

I would very much like to see my children and the children of my people go hunting and to know how to hunt. They must know their identity . . . We have our own way. We can live on the land and still live the southern culture at the same time, as long as the younger people go out hunting and know how to hunt.
Peter Aningmiuq
Cape Dorset

> The present threat, therefore, is that forces may interrupt or interfere with the Inuit's use of their land and will make a mixed economy impossible for them. Some say it is poverty that requires them to hunt and trap; others say it is simply in their blood. But all agree that, if the Inuit cease to be able to lead the life that is natural to them and to their land, the effects would be disastrous to them as a people. They need still the resources on which they have always depended.

We live in this delta the rest of our life, and we try to protect it, because we live off the land even though we're working right now . . . We got a very small income, and we got to get wild food from the land all the time.
Colin Allen
Inuvik (E)

It is well known that Inuit never held title to land in the way that southern Canadians own land. There are no walls or fences, title-deeds, or formal rules of inheritance. Nor, as we have seen, are there carefully worked out agreements about who has what rights to which places. Sharing has been at the basis of Inuit social life; mobility has been at the basis of their economic life. The present pressures and demands, both social and economic, have, however, given rise to new questions about the occupancy of the land. The question of ownership, in the southern sense of the word, has become a problem of the present. Difficulties of a southern nature have arisen: the *Qallunaat* want things done their way, so the Inuit have been obliged to try to express and to protect themselves in ways that the *Qallunaat* can understand. They are now saying that their occupation of the land is equivalent to formal ownership. In fact the Inuit language distinguishes among the ideas of residing, using, having and owning things, including land. There are two main ways of asking where a person is from: "*Nani nunagarpit?*", "Where do you have land?" and "*Nanirmiutauvit*?", "Where are you of?" The key infix in the first case is *-qaq,* which means "having in one's possession", although it does not imply anything as forceful as ownership. Although neither of the "where do you live" questions is explicitly directed to the idea of ownership, it is possible to discuss ownership in the Inuit language. The word for owning is *nangminiq,* which, like most Inuit words, can be used in both verbal and noun forms. As a noun, it takes conventional possessive endings: *nangminira,* my own, or *nangminit,* your own, etc. And in its verbal form, it can, like all verbs, be conjugated: *nangminiungituq,* it is not my property, or *nangminingitara,* I do not own it.

Nangimiq is opposed to *atuq,* merely using. A Pond Inlet man, talking about *Qallunaat* in the Arctic, said, "*Nangminiringitanga aturtuiinatanga*", "He doesn't own it, he just used it". When Inuit ask, "Whose are these?", they do so in a way that leaves open the question of ownership. The form of such questions and answers is – Q: "*Kia ukka?*", "Whose these?"; A: "*Ukkua uvanga*", "These mine"; or Q: "*Puaaluruukka takkua?*", "My rotten old gloves those?" Such questions and answers do not include a verbal root that indicate any relationship to the objects. They suggest a tendency toward non-designation of ownership. But this tendency is not, contrary to widespread belief, a result of there being no sense of ownership among the Inuit. Here the term *nangminiq* has its place. Assertion of ownership is likely to arise when the rights of ownership are not being respected, or when the benefits of ownership are threatened. In the case of the land, these kinds of uncertainty are comparatively new phenomena but, as these words from an elderly woman in Pond Inlet show, the language is well able to state the relationships: "*Ilisi qallunaarngutusi nangminiq nunaqarrassi; uvagut nunavut nangminirijumaratigit; nangminirqaruniruta quviasuqa jangipugut*", "You, the *Qallunaat,* own the land you have; we want to own our land; if we did not own [our land] we would not be content".

Map 54
Belcher Islands land use in recent years (post-1960)

We like our land, we like our natural foods. They give us the freedom to do what we want, the kind of life we like to live. Our culture we'll never forget. To keep our culture, we got to keep our land and have it free from being developed, so we'd kind of like to protect the land where we trap and hunt all our lives.
Sam Raddi
Inuvik (E)

I do not know too much about the land itself, but to me it seems that the animals and the Inuit own the land. Way before the *Qallunaat* came up north, the Inuit used the land as their own. Inuit used to go wherever they pleased, by dog-team. If they wanted to look for animals, they went where there were more animals.
Nicholas Irkookee
Rankin Inlet

There are all kinds of animals . . . Inuit have been living here for a long time, and some people live only on game (Maps 54 and 55), and some have done so for many years. That is why we want to protect the land. Sometime we hear that we do not own this land. Now, we have a hard time when we hear such a thing. Think about how long we have been here, how many years! And now they say this is *Qallunaat* land. It is not true!
Lucassie Inuktaluk
Sanikiluaq

We figure this is our own country, you know. And we never had no agreement with the government, saying that we sold our land to the government. We consider that it's still our country.
Charlie Gruben
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

Eskimos own the land. For years and years and many hundreds of years, Eskimos have been on this land (Map 56). Even before the explorers came around, Eskimos owned this land. That's where they used to live and hunt, and now some white people come up and say they own this land; mapped it, and they said they owned it. It should be Eskimos', because there was no white men up here before the Eskimos.
Peter Esau
Sachs Harbour (E)

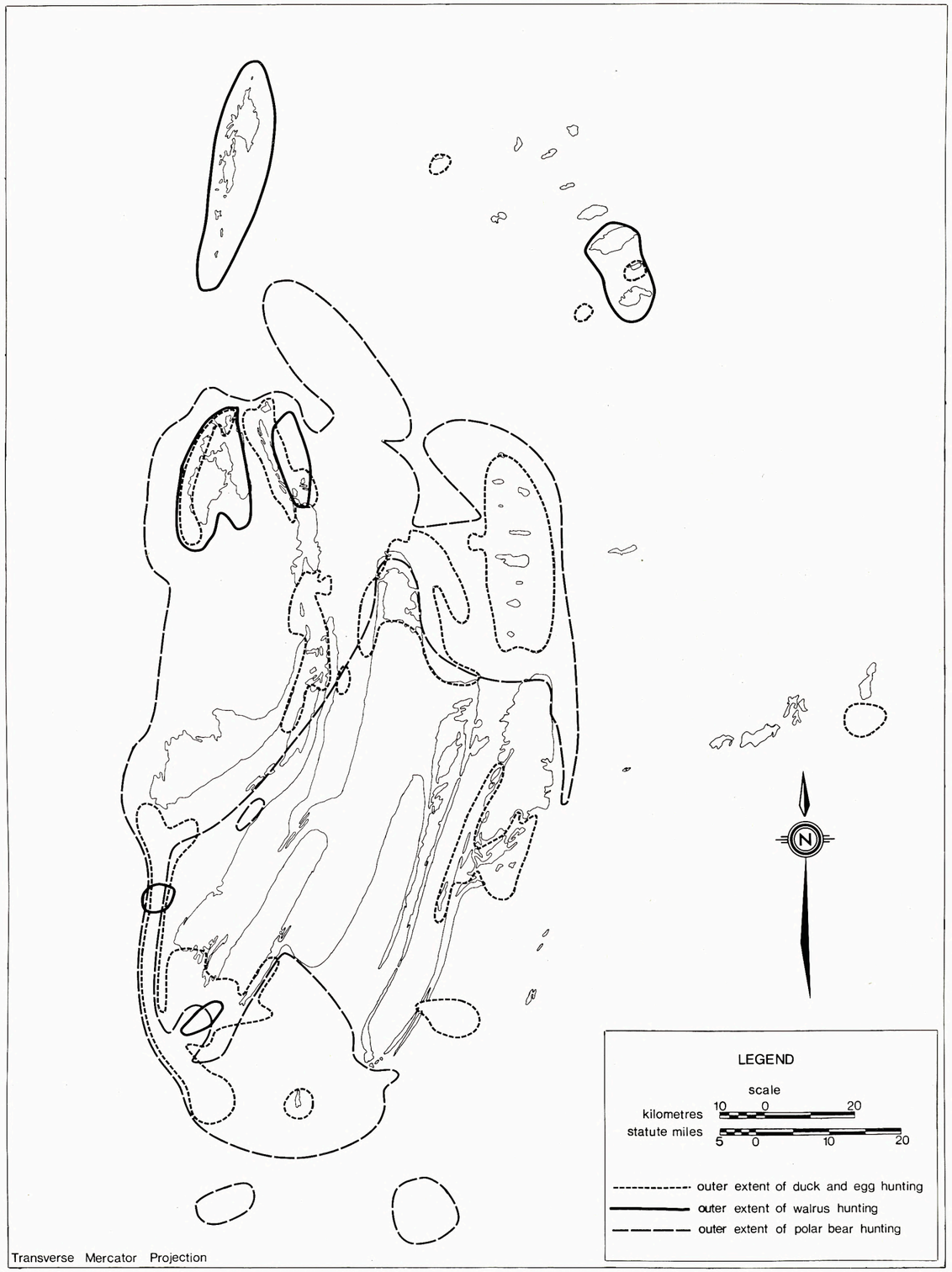
If you're taking the riches off some places and putting it somewhere else, and you leave nothing for the other place, it's not right. It's not fair. So I think we should own some of the land anyway, some of the oil, to start with anyway, since we live up here, and nobody else wants to live up here. If anybody wants to live up here, they can try and live up here same as us. So when you live somewhere, you get the feeling that you own the land. That's the way I look at it, anyway.
William Nasogaluak
Tuktoyaktuk (E)

We always said this is our land. We always thought we had land. Now I am hearing that it is not our land, that the *Qallunaat* have it as their land, as part of their land. Is it true that I am a poor little landless one? Is it true I have no land? I must be pitiable! Since I was a small girl, I have thought this land, around here, was ours. Perhaps they will let us have a little land to live on!
Utoova
Pond Inlet

Ever since a long time ago, the land has been precious to the Inuit. We want to keep the land; we like it and we are going to keep it. There is a multitude of routes where the Inuit travel, from Garry Lake to the Hudson Bay coast. It is our land throughout.
Innakatsik
Baker Lake

When a *Qallunaak* sees a rock that is upright, an inukshuk, then he should know that that is Inuit land. That is the mark of ownership that was put up by our ancestors. I have told one of the school teachers this and some guys from the DEW-Line. I told them that around their area, there are these inukshuk markers on our land, and they should recognize them. This is true for here and all other places like Spence Bay, Tuktoyaktuk, and probably Alaska and the Churchill area. They are all marked as Inuit land and should be recognized as such.
Guy Kakianiun
Pelly Bay

Map 55
Belcher Islands land use in recent years (post-1960)



The Future

I want to say that I heard that some *Qallunaat* in the south are starving, and I feel for them. I heard from the priest that some people are starving to death. I mention this because I do not want our children to starve in the future. We want the land to be recognized as ours. I mention this because I've heard of people who are starving. I do not want to see my children, the children of the Inuit, living the way the *Qallunaak* lives in his culture. I don't want them to be a copy of the south, of southern people with their way of living, the children starving to death because they cannot go hunting or provide for their own way of living by hunting.

. . . I don't want to see this land destroyed by southern technology, by using machines, or getting oil out of this land, or having oil spilt everywhere, and having the animals driven away or destroyed because the *Qallunaat* want to make money from this land. It would be painful to see our children starve because they can't go out hunting . . . I want to see the children, the Inuit, know and remember the ways of the Inuit's land: how to get food out of the Inuit land. I'm saying this, not because I'm against the *Qallunaak*'s law, or the *Qallunaak* or anybody. It is because I care for the future of the Inuit. I'm not saying this to make enemies or to make friends. I'm saying this because I care.
Peter Aningmiuq
Cape Dorset

Is the land of the Inuit, the land of our ancestors, going to be destroyed? Or is it going to remain the way it was, and the way it is now?
Leo Ussak
Rankin Inlet

An old man of Arctic Bay commented:

The land is for everyone. It is large, very large. There are animals for us all, for Whites and Inuit. I am not afraid of people coming here.

But such views do not take into account economic development as southern Canadians mean it. One of the central difficulties in discussing land use comes from this fundamental misunderstanding. Any talk of development involves a series of eircumlocutions or, more accurately, repeated reductions to specific eases. So the questions are, "What would be your reaction to a mine in the region?" or "What do you feel about being able to work all of the time as a labourer?" or "What would life here be like if there were many more Whites living in the villages?" or "What effect do you think many large ice-breakers would have on your life here?" Answers to such specific questions fail to give any generalized reaction to the larger question of development, as such. The answers describe the limited impact of a limited case, and do not involve the social, economic, and environmental aspects of development that must also be considered. As a result of such specificity, there is, in some regions, a strong tendency to be accepting whatever may happen and to hope that everything will turn out for the best – not to consider the issue in its larger implications. It should be obvious enough how such a response is based on ideas of vastness of the land and the abundance of its life.

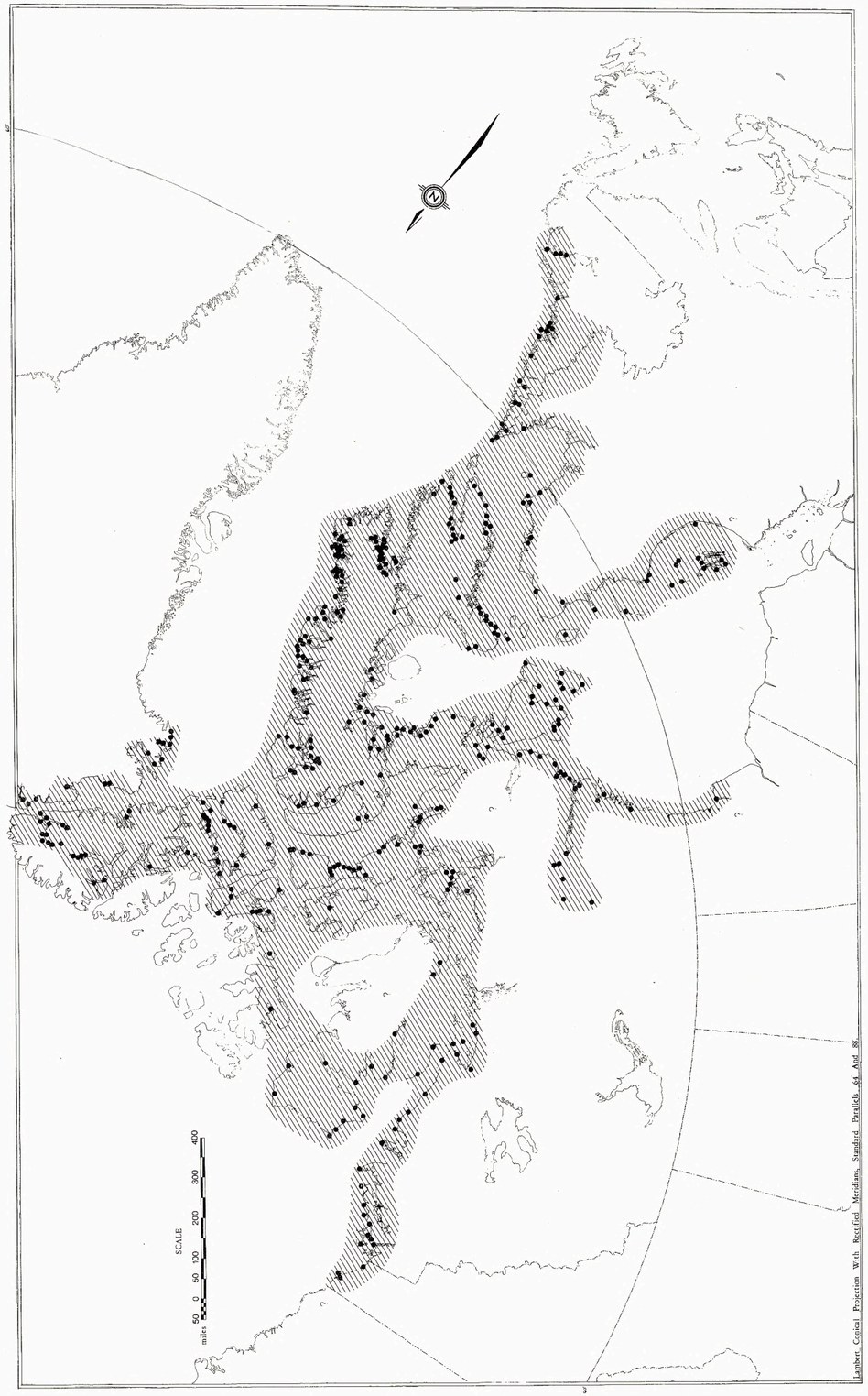
In many communities there has been little or no experience of economic development – the productivity of the land and the socio-economic system have never been threatened as elsewhere by large-scale industrial activity. The older men in these communities still believe that the cycles that govern the movements of animals and birds will continue, as they have in the past. Such a conviction makes any serious discussion of economic development and its effects difficult – the key terms are not translatable.

Nevertheless fears about industrial development in the north are growing. What is now being said about rivers, oil and pollution link present problems with apprehension about the future. Many families today realize that the kind of life they want for themselves is not easy to realize, and that industrial expansion into the Arctic may turn what is now diffieult into the impossible.

If the cod were to start dying off, other animals, like seals, bearded seals, whales and walruses would be threatened with starvation when their own food, the cod, begins to diminish. That is also the very way we Inuit do not want to be destroyed.
Akeeagok
Grise Fiord

Not all Inuit have a job. Many Inuit depend on fish and seals in the spring. The animals on land and sea are of great concern. The animals must also have food to survive. If oil were to be spilled in the sea or on the land, animals would not have their food. Therefore they would become scarce. So it is that the danger of oil can be seen.
Leo Ussak
Rankin Inlet

Map 56
Site locations and presumptive land use: Thule



If they explored the land where there are animals, we'd have nothing to hunt anymore . . . If they came, the smell and the noise would scare the animals away.
Lucien Ukkalianuk
Igloolik

If the pipeline were built over a very great distance, and if it suddenly were to break and spill onto the water and onto the land, then the lemmings and caribou and everything else that eats from the ground would be utterly destroyed. I think they would completely disappear, because I know animals. I have seen caribou in summer and in winter. I have watched caribou all my life. When there are mosquitoes, the caribou walk all over the place in large groups – many, many of them. Because the caribou travel in great herds and keep together, were the oil ever to spill onto the land, the caribou would be gone.
Hitatitok
Baker Lake

Every living animal that we depend upon today will still be used in the future as long as the oil companies don't destroy them. If there is an oil spill near this island, every living animal could disappear. This could happen in the very near future. If our food is to be destroyed, I don't know what we are going to do. Where are they going to move us? We live pretty well on the sea, but we do not know how to live on the mainland. If there is an oil spill, we know sea moves around a lot, so all around this island every living animal would die for sure. And that's pretty scary to us.
Peter Alogut
Southampton Island

Our hunting area around this place is not very big. We have a small piece of land. There are animals only in certain parts of it. If they do what they say they are going to do, it would change the way of life, thus destroying the animals. This is what I think would happen if they build a pipeline. This is what I am very concerned about.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

I see changes fast now, even worse after everything. White man come over here, they change life a little bit. New life is something we don't know – I hope we understand right. I'm glad to be here explaining, telling about the Banks Island life. We asked for government to register the whole island. We use it for the native life, and I don't like the animals disappearing, all the food for people's better life. The people, they never ask for relief as long as they got game around.

The north end of this island, I'd like to save it for breeding area, for the caribou and fox, and I'm glad nobody lives so far today. Maybe, I hope, keep it up like that . . . I hope everything runs fine in the future and a better life for our kids.

Try to go easy, the oil companies. I don't want to chase all the animals for food from this island. Fox and caribou, when they left this island, nobody can stay on this island, back to different place. Wood, no way to get fuel without paying around here.
Fred Carpenter
Sachs Harbour (E)

> Few Inuit can imagine what it would be like to live without the animals or land, or with hunting and trapping as mere hobbies in a social and economic environment that denies the Inuit identity an effective place. There would be hunger, insecurity, unhappiness, and a near-total loss of the qualities that now make Inuit life valuable and good. The people's apprehension ranges from the pragmatic and material to the metaphysical and cultural. Each kind of doubt is matched by another kind: one person worries about money (wage-labour is not reliable and steady, it does not have the deep and long-term strength of a land-based economy); another worries about food; and another worries about identity. Indeed, these various concerns are often all held by one person, for whom the future does not present a single problem, but a set of problems.

It would be better if the land was saved from destruction by the *Qallunaat*. Food prices are now very high, and people are mostly sustained by meat. That is what they are used to. It is better if the Inuit are the minds over the land.
Philip Nimiqtaqtuq
Gjoa Haven

If I hear it said that we owned the land now, if this is what I heard, I would be very happy. It would be just as if my body was reborn. This is what I would think, I would be happy. I would think of the children who are now growing up, and the ones in the future. I try hard for them. I would think that the children would have a real future.
Constant Sallarina
Spence Bay

I want to keep the land because, if the *Qallunaat* just take the land, then we would have no chance. We would just have the money – whatever that would be worth. A person is not going to live all his life with that money. He has to have something to eat, even though he has got money. He is not going to live forever with that money.
Peter Okpik
Gjoa Haven

I think what is going to happen is just like down south. For the animals, they are going to have parks. They'll get a place and say, nobody comes here. They'll get a place here – and it seems that they think this way – and nobody touches it. But the other place, they touch it. It seems like it's that kind of attitude, and I don't think that's going to help. In future I think, if this thing keeps going on, the whole thing's going to be ruined, the land. And considering the land, the growth is really slow, and I think its going to be wasted. I think its going to be wasted.
Simon Merkosak
Pond Inlet (E)

It is just like the land itself. When the land changes, the Inuit way of life changes together with the land that is changing.
Lucy Kaunaq
Baker Lake

I think and sometimes speak the thought that my children should eat well from the land. This is what I want to pass on to my descendants: good food from the land, caribou and fish. The land makes you live well and be healthy.
Rosie Paulla
Gjoa Haven

This land here, supposing something happened, that they developed the whole land, and we got nothing left, we are going to end up being nothing. Might as well not live, or move to some other place. We would just have to move out of this country, and we can't afford to. If it so happened that they developed the whole thing like they did in Europe, cover the whole land, they developed the whole thing, then there would be nothing to live for. We got to move out of here, move some plaee where we could find game, like where all the animals are, we got to move again. I don't see any point in it being developed, so I don't expect anybody to develop the land and take away our land and leave us with nothing, because this is our land, and we're going to protect it.
Sam Raddi
Inuvik (E)

Everyone knows that the future of the Inuit is uncertain. Some believe that the future of the Inuit as a people is itself in doubt. But everyone, young and old alike, is convinced that control and ownership of the land are the only sure ways of protecting the Inuit. The prospect of large numbers of *Qallunaat* moving to the Arctic is troubling, and just such a change in social formation would be associated with the coming of industry. The contrast is made, the tension exists between Inuit and *Qallunaat*, between north and south, and between different kinds of life and work. Any talk of the future touches on all the themes discussed in this report. The ways of the Sivullirmiut and their ancestors are contrasted, at least in imagination, with the anticipated future; questions are asked about who can live as an Inuk, if all Inuit are drawn into wage-labour; the natural environment is described and thought about because it may be changed; and the present, with all its problems, is regarded as a portent of the future. Something of the way these themes are interwoven comes through in these parts of a conversation among three young men in Pond Inlet. The conversation was in English.

Jayko Anaviapik: The animals are all over the place, you know, up here, and if you have to go to a certain place and the other places you can't touch them, then the place where you can go might not have any animals. So I think you need a lot of land for hunting.
Simon Merkosak: Yes, I think so too. Like us, human beings together, we can govern ourselves, and you know that the animals go anywhere they want to go, as we did before. But the animals, you can't control them, if they're wild. You can't control animals, except in zoos.
Jayko Anaviapik: But up here they are different.
Simon Merkosak: Yes.
Jayko Anaviapik: Well, you know, it's good to be down south. For me, I like it up here, especially in the spring. You're free. But down there you have to do what you have to do all the time and watch for anything, like constant go.
Simon Merkosak: You're always going round the clock, you count your clock, you know, you go by the clock. When you're down south you go by the clock, but when you're up here you go by your feelings. When you're going by the clock, you feel tied down, and I don't think you can do as well.
Jayko Anaviapik: Living down south and living up here is really completely different. I thought of this before. You know, if you are living in a small place you have a happier time, and you can talk to anyone you want. You know the guys in a small place but, living down there, people come and go all the time. You can go to sleep, you can get up any time you want, you can go hunting, you can go any time hunting. You can get up to go hunting at day or night.

Simon Merkosak: About the north, about which one we prefer, I think I prefer the north because I grew up here, and this is the place where I feel relaxed enough, and I feel confident in knowing this place, where I was born, this place where I can live. You don't mind being down south, but you prefer being up north.
Jayko Anaviapik: I think this would help. Get everybody to a meeting, some Inuit, and discuss it. If they are against it, they could tell the government or south. If we really try, I think we can go on by ourselves.
Simon Merkosak: To me, I think they should be kept out, they have done enough damage already. When they take up the oil they burn it. Yes, we should keep them out, those companies and the industrialists. They are the ones who are going to pollute, and we should keep them out. They are destroying land. This is a broad thing, but just suppose, assuming, there's oil burning, spilling, around there, a caribou comes along and eats it, it may end up being no good. It may get sick and die. Same thing with the foxes. If an animal dies and if an animal comes to that spot, another animal comes and eats it. I think they would be poisoned. I think they are acting different. They would go to different places. Animals would run away and, yes, they run away, but companies keep coming. They keep running away, and gradually there won't be any animals.
Jayko Anaviapik: There's another thing. There is a legend. Some animals go through here and through there and, if any company comes to this place – where they go through all the time – they would be destroying their way. Like caribou, there is a legend in a certain month that they go through this place to another land. I heard this from my father, I think it is true. Each group together. They go to this land. They know which way to take.
Joshua Arreak: There'll be some good guys and bad buys. If there's a lot of white guys up here, maybe they are going to take over our land and let the Eskimos do labour work or something. Well, I can't predict, you know.
Simon Merkosak: If the southern people do come up here, I think if we don't do anything, we're going to end up like Indians. They're going to drive us right down to small places and so-called reserves, and they're going to just kind of ignore us, you know. Considering we are a minority group, and I think we're just going to disappear, if we don't do anything. If we don't back ourselves up, if we just let them push us, we won't go anywhere. It's going to be the end of us. And, not exactly the end of us, but we'll begin to start going down. Yes, I think you know of what happened to the Indians. I think that's possible – really possible. I think some of the Inuit people will get the labour jobs all the same. Although in some ways we are kind of better off than Indians, that doesn't mean we are going to be doing OK. I think we have to move, you know – not move, but think what's going on, consider every change that's going on. And we're going through very fast technological changes, and in future I think there's going to be – what do you call it – culture shock or something. I think that's happening already, culture shock. And I think it affects your brain when that happens. You don't really stay as you are, you become another person like that.

> Many of the themes that give such strength of feeling and urgency to the question of land occupancy converge when the present seems to be so full of uncertainty. But what most Inuit now want for the future is not uncertain.

I want the Inuit who are going to be born to have enough land. That is our right. The new Inuit, and even the ones who are not yet born, they are going to keep the land because its meaning is like this. For a long time, a very long time, since there were Inuit on this land, the land has been passed on to the people, the Inuit, who were being born. It passed down after each generation. It has been travelling this way all the time. In this way, the culture of the Inuit has been preserved because the land has been given to the Inuit who were born later. All the time the old Inuit passed it on to the younger Inuit, and they themselves in turn passed it on to those who were younger. The land and its hunting ways, its hunting areas, and the knowledge of how many animals it has, have been passed on.
Kanayuk
Baker Lake

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Map 63 Gjoa Haven: Trapping Period III (1955–1962)
Map 64 Gjoa Haven: Hunting Period III (1955–1962)
Map 65 Gjoa Haven: Trapping Period IV (1963–1974)
Map 66 Gjoa Haven: Hunting Period IV (1963–1974)

Map 67 Eskimo Point: Trapping Period II (1924–1959)
Map 68 Eskimo Point: Hunting Period II (1924–1959)
Map 69 Eskimo Point: Trapping Period III (1959–1974)
Map 70 Eskimo Point: Hunting Period III (1959–1974)

Map 71 Whale Cove (northeastern portion): Trapping Period II (pre-1959)
Map 72 Whale Cove (southeastern portion): Trapping Period II (pre-1959)
Map 73 Whale Cove (northwestern portion): Trapping Period II (pre-1959)
Map 74 Whale Cove (northeastern portion): Hunting Period II (pre-1959)
Map 75 Whale Cove (southeastern portion): Hunting Period II (pre-1959)
Map 76 Whale Cove (northwestern portion): Hunting Period II (pre-1959)
Map 77 Whale Cove (southeastern portion): Trapping Period III (1959–1974)
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Map 81 Rankin Inlet (western portion): Trapping Period II (pre-1956)
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Map 83 Rankin Inlet (northwestern portion): Hunting Period II (pre-1956)
Map 84 Rankin Inlet (western portion) Hunting Period II (pre-1956)
Map 85 Rankin Inlet: Trapping Period III (1956–1974)
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Map 87 Baker Lake: Trapping Period II (1916–1956)
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Map 89 Baker Lake: Trapping Period III (1956–1974)
Map 90 Baker Lake: Hunting Period III (1956–1974)

Map 91 Chesterfield: Trapping Period II (1912–1954)
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Map 93 Chesterfield: Trapping Period III (1954–1974)
Map 94 Chesterfield: Hunting Period III (1954–1974)

Map 95 Southampton Island: Trapping Period II (1925–1962)
Map 96 Southampton Island: Hunting Period II (1925–1962)
Map 97 Southampton Island: Trapping Period III (1962–1974)
Map 98 Southampton Island: Hunting Period III (1962–1974)

Map 99 Belcher Islands: Trapping Periods I and II (pre-1960)
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Map 101 Belcher Islands: Hunting Periods I and II (pre-1960)
Map 102 Belcher Islands: Hunting Period III (1960–1974)

Part III: Regional Summary Maps