The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information

Volume I

Royal Commission
on Aboriginal Peoples

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The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

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The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

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The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

General Introduction

The present document contains a summary of the information that served as a basis for the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples on the relocation of Northern Quebec Inuit to the High Arctic in the 1950s. Inuit from the High Arctic community of Pond Inlet on north Baffin Island were also relocated to assist the northern Quebec Inuit to adjust to conditions in the High Arctic. This supporting summary is presented in four parts. Part 1 contains a summary of the recollections of the Inuit. Part 2 contains a summary of the recollections of former officials and police officers as well as others who had some contact with the relocation. Parts 3 and 4 summarize the extensive documentary material which touches on the relocation. Part 3 deals with the period up to and including the 1953 relocation. Part 4 describes events at the new communities after the initial relocation. Each part contains its own brief introduction as well as a table of contents to assist the reader.

The Commission held hearings on April 5-8, June 28-30, and July 5, 1993. Interested persons were also given until August 31, 1993 to provide additional information in writing to the Commission. All relevant information received has been summarized.

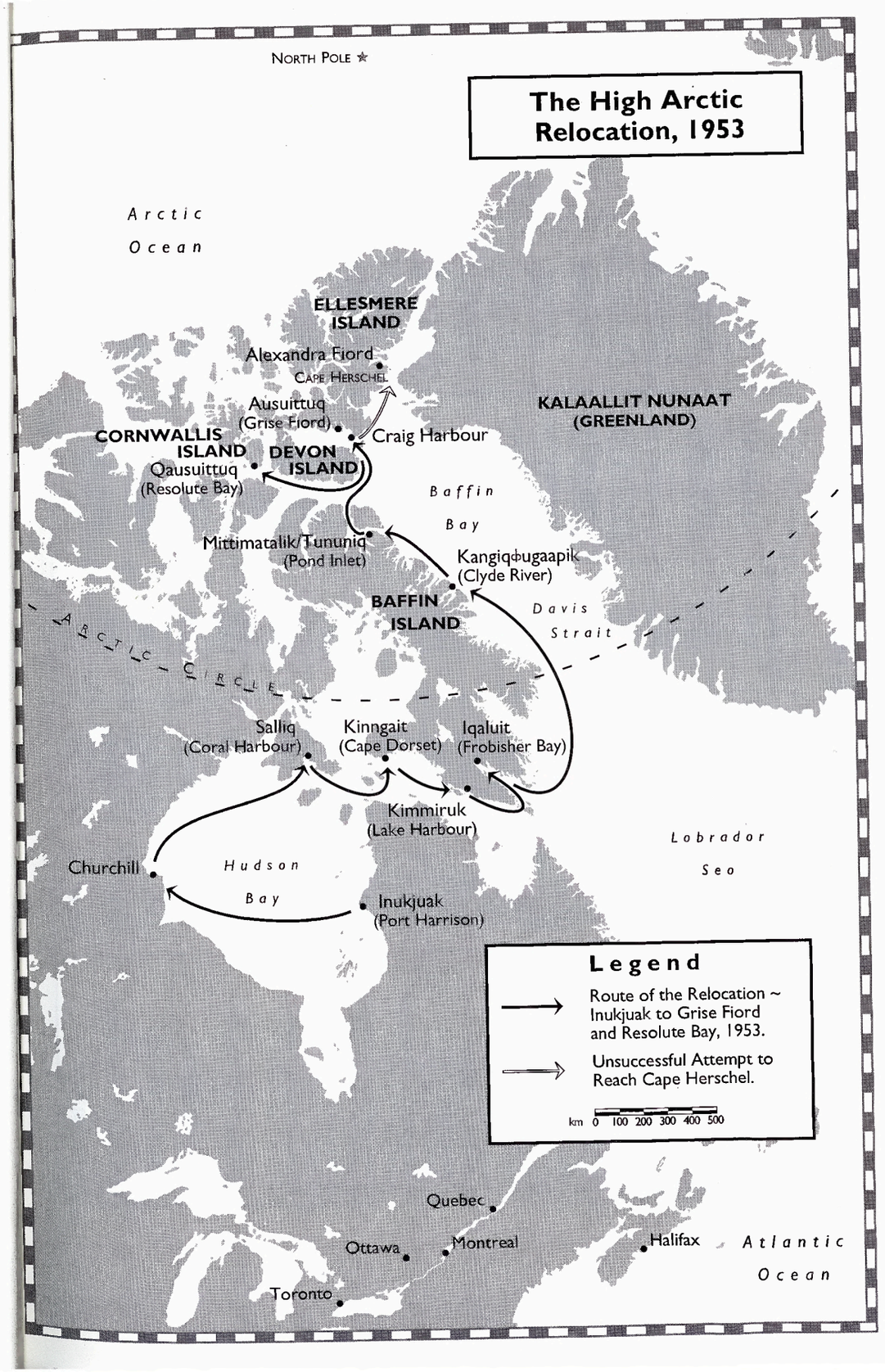
This supporting summary has been made available to assist anyone interested in the High Arctic relocation by bringing together in one place a summary of the information which was available to and considered by the Commission in its review of the matter. The Commission believes that this approach will assist in resolving the wide-ranging dispute which has continued for years about what happened. With all this extensive information gathered in an orderly way, the focus can move to an

assessment of the appropriateness of the relocation. That is the focus of the Commission's report.

All of the essential information that supports the Commission's report is summarized in this summary. The Commission's report, a shorter document, does not contain every item of information found in this supporting summary.

A note on terminology is appropriate. Inuit were called Eskimos for many years by non-Inuit, and non-Inuit often referred to themselves as white, so that the terms 'Eskimo' and 'white' are found in the various parts of the supporting summary where reference is made to historical documents. These terms have been used in the supporting summary to avoid altering the historical record.

A map showing places referred to in the supporting summary follows this introduction. Lists of witnesses that appeared during the Commission's hearings in April, June and July 1993 are also appended to this introduction. Also appended are a table showing the families that were relocated and their relationships, and a bibliography.



Witnesses at the Commission Hearings of April 5-8, 1993

Name	Birth Date	Birthplace	Relocation Date	Destination	Present Residence	Year of Return
Akpaliapik, Simon	1921	Pond Inlet	1953	Grise Fiord	Pond Inlet	1983
Allakariallak, Elizabeth	1957	Resolute Bay	n/a		Resolute Bay	
Allakariallak, Minnie	1916	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Amagoalik, Jaybeddie	1935	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Inukjuak	1979
Amagoalik, John	1947	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Ottawa	
Amagoalik, Lizzie	1938	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Inukjuak	1979
Amagoalik, Paul	1953	*C.D. Howe*	1953	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Amagoalik, Sarah	1937	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Amagoalik, Simeonie	1933	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Amaraulik, Jaybeddie	1915	Pond Inlet	1953	Resolute Bay	Pond Inlet	1974
Arnakallak, Samuel	1925	Pond Inlet	1953	Grise Fiord	Pond Inlet	1957
Arrugutainaq, Maina	1944	Inukjuak	1955	Arctic Bay, Grise Fiord	Sanikiluaq	1963, 1972
Attugutaluk, Mary	1950	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Pond Inlet	1991
Audlaluk, Larry	1950	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Grise Fiord	
Eckalook, George	1946	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Eliasialuk, Samwillie	1936	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Inukjuak	1979
Epoo, Johnny	1947	Inukjuak	n/a		Inukjuak	
Epoo, Lazarusie	1932	Inukjuak	n/a		Inukjuak	
Flaherty, Martha	1950	Inukjuak	1955	Grise Fiord	Ottawa	
Flaherty, Rynie	1928	Inukjuak	1955	Grise Fiord	Grise Fiord	
Idlout-Paulson, Leah	1940	Pond Inlet	1955	Resolute Bay	Ottawa	1961
Iqaluk, Andrew	1929	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Inukjuak	1982
Iqaluk, Jackoosie	1933	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Inukjuak	1977
Killiktee, Minnie	1940	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Iqaluit	1974
Nungaq, Anna	1927	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Inukjuak	1988
Nungaq, Minnie	1950	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Nutaraq, Elijah	1932	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Inukjuak	1988
Nutaraq, Elisapee	1943	Inukjuak	1953	Grise Fiord	Inukjuak	1988
Patsauq, Bobbie	1960	Resolute Bay	n/a		Inukjuak	1974
Patsauq, Markoosie	1941	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Inukjuak	1975
Pudluk, Dora	1943	Inukjuak	1955	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Salluvinik, Allie	1949	Inukjuak	1953	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	
Salluvinik, Susan	1953	Pond Inlet	1955	Resolute Bay	Resolute Bay	

Witnesses at the Commission's Hearings of June 28-30 and July 5, 1993

Armand Brousseau and Pierre Desnoyers, former members of RCAF stationed at Resolute Bay 1953-54.

Mary Carpenter, daughter of Fred Carpenter, an Inuk who received a loan in 1953 under the Eskimo Loan Fund.

*Dr. Robert Christie**, retired officer with the Geological Survey of Canada who worked in the High Arctic in the 1960s.

Mark Denhez, a lawyer who has worked with the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada on Arctic sovereignty.

Wilfred Doucette, a photographer who made many visits to the High Arctic, including visits in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, and 1956.

*Cley Fryer**, retired member of the RCMP who was stationed at Craig Harbour in 1953.

Ross Gibson, former RCMP member stationed at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) in 1952-53 and then in Resolute Bay.

Professor Shelagh Grant, Department of History, Trent University.

Professor Magnus Gunther, Trent University.

Gerard Kenney, a private citizen who has studied the relocations extensively.

Gordon Larsen and Doreen Larsen-Riedel, the son and daughter of and custodians of the papers of Henry Larsen, a senior RCMP officer with responsibility for RCMP activities in the Arctic at the time of the relocations who retired with the rank of Superintendent.

Alan Marcus, Doctoral Candidate, Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University.

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* Written presentation only.

Bud Neville, retired from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and, as a consultant, worked for Hickling Corporation in preparation of a report on the relocations for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Professor David Orkin, McGill University.

Professor Donat Pharand, Professor Emeritus, University of Ottawa.

Bob Pilot, former RCMP member stationed at Craig Harbour beginning in 1955 and later worked with the Government of the Northwest Territories becoming Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Reuben Ploughman, who was the Manager of the Hudson's Bay Store at Port Harrison (Inukjuak) in 1953-54.

Gordon Robertson, a former Deputy Minister of Resources and Development and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories who retired after serving as Secretary to the Cabinet and Secretary to the Cabinet for Federal-Provincial Relations.

Graham Rowley, who was Secretary and Co-ordinator for the Co-ordinating Committee on Northern Development at the time of the relocations and served for many years as a senior adviser to government.

Bent Sivertz, who was the Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister, Department of Resources and Development, at the time of the relocations in 1953 and later held positions of increasing seniority becoming Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

Dr. Gordon W. Smith, a former university professor and public servant and still active Arctic scholar.

Professor Daniel Soberman, Faculty of Law, Queen's University.

Doug Wilkinson, who spent many years in the Arctic beginning in 1945 filming and living with the Inuit.

Professor R. G. Williamson, Department of Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan.

Families Relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953

To Grise Fiord from Inukjuak

Name and Relationship in May 22, 1953 RCMP Report	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
Fatty – Husband	*Paddy AQIATUSUK Also known as AQUIATUSUK	Also known as Isa Paddy. Brother to Philipusie Novalinga. Adoptive father to Josephie Flaherty who relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955.
Mary – Wife	*Mary	
Minnie – Daughter	Minnie	KILLIKTEE. Age 13.
Larry – Son	Larry	AUDLALUK. Age 3.
Samwillie – Son	Samwillie	ELIASIALUK. Age 17.
Anna – Daughter	Anna NUTARAK	NUNGAQ. Age 26.
Elijah – Son	Elijah NUTARAK	NUTARAQ. Age 21. Step-son to Paddy. Married to Elisapee (née Novalinga).
Joalamee – Husband (Son of Fatty. Also known as Joadamie/Joalamee.)	Joadamie AQIATUSUK	
Ikomak – Wife (Also known as Ekooma)	Ekoomak	
Lydia – Daughter	Lizzie	
Philapushie – Husband (Also known as Pellypussy)	*Philipusie NOVALINGA	Also known as Philipoosie.
Annine – Wife	*Annie	Sister to Thomasie and Simeonie Amagoalik.
Pailoosie – Son (Also known as Paulasis.)	*Pauloosie	
Elipsapee – Daughter (Also known as Elisabee)	Elisabee	NUTARAQ. Age 10. Also known as Elisapee. Married to Elijah Nutaraq, Paddy Aquiatusuk's step-son.
Thomassie – Husband	*Thomasie AMAGOALIK	Brother to Annie Novalinga, Edith Patsauq and Simeonie Amagoalik. Simeonie and Edith were relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953.
Mary – Wife	Mary	
Allie – Son (Alle?)	*Alex	
Josephie – Son (Also known Sadloovenee)	*Salluviniq	
Charlie – Son	(Not mentioned)	

*Shown in Makivik documents. Deceased as of 1990.

Families Relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953 (cont'd)

To Grise Fiord from Pond Inlet

Name and Relationship in May 22, 1953 RCMP Report	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
Akjaleeapik – Husband (Also known as Akpakeeapik)	Simon AKPALIAPIK	Age 32.
Tataga – Wife	Tatigak	
Ootootee	*Ruthie	
Tookahsee	Inutsiak	
Muckpa	(Not mentioned)	
Angnakudlak – Husband	Samuel ANUKUDLUK	ARNAKALLAK. Age 28.
Koymayoo – Wife	*Qaumayuk	
Damaras	Tamarisee	
Rhoda	Rhoda	
Killiktee	Phoebe	
	Jonathan	
	*Mukpanuk	Grandmother to Samuel Arnakallak

To Resolute Bay from Pond Inlet

Name and Relationship in May 22, 1953 RCMP Report	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
Amagooalik – Husband	Jaybeddie AMAGOALIK	AMARAULIK. Age 18.
Kanooinoo – Wife	*Kanoinoo	
+Muckooloo	(Not mentioned)	
Ekaksak	Ekaksak	
Seepohrah	*Sippora	
Merari	Merrari	

*Shown in Makivik documents. Deceased as of 1990.
+Not mentioned in subsequent October 7, 1953 RCMP Report.

Families Relocated to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953 (cont'd)

To Resolute Bay from Inukjuak

Name and Relationship in May 22, 1953 RCMP Report	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
Simeone – Husband	Simeonie AMAGOALIK	Age 20. Brother of Edith Patsauq, Thomasie Amagoalik and Annie Novalinga. Thomasie and Annie were relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953.
Sara – Wife	Sarah	Age 16. Daughter of Minnie Allakariallak who relocated in 1955. Niece of Alex Patsauq.
	Paul	Born in 1953 on board *C.D. Howe*.
Jaybeddie – Brother of Simeone	Jaybeddie	Age 38.
Nellie – Grandmother of Simeone	*Nellie	
Alex – Husband (Also known as Allie)	*Alex PATSAUQ	Uncle of Sarah Amagoalik.
Edith – Wife	Edith	Sister to Annie Novalinga and Simeonie, Jaybeddie and Thomasie Amagoalik. Annie and Thomasie were relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953.
Markassie – Son	Markoosie	Age 12.
Lizzie – Daughter	*Lizzie	
Johnnie – Son	Johnny	John AMAGOALIK. Age 8.
+Jimmie – son	*Jimmy	
Sudlavenich – Husband	Daniel SALLUVINIQ	
Sarah – Wife	*Sarah	
Alle – Son	Allie	SALLUVINIK. Age 4.
Louisa – Daughter	Louisa	
Jeannie – Adopted Daughter	*Jeannie	

*Shown in Makivik documents. Deceased as of 1990.
+Not mentioned in subsequent October 7, 1953 RCMP Report.

Families Who Moved to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1955

To Resolute Bay from Inukjuak

Name in Undated Government Report of Inuit to he Relocated from Inukjuak in 1955	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
Levi – Husband	Levi NUNGAK	Older brother relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953.
Alicee – Wife	Alici	
Annie – Daughter (Age 7)	Annie	
Minnie – Daughter (Age 5)	Minnie	NUNGAQ. Age 5.
Philipussie – Son (Age 3)	Philipusie	
Anna – Daughter (Age 6 months)	Anna	
Joannie – Husband	*Johnnie ECHALOOK	
Minnie – Wife	Minnie	ALLAKARIALLAK. Age 39. Her daughter, Sarah Amagoalik and her husband, Simeonie, relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953.
Sara – Daughter (Age 20)		
Lizzie – Daughter (Age 16)	Lizzie	AMAGOALIK. Age 16.
Rynie – Daughter (Age 14)	Rynee	
Dora – Daughter (Age 13)	Dora	PUDLUK. Age 13. (Maiden name also known as IQALUK, ECKALOOK, EKALOOK). Sent to hospital in 1955. Rejoined family in 1958.
George – Son (Age 9)	George	ECKALOOK, EKALOOK. Age 9.
May – Daughter (Age 4)		
Lizzie – Daughter (Age 1)		
	Mary	ATTAGUTALUK. Age 5. Sent south to hospital in 1955.
	Leah	
Andrew – Adult Brother-in-Law of Joannie	Andrew IQALUK	Age 26. Under care of brother-in-law, Johnnie Echalook, and relocated with him.
? – Mother		
? – Sister (adult)		
? – Brother (adult)	Jaekoosie IQALUK	Age 22. Under care of brother-in-law, Johnnie Echalook, and relocated with him.
	Mawa	
	Martha	
	Emily	
	Mary	

*Shown in Makivik documents. Deceased as of 1990.

Families Who Moved to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1955 (cont'd)

To Grise Fiord from Inukjuak

Name in Undated Government Report of Inuit to be Relocated from Inukjuak in 1955	Name in 1990 Makivik Documents (Surname in caps)	Name of April Witnesses in RCAP Transcripts if Different (surname in caps), Approximate Age at Relocation, and Additional Data on Relationships
	Josephine FLAHERTY	Josephie – Husband. Adoptive son of Paddy Aqiatusuk who relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953.
	Rynee	Rynie – Wife. Age 27. Two-year-old daughter, Mary, diagnosed with TB and taken away at Churchill on trip to Grise Fiord. Following hospitalization, Mary was sent to Inukjuak and Resolute Bay before joining family several years later at Grise Fiord.
	Peter	
	Martha	Age 5.

Notes:

Maina Arrugutainaq, with her mother and sister, en route to Grise Fiord in 1955, stopped in Arctic Bay. Maina and her mother completed their relocation to Grise Fiord in 1957. Maina's older sister had relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953.

The family of Joseph Idlout and another family relocated from Pond Inlet to Resolute Bay in 1955. Leah Idlout-Paulson (aged 15 at the time of relocation) and Susan Salluvinik (aged 2) are two of Joseph Idlout's children.

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The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

Part 1
The Voices of the Relocatees

Contents

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

Part 1
The Voices of the Relocatees

Introduction

Part 1 contains a summary of the story of the relocation as told by the relocatees at the Commission's April 1993 hearings. The summary attempts to stay as close as possible to the story as it was transcribed. In most cases, the story was told in Inuktitut and the transcripts contain a translation. As a result, the summary is, for the most part, based on the translation. The translation was simultaneous and the translators had to react very quickly to what was being said by the witnesses. In a few cases, something said by a witness who was speaking very quickly may have been missed by the translator or the English words used by the translator might not completely capture the sense of what a witness said in Inuktitut. The transcript is, however, the record of what was heard through simultaneous interpretation at the April 1993 hearings. Overall the relocatees conveyed a message that was clear and moving.

The Commission received copies of affidavits sworn some years ago detailing the items which relocatees left behind in the High Arctic on their return to Inukjuak. The Commission has taken note of the evidence that people left many things behind when they returned to Inukjuak although the details are not summarized here.

The voices contained in Part 1 appear in the order in which the people spoke at the Commission's April 1993 hearings. A discussion of the relocatees' story, in the light of all the information before the Commission, is found in the Commission's report. An executive summary of the presentations made by the relocatees is provided for convenience. A large number of people made presentations and many matters have been raised.

It has not been possible to mention everyone by name in the executive summary or to refer to every matter which has been raised. A full appreciation of the relocatees' story requires a reading of the individual recollections of each relocatee. At the same time, an appreciation of the cultural context is also essential in understanding their story.

The Inuit Cultural Context

Inuit representatives have emphasized the importance of understanding the cultural context in any attempt to understand the relocation and its impact on the relocatees. The information provided by Inuit representatives and others concerning the complaints of the relocatees and the cultural context is summarized below. The term 'exiles', which is used below, is the term used by the relocatees and their representatives.

Zebedee Nungak, Vice-President of Makivik Corporation, in his presentation to the Commission,[1] referred to the challenges that the relocatees from northern Quebec[2] faced in their new High Arctic surroundings. They had to learn to find food in a land that bears little resemblance to their homeland in northern Quebec in the harshness of a totally dark winter. They had to endure isolation, not only from their families but also from each other as a result of the unexpected separation of families into different High Arctic communities. They survived, and Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are now happy, healthy towns. However, as more and more of the younger relocatees began to receive formal education, there were more and more questions raised publicly by Inuit about the belief of the relocatees that they had been treated unjustly and had been coerced into relocating. Why were the people relocated? What promises were made

1. Monday, April 5, 1993, Transcripts of the Hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples [cited hereafter as Tr.], Volume 1, pp. 13-25.

2. Inuit from the High Arctic community of Pond Inlet were also relocated. They have also complained about the way they were treated. Their complaints relate primarily to the fact that they were not compensated for their assistanee in helping the northern Quebec relocatees adjust to conditions in the High Arctic.

by the government officials and why were they not kept? Was it fair for the relocatees to be coerced? The northern Quebec relocatees see themselves as "exiles". "The consciousness of the High Arctic Exiles began to rise at the same time as the political consciousness of Inuit across the Canadian Arctic began to rise."[3] The organizational and legal support which the exiles have needed to advance their claim for justice has been provided by democratically elected representative organizations like the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and its regional affiliate in Northern Quebec, the Makivik Corporation. ITC is the national political organization representing Canadian Inuit and was only formed twenty years ago.

Mr. Nungak said that when the High Arctic exiles were given the opportunity to tell their story to the all-party House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and to Professor Soberman, the investigator appointed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the truth of their story was recognized and recommendations were made to redress the injustice they have suffered. The federal government's response, however, was to hire consultants to "white-wash" the government's role in the events as a basis for refusing to act on recommendations for an apology and compensation. He said that the exiles have turned to the Commission because of its commitment to healing outstanding grievances. The exiles suffer an aching of the heart, a crying of the spirit, a hurting of the soul that cries out for healing.

The relocation decision was made from outside the Inuit community by non-Inuit officials. The Inukjuak Inuit were presented with a decision made by others and consider that the decision was imposed on them.

Rosemarie Kuptana, President of ITC, has stated that the central issue in the High Arctic exiles' experience is the power relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit. "In a colonial context, this power relationship involved a pervasive and invasive assertion of control over Inuit life by white institutions and authorities, from traders to police. The colonization process subverted Inuit traditions, and violated our right to self-determination as

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

well as traditional Inuit values concerning non-interference in the personal autonomy of others. The power relationship between Inuit and non-Inuit government officials is especially relevant to understanding the issue of consent, and the planning and execution of the relocation."[4] ITC's submission on this issue is summarized here.

The Inuktitut word that describes the power relationship between Inuit and Qallunaat is the word *illira*. It describes feelings of great awe and fear. The use of this term to describe Inuit feelings towards white people during the 1950s has been documented in the following terms:

> There is an Inuk word which characterizes the feeling that whites inspire in Inuit. That word (or root) is 'illira', which is not easy to translate. It is a kind of fear, a blend of awe and intimidation, the feeling you have about a person whose behaviour you can neither control nor predict, but who is perhaps going to be dangerous. It is the feeling you have when you are in a room full of important strangers whose language you cannot understand: the feeling inspired by the trader, the missionary and the policeman, white strangers who were so obviously powerful, upon whom Inuit were so acutely dependent and who told people what to do and believe but who were not often disposed to listen to what Inuit wanted to do and believe. Indeed, Inuit expressed their surprise and pleasure when they have dealings with a white who does not make them feel 'illira'.[5]

Brody has said that these feelings of awe and fear arose from the erosion of Inuit culture, self-reliance and self-confidence as colonialism affected Inuit communities.

The effect of this on the recruitment, by the RCMP, of families to go to the High Arctic is evident in the Inuit testimony that the RCMP were persistent, and the people felt they had no choice but to go; they did not

4. Statement by Rosemarie Kuptana, President, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, "Human Rights Aspects of the High Arctic Exiles Experience", August 16, 1993.

5. Hugh Brody, "Illira: Meeting with the White Man", Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, *Bulletin* 18/1 (1977), as referred to in ITC submission.

appreciate that they could refuse to go; as a consequence, their 'agreement' to go was not an act of free will; it did not represent informed consent. It was induced by misrepresentation and promises, such as the promise to return.

Reliable accounts of Inuit before their long exposure to non-Inuit do not disclose a quiet, self-effacing personality type. However, after decades of contact with white people and their institutions, feelings of dependency and powerlessness were typical of the relationship between Inuit and white people. Inuit fear and sadness was masked by a public face of cheerfulness and obedience. Brody has stated as follows:

> In the course of two or more decades of dealings with whites, Inuit came to have expectations and attitudes strongly influenced by the 'illira' they felt. They did not expect to be able to state their own opinions and criticisms of what southerners were doing, they tended to accept the decisions of traders and missionaries and to avoid all possible confrontation. There took place 'political retreatism', but with the careful preservation of a cheerful and obedient countenance. This meant they were inclined to smile and look cheerful whenever they had dealings with whites; it also meant that they did what they were asked to do, even when it was, in reality, something they thought wrong or foolish. Ultimately, it also meant that they subordinated themselves to the changing whims of individuals no less than to shifts in prices or policies by which their lives were so profoundly affected.[6]

Inuit parents, for example, have said that they wanted to say "no" when approached by officials who wanted to take their children away to residential boarding schools but they acquiesced as a consequence of their subordinate and dependent relationship with white people.

Emotional restraint in the face of difficult situations is a characteristic of Inuit. "Inuit tend not to display their emotions publicly as this is considered immature and may place other people in the potentially awkward position of being forced to react to a situation they consider to be a very private matter. A stranger may see a smiling and attentive Inuk but

6. *Ibid.*

the underlying emotions may be quite different than that which is expressed. Emotions are expressed more freely in smaller, more intimate groups. If the person cannot contain himself emotionally then it is felt that his reaction should be restrained and involve only those people whom he feels are responsible for his emotional state."[7]

In the 1950s, Inuit had little knowledge of the rights they had. "During the early years of government intervention in the north, Inuit had very little knowledge of how government worked. At that time, government representatives such as the RCMP and the settlement managers had tremendous power, and Inuit had no information about whether or not they could disagree with a government decision or request. A good example of this involves the current dispute between the federal government and Inuit families who were moved from northern Quebec to the High Arctic during the nineteen fifties."[8]

The colonization of the North by white people is characterized by a desire to control the destiny of Aboriginal peoples. The belief of some officials in egalitarian values and of the desirability of obtaining Inuit consent is set in the context of discussions about what to do with Inuit communities. Those discussions were between white people and excluded Inuit. The dominant, controlling position of white officials is evident in the debate among officials about whether Inuit should be treated as equals and therefore assimilated or whether they were not capable of being assimilated into "civilized" society and therefore should be kept in a "native" or "primitive" state.[9]

For decades, continuing into the 1950s, the RCMP were the "embodiment and custodians of Canadian government policy" and carried out almost every government function from handing out family allowances

7. Pauktuutit, "The Inuit Way", 1991, p. 18, as referred to in ITC submission.

8. Pauktuutit, "Arnait, The Views of Inuit Women on Contemporary Issues", 1991, p. 39, as referred to in ITC submission.

9. See, for example, John Laffey, *Civilization and its Discontented* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993), as referred to in ITC submission.

to enforcing the law.[10] The testimony of the High Arctic exiles reveals the high level of control exercised by the RCMP before and especially after the relocation to the High Arctic.

The view of officials concerning the 'native' or 'primitive' state of Inuit is reflected in their judgement that the basic needs of the Inuit were far below those of officials stationed in the High Arctic. The view of white officials as to what was appropriate and beneficial to the Inuit was in fact cruel and deprived them of the most minimal necessities of life, especially in the first few years when the Northern Quebec Inuit went through an extremely difficult period of adjustment to acquire new skills and knowledge suitable to the High Arctic. The Inuit had access to few supplies and officials were forbidden to share their own plentiful supplies.

In ITC's submission, the relocation violated the basic right of the Inuit, as human beings, to personal autonomy and self-determination. Inuit cultural ethics discourage coercion of any kind, physieal, verbal or psychological, out of respect for personal freedom. "Inuit society was largely egalitarian with no hierarchy or formal authority. Individuals were largely free to do as they wished as long as their actions did not disturb others ... Inuit [today] place a high regard on the right of individuals to lead their lives free from interference of others."[11] "Some Inuit also feel that Qallunaat are aggressive, nosey, domineering and too free with their unsolicited opinions. Qallunaat in public positions are often valued for their ability to 'handle' people, to manipulate people in situations in order to improve production, solve problems, etc. These traits run contrary to Inuit values and can make interactions between the two groups tense and unpleasant. To compound the difficulty, the Inuit cultural value of non-interference prevents them from telling the whites how they feel. It would take a very perceptive, experienced Qallunaat to pick up the subtle signs

10. Dr. Richard Diubaldo, "The Government of Canada and the Inuit: 1900-1967" (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1985), pp. 14 and 115, as referred to in ITC submission.

11. Pauktuutit, "The Inuit Way", pp. 15 and 17, as referred to in ITC submission.

of disapproval from Inuit. As a result, some Inuit may find constant contact with whites a strain and withdraw from regular close contact."[12]

Hugh Brody, in his submission to the Commission, has said that the cultural divide between Inuit and Qallunaat in the 1950s was immense. The balance of authority and dependence was the inevitable source of many forms of silence, reticence and misunderstanding. Language problems compounded the process of consultation and communication. The endemic nature of these problems when observed in the 1970s suggests that the problems were even more widespread in the 1950s and '60s.[13] Brody characterizes the relationship as follows:

> The relationship of Inuit to Qallunaat, therefore, became one of compliance and even subservience. An array of forces lay behind this relationship. There was fear, but there was also respect. The Qallunaat WERE rich and powerful; they DID give hope; they DID provide medicines, guns, fabrics, tea, tobacco. They were often generous. Their supplies seemed to be inexhaustible. Once the spiral of dependency had begun to turn, the Qallunaat offered some genuine security.
>
> This relationship also meant that the Qallunaat developed a particular approach to the Inuit. They took their authority for granted. Perhaps the ways in which Inuit responded to them gave the Qallunaat a strong sense of superiority. The Inuit were so appreciative, so welcoming, so eager to please, forever saying how clever Qallunaat were. The prejudices and ideologies of the day asserted that the Inuit were indeed inferior, and that the Qallunaat knew what was best for the Inuit soul, mind and body.[14]

Brody observes that did not mean that the Qallunaat and Inuit were never friends. Dependence is often a strong basis for friendship. The Qallunaat were themselves few in number and they had a need of human

12. *Ibid.*

13. Hugh Brody, "Some Historical Aspects of the High Arctic Exiles' Experience, Submission to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples", p. 6.

14. *Ibid.*, p.4.

companionship. Friendly relationships added to the complexity of the relationships:

> Yet the friendliness may have deepened some of the dependency problem. On the one hand, Qallunaat had immense and important powers. On the other hand, they were friendly, companionable. Thus they were often trusted.
>
> So here were Qallunaat: they inspired illira, they could make the difference between success and disaster, they could make the difference between life and death; they said what they wanted and needed, and they would expect to get it because they more or less always did get it; they did not explain themselves — they did not need to and in any case they would not be able to manage the necessary Inuktitut; they "knew" what was best for the Inuit; and they surely would not suggest anything that was terribly bad for the Inuit. After all, they were so friendly with the people.[15]

The people of North Baffin Island, which is often said to be among the richest in resources, the best for hunting, and where Inuit are regarded as having been proudly independent, say that they were profoundly intimidated by whites and felt too much *illira* to oppose the taking of their children away to boarding schools. The dependence and vulnerability of the people of Northern Quebec was much greater than that of the people in North Baffin Island which suggests to Brody that their subservience to the Qallunaat was even greater.

Robert Williamson in his presentation to the Commission also speaks of the relationship established by the fur traders, the missionaries, and the RCMP with the indigenous environment. It was one of control and paternalism which was fed by the increasing dependency of the Inuit on these powers.[16]

Professor Williamson points out that the fur trade represented an external economic force upon which Inuit became dependent. A debt cycle was established in which debts were encouraged to be developed in order

15. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

16. Wednesday, June 30, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, p. 722.

to maintain the relationship with the fur trade and to acquire the goods offered by the traders and whieh the Inuit would eome to need while also establishing an obligation to honour the debts.[17] At the same time, the Inuit developed a sense of wariness, of uncertainty about the unpredictable white people. They realized that the whites had enormous power. This created a sense of awe, of unease about white people's power. This led to a set of responses where, among other things, when feeling under some sort of pressure, people would appear to agree to take the pressure off, in order to give them some time to think things over, in order to talk among themselves, and in order to try to come to some conclusion. In doing this, there would be the appearance of agreement. Another response, when feeling some sense of pressure, would be to say, "I don't know", trying to avoid a commitment until the implications of what was being pressed could be seen.[18]

Friendly relationships with white people did not alter the apprehension of the Inuit with respect to white people. Professor Williamson has stated this as follows:

> However much one came to like and trust and joke with and travel with and have sociability with one of the local whites, be he a Mounted Polieeman, or a trader or a missionary, one never lost sight of the fact that they were the end of a long line of distant authorities with objectives and agenda which were perhaps not fully known and not entirely predictable. Therefore, people had to be approached with caution....
>
> ...but the tendency usually, by and large, in those days was for an inference of intention, an exploratory inquiry to be interpreted by the Inuit as something rather more executively impelled having more the power of, if not an order, at least a desire that it would be in one's best interests to take very seriously and, if at all possible, aceept.[19]

17. *Ibid.*, p. 723.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 723-725.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 752-753.

The complexity of the relationship in light of the cultural issues makes it very difficult to make unequivocal statements about what was said or what was done.[20]

Professor Williamson observes that Inuit have an intimate relationship with their traditional environment. What the Inuit refer to as their land in fact really describes the totality of the environment, both physical and human. It has connotations going beyond that of landscape, seascape and icescape. Professor Williamson calls it the "namescape". Each geographical feature in the traditional environment has at least one name, sometimes more than one depending on which angle of approach it is seen from, or from what time of the year, or even the state of the tide.

> This namescape is a very important context of reality for the people within their own environment. The individual dialeet groups are identified by the geographical names which they use as well as identifying themselves in their habitat. The attention to this habitat is as strong as the attachment of kinship. It is a love of a very profound kind.
>
> Every geographic feature...has names and the name is a metaphor for the totality of the group remembrance of all forms of land relatedness, of the successes and failures in hunting, it recalls births, deaths, childhood, marriage, death, adventure. It recalls the narrations and the ancient sanctified myths.
>
> The sense of belonging, the sense of participation in a network is extended through the relationship of kin because the kinsfolk are seen to be part of this physical and metaphysical environment. Those who have seeded bones in the land are recalled into vivid existence by the naming system. People who have been archaeologically known to have inhabited this territory for more than 5,000 years recall this long experience of relatedness with their environment through their naming, whereby the name is the soul and soul is the name and they live in a matrix of inter-relatedness with each other, whereby people never felt alone or in unfamiliar circumstances or surroundings.[21]

20. *Ibid.*, p. 728.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 719-720.

Inuit values strongly emphasize family commitments, family loyalties, the love of family, and the significance of family. The bonds are emotional and they form physical and metaphysical links with the network of the society.[22]

The commitment to family undoubtedly complicated the situation for people in the High Arctic. They would have a commitment to the family surrounding them in their relocated place and a commitment to other members of the family still back home in Arctic Quebec. The question of returning or staying would involve agonies whatever the choice and would produce uncertainty as to what to do. It would lead to further uncertainty if a white person were to ask the person whether they wanted to stay or return.[23]

The RCMP held the power of the law and, in the isolated Arctic, held that power without the checks and controls that exist in a society of equals. The RCMP were seen as having extraordinary legal power and an extraordinary reputation for being able to deliver the results of this legal power. Anything they said would be treated with respect and considered inordinately carefully. The most mild inquiry from an RCMP member would have extra weight beyond what it would have in the south.[24]

Professor Williamson considers that this era must be seen in its totality and not just with a focus on this one incident of relocation. "It must be seen as people felt it, as people experienced it in its totality. It was an era of despair, of agony, of tragedy, of misunderstanding and hurt. It was also the era of the beginnings of some hopes, still in some cases yet to be achieved."[25]

22. *Ibid.*, p. 720.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 757.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 762.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 745.

Susan Aglukark, speaking on behalf of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, spoke of the precision and accuracy of the Inuit oral tradition. In the Inuit tradition, facts are treated with respect, opinions are offered tentatively and only with formal linguistic qualification, detailed observations and an extensive body of knowledge are meticulously maintained and passed on by elders to younger Inuit. The reliability of the Inuit oral tradition has been repeatedly demonstrated. This has occurred most recently with respect to the revision of the accepted account of the Franklin expedition in light of the Inuit oral history of those events.[26]

Summary of Individual Presentations

All of the relocatees communicate a deep sense of hurt and loss as a result of the relocation. The story of the relocatees comes from different generations, from people who were relocated at different times, and from people who came from different communities, namely Pond Inlet and Inukjuak. The relocation did not affect everyone in exactly the same way. For example, Samuel Arnakallak, who came from Pond Inlet, spoke of the difficulty the Inukjuak Inuit had because they were not used to conditions in the High Arctic and had equipment which was not well-suited to hunting and travelling in the High Arctic. Jaybeddie Amaraulik, who also came from Pond Inlet, was able to catch seals so that he did not have a great deal of hardship. He knew how to hunt and had the equipment to hunt seals in the High Arctic. The Inukjuak Inuit did not have the same experience or equipment and they had had a very different diet in Inukjuak. Susan Salluviniq speaks of the children as being caretakers of the pains of their parents.

The relocatees from Inukjuak did not consider themselves to be poor or in need. They were not on relief although the Pond Inlet Inuit had been told that they were people who were in need, living on relief. Minnie Allakariallak said that at Inukjuak the men had the equipment they needed and there was plenty of game for food so that, at Inukjuak, they had no worries or cares. Samwillie Elijasialak said that the Inukjuak Inuit were

26. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 27-30.

completely satisfied with their lives at Inukjuak and had all the equipment necessary to make a good living. Anna Nungaq does not remember ever being hungry in Inukjuak. Elijah Nutaraq said that they were well-equipped, led a secure life and never experienced hunger. Jaybeddie Amagoalik said that Inukjuak is an area of plentiful wildlife. Jackoosie Iqaluk said that they had all the equipment required to make a living.

Many people — such as Minnie Allakariallak, Samwillie Elijasialak, Simeonie Amagoalik, Anna Nungaq, Sarah Amagoalik, Samuel Arnakallak, Simon Akpaliapik, Rynie Flaherty — speak of the distress they experienced at their new locations, of the lack of support they received from the government in the new locations, and in the inadequacy of the trading store. The lack of trade goods and groceries at the store is a common complaint in relation to both of the new communities. Considerable frustration is expressed by the Resolute Bay people because they would have no idea of how much they had earned when they did work and there seemed to be no price on the goods at the trade store. At Grise Fiord, Samwillie Elijasialak said that people could earn money but that there was nothing to buy. No credit was extended at the stores and there were no handouts. Family allowance and old age pensions were no longer being given after they left Inukjuak.

Samwillie Elijasialak, Anna Nungaq and Elijah Nutaraq understood that the camp was located on the Lindstrom Peninsula so as not to constitute a burden on the Craig Harbour police post. The RCMP members treated good hunters well but scolded the poorer hunters. Simeonie Amagoalik said that the policeman at Resolute Bay was angry at people all the time. Jaybeddie Amaraulik said that the police always seemed to be angry with the Inukjuak Inuit but that the police acted a bit better towards him. Andrew Iqaluk said that the policeman treated the better hunters differently from the others who were scolded all the time. Strict rules were in place at Resolute Bay to restrict contact between the Inuit settlement and the air base.

The Inukjuak Inuit say that they did not experience extreme hunger at Inukjuak. They had a great variety of wildlife at Inukjuak although some

have said that there was some scarcity of game around Inukjuak at that time. They were told that they would be better off and well fed in the High Arctic. They were not told of the disadvantages. The 1953 relocatees — such as Samwillie Elijasialak and Simeonie Amagoalik — have said that they were not impressed with the game that they found when they arrived. It took them a long time to learn how to hunt the game that was there because of the different conditions in the High Arctic. Later relocatees have said that there was good game in the High Arctic once people learned how to hunt for it. Andrew Iqaluk said that when he arrived at Resolute Bay in 1955, caribou had just become available for hunting but he had to search out the areas where he could catch animals. Jackoosie Iqaluk said that foxes were plentiful at Resolute Bay in the 1955-56 winter. The relocatees do speak of having experienced extreme hunger in the High Arctic. Samwillie Elijasialak said that he did not know any extreme hunger when he was growing up but he did experience extreme hunger when he moved to the High Arctic. Simeonie Amagoalik, as well as others, said that they were forced to live off the garbage of the white man. Sarah Amagoalik said that the first year was very difficult and that she almost starved to death. Rynie Flaherty spoke of how her son almost starved.

The younger hunters were excited to go to the High Arctic in light of the promises of plenty of large animals. Lazarusie Epoo liked everything he was told about the plentiful wildlife in the new land but was prevented from going by his parents. Elijah Nutaraq said that he was very young, without a care in the world, and went to the High Arctic with mental images of a promised land. Jaybeddie Amaraulik said he readily agreed to go because he thought he could live off fox and polar bear pelts. Simon Akpaliapik was persuaded to go by the promises of caribou and lots of other game. Jackoosie Iqaluk thought that his relatives had gone to a land of plenty and that it was going to be fun to join them. Minnie Killiktee recalls being quite happy at the prospect of relocating because she was expecting to go to a much more pleasant place. Some Inuit, such as Anna Nungaq and Andrew Iqaluk went because their elders had decided to go. Some Inuit, such as Minnie Allakariallak, Samwillie Elijasialak, Simeonie Amagoalik and Andrew Iqaluk, felt that there was no choice but to go beeause this is what the government wanted. There was a sense that the proposal was

something the government considered was a good thing and something the government wanted. there was fear of the police, and the police were felt to be very insistent that people should go to the new land.

Some of the relocatees received more information than others. Only some of the relocatees were spoken to directly by the RCMP or other officials. Some remember that the RCMP member used a very good interpreter from the Hudson's Bay Company. Others remember what they were told by one of the Inuk special constables who was not such a good interpreter. Minnie Allakariallak says that the police did not tell them about the disadvantages — the extended periods of darkness and the lack of vegetation — and only told them that there were lots of seals and lots of walrus. Lazarusie Epoo recalls that people were told that it would be cold but that it was a place where people could make a better life. Anna Nungaq was not spoken to by the police and was not told that they were going to a far away place which was dark for many months. When Minnie Killiktee was told that it would be dark all winter, she thought she was going to sleep all winter and only get up in the summer. Jaybeddie Amaraulik asked someone on the ship for information and things were said about the possibility of using abandoned buildings for housing at Resolute Bay which turned out not to be the case. The months of total darkness in the High Arctic made performing the ordinary tasks of living very difficult and had a depressing effect on the Inukjuak Inuit who had not experienced this before.

They were told that they would be free to return but this promise was broken. The relocatees have said that some people raised the issue of a return directly and were turned down flat or were discouraged from returning. Other people wondered when the government would tell them they could go home. They were told to have their relatives from Inukjuak join them. They were told to dress in their best clothes and not to say anything bad when the supply ship came each year. Minnie Allakariallak remembers that they were told they could come home after two years. After two years her husband asked when they would go home and the elders were asking if the officials had told them yet when they would be going home. Samwillie Elijasialak was told by his parents about the promise to

return but that, when his parents tried to make the case for returning, they were refused outright. The police discouraged others from returning and instigated bringing relatives to the High Arctic. Simeonie Amagoalik said the police promised that they were free to return after two years but, after the first year, a request to return was turned down. They were told that it would be better for their relatives to join them in the High Arctic. The police then told their relatives in Inukjuak that the Inuit in the High Arctic wanted them to come up there. Lazarusie Epoo and Anna Nungaq speak of how people were discouraged from returning. John Amagoalik remembers that his father extracted a promise to return from the police but now he knows the government never had any intention of honouring the promise.

The relocation had an immediate impact on some people and a longer-term impact on others, leading to depression and despondency. Family relationships were disrupted in various ways. Families were broken as a result of the initial relocation. There was further disruption when the families were unexpectedly separated onto different ships and sent to different places. These separations continued for years and were compounded by the separations caused when people were taken away to hospitals in the south because of TB. Long stays in the south resulted in children not being recognized by parents after the children returned to the Arctic. Children would not have playmates of a similar age in the small High Arctic communities. Young people had great difficulty finding spouses. The impact of the relocation was felt not only by the people who were adults at the time but also by the children and those who were born in the High Arctic. For example, Larry Audlaluk has spoken of the hardships they experienced in the early years and the effects on his father, his family, of the deception by the government in making promises that were not kept. Martha Flaherty speaks of how the relocation ruined the lives of the relocatees. John Amagoalik recalls the promises which were made but not kept and remembers the first ten years after the relocation as terrible years. Markoosie Patsauq says that he had TB when he was relocated and should have been hospitalized. Instead he was relocated and infected many other people who had to be hospitalized which increased the suffering in the new communities. He and others who later returned to Inukjuak left behind much equipment in the High Arctic. Dora Pudluk speaks of the hardship

she and her family experienced including the additional pain of separation caused when some family members returned to Inukjuak. Lizzie Amagoalik recalls how the police persuaded her father to go to the High Aretic with promises of a better life and the freedom to return without talking about the harsh conditions; how her father's life fell apart after the relocation; how her father wanted to return and was told it was too expensive for him to go and see his relatives in Inukjuak; the hardships experienced in the High Arctic and the hardships experienced after they returned to Inukjuak.

The Pond Inlet Inuit understood that they were providing a service to the government by giving guidance to the Inukjuak Inuit. They expected to be paid for this service but were not. They had been told that the people from Inukjuak had been living on welfare and needed help. The relationship between the Pond Inlet Inuit and the Inukjuak Inuit was difficult. There were cultural and linguistic differences in addition to the perception that the Inukjuak Inuit were welfare cases. There was resentment on the part of the Pond Inlet Inuit at Craig Harbour when the RCMP would not extend credit at the trading store, with the result that a Pond Inlet Inuk with nothing to trade received no supplies, while an Inukjuak Inuk with carvings to trade did receive supplies.

Minnie Killiktee and Lizzie Amagoalik had begun school at Inukjuak and missed the fact that there was no school in the High Arctic. Lost educational opportunities are a source of resentment.

When people did begin to return to Inukjuak, they left children and other relatives in the High Arctic adding to the suffering caused when families were separated.

Individual Summaries

Minnie Allakariallak

Minnie Allakariallak was born in the Inukjuak area in 1916. She relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 where she continues to live.

She reports that her family were going to go on the original trip in 1953 but that her father did not want to move to another place. Her husband, Johnny, was worried about being left behind but he also didn't want to leave her father behind. As a result, they did not go on the original trip.

They had been approached in 1953 by the RCMP using Josie Nowra as the interpreter and were told that they had to leave, "You have to leave to another community. The government wants you to move."[27] When Qallunaat spoke, "We were afraid of them."

In the Inukjuak-Povungnituk area there was firewood and plenty of food. Codfish was the regular diet in the summertime and even in the wintertime the people would fish for cod. There was plenty of seal meat, fish, and birds, "so we were not worried".[28] They told us, "you are hungry and you would have to move where there is lots of game".[29]

Her family had not been thinking of moving anywhere else. They felt obligated by the requests of the police and imagined a place where there was plenty of vegetation. But Resolute Bay was like a desert, just gravel. When they arrived they had to use tents to stay warm and it was getting very cold. Later her husband got wood from the dump to build a house. It was hard for her because she had polio and finds walking very difficult. There was nothing at Resolute Bay to heat the houses, no lumber, no oil, no anything to warm themselves.

They had to leave a lot of their families in Inukjuak and some of them they didn't get to see again because they passed away. They were separated from those whom they loved so much and would never see again. It hurt her heart to talk about her homeland in Inukjuak and the people who they were so close to. The food at Resolute Bay was also very different.

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27. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, p. 37.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

29. *Ibid.*

She remembers that they were told "you will be home maybe in a year or two" but then after two years she remembered her husband asking when they would be going back. She remembers the elders asking almost every day, "Have they told us yet that we will be going back, when we would be going back to Inukjuak?"[30] They had no way of knowing. No one told them.

The people were suffering. They wanted to see their families again in Inukjuak and they had no way of knowing how they would go back because no one told them again that they could go back anytime they wanted to. They broke their promise.[31]

There were no government services. The people had to do everything for themselves. There was an air force base there but the people from the base were not allowed to come down and help in any way.

They believed strongly in God. Her husband was the lay reader. They asked God to help them.

In the Inukjuak area, all the men were equipped and the food which the hunters obtained was shared equally. The people had the joy of life and absolutely no care in the world with very good family relations, even with those who were not directly related by blood. They were happy in their original homeland. They were shocked when they were told that they should leave the place. "We were not clear on the reasons."[32] It was a great strain to part company with relations. At Inukjuak, they did not want for anything. They were secure and happy. The place they went to was so desolate. People were devastated.

Her oldest daughter, Sarah, was married to Simeonie Amagoalik. They went with the first group. Sarah was pregnant at the time. Simeonie and

30. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Sarah went beeause Minnie and her husband had planned to be part of the first group but then they did not go. Her husband was very worried about the security of their relatives going to the High Arctic in the first group but Minnie's father would not agree to go with the first group.

The police were quite insistent that they should agree to relocate to an area that had plenty of wildlife.[33] The police did not tell them about the disadvantages — the extended periods of darkness, the lack of vegetation. "They only told us there is lots of seals and lots of walrus."[34]

The walrus and seals have a different flavour and smell depending on what they eat. The seals in one place taste different from the seals in another place.

The camp that Minnie and her husband were part of never lived at the post at Inukjuak. They always lived out in the hunting camps. They travelled to the post only to get supplies, ammunition, fuel and other food items.

When they left they had absolutely no idea of where they were going or the sort of situation geographically they were going to.

When the ship got to Churchill, the people were put on the shore. Many of their household items were carried away by the tide. All of their belongings had been put on the shore — important items like willow mats — which were lost. A sewing machine was also lost. No one seemed very concerned that these items had been lost or bothered to replace them.

They suffered from seasickness on the voyage.

Two of her daughters were left at Churchill because they had tuberculosis. The first interpreter who came was Tommy Palisser who was

33. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

the interpreter with the Hudson's Bay Company. The interpreter she remembers is Josie Nowra. When the police came to see them, they said that there was plenty of game where they were going. They said that there were plenty of animals and that they would be better off in the plaee where they were to be moved as the government wanted this.[35]

When they arrived in Resolute Bay they lived in a tent. They had a wood stove which they had brought with them. Her husband and Simeonie and Simeonie's younger brothers went about building a shack. When they did not have any firewood to burn in the wood stove, it was very cold. It was not long after they had arrived that her husband began to go back and forth to hospital.

They were not told that they would be joined in Resolute Bay by people from Pond Inlet.[36] The people from Pond Inlet were Inuit and so they had affection for them but they had great difficulty understanding each other. The Pond Inlet Inuit thought that the Inukjuak Inuit were speaking English because their dialects were so different. The Inukjuak people never knew where the Pond Inlet people were going or what they were planning to do.

Samwillie Elijasialak

Samwillie Elijasialak was born in the Inukjuak area in 1936 and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. He returned to Inukjuak in 1979.

He said that it is true of everyone that they have a special affection for their original homeland. They were completely satisfied with how life was treating them in their original homeland. It is not true that they were starving and living in poverty. They had all the equipment necessary to make a good living. His uncle had two large boats whieh they could use for hunting and sustaining life. He did not know any extreme hunger when he was growing up but he did experience extreme hunger when he moved to

35. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, pp. 382-383.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 481.

the High Arctic. That was because in those locations there were no trade goods, there was no food and groceries available in any measure in the new locations.[37]

The place that they were moved to was absolutely desolate. The place where they put up their camp was some distance from Craig Harbour. The police told them their camp was distant from Craig Harbour so that they would not be a burden on the police.

It was very difficult to get to the police post from the camp and the first time people went to get supplies they had a very narrow escape with death.

All of them have been living with the pain resulting from this relocation and they will never stop pursuing solutions. The pain they feel in their hearts is the result of deception and being told lies or being promised things that nobody ever had any intention of fulfilling.

His mother and his father told him what they were promised. They were promised plentiful caribou in the new land and that they would have the freedom to return to their original homeland after two years if they so desired. What they found was very different. They were told right off that, "you can only catch one caribou per year for your family. That's the regulation." And that, "You are not allowed to kill any musk-ox. You are liable to a $5,000 fine or be arrested if you kill any musk-ox."[38] He wonders why the police even bothered mentioning caribou and musk-ox and the plentifulness of these animals when they were trying to recruit people.

People went with the idea that they would have the freedom to return after two years but this turned out to be a very big lie. The first groups who returned did so at their own expense, having to pay their own way.[39]

37. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, p. 48.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

When "our parents attempted to make the case for returning, they were told outright that there's no possible way for them to ever go back and in fact some government officials said, 'If you want to return, you are going to have to find other people to take your place before we allow you to go back.' This was said by people where no appeal was available to a higher authority."[40]

His father lived for only eight months after the relocation to the High Arctic. It had sunk into his father that it would probably never be possible again for him ever to return to his original homeland and that what he had been told about plentiful wildlife was absolutely not true. He was severely depressed and died of a broken heart.

Many of the older generation and adults suffered depression caused by broken promises and finding out that what they were told was not true. Their lives were irreparably damaged by this.

They did not ask to be moved. It was imposed upon them. In those days, white people were feared and their word was taken as authority. It was believed not to be wise to try to counter the white people's wishes in those days.

The only way to communicate with relatives back home was through letters in those days. He remembers finding one of his own mother's letters to her relatives torn at the dump. He found the letter in the dump at Resolute when he went there by dog team.[41]

It was in May 1953 that they heard that the police were recruiting Inuit for the relocation. He and his brother had started taking their traps from the trap line. The snow is very soft in May and because they were told that they were moving to another location, they had to leave their traps where they were.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 53 and 94.

They were told that they would be gone for two years and that there would be a lot of caribou, a lot of seal and that there were musk-ox so they decided that they would go to that place. This is what he heard from his parents. He believed that they were going to a really nice place.

When his father found that this was not true, he did not have the willpower to live any more.

He feels that the government told them that they would be gone for only two years because they wanted the people to agree to it. He feels that the government had trouble getting Inuit to stay up there and so they brought Inuit by boat who couldn't go back.[42]

When her mother found out that the letter she had written was never sent, and learned, when the ship came, that her father had died, it hurt her deeply and she cried.

He says that the police used to tell them that they would call by radio and send messages by radio but he does not believe that any messages were ever sent through the radio. He believes that these are lies and that the police used to open up the letters, read them and throw them in the garbage.[43]

It is not true that there was plenty of food. There was nowhere to go shopping for food when they ran out of supplies. They were taken to a place where there was no store. They had money but nothing to spend it on.[44]

When he did get back to Inukjuak, his father's younger brother had been told that Samwillie's father had been dragged to death by a walrus. This was a total fabrication. He died of a broken heart.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

In the late 1950s, Josephie Flaherty said that he went to request a return to his original homeland but was given several reasons for refusing the request. "There will be an establishment of a school so you shouldn't return to your original home community. You have lots of children and there will be education for them now."[45]

The refusal of Josephie Flaherty's request to return home changed his disposition toward life totally. He was no longer pleasant. He lost his alertness and he lost his vitality for life.

On the trip to Resolute by dog team the year that he found the letter torn in the dump, he found two white RCMP officers who were going to freeze to death. He saved their lives but he has never been thanked by the RCMP. On the trip to Resolute, he was travelling with RCMP officers and their special constables. He spent over a month working with them but was told that he would not be paid because he was among his fellow Inuit.[46]

When he expressed a desire to return to his home community, people tried very aggressively to dissuade him. Fortunately, unlike many others who could not really argue, he always had counter arguments to what the police would say to him to try to persuade him not to return home and so he did return home.[47]

When they got to the High Aretic, they had to be taught how to get drinking water beeause there were no lakes. Where they were near Inukjuak, they had lakes.[48]

When they arrived in the High Arctic they were skinny beeause they had lost weight on the boat.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

46. *Ibid..*, pp. 99-100.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

From what his parents told him of what the police told them, the place they were going to was like a promised land, as if it was heavenly up there.[49]

It hurts him to recall the people who were left behind and who would never be seen again. He remembers the parting where those who were left behind were told not to worry because the people who were going would be back in two years but they never were going to see each other again.[50]

The people did not leave entirely voluntarily. It was not their responsibility that they left. It was the government's responsibility and the government ruined the people's lives. It has also touched the children. His sister's children are in the High Arctic but she is back in her original homeland. This has caused many problems.[51]

The first trauma which the people suffered was the brutal separation into different groups on the trip to the High Arctic with the different groups going to different places. His mother was told that her children were going to go to Alexandra Fiord. She was not happy at being told that her children would have to go where the government people told her they would go.[52]

The place where the Inuit camp was to be located, on the Lindstrom Peninsula was very different from home. It was on a ledge with a 3,000 foot mountain behind it. It seemed like a prison.

They were told they were sent there to be well fed but there was never enough food in the store and they had to eat seal meat all the time. He

49. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

50. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 179-180.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

believes they were sent there for sovereignty reasons. They were told to make the Greenland Inuit feel unwelcome.[53]

When the ship was expected to arrive, the police would come around checking the clothing people were going to wear and telling the people to wear their best clothing. When the ship arrived, everything was to be as pleasant as could be.[54] People kept their best clothes for ship-time.

They had to travel great distances to hunt and trap. Sometimes foxes were very plentiful and sometimes foxes were very scarce. This was true everywhere.[55]

His mother missed the diet she was used to — the small game birds and the fish. She was tired of always eating polar bear and seal meat so she would eat wolf meat and dog meat for a change in her diet.[56]

He says that they were never given any welfare in Inukjuak back then. Only the widows were given welfare. Anyone who could hunt was not given welfare. The Pond Inlet Inuit were told by the government people that the government had been providing too much welfare and too many handouts to the people of Inukjuak but that was not true.[57]

The government people on the ship wanted to separate him from his father and mother but Philipoosie defended him because he would have no family to look after him and sew his clothing so this did not happen. He feels that the separation of the people was as if the government people were separating dogs.[58]

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

They did not write to their family members back home about how terrible conditions were. They did not want to worry their relatives unduly. It is the habit of the Inuit not to write about unpleasant things. Even if they did write such a letter, the relatives back home were not in a position to do anything about it except worry. If they were going to get anything done about the conditions, they would first have to get the police at the post to agree and the police never agreed to their requests.[59]

There was no aircraft transportation at Grise Fiord. The only communication with the outside world was when the ship came each year. So they could only send letters once a year when the ship came or sometimes could send them by dog team to Resolute.

The rule that they could only hunt one caribou was only for the first year but they never did eat much caribou meat.[60]

He said the people were very fearful of the police. He recounted how, when the ship was unloading at Inukjuak before the people got on board, his mother asked him to ask the police for milk for Larry. Larry was young then and they were getting family allowance for him. "But, the police told me, 'If you don't leave tonight', he said, 'I will kick you to death, if you haven't left, and if I see you in the morning—if you haven't left—if you don't leave.'"[61] Larry's father was Paddy Aqiatusuk. Paddy was the one who died after only eight months. Paddy had been told to send for his relatives instead and he sent for Josephie Flaherty, his adopted son who then came in 1955. It was the police who instigated the families to send for their relatives.[62]

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

When they would run out of supplies at the store, Bob Pilot would help them out. He would hand out small amounts of supplies like tea and coffee.[63]

Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord were the poorest places in all the world. The poorest from laek of food, of store foods.[64] Things are much better now because aircraft are able to supply the place.

They were told that they could not return because there was no way to transport them back and because the place has to be populated. They were told at ship time not to say bad things about the place.[65] This was so even though the people complained that it was too cold and that they were going to starve because there were no trade goods, no store-bought foods.

They were never paid for unloading the ship. The police said that they would be paid back for helping unload the ship by being provided transport in the police boat.[66] He feels that from the time they left their homeland they should have started receiving wages because they were not doing this voluntarily.

He made a clarification about the trip to Resolute on which he was not paid for being with the police on which he saved two of the policemen's lives. He had been paid for the trip but his pay was cut when he arrived at Resolute because it was said that he was now among the Inuit. Yet he had to look after the police dogs for an entire month and he received no pay for this.[67]

63. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, p. 342.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

The people who were relocated envy the people who did not move because they have a sense of security, a sense of continuity and their children are living adequate and contented lives. They have not experienced the hurt and pain which the relocatees have suffered.[68]

It was also difficult for Inuit young men at Grise Fiord to find wives.[69]

It was much colder at Grise Fiord than at Inukjuak.[70]

When the police were recruiting Inuit to be relocated, they did not consider the very best trappers. They did not want such people to be sent to the High Arctic. They also did not recruit the most poorly equipped people because they were too poorly equipped. They targeted the middle level people who were solidly capable, capable of being independent.[71]

In the letters which people wrote, they did not write positively about the place.[72]

Simeonie Amagoalik

Simeonie Amagoalik was born in 1933 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 where he continues to reside.

His father was a very active boating man. He transported supplies from Inukjuak to Povungnituk because the large supply ship could not get to Povungnituk. He owned an open whale boat with a motor and was one of the first in the area to own such a boat. His father had died by the time of the relocation.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 509-511.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 512-513.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 575.

Simeonie and his younger brother used his dead father's dogs to harvest wildlife and hunt animals. "In those days, any man who was able to catch fox was economically well off and in those days my younger brother and I were attaining the ability and competence to catch foxes."[73]

Simeonie was newly married. When the police came to tell him of the relocation, the police told him that his brothers-in-law would probably agree to go to the High Arctic if Simeonie would agree to do so. His mother-in-law, Minnie, sort of pushed him on. He had questions in his own mind but it was a police man telling him that and "in those days, you don't argue very much" with a policeman.[74]

There were no councils or municipalities in those days. The white man was all powerful. Now the family is living all over Canada. They have been very much disrupted by the relocation.

The policeman told them that there would be many people going to the High Arctic, including Samwillie's father and including some Inuit from Fort Chimo. But when the ship came with the people from Fort Chimo, he asked them where their wives and children were and they told him that they were all going to work in Churchill so they weren't bringing any wives or children.

After they got past Pond Inlet, they were separated into different groups. His older brother, who couldn't really look after himself, was designated to go to Alexandra Fiord. Simeonie eventually went by himself by dog team from Resolute to Craig Harbour to get him and bring him back to Resolute to live.[75]

He said that the government just dumped the people on the shore and they were forced to live off the garbage of the white man. The police

73. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, p. 54.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

controlled their lives in all possible ways. They were put in an area where they had to live off only polar bear meat and seal meat. They came from an area which had everything — berries, vegetation and all sorts of different varieties of food — teachers, spiritual advisers, stores. The government said that they were going to help the people out in the new locations but there was absolutely nothing in the High Arctic locations.[76]

The elderly people died off quickly and his wife lost several children. They only had the police to attend to their medical needs and all he could give as medicine was apple juice.[77]

The police who came to talk to them about the relocation at Inukjuak had a good interpreter. They had first approached people south of Inukjuak but they did not agree so they found people who would agree to go.[78]

When the police came to talk to them about the relocation, he said "You are going to return. You have the freedom to return after two years if you so desire."[79] Before the first year was up, in the springtime, one of his brothers-in-law went to the police and said "Look my two years are not up but I would like to return." But he was turned down.[80]

When the ship came, they asked the government officials, "Are we going to have to wait another year because you told us previously we could return after two years? Do we have to finish those two years or can we return now?" The officials said, "Perhaps it would be better if you could just ask your . . . family to come up, invite them up to the High Arctic instead."[81] So, the message was conveyed by the RCMP in Inukjuak to relatives there

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

that "Your relatives in the High Arctic want you to go up to the High Arctic."[82] He said that, "We ourselves never said this, we ourselves never requested that our family members be shipped up but the government, because it was all-powerful, made the point that your relatives who were now in the High Arctic request that you move up. It is hurtful, it is painful that the government has the dishonesty to have done this. This should be examined on an international human rights level."[83]

Quebec and the High Arctic are not the same. In Quebec there are trees and vegetation. In the High Arctic, it is just rock.[84] The people who were relocated were said to be "in want". The elders who were getting old age pension were cut off. "We were sent to fend for ourselves." He could not emphasize enough that they were sent there to fend for themselves.[85] They took around geologists and people who were exploring for oil on their dog teams. They helped open up these areas and the federal government has not offered even a penny in appreciation of these efforts.[86]

The policeman at Resolute Bay was angry at people all the time.

He believes that they were sent there to assert Canada's sovereignty in that territory and to prevent the Greenlanders from harvesting wildlife up there. He believes the government should admit this.[87]

The police officer who eame to explain the relocation to them, Ross Gibson, said that living conditions would be better there because wild game and resources were becoming scaree. If the people didn't like it after two years they could return. The people would be helped and would be given

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

85. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, p. 181.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 180-181.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

assistance. When Simeonie asked about his boat, he was told not to bring the boat because they would be given all the equipment they needed, including boats. But there was nothing when they landed of any such assistance.[88]

Inukjuak did not have an absolutely full range of species of all wildlife. During the war, in many areas of Canada, wildlife became scarce. Recently it has become more plentiful. They were told that wildlife would be more plentiful in the High Arctic. The marine mammals, polar bear, seals and walrus are more plentiful. Even today, however, he cannot shoot any polar bear. There are very few caribou.[89]

The High Arctic does not have as much small game as there is in Inukjuak. There are a lot of seagulls and there are a lot of large mammals. People were not used to that then but today people have become used to this.[90]

All of the areas where they harvested caribou in the High Arctic eventually ran out. Regulations have been imposed to conserve the caribou in these islands so there are now only two places where caribou can be harvested.[91]

In the early 1950s, they had to go very far to hunt caribou at Inukjuak and it would take three weeks or a month. After they were relocated to Resolute Bay, the caribou returned to the vicinity of Inukjuak.[92]

The next year when the ship came, the government officials convened a meeting outside and the people asked, "Are we going back next year

88. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-238.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

because we were told we were only going to spend two years here?" The government officials speaking through an interpreter said, "Why don't you call for your relatives instead and, if your relatives can come, you can always return with them." The people said, "Well, if they want to, perhaps they could." But the people were all down-hearted right away with the reply that was received. The government people then apparently sent a message to the RCMP in Inukjuak asking for the relatives to go to the High Arctic. That is what led to the relatives coming in 1955.[93]

After they got to Resolute, people began to get TB. All the people who got TB got it from Markoosie Patsauq, his sister's son. The X-ray machines were broken and they were not X-rayed until they got nearer to the High Arctic. They realized Markoosie had TB and that this meant he would have to leave to go to hospital. When people went to hospital, they were away for a long time.[94] Everyone was crying when the families were split and the government did not want people to cry so the government did not send Markoosie away. They didn't care.[95]

When they arrived at Resolute Bay, the building where the store was to be set up had been used as a toilet. They had to clean up the human excrement and build it into a store.[96]

When they worked for the military, they were never told how much they earned. They were never paid with money. There didn't seem to be any prices attached to the fox pelts that were sold. They never seemed to have to pay for the trade goods that they were getting.[97]

93. *Ibid.*, p. 295-296.

94. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 328-329.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

The young people had to find spouses in other communities. They had to go to other communities to get married. This has affected family relations.[98]

When people began to return to Inukjuak, there was a lot of crying because not everyone could make it back. When the first people started returning, they saved up their own money. People would buy some of their equipment trying to help them put together the money to finance their return so that when people returned, other people's pocket money went with them. Some of the people who returned had to leave their children behind in the High Arctic because returning was so expensive. This added to the suffering of the people who were left behind. It made them poor financially and it made them poor in family relations.[99]

He believes the government should pay him for the boat that he lost as a result of the relocation. He believes its current value would be $130,000. They worked on constructing buildings that were used by the police and they were never paid for this. They were never paid for cleaning up the toilet that was turned into a store. He would do a lot of dog sled driving and the police would take along other white people. He would build igloos for them and he was not paid for this. He was not paid for taking people around by boat at the insistence of the police. When the school was opened, he used to transport the students by dog team. He used to get ice for drinking water for the teachers and bring their fuel by dog team. He was paid $74 a month but this was too little. There were a lot of other things that he says he was forced to do for either inadequate or no pay. The police also initiated many things for which they did not pay. These things should be paid for.[100]

98. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

99. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 564-565.

100. *Ibid.*, pp. 625-627.

Lazarusie Epoo

Lazarusie Epoo was born in 1932 in the Inukjuak area. He was not among those relocated and continues to live in the Inukjuak area.

He is related to many of the people who were relocated. He grew up under Minnie's care. He learned many of his skills from the parents of people who appeared before the Commission in April. He grew up with many of these people. Their parents were like his parents. When the relocation occurred, he and the other young men were developing their competence in the skills necessary for Inuit men. They had no knowledge of the government's intentions and their life was interrupted. Everyone had dog teams, kayaks, and some of the camps were well-equipped with large, Peterhead-style boats. Some people had small whale boats. He lived and worked with these people and hunted with them at that time. He was learning his skills as a young hunter and the skills he would require to survive and to support a family. What the relocatees are saying is the truth. He cannot forget what the relocatees were told when they were being recruited. The people who were left behind were also touched by the departure of relatives.

The young men were not independent enough to make their own decisions to go or not to go. He was prevented by his parents from going on the relocation.

In Inukjuak, people were very well equipped and it never crossed their minds to be relocated. They had no desire to move out of there and relocate "to some sort of promised land of plenty."[101] The varieties of wildlife were very great and people were able to make a very good living off small game and fish in Inukjuak.

Isa Paddy, Larry Audlaluk's father, was a very competent hunter. He did not own a boat but he was one of the best hunters and he was also an excellent carver. He was a very generous provider to many families and

101. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, p. 61.

camp groups. Lazarusie has heard how Paddy is described by government officials in archives as poor. That is not true. What Paddy was promised has turned out not to be true.[102]

At the time of the relocation, Lazarusie's family was living not far from the post. They were in their spring camp where they would stay until the ice broke up. The police came with the interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company. He was a very competent interpreter. Lazarusie was ready to go on the relocation project because they were told that there was lots of wildlife and lots of animals in the new land and according to what he heard, he liked everything that he heard. He was in his prime in those days and very competent in going after animals and wildlife and they described a very good situation in the new land.[103]

All the camps went to the post to trade.

He was not involved directly in the meetings with the police but he heard directly from the elders who did meet with the RCMP so he knows what they were told.[104]

The only animal that was not readily available in the Inukjuak area was walrus. He cannot say that Inukjuak was the most abundant place for wildlife. Nor can he say that there is no wildlife there. Now there are very large herds of caribou right up to the town itself. There are also now plenty of polar bear. In the years of the relocation, caribou and polar bear were not really plentiful. So it is the caribou and polar bear which have become more plentiful since the relocation.[105]

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

105. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 239-240.

When the people were approached about the relocation, they were told that it was cold but that it was going to be a place where they could make a go of life. "It was to be somewhat better than conditions in Inukjuak."[106] They were told that it was all beneficial and that wildlife resources were much more plentiful. The adults gave deep thought to this whole project. Families would be wrenched apart but they were doing it to try to improve their future and the circumstanees of living. Some people refused to go on the basis of an elder's decision not to go. He was prevented from going because the decision of his elders was that he should not go. Some refused to go because they felt they were able to make a living without being relocated. A better future was on their minds and it was to be an experiment they could try out for two years.[107]

The people who were left behind knew that the elders who were relocated had a longing for their original homeland — a longing for the food and a longing for the water. They had a longing for their relatives. This longing was a burden. He used to get letters occasionally so he knew the problems that the adult relocatees were experiencing. They did not speak disparagingly of the new land but there were two or three people — Philipoosie who was in Grise Fiord who was the father-in-law of Nutaraq, Salluviniq, and Johnny who sent letters most often. Lazarusie was one of the ones most informed about the problems the adult relocatees were having because he served as the mayor of Inukjuak for over twenty years.

At Inukjuak, the wildlife resources were getting much more plentiful and were more accessible to the people in the Inukjuak area. In previous years, wildlife resources were not always so plentiful in the area. When the adult relocatees would write, Lazarusie told them in reply that the wildlife resources were getting more plentiful and that if they could return they would find it easier to make a living than had been the case previously.

106. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, p. 523.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 523-524.

In their letters, the people did not speak of every burden that they were experiencing. He knows the main ones. He knows that they were anticipating being able to harvest wildlife. They enjoyed doing that. None of them were ever sitting around at home doing nothing. Then, very soon after they established themselves in the new communities, restrictions on harvesting wildlife were imposed. This had a very adverse affect on the adults.

Then, after many years elapsed and the people who wanted to return attempted to return but were told that they could not do so. They were discouraged from returning. This weakened their mental condition.[108]

Some of those left behind in Inukjuak were also adversely affected but not as much as those who were in the High Arctic. The main things on their minds was separation from family members. They wondered when they would ever see their relatives again. They worried that they would not see their relatives again.[109]

When family members did not return, the physical well-being of those who had remained in Inukjuak was affected.[110]

When people eventually returned, they came back with no more than a suitcase in their hands. They had left behind all their essential belongings. Some came back like this, not all, but some. Their canoes, their snowmobiles, their sleds, their houses, their blankets, everything was left behind. They paid their own way back. They left behind relatives and they hoped they could find a way to return the remainder of the family and their belongings. These people who returned had to be sheltered.[111]

108. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 530.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 531.

111. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-533.

The people in Inukjuak informed the government about the conditions of the people who were returning and that they should get help. The people at Inukjuak were not equipped and did not have the resources to help these people. The government did not give any extra resources. This has also been a source of pain.[112]

Before people actually started to return, the people in Inukjuak knew that there would be people returning. The Inukjuak people told the government this and asked the government to provide housing for the people who would be returning. It took many years before this was provided.[113]

The government relocated the people and the government should be responsible for solutions. There should be an apology and there should be compensation for the people who had to leave their equipment behind and their houses. People should also be compensated for the disruption in their lives and the broken lives that resulted.[114]

It was the letters from the adults who were relocated that talked about the problems. The letters and recorded tapes which were received from the young men who went to the High Arctic did not eomplain. They talked about the animals and how it was dark. They talked about the more positive things. The writing of letters stopped in the late 1960s when people started to have telephones.[115]

112. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 534-535.

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 536-537.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 577. No letters were provided to the Commission except those provided by Mr. Gerard Kenney, which are referred to in Part 2.

Anna Nungaq

Anna Nungaq was born in 1927 in the Inukjuak area. She was relocated in 1953 to Grise Fiord and returned to Inukjuak in 1988.

When the RCMP were recruiting people for the relocation, she was not visited by the RCMP. Larry Audlaluk's father came to pick them up by dog team. They were not told that this was a far away place which was dark for many months.

They weren't hungry at Inukjuak. She doesn't remember ever being hungry in Inukjuak. Her father died when she was young and her uncle used to provide for them. He had a big boat and he provided for them until they were old enough to look after themselves.

When they were in the new place in the High Arctic, they used to think of all the food that they used to have back home and wished that they could have it again. For many years they had no fish in the High Arctic. Eventually they did have some fish.

The High Arctic was a very strange place and they had to leave relatives behind. She left her grandfather behind. She was told by her parents that she would go to the North and she had to abide by their wishes.

It was very painful for her to recall, when she was on the *C.D. Howe*, looking at her home for the last time. Her grandfather had come to see them for the last time and he was already missing them.

At Pond Inlet, more Inuit got on board and they were told that these were the new people they would live with. After that, the families were separated. They had thought that they were going to be living together. She thought she was going to be living with Sarah and she was crying. She was sorry she had left home. Then they were almost separated again and moved to different locations (referring to Alexandra Fiord).

When they were separated again she wondered how she would be able to survive on her own.

They were taken to a place where there was absolutely nothing, no housing, no medical services, and since she is disabled, she was wondering how she was going to survive. When she was two years old her youngest sister had died. She was not told before they were relocated that they were going to a place where there were no medical services. They saw the ship sailing away and they were just dumped in a place where there was absolutely nothing.[116]

The people who were never moved from the Inukjuak area are so content and comfortable whereas those who were relocated are suffering tremendous burdens.

All her children were born in the High Arctic. Three of her children moved back to Inukjuak with her but her only son has moved back to the High Arctic because it's his home. It's where he feels he belongs. Inukjuak, however, is her home and she could never forget it. She was always homesick.

When they were told about going to the High Arctic, they were told that it was a land of plentiful wildlife but they were not told that it was all rock with no vegetation and very desolate and bare of any resources.

She does not know about the preparations for the relocation since she was picked up by dog team after all the preparations had been made. Her brother, Samwillie, who was actually living with her parents at the time, is more familiar with the way the police handled the preparations.[117]

Her husband wanted to get back to Inukjuak while he was still able to hunt and he was looking forward to going back but he died before he could

116. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 63-67.

117. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83.

return. He used to talk about selling their belongings and returning to Inukjuak. When she asked to go back to Inukjuak she was asked, "Why would you want to leave your husband's grave?" Her answer was, "I am disabled. I would like to go back to Inukjuak and, God willing, I will see him again in another lifetime."[118]

It was hard to return because some of the family members were missing. She had to leave her husband's grave and when she returned, some of the relatives that had been left behind, had also died. The uncle who had raised them was alive but all her aunts had died. This was the main reason why she wanted to come back to Inukjuak, so, even though she has returned, she is still hurting.[119]

Some of the children who have returned with their parents ask when they will be going back home. They think of Grise Fiord as their home. Whenever they are feeling down or sad, they talk about going back to Grise Fiord.

After they landed at Craig Harbour, they were taken to another place that was very desolate. They stayed in a tent and hardly got any supplies. There was no plywood and throughout the whole winter they had rocks for their floor. There were no flashlights or lamps. They used seal oil lamps to keep a fire.

After they arrived in Craig Harbour, the police killed some dogs and the Inuit were told to clean the dog skins but were not paid for this.[120]

118. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

119. *Ibid.*, pp. 115 and 152.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-118.

She did not like the food on the *C.D. Howe*. They did not eat very much store-bought or non-native food in those days and on the *C.D. Howe* they had to eat the same thing every day.[121]

There was no priest or spiritual support at Craig Harbour. She and one other woman were married on the *C.D. Howe*.[122]

Her disability was caused by polio.[123]

The people understood that they were going away only for two years. She was not aware of the sheer distance of where they were going. When they landed in the High Arctic, it was very cold. It was already snowing. It was not a happy time. They had been separated on the trip to the High Arctic onto different ships going to different places. They were separated from the people they thought they would be with. The Inuk Special Constable, Kayak, and his wife, Leetia, told them that the Quebec Inuit had been described to them as a bunch of thieves. As a result, Kayak and his wife had moved things that were normally stored outside inside for safer storage.

When the ship came each year, they all used to dress up in new clothing.

It was the Greenlanders who showed them where they could find fish and "here we were sent to protect that part of the country from Greenlanders harvesting".[124]

Larry's father was the Anglican cateehist, or leader in prayer, and he died very soon after the relocation.

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121. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

124. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, p. 209.

Now in Grise Fiord there is more than there was when people originally came there. There are houses. It is a very good land and a land of plenty. But when the people first landed, it was a totally different circumstance. Just before the first Christmas, supplies were dropped from the air. There was no place for the aircraft to land.

Her husband went with the police by dog team to Resolute and he asked for $10 for this because their children were hungry and the welfare and handouts that used to be issued in Inukjuak were no longer issued in the High Arctic. Her husband had to do this dog team trip in hunger and in cold and they were physically exhausted by the time they returned.[125] The policemen did not agree to give him the money.[126]

With that trip, they had no flour or bannock. There was no supply for the dogs. There was no dump, no nothing. Everything was so empty. There was no store.[127]

When they first arrived, they were very hungry. The only food they had was seal meat. There was no store. They were taken to the camp so they wouldn't be a nuisance to the RCMP.

The wind was so strong that it blew the snow away and they stayed in tents all year.

Elijah Nutaraq

Elijah Nutaraq was born in the Inukjuak area in 1932. He relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953 and returned to Inukjuak in 1988.

He now struggles to make ends meet. When he came back to Inukjuak, he was employed for a time but now he is supporting his family only by

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125. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-254.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

127. *Ibid.*

unemployment insurance. Most of his children and relatives do not work. His father died when he was very small and he grew up without a father. He lived with his relatives — his mother and his mother's parents and their relatives and extended family. They lived in a camp between Inukjuak and Povungnituk.

He was a young man at the time of relocation. He was well-known to people in the area so, since he has returned, people make him feel secure and welcome along the whole coast.

His mother's brother owned a boat so that they were able to harvest wildlife. During the war years, he got another boat so that the camp itself had two large boats although only one was being used at the time of the relocation.

He does not remember ever experiencing hunger and the family group was able to catch lots of foxes so they were able to support the families. They lived a secure life and never experienced hunger. They were well-equipped with dogs.

He was operating his own dog team and was able to live in much the same style as the rest of the family.

Where they lived in the High Arctic, the wind would often blow the shore-fast ice away. It was very different geographically. In Inukjuak there was a much larger variety of food and wildlife. They were able to get around very easily. He was a very good shot so that the meat caches were always full of seal meat. They used to visit other camps and he never knew of anyone in another camp experiencing hunger. There were some species that were rarely taken, such as polar bear, but other species of wildlife were plentiful.[128]

Before leaving for the High Arctic, the government officials gave out some clothing and material but then they were not happy with what the women

128. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 72-77.

did with this material. They got sick and tired of the food on the ship which was always the same. The dogs on the ship were being fed pork fat but the people were never given any fat of any sort. They sneaked some of the pork which was for the dogs.[129]

When they left Inukjuak, parents, cousins, uncles, aunts, were all crying. He was young at the time and did not have a care because he was so ignorant. He had heard of other lands that had trees and he knew that Inukjuak did not have any trees. He thought that perhaps all the land had berries growing on it and he thought perhaps they were being sent where there were trees and lush greenery. That is how ignorant he was as to where he was going. He had mental images of a promised land so he didn't pay much attention to all the weeping that was going on. In fact, he was relieved when he got on the ship and he knew that he could return within two years. But a year is a long time when a person is in want, in need, and does not have all the equipment and shelter and whatever else is necessary.

They were divided on the ship after they had passed Pond Inlet. This was a very wrenching time. They had thought they would all be living in one location and they felt secure with each other's company. Each group was given one man from Pond Inlet and one group was to go to Alexandra Fiord but they returned because the ice conditions did not allow them to get there. They were brought back to Craig Harbour. The elders were Philipoosie and Paddy. Paddy was the older of the two and he was Elijah's stepfather. When they were being landed, the government officials said that they would have to be clothed and fed by the young single men. Paddy said that, if seal skins are all you have to wear, you are liable to freeze to death. Elijah believes that that is when the officials started allowing them to harvest one caribou per year per person. He believes that originally they were not going to be allowed to kill or harvest any caribou but that his stepfather mentioned this and perhaps it changed the minds of the government officials. This was the only thing available for them for bedding.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

They were moved many miles from the police post so they would not be a burden on the post. It took all day and all night of travelling to get to and from the post for supplies.

When they landed, they were taken walrus hunting by the police boat. Then they were taken to another location, the Lindstrom Peninsula, many miles from the post. This was a small ledge in front of a large mountain. The wind blew the snow away. They were given buffalo skins or musk-ox skins and very poor quality bedding. It was a harsh, cold climate and they were very cold. It seemed that the government had left them out in the cold literally.

They had been used to a wood stove. They had their wood stove with them but they could not use it. They had to have a stone lamp but they did not have a stone lamp. They could not leave water in the pails overnight because it would freeze and burst the containers.

They would go to bed fully clothed with sweaters and pants and long underwear on.

When they first landed, they thought about the government but it seemed that the government had disappeared. The local police officer was the boss and he had been told that the people who were being relocated were habitual stealers and thieves and he conducted himself accordingly.[130]

The police told them to tell the Greenlanders to stop hunting polar bear but the Greenlanders did not pay much attention to this.[131]

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-142.

131. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 227-228.

They used to communicate through letters and some letters were torn. He sent a letter with some photographs and the envelope was sent back to him. The photographs were missing.[132]

They were never told to discourage the Greenlanders from hunting, only to discourage them from catching polar bears. When the Canadian Inuit started occupying the area, the Canadian Inuit used the polar bear skins as trade items.[133]

At Grise Fiord, they could not kill caribou as they pleased. They were told that the only caribou they could kill were the male, not the female caribou, but you need the male caribou to multiply.[134]

The police could become angry and then he would be afraid of the police.[135]

The dogs that were killed were the police dogs. They had distemper. The women were recruited to skin the dogs but were never paid for the work.[136]

Larry Audlaluk

Larry Audlaluk was born in 1950 in the Inukjuak area and was relocated to Grise Fiord, where he still lives, in 1953.

He remembers his mother receiving a letter which was brought by dog team from Resolute Bay on one of the trips that were made by dog team

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

between the two communities. He remembers her being very upset and saying that the letter had been opened.[137]

Today Grise Fiord is a very prosperous community with a very high tourism potential. He has come to know the country and the wildlife. It was in the early days that there were hardships.

His uncle was Philipoosie who was the brother of Paddy.

When they arrived at Craig Harbour, Philipoosie and Larry's father had an argument with the police because they noticed that there was no boat for hunting. When they left Inukjuak they had been told not to worry about anything and just to bring tents and personal possessions. He wanted to know where the boat was that they were going to use. They thought that everything was going to be provided for and they had been promised that they were going to a land of plenty. They were told that the RCMP would provide their boat for getting the winter supply of food for dogs and people. Then Philipoosie was told that the caribou season was over for this area and that they would have to make do with seal skins. Philipoosie said that that was crazy and that they would freeze. You cannot use seal skins for outdoor clothing. Then they were told that they could have some reindeer hides.

When they were taken to where their camp would be, his uncle could not believe that they would be going to where there was this huge straight up and down mountain with just a little strip of land.

The things he is talking about are things he has been told but this is the Inuit tradition. Stories are told with great accuracy and passed from generation to generation. He was very disappointed when he met Alex Stevenson in 1973 and asked him why they were in Grise Fiord. Mr.

137. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, p. 104.

Stevenson said that the relocation was done such a long time ago, he could not recall most of it.[138]

He feels that the government thought that the Inuit only knew about hunting and the very simple life. He feels that the government was very ignorant of the Inuit. The Inuit have always been very tough, risk-takers. If the government had been honest, they might still have had a response from some part of the Arctic. Instead, the government tried to sell a product using a sales pitch.[139]

His mother, in times of despair, used to ask questions to no one in particular, "Where are all the animals that they promised? Where are the animals? Where are the fish?"[140]

The relocatees were enticed to go by promises of plenty of animals. She got so tired of eating seal meat she sometimes cooked dog and wolf.

Ellesmere Island is a part of the hunting area of the Greenland Inuit and they were always coming there.[141]

Shortly after arriving in the High Arctic, he injured his eye and it was a long time before his eye was properly treated. It was very painful and he was later told that he could have lost the eye. At Inukjuak there was a nurse and he would have been better off there.[142] He was flown out for treatment for his eye after several years.

He believes that they were sent to Grise Fiord for sovereignty.[143]

138. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-147.

139. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, p. 197.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

142. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 377-378.

143. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 604-605.

He believes that the Inuit were moved against their will through deception.[144]

Jaybeddie Amagoalik

Jaybeddie Amagoalik was born in the Inukjuak area in 1935 and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953. He returned to Inukjuak in 1979.

Returning has permitted him to be reunited with relatives he had not seen for a very long time. This separation was hurtful. The ride on the ship was quite shocking and the conditions in the High Arctic were very different.[145]

The RCMP member who was doing the recruiting came by dog team. He just came once. He said a very few words and everything was solved. The other white people played a role. They did not take the best, most competent trappers and they did not take the poorest equipped.[146]

When they got to Resolute, it was very cold and it was very difficult to pitch tents on the gravel beach.[147]

Inukjuak is a place of plenty of fish. All the lakes are stocked with plenty of fish. The islands offshore have many birds. There may have been less at the time of the relocation but it is an area of plentiful wildlife.[148]

When the people were separated, Leo acted as the interpreter. He asked several times. He asked Thomasie if he would mind being alone with the Inuit of Pond Inlet. Thomasie refused. But Leo kept asking and on the third

144. *Ibid.*, p. 613.

145. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 106-108.

146. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

147. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 182-183.

148. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

time, Thomasie finally gave in and that is how the people were divided. The government people just kept insisting.[149]

People communicated through letters. Some were torn up but some survived. They also received letters so they knew some communication got through. The letters that were being torn up were those that did not provide a favourable description of the new land. We were treated like prisoners.[150]

From 1953 to 1955 at Resolute Bay, they did not eat caribou meat. It was only in 1955 that they were able to kill some caribou.[151]

His two sisters died in the High Arctic because of lack of medical services.[152]

The first year was very hard. It was dark all the time in the winter and it was very cold.[153]

The white people or the government can take literally anything they want. They can steal a woman and take her home. His sister's children were taken with no consent.[154] (Simeonie Amagoalik has stated that the girls took husbands from the south because there were no men in Resolute Bay for them to marry.[155])

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

150. *Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

152. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, p. 331.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 501.

155. *Ibid.*, pp. 503-504.

He still does not understand why the people were relocated. He feels that perhaps it was because the land needed to be populated. Sovereignty is the only possible explanation he can think of.[156]

He believes that when the people were recruited, the government officials had good information about who should be targeted. He believes they took into account who were the most competent and who were capable of being very independent and did not very often have to go to the trading post to get supplies or when they did often go to the trading post, they came with a plentiful supply of fox pelts.[157]

After returning to Inukjuak, they went through hard times as a result of lack of education. It was hard to find jobs without education even though they were returning to their original home. When he first asked to be returned, he wrote to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. A government official came and interviewed him and asked if he had any money. He had some money in his bank account. The government official also asked if he was selling carvings to the Hudson's Bay Company. He was told that the government would not pay for the return airplane tickets. He had to pay for his own airplane tickets to return. When he returned, he left two sons with a grandmother in Resolute Bay and he has not seen the people who were left behind in Resolute Bay for thirteen years. He still feels pain from the relocation. He has relatives scattered all over the place.[158]

Sarah Amagoalik

Sarah Amagoalik was born in the Inukjuak area in 1937 and was relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 where she still lives.

When she was relocated, she went with her husband and left behind her sisters who could help her and her parents. Her first child was born on the

156. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 513.

158. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 542-546.

ship on the way to the North. She was happy when she got on the ship as it was her first time on a ship but her happiness started to fade when she had to say goodbye to her parents. As they began to go further north, it started getting colder. She didn't like the food on the ship and she didn't like the water. She was always thirsty because she didn't like the water. The dogs were fed with whale meat and she used to take some of that to eat.

Things got harder and harder when they landed in the High Arctic. The first year was very difficult. She almost starved to death her first winter and she almost starved her baby. She lost her appetite and did not eat anything for about a month. She was breast feeding her baby and the result was that she was unintentionally starving her baby. She did not know how to wean a baby or to nurture a baby. She had to learn from her own experience.

Her appetite came back when her uncle, Allie Patsauq, went to the garbage dump and scrounged some cans of food, some sardines. So she started eating again. She was told to stop breast feeding the baby because she was not healthy enough to give him nourishment. She started to get her health back and to gain weight. The baby started getting healthy again too.

The women and children stayed at home when the men went out hunting. The men used to be out for what seemed like months at a time taking geologists and other explorers around the High Arctic Islands. Her old mother-in-law was her only company. Her mother-in-law used to ask when they would be going home. She didn't know the answer to the question although she sensed from what was going on around them that they would probably never return to their homeland. Her mother-in-law died always talking about going back home and wanting to go back home.

She has been living in the High Arctic so long now that she has become used to it. She also suffered from tuberculosis and was sent away for three

years to a tuberculosis sanatorium. Her physical well-being has never been the same since she went to the High Arctic.[159]

When they went to the North they thought that they would all be going together to one location. Then they were split into different groups on the ship. They were put onto the d'Iberville to go to Resolute and they were placed in the stern of the ship under the helicopter landing pad where it was very noisy.

When they landed at Resolute they thought they were going to a land with white people. They had been told of the possibility of occupying some empty buildings but they were landed onto a stretch of desolate shore. They were able to get warm when they pitched their tents and they were able to find some wood to use in their wood-burning stoves. They burned old wooden crates.[160]

Communication was by mail but no letters were sent or received for a long time. Resolute Bay had a lot of air traffic but the letters that were sent were delayed because Inukjuak itself did not have regular airmail delivery. That may have been a reason why the letters took a lot of time to get to their destination. She used to get letters from her mother every two months, for example, when they were first settled there.[161]

She was very fearful of the police. They used to go to the dump because the aircraft used to dump a lot of really good food and they would like to go looking for the food at the dump but they had to make sure that the police were not around when they did that. They were not allowed to go to the dump. The policemen used to come into their houses almost every day to eheek on what they had and would ask where they got this or where they got that and whether they got it from the dump or whether they got it from the Air Force. The policemen wanted to run everything. The Air Force was

159. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 118-123.

160. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 210-211.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

willing to help but if an Air Force member wanted to give a cigarette or some candy, he had to ask the police for permission. The people could not go anywhere they wanted.[162]

Sometimes, when the Air Force was going to throw some food away, they used to give it to the police and the police would distribute it to the people. They used to get some food which came from the Air Force in this way. They really appreciated this since it was the first time they saw that kind of food.

Sometimes the police would take canned food out in the boat and sink it. He said that the food was bad.

The police was the only doctor. There were doctors at the base but the police told them not to come and visit or to treat the Inuit. The only medicine the police gave was apple juice. That was all he had to offer.[163]

She went to the hospital in 1956 and she returned to Resolute Bay in 1960. When people suffered from tuberculosis they started spitting blood and then they were sent south to the hospital. By then, they were infected well beyond reason and they had to spend much time in hospital. Her sisters-in-law were also sent to hospital with her. Sarah Salluviniq spent five years in hospital and it was only a few years after she returned to Resolute Bay that she died because her lungs just gave out.

She notices that when she goes somewhere else now that her whole physical body improves, her breathing improves. When she goes baek to Resolute Bay, her physical well-being collapses again and she has to go back and forth to hospital.[164]

162. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

164. *Ibid.*, pp. 374-376.

Martha Flaherty

Martha Flaherty was born in 1950 in the Inukjuak area and went as a child with her mother to Grise Fiord in 1955. She presently resides in Ottawa.

She remembers the trip on the ship. Some of it was funny but some of it wasn't. She cried all the way. She was afraid of white people at that time. She was the last one that the white people looked after because she was always fighting with them. When all the children had their hair cut off without permission or consultation with the parents, she fought against this and the doctor had to run after her with scissors in his hand.

Both she and her mother cried very hard when they left Inukjuak.

It is only recently that she has started to trust white people again because of her traumatic experiences.

When she was given needle shots, five men had to physically hold her so that she was given the shots. The ship would pitch and roll violently when going north. They used to have life boat drills in the violent weather. She still dreams of this very often.

The Inuit who were relocated had their lives ruined. Canada does not treat its Aboriginal peoples well. The Canadian government has refused all these years to compensate the relocatees. This is a rich country. Why don't they pay the relocatees what they want in compensation?[165]

When she was eight years old she used to go on dog team trips with her father. She used to help him when he was hunting for seals through the breathing holes. She used to care for his dogs. When the Inuit settlement was moved to Grise Fiord, the dogs were slaughtered. This left the men without the means of transportation and they were on welfare.[166]

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165. Monday, April 5, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 124-127.

166. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 306-307.

On her way up to the North with her mother and sister, her sister who was two years old at the time was found to be sick. She was sent to the hospital. After her sister got out of hospital, she was sent to Inukjuak because the hospital didn't know where the family was. Her sister spent a year in Inukjuak and then was sent to Resolute Bay because the government thought that the family was at Resolute Bay. Her sister spent another year in Resolute Bay because the government couldn't find the family and her sister could not speak Inuktitut. When her sister finally came to them in Grise Fiord, her sister was crying because she didn't want to be with the family. She didn't know she was back with her parents and she wanted to go back to her parents in Resolute Bay. Her sister was crying and couldn't understand what the family was saying.[167]

Some RCMP officers mistreated the Inuit, especially the women. "Our mothers have been abused, I know that."[168]

She used to be fearful of her father. He was a hard man and he had turned to her because of all the pain that he was enduring and he used to abuse her. She wanted him to die. She found out after he died why he did that and now she feels sorry for him.

The Department of Indian Affairs tries to govern the Inuit without knowing how the Inuit live. They are still governing the Inuit without knowing how the Inuit live. They don't feel the pain and the struggles that the people had to endure in the High Arctie. If they are going to be representing the Inuit people, they should hire Inuit people.

The price the High Arctic exiles have paid and continue to pay cannot be measured in dollars. The relocatees some years ago asked for $10 million. She asks whether the High Arctic exiles do not deserve recognition so that they can start the healing process and rebuilding their lives? This type of recognition has been given for others — the money given to deal

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167. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, p. 335.

168. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, p. 599.

with violence against women as a result of the fourteen women killed in Montreal or the compensation given to the Japanese. The Inuit are Canadians who suffered for Canadian sovereignty and deserve the same recognition.[169]

Samuel Arnakallak

Samuel Arnakallak was born in the Pond Inlet area in 1925 and was relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. He returned to Pond Inlet in 1957. Three men were recruited from Pond Inlet in 1953. At the time he had a wife and four children. He was living about 85 miles away from Pond Inlet. They had camped there for many, many years. There were many seals. They did not have a very good boat. The inlet had many marine animals. The only thing they needed was a better boat. They lived by selling fox pelts but they were not very wealthy at this activity. They also sold ivory tusks.

When the government were recruiting people for the relocation, the police spread the word that they were looking for people. They did not come to his family directly. They spread the word and Joseph Idlout was the messenger. When he saw Joseph Idlout he learned that the government wanted to recruit three men who had adequate dogs and who had children and were able to produce children but were not too old. When he heard about this, he approved right away because it came into his mind that this was a good opportunity to get himself a boat.

He had to consult with his mother and his parents and when he talked it over, he came to the eonclusion that, because the RCMP paid their special constables and people who worked for them, that was how they would be treated. So they agreed to go along.

He went to Pond Inlet with all his equipment, dogs, sleds, and all the equipment he had. The only thing he didn't bring was his shelter, a sod-earth shelter, because he was told they would be properly housed. All they

169. *Ibid.*, pp. 600-601.

had for shelter was a summer tent made of canvas, something they would never use in winter.

The ship came and they were told that the people from Inukjuak were very badly off and that they were in need. No one specifically said that they were hungry or starving but it was made clear that they were living off government welfare and living off the handouts from government. In the Pond Inlet area there was no such thing as government handouts in those days.

We didn't understand the people from Quebec very well because our dialects were different.

The Pond Inlet people were told that the Inukjuak people had never been in the dark or in the High Arctic darkness and we were responsible for teaching them. The Pond Inlet people were able to get around in the dark and travel by dog team.

Pond Inlet people lived in sod-earth shelters but they needed some wood to make those shelters. There was no wood in any of the areas where they settled so they were not able to make these shelters. He was recruited to go to Alexandra Fiord but after he got on the ship, he was told that he was not going there. All the people who went to Craig Harbour were used to being supplied with the white man's trade goods and had not brought much from their original homes. They were under the impression that they were going to a land of plenty where everything was going to be provided. If they had been told they had to bring their own supplies, they would have done so. As it was, they were very poorly supplied because no one told them that they would have to fend for themselves. When they first pitched their tents at Craig Harbour, they did not have any light. They had a stone stove but no light to eat by. One man had a flashlight and he used his flashlight when they were having a meal. Then the flashlight was passed from shelter to shelter so that people could eat.

They were able to catch some seals and use the oil as fuel and light. They were supplied by caribou skins that they could use to make into clothing.

The police and their special constables were the only ones allowed to actually kill the caribou. The police had the attitude that the people didn't know the difference between female and male caribou so they were the ones who shot the caribou. The people were told not to kill any caribou from that area. After spending ten days at Craig Harbour, everyone was transferred to another location about 40 miles away. The Inukjuak people were trying to travel but they had very long traces on their dog teams. They were not very suitable for use in a place that was almost bare of snow.

When he was first recruited, he wanted to bring his grandmother but was told that she was too old. He became very angry and said that if she was not allowed to go, he would not agree to go so the police allowed him to take his grandmother along.

When they first travelled to the post, he was very anxious to find out if he had anything in his account. He was told that he had no credit so that he was not allowed to get anything on credit that he could pay for later. The Inukjuak people, however, had some carvings so they were able to earn a bit of money and buy a bit of the trade goods. He treated the Inukjuak people as if they were Qallunaat because they were the only ones able to get any trade goods on that particular trip.

On the return journey, the shore-fast ice had blown away. They had to make camp. When they were camped, he asked why they were being treated like this. It was no way to treat people who were under the sponsorship and care of the government.

The next day they had to travel away from the shore because there was no way to get around. They spent another night in the open because there was no shelter there. Finally, they were able to get around to near where the new camp was but they were not able to get on shore. The people at the camp had a little boat which they were able to row out and bring them to

shore. All the people who were left at the camp had been worried sick and they were relieved that they were able to come back alive.

They were able to catch seals for food and in November they could try to catch foxes. When they had a few fox pelts to trade, they were able to go back to the trading post. Now the people at the trading post were very receptive because they had something to trade. It was like they were new people.

Eventually, everyone became more able to provide for themselves but the elders, like his grandmother, always hungered for fish and other wild game other than seal and marine animals because that is all they had to eat and people got sick and tired of eating the same food.[170]

He had never been to Ellesmere Island before. His mother had been there and they knew that the area was plentiful in seals and marine mammals. When they landed at Craig Harbour, they caught some walrus that were for use at the police post. The place where the camp was eventually located was found by the white policeman and the Inuit special constable. The place had already been chosen before their arrival. When he went there to see it for himself, there was no river but there was a tiny brook which could provide water. He thought that this would be okay.

They had been told that there was plentiful wildlife: polar bear, walrus, musk-ox and plentiful caribou. His mother had said that, previously, no caribou had existed there. They were told there were lots of foxes. It was not a place where people would have to depend on welfare or government handouts. When they arrived, he found that sea mammals were more plentiful than his original homeland but land mammals and other game were not more plentiful.[171]

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170. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 156-167.

171. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-230.

They were told not to kill any caribou in the vicinity of Grise Fiord and Craig Harbour. They were told that they could kill caribou across from Grise Fiord on Northern Devon Island.[172]

Jaybeddie Amaraulik

Jaybeddie Amaraulik was born in the Pond Inlet area in 1915 and was relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953. He returned to Pond Inlet in 1974.

When the police were recruiting people for the relocation, they did not speak directly to him. They used "their Inuit employee". He was the only one who spoke to us. He knew the general area around Resolute Bay from having lived with his parents in the late 1920s in the area of Somerset Island. At the time of the relocation, he was supporting himself and he thought that, if he moved, he could live off fox pelts and polar bear pelts. He readily agreed. He thought that he would be able to travel back and forth for visits to Pond Inlet so he agreed to the relocation.

He did not speak any English at the time and he tried to speak to a Roman Catholic priest who was on the ship to try to get some information. The priest said that perhaps there were empty buildings on the island somewhere that could be occupied.

When the people landed at Resolute Bay, there were high winds and snow was falling. The children were crying because there was no shelter. It was difficult to pitch the tents. The Inukjuak people had their wooden stoves and were able to find wood to burn. He was not used to having a wooden stove and he and his wife went to the neighbours to stay warm. He was able to make a small igloo later and stay warm that way.

When they landed, they had nothing. They had no boats. The Inukjuak people had kayaks but that was all. He and Salluviniq were taken around by boat and were able to catch enough seals to live.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

When the ice finally formed, they were able to go out on the land by dog team. People shared the catch and so the people were able to support each other from what they caught. As the winter progressed and they could no longer hunt at the flow edge, they were able to catch seals through their breathing holes in the ice. He also had a seal net and he was able to feed the dogs from what he caught with the seal net.

The police always seemed to be angry with the Inukjuak people. He was a bit better with Jaybeddie Amaraulik.

In April of 1954, he and his wife and children were moved to Mould Bay to work as a dog team driver. He went there by dog team. His daughter was sick at the time and he did not have much dog food. He worked as a dog team driver for a geologist. He ran out of dog food and had to go back home. His daughter was sick and a plane was called to evacuate her but the plane could not land because of fog and his daughter died. The white people tried their best to save her and they contacted some medical people on the radio to get instructions but they were not able to revive her.

He took around two geologists by dog team. He was very sad because he had lost one of his children and now she was buried in a very desolate unoccupied place. She was given a Christian burial even though there were no Christian ministers around. He was thankful that she was given a decent burial.

At the beginning of September, he went back to Resolute Bay. Not long after that, his wife was sent out to a hospital. He had to look after two small children and he could no longer do any serious hunting. He had to stay nearby to look after the children. He was able to use his seal net to catch seals for himself, his dogs, and his neighbours. This was the only way in which he was able to help out.

He had thought that he would be able to live on fox pelts and polar bear pelts but he could not do this because he had to stay home and look after his children. He had been told he would be paid $10 a day for his work at Mould Bay but when he returned to Resolute Bay he was never told how

much money he had in his account. What people did was to take what they needed from the little trading post but they were never told if they were overdrawn or how much they had left. People were completely in the dark as to what was in their accounts.

There was a lot of activity in the Arctic Islands and three dog team drivers were required. He could not do this because he was looking after sick children. So his dog team was split between two men who were going to go to two different locations to take explorers out. He never learned if he was paid for this.

Another time, he and Simeonie were recruited to drive dog teams on Somerset lsland. Again, they never knew what they had earned from that work.[173]

When he was recruited, he was told not to fear anything and that they would be provided for all their needs. They said that supplies would be provided by the government so they would be less expensive.

The three men from Pond lnlet were brought together and told that they would be the supervisors of the Inukjuak lnuit because the lnukjuak Inuit were not familiar with the terrain and the climate of the High Arctic. When he hunted he was able to get seals and he did not have a great deal of hardship in the new community but he still feels pain for the loss of his daughter.

The ice conditions at Resolute Bay were very different and the snow was very soft. In June, when the snow became soft, it was very, very deep. When he was out with explorers by dog team, he would want to go home but the explorers would not want to return.[174]

173. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 168-175.

174. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

When they arrived at Resolute Bay, there were some dogs that were there and the police wanted them slaughtered. Those dogs were killed but the police were very careful not to kill any of the dogs of the Inuit.

The police were in charge of everything.

When they killed a polar bear, they were never told how mueh money they had for the polar bear skin that they sold at the store.[175]

Every spring, the Grise Fiord police would come to Resolute. They would be going to Ottawa. Their dogs would stay at Resolute Bay. He would kill animals and help feed the dogs. Having to look after the dogs was quite a burden because the people had to keep the dogs fed and dog food was not plentiful. He was never told if he received any pay for this work that was done on behalf of the police. He believes that he should be compensated for all this work.[176]

The people who were relocated from lnukjuak yearned for the food that they were used to. He did not grow up eating what they ate. However, he did want to return to Pond lnlet because he had a yearning for some of the things he could hunt there that he could not hunt at Resolute Bay, like the migrating birds.

His wife wanted to return to Pond lnlet constantly. There were other people who wanted to return but they were refused. He could not do anything or say anything about it. After his wife died, he spoke to a social worker about wanting to return. He was told that some people who had gone back from Resolute Bay later returned to Resolute Bay and he was told that he would get homesick for Resolute Bay if he left so his request was denied.

175. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

176. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 508-509.

He then wondered where he could get the money to return. He was told to pay his own airplane fare. But they were able to help him with grocery money on welfare. Eventually he got the money to pay for his own return to Pond Inlet.

When he returned to Pond Inlet, he returned with his children. He had lost his wife. His children did not know anyone in Pond Inlet. They were like strangers to the people at Pond Inlet. His son was able to go out hunting but he did not know the land at Pond Inlet. This was a problem when they returned.[177]

Simon Akpaliapik

Simon Akpaliapik was born in the Pond Inlet area in 1921 and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. He returned to Pond Inlet in 1983.

In Pond Inlet life was fine. They were not hungry. They were doing well. At first he did not agree to go. The reason he did agree in the end was that he was told he would earn some money and that game was plentiful. He was told there was caribou. In Pond Inlet, there was not much caribou any more. There was told there was plenty of caribou and lots of game and that they were to help the ones that had never lived up in the dark in the High Arctic. We were told that where they would go they would get government help. They even left behind some of their equipment thinking that the government would help them out and that they would have shelter and would be well-housed.

At Craig Harbour, it was too hard.

They had a meeting on the boat with just the Pond Inlet people. They then divided the Inukjuak people for the Pond Inlet people to train them.

They were told they were going to a place with plenty but they found out it was exactly the other way around. If they had told them that they were

177. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 550-552.

going to be living with these people from Inukjuak and that they would have to provide for themselves, that would have been the truth but what they were told was all lies.[178]

John Amagoalik

John Amagoalik was born in the Inukjuak area in 1947 and was relocated as a young boy with his family to Resolute Bay in 1953. He now resides in Ottawa.

At the time of the relocation, most Inuit found it difficult to contradict what the white man was saying. There were exceptions and his father was one of those exceptions. He was one of the few that could say no if he felt it had to be said.

When the police came to recruit people, they came three or four times to see his father. Each time his father said no. As a result of his stubbornness, his father managed to extraet two promises from the RCMP. One promise was that they could return, and the other was that the people would not be separated. Now he knows that the government never had any intention of honouring those promises.

The RCMP met with each family separately. The RCMP told his parents that their other relatives had already agreed to the relocation and that his parents should agree also. Later they found out that this was not the case. He believes that this is the reason why the police interviewed each family separately.

The RCMP painted a very rosy picture of the new location. They made it sound like the promised land. He remembers when, on the ship, the families were separated. The women were crying. He remembers landing at Resolute Bay under the conditions that others described to the Commission.

178. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 175-178.

He remembers at the time of the relocation that his mother told him that his older brother was very sick. He was spitting blood and they knew he had TB.[179]

When the ship arrived, they were examined and they were surprised that the doctors gave his brother a clean bill of health. They had been prepared for his departure to the hospital but the doctors said he was healthy. His brother nearly died that first winter and ended up infecting the whole community.

The first ten years in Resolute were terrible years. They were years spent without mothers, without fathers, without brothers, without sisters, who were all sick in hospitals in the south. There was always someone in the family in the hospital.

He remembers his father sending letters to his older brother who was in the hospital and trying to include a little bit of cash so his brother would have some spending money in the hospital. When his brother got back to Resolute he told them that he had never received any money. His brother received some letters but there was never any cash.

He remembers scrounging for food in the dump and for clothing and for shelter as well. Whenever an airplane arrived in Resolute, they would all go to the dump because they knew that left-over sandwiches from the flight would be thrown away in the dump. This became an important part of the food supply.

It was the first spring that his father went to the RCMP to ask to be returned home. He got a flat "no" right on the spot. The RCMP constable made the decision on the spot and the case was closed.

At Port Harrison there was a school and a nursing station. There were limited government services. At Resolute, there was absolutely nothing: no medical facilities, no schools.

179. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-195.

When they finally got a school around about 1958, he was eleven years old. One of the reasons that many of the young people his age did not get much of an education. The first school was located two miles away from the Inuit settlement which meant that the children had to walk to school every morning in all kinds of weather with polar bears roaming all over the place.

The men would be away for months on end and the women and children were left alone in the community to fend for themselves. He remembers his parents always yearning for food: fish, berries, game birds, and things that were not available in the new community.

They felt complete and utter isolation in the new community. They were completely cut off from the world for the first three or four years with no way of communicating with family or friends back home.

He cannot understand why the government will not admit to its criminal negligence, its abandonment, and the violation of their human rights.[180]

When people wanted to send letters, they gave the letters to the RCMP constable. If there was money in the letter, the RCMP constable would write the amount of money on the envelope and then put the envelope in his pocket.[181]

There was not a lot of difficulty in getting a letter from Resolute Bay to the south but getting it back up north to Inukjuak was a problem. At Grise Fiord, the ship only came once a year and there was no regular mail service. They did not usually put their despair in their letters. It was something they talked about and, when messages began to be sent by tape, they would put it on the tape.[182]

180. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-202.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

182. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-665.

Minnie Killiktee

Minnie Killiktee was born in the Inukjuak area in 1940 and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. She left Grise Fiord in 1974 and now resides in Iqaluit.

She remembers her mother telling her what they were told at the time of the relocation. At the time she recalls being quite happy at the prospect of relocating because she was expecting to go to a much more pleasant place. She did not cry even though her mother was weeping and crying at their departure.

They were travelling on the ship and she was looking forward to being on a ship. After spending a lot of time on the ship, it was no longer pleasant.

She remembers arriving in the High Arctic. It was getting cold and the land was getting more desolate and more barren. She did not know that it was dark in the winter and light in the summer. When she first became aware that it would be dark all winter, she thought she was going to sleep all winter and only get up in the summer. That was the mental image she had when she heard that these were the conditions.

The closer they got to the new home, the more barren and less pleasant the land became.

She was in school at Inukjuak at the time of the relocation. She has been hurt by the fact that they were relocated just as the school was getting started in Inukjuak. She was cut off from school because they went to a place of rock with absolutely nothing and no school.[183]

She was very angry at the laek of food and the cold. The people who relocated them never explained what they were to do and never told the truth about what they could expect.

183. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 212-214.

Alcohol became a big burden because people were not accustomed to alcohol or alcohol use. People tried to be happy with alcohol but they were being happy in an artificial manner, not in God's way. She used to try to stop people from abusing alcohol. This is the greatest burden that she has had to carry. Alcohol caused a lot of injuries and a lot of death and a lot of broken lives.[184]

Andrew Iqaluk

Andrew Iqaluk was born in the Inukjuak area in 1929 and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955. He returned to Inukjuak in 1982.

When he relocated to Resolute Bay, he was given no information as to where animals were. He had to go in all different directions to find out what was available in each location. Here he was, having been delivered to a land of plenty, having to figure out for himself what existed.

His mother was an old woman and her sight was failing. His father was dead. He worked hard to try to find wildlife that his mother could relate to from her earlier days but he was only able to catch polar bear, walrus and white whale. It is lucky he was a young man at the time and a very able, competent hunter.[185]

When he went to Resolute Bay in 1955, it was only then that they were able to eat caribou meat. They were able to search out areas where caribou was available. No one imposed any regulations on them. They were able to harvest many caribou from the areas that they found for themselves. Now the whole Arctic Islands area is off limits to caribou hunting.[186]

At the time of the relocation, he had recently lost his father and he was under the care of his sister's husband. It was his mother who was asked

184. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 616-621.

185. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 238-239.

186. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-280.

about the relocation. He and his younger brother were not spoken to by the government officials because they were following the advice and decisions of their elders.

The day that the police came to take his mother and the in-laws, he and his younger brother had been out in the boat. When they were coming back, they could see their tent from a long way off. The tent was still up but the tent appeared different. He has thought about this and has decided that his elders were broken in spirit and were finally convinced upon strong insistence to relocate. The appearance of that tent was an indication of the broken lives that were to follow from this whole project.

When he left for the North, he left his older brother behind.

He believes that the government wanted to populate the area or add to the population that had been established at Resolute Bay in 1953.

He began to work with his dog team with the people exploring for oil and opening up the area.

He was a hunter and he enjoyed hunting full-time. He enjoyed going on trips there in the new land. The women who were left behind had to maintain the camp and they had a hard struggle. The hunters were working to gather life-sustaining food and it was a necessity of life at that time to be out hunting because they had to earn something to trade. This is how they tried to make a living then.

The policemen would come and order them to go out hunting. They had decided for themselves that they would go out hunting and he did not like being ordered to go out and hunt.

They were told they were going to a land of plentiful wildlife but were not told where to find the wildlife. They had to search it out for themselves. There was absolutely no way to get at fish.

The policeman treated some people very badly. He treated the hunters who were more able and more competent differently. Others were treated badly and were scolded all the time.

He did a lot of work for people who were exploring the area acting as a guide and dog team driver. He helped open up the area and is still waiting for some sort of thanks. Now he is an old man who is no longer able to work. He was paid for the work that he did but no one has ever thanked him for his part in opening up the area.

The Inuit helped open up this area for development and he believes that the Inuit presence also had the effect of asserting Canada's sovereignty in the area although this has always been denied. He believes that it is obvious when you look at the map that sovereignty had to be a reason for having people occupying that area. He wants the government to say that they did use the Inuit for sovereignty.[187]

Markoosie Patsauq

Markoosie Patsauq was born in the Inukjuak area in 1941 and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953. He returned to Inukjuak in 1975.

He was sent to hospital in the south from Resolute Bay. He would receive letters from his father and mother saying that they had sent money and had he received it. He did not receive all the money that they had tried to send.[188]

He knew he was already sick in the fall of 1952 when he was spitting blood. His illness was getting worse. His mother used to tell him that he would have to be sent away to the south. After arriving in Resolute Bay, the illness was getting more serious and he started vomiting blood. He has since been told that his TB was urgent and he should have been treated

187. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 427-438.

188. Tuesday, April 6, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, p. 256.

urgently but nothing was done. He believes that the RCMP were trained in first aid and something should have been done on an urgent basis once the RCMP were told how sick he was. He believes that the military had a doctor and they could have taken care of him but he was not the responsibility of the military. After a year had passed and the ship came up, he was X-rayed and he was told that he had TB. That is when he realized that he had TB. He was taken to the hospital.

He was happy to leave because he wanted to be healthy even though he was concerned about leaving the town and his parents and relatives.

The day that they were leaving Inukjuak for the High Arctic, they were not X-rayed because the X-ray machines were broken. He believes that they were not examined properly. They were given X-rays after the ship passed Iqaluit. Although they were X-rayed and he was sick, the doctors did not do anything. Much later he would be sent to hospital. He spent three years in hospital. He spread the disease to other people. Many of the people who were relocated to Resolute Bay caught TB.

The land they were living in before the relocation had been their land for many hundreds of years before the white man came. The land they lived in is unique. "The place where you were born is unique, there is no other place like it." No one thought about leaving. No one ever wanted to leave their home because it is their homeland. It is a land which is rich in animals and even today the animals can sustain the Inuit people in the Inukjuak area. He believes that the government did not really know what it was doing but they still governed and had a great impact on the people.

He believes that the government made a mistake and that the government should admit its mistake.

When they were living in Inukjuak before the relocation, they started getting services like welfare and they started getting welfare for the grandparents. When they moved up to the High Arctic, they lost all their services. His grandmother did not receive any money for welfare to receive

groceries. The government told them only about the good things and not about the bad things.

He clarified that when he started spitting blood in 1952, he was the only one who knew about this and he didn't tell anybody. He did not know that he was ill. However, before leaving in 1953, his mother saw him spitting blood and she realized that he was ill.[189]

When people returned to Inukjuak, they left behind a lot of their equipment. He wants the government to provide compensation for this. He left behind a lot of equipment and he has made a list of this in an affidavit which was provided to the Commission. Others have also made similar claims and their affidavits were provided to the Commission.[190]

He recalls writing a letter to a friend of his in Inukjuak and giving the letter to the policeman. The next day he found the letter thrown in the dump. He asked the policeman why the letter had been thrown in the garbage. The policeman said that maybe he had dropped the letter and maybe when he dropped them, the cleaning lady threw it in the garbage.[191] He recalls receiving letters from his parents when he was in hospital and some of them would contain a small amount of money, $2.00 or $5.00. Sometimes, however, his father would write and asked if he had received the money that had been sent previously but he had not. He recalls four or five times when he didn't get the money that his father tried to sent him.[192]

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189. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 314 -327.

190. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 565 -566.

191. *Ibid.*, pp. 570-571.

192. *Ibid.*, pp. 571-572.

Jackoosie Iqaluk

Jackoosie Iqaluk was born in 1933 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955. He returned to Inukjuak in 1977.

They were at their camp north of Inukjuak at the time of the relocation in 1955. He was young and was very happy to leave. He was innocent and ignorant of what was going on and was following his elders.[193]

He and his brother were competent hunters. The family had a boat which was almost new and the men also had kayaks. They had dog teams and all the equipment required to make a living. They were well-equipped.

The spring before they moved, their elders knew about the relocation. The policeman with the interpreter that he borrowed from the Hudson's Bay Company spoke to them. The interpreter was used to make the details of the preparations clear.

He and his brothers were not consulted by the police but he wanted to get first-hand information from them about the relocation. He went to speak to the policeman and the policeman told him that there were no women in the High Arctic so that he was going to have to find himself a wife. Since that time Jackoosie has considered that the policeman must have thought that they were never going to return because he said that Jackoosie should find a wife.

When they arrived at Churchill, there was a big wind and they lost a lot of their household articles and equipment, especially lanterns and lamps.

He knew he was going to Resolute because there was a map on the ship which showed the route and it showed where Resolute was. They had the impression that their relatives were in a land of plenty of wildlife and he thought it was going to all be fun. However, he saw right away that their

193. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 342-343.

relatives were very thin. None of them were fat. He hardly recognized them. It was very cold and the conditions were very different.

The first group that they met had built little shacks. The shacks were not very warm during the night but the people had built some homemade stoves from discarded oil drums. During the day they were able to build fires in these stoves.

Jackoosie and his family pitched their tent because there was not enough room in the shacks for everyone. It was very cold and it was snowing but it was a long time before they could get around by dog team. They spent a lot of time that fall in the tent.

They learned that there was a dump with discarded wood so Jackoosie and his older brother were able to go and scrounge some discarded wood. They were able to build shelters from the discarded wood. Later he was able to make another shelter for his wife and himself so that all six of them would not have to live in the same small shelter. They were only able to burn wood in the homemade stoves during the day and at night it got very cold sometimes 30° or 40° below.

They had lost some of their equipment at Churchill so they used candles to light their shelters. They scrounged the candles from the military base because the store did not carry these items.

The first winter they hunted and trapped. Foxes were plentiful so they were able to catch a lot of foxes. However, when they sold the fox pelts at the store, the pelts did not seem to have any price attached to them and the trade goods did not seem to have any price attached to them.

During the summer of 1956, they had employment. This continued in the summers with winters spent hunting and trapping. The employment was at the military base. The Air Force paid them directly with money.

By 1957 they started doing more work taking around explorers looking for oil and minerals. He and Jaybeddie Amagoalik were away for six months

and covered 2,000 miles. This is the kind of work they did opening up the Arctic Islands. Oil is now being extracted but what about the people who help opened up the area? He often feels forgotten.[194]

Dora Pudluk

Dora Pudluk was born in the Inukjuak area, and her family relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955, when she was nine years old. She was sent to hospital while en route to the High Arctic and did not rejoin her family in Resolute Bay (where she still resides) until 1958. Her birth name was Iqaluk.

When she was nine, she, her younger sister and Martha Flaherty's younger sister were all sent to the hospital at Churchill. She had to take care of the younger girls. It was the first time she had left her parents and it was very hard on her. The younger girls cried a lot. From Churchill they were taken south to another hospital. The children could not speak English. When they arrived at the other hospital, Martha Flaherty's sister was taken to another part of the hospital and she worried about her. The events at these hospitals remain very vivid in her memory.

Her sister was sent back to Churchill before she was. Some months later she went to Churchill. She was told her sister was there but she did not get to see her sister. This hurt her. The place that they were kept in Churchill was unclean and they were fed only once a day. They had to sleep on the floor in their clothes.

When she was being sent home, she was sent to Inukjuak even though she said that her parents were no longer there. The government officials who sent her back to Inukjuak did not believe that her parents were at the new address in the High Arctic that she showed them. She spent a whole year in Inukjuak. It was not until the ship came in 1958 that she was taken to the High Arctic to her parents. When her father came to the ship, he did not recognize her. Then when his father finally accepted that she was his

194. *Ibid.*, pp. 412-423.

daughter, he said that he didn't recognize her because she had grown up so much and that he never expected to see her alive again. He put his arms around her and cried.

When they went to the tent where the family was living, her mother did not recognize her either.[195]

Her parents also suffered. They suffered hardship when some of the family had to go to hospital and when they returned to their homeland, they were separated from the people they left behind.

She feels that the government was just using the Inuit. She would not feel this way if she had been well treated at the hospital and if they had been landed in a place which had facilities. When her parents landed at Resolute there was hardly any shelter and, now that her father has died, her mother does not have proper accommodation. She believes her mother should be compensated through the provision of warm housing where she can have contentment and that her mother should also receive financial compensation.[196]

Rynie Flaherty

Rynie Flaherty was born in 1928 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1955 where she continues to reside.

When they were to go to the High Arctic, her youngest daughter Mary, who was two years old at the time, was diagnosed as having TB. At Churchill her daughter was taken away. She did not know that it would be years before she would see her daughter again. She thought that her daughter would be given back to her right away. She heard nothing from her daughter again. After two years, they heard that she had been taken back to Inukjuak by mistake. For another year they did not hear from her.

195. *Ibid.*, pp. 344-358.

196. *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

Then her daughter was taken by mistake to Resolute Bay. When her daughter finally arrived, she could not speak the Inuktitut language and she did not wish to be with her own family. This was very hurtful.[197]

When they lived in Inukjuak, her husband used to work for the Department of Transport. He had done this work for nine years. He was a handyman and servant to the weather service. They were warmly housed all the time her husband was employed.

Larry Audlaluk's father was the adoptive father of her husband and he longed for her husband to join them. Her husband was consulted about this. She was not consulted.

When they were being prepared for their departure, she was not worried because she believed only that they were going to some sort of land of plenty. In fact, she was happy when they were preparing to depart.

They learned that Larry's father had died when they were being prepared for their departure and, even though they heard this, they went ahead with the relocation because they were all prepared for their departure and because her husband knew Larry's father's younger brother Philipoosie.

They were put ashore at Resolute for a week before being taken to Craig Harbour. They then waited in Craig Harbour for all the people to get their X-rays. Then they made the trip to the camp.

There were no medical serviees, no church and only a store at the police post. There was no vegetation, just bare rock and large boulders. She felt that they were simply dumped on the shore at a place where there was absolutely nothing.

Larry's older brother was building a sod and earth shelter and they lived in one of those for the first winter. There was no wood to help hold the shelter against the weight of the snow and eventually it collapsed. Then

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 358-362.

they made snow-houses. They did not have any light at first because they had no fat for fuel. One of her neighbours later gave some fat for fuel.

They were dumped in a place where there was no grocery, no milk and her youngest son, Peter, almost starved to death because she was not breast feeding him. She tried to make formula for him by mixing flour with water. He is mentally retarded and she believes that this was the result of poor nutrition. The government had said that they were going to a very rich place but this was not true.

In the spring, there was no flour, no milk, no sugar and she could only feed her little son small pieces of seal meat.

When the *C.D. Howe* would eome, it would stay only for a few hours and would drop just a few supplies that were supposed to be used for the whole year. This is how they were mistreated. If they had stayed in Inukjuak this would not have happened. She still cries about how she almost starved her son.

They had so little to eat that they started scrounging in the dump at Craig Harbour behind the back of the RCMP. She did not know the RCMP at that time and did not ask them for help and they never told her what was available to her.

Her husband went out on long dog team trips for which he was not paid anything, even groceries. He would come back very hungry and the dogs would be very thin. His health deteriorated as a result of hunger.[198]

Mary Attagutaluk

Mary Attagutaluk was born in 1950 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955. She now lives at Pond Inlet where she moved in 1991.

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 439-453.

She is Dora Pudluk's sister and is the young girl who was with the group of children who were sent to hospital in 1955. The trauma of those events is seared in her memory.

The white man treats Inuit like the way they treat their trained dogs. The Inuit are told to sit, so they sit, and become silent just as dogs do when they are being commanded.

The nurses in the hospital were very fearsome. They were never pleasant. No one should be treated in this manner.[199]

Lizzie Amagoalik

Lizzie Amagoalik was born in 1938 in the Inukjuak area and was relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955. She returned to Inukjuak in 1979.

The police came to her father with Tommy Palisser as an interpreter. This was the second time the police had come. They told her father to go to Inutsulik and, when the ship came, the police would come to pick them up from there.

After her father had been contacted by the poliee in 1953, his life changed. They did not go in 1953 because her grandfather did not want to go. In 1955, her father was told that "Johnny, Simeonie and Jaybeddie and your daughter have a very good place to stay now. They want you to come, so you will go". Her father asked if there was another place where it's better. The policeman said "there's lots of country food and you will not be hungry, your dogs will have plenty to eat, so you will go up". Her father went in the tent and put his head down. The policeman kept saying that it will be better when he goes into this promised land where there is plenty. Her father asked how was it that it was a better place. He was told that when he gets there he will see. They were not told anything else. They were not told about the dark periods, about the harsh coldness, what sorts of vegetation existed, what sort of animal wildlife resources existed.

199. *Ibid.*, pp. 366-371.

Her father talked about how they might all be able to return home after two years. Her father tried to comfort himself with the thought that he could return home although he was already hurt by the fact that the police had obtained his agreement after much resistance.

Her father had problems with his liver and needed medical attention between 1953 and 1955. They did not know if there would be any medical people in Resolute Bay. They just assumed there would be.

When they were on board the ship going to Churchill, her father said that he wanted to go home. They had no idea where the people who went in 1953 were. They thought that perhaps they were at Churchill. They had no idea of the distance they were going to travel. Her father's life began breaking apart as the trip continued.

On the final stretch to Resolute, they were going through a lot of ice and her father said "How are we going to live here? It's summer and it's already full of ice. How are we going to make it here? How are we going to live?" He said that he was going to tell the government that he wanted to go home right away and that he could not live in such a place. He told the police on the ship that he was already homesick and that he didn't think he could live there. The police said that once he got to shore they could talk some more.

When they arrived at Resolute, her father was happy for a short period because he saw his relatives. Later that first night, her father said to the policeman that he had said he wanted to go home. The policeman said that he had been too busy and hadn't had time to deal with this. In all the early years that they were there, her father asked the police when they would be going home. Jaybeddie's and Simeonie's grandmother, who was a very old woman and hard of hearing, would always ask when they were going home.

She helped her father bring wood from the dump which was five miles away. They had to walk because they could not get there by dog team yet. He spent that fall building a shelter.

Her father's health was suffering and eventually he was taken to hospital suffering from tuberculosis.

He always talked about going home. In about 1958 or 1959, he learned that his older brother had died in Inukjuak. He went to the police asking to be allowed to go and see his family in Inukjuak. He was told that it was too expensive for him to go. After that he just slumped down and his life began to fall apart. Her father said to the policeman that he thought he was going to be allowed to go back to Inukjuak whenever he wanted. The police said he would try to send the message to Ottawa to see if he could be sent to join his family. There was no word ever received about this afterward.

Later he learned about the death of his sister and again requested to be allowed to return and was given the same answer about trying to send the message to Ottawa and that it is very expensive to travel by aircraft.

Then he went back to hospital.

Her father wrote many letters and she herself knows that one of his letters was found in the dump. She saw the envelope. Her father asked the policeman if he had been throwing away the letters. The police did not give her a very good answer. The policeman said "Whenever you want to hear about your relatives, I can go to the radio at the weather station and try to find out about the condition of your relatives". Her father asked if he could actually hear their voices because he was very homesick and longing to hear their voices but the policeman said that only white people were allow to go up to the base. This further devastated her father.

He died in 1973 expressing his desire to go home.

She had started school at Inukjuak and she assumed that they would be going to a place where there was a school. They were never told that they were going to a place that had no school. She had reached Grade 5 and her education fell flat. If they had not moved, her education would have continued right through.

The "trading post" was not a large store. It had old clothes that were all of the winter type and none of them fit any of the men very well. There was nothing for the women. The women would pick up rags and wash them and try to make clothing for the children. They were in the care of the government and their wants and needs should have been satisfied. They should have been supplied properly.

They scrounged in the dump for food.

She spent three years in hospital.

In the past when the relocatees have told their story, they have been totally forgotten afterward. The relocatees should be compensated and they should be given the means to heal.

After they returned to Inukjuak in 1979, no one recognized them. The people they had known were all dead. They became strangers in their old country.[200]

Inukjuak has many different kinds of animals. The place that they went to had only a few animals and they were not used to eating them. They did not mind eating them but her mother and father and grandmother and her husband were dying for their traditional food. Resolute Bay was not a land of plenty. The men would guide white people on dog sled trips and the women would have to fend for themselves. They would scrounge in the dump food. They would look for firewood in the dump and one time her mother was trying to get firewood and the RCMP came to her and scolded her.

She was in hospital for three years and her children would come home at lunch and would have nothing. They would try to get food in the dump.

The people who were in school with her in Inukjuak and stayed in Inukjuak now speak English very well and have very good jobs.

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200. *Ibid.*, pp. 395-412.

The women would make traditional warm clothing from polar bear skins for the white people but were never paid a penny for their work.[201]

When she and her husband began discussing returning to Inukjuak, her husband wanted the government to pay for their return. He talked to a government official working out of Yellowknife. The official asked how much money her husband had and he refused to pay for their return. Her husband began carving to save money for air fare. They paid their own way back for a family of seven. They did not have the money for extra luggage so she left all her household articles including a washing machine in Resolute Bay. They do not have adequate housing in Inukjuak and she still has to scrounge around for some place to wash their clothing. She wants to know when the government is going to help them. Her children longed to go back to where they grew up at Resolute Bay.[202]

Maina Arragutainaq

Maina Arragutainaq was born in 1944 in the Inukjuak area and relocated in 1955 to Arctic Bay and then to Grise Fiord. She now lives in Sanikiluaq.

Her older sister relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. In 1955 her mother wanted to see her daughter. So she, her mother, and another sister went to visit the older sister who was in Grise Fiord.

Her mother was a cleaning lady who had worked at the weather station in Inukjuak. Her father was dead. She was happy to be going with her mother on the visit. Her oldest brother stayed behind in Inukjuak.

On the way to Grise Fiord, the ship stopped at Arctic Bay. There were four white people who went to see her mother in Arctic Bay. They visited her mother on the ship and then her mother and two girls were landed in Arctic Bay. She asked her mother why they were landing there and her

201. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-499.

202. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 537-542.

mother said, "I've been asked or ordered to work here for the weather service for the weather station. I've been told to go to work for the weather station here. They want me to land here." Her mother said that they could spent the year there. Her mother started to cry because she was landing in a place that she had not originally wanted to go to but they could not argue with the people who were operating the weather station.

They were put up in a small shack and her older sister who was with her was very unhappy and depressed about the fact that they had landed there instead of going to visit the older sister in Grise Fiord. That winter, her sister who was with her in Arctic Bay lost her mind and was taken out by airplane. They never heard of her again.

Her mother had been told that they would be in Arctic Bay for only one year but it was not until 1957 that they were able to be transported to Grise Fiord.

When they arrived in Grise Fiord, they found the people were very poor. There was no milk for the children.

Her mother heard that her son, the oldest brother had arrived in Resolute and they went in 1959 by dog team to Resolute to meet him.

In 1960, she was sent out for treatment of TB. Her mother had been told in 1955 on the ship to Arctic Bay that she had TB but it was not until 1960 that she was sent to hospital.

In 1961, just as she was about to return home from hospital her mother arrived at the hospital. Her mother was also sick but she didn't spend much time at the hospital. Her mother said that she would wait for her in Churchill so they could go home together. A week later she was told that her mother had died. She wanted to know why her mother had died but she was never given a satisfactory explanation. Later she learned that her mother's mind had snapped because all her children were spread all over the place. At the time of her death, her mother had with her a young son who had been born in 1957. This boy was the result of her mother being

impregnated by a white man in Arctic Bay. Her mother had delivered the baby alone because there was no medical help available.

She went to Churchill after she got out of hospital and picked up her little brother and the two of them, now motherless, went to Resolute Bay. In 1962, when she was living in Resolute, her mental condition deteriorated but she was helped by the prayers of the Inuit of Resolute Bay.

In 1963 she returned to Inukjuak. Soon after she arrived in Inukjuak her older sister's clothing arrived and they were told that she had died in 1963.[203]

Leah Idlout-Paulson

She relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 from Pond Inlet. She has been living in the south now for about 32 years.

At the time of their relocation she was about fifteen years old and was living with her family in a camp outside of Pond Inlet. She had six brothers, one of whom went to Spence Bay to become an Anglican missionary.

For many years her father had been offered work with the RCMP, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the missionary, but he had refused because he wanted to bring up his children in the camp. He would say to his children, "Look at those kids at the post, they have pale faces almost like white people because they lack country food."

Her grandfather died before they left Pond Inlet and her mother was able to talk with her grandfather before they left. They went to Arctic Bay by dog team. Her father had boats and a kayak but he could not take them to Arctic Bay on the dog teams.

She had already started to interpret and the Reverend Donald Whitbread had given her some school books to teach the children at Resolute Bay.

203. Wednesday, April 7, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 453-464.

They were taken to Resolute Bay from Arctic Bay.

There was no school built at Resolute Bay so she used a storage room down at the beach to teach the children.

One of her brothers drowned. The next year her sister-in-law got sick. It was hard for the RCMP to tell when someone was sick but finally the RCMP got help and her sister-in-law was evacuated to Thule. She died two days later. Her brother never forgave her that she was not able to make the RCMP understand sooner that her sister-in-law was sick.

Things got harder and harder for her. She was raped by an Inuit man. She became mentally sick and was sent away.

When she was home for a visit, her mother was expecting a baby. There was no doctor and she helped deliver her last brother.

Her grandmother had TB and was sent away for a long time. She came home but had to be sent away again. She never came back. She died in Churchill.[204]

Elisapee Nutaraq

Elisapee Nutaraq was born in 1943 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Grise Fiord in 1953. She returned to Inukjuak in 1988.

Her father was Philipoosie Novalinga. He died in 1987 in Grise Fiord. Her mother had died earlier. Her name was Annie Amagoalik. Her brother also died in Grise Fiord. When she returned to Inukjuak, she left her family, who had all been buried in the High Arctic.

She was very young at the time of the relocation and she does not really recall those years.

204. *Ibid.*, pp. 514-519.

She was able to get a job in Grise Fiord even though she is not educated. At the time they left Inukjuak, there was a school, and when she returned to Inukjuak, she found that her peers were all educated.

She returned to Inukjuak with her husband. If she had not been married she would have stayed in Grise Fiord because she thinks of it as her homeland. She had no choice but to return with her husband.[205]

When she left Grise Fiord, she left behind relatives and it was very heavy for her to return to Inukjuak. She had relatives in Inukjuak, but when they returned it was as if they were not related because they never knew each other. She is still learning who her relatives are.

The government is responsible for this. The government has caused a lot of problems and distress.

Her children missed their friends in Grise Fiord. They should be assisted in going to visit relatives and family and friends living in the High Arctic. It is very hard missing one's friends and relatives.[206]

Her father used to write letters in the early years every month. He did not know where his letters went and he did not get answers. He would ask the police officer if he had sent the letters and the officer would say that he had. It was years before her father got a reply to any of his letters.[207]

Johnny Epoo

Johnny Epoo was born in 1947 in the Inukjuak area where he continues to reside. He was not relocated. He spoke on behalf of the Mayor of Inukjuak.

205. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 547-549.

206. *Ibid.*, pp. 553-555.

207. *Ibid.*, pp. 575-576.

When people began to return from the High Arctic, the village wanted to help but it was impossible for them to do so. They had a housing shortage and services were not available. It was the government of Canada that was responsible for the relocation and the government of Canada should also have been responsible for the return and providing housing and services for the returnees.

There have been a lot of social problems as a result of people returning. It has not been a problem so much for older people who knew each other before the relocation but it has been a problem for younger people. It has also been something of a problem even for older people because of the inadequate communications which made it difficult for people to remain in touch.

He has heard it said that after the first teacher who came to Inukjuak left that the education there deteriorated. This is not true. When the first teacher left, the education system there continued.[208]

Allie Salluvinik

Allie Salluvinik was born in 1949 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1953 where he still lives.

The people who returned sold their equipment to pay for their return. He himself bought some of that equipment.[209]

His mother died and he was the oldest of seven children. He had to take care of them. He used to abuse his younger brother. He understands that he did this because he missed his mother and because he had to be responsible when his father was out hunting for food and they were left hungry and cold. He has asked his brother for forgiveness.[210]

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 556-560.

209. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

210. *Ibid.*, pp. 584-585.

He recalls his father, after he married his second wife, expressing the desire to return to Inukjuak. He recalls him saying to his second wife that if he didn't get returned to Inukjuak by the government perhaps they could set up an outpost camp in an unoccupied place. His father died on the flight evacuating him to Montreal, maybe in the vicinity of Inukjuak.[211]

Minnie Nungak

Minnie Nungak was born in 1950 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 where she still lives.

Her parents followed her father's older brother to the High Arctic. She remembers that her mother was very depressed and not happy. Her parents returned to Inukjuak leaving most of their children in the High Arctic. Only one child is in Inukjuak and he does not want to be there.

As long as she can remember, her mother lived at Resolute Bay in a very depressed state. She lives up there with her children, even though they do not wish to be there, because they don't know any other place to go to.

Her brother was not able to come to the hearings.

There were many troubles caused by the reloeation with people turning to alcohol and people being killed.

Her father was invited to the High Arctic by his older brother but when he moved up there he was very depressed.[212]

Elizabeth Allakariallak

Elizabeth Allakariallak was born in 1957 in Resolute Bay where she still lives.

211. *Ibid.*, pp. 622-623.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 581-583.

She considers herself a survivor of a vicious, cruel, inhuman experiment by an uncaring federal government bureaucracy; a survivor of screaming winds, empty stomachs and life in a polar desert; a survivor of a government so racist that it refused to recognize her name and gave her a number.

In the ten years from 1953 to 1962, twenty-seven female babies were born to Resolute families of which only one-third are still in Resolute Bay. One-third have died and one-third have moved away. Over one-quarter of the male children have died. She was born in a small shack. Her mother had no medical attention. She remembers the excitement of waiting for oranges found in the dump to thaw on the stove. She remembers being cold and going to sleep frigid and waking to another cold day.

She started school when she was six and the teachers called her stupid but she was short-sighted and couldn't see the front of the classroom. It was not until she was fourteen that she got glasses. When she was ten she was taken to hospital and was away for three years.

She went to a residential school for Grade 9 but she left at the Christmas break to take a job to help support her parents. She was fifteen years old and took a job working at the co-op store because her father was ill.

She often wonders what her life would have been like if they had been left in Inukjuak. Would all the people who died still be alive?

She believes that the government has insulted the integrity of the Inuit by refusing to recognize their suffering.

She believes that the present condition of the Inuit is the result of racist policies and inequality. That is why there are no Inuit doctors, lawyers, dentists and judges.[213]

213. *Ibid.*, pp. 585-589.

Bobby Patsauq

Bobby Patsauq was born in 1960 at Resolute Bay. He moved to Inukjuak in 1974.

When he was born, his mother did not have medical attention and she was flown to Greenland. He was born on the aircraft.

He does not talk about his life in Resolute or say that he was born in Resolute for fear that some prejudice might arise against him.

His father was very determined to go back to Inukjuak to join his relatives. He asked the government for a financial assistance to return to Inukjuak. His request was turned down. His father was determined to go back, so he sold everything he had to get money to return.

After moving back to Inukjuak, he had to adjust to the community. It was difficult the first year. He did not know the people or his relatives. He could see that his father and mother were feeling much better when they reached their home. He began to learn who his relatives were. Sometimes his peers would ridicule him, telling him to go back to Resolute. The healing process is still going on and he forgives his peers for these things. He calls Inukjuak home although his roots are in Resolute.

Others who have returned more recently are still confused about their identity.

He would like to close this sorry chapter in their lives and begin a new life. He cannot look back because it is too painful. The suffering of the people who went to the High Arctic was great. He hopes that the government will accept the responsibility for what has been done.[214]

214. Thursday, April 8, 1993, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 590-597.

Paul Amagoalik

Paul Amagoalik was born in 1953 on board the *C.D. Howe* en route to Resolute Bay. He still lives in Resolute Bay.

He was named after the captain of the ship, Paul Fournier, so that he has not adopted the Inuk name Pauloosie.

When he was only two or three years old he was sent to a hospital in the south for TB and he did not return for two or three years. When he returned to Resolute Bay he couldn't understand where he was going because he was so young when he left. He didn't know anything about the North, its cold, the snow, and the daylight and he only spoke English. He had to start over learning a new language and this was hard because his relatives could hardly speak English.

They built a school around 1961 or 1962 and he started to go to school. By that time he had re-learned the Inuktitut language and had almost forgotten the English language. When he started to go to school he had to learn English all over again. They would be strapped if they spoke Inuktitut.

He used to go to the dump with his parents and grandparents to pick up food to eat. The kids used to fish for the little fish that were in the lake near the settlement.

The children have inherited the troubles caused by the government's ignorance.

It is very hard making a small community work. He has no intention of leaving Resolute since this is where he grew up. He will stay to try to create better living conditions for everybody in Resolute.

This all has it's beginning in 1953 when his parents were told that they were just going to the High Arctic for two years to better their lives.[215]

Susan Salluviniq

Susan Salluviniq was born in 1953 in Pond Inlet and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 where she still lives.

She is the youngest daughter of Joseph Idlout and was one year old when they moved to Resolute Bay.

The children are the caretakers of the pains of their parents in the separation of families in the move to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.

The government should recognize the pain that the relocatees have suffered and give them monetary compensation.[216]

George Eckalook

George Eckalook was born in 1946 in the Inukjuak area and relocated to Resolute Bay in 1955 where he still lives.

Today Resolute Bay is an established community. He is the mayor.

He helped his father build a shack from scrap wood. They would add a little bit every year so that eventually some of them became quite extensive buildings and, in the end, were quite nice. Later the government provided housing and they moved to the new location and the new houses. The people wanted to preserve the old houses as the memory of how they struggled to make shelter for themselves but the government burnt them down without consulting the people.[217]

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215. *Ibid.*, pp. 605-612.

216. *Ibid.*, pp. 624-625.

217. *Ibid.*, pp. 628-631.

The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

Part 2
The Voices of Former Officials and Others

Contents

The High Arctic Relocation

Summary of Supporting Information to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Report on the High Arctic Relocation

Part 2
The Voices of Former Officials and Others

Introduction

Part 2 contains a summary of the story of the relocation as told from various perspectives — the perspective of former officials, of former members of the RCMP, and of others who had some contact with the relocation. Some presented their recollections in writing. Most presented their recollections orally during the Commissions hearings held on June 28-30, 1993.

The voices contained in Part 2 appear in the following order: first there are former officials who made oral presentations; second there are former RCMP members who made oral presentations; third there are others who had some contact with the relocation and who made oral presentations; and last there are those who made a written contribution to the proceedings. An Exeeutive Summary is provided for convenience; however, a full appreciation of these stories requires a reading of the individual summaries.

Professors Grant, Gunther, Orkin and Soberman and Messrs. Neville, of Hickling Corporation, and Marcus spoke to the reports or studies they have made of the relocation.[218] These reports stand on their own and are

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218. Shelagh D. Grant, "A Case of Compounded Error: The Inuit Resettlement Project 1953 and the Government Response 1990", *Northern Perspectives* 19/1 (Spring 1991), as expanded and elaborated by a substantial amount of additional information and commentary provided by Professor Grant to the Commission, including a presentation to the

not summarized in this part. The Commission wishes to understand better the different conclusions reached by those who have already reported on or studied the relocation. The presentations made contributed to that objective. These reports and studies also provided much additional information which is reflected in Parts 3 and 4, as well as in the Commission's report.

Commission on June 30, 1993, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 770-865, 1067-1082. Professor Grant also provided copies of official documents now residing in various archives. These have proved invaluable in understanding the chronological development of the relocation projeet, the background against which this was occurring, and, in particular, in placing statements by officials quoted in the studies of the relocation in their full context.

Magnus Gunther, "The 1953 Relocations of the Inukjuak Inuit to the High Arctic—A Documentary Analysis and Evaluation", August 1992. Professor Gunther elaborated his views in a June 30, 1993 presentation to the Commission, Tr., vol. 3, pp. 940-1082, and in a subsequent written response to the Commission's Questions for Discussion. A list of errata in the written report was also received from Professor Gunther.

Andrew Orkin, "Immersion in the High Arctic: An examination of the relocation of Canadian Inuit in 1953 and the Canadian government's response to it, particularly from the perspective of the law on experimentation involving human subjects", June 1991. Professor Orkin expanded and elaborated on his views in a July 5, 1993 presentation to the Commission, Tr., vol. 4, pp. 1086-1176.

Daniel Soberman, "Report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission on the Complaints of the Inuit People Relocated from Inukjuak and Pond Inlet to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay in 1953 and 1955", December 11, 1991. Professor Soberman elaborated on his report in a June 29, 1993 presentation to the Commission, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 593-634.

Hickling Corporation, "Assessment of the Factual Basis of Certain Allegations made before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs Concerning the Relocation of Inukjuak Inuit Families in the 1950s", September 1990. Mr. Bud Neville elaborated on the Hickling Corporation study in a June 29, 1993 presentation to the Commission, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 635-711.

Alan R. Marcus, "Out in the Cold: The Legacy of Canada's Inuit Relocation Experiment in the High Arctic", Document 71 (Copenhägen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1992). Mr. Marcus elaborated on his views in an June 30, 1993 presentation to the Commission, Tr., vol. 3, pp 866-940.

The Commission was urged to hear Mary Carpenter on the basis that she had information which related to the relocation. As it turned out, what she had to say did not relate to the relocation but reflected more general concerns. As a result, her concerns are not summarized here.

The Commission heard a panel of experts, Dr. Gordon W. Smith, Professor Donat Pharand and Marc Denhez, on the issue of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. Their contribution to the Commission's process is found in Chapter 8 of the Commission's report. Briefly, Dr. Smith informed the Commission that, during the Second World War and continuing into the 1950s, the Canadian government was concerned that events might progress in such a way that the real control in the Arctic might become American rather than Canadian. In other words, there was a concern with de facto sovereignty. This concern decreased over a period of years as a result of a pattern of conduct by the United States which continually recognized Canadian sovereignty over the land areas of the Arctic. Professor Pharand also informed the Commission that there was cause for concern about the de facto sovereignty of Canada arising from the presence of the United States in the Arctic. The concern was that Canada would not be seen to be controlling activities in the North so that, over time, there would be a possibility of Canada's sovereignty being questioned. The primary manifestation of sovereignty is the exercise of state control through the making of laws and regulations, regular presence of government officials, particularly the police, and so on. Occupation by the inhabitants of the country is a factor but not the primary factor. Professor Pharand recognized that occupation by Canadian citizens of an island claimed by Canada would "help solidify the claim to sovereignty if that claim were ever challenged". Dr. Smith considered that the significance of occupation would vary from situation to situation but that generally "a measure of occupation would be of significance". There was a question in Dr. Smith's mind in the present case as to whether the Canadian government considered Inuit occupation of the High Arctic islands as having a role in the assertion of sovereignty. Even so, however, Dr. Smith considered that the occupation of the islands by Canadian subjects "would

not be without some weight". Mr. Denhez considered that the relocation must be seen against the background of many years of government effort to assert a Canadian presence in the Arctic and that there were those who saw the relocation in terms of a further assertion of Canadian sovereignty. He saw the decision to populate the islands with Canadian Inuit as the logical consequence of a decision to create an Arctic Islands Game Preserve for the stated purpose of preserving the game for the benefit of Canadian Inuit.

Summary of Individual Presentations

Sovereignty was not seen by the former officials to be an important factor in the relocation. The relocation was said to have been motivated by a desire to improve the well-being of the Inuit. The relocation was also said to have been seen as a success. Several people believe that the whole of the evidence does not support the recollections of the Inuit heard in April. Others of those who spoke at the June hearings did not see the projects as a complete success and questioned the reasons for the move.

The movement of a few Inuit families into the High Arctic was said by Gordon Robertson not to be relevant to the Prime Minister's concerns about taking steps to demonstrate sovereignty in the Arctic. He does not rule out the possibility that some officials in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development may have thought that this project would contribute to the demonstration of Canadian sovereignty, although the dominant concern related to the well-being of the Inuit by reducing the over-population in relation to resources in the Inukjuak area. In that regard, his presentation admits the possibility that sovereignty was a material, although not dominant, consideration for departmental officials who were planning and implementing this project within the scope of the Department's mandate. His view of the relocation reflects a belief that life in the High Arctic communities was satisfactory and no different for the Inuit in many respects than life at other Arctic communities.

The importance of hunting in the project was emphasized by Graham Rowley. Sovereignty was not a motivation. The relocation was intended to assist the Inuit to obtain a better living than they could obtain at Inukjuak. All the reliable evidence points to Inuit satisfaction with the move. That evidence includes contemporary accounts from independent observers and statements by the Inuit themselves which conflict with the story told by the relocatees in recent years. He referred to incidents of starvation in the Arctic. The particular incident which he refers to is based on a report by someone else, of starvation in the Fort Chimo area in the winter of 1942-43.

Bent Sivertz describes the relocation in similar terms to, among others, Graham Rowley. He refers to the High Arctic islands as being the only unoccupied areas and that it was not possible to move people to occupied areas. He stated that his August 1953 statement in the meeting with the RCAF about Canadianizing the North did not relate to sovereignty.

The promise to return was acknowledged to have been made. Many people believed that the Inuit were happy and did not wish to return to Inukjuak. Bent Sivertz said that the promise was extended to the group as a whole and not individuals.

The information provided by the Larsen family indicated that Superintendent Larsen believed that the relocation was intended to improve the situation of the Inuit and was not for sovereignty reasons. Superintendent Larsen believed that the Inuit moved voluntarily. The approach taken by the local RCMP members was intended to help and protect the Inuit. This includes the restrictions which existed at Resolute Bay on contact between the Inuit and the base. Superintendent Larsen believed that the RCMP members at the new settlements made a great contribution to the success of the project and deserved much credit for the efforts made to assist the Inuit.

Some presentations point to the inadequacy of the supplies of the trading store and that supplies would often not be delivered.

Ross Gibson commented that he did not consider that the Inukjuak Inuit adjusted as well as he thought they would and that they were not the best candidates for this relocation because they had become too dependent on "white man's ways". His presentation indicates that the Inukjuak and Pond Inlet groups did not get on well. He believed that conditions at Inukjuak were not good. It had been his job to sell the Inukjuak Inuit on the advantages of a project which was considered to be good for them and this is what he did. He subsequently devoted considerable effort to carrying out what he understood to be the objectives of the project in accordance with directions received from headquarters. He believes the project was a success. No one said to him that they wanted to go back to Inukjuak. There were more people wanting to go than could be taken North. He believes the dark period and the separation from home were hard for the Inuit.

There was some unhappiness at Craig Harbour in the early years, Bob Pilot recalls, because people had not got what they expected and there was some hunger in the early years. He also identified the difficulties that were encountered in attempting to return people home in the 1970s after the government of the Northwest Territories took over administrative responsibilities in 1970. There was reluctance on the part of the Department, complicated by a three-way division of responsibility — the Northwest Territories, the Department, and the province of Quebec. During his time at Craig Harbour/Grise Fiord, he believed people were happy. He believes that it is logical that sovereignty was a factor in the relocation.

Reuben Ploughman has referred to the cyclical nature of the fur trade with periodic reliance on relief in down cycles. However, there was no starvation. He considers that some people would have volunteered but he cannot say that all of those who went were volunteers.

Doug Wilkinson speaks of the differences between Inuit in different parts of the Arctic as between, for example, independent-minded, self-reliant hunters such as Idlout and those who had largely given up a fully independent self-reliant life of hunting to gather around communities such

as Chesterfield Inlet. His presentation shows that Idlout, who had heard from other Pond Inlet Inuit that hunting was good on the northern islands and who wanted to go North, got what he expected and was happy. He has suggested that the Inukjuak Inuit are unhappy because there was not the same desire to go North. He believes that the project was not well-planned but that the complaints of the relocatees are exaggerated and overstated. The people who planned and implemented the relocation were well-intentioned and concerned for the well-being of the Inuit.

The project was understood at the time by some people to be a rehabilitation project. This is how the project was explained to the RCAF personnel at Resolute Bay. It is reflected in Cley Fryer's 1954 article on Craig Harbour. Wilfred Doucette understood that the relocation was to improve the living conditions of the Inukjuak Inuit who faced a shortage of game and were on welfare. His observations were that the people were doing well in the High Arctic. The Cley Fryer article indicates that the people were to fend for themselves by hunting and trapping, that the Inukjuak Inuit had to learn new ways of hunting in a new environment, that they had to learn to live under new conditions using seal oil lamps for both cooking and heating. The article refers to the initial sense of disappointment and the continuing sense of disappointment through the winter of 1953-54 of the "old fogey". The "old fogey" was Paddy who was the leading member of the group. The article states that the other Inuit were doing well and were happy and that the project was a success.

Some presentations do refer to the people from Inukjuak as being not the best prepared for life in the High Arctic. They were lacking in skin clothing, being dressed mostly in duffel. There were not sufficient skins for clothing and bedding.

Armand Brousseau and Pierre Desnoyers stated that the Inuit were going to the dump at the base at Resolute Bay within a short time of arrival and were looking, among other things, for food. Ross Gibson said that the base would dispose of quantities of unneeded food, some of which would

have been in its original packaging. Ross Gibson would acquire food which was surplus to the base requirements and which would otherwise have been discarded and distribute it to the Inuit.

The RCMP post at Craig Harbour was some forty miles from the Inuit settlement on the Lindstrom Peninsula. The RCMP post would also not produce the same degree of waste as the base at Resolute Bay. Bob Pilot has said that the RCMP would share their supplies with the Inuit when the trading store ran out of supplies.

There was no intention to pay the Pond Inlet Inuit and Bent Sivertz said that at no time were the Pond Inlet Inuit told they would be paid. The Pond Inlet Inuit went to the new communities for the new opportunities to hunt and trap.

The presentations state that the Inuit, both from Pond Inlet and Inukjuak, made a success of life in the High Arctic. There was considerable reference to expressions of satisfaction by many people at different times through the first fifteen or twenty years of the life of these communities. The presentations also indicate that there was little awareness of any significant long-term unhappiness and any strong desires to return home permanently. Visits home were another matter and it was suggested by Graham Rowley that some degree of visiting was accommodated through the use of the RCMP aircraft.

The letters provided by Gerard Kenney were interpreted by him to indicate clear and unequivocal evidence that the Inuit were happy in the new communities, contrary to what was now being said by the relocatees. The letters raise a number of questions. Do they, taken at faee value, communicate a clear sense of happiness? Is the apparent happiness of Idlout, for example, typical of all the Inuit? Are there differences between Idlout and, for example, the Inukjuak Inuit? Are there factors which might suggest that some letters cannot be taken at face value? For example, are there reasons for writing the letter which could affect the interpretation

placed on the contents of the letters? These matters are addressed in the Commission's report.

Individual Summaries

Gordon Robertson

Gordon Robertson served at the Department of External Affairs from the time he joined the public service in 1941 to 1945 after which he served in the office of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. He was with the Privy Council Office from 1949 to 1953 and, effective November 15, 1953, he was appointed Deputy Minister of the Department of Resources and Development and also Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. He held those positions until 1963. Subsequently, he became Secretary to the Cabinet and later Secretary to the Cabinet for Federal-Provincial Relations.

Mr. Robertson observes that it was in External Affairs and the Privy Council Office that anything with respect to sovereignty was considered or done. He was not in the Department of Resources and Development during the planning and execution of the relocation. He indicated that he would limit his remarks to the issue of sovereignty as something which he knew about from his personal experience.

Mr. Robertson is confident that the Canadian government at that time had no doubt about its title to the Arctic Islands and had no fear about a challenge by any other country to its title over the Arctic Islands. The Canadian government was not worried about the United States challenging Canadian title to the Arctic Islands. He bases this on what he knew while at the Department of External Affairs and by virtue of being in a position to know while at the Privy Council Office. He attended every meeting of the Cabinet during 1949 to 1953, including the January 1953 meeting which led to the reactivation of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development.

The situation with respect to the water between the Arctic Islands is different. The water between the islands is still regarded by the United States and by some other countries as being international water. The Canadian position is that the waters within the Arctic Islands are the inland waters of Canada.

Although Canada was not in 1953, and is not today, concerned about sovereignty in the sense of title, it was concerned that it should be in a position to act as sovereign and to do the things that a country ought to expect to do for its own territory.

During the Second World War, the United States undertook many of the things that were necessary in the North for the defence of North America. Canada did not have the resources to do these things. In a number of respects, therefore, Canada was not able to act the way a sovereign government should be able to act in its own territory. The same thing happened for a time in the post-war period when various facilities were being put into the North.

It was the concern that Canada was not acting as sovereign in the northern part of Canada that Mr. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, brought before the Cabinet in January 1953. The Prime Minister shared the concern. In September 1953, Mr. Robertson was called to the Prime Minister's Office where he was told that it had been decided that a new active policy should be adopted in the Canadian North, that the government was embarrassed that it was still having to rely on the United States to do things that should be done by Canada. The Prime Minister advised him that he had decided to appoint a new minister, Mr. Lesage, and a new deputy minister, Mr. Robertson. The Prime Minister wanted the new minister and deputy minister to tackle the problem that Canada had not been in a position to do the things a sovereign government ought to do.[219]

219. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 122-131.

Mr. Robertson stated that the Inuit settlements in the High Arctic could not be a demonstration of sovereignty by the government of Canada. A few families would be no demonstration of that. The presence of RCMP was a demonstration of sovereignty. The location of the RCMP at Resolute was, therefore, a demonstration of sovereignty, but the location of a few families at Resolute was not. The relocation in 1953 was never discussed by the Prime Minister and, as far as the government was concerned, it had no relation to sovereignty.[220]

In April 1954, as deputy minister of the Department, Mr. Robertson visited Resolute. He recalls the snow houses in which people lived and saw the newspapers with which the inside of the snow houses had been lined. His perception that this was an ingenious idea to prevent the dripping which is always a problem in snow houses from the oil lamp which is the source of heat. The equipment which he saw was the equipment that would be inside a snow house anywhere in the Arctic in those days. The Inuit were not moved into vacant buildings because vacant buildings could not be heated with an oil lamp but required a space heater instead and the Inuit could not afford oil. The intent of the move was to establish Inuit communities that would be self-reliant based on the traditional life of the Inuit. The intention was for communities that would not be reliant on handouts and would be self-reliant.

Mr. Robertson is sure that the initial period was harsh but the way of life at Resolute was no different from the way of life all across the Arctic.

Mr. Robertson's perception during his 1954 visit was that both children and adults were healthy and that the hunting had been quite good. Constable Gibson reported to him at the time that the health of the community had been good, the hunting was good and the food was adequate.

220. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

In Mr. Robertson's view it is neither fair nor sensible to draw a parallel between life at the RCAF base and life at the Inuit settlement. The same argument could be made in respect of all of the Inuit settlements throughout the Arctic in those days.[221]

He knew Henry Larsen and Alex Stevenson and still knows Bent Sivertz, and each of them had a "deep profound interest in the welfare of the Inuit people. There isn't one of them who would have done anything, would have been a party to anything, that would have been injurious to the people. I am absolutely certain that their judgement was arrived at on the best of motives with the interest of the Inuit people only in mind. It would have been very much easier to have done nothing, nothing at all. And if nothing had been done, they wouldn't be blamed today. I think it is quite a travesty of justice to have their motives misinterpreted, to have them held up to ridicule because they did something, they tried to do something, they tried it honestly, earnestly, and selflessly and now they are blamed for doing something."[222]

The reloeation was the responsibility of the Department of Resources and Development. It was not diseussed by Cabinet. Only things that raised high matters of policy or involved more than one department would go to Cabinet. In that sense, the government as government had no motivation and no intention with respect to the relocation. As far as the officials of the Department were eoncerned, Mr. Robertson has seen two or three references to Canadianizing the High Arctic as being a factor in the relocation. He, however, is convinced that 95% of the Department's motivation was an honest desire to reduce the overpopulation in relation to resources in northern Quebec and to put people in places where they would have a better chance to have a suecessful life on the land. Why do it up to the High Arctic? There were very few places where Inuit could be

221. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-136.

222. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

moved and have a chance of being better off. If people were to have better opportunities for life on the land, it would have to be some place that was not already being used. The places that met that description were along Lancaster Sound where the sea mammal resources were very good, bird resources were good, and there were caribou. Some people might rejoice at seeing Inuit in the empty places of the Arctic Islands but the main motivation would not be to get them into the Arctic Islands. The main motivation would be to give the people better prospects.[223]

The Department of that day thought it important to preserve the Inuit way of life and believed, as a result, that the Inuit way of life should be insulated from experiences that could make self-reliance difficult. In the new policy which emerged after the creation of the new department in late 1953, it was recognized that the numbers of Inuit would grow as the problems of health were solved; that game resources were not increasing; and that the Inuit could not have a decent future if they had to rely only on life on the land. The new policy contemplated that the Inuit would have the opportunity to change their way of life if they wanted to change. This policy did not insulate the Inuit way of life from the way of life of Canadians generally. However, even at the time of the DEW Line construction, there was a degree of sheltering of the Inuit from the influx of construction activity. This was done on the basis of co-operation with the contractors and the Americans who were involved in the DEW Line settlements.[224] It was necessary that there be some official to assist at the new communities. There were no civil officials in the North at that time. As a result, the RCMP were the only officials who could assist the people in the new communities. The RCMP posts were established for sovereignty reasons but the Inuit communities were not. Most of the Arctic Islands are totally unoccupied now and were unoccupied then. This does not pose any threat to Canadian sovereignty. Having Canadians in that region is the sort of thing "that one

223. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-149.

224. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-155.

wants to see, one likes to see" but not having it doesn't involve any threat to sovereignty. "It is insignificant."[225]

The Greenlanders hunting on Ellesmere Island is something that the RCMP and the Department did not like and did not want to have happen but the hunting was not a threat.[226]

The decision on the relocation was made in Ottawa without participation by the Inuit. "I don't know that the Inuit would have suggested anything different. I don't suppose that they had the capacity at that time to judge what could be different. I don't know. But in any event, it didn't happen."[227]

Mr. Robertson believes that by 1960 there was no limitation on movement at Resolute Bay between the Inuit settlement and the Base.[228]

While Deputy Minister of the Department, Mr. Robertson did not know that there had been a promise to return the relocatees if they wished. However, while Deputy Minister, he received no request from anyone to be returned. In 1960, he was at Resolute for nearly a week and there was ample opportunity for the Inuit to approach him or any member of the Northwest Territories Council who were there and no approach was made. There were approaches by the Inuit at Resolute Bay requesting that people still at Port Harrison come and join them in Resolute which indicated that they considered their situation to be satisfactory. He does not find it surprising that there was no request to return because the view of the Department was that the settlements at Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord were

225. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

226. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

227. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

among the most prosperous and satisfactory settlements in the entire Arctic.[229]

Mr. Robertson was not aware of how accounts were kept in the new communities.

In response to a question about the sharply different perceptions of what took place, Mr. Robertson said that he did not believe that the Inuit were lying but he thought it was quite possible that there was a major misunderstanding. Misunderstandings are quite easy with the linguistic and cultural differences. He also considers that those who were children at the time and heard their parents talk about hardships may have come to believe that that was the totality of the situation. In the discussion and the talking over the years, the hardship of the initial period may have been generalized and exaggerated.[230]

In response to a question about the action of the government in relocating people to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay and the question of Canada acting as a sovereign nation in that part of the country, Mr. Robertson said that the moving of the people there would be acting like a sovereign but it was not the kind of action of a sovereign-kind which was relevant to what was bothering the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was worried and embarrassed by the fact that the Americans were doing things in the Arctic that Canada should be doing and moving Inuit to the High Arctic was not relevant to that concern. There were no Americans on Ellesmere Island and at Resolute Bay there was an RCAF base.[231]

People relocating is not unusual. The settlers who came to this country did so in many cases with government encouragement and they

229. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

230. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-165.

231. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-170.

had an awful time but they survived and in the end would not have gone back because they were better off.[232]

The High Arctic relocation would, however, not take place today. Circumstances change, standards change, attitudes change, all kinds of things change and one cannot go back and judge what happened forty years ago in the Arctic under very different circumstances.[233]

Mr. Robertson agrees that there is a question whether the relocatees fully understood, adequately understood, what was happening.[234]

Bent Sivertz

Mr. Sivertz joined the Department of External Affairs in 1946 after wartime service in the Royal Canadian Navy and earlier experience in teaching and the Merchant Marine. In 1949, he went to the Department of Mines and Resources to serve as Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister, Dr. Keenleyside. He continued to serve in that capacity when General Young took over as Deputy Minister of Resources and Development in mid-1950 and he continued to serve under Gordon Robertson when the Department became the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in 1953. Mr. Sivertz subsequently became Commissioner of the Northwest Territories.

He learned from Messrs. Cantley and Stevenson that Inuit group decisions were not made by open vote but by a veiled consensus which was time consuming and difficult for outsiders to follow. Cantley and Stevenson had spoken of the Inuit in northern Quebec who were destitute because of the shortage of game and fur-bearing animals. They believed that certain

232. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

234. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

regions of the High Arctic would provide a livelihood for a moderate number of northern Quebec Inuit if the Department would undertake to move them. Mr. Sivertz discussed the relocation plan with other scholars then studying the Inuit world and recalls receiving advice but no dissension. Mr. Sivertz took the relocation plan up with the Deputy Minister who discussed it with the RCMP Commissioner. Commissioner Nicholson thought the plan fitted the RCMP idea of curtailing the periodic incursions of Greenland Eskimos onto Ellesmere Island. Mr. Sivertz discussed the plan with RCMP Superintendent Henry Larsen who was in charge of that region. He also discussed it with Mr. Graham Rowley. Both these men had a keen interest in the Inuit and their welfare.

Mr. Sivertz stresses that the Inuit decision to go was their own voluntary decision. It is not true that the Inuit were forced to be relocated. He recalls Alex Stevenson being asked if he sometimes forced Inuit to do what he wanted them to do. His answer was that, if any force were attempted, the proposer would not be given a direct refusal but the action the Inuit disapproved of just would not happen.

He believes that a number of statements made at the April hearings were completely unfair to people he knows well and whom he knows to be honourable, like Ross Gibson.

Reference to the reports sent from the Port Harrison area at the time show that the people were destitute.

The Inuit were consulted. The Department sought out those among the Inuit who were thought to be leaders recognizing that Inuit group decisions were not made by open vote but by veiled consensus. After a number of discussions, the leaders stated that they and their families desired to make the move to the High Arctic.

It was considered that it would be helpful in orienting the Port Harrison people to conditions in the High Arctic to have some near-High

Arctic residents join the relocation. People from Pond Inlet were approached and were pleased to go.

The reports on the state of the new communities indicated that the project was a success. The people were well fed and happy and appeared satisfied. The pictures of the periods show lively, healthy, smiling, happy-looking people. Living in igloos was not a hardship, it was their way of life. These were reports not only of government officials but of third parties such as the *National Geographic* magazine and Anglican Bishop Marsh. Bishop Marsh was often outspokenly critical of the government's administration of the North and, had he perceived that the Inuit were forced to move to the High Arctic, he would have been the first to tell the world this. Instead, his report in 1956 of Resolute Bay is of a prosperous community supported by abundant game and with people who were perfectly happy with their situation with no desire to return to their former homes. Bishop Marsh characterized the relocatees as having been asked if they would like to go to the High Arctic and as having volunteered to go.

Henry Larsen of the RCMP in 1956 reported that the people at Grise Fiord had prospered and that it was hard for him to realize that they were the same people that he had seen landed there in 1953 all in rags and with little or no equipment.

The teacher at Inukjuak in 1953, Ms. Hinds, visited Resolute in 1958. Her reports indicate that it was obvious as soon as she saw the people that they were no longer destitute. It came as no surprise when they told her that life was good at Resolute Bay. Her perception was that, at Inukjuak, the people had reached rock bottom and everything they owned was worn out. At Resolute they had many possessions and obtained electricity from the RCAF base. The hunting was said by the Inuit to be good and the trapping better than they had ever known. They said that they liked their own kind of food best but, when the men were too busy to hunt, they had plenty of money to buy store food.

Mr. Sivertz believes that this impartial testimony from the past cannot be ignored.

Mr. Sivertz also refers to a 1977 interview with Salluviniq. Salluviniq's story was published on May 25, 1977 in the *Nunatsiaq News*. In the published interview, he says that he was born in the Port Harrison area in 1917. Salluviniq remembers as a child that his family was very hungry. He recalls a year when he was a child when his family nearly starved to death. His family was living alone and they survived on lemmings and dog meat. He talks about the fur prices going up and down through the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s and the cost of store goods also going up over time. He talks of first starting to do a few soapstone carvings in 1942 and being paid for it in paper money. This was the first time he had seen paper money. The trading stores used tokens. At the time he found the trade foods to be very delicious although, now that he was older, the foods didn't seem as delicious. In 1953, he had not been planning to move but the RCMP came to him and told him that he could move if he wanted to. The RCMP told him there were a lot more animals up there. He wanted to move so that he could have more food up there. He has never wanted to go back. If he wanted to go back to Inukjuak, he would tell the government and remind them that he had been told that if he wanted to go back, he could. At the time of speaking in 1977, however, Salluviniq stated that he was not saying that he did want to go back. He said that there are more foxes at Resolute Bay and he doesn't mind living there. He observes that there are not as many varieties of game and fish as there are at Inukjuak. He speaks of getting food and goods from the government store at Resolute before the co-op was established in 1960 as if these goods and food were welfare from the government.

Mr. Sivertz also refers to an interview with Anne Padlo in the *Nunatsiaq News* of November 30, 1990. In the published article, she says that, as a young woman, she worked as a translator for the Department and visited these High Arctic communities with the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1953, 1954 and 1955. She states that the Port Harrison Inuit were starving

and very skinny in 1953. One man told her how he had been living on nothing but lemmings. No one was forced to go. The government took only those who volunteered. The people had to build their own houses on arrival but that was normal since the government was not building many houses for the Inuit in those days. Many of the people were sad about leaving their relatives behind but they were excited about the prospect of plentiful game. The next year when she visited these communities, the people looked much healthier and seemed very happy. The only complaint she heard was about the long dark winter. When she saw them subsequently, especially in Resolute, the people were very proud of what they had managed to do for themselves. A lot of the people took her around and showed her the houses that had been built and the possessions which they had. A brother and uncle were special constables with the RCMP in Resolute and Grise Fiord and she never heard any stories of mistreatment.[235]

Mr. Sivertz observes that it was not possible to think of relocating people to an area already occupied and any prospective unoccupied sites would have to be accessible. Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour were almost the only accessible areas. In selecting these sites, the Department was relying on anecdotal reports of the wildlife from a variety of sources. The groups being reloeated were small because the Department did not want to over-tax the game resources at the new communities. The anecdotal information indicated a good population of wildlife capable of supporting a moderate group of relocated people.

The project was called an experiment which was a term that was used a great deal in those days. Whenever the Department sent an employee into the North, they considered that the first year would be an experiment as the person might find that they were not able to work and live in that very different environment. The relocatees were told that if they did not like it for any reason at all, they would be returned to northern Quebee. They would be brought south by the Eastern Arctic Patrol just as

235. Tuesday, June 29, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 385-408.

the Eastern Arctic Patrol had carried them to the North. The people were approached by the RCMP members at Port Harrison but also by members of the Department who travelled to Port Harrison and spoke Inuktitut. These people explained to the relocatees about the High Arctic and its characteristics and that the Department thought the game resources would be satisfactory. The long dark period in the winter was explained. Ms. Hinds, the teacher at Port Harrison, had some ability in Inuktitut and also tried to explain the different characteristics of the High Arctic.

The dark period is not just depressing but it is also very difficult for women to sew in the dark or for men to try to repair dog harnesses or weapons in the dark. The relocatees were told that they would have good coal oil burning lamps and electric powered flashlights to help them get about their tasks.[236]

His expectation was that people would be able to decide if they liked it up there in two or three years but he did not expect to hear about unhappiness and a desire to return ten years later.[237]

The relocation was intended to achieve a better life for the people who would be relocated and a better life for the people of northern Quebec who remained behind as a result of less heavy pressure on the very limited game resources. By a better life, Mr. Sivertz contemplated that the people would be better able to provide their own livelihood instead of living on relief as they were in northern Quebec.[238]

236. *Ibid.*, pp. 409-417. In a May 1993 letter to the Commission, Mr. Sivertz said that it was thought that people might not have stayed at the prehistoric sites found in the High Arctic because of the dark period. The suggestion was made that maybe with coal oil lamps and flashlights, life might be different. So Mr. Sivertz said, "Why don't we try it?" This was probably in 1951.

237. *Ibid.*, p.417.

238. *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.

The Eskimo Loan Fund was used to finance the purchase of goods for the stores in the new communities. The proceeds of furs traded at the stores were used to repay the loan. Money earned by various individuals would also be paid into the loan. He believes that the complaints that they did work and received no payment is as a result of the payment being made into the Loan Fund.[239]

At that time, the Department did not consider it advisable to allow free mixing between Inuit settlements and military bases or construction camps. It was not considered appropriate to expose the Inuit to the liquor which was available at such camps or to give the men at the camps an opportunity to try for intimacy with the Inuit women. The desired protection was achieved through agreement with those in charge of the military base, construction camp, etc.[240]

The dump at Resolute was a valuable source of some materials such as lumber but he has no difficulty with the restrictions that were applied to try to prevent people from seeking food in the dump. At the same time, he does not consider it inappropriate that first-class food from the base that would otherwise go to waste would be distributed to the Inuit.[241]

Sovereignty had nothing to do with the relocation. When he spoke of Canadianizing the North, it was with a view to having activities in the North done by Canadians rather than by people from other countries. They did not consider that Canada's ownership of the Arctic Islands was in danger. He saw the relocation as nothing more than Canadianizing the North.[242]

239. *Ibid.*, pp. 418-421.

240. *Ibid.*, pp. 422-423.

241. *Ibid.*, pp. 423-425.

242. *Ibid.*, pp. 426-429.

The people from Pond Inlet were viewed as providing neighbourly, kindly help. There was no intention to pay the Pond Inlet people. Mr. Sivertz observes that two of them that he knows of wanted, themselves, to go to the High Arctic Islands and did in fact go.[243]

The amenities at the new communities would include a store; he was in favour of establishing a co-operative but he would not be successful in setting up co-operatives until years later when there was a change of ministers. The nursing stations were the responsibility of the Department of National Health and Welfare. In any event, schools and nursing stations and other things would follow once people decided that they wanted to stay. It was possible that people would say that they wanted to go back.[244]

Mr. Sivertz has no recollections during his work with the Inuit of any misunderstandings.

It was the people themselves who decided if they wished to go and they decided which of their family members would come with them. Mr. Sivertz acknowledges that the government did interfere with the groupings of the people when they were landed and people may have been separated who did not wish to be separated.[245]

Mr. Sivertz has no knowledge of anyone who had tuberculosis being relocated. The doctor on the ship reported that the people were healthy. He has no knowledge of anyone having been cut off their family allowance or old age pension and cannot imagine how that would happen.[246]

243. *Ibid.*, pp. 429-430.

244. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 435-437.

246. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-438.

The first time he heard any story of unhappiness concerning the relocatees was about 1975 or 1976.[247]

Mr. Sivertz indicated that it is not, as a rule, possible to force Inuit people to do something. There is no refusal but the thing never happens. It is his perception that the Inuit consider themselves the pinnacle of the human race and that the white intruders into the northland are astonishingly ignorant people. He believes that the Inuit are of the view that they must never do what a white man says about travel plans without considering it critically because it is probably not a good plan. Such a plan would certainly not be followed if it conflicted with the plans of, or was criticized by, Inuit. The Inuit have independent minds and his view in this is confirmed by the information he has received from others, RCMP or Hudson's Bay post managers who have worked in the North. He considered this a healthy attitude for a human being to have.[248]

If the group had been unhappy, he would have taken them back and called the whole thing off. Nothing else would have been possible. The people came as a group and, if the group was unhappy, the group would go back. He did not contemplate responding to requests by individuals to be returned. If an individual said they wanted to go back, they would have been told that they came as a group and the decision to return must be that of the group.[249]

There was no risk of extreme hardship. The RCMP posts were there with radio facilities able to call for help if necessary.[250]

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440.

248. *Ibid.*, pp. 443-445.

249. *Ibid.*, pp. 446 and 459.

250. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

There was a small school at Port Harrison but the vast majority of the people in northern Quebec had no schooling. The people were not deprived of schooling that they would have had had they remained in Port Harrison.[251]

There was no suffering. Year after year his officers asked if the people wished to return to Inukjuak and the people said no.[252]

Mr. Sivertz explained, in response to a question why Constable Gibson would not have known about the promise, that Constable Gibson was simply helping out with the operation and had nothing to do with the promise or carrying it out.[253]

Graham Rowley

Dr. Rowley first went to the Canadian Arctic almost sixty years ago and, apart from the war years, his work and interests have remained centred on the Canadian Arctic. Before the war, he spent nearly three years living among the Inuit. The conditions where he was were as severe as at Grise Fiord and the variety of diet was more restricted. There was plenty to eat but he was always hungry for anything but walrus.

In 1953, he was Secretary and Co-ordinator of the Advisory Committee on Northern Development. As a result, he was aware of what all government departments were doing in the North and the reasons for their activities. In the exercise of the responsibilities of individual departments, his adviee would frequently be sought because of his northern experience. Sometimes his advice was followed; sometimes not.

251. *Ibid.*, pp. 450-452.

252. *Ibid.*, pp. 446, 447 and 457.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

As far as the relocation to the High Arctic was concerned, he discussed the move with both Mr. Stevenson and RCMP Superintendent Larsen as well as Mr. Sivertz. He was in full agreement with the move because he was confident that the move would benefit the Inuit.

Dr. Rowley had lived for some months with those Inuit who had been moved from Cape Dorset to Dundas Harbour in 1934. Mr. Stevenson also knew these people. Both he and Mr. Stevenson believed that the free consent of those involved in any move was essential.

Until the Second World War, the condition of the Inuit had been virtually ignored by both the government and the Canadian people. There had been a period after the First World War when Canada began to learn about the North but, with the Great Depression, this work came to a halt. The rapid changes brought about by the Second World war made it evident that the social, economic and health conditions of the Inuit were bad and getting worse.

The only reason for the relocation to the High Arctic was to improve the well-being of the Inuit. This was a sufficient justification for the relocation. Canadian sovereignty was the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs and, had that Department contemplated a relocation of Inuit for sovereignty purposes, the proposal would have passed through Dr. Rowley's office as Secretary and Co-ordinator to the Advisory Committee. However, the only occasion when the relocation was mentioned to the Advisory Committee was when he reported it as an item of general interest with no suggestion that it was related to sovereignty.

There was at the time great and increasing concern in the Department of Resources and Development about the well-being of the northern Quebec Inuit and, in fact, all Canadian Inuit. It was evident that they had been suffering hardship and that starvation had by no means been rare. Before the Second World War he had met Inuit who had known starvation. Three members of an Inuit family he met in 1939 died of

starvation ten years later. He reports that Professor Graburn[254] has said that in the winter of 1942-43 over a hundred Inuit and Indians starved to death near Fort Chimo in northern Quebec. Northern Quebec was the most destitute area.[255]

The nature of the concern was the shortage of country food, leading to starvation and malnourishment. He refers to the opinion of a nurse who was travelling in 1948 in the area of Arctic Quebec and Southampton Island with her zoologist husband. She reported on the inability of people to obtain sufficient country food and their dependence on relief food. The poor diet was associated with malnourishment and the poor health which comes from malnutrition. The people of Quebec are described as follows:

> The [Quebec] people get a few fish; they get an occasional seal; in the fall they have a walrus hunt; but for the most part they cling to the trading posts in order to get their rations at least. They have reached the stage where they feel unsafe away from the posts. They have lost much of their stamina and most of their initiative.[256]

The primary object of the relocation was to take the Inuit to where hunting would be more productive. Dr. Rowley does not know the extent to which trapping was considered or expected when the move was first proposed but trapping turned out to be better than in Quebec. He does not understand the suggestion that it was a consideration in the relocation to put the Inuit where they would have to be more self-reliant and so less able to rely on relief. He considers it obvious that the Inuit would be pleased to

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254. "Eskimos Without Igloos", 1969, p. 120.

255. At its June 8, 1992 hearing in Inukjuak, the Commission heard from Inuit who had experienced periods of hardship.

256. Tuesday, June 29, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 534-535, referring to Mrs. Tom Manning, "A Summer on Hudson Bay" (1949), pp. 132-133. The text reads, "The strait people get a few fish...", referring to the south side of Hudson Strait.

become more self-reliant and more self-confident owing to the much better hunting. In fact, with the closer contact with the RCMP at the new locations, the Inuit would be more able, not less able, to rely on relief when needed.

He considers it unlikely that everyone viewed the relocation in exactly the same way but the objective, to improve the quality of life for the Inuit, would be shared by all.

Those who relocated were those who were the keenest to go. The successful hunters and trappers at Port Harrison would have been less motivated to move than those who were relatively less successful. This reality is reflected in those who volunteered to move.

Those who remained benefited from the reduction in pressure on hunting and trapping resources in an area that was overpopulated in relation to resources. There were people among those who were left behind at Port Harrison in 1953 who wished to go to the High Arctic and, in 1955, when they were taken North, Dr. Rowley believes, based on what has been told him by the ship's doctor, that they considered themselves very fortunate to have been chosen from among those who wanted to go.

The success of those who moved North was demonstrated by their success in hunting and trapping in the new areas, by improved health, by improved financial position, and, as Mr. Kenney's presentation to the Commission shows, by the satisfaction they expressed during the first years after they moved. Had they returned to Port Harrison after the first two years, they would have returned to the old lifestyle supported by hunting, trapping and relief.

In 1953, Canadian legal sovereignty over the land in the Canadian Arctic was secure and unchallenged. Only sovereignty over Arctic waters was, and remains, clouded. Canada's sovereignty was secure without Inuit occupation. Any Canadian activity in the Arctic, including the presence of

Canadian Inuit, the conduct of geological and other scientific investigation, especially the control of transportation, was a demonstration of sovereignty. There is, however, no evidence that sovereignty played a role in these relocations.

With respect to the Dundas Harbour relocation in 1934, the RCMP detachment had been established in 1924, and Dr. Rowley does not consider that the movement of a group of Inuit ten years later who stayed only two years, could have affected sovereignty.

Mr. Stevenson's comments in 1950 on the subject of sovereignty in relation to a relocation to the High Arctic was before the Craig Harbour RCMP post had been re-established and, in that year, 1951, Mr. Stevenson said that he considered Canadian sovereignty to be secure.

The problem of Greenlanders crossing to Ellesmere Island to hunt was not a sovereignty problem. It was a matter of law enforcement.

Mr. Sivertz's remark in 1953 at the meeting with the RCAF has always been considered by Dr. Rowley to refer to occupation in relation to resource utilization, not sovereignty, as confirmed by Mr. Sivertz's presentation to the Commission.

The 1960 Memorandum to Cabinet which mentions the Inuit communities at Resolute and Grise Fiord does so merely as one of very many examples of increased Canadian activities in the North. The re-establishment of the RCMP detachments at Resolute and Craig Harbour was to provide a law enforcement presence.

Sovereignty was not an issue and the various events which have been suggested to the Commission as possible evidence that sovereignty was a factor in the relocations have more logical and more likely explanations.

The selection of where the Inuit would go was determined by the presence of animals to hunt and the possibility of employment.

The re-establishment of the Craig Harbour RCMP detachment, but not that at Resolute Bay, was the re-establishment of a post originally established in 1922 for sovereignty reasons. The Inuit community did not support the existence of the RCMP detachment which was re-established two years before the Inuit settlement was established. Rather, the RCMP detachment supported the Inuit community by providing it with services after the people arrived.

The establishment of the Inuit communities at Resolute and Grise Fiord was evidence of Canadian activity in the High Arctie but Canadian sovereignty was already secure there and was not contested by any other nation.

The Arctic Islands Game Preserve was repealed at the request of the Northwest Territories Council to open the area to all the population of the Northwest Territories. It had nothing to do with the game preserve no longer being necessary for sovereignty.

With respect to the implementation of the relocation, almost all Canadian Inuit at the time depended on seal oil lamps for warmth. They did not depend on wood. The people who were relocated were going to an area where there was ample seal oil.[257]

There was ample evidenee of adequate country food at the locations to which they went. The RCMP post at Craig Harbour had been occupied for many years. Sverdrup had explored and lived in the area for several

257. His written presentation refers to a 1981 statement in Inuktitut by Anna Nungaq (December 1981) that there was ample oil for heating at Grise Fiord.

winters and been able to obtain all the food he required. The game resources of the area were well known.

The country food and fuel was primarily sea mammals, supplemented by caribou, hares, and ptarmigan. The Port Harrison Inuit also ate fox but the Pond Inlet Inuit would not eat fox, considering it to be starvation food.

Northern Quebec had more varieties of birds and fish but the adequacy of the resources was considered much more important than the variety where resources were inadequate.

Both Mr. Stevenson and Superintendent Larsen, as well as Ms. Hinds, the teacher at Port Harrison, were well aware of the effect of the dark period and the Port Harrison Inuit were informed about the dark period before they left for the North.

Most of the volunteers came from camps which were some distance from the Port Harrison settlement. Their proximity to the settlement at Grise Fiord thus gave them greater access to the social services which gradually became available in the High Arctic.

The Pond Inlet Inuit were aware of the good hunting further north and were pleased to take advantage of the opportunity to move.

Dr. Rowley does not know when the Inuit were told that they could return after two years if they wished. However, there is no question that this undertaking was made.

The Inuit could have made their wish to return known in several ways. There was the local RCMP detachment which included Inuit special constables. They were visited by departmental officers on many occasions, including the Eastern Arctic Patrol. They could, and did, write letters to the Department.

In Dr. Rowley's view, the time of year would make a great difference to an Inuk's feelings about where he was. In the middle of the dark period a man might think about returning to Port Harrison and his children might hear him grumbling. When the spring came, with the long hours of daylight and abundant animals to hunt, his feelings might be very different.

With respect to how the return would have been made, the first return would have had to be by ship. Later, it would become possible for visits to the south by air. Many of the Inuit who were relocated to the High Arctic did return to Port Harrison for visits. "I think far more than the Commission is aware."[258]

The Inuit who were relocated made up their own minds and said "yes" when they were asked if they wished to participate. The government officials who discussed this with the people would do their best to represent the pros and cons of any proposal to the Inuit and let the Inuit decide. Local officers would, like everyone else, want a project to succeed and would do their best to assist it and would like their efforts to be appreciated. The Inuit were considered able to decide what they wanted to do. Local officials would give the Inuit assistance when requested and would no doubt say what they themselves would do in the circumstances but the decision would, no doubt, be left to the Inuit concerned. Inuit consent to participate in the relocation was given freely. Dr. Rowley considers it unlikely that an Inuk would give consent against his wishes. The letters which Mr. Kenney refers to in his presentation to the Commission demonstrate, in Dr. Rowley's view, that the Inuit could and did make their views known if they disagreed with the local authorities.

Dr. Rowley points out that there could not have been any question of the voluntary nature of the relocation in 1976 since, in that year, the President of ITC at the time and ITC's lawyer, signed a document entitled "Land Use and Occupancy Study" which referred to Resolute Bay. The

258. *Ibid.*, p. 546.

Study noted that no Inuit had lived there in historical times 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." (Emphasis on "volunteered" made by Dr. Rowley in his presentation)[259].

The Port Harrison Inuit were the poorest of the poor. This is evident from the high relief payments there, higher than anywhere else. It is revealed in the small out-migrations that occurred in this century from northern Quebec to Baffin Island. Their own statements at the time indicate that they considered themselves to be poor and often on the verge of starvation in the Port Harrison area.

Mr. Cantley had been Assistant Fur Trade Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company and had then formed the Baffin Trading Company. He had in the order of 40 years' experience in the Eastern Arctic and would know better than anyone else how to make the most out of the $5,000.00 obtained for each store through the Eskimo Loan Fund. What he bought with the $5,000.00 did provide the staple, non-country food diet.

It would be assumed that the Inuit would take all their belongings that they needed to set up camp and sustain themselves. Any deficiencies would be made up from the store and charged against the appropriate account.

Some of the supplies destined for Resolute Bay were landed by the Department of Transport at another post in error. Some of the things which were thought to have gone missing were subsequently discovered to be at Resolute Bay. The circumstances of Arctic shipping at the time did not make it possible to check carefully what had been landed and things

259. *Ibid.*, pp. 548-549.

sometimes did go astray. The ship would spend about twenty-four hours at each post. There would be considerable activity of all kinds — government administrative, medical, religious, judicial (if necessary), etc. All this would have to be done in the short time that the ship's captain would allow before needing to sail to the next destination.

Carving was then becoming increasingly important and Mr. Stevenson advised the Inuit to take some soapstone with them. There was more walrus ivory in the North than in Hudson Bay and this was a preferred material for carving.

The relationship with the RCMP would be no different in the High Arctic than in northern Quebec.

Constable Fryer's 1954 article from Craig Harbour about the Inuit settlement's first winter does not support the suggestion that the people suffered great hardship during the first winter and points in exactly the opposite direction.

The planners of the relocation were aware that separation from kin and home communities was not a new thing for the Inuit. Migrations had been frequent in Inuit history. The difference with the relocations to Resolute and Craig Harbour was that the Inuit would be taken there rather than having to make their own way; they could carry more with them; and they would have no fear of starvation on the way or after arrival.

The criterion for success of the relocations was the extent to which the people would prosper without the hardship that they had been accustomed to in northern Quebec. The relocations met this criterion by all contemporary accounts.

All contemporary accounts, including those of the Quebec Inuit themselves, show that the Quebec Inuit were fully satisfied with the amount of game they found at the new locations. There is no credible

evidence that any northern Quebec Inuk asked to go back from Craig Harbour in the spring of 1954, except possibly the one man mentioned in Constable Fryer's article who was waiting to see what the summer was like. Unfortunately, he died before the ship arrived that year so it cannot be said what would have happened. The people were regularly visited by the RCMP members stationed there, including the Inuit special constables, and various other people. They appeared happy and they had no complaints although they had every opportunity to make any complaint.

The location of the settlement on the Lindstrom Peninsula of Ellesmere Island was totally consistent with a relocation based on abundant resources. The primary resources in the area are sea mammals, not caribou. There is always a fear of over-taxing caribou, especially in areas, such as the High Arctic, where they do not migrate far. Dr. Rowley believes that the Inuit were always aware that they were going to three, later only two locations, and he knows of no contemporary complaint that they were being divided without warning.

Inuit who lived in tents during the winter would bank the tents with snow and skins would be used for insulation. At Grise Fiord, the RCMP provided buffalo skins for insulation of the tents and there was ample oil for heating. The people were provided with wooden houses at the same time that other Northwest Territories Inuit received wooden housing. Winter temperatures at Grise Fiord were comparable to the temperatures endured by more than half of the Inuit in the Northwest Territories and many Inuit lived in colder places. Accounts written by the Inuit as well as by other people in the years following the relocation do not speak of hardship. The Inuit say that they would like to visit their relatives who were far away.

There were fewer varieties of food in the High Arctic but no hunger in contrast to Port Harrison where there had been greater variety but not enough to eat.

Isolation, in terms of distance and duration from what one has known, are accepted facts of migration and are shared by a high proportion of other Canadians.

The relocatees did not suffer a loss of independence. They gained in independence. Instead of relying on relief at Port Harrison, they become suecessful and independent hunters. They had no less access to schools, nurses and churches than the great majority of Canadian Inuit at that time.

There were few Inuit of marriageable age among the original relocatees. As time went on, there would be increasing contact with other Inuit groups and additional immigrants to the new communities. Dr. Rowley reports that he was in Grise Fiord some thirty years ago when two or three dog teams arrived from Greenland with the Greenlanders hoping to find wives for themselves at Grise Fiord.

Any deep sense of betrayal and mistrust of government is a recent phenomenon. "The Inuit have now been indoctrinated to think of themselves as victims, however much this runs against the evidence and the written testimony of their elders."[260]

Dr. Rowley states that all the evidence points to satisfaction, not hardship at the new locations. With respect to the stores at the new locations, he suggests that changes in stock carried and level of supplies, within the financial ceiling of the loan, "could have been suggested to the RCMP by the Inuit".[261]

Dr. Rowley considers that there is no evidence that the government failed in its responsibilities either from the perspective of that time or from

260. *Ibid.*, p. 568.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 569.

that of today. The evidence is that the administration was humane and caring. By today's standards, the administration might be considered to have been too paternalistic but not lacking a fiduciary responsibility.

It was natural, and the common practice in the Arctic, for people to dress in their best clothes when meeting strangers.

Dr. Rowley was not involved in the administration of the North so that he was not personally aware of requests to return. It appears to him that it was several years after the move before any request to return was made and most of the requests that were made were for visits, not for permanent moves. Several visits and some permanent moves were arranged by the Department and made with the assistance of the RCAF. Some Inuit preferred to go to places other than Port Harrison when they went to the south. Some went to Churchill. Dr. Rowley was visited by one man on at least one occasion in Ottawa.

The pressure to return to Port Harrison appears to date from 1973 and may have been related to a desire to benefit from the James Bay Agreement which would explain why the pressure came only from the Port Harrison Inuit and not from the Pond Inlet people.

Dr. Rowley suggests that the complaint has been fabricated.[262] He does not consider it surprising that the Commission may, prior to the June hearing, have received the wrong impression of the relocation. He believes that one reason for this may lie in the incomplete information which is in the possession of the Commission. The documents dealing with the relocation are almost all post-1990 material. He believes that many Inuit do not agree with the testimony that was heard in April and that the witnesses who appeared before the Commission in April were selected by an organization that had already stated its position on the issue and the

262. *Ibid.*, p. 573.

witnesses "who did come were instructed to say nothing positive about their lives in the north."[263]

The allegations with respect to opening Inuit mail and destroying anything that was critical of the new settlements is, in Dr. Rowley's view, absurd. The RCMP member would not have the ability to read letters which were written in syllabics.

Dr. Rowley observes that the period in question was one in which every effort was being made to improve conditions among the Canadian Inuit and that, if the northern Quebec Inuit have a valid complaint against the government, then every Inuk in the Northwest Territories must have an equal or greater claim. He does not consider this a shameful chapter in Canadian history, as has been claimed, but rather a story of courage and success involving officials such as Henry Larsen, Alex Stevenson and Ross Gibson, who should be honoured.[264]

In questions by the Commissioners, it was noted that the witnesses who appeared in April were chosen by the members of the relocatees themselves and that, while some people were children at the time, some were adults at the time. It was also noted that the Commission did pursue names of various possible witnesses suggested by Dr. Rowley but that the people who were contacted did not wish to participate. It was also observed that the Commission appreciates the work that has been done by various researchers who themselves have looked at the documentary evidence from the period of the relocation itself.

In response to a question concerning the provision of family allowances and old age pensions, Dr. Rowley stated that his understanding was that these would have been provided at the new communities in the

263. *Ibid.*, pp. 573-574.

264. *Ibid.*, pp. 527-577.

same way as they had been provided in Inukjuak. Relief was a different matter. It was provided only when needed. It was needed at Inukjuak but there was no need at Resolute because there was plenty of country food.[265]

In response to a question as to whether there was any appreciation by the administration of cultural differences between different Inuit groups, Dr. Rowley said that there was. He is an anthropologist and an archaeologist and is well aware of the cultural differences between different groups.[266]

Dr. Rowley stated that the site of the settlement on Ellesmere Island was identified by the RCMP special constables who made two lengthy patrols that spring. The site was windy and the snow blew away which caused problems with building snow houses. Dr. Rowley stated that the Inuit could have moved down onto the sea ice where they would have been able, had they wished, to build snow houses by cutting the blocks horizontally. His experience is that there is no place in the North where it is not possible to find snow suitable for building snow houses if one looks hard and long enough.[267]

Dr. Rowley had nothing to add to Mr. Sivertz's comments respecting the promise to return as a promise extended to the entire group and not one extended to individuals.[268]

265. *Ibid.*, p. 582.

266. *Ibid.*, p. 584.

267. *Ibid.*, p. 585.

268. *Ibid.*, pp. 587-591.

Gordon Larsen

Gordon Larsen is the son of the late RCMP Superintendent Henry Larsen. His submission to the Commission was researched and prepared by his sister, Doreen Larsen-Riedel, from material in the family's possession, including unpublished manuscript material written by Henry Larsen.

Henry Larsen made his first voyage to the Arctic in 1924 before joining the RCMP in 1928. He retired from the RCMP in 1960 with the rank of Superintendent. He died in 1962.

The Larsen family had not intended to make a presentation to the Commission but were disturbed by things which were said at the April hearings which differed from what the family remembered Henry Larsen recounting or from what he wrote in his manuscripts. The Larsen family was also motivated by the deep hurt felt by the families of some of the RCMP officers who sacrificed many of their prime years trying to help these Inuit regain their dignity and independence. These men were all volunteers for Arctic duty. The Larsen family produced an album containing 191 photographs taken during 1953 and 1954 at Craig Harbour by Constable Sergeant which shows all but two of the people relocated to Craig Harbour in 1953. The photographs show the boats and equipment at their disposal, the food supply, the store and the dwellings. Inuit who have seen these photographs have commented that the people in the photographs seem to be well fed and well dressed.

Henry Larsen referred repeatedly to the general and serious decline in both the health and economic resources of the Inuit and Indians he had observed over twenty-five years. He described visiting every igloo or tent in every settlement during patrols and how time and time again the police reported the steadily worsening conditions of the Native people. He was aware that for fifty years the RCMP, the church, and traders, had brought to the attention of the federal government the dwindling game resources of the Arctic to little avail and that little was done by the government to

provide medical care or education. The decline of fur prices and the scarcity of game was not sudden but occurred over a number of years. The records of the police, the church and the traders were only a continuation of the library of observations which Stefanson and Jenness had produced forty years before.

Henry Larsen considered that the fancy clothes which were put on for the benefit of summer visitors in no way reflected the true facts. A visit in the winter would show the wretched conditions of clothing and equipment. This was stated in a 1942 report. During the late 1940s and onward, Henry Larsen would purchase, with his own money, bolts of cotton to give to Inuit women who were embarrassed to present themselves in their rags. He considered that their needs were greater than the needs of his own family since this practice resulted in his own wife being short-changed on her housekeeping allotment.

The 1940s and early 1950s were a period of very rapid change in the Arctic, change at a pace to which people were not accustomed. The bases which were springing up in the North attracted Inuit who would then adopt what they saw as the white man's ways. The drinking and prostitution that had characterized the early whaling settlements at Herschel Island in the 1890s were being re-visited in the newly-established bases. Inuit would live around the bases in old tents and shacks made out of wood from scraps, picking over the garbage heap at the base. Many had left good game areas to congregate where these bases would provide what were perceived to be undreamed of riches, there for the taking.

Moving to be near one of these bases would be of little benefit unless there was work and the Inuit were also discouraged from adopting the less attractive habits of the white man. The employment was not sufficient and many people would subsist on relief, losing the desire to help themselves.

Henry Larsen believed that to permit the Inuit to remain idle and live off handouts near settlements would breed indolence, lead to deterioration,

and would destroy the people's initiative. He was also concerned to protect the young women from exploitation near the bases. The trusting nature of the people, the fact that they told the truth quite openly and believed what they were told easily, led to their being deceived by men who were interested in establishing a sexual relationship. The consequence as well was that young Inuit men were being left out.

In late 1949, Henry Larsen was placed in charge of "G" Division and was determined to do something about the situation. In 1950, he made an extensive and detailed inspection trip and visited every tent and every settlement to assess the situation for himself. At the time of the May 1952 conference to discuss the situation in the North, Henry Larsen requested a Royal Commission to investigate the condition of the Native people at that time. This request was not accepted.

He was of the view that improving the condition of the Inuit would require development over time, done with caution and patience rather than haste. He favoured the establishment of a number of small Inuit villages set up at locations on or near the coast where there was an abundance of food from sea and land and trapping could be carried out. He advocated the building of small adequate houses by the government. With proper housing and food, the women could remain at home while the men were out hunting. Schools could be provided where the children could be educated in their own community. This would address the problem of children going away to residential schools and then either not wanting to have anything to do with their parents, and their parents' way of life, or having to re-adapt to that way of life. Henry Larsen was strongly opposed to transporting young children to school away from their families.

He advocated the establishment of small industries to provide an economic base besides trapping. He advocated the establishment of co-operative trading posts which would be run by the Inuit and the profits going to the Inuit themselves so that they could learn the benefits of commerce. He believed that employment could be combined with trapping

and hunting but the employment should not only be jobs such as janitors and caretakers. He found it offensive that the most outstanding hunters and trappers would be relegated to emptying slop buckets when they took employment.

He did not see this approach as a form of segregation but rather as an intermediate step which would permit the Inuit to advance.

He was opposed to an approach in which, under the name of non-discrimination, the Inuit were merely given the right to loaf around town sites and suffer moral and economic deterioration.

Henry Larsen's manuscripts refer to the promise to return and also suggest that the Inuit should be moved to the High Arctic areas at least until the Port Harrison region had been developed to the extent that the Inuit could again make a living from the land or obtain employment. The Port Harrison area was overcrowded and the economic conditions were very difficult. People were becoming more and more dependent on relief and this undermined their morale and destroyed their initiative. The new locations offered excellent hunting and trapping. The RCMP would not have agreed to assist in the relocations unless the Force was certain that they would benefit from conditions at the new locations and that, as a result, they would stay there.

Craig Harbour and the Bache Peninsula area had been known to be good game areas in the past when the RCMP detachments had been there in the 1920s and '30s. The Craig Harbour RCMP detachment was a well-stocked detachment with good boats and equipment for hunting with two experienced constables and two Inuit special constables. On arrival at Craig Harbour, the Inuit looked ragged, dirty and unkempt and their tents thread-bare. Constable Sergeant organized and personally supervised the caribou hunt — one animal per family. Arctic hare were numerous. All animals that were shot were to be brought in for food.

In 1954, some supplies did not reach Craig Harbour because of a fire in the hold of the *C.D. Howe* prior to leaving Montreal and water damage to the cargo.

The Inuit settlement was located on the Lindstrom Peninsula at a distance from the RCMP detachment. This would encourage the Inuit to fend for themselves. Regular patrols were maintained to provide necessary assistance.

Resolute Bay, like the Lindstrom Peninsula site, had also been a place populated by Inuit in the past. It faced Barrow Strait and there was an abundance of walrus, seals and whales. The base at Resolute Bay was there as a fall-back in case of emergency. When the Inuit arrived at Resolute Bay, they had only one kayak between them and it was arranged to have a good-sized skiff sent in for use by the RCMP detachment. The Inuit settlement was established four miles from the base to discourage the Inuit from loitering around the base. Constable Gibson organized the Inuit to collect the scrap lumber from hundreds of packing cases strewn on the beach and by the spring small houses had been built. Contact between the base and the Inuit settlement was restricted otherwise the project would have been ruined in the first year. This may appear hard, but it was done for the protection of the Inuit.

The people lacked adequate skins for clothing and were dressed mostly in duffel which was not suitable for living an entire winter. Skins had been ordered but had not been available. Buffalo skins were sent in to provide bedding and lining for tents and snow houses.

Had it not been for the interest and zeal of Constables Sergeant and Gibson, the project would have collapsed. When these men were to be transferred out of these communities, the Inuit begged Larsen to let them stay. Larsen's memoirs state that the Inuit were in full agreement with the move from Pond Inlet and Port Harrison and welcomed the opportunity to go to the new communities. More people were willing to move than could

be taken. Under no circumstance would Larsen have wished the Inuit to have been talked into the relocation or moved against their will. The move was to be entirely voluntary. By contrast, in the later Hennik Lake relocation, Larsen was opposed to the relocation because it was not voluntary but the Department's decision to proceed with that relocation was made over those objections.

Larsen personally selected the men who were to be in charge of each detachment at the new Inuit settlements. Considerations in selecting men were their interest in the welfare of the Inuit, proficiency in the Inuit language, hardiness as travellers, ability as hunters, ability to look after themselves, good organizational ability, and the ability to be liked and trusted by the Inuit. They were trained in first aid and were furnished with a number of drugs. Glen Sergeant, who was at Craig Harbour, was liked very much by the Inuit. At his death, his family received many letters from Inuit speaking of their high regard for him. Idlout, the hunter from Pond Inlet who moved to Resolute, said on many occasions to Larsen that Constable Gibson was a good man and that the people wanted him to stay with them.

We have forgotten what life was like in the 1950s. It was not a period of great prosperity. Resources were limited for everyone. Hospitals were run very differently than they are today. Patients were not consulted. They simply followed the rules established by the hospitals. When people entered hospitals, their belongings, including their money, was taken from them and placed in safekeeping and money would be returned after certain expenses had been deducted. It is not surprising that a patient on an isolation ward suffering from TB might not have seen money that was sent to them by relatives. Staff at hospitals had large numbers of patients to care for and had little time beyond basic physical care. Hospitals were very task oriented and staff were largely ignorant of cultural differences. Nursing in the 1950s was not the high-tech profession it became a few years later. Any person with common sense, some advanced first aid training and a radio for consultation with a doctor could do as much as a nurse could do

in a small community at that time. Even police posts in the Arctic had to fashion furniture from packing cases.

Larsen's memoirs discussed the issue of sovereignty, including in relation to the re-establishment of police detachments in the Eastern Arctic. However, the sections dealing with the relocation of the Inuit to Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour contain no mention of sovereignty. Had he considered it a primary reason for the relocation, he would have said so. Instead, the memoirs discuss the suitability of the sites for resettlement in terms of the local game resources and because of the police presence to oversee the well-being of the relocatees.

It should be recalled that the 1950s were a period in which Canadians were expected to be more self-reliant, to either accept many of life's hardships or to find solutions as best they could. It was not taken for granted, as it is now, that the government and its agents would take into account the welfare of individuals.

The difficulty in getting to the bottom of this controversy is complicated by the fact that only a few people are left alive now who were mature adults then and even their memories will be incomplete. Many private and official documents concerning the controversy have also been lost. It is, therefore, difficult to establish what was true then, especially when we deal with beliefs shaped by two different cultures and societies.[269]

In response to a question concerning the promise to return, Gordon Larsen stated that his father believed that, if the people were unhappy with the situation, or their expectations were not met, then they would be

269. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 224-257.

returned. The promise to return was communicated to the Department in Ottawa through a memorandum from Henry Larsen.[270]

Henry Larsen viewed these relocations as very successful and was happy with the way the people had managed to become self-sufficient rather than being wards of the state.[271]

Gordon Larsen remarked that he found it interesting, in the manuscripts, that his father's views were not as strongly worded as they were in government documents. Henry Larsen would express himself forcefully in government meetings but, in his writings intended for publication, he downplayed the strength of views which he had communicated in internal government correspondence and meetings.[272]

The relocation is discussed in the manuscripts.

Henry Larsen's manuscripts indicate that Constable Gibson, when at Port Harrison, was instructed to see who would be willing, as well as suitable, to go to the High Arctic. He was to select not the best hunters but rather a cross-section of the average, including some who had shown little or no inclination to support themselves over the years. The object was to give these people a chance to prove themselves under new conditions. Provision was made to ensure that the people who were going had sufficient equipment. The store, which would be funded from the Eskimo Loan Fund, would provide items for purchase by the Inuit as well as for the issue of family allowance and relief.

Larsen first saw the people when the *d'Iberville*, on which he was sailing, met the *C.D. Howe* near Pond Inlet. They looked dirty, ragged and

270. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-260.

271. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

272. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

unkempt but were eager to get ashore. At Craig Harbour, the RCMP constables took the hunters out on an organized walrus and seal hunt using the RCMP boat. There were a small number of caribou and Constable Sergeant organized and personally supervised a caribou hunt allowing one animal only to be taken for each family. There were plenty of Arctic hare as well as polar bears for food. The store was established under the Eskimo Loan Fund and was operated in the name of one of the Inuit for official purposes. In reality, the RCMP did all the work in connection with the stores, which required a lot of detailed accounting and clerical work. The Department set the prices for goods and also the price on furs and handicrafts. The supplies sent in to stock the store were "meagre and insufficient" requiring the police to use good judgement to see that everyone received their share of what there was. After a few obstacles "not worth mentioning", the whole project proved to be a success from the first.

The group destined for Resolute Bay arrived on a cold blustery September day. No detachment had yet been established. The Inuit settlement was established about four miles from the base to keep the base and the camp apart. Using the skiff which had been shipped in for the use of Constable Gibson, and using the Inuit kayak, the people, with Constable Gibson's help, obtained the necessary game for the first winter. The weather conditions at Resolute Bay were much colder and windier than southern Inuit had been used to and the people, who included several children and an old woman, were dressed mostly in duffel which was not suitable for the long winter. The skins that had been ordered for clothing had not been available but bundles of buffalo hides had been sent in and, although not suitable for clothing, were good for bedding and also for covering tents and lining snow houses. Near the base there were hundreds of large packing crates and Constable Gibson organized the Inuit to gather and pile them. Using dog teams and vehicles borrowed from the RCAF, who co-operated with him, the wood was hauled to the Inuit camp site and used to build small houses. Over the years, additions were made to these houses.

As at Craig Harbour, a small store was established from funds provided by the Eskimo Loan Fund. However, "in many instances the supplies were not ordered or forgotten to be shipped in" and the RCAF had to fly in supplies. Constable Gibson arranged with the local Base Commander for a number of Inuit to be employed at the base. The Inuit camp was out-of-bounds for base personnel unless personally accompanied by Constable Gibson. Constable Gibson was prepared to take people from the base at certain times to visit the settlement to take photographs and to do a small amount of trading for Inuit souvenirs.

The Inuit at Resolute Bay prospered and sent word to their relatives, both at Port Harrison and Pond Inlet, wanting more of them to come. Only a few were allowed each year because of concern for the available food resources and employment opportunities.

The Port Harrison and Pond Inlet Inuit did not at first mix freely and there was some mistrust and jealousy between the two groups. There was some doubt that the Port Harrison Inuit would adapt themselves as well to the new surroundings as the Pond Inlet people who had previously lived very much as they would do at Resolute Bay and Craig Harbour. However, soon the Port Harrison people were doing as well as their more northerly neighbours.

Constable Gibson did a tremendous amount of work to bring the Inuit along, making them self-supporting and the project itself successful in the face of hundreds of obstacles.

During the summer of 1956, the RCMP detachment at Craig Harbour was moved to Grise Fiord. This involved dismantling the existing buildings and hauling the lumber, as well as the coal and other provisions at the Craig Harbour site by dog team the thirty-five or forty miles to Grise Fiord. The Inuit were hired with their dog teams to assist in this and this provided a good deal of their income for that year. The supply ship in August 1956, delivered additional lumber and supplies for new buildings at the Grise

Fiord site. This was heaved ashore as fast as possible and everything that could have been broken did get broken. The ship's crew took no care of the RCMP's precious supplies or whether supplies got lost overboard so long as they could get out of there in a hurry. Henry Larsen found that times had changed since he was a seaman and later a ship's officer when care was taken for every ounce of cargo. However, Constables Sergeant and Pilot were able to get the supplies that were strewn along hundreds of yards of beach into good order and later to construct the new buildings in a sound and competent fashion.

Ross Gibson

Ross Gibson[273] joined the British Columbia Provincial Police after service with the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World war and a short time with the Hudson's Bay Company in the vicinity of Telegraph Creek and Fort St. James. He left the company and joined the police as a result of allergies. His service with the provincial police took him to the Queen Charlotte Islands. He has always had an interest in Native peoples and his service with the provincial police brought him into contact with the Indians on the Queen Charlotte Islands. In 1950, the provincial police were taken over by the RCMP. He asked for a posting in the Arctic and in 1952 was posted to Port Harrison. At that point, he was thirty years of age. He was happy to have the opportunity to see how people in the Arctic lived.

His first observations were that the conditions at Port Harrison were appalling. There was a lack of cleanliness, the equipment, including guns, was poor, canvas tents were in poor shape, and he did not understand how people could make out in such circumstances.

273. Mr. Gibson was ill and unable to attend the hearing. He died in August 1993. He was interviewed by Commission counsel on Thursday, June 17, 1993. On June 28, 1993, Mr. Gibson was contacted by telephone from the public hearing room to respond to questions from Commissioners.

Hunting for food was the way of life and the only occupation up to that time. Caribou were not readily available in the Port Harrison area and walrus had to be hunted on the Sleeper Islands, fifty or sixty miles off shore. Travel to hunting areas would involve the Inuit being outfitted by the RCMP and the Hudson's Bay Company. There had been movements of people out to the islands as a result of shortage of food on the mainland. There were plenty of fish and small seals but there was a shortage of Arctic foxes and prices for fox furs were low.

The people depended on family allowance and welfare. People who did not have children would be given other people's children so that they could register for family allowance to obtain some additional support for their families.

The people appeared to accept welfare as a way of life and it was obvious to him that they were giving up their traditional ways and becoming dependent on the white man.

No money was involved at the trade store or in the issuing of family allowance. Tokens were used for trade and family allowances were issued by ledger and voucher.

After receiving a message from Superintendent Larsen in 1953, patrols were made for people to settle in the High Arctic. He used Tommy Palisser, the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter, for this purpose. He was a good interpreter who understood both the white man's ways and the Inuit ways personally. Tommy Palisser was used as an interpreter to ensure that the people understood all aspects of the move including the dark period.

He made no promise of a return to Port Harrison. Marjorie Hinds, the teacher, and Reuben Ploughman, of the Hudson's Bay Company, were helpful in selecting people for the move. Ms. Hinds supervised the preparations of the women and children. New rifles were supplied to the hunters.

There were plenty of volunteers available when the time came to leave Port Harrison.

The people were told that if they were interested in going to the Arctic they should contact the Hudson's Bay Company or the RCMP.

The people at Port Harrison lived in igloos in the wintertime and tents in the summertime and they would continue to do so in the High Arctic. The people were told of the dark period and that this might be difficult. Their response was to shrug their shoulders and say "It can't be helped."

At the time he was doing this, Mr. Gibson did not know that he was going to accompany them to the High Arctic.

When they arrived at Resolute Bay, the walrus had gone south. There were seals which stayed there year round and some birds. He was satisfied with the observations that had been made previously by others as to the availability of country food in the area.

The site for the Inuit settlement was chosen near a fresh water lake. There had been an ancient Inuit settlement nearby.

Upon arrival, tents were ereeted, dogs were tethered. His greatest concern was the present need for country food and building a supply of food for the winter. The hunters had to get out and hunt for food for the people and the dogs. Every day for weeks, the people went out to hunt. He reminded them constantly of the coming darkness. When winter came, igloos were built. "Cleanliness was to be of great importance. Pride took over as visiting parties were frequent to the Eskimo site under my supervision. Visitors probably never had witnessed people living under

these conditions. Great interest was shown by the majority of people who visited the camp and very little eomment was made to me at that time."[274]

The base generated a lot of wood waste from large eontainers which were sent in containing engines, etc. He requested that all usable scrap wood be separated and saved. The people at the base complied with this request. There was insulation left over from construction at the base. There were discarded windows available from other projects. Surplus paint was available. Electric cable was also available from the base. He had the assistance of people from the base in running power to the Inuit settlement. One 60-watt light bulb was put into each of the dwellings which were erected from the scrap wood. No outlets were allowed for safety reasons and out of concern for maintaining the ways of the people.

A telephone line was run from the base to one of the dwellings at the Inuit community, that of Salluvinik. This provided a direct line to the base where the RCMP detachment was located and was to be used for emergency purposes. He was instructed by the Commissioner of the RCMP to keep the people on the land, not to allow them on the base to avoid exposing them to the white man's way of life, prostitution, alcoholism and so on. He had the utmost co-operation from the RCAF in maintaining this policy.

There was a large dump near the air base which he instructed the Inuit not to go to. He suspected that they were visiting the dump and he would patrol periodically to see if he eould catch them.

He believes that the policy of keeping the Inuit settlements separate from the base was on the right track because it was for the good of the Inuit. He felt a great responsibility for the people.

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274. Thursday, June 17, 1993, Transcript of special consultation arranged by Commission counsel since Mr. Gibson was unable to attend the hearing, p. 12.

The people had their own Anglican catechist and the visiting Anglican priest, Reverend Lord, was impressed by what he saw and how the people conducted themselves during these services. He was most pleased that they were carrying on their religion.

Medical help was also available. He had access to Churchill and Thule in case of an emergency with the air base at Resolute Bay. The RCAF had a sickbay and a medical man available with some drugs if necessary. He also had some training. He would make observations of how the people were doing. They were not neglected although he made his observations himself and they did not know what he was up to.

Had the detachment at Cape Herschel (also referred to as Alexandra Fiord) gone ahead, he is sure that the Inuit families and himself would have faced great hardship.

Sovereignty was never discussed with him.

He has co-operated with those who have been preparing reports on the relocation — Gunther, Hickling, Mareus. He was disappointed in the manner in which his role was presented and what really took place where he was the person involved. Things have been said that are quite damaging but they have never been cleared up. He considers that he is owed an apology. He does not agree that the Inuit should be compensated. They were never abandoned.

The people who were involved in making the decisions concerning the reloeation and in its implementation, such as Jim Cantley, Marjorie Hinds, Henry Larsen, Commissioner Nicholson, and others, were dedicated people who wanted a better way of life for the Inuit, especially in the Port Harrison area.

He was in constant radio contact with Glen Sergeant at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord. He never felt that the people at Craig Harbour or

Grise Fiord were abandoned. There was radio contact and in case of an emergency the RCAF could get in with an emergency aircraft or make an air drop.

At one time he suggested that the people might be rotated from time to time so that all could be given a chance for a better way of life. He also thought that it would be possible to establish small communities in other locations in the general area.

There were adjustments that had to be made. The dark period was one thing and the closeness of Inuit communities was another. There may have been some anxiety because of the changes but he believes that the project was a success.

He believes that his views on the success of the project would be substantiated by reference to Douglas Holmes's book *Northerners: Profiles of People in the Northwest Territories* which contains the story of Anna Nungaq.[275]

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275. Anna Nungaq made a presentation to the Commission at the April 1993 hearings. Her presentation is summarized in Part 1. Holmes reports Anna Nungaq as saying she has wanted to "go back" to Inukjuak ever since she left. "We didn't want to come here.... A long time ago the Inuit used to say yes for anything. We believed the white people were very helpful. When they wanted us to move here, we said yes.... Right now it's different because we don't just say yes to anything any more." (p. 9) They were told there would be plentiful game. "The government told us a lie." There was an abundance of wildlife but not of the varieties people were used to. "It was very bad when we came here. We were hungry for our own food, for what we used to eat. What was here was no good." The hunters had to learn about the ice conditions and risk falling in or starve. They had no tea or bannock or other foods that they could buy at Inukjuak. The RCMP had a store but to get any food the people had to trade furs but they had no furs. So they scrounged in the dump. The Pond Inlet and Inukjuak Inuit did not get along. She did not get a wooden house until 1964. At the time of the interview she spoke of wanting to go back to see her relatives while they were still alive. She went back in 1988 after her husband died in 1987. He drowned while hunting. She did not go back earlier because she was

Commissioner Nicholson instructed him that it was his job to make the project a success. He was to keep the people on the land. The people belonged to a different culture and they were not to be brought into the white man's way of life too quickly.[276]

He felt that there was a shortage of food at Port Harrison and he believed that the people were dependent on family allowanee and welfare.[277]

The question of returning people if they were unhappy was out of his hands. He never thought of a return. He considered the project a challenge, that the plans were laid, and that the plans were quite satisfactory. If people were going to return then he considered that the matter would be looked at when it reared its head. He was never approached by any relocated Inuit saying that they were unhappy and wanted to return. They were anxious to bring more people in and that is when he and Henry Larsen discussed the possibility of having other settlements in the general area. It is necessary for the people to be spread around because game is in pockets in the Arctic and one cannot have five or six hundred people in one place trying to live off the land.[278]

He had the privilege of reporting verbally to the Commissioner of the RCMP. He was also able to talk freely with Henry Larsen, the officer commanding "G" Division. Not all of this was written down on paper. He

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waiting for permission from the government. "Since we came here on what seems like a free trip, we want them to move us back." It is said that she is not angry at anyone, not even the government, because it took so long to go back; she is delighted that she was able to return at all.

276. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-30.

277. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

278. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

wonders how much of the discussion at the Department might never have appeared on paper.[279]

When the Port Harrison detachment received Inspector Larsen's telegram, Corporal Webster turned the matter over to him. He took the dog team and went north to the various camps. He took Tommy Palisser and his special constable. When he arrived at a camp, he would set up his own igloo and the kettle would be put on for tea. Everyone would then come for tea and he told them what the purpose was for his patrol. The people had not thought of moving. He told the people that if they were interested they should come and discuss it with him and the Hudson's Bay Company interpreter so that there would be no misunderstanding. If they were interested, their names would be taken and people would be selected from among those who were interested. He felt that this was a success because a great many people wanted to go by the time the *C.D. Howe* set sail. Whether this was just curiosity or whether he had done a good job selling the project, he cannot say. He doesn't believe that returning ever entered their minds. These were intelligent people. They are not foolish and the way of life that they would have in the High Aretic, living in igloos, was not going to be altered that much.[280] When he sold the project to the people, he did so believing that he sold something to their advantage.[281]

He reealls telling people that it was obvious that the prices of the Arctic fox, the seareity of the Arctic fox, the scarcity of country food, and the unavailability of walrus and caribou, that Port Harrison had always been a very poor area. Things were now rock bottom with the drop in fur

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279. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

280. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-45.

281. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

prices. He stressed the dark period. He understood that surveys had been done on the availability of walrus and seal and so on.[282]

He always found the people gave the impression of being happy regardless of the circumstances under which they were living. He does not believe that this is a false impression. It is the way the people are.[283]

After he spoke with the people, they would then come back to the Hudson's Bay Company when they came in to trade, or would speak to the RCMP on another patrol, or would contact the interpreter, or speak to Reuben Ploughman, or speak to Ms. Hinds, the school teacher, or speak to the nurse. When this happened a runner would be sent to fetch him so that he could participate in the discussion. In other words, he went out and talked to the people, left the idea with them, and then they came back and talked to him.[284]

When he spoke with the people, his understanding was that they were going to the Bache Peninsula. It was his responsibility to get across to the people the advantages which they could take or leave. He doesn't know what the people expected. They were still going to have to hunt. The game was not going to come to them. "They had to go and get the seal and so on, but, again, I must stress that I don't think the Port Harrison Natives, to be perfectly frank with you, were the best of people to move into the north because they had become too dependent on the white man's way of life with their welfare and their child support and so on."[285]

282. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

283. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

284. *Ibid.*, p. 47-48.

285. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

The Port Harrison and the Pond Inlet Inuit, while they tolerated one another, did not get along well. They could hardly understand each other. Their cultures were quite different. The Pond Inlet hunters knew how to set seal nets under the ice, how to hunt polar bear, how to dress a polar bear, and how to hunt in that country better. The Port Harrison Inuit seemed to have lapsed into a decline.[286]

It bothers him that some Air Force people would criticize what was done, finding it appalling, when they don't know one end of it from the other.[287]

The people did well at Resolute Bay. They arrived with very little and their equipment in poor condition. The claims for compensation for equipment left behind by those who returned to Port Harrison years later show a great wealth of material possessions.[288]

> If their recollection is that I am overbearing, belonging to the old school, perhaps to a degree, but I also had a duty to perform and it was my responsibility and I took that responsibility not lightly. I took it heavily on my shoulders.[289]

Mr. Gibson believed that some of the difficulties between the Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Inuit may have come from the fact that the Pond Inlet people believed that they were going to be the ones to show the poor people from Quebec what to do.[290]

286. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

287. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

288. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

289. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

290. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

He has no impression of whether there was shock and upset when the people were divided on the ship to go to the different communities because Inuit do not "reflect too much shock or upset whether it is to their advantage or the white man's advantage or disadvantage.... I am sure they were concerned, but there was also every thought given to the people on where they were located."[291]

The people were closely knit and it may have caused some upset when they got to Resolute Bay and found that the family from Pond Inlet could hardly understand them. This left them only to visit among a small group. In northern Quebec, people would travel from camp to camp just for a visit. He believes that this, coupled with the dark period did have an impact.[292]

Amagoalik from Pond Inlet showed the Port Harrison people how to set seal nets under the ice, how to hunt a polar bear, and how to dress a polar bear. The Pond Inlet hunter adjusted very quickly and he feels that the Port Harrison people may have resented this.[293]

He was posted out of Resolute Bay in 1957.[294]

He suspected the people were going to the dump but there was no reason for them to go to the dump for food. They were not starving. The dump was regularly bulldozed. There was perfectly good food that the Air Force did not want and he arranged for this food to be given to him for distribution to the people.[295]

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291. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

292. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

293. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

294. *Ibid.*, p.61.

295. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

In response to questions from the Commission during a telephone hook-up on June 28, 1993, Mr. Gibson explained that he took a map with him on his patrol to the various camps around Port Harrison to explain the distances. He explained how people would get to the new communities and the work that had been done to prepare for settlement at the new communities. He explained that the food would be plentiful, hunting would be good, Arctic fox were plentiful and that a survey had been done by the Canadian government to ensure that this was the case. He understood that they would be helped to move to the High Arctic. They would be looked after. The RCMP would be present. If anything serious happened, they would have the support of the Canadian government. He explained the change in the climate and the dark season. He also stressed that their way of life would not be any different. They would still live in igloos and they would still have canvas tents. They would still be able to eat off the land and the white man would be there to help them to better their way of life.[296]

He had no reason to make any promises about returning. He considered that if it was not a success, then certainly they would be able to come back but this was not something he discussed at any great length with the people. He was never asked questions about coming back nor was the question of coming back raised during his time at Resolute Bay.[297]

The hard things for the people would have been the dark period and the distance from Port Harrison. They couldn't visit with friends and relatives. There was also the difficulties in the relationship with the Pond Inlet people. He considered that the Port Harrison people had a defeatist

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296. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 181-182. Mr. Gibson was contacted by telephone from the public hearing room to respond to questions from Commissioners.

297. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

attitude, just accepting the situation they found themselves in and not adjusting as well as he thought they might.[298]

In addition to being bulldozed, the dump was burned from time to time.[299]

He feels that he had a good relationship with the people and that if they had been unhappy he would have known about it. When he left Resolute Bay, all the people came and were around the airplane shaking his hand.[300]

He had no reason to employ the Inuit because he did not maintain a dog team and there was no work for them to do for him.[301]

The mail that people wanted to send would be brought to him. It would be folded up in makeshift envelopes with syllabic writing. He would ask where it was going and would re-address it. The envelopes would have stamps hand-drawn in the corner. He would put the stamps on at his own expense. The mail was not that frequent. Not much mail came back from Port Harrison.[302]

Ship-time was a big time of year. The ship came only once a year. All the people turned out in their best. This was something of a tradition everywhere. It was not something they were told to do.[303]

298. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188.

299. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

300. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

301. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

302. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

303. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

The question of a promise to return was never discussed with him but he was always confident that, if things had not worked out, they would have gone back.[304] He understands that the question of returning was discussed with officers of the Department such as Alex Stevenson but it was not discussed with him.[305]

The people never raised the question with him. Whether that was because of a cultural problem, he does not know.[306]

Bob Pilot

Bob Pilot began his public service career with the RCMP serving in the Arctic and subsequently, in 1965, joined the federal Department of Northern Affairs serving in various locations. In 1969, he joined the government of the Northwest Territories and from 1971 until 1975 he was the Regional Director of the Baffin Region living in Iqaluit. He then moved to Yellowknife and was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Northwest Territories in 1979, a position he held until 1984. From 1984 to 1986, he was the Deputy Minister and principal adviser to the elected Executive Committee of the Northwest Territories. In 1986, he was appointed Deputy Minister, Federal-Provincial Relations, retiring in 1988.

He joined the RCMP in 1952 and spent that summer in Iqaluit. In 1954, he was again transferred to Iqaluit as the second member of the 2-member detachment. In 1955, he was transferred to Craig Harbour, travelling on the *C.D. Howe* from Iqaluit. The Craig Harbour detachment was a 2-member detachment with only two Inuit families living at the detachment, the RCMP special constable and his family who were from Pond Inlet and Thomasie from Port Harrison who was the trader looking

304. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

after the trading post. The corporal in charge of the detaehment was Glen Sergeant who had extensive northern experience.

Corporal Sergeant spoke Inuktitut fluently and was well-respected by the Inuit. Pilot was told by Sergeant that the main reason for building the detachment at Craig Harbour in 1922 had been to establish Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic Islands but, with the arrival of the Inuit in the area, sovereignty was a secondary concern and providing assistance to the Inuit settlement was the main purpose of the detachment. The Inuit settlement was approximately 40 miles from the detachment on the Lindstrom Peninsula.

The detachment had several large boats and, during September and October, a good deal of time was spent with the Inuit assisting them in hunting for walrus and whale which was required for dog food during the winter months. During the winter, the Inuit men would travel to Craig Harbour about once a month to trade. Because it was a long 2-day trip, they usually came by themselves.

In the spring of 1956, it was decided that the detachment would be moved to Grise Fiord. All of the men were employed to assist in building the new detachment at Grise Fiord.

Three or four months of each year would be spent on long dog team patrols.

There was always plenty of game at Grise Fiord, such as seal, walrus, whale, fox and polar bear. He never saw or heard of anyone in want or hungry.

The RCMP assisted the Inuit trader at the trading post by keeping the financial records for each family. The requisitions for supplies were sent to the Department after consultation with the Inuit trader and the Inuit men. The supplies would arrive during the sea lift. There were times when the

store would run out of items such as sugar, tea and flour. This would occur usually in the spring, just before ship-time. The RCMP would make available what they could from their supplies. One year, supplies had to be air-dropped into Grise Fiord during the spring.

He has only pleasant memories of his years at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord. The Inuit were his teacher, his guide and his friend. Without their support, assistance and companionship, he would not have survived some of the situations he found himself in by dog sled and by boat.

There was never any doubt in his mind, when stationed at Craig Harbour and Grise Fiord, or in the mind of Glen Sergeant that the Inuit had been made a promise that, should they wish to return to Inukjuak, the government would take them back.

He personally has attempted to have the federal government recognize this commitment as far back as 1973 during his time as Regional Director at Iqaluit. It was at that time that several families asked for financial assistance to return to Inukjuak but the federal government would not make a commitment one way or the other. Had the federal government addressed the problem at that time, the grievance would have been resolved.

He considers that, if the RCMP were at Craig Harbour to show the flag and to establish sovereignty over the Arctic Islands and were there only on two to three years assignments, then surely the Inuit who were living and hunting in the area on a more permanent basis were also there to maintain and establish sovereignty.[307]

During the time he was there, he only became aware of unhappiness when several of the young men stated that there were no single women living there and they were anxious to find themselves wives. However, he

307. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 268-278.

never had the people approach him and say, "We are unhappy and we would like to go back to Inukjuak." He did not speak Inuktitut well at that time and most of his discussions were with Glen Sergeant who was fluent in Inuktitut and kept him apprised of the situation.

In the early years, before he arrived in 1955, he understood that there was some unhappiness. The area was not all what the people had expected and the living conditions were not what they had expected. However, the years that he was there were bumper years for fox trapping and the people were relatively well off. That is why they ran out of food a lot of the times in the store. Good trapping meant that the people had a lot of money to buy things at the store.[308]

In 1973, he was Regional Director at Iqaluit. The Inuit at that time expressed a desire to return to Inukjuak. He communicated that to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. The government of the Northwest Territories chartered an airplane and picked up families from Grise Fiord who were interested in going back to Inukjuak. The purpose was to give them an opportunity to see their old home and to see if there were houses available for them when they would arrive back in Inukjuak. A report would have been made and there would have been correspondence between the Commissioner and the federal government. The problem was that there were three jurisdictions involved: the government of the Northwest Territories, the federal government, and the government of Quebec. During the period 1973 to 1978 or 1979, the government of the Northwest Territories was like a branch of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and did not have a budget to cover the relocation. All the Commissioner could do was to say to the Department that, "You made the promise; you provide the funding." Pilot's perception is that the federal government did not wish to accept or acknowledge that a commitment may

308. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

have been made. He put in his reports that he believed that such a commitment had been made. The other issue was money.[309]

In his view, whether the request to return was made late or not, the government should accept and recognize its responsibilities and apologize for the situation. He doesn't believe there was any intent to deceive the Inuit people. That was the way life was. However, not admitting that there had been a commitment is bad enough, and there should be an apology made in that respect.[310]

The snow conditions at Craig Harbour were much different than at Inukjuak. The method of making an igloo would be quite different. In Inukjuak, you would cut snow blocks vertically into the snow. In the High Arctic, you had to cut the snow off the sea ice and there would only be four to six inches of snow sitting on the sea ice. It was necessary to learn a new way of building an igloo.[311]

Inuit who were hired to work for the RCMP would be paid and the family would receive rations. Sometimes, however, there were other Inuit who wished to go along on the trip. They would come along but they would not get paid. They would simply enjoy the security of travelling with a larger group.[312]

He first became aware in the early 1970s that there were people who wanted to go back to Inukjuak. This was when he was working out of Iqaluit and the word was coming down that the people were not as happy as they could be. There was also a lot of discussion concerning the James

309. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-283.

310. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

311. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

312. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

Bay Agreement and it may have been that they were looking towards their families in Inukjuak and the effect that this might have on them.[313]

He has no knowledge of the RCMP asking the Inuit to dress in their best clothing for ship-time. They did, as a matter of fact, dress very well for ship-time.[314]

The people did find it difficult in the initial period at Craig Harbour and they did go hungry. They were just learning and they had to learn a whole new way of hunting and learn about the dark period. There were no willows on the tundra which they were used to in Inukjuak to help keep their homes warm. When he arrived in 1955, they were, he thought, well-adapted to the area. Inuit housing generally in those days was terrible by today's standard.[315]

Based on what he has learned from Glen Sergeant, the Lindstrom Peninsula site was chosen because it was a grassy knoll on a point where an Inuit settlement had been located years before. The conditions at that point were considered to be suitable for sustaining a small community.[316]

Reuben Ploughman

Reuben Ploughman worked for the Hudson's Bay Company for almost forty years. He went to the North in 1939 and was posted to Port Harrison from 1951 to 1954. When he arrived at Port Harrison in 1951, he had had nine years in the North at various posts in the Eastern Arctic.

313. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

314. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

315. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

316. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.

He was not a participant in organizing the relocation but was an observer of what took place. His job as the Hudson's Bay trader was to fill the vouchers for orders received from the RCMP for clothing, tent material and so on which was supplied to those Inuit who were going to the High Arctic. He did not know which Inuit were being transferred to the High Arctic until just prior to the departure time of the *C.D. Howe*. The decision of who should go was left entirely to the RCMP. He does not know on what basis people were recruited, or how the relocation was planned.

The Hudson's Bay Company had by far the best interpreter at Port Harrison and he does not recall if the RCMP used him to interpret during the recruitment period.

At the time, game and fish were rather plentiful at Port Harrison, although perhaps not as abundant as in other places he had been. By game, he refers to seals, white whales and walrus. In some years the walrus were more plentiful than in others. Walrus were never, during the time that he was at Port Harrison, found in abundanee. They were used mainly for dog food. There were also migratory birds such as geese and ducks and also the eggs of birds during the nesting period. As for fish, there was Arctic char, lake trout, white fish and speckled trout. It was the fishing that had brought him to Port Harrison. He had asked for the posting because of the fishing at Port Harrison. When there was open water in the bay, a type of rock cod were found in abundance, although these were used mainly for dog food.

During the fall, the Company would grubstake the hunters who owned Peterhead boats to hunt walrus on the various offshore islands, mainly the Sleeper Islands, the Ottawa Islands, and the King George Islands. The meat they obtained was then shared. The same method was used to obtain soapstone which was quarried from areas around the coast and then brought into the settlement where it was stockpiled in the Company's warehouse for distribution and use by carvers during the winter months.

Furs, mainly white foxes, played a large part in the Inuit economy. Like everything else, it had its ups and downs. When the fox cycle reached a low point, the people had to rely more on government and Hudson's Bay Company relief which is similar to what happens in the south when a person is unemployed and cannot find a job.

During 1953, the fox cycle had reached its peak. In 1951 and 1952, the cycle was on the upward trend. In 1953, the fox catch exceeded all expectations and may have been a record year. The downside to such a large harvest is the impact on price. Prices at that time were, he believes, in the order of $7.00 to $8.00 per pelt. Handicraft sales had begun in about 1951 but in 1953 they dropped. This is understandable since one cannot trap and carve soapstone at the same time. When the men trapped, the women wove grass baskets, placemats and so on.

The group that went north included some of the better soapstone carvers, including Fatty (also known as Paddy).

He has always been under the impression that sovereignty played a part in the relocation, although his impression may have been based on hearsay. He had heard it said that some of the Inuit who went north asked when they would be going home and were told that this would not be possible since the ship did not return to Port Harrison but went to Montreal which would mean spending a year in Montreal until the ship returned to Port Harrison the following year. He does not understand why this should be. Austin Airways operated charter aircraft in the Port Harrison area at that time. Port Harrison could have been reached by an amphibious aircraft during the period of open water and by a ski-equipped aircraft during the wintertime. There would have been no need for people to spend a year in Montreal.

Constable Webster was the RCMP member in charge of the Port Harrison detachment. Constable Gibson was the other member of the detachment. He did most of the groundwork for the recruitment of people

going to the High Arctic. Mr. Ploughman is sure that Constable Gibson carried out his assignments as laid down by orders received from Ottawa to the very best of his ability.[317]

Caribou were exceedingly scarce. Hunters had to travel a good distance to get into caribou country and any caribou that were obtained would have been mostly consumed for dog food by the time the hunters got back. People depended mainly on seal and they were plentiful. There was no starvation. "Starvation...didn't even enter into the picture at all."[318] There were times when the seal were more plentiful than others but there was no starvation.

The Hudson's Bay Company interpreter was Tommy Palisser. He was an excellent interpreter.[319]

It was about two years after the people had gone into the High Arctic that he heard that there were people wanting to return. "This is something that I picked up over the...it could have been passed on to me when I was at Inukjuak."[320] He left Port Harrison early the following year, that is, in early 1954, and he doubts whether by that time any mail would have been received. He is not quite sure how he learned about people wanting to return but it could have been through the grapevine. He has kept in close contact with people there and he still hears from people who worked for him forty years ago. The impression he got, as he remembers it, is that the people were disappointed. They thought they were going to a land of milk and honey and things weren't that way.[321]

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317. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 72-82.

318. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

319. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

320. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

321. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

The people who were chosen would have been referred to at the time as inefficient trappers but some of them were excellent carvers. There was no lack of food in the area at Port Harrison. There was a scarcity at times but there had been scarcity at times at all the places he had been posted at in the North. He had always thought that sovereignty had played a part.[322]

In response to a question about whether people had volunteered and expressed a desire to go or whether it was a matter of their being chosen quite apart from their own views, Mr. Ploughman said that this was a big question and that if one asked ten people, one would probably get ten different answers. He said this,

> I can't say really that some of them were influenced, but I would like to think that they were. If one was told "you are going into the High Arctic", well, the Inuit would probably say "If this is the way it is, I guess that's the way it is."
>
> The Inuit in those days had very little conception of government. If you asked them what the government was — and I've got this through interpreters from 1939 right up to 1953 — the man in charge was the King or the Queen. The RCMP represented the King or Queen, so what he said they listened to and went along with it.
>
> I think some of them may have had no hesitation in saying that — some of them, I think, had volunteered. I wouldn't say that all of them had.[323]

In response to a question about what a person would have said if told that the decision had been made for that person to go to the High Arctic and whether the person would say "I don't want to go, I would rather not

322. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

323. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

go", Mr. Ploughman said that he believed the person would go but reluctantly.[324]

There were two types of relief at Port Harrison at the time. A person who could catch foxes was a trapper and received Hudson's Bay Company relief. Only those who could not catch foxes would receive government relief.[325]

In poor fur years, there were more people on relief but with a handicraft industry developing involving soapstone carvings, basketry work and so on, there was income from a source other than furs. A person could not subsist for long on relief because relief food was little more than a starvation ration consisting mainly of flour, lard, baking powder, tea, some sugar, and plenty of beans. Beans were never, to his knowledge, eaten because since it was impossible to prepare them when living in a snow house. It was necessary to soak them and cook them for a very long time which was not practical for sometime living in a snow house and cooking over a seal oil flame.[326]

The relief ration was a standard ration with a full ration for adults and a half ration for children. People took what they were given. The same was true with family allowance. The Inuit were told what they had to buy with the family allowance. The first thing was milk. The next thing was pablum. The people had to take the things that were given on account of family allowanee.[327]

324. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

325. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

326. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

327. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Doug Wilkinson

Doug Wilkinson lived, worked and travelled in many parts of the Eastern and the High Arctic as well as the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories between 1945 and 1975. During this period he was a documentary film-maker, a television producer, a photographer, a writer, a lecturer, and, for four years, a Northern Service Officer with the Arctic Division of Northern Affairs and National Resources. He had no role in the planning or the execution of the relocation project, but he did come into contact with it in Ottawa, as well as in the Arctic in 1952-53. He knew some of the people involved and he knew something about the background against which the relocation took place.

In his view, the relocation plan was flawed. It was hurriedly conceived and poorly thought through. The major reason was that the Department which planned and executed it had no staff stationed in the North.

Inuit in some areas had left their life on the land to cluster around settlements where they lived largely on relief supplies and family allowance food. The idea arose that it might be good if Inuit from the poor areas could be relocated into better hunting and trapping regions in the far North. On the surface, this was not a bad idea. It was known from reports by early explorers and RCMP patrols that there was a lot of game in areas of the High Arctic Islands.

In 1950-51, Wilkinson and his wife spent fourteen months in the Eastern Arctic. They lived for seven months at Chesterfield Inlet on the west coast of Hudson Bay where the Inuit community was existing mainly on relief food and family allowance foods. The old way of life of the hunters and their families was rapidly disintegrating. They then went to North Baffin Island and spent the next six months living with a group of Inuit whose members still lived on and from the land and the sea. The settlement at Pond Inlet was a place where they would travel to trade, to attend church, or to help unload the supply ship in the summer. The contrast between

these two groups of Inuit was stark: Chesterfield Inlet was a slum; the hunting and trapping community around Pond Inlet was thriving.

Wilkinson contemplated a plan which would see him and his wife going north with a small group of volunteer hunters and their families from the Pond Inlet area to establish a new settlement on southern Ellesmere Island for the purpose of exploring the possibility of relocating Inuit from poor hunting and trapping areas in the Eastern Arctic to better lands in the High Arctic. His plan called for the RCMP, who were re-establishing detachments in the High Arctic, to patrol over a five-year period to search out possible good locations for new hunting and trapping communities. He submitted his plan in the form of a report that was considered by the Department. his interest led to an invitation to attend the May 1952 Eskimo Affairs Conference referred to in Part 3. He provided a copy of his report to the Commission.

In 1953-54, he spent a year on North Baffin Island living with a hunter and his family. His food was seals, caribou, whales, fish, rabbits and ptarmigan. The group of hunters had little money to buy food extras from the Hudson's Bay post at Pond Inlet, seventy-five miles away, as there were few foxes to trap that year. What little money there was was used for gasoline for the big boat which was used for whale hunting. The group hunted and trapped all through the long dark winter months. Trips along the trap line by dog team would take ten days and sometimes they would be very hungry. All they would have to eat would be a few pilot biscuits and tea. They would hope to harpoon a seal at a breathing hole or shoot a rabbit but, if unsuccessful, they starved for the ten days until they got back to the main winter camp. This was similar to the kind of life that the relocatees from Port Harrison were living on southern Ellesmere Island and Resolute Bay only about two hundred miles away that same winter. He remembers this period as the highlight of his life, despite the hardship and difficulty. The Port Harrison Inuit, at least some of them, remember this first winter as a time of suffering and misery. The difference lies in basic attitude. He believes that at least some of the Port Harrison Inuit had no

great desire to relocate in 1953. They went because they were persuaded to go, persuaded with the promise of a better life in a new hunting area.

The hunter with whom he lived in 1953-54 was Idlout. In 1955, Idlout moved to Resolute Bay. In 1958, Idlout was on his way home to Resolute Bay from a visit to Greenland with a group of Canadian Inuit and he stopped in Ottawa for a couple of days. Wilkinson saw him and interviewed him.

Idlout described the good hunting and trapping at Resolute Bay. He said he heard from a friend of his who worked for the RCMP at Craig Harbour, Kayak, that life was good on the northern islands. When he went to Resolute Bay, he helped teach the Port Harrison Inuit new ways of hunting. They had never used a seal screen before coming to Resolute Bay. When shown the skills necessary for hunting in the High Arctic, the Port Harrison Inuit were good hunters.

The diet of walrus, seal and polar bear that was available at Resolute Bay was the normal diet for many Inuit at that time. The need to hunt in extremely cold weather, in the dark, and for days at a time without eating, was also normal for hunters at that time.

Wilkinson has never been unable to find a place in the winter without enough snow to build a snow house. It is sometimes necessary to look around to find a place with sufficient good snow but it is always possible to find some somewhere. Sometimes the snow blocks must be cut horizontally off the ice. Sometimes it is possible to find deep drifts where the blocks can be cut vertically.

It is not surprising that the new settlement on Ellesmere Island was established some distance from where there was a small herd of caribou. To establish a new settlement in the home range of a small caribou herd in the High Arctic would be folly. It would disrupt their pattern of movement

and would expose the herd to excessive hunting pressure.[328] It was common practice in the Arctic for people to scrounge at dump sites, especially around airfields. He himself has gone to dumps in the Arctic looking for parts for equipment that had broken or for other usable items such as construction materials. He recalls one year when a load of freezer food was thrown onto the dump to make room for the new supplies that were coming in. This food was salvaged and later used by others.[329] He believes that sovereignty was only a side issue for the Department which planned the relocation. They may have used it as an extra incentive to obtain approval or funds for the relocation.[330] When he first met Idlout in 1951, Idlout often spoke about how he would like to go to the northern islands with his family. Wilkinson advised him to speak with officials from the Department when the boat came that summer. Idlout told Wilkinson that he had done this. Idlout's desire to go north may have added a spark to the relocation project.[331] The primary reason was to assist the Inuit to find a place where they could continue their lifestyle in a traditional manner.[332]

Some of the Inuit treated white men as gods in those days. Others, like Joseph Idlout and people like him, would have laughed because they thought exactly the opposite. They thought the white man was a fool who couldn't hunt very well, couldn't trap very well, didn't know how to get around on the land, and had to have an Inuk to guide him. People like Idlout viewed themselves as men pre-eminent.[333]

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328. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 11-47.

329. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

330. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

331. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

332. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

333. *Ibid.*, p. 63-64.

He has seen RCMP members in the Arctic who ranged from very good to very bad. There were first-rate RCMP members in the Arctic who did a great deal to work with the people in the areas where they were stationed. There were some RCMP members who simply lost it and were not pleasant people to be with. In the small settlements, the white people who were there had a tendency to play God.[334] Maintaining restrictions between air bases and Inuit settlements was for the protection of the Inuit from exploitation by service men. It could be properly arranged through the co-operation of the base commander with the base commander issuing an instruction to personnel that they were not to go to the Inuit settlement unless accompanied by a Canadian government official, such as an RCMP member.[335]

The first time he recalls hearing that the people from Port Harrison were unhappy was the trip he made in 1980 to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord.[336]

Armand Brousseau and Pierre Desnoyers

Armand Brousseau and Pierre Desnoyers were with the RCAF in 1953 and stationed for a time at Resolute Bay. Mr. Desnoyers was there from about mid-June to mid-October 1953 to prepare for and assist in the re-supply mission.

The day the Inuit arrived, the ship came into a bay that was about 2½ to 3 miles from the campsite where the servicemen lived. It was Mr. Desnoyers' first contact with Inuit. They had learned about a day or two prior to the arrival of the Inuit when the camp commander held a meeting. The servicemen were told that at no time could they initiate personal

334. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

335. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

336. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

contact with the Inuit or give anything to the Inuit unless requested by the RCMP member who was with the Inuit.

Mr. Desnoyers observed that the condition of the Inuit was very primitive. He was not in a position to judge whether they could support themselves. His perception was that the game resources were limited. He could see a few walrus and bears were roaming around but he never saw any caribou. A few weeks after the Inuit arrived, he saw them in the base dump. He could not tell whether they were looking for things to sustain themselves or to sustain their animals but the word on the base was that they were looking for their own personal use.

Mr. Brousseau arrived at Resolute Bay at the end of July 1953 and stayed until October. He then returned in mid-December and stayed until mid-March 1954. They were told that the Inuit were being sent there to rehabilitate themselves to their original way of life and that in no way were the servicemen to associate with them or give them anything unless escorted by the RCMP.

Mr. Brousseau is a hunter and what he saw that the people had with them was very basic equipment. He takes more on a ten-day hunting trip than what he saw that the people had.

Some of the servicemen knew the northern Quebec area and wondered why people would be sent from northern Quebec to Resolute Bay. At Resolute Bay, there were bears, walrus, and quite a few Arctic fox but in northern Quebec there were birds and all kinds of other wildlife as well as berries and some wood. The movement of the Inuit at Resolute Bay was very restricted. In later postings in the Arctic, he would see that Inuit in other communities were no so restricted. He often saw the Inuit in the dump. His heart went out to the people because he felt they were living in very difficult circumstances with limited game resources available to them.

He also believes that the effects of the isolation would have been very hard. He didn't understand why the Inuit were not given quarters at the base to live in and why the ample food which was available at the base was not made available to them.[337]

The servicemen were told that the Inuit were there to rehabilitate themselves to their way of living. They were told that the food was getting scarce where the Inuit had come from in northern Quebec so they were sent up to Resolute Bay. Also, the Inuit were to learn how to survive on their own and go back to their old way of living. The project was to see if they could survive in that High Arctic environment where Inuit had lived in earlier times.[338]

The base had a medic but no doctor.[339]

The weather conditions at Resolute Bay were very hard. Winds of 60 mph and temperatures of -55° F were common in the winter. The winds could come up very quickly and the weather could go from being clear to being a blizzard in a very short time.[340]

The Inuit treated the RCMP member with the greatest respect. His words were like a command to them, more or less.[341]

337. Monday, June 28, 1993, Tr., vol. 1, pp. 93-111.

338. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

339. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

340. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Gerard Kenney

Mr. Kenney worked in the Arctic in the 1960s and '70s as a telecommunications engineer. He became interested in the north and its people. He also became interested in the media stories concerning the relocation to the High Arctic and began archival research to look for the official documents which would establish whether sovereignty concerns were really the motive for the relocations. His researches have turned up no documents which remotely tied the relocation to national security concerns for protecting the Arctic against claims of foreign powers.

What his research did uneover was a lot of doeumentary evidence pointing to another reason for the relocation, namely, a sincere concern on the part of the government for the welfare of the Inuit living on the "hungry coast" on the eastern side of Hudson Bay. His research also found no documentary evidence to support Inuit testimony that they went hungry and underwent terrible suffering in their new High Arctic communities. The documentary evidence showed that the Inuit were better off in their new homes than they had been at Inukjuak, that they had more food and fur resources, that they were the healthiest communities of Inuit in all the Arctic, and that their communities were prospering financially, especially Resolute Bay. Much of that documentation is in the form of letters written by the relocated Inuit themselves living in Resolute Bay. This documentary evidence shows that the Inuit were satisfied with their new homes and that they did not want to go back to Inukjuak.

Letters written by the Inuit themselves do contain requests to go back to Inukjuak but these are almost invariably for temporary visits to see relatives or take care of aging parents but after visiting Inukjuak the desire was expressed to return to the High Arctic.

The evidence that his researeh has disclosed indicates that people who stayed at Inukjuak were convineed by their relatives in the High Arctic to join them because the conditions were better in the High Arctic than

Inukjuak. He has extracted those letters which show the views, positive or negative, of the Inuit themselves to the relocations.

Two of the letters refer to a situation where dog teams arrived from quite far away and the authors of the letters were not happy with how these people, who were in need, were treated by the RCMP member. Mr. Kenney points out that this shows that, if the Inuit had a complaint against the RCMP, they were not afraid to write.

Mr. Kenney also referred to a personal letter from Idlout to Mr. Sivertz, dated March 1957, in which Idlout indicates how happy he is at Resolute Bay. He refers to the good hunting and the fact that the Port Harrison Inuit could now hunt seals through holes in the ice like Idlout could. The letter also states that Ross Gibson is very good and expresses his thanks in that regard.

Mr. Kenney also referred to Salluviniq's story which was published in the May 1977 *Nunatsiaq News*. This story is set out above in the summary of Mr. Sivertz's testimony as is the interview with Ann Padlo reported in the November 1990 *Nunatsiaq News* and also referred to by Mr. Kenney.

Mr. Kenney also referred to statements by people who appeared before the Commission at the April hearings which contradicts what they said at the April hearings.

He refers to one witness who complained about the trip on the *C.D. Howe* and how they really missed their own food. He reports that in a 1986 television program the same person said, "The trip here was okay. It was pleasant enough. I didn't mind that boat trip at all."

Mr. Kenney also refers to another person who addressed the Commission at the April hearings who said that she could not remember being hungry at all at Inukjuak. He reports that this same person in a

Deeember 1981 interview reported in *Inuktitut Magazine* said, "We used to be very hungry in Inukjuak."

Mr. Kenney urged the Commission to be cautious in its assessment of the testimony received in April for a number of reasons: forty-year-old memories; memories of forty-year-old events recounted by witnesses, some of whom were young children at the time; memories that are subject to tremendous peer pressure; memories that are subject to the distorting pressures of the substantial redress which was being sought. He believes that the letters written by the Inuit themselves tell a compelling, and contrary story.[342]

Mr. Kenney's research did not disclose any letters written from Grise Fiord. The twenty letters which he considered to be relevant were found among hundreds of letters on file at the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.[343]

His research did not find any letters for the period 1953 to 1956.[344]

Mr. Kenney provided the twenty letters to the Commission. The text of the letters is as follows:

1. Letter received May 19, 1956 from Idlout, Resolute Bay, to Sivertz, translated by P. Anerodluk.

   I received your letter and I thank you for it.

   I want to speak to you about the fox I had sent. Without the thought of money in return and thinking of all the help I have

342. Tuesday, June 29, 1993, Tr., vol. 2, pp. 460-501.

343. *Ibid.*, p. 510.

344. *Ibid.*, p. 512.

been given by the government in the past, please accept it as of my gratitude.

This place has more polar bear, foxes, walrus and seals in the summer than Pond Inlet. There are also more caribou here than anywhere else.

I am happy here and do not wish to return to Pond Inlet for a long while yet. The Port Harrison people seem to like it here too.

If you wish to write again I will answer as soon as I can.

Good-bye to you all.

2. Letter received May 19, 1956 from Idlout, Resolute Bay, to M. L. Manning, translated by P. Anerodluk.

After receing [sic] your letter I am writing to thank you for it. You did a good job of it and I understood every bit of the letter. I also received a letter from the "Head Man" in Eskimo.

I have been writing to you in my language because I can't fully understand the English language and do not write it at all without help.

I am contented where I am at and not wishing to go back to the Pond Inlet area.

I would like more people coming here from Pond Inlet area to help out in the teaching of the hunting as the Port Harrison hunters are not too keen and do not try too hard. They are good at hunting polar bear but have not the right idea of sealing under the ice.

Please write to us and tell us about anything you wish to say.

Good bye.

3. Letter reeeived December 18, 1956 from Idlouk [sic], Resolute Bay, to B.G. Sivertz, translated by P. Anerodluk.

To the boss whom I have previously met. I have often thought of you because you are my people's boss. I wonder why some of the trade goods haven't come in yet. Some of the people do not have 30-30 cartridges, but, we have enough food and our dogs are not hungry. We have seal, walrus and whale for food.

I was thinking that if the boat at Pond Inlet cannot be brought here that another one should be procured from the traders or some Eskimo. I know it is difficult to get into Pond Inlet in the summer, due to ice. We all use the police boat here and are grateful for the use of it but it isn't large enough for everybody to use at one time.

I like Resolute fine. There are enough seals, lots of walrus, whales and polar bear. It would be better if there were more boats for the people here though.

There is food enough for more than a hundred people if there were that many here.

I think I may go to Spence Bay in the spring to trade my fox skins. If you do not think it's a good idea let me know by letter. I will be happy to hear from you.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

4. Letter received March 20, 1957 from Idlout, Resolute Bay, to Leo, translated by P. Anerodluk.

Thanks very much for your letter. It was a good letter and was understandable.

No. Leo I do not want to live at any other place than here. I only wish to visit Spence Bay someday on account of my son Paneelook to try and get him to live with us here. I do not think I can make it this spring though.

I want you to know that I do not intend to go back to Pond Inlet because I think Resolute Bay is a better place for game. There are many seals here as Pond Inlet and also caribou close by at Bathurst Island which is at the point of Bedford. There are still some remaining caribou at Resolute itself too.

I am happy to tell you that the Ex-Port Harrison men are more keep in hunting seals by seal holes now. Better than they were last year.

[Letter incomplete.]

5. Letter received October 10, 1958 from Andrew, Disc. No. E9-870, Resolute Bay, translated.

My brother Levi E9-864 would get more help if he stays with me here. He has only one eye. But it's not a good time to get him now. He still has a good left eye. He is in Port Harrison and I was wondering if he could come next summer. And there is more country food here. I was just wondering, and if he can't come, well at least I tried.

6. Letter received October 10, 1959 from Levi, Disc. No. E9-1762, Resolute Bay, translated by Abraham Okpik.

I am writing to Bobby from Levi. Who hails from Port Harrison, but now at present I am living where there is no daylight. Resolute Bay is my new land. It was in 1955 when I come to this land. Levi E9-1762 is my disc number.

I will write to you Bobby. I want my mother-in-law and my brother who are at Port Harrison to come to stay with us, by next year. I am Levi E9-1762. Maggie's disc No. E9-709. Kilopak E9-711.

I want them to come here next year this is why. I am writing to Ottawa also do write to Port Harrison and if they say yes, please write to me and let me know. I do need them in the worst way. Maggie and Kilopak with his children. I want them to come and stay with me if this could be done. I really do need someone to help me because this place of darkness has white foxes. It is a good place. Also people never go hungry here, because there is a lot of animals to hunt.

Write to me.

7. Letter received December 12, 1959 from Amagooalik [sic], Disc. No. E5-791, Resolute Bay, translated by Batiste and Sally Tootoo.

Amagooalik [sic] is writing to Bobby who is in Ottawa. November 26, 1959. I am writing now as I want you and the bosses to know of my thoughts about a person from Iglulik. I have wanted him to come, going to Pond Inlet by boat then arriving at Resolute Bay. He didn't arrive this summer, having arrived at Pond Inlet he wasn't allowed [to continue], so he didn't arrive. But now I still want him to come. My wife needs a helper now, having had an operation. Because very time, having started to work, when she gets tired, she doesn't feel well. Because my wife is home now I am very happy. This is the person I want to come, his name is Kunnuk, and his number is E5-403, also his wife, Arloo, because she is our daughter. If they came, she could help her mother. I want them to come to our settlement. Because we here in our settlement are helped by the white men, we are grateful. Because there are not many people here in our settlement, we have never been hungry. When you get this letter please answer it right away. We are very pleased because we get the book in Eskimo 'Inuktitut'. I didn't write to you for a long time but I received your letter. Goodbye say hello to Mary and Annie for me. I am stopping now. Farewell.

8. Letter received March 21, 1960 from Johnny Ekalok [sic], Disc No. E9-1635, Resolute Bay, translated by Mary Panegoosho.

Johnny is writing to Bobby. I want to know about what you think and I want you to tell me Isa E9-706 wrote to me and saying that he wants to come here to live in the high Arctic. If its possible for him to com [sic] I would like to have him, and he also wants to come. His Disc. No. is E9-706. Anyway I am writing this letter because I want to hear something about this. I want you to write and tell me about him. I got his two letters last winter saying that he is wanting to go to the high Arctic. If he can come here to live I will be very glad to have him. He also said in his letter that he was not to happy last winter at Port Harrison, because he finds very difficult to get the dog food this winter and he has been trapping and hunting. There was nothing at this area lots of walrus and plenty of seals, and it has more foxes than Port Harrison, and lots of square flipper seals, lots of whales. He can get more dog food here at Resolute Bay than Port Harrison. It is good place to live. No wonder Isa is wanting to come. However I want to know more about this what can be done? I write and tell you and please you write

and tell me I am not a boss here but I'm just writing to government because of wanting to know about this and also for Isa who is at Port Harrison. That is all I have to say for now. Please write because I want to know.

Good bye.

9. Letter received April 20, 1960 from Idlout, Disc No. E5-766, Resolute Bay, translated by Batiste and Sally Tootoo.

From Idlout, to the fair one - to anyone - I am in a hurry. I am working at the Air Force base now. I would like to obtain a liquor permit, as I would like to drink - but not too mueh. I would like a permit for real liquor (whisky), but not too much. Rather I would use some beer - but not every night. Not all the Eskimos would have to drink - only those with permits.

All of us Eskimos here are fine. We are alright, but my wife has been at Churchill for quite a while just trying to obtain eye glasses. Alas, she hasn't been able to arrive for a long time.

Three of us - Alec, Jackoosie, and myself, are working at the Air Force base. This year there are still less foxes, but there are some polar bears and many caribou.

I used to write to the fair one in the winter, but I don't know where he is now.

The 'plane is about to leave now, so I am hurrying as I write. My regards — from Idlout.

10. Letter received July 4, 1960 from Johnnie Ekaluk [sie], Disc No. 1635, Resolute Bay, to R.C.H. Williamson, translated by E. Menarik.

I am going to write a short letter to Bobby because I don't have mueh to say. All of us been kept well. We are working for the white people at the air base, we probably work for six months. All of us men started to work during spring on June 16. If the air force people are telling the truth we will working during June, July, August, September, October and November. We are getting a lot of help making money because of the white people

are very kind to us. We are happy to work and all of us are well look after. And the police is very kind and he is alright, but sometimes we do not obey what he ask us to do. Some of the Eskimos are not being right with the liquor even though the police doesn't want the Eskimos to have the liquor. He kindly told us that he doesn't want us to have the liquor but still some of the Eskimos have some, that cause unhappiness when they don't follow the words of the police. I think it is better for the Eskimos if they didn't have this liquor when they have been told not to. The white people are used to this but the Eskimos haven't. All of us should follow what the police have said.

All of us Eskimos are receiving help from the white people and we should be grateful about this and listen to the poliee. That's all.

And my daughter Sarah Simeonie's wife has returned from the hospital. I was grateful that they made it possible for her to return alive and well. My daughter returned only Saluvinik's wife is in the hospital now, maybe she will return home during the summer. I only think that they are keeping her well. We have been hearing about her through letters. And now Saluvinik is visiting his wife at the hospital and I am glad that they made it possible for him to visit. Bobby we are being kept well. Please write because I would like to hear the news. We are receiving much help from the white people. It is spring but there is a lots of ice yet.

Best regards.

11. Letter received August 9, 1960 from Idlout, Disc No. E5-766, Resolute Bay, to W.G. Brown, translated by Mary Panegoosho.

From Idlout:

Your letter arrived very quickly, but I didn't write for a long time because I have so uch [sic] to do here. I was also visiting at Churchill for three weeks and I understood the letter which was written in Eskimo. I am very thankful that they were written so well. I am employed by the air force and they are always having beer in their store, but the reason that I wanted the liquor permit is because I feel that I am stealing some

liquor if I didn't have a liquor license. However, the liquor cost here at the army base is about 25¢ for one bottle. I might visit in Churchill again on the 12th day that's after tomorrow. I'll try to get some new false teeth. My teeth are not good anymore because I am getting very old. My wife and I are fine now and she got a new pair of glasses and her eyes are much better now. All the Eskimos are alright here.

We still can use the dog sleds here because our ice is not even dangerous as yet. The reason is our weather is not too warm here, we don't even have any mosquitoes and it's very beautiful country. Too bad that our Police always want to go away very quickly we liked him very much because he helped great deal for the Eskimos. We may be sorry when he leaves, I wonder?

From Idlout

I want to thank Sally Tootoo that she wrote a letter.

12. Letter received October 5, 1960 from Philipusie, [sic] Disc No. E9-1523, Resolute Bay, to Welfare Division, translated by Sarah Ekoomiak.

To the Welfare Division:

I am going to write and somebody will translate it into English. This letter is written in Eskimo to the Welfare Division. I also want this letter answered.

I am living at Resolute Bay right now. I was living at Port Harrison in 1957. I came to Resolute Bay by the C.D. Howe. Right now, I am thinking that in 1961, I would like to go back to Port Harrison. This is Philupusie, [sic] E9-15. I want to stay one more year at Resolute Bay. Next summer I want to go back to Port Harrison. Anyhow I am thankful that they are looking after me so well. I am still living at Resolute Bay. Somebody wanted me to return but I don't want to return myself. The one who wants me to return is living in Port Harrison. I want to agree with him. His disc number is E9-750. He is getting old. His name is Willia and he lives in Port Harrison. He wants me. If I can, I should go back to him if transportation is available. If I can't, it is all right. If you answer me, please write it well and make it understandable. If you answer me by letter, I will

know what to do, if I can return or not. Please let me know if and how I can go back. Do I have to go by the MacLean or the C.D. Howe? I want you to let me know when you write to me. I want you to write to me. I am writing my own thoughts. It is up to my mother if she wants to go with me or not. I don't think she wants to come. I want to go back to my own home to Port Harrison. I want to go back next summer in 1961.

I want to try to stick it out here this coming winter. The white people are helping me a lot but I still need more help to go back to Port Harrison. I want to know just what you think. I want you to write to me any time and let me know just what you think. I want you to write to me and let me know if I can go back. The white people are looking after the Eskimos so they want to be bosses. I am writing anything that comes to my head.

I want you to write to me if I am going back to Port Harrison. I will be thankful if I can go. My wife's father lives at Port Harrison and he is very old. I want to go back for awhile next summer. I still want to go hunting this winter at Resolute. I am able to live anywhere — Port Harrison or Resolute Bay. If the Eskimo's boss doesn't mind, I will be happy. Even if he refuses, I won't mind. Because I can't do anything myself. I can only do anything if the white people help me. I know that white people help me a lot — all of them.

Department letter dated October 6, 1961 from Leah Idlout to Philipoosie, No. E9-1523. (Mr. Kenney suggests that the following letter is in response to the preceding letter from Philipoosie, but the Department's letter does not match.)

Leah is writing to Philipoosie on behalf of worker for the department. We received your letter of March 27th requesting to return to Inukjuak. I'm sorry for not answering your letter sooner. But we received all kinds of letters to respond to but we are happy to hear that you could, in fact, return to Inukjuak. We knew that you and your father are happy about this. We hope you will have a successful winter and plenty of foxes, we are glad to hear from you anytime. Good-bye. Leah Idlout.

13. Letter, May 2, 1961 from J. Idlout, Resolute Bay, to Mr. W. G. Brown, translated by Elijah E. and Alex Spalding.

I write quite often because I nearly always have something to say. The police will take this letter down to you. As soon as the police comes back to Resolute, I will be going to Churchill myself. As my liquor permit for 1960 is now finished, I would like another one because I wouldn't like to buy it without one. I'm very pleased whenever I get a letter from you people. Some of the people at Resolute drink beer frequently and they don't get annoyed from it. It's true that a couple of fellows get excited about it last year, but the rest aren't like that. There aren't many of us who drink beer here. Some just can't drink beer and they don't mind and they aren't envious of us who do. We like the polieeman here because he helps us a lot. The White-men seem much nicer now than they used to be, and also the Eskimos are becoming more accustomed to their ways. The only thing that bothers me is that we can't speak English; it's too bad, but we can't do much about it. Three of us men were teaching the air force people how to build igloos but we just finished that now. We started the course in January and some of them are quite able to build igloos now, even though they are white men. Our land is pleasant in the spring and summer, because we can do any kind of hunting and we have lots of seals, deer, and polar bear. It's always light now too, day or night. Everything is fine here and there is no sickness. My children are well too. We are happy as well that our children are learning more and more English. Both me and my wife send our regards.

Idlout

14. Letter received August 8, 1961 from Jacosie, Dise No. E9-871, Resolute Bay, translated by Mary Panagoosho.

From Jaeosie, E9-871, of Resolute Bay. We are very glad to receive the children's clothing and we are very thankful. We also thank the people who send the clothing for our children. We are just fine and have good food here in Resolute Bay. All the children are happy here. Thanks again for the clothing because we don't have any children's clothing in the store here. The children's clothing which you sent are just right for

the kind of weather we have, because down here the summer weather never gets very hot.

We have enough food for the dogs this year, and all the Eskimos here have enough money also. My wife sends the very best regards,

Very best regards, Jacosie.

15. Letter received September 26, 1961 from Johnny Ekaluk, Disc No. E9-1635, Resolute Bay, to Mr. Robertson, Minister of N.A. (No indieation as to whether text was translated.)

This letter is to the Deputy Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs of Ottawa. I don't know how to start this letter, but I want so much to see my relatives. I need to know about my sister. I came to Resolute Bay in 1955, it is now 1961 that's how long its been since I've last seen my relatives back in Inukjuak. I am longing for my sister. It's been too long without seeing them. It was made clear to me that we could see them again when they moved us from Inukjuak. I must find out the possibilities of seeing them. I can take the plane from here, I'm old now and my thoughts of my loved ones lives in me in my daily life. It is time now that I see them. I would like to go to Inukjuak as early as possible. Please write and let me know.

Department response dated November 28, 1961 to Johnny Ekaluk from Leah Idlout on behalf of Deputy Minister.

This is a response on behalf of the Deputy Minister, of the department of Northern Affairs. He asked me to reply to your letter of Sept. It is very expensive to fly from Resolute to Inukjuak, return. The department cannot pay for a trip if you only want to visit with your sister. Maybe there's another reason for wanting to go to Inukjuak, and if so, you must tell the police up there, they will inform the government let them know why you need assistance to go to Inukjuak. If there are other people in Resolute Bay who wants to visit their relatives in Inukjuak there is no reason why they can't if there's a group together if they have the money for the transportation they would have to go with the air force to Kuujuak and regular

flight to Inukjuak. The cost of airline ticket from Kuujuak to Inukjuak in winter time is $2,000.00. You must bring it up to the police to find out the possibility of a group to visit relatives in Inukjuak with the air force plane. Bye for now. Leah Idlout.

16. Letter, March 5, 1962 from Sadluvinik [sic], Disc No. E9-1765, Resolute Bay, to Department. (No indication as to whether text was translated.)

This is Sadluviniq [sic] now living in Resolute Bay originally from Inukjuak. Sweeping floors for the Air Force Base. I came here in 1953, 9 years ago I was the first to land before anyone ever lived here. It's nice of the government to be helping and the government have started to provide housing for some families, what I want to say in Inuktitut magazine is that I want to now from the government why, we must live in shacks built from scrap when Resolute is one of the coldest places if at all possible it would be best if we have a proper house to live in and I want to here what the government have to say to this and as soon as possible, because I'm going to keep writing to you. I now send my regards to those concern about the Inuit. Also the boss there say hello to him and thank you. Let me know your opinion. Write back to the following address:

Sadluvinik E9-1765
Resolute Bay N.W.T.
VIA R.C.A.F. Station
Trenton Ontario

Department response dated May 1, 1962 to Sadluvinik, from Elijah Erklod.

Elijah is writing on behalf of the department. We received your letter or March 5, thank you. The reason we were not shipping houses was because we knew that none of you were asking for a house. We also knew that, the houses which were built by the Inuit are warm and bigger. Anybody who wants to buy a house in Resolute can inform the local police and they will let us know further more if you or anyone else wants to buy the government built housing can also contact the police and they will... [letter incomplete]

17. Letter, no date, from Idlout, Disc No. E5-766, Resolute, to W.G. Brown.

Our country is once again very beautiful, and never gets dark even at night. Three dog teams came in yesterday bringing in 20 caribou plenty of food for people and dogs. Paul didn't have a chace [sic] to tell me about his trip to Ottawa, because I was cut... [letter incomplete]

18. Letter dated November 22, 1962 from Idlout, Resolute Bay, to W.G. Brown, Chief, Territorial Division, translated by Leah Idlout, December 11, 1962.

This is Idlout writing to W.G. Brown. I have not written to you for a long time because I write to you only when there is something important.

I had a liquor permit last year which I could use to order liquor from Churchill, Manitoba. However, I just heard from our Policeman, that we are not allowed to order any liquor from Churchill anymore. He also said that there is only one place where we can order liquor from, Frobisher Bay. I would therefore like you to send me the Regional Administrator's address in Frobisher Bay. I think it would be better if I got a liquor permit so that I could order from Frobisher Bay. I would like to get a permit for both liquor and beer. You know better than we do what we are supposed to do with this problem. We Eskimos here really do not know about the things that we should know, because we do not have anybody who could tell us what we need to know. Perhaps we could understand more about the things that we have to know if there was an Area Administrator here in Resolute Bay.

We finally went and visited Edmonton for two weeks. We also went beyond Edmonton to hunt deer where there are a lot of hills (or Mountains). There were lots of trees while we were hunting male deer, but we saw only female ones so we did not get any. It was not a good place to hunt, because there were too many trees around. I used to say "the white people's land will not run out of trees for a while now while in our own land we do not even have a tree".

Here at Resolute Bay, we have enough food and there are still a lot of animals.

It does not seem to be too dark out here now, because we are used to it.

My family and I are very well.

I will go to Edmonton again in January, because they pulled out most of my teeth, so I will have to go back there and get new ones.

All the Resolute Eskimos are fine.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year!

(Sgd.) Idlout

19. Letter, May 6, 1963 from Sadluvinik, Disc No. E9-1765, Resolute, to the Department, translated.

To be translated by Elijah Erkloo: I'm writing to inform you that a dog team came in January the coldest month, very hungry some of their dogs had died of starvation the Audla and wife were nearly starving and some other people came in with no food. They left with absolutely nothing from the store. What I want to know is if there has been changes made with respect to helping those in need. Because this is the first time I've known a policeman who just doesn't care about Inuit in need of help. I came.

20. Letter received May 28, 1963 from Kudloo, Disc No. E5-773, Resolute Bay, translated by Elijah Erkloo, June 10, 1963.

I am going to write a few lines to Ottawa to find out something I'd like to know.

There were some Eskimos came to Resolute Bay in February from quite far away. They were starving and many of their dogs died from hunger. They went away again this month and they bought only few goods as they didn't have much money. We feel sorry for them that we didn't help them because we

thought our policeman was going to give them some relief like they usually do. Other policeman used to give our visitors some relief even when they were not hungry. Our policeman says that the law has been changed. Those Eskimos will live far away from white men and we didn't give them too much ammunition. We will worry about them until we hear from them and we won't see them until next year. I would like to find out whether the law really has been changed or not.

I am going to tell you something else. Our school teacher is going away from here pretty soon and we don't mind at all. We would like the other school teacher, the one who was here before him, to come back here. We adults and the students really liked him when he was here so we want him to come back here if its possible. Since he has gone we adults haven't gone to school yet.

I'll write to you when I want to find out something again.

From Kudloo, originally from Pond Inlet.

Mr. Kenney said that his research indicates that the Department was prepared to fund trips back to Inukjuak if there was some good reason but would not pay just for a visit. His research also disclosed an RCMP report from Port Harrison which reported that a whole camp of thirty-five people from Povungnituk came down to Port Harrison and asked if they could move to the High Arctic. This suggested to Mr. Kenney that the reports coming down from the High Arctic were favourable.[345]

In November 1993, Mr. Kenney travelled to the Arctic and interviewed four Pond Inlet Inuit. He also conducted interviews in Iqaluit, but these interviews were given in confidence and only a few brief comments were passed on by Mr. Kenney. The Pond Inlet Inuit Mr. Kenney interviewed authorized him to disclose the eontents of the interviews. The interviews were taped. Mr. Kenney's own notes summarize the interviews. Mr. Kenney's notes follow:

345. *Ibid.*, p. 514.

Pond Inlet

I interviewed four Inuit in Pond Inlet who had moved from there to either Resolute or to Grise Fiord. All have since moved back to Pond Inlet. My interpreter, Isaac Akpaleapik, was the son of one of the persons interviewed, Simeonie Akpaleapik. He is an excellent and very reliable young man for this type of work.

The four persons interviewed are,

— Arreak, who was the RCMP Special Constable at Craig Harbour when the Port Harrison Inuit were relocated to Ellesmere Island in 1953.
— Simeonie Akpaleapik, who was relocated with Port Harrison people to Craig Harbour in 1953.
— Jaybeddie Amagoalik, who was relocated with Port Harrison people to Resolute in 1953.
— Markoosie Inualuk (Simeonie Akpaleapik's younger brother), who joined his brother in Grise Fiord in 1961.

A. Notes from Arreak's Conversation

1— They had plenty of game in Grise Fiord/Craig Harbour. They stopped hunting because they had enough.
2— Game animals included seals, bearded seals, polar bear, caribou, walrus, rabbits. The only game that wasn't there was fish. They heard of a lake where there was fish from Greenlanders, but they didn't go there.
3— They didn't hunt ptarmigan and birds because they didn't have time. Also small game is mostly eaten by women, so it wasn't very important.
4— There was no problem getting game.
5— They did not live in igloos (speaking of the other Inuit), since Arreak himself as a special constable had a house. They lived in tents covered with twigs and plants and some built sod houses.
6— The only time he was aware of any unhappiness among the Port Harrison people was when Fatty died, but he was not always with them, being a special constable, so he is not necessarily in the best position to know.
7— Arreak had no problems with the RCMP because he was at his prime and his strength was "on the top". He was not afraid

of the RCMP because he knew that he could beat them up. He had no conflict with the RCMP.
8— The co-op store was built the first fall (1953) and was stocked with trade goods. The people had soapstone for carving. When the Port Harrison people came to the store to trade they seemed happy.
9— The only strange thing he could find was when they were on the ship some of the Port Harrison people cried when they did not have enough to eat. This was strange to him because for people in Pond Inlet, if you miss a meal, you don't cry. "That's our way."
10— There were lots of foxes and the price was $15 per pelt. Arreak got 95 pelts that year and then stopped trapping them because he got tired of cleaning them. "If you tried, you could become wealthy up there."
11— The only things he didn't like were the roughness of the ice, the longer dark period than in Pond Inlet, and the lack of fish.
12— Overall, he was satisfied.
13— The RCMP fixed up an old Peterhead boat as well as a smaller boat and gave them to the people so they could go out hunting sea mammals.
14— In 1954, Arreak moved to Alexandra Fiord to help out another RCMP Special Constable, Ninyu, who was alone and needed help. Arreak was not worried leaving the Grise Fiord people because they had a store, soapstone, the RCMP was nearby and another Special Constable, Kyak, had taken his place. The people were already equipped.
15— Because the RCMP spoke Inuktitut, any problems could be settled directly between the people and the RCMP.
16— The RCMP were good to the people. If there had been any conflict between the people and the RCMP, he would immediately have warned the RCMP. He was not afraid of the RCMP. He was in his prime.
17— The best thing about his experience up there was when he caught the most es and the most polar bears in his whole life and when he got a raise from the RCMP.
18— he is puzzled about all those stories coming out about the Port Harrison people. "How could I have missed all this? All of this must have happened when I wasn't there, when I was away."
19— The first year, to start them off, the people were given 12 young walruses and 24 caribou. If they had food problems, they were to tell the RCMP, but the case never arose.

20— Arreak is not aware of any cases of sexual abuse by the RCMP.
21— He had no problem getting along with the Port Harrison people.
22— Arreak agrees to have the Royal Commission hear this tape.
23— Arreak was not invited to testify at the Royal Commission hearings in April 1993.

B. Notes from Simeonie Akpaleapik's Conversation

1— When he moved up to Craig Harbour/Grise Fiord, he found that there was a lot more game there than at Pond Inlet. The animals that were more abundant than in Pond Inlet were walrus, harp seal, bearded seal and polar bears. Caribou were not as abundant and it was further to go for fishing.
2— There is an abundance of animals up there, but they had no boat at first to hunt from. They had dogs, but no boat other than a 12' rowboat that had been given to them. (This conflicts with Arreak who said the RCMP gave them a Peterhead, too.)
3— Because they had obviously not had a chance to make food caches prior to arriving at Craig Harbour (other than the 12 walruses and 24 caribou given to them by the RCMP), they had to hunt more intensively than usual to provide enough food for their families.
4— They weren't desperate like in the olden days when people starved, but sometimes the women at home ran out of food when their husbands were out hunting.
5— This was the first year. Because they had to hunt every day, it was hard to keep up. But there was no starvation. They didn't lose any dogs, nobody starved, but it was hard times.
6— Because the land was already frozen, they couldn't build huts the first winter. They lived in tents. It was very cold in the tents. Very bad conditions. Tents were covered with buffalo hides.
7— In Pond Inlet they used to live in sod huts, which are warmer. The second year, they built sod huts.
8— The Port Harrison people were all homesick the first winter.
9— The second year was a lot better. The Port Harrison people learned how to hunt; there was tea. But they were still homesick for caribou and fish. They were homesick all these years.

10— Akpaleapik claimed to have asked to return and to have been refused by the RCMP until 1981 when they finally said yes after all these years, 30 years. Because they could not go home, they asked their families to come and join them. The reason Pond Inlet and Port Harrison people are home now is that they were homesick all these years.
11— A good thing about being in Grise Fiord was the abundance of animals. There are more seals in Grise Fiord and he is homesick for them now.
12— Akpaleapik's younger brother Gamelie Akearok joined him in Grise Fiord from Arctic Bay. He was never moved back. He likes sea mammals which are more abundant in Grise Fiord and he has a good job, so he is not homesick any more.
13— He first heard about sovereignty in the '70s from the "younger generation" who told him, "This is what your government has done to you."
14— He understood that he was being sent up to Grise Fiord temporarily to help the Port Harrison people learn to hunt. he understood he was going to be paid for this.
15— He was liked by the RCMP because he could do what they asked of him. He liked them because they spoke Inuktitut. He said he was able bodied (like Arreak, explained the interpreter, meaning he was more than a physical match for them, i.e., not afraid of them).
16— *Question:* How were Alex Stevenson and Henry Larsen? *Answer:* They must have been bad those two because they only told the people that they were going to be paid and didn't tell the officials in Ottawa. They didn't do anything about it, that's why we never got paid.
17— They were told to act happy and to dress up in clean clothes at ship time. He thinks this was a cover-up for the RCMP. They never put on clean clothes except at ship time....look happy, it was all an RCMP cover-up.
18— *Question:* How come there was only sadness expressed at the Royal Commission hearings? Why no happy things? *Answer:* Because they were finally expressing what they had felt about their hardships for a long time.
19— Akpaleapik agrees to have the Royal Commission hear this tape.
20— Akpaleapik testified at the Royal Commission hearings.

C. Notes from Jaybeddie Amagoalik's Conversation

1— There was an abundance of animals in the Resolute area, but the Port Harrison people and he disagreed about hunting and only one person, Allie, went hunting with him. The Port Harrison people did not know how to hunt in the dark at first, but then they learned.
2— Animals that were available — abundance of seals, walrus from springtime through summer to fall, caribou on Bathurst Island, polar bears.
3— They weren't starving at any time.
4— The first day they arrived was miserable, cold, snowy, windy, could not put up tent because there were no stones to hold them down, but eventually they did. The Port Harrison people had steel barrels for stoves and could heat their tents by burning scrap wood available in the area.
5— Before the snow came they lived in their tents which they covered with buffalo skins.
6— Jaybeddie used to go warm up in the Port Harrison tents because all he had was a primus stove.
7— When the snow came in the beginning of November, Jaybeddie built a half igloo with walls extending only part way up and then covered it over with skins. There was not yet enough snow to build full igloos. His wife lined the inside of the igloo with cloth for insulation. The Port Harrison people did not imitate Jaybeddie because they did not have confidence in his igloo, but when they saw that it did not collapse and that is was warmer than their tents, he helped them build their own. By that time, late November, there was enough snow so they built full igloos. Then Jaybeddie's wife showed them how to line with cloth for warmth. When they were finished, Jaybeddie built his own full igloo.
8— Jaybeddie went away to Mould Bay from April until September 1954 working with some geologists. While he was gone, the Port Harrison people collected some wood discarded by the RCAF base nearby and built some houses for themselves. Ross Gibson, the sole RCMP member with them, told them to build a house for Jaybeddie as well while he was gone, which they did. When he came back, his house was ready for him.
9— These houses were a lot better and warmer than the snow igloos. They had barrels for stoves and they burned readily available and abundant scrap wood.

10— When asked if he was aware of Port Harrison people wanting to go back he said that he didn't hear much about homesickness, but that the Port Harrison people were longing for fish. Only the oldest Port Harrison woman was homesick.
11— Ross Gibson was giving Sadluvinik and Simeonie a rough time because they weren't listening to Jaybeddie, but they went their own way anyway. They did not agree to what the RCMP told them to do, which was to cooperated with Jaybeddie. Ross Gibson never scolded Jaybeddie.
12— Jaybeddie first hear about sovereignty in 1955 (when he went to Mould Bay) from the Port Harrison people.
13— The Port Harrison people hunted birds, he said, and there were none at Resolute and so they were homesick for birds.
14— Jaybeddie said that the Port Harrison people were exaggerating at the Royal Commission hearings. Both he and Akpaleapik had a different point of view. He indicated they both thought the Port Harrison people were exaggerating.
15— Two families from Grise Fiord at some point asked to be moved back to northern Quebec, curiously not back to their home of Port Harrison, but rather to Fort Chimo. They were moved. After one year, they decided they were not satisfied in Fort Chimo, and so asked to be moved once more, not to Port Harrison, but rather back to Grise Fiord. Again they were moved. Jaybeddie says that because of this incident, he was refused when he asked to move back to Pond Inlet.
16— He said that he didn't get paid in cash by the RCMP when he worked for them although they gave him food and supplies. Same complaint when he went to Mould Bay with the geologists.
17— Jaybeddie testified at the April Royal Commission hearings.
18— Jaybeddie agrees to have the Royal Commission hear this tape.

D. Notes from Markoosie Inualuk's Conversation

1— Markoosie moved to Grise Fiord in 1961. He moved there because he read in his relocated brother's letters that the hunting was better in Grise Fiord than in Pond Inlet, that there was more game.
2— Markoosie himself also says that there was more game in Grise Fiord, more polar bears.
3— There was no shortage of game up there, except that they were longing for fish and caribou were scarce.

4— When he got to Grise Fiord, he first lived in a hut, then in a house.
5— He was lonely for the people he knew. There were not many people up there.
6— At first, living and hunting there were perfect. But then problems developed between him and his wife and he wanted to go back to Pond Inlet. He asked to bo back and it took a year before he was finally flown back home. He arrived there in April 1977.
7— He didn't see any problems about people going back to Port Harrison. He cited a case of two families going back to northern Quebec and a year later coming back to Grise Fiord. (No doubt the same cases mentioned by Jaybeddie Amagoalik.)
8— He had no problems with the RCMP. The RCMP helped them out.
9— He saw the Royal Commission hearings on TV, but he knew that there were more animals in Grise Fiord and that they were better off in Grise Fiord and that they could support themselves a lot better in Grise Fiord (in contrast to what the Port Harrison witnesses said at the hearings).
10— Walrus, polar bears, harp seals and foxes were more abundant in Grise Fiord than in Pond Inlet. There was no problem getting game.
11— He showed sympathy with what the Port Harrison people might have felt, going into a completely new environment.
12— Markoosie agrees to have the Royal Commission hear this tape.
13— Markoosie was not invited to testify at the Royal Commission hearings in April 1993.

Summary of Main Observations

A. Iqaluit

I spoke to three Inuit about Ben Sivertz and obtained the following reactions:

— One Inuk said, "I appreciate the guy; he is a very stern, a military type, but honest and sincere in what he believes. He knew what the hell he was doing. He was a sincere and honest man."

— When I mentioned Ben Sivertz, another Inuk hugged me and kissed me on both cheeks and said "This is for Ben."

— A third Inuk said, "Ben was one of the 'nicier' persons I knew in the north. He treated me as an adult even though I was still very young."

No more details will be given about the Iqaluit conversations since they were held in confidence. I can assure Commissioners, however, that the comments of the people I met in Iqaluit did not support the Inuit views expressed at the April 1993 hearings.

It should be noted that Commission counsel, in light of suggestions made by Mr. Rowley that there were Inuit who would tell a different story from that heard in the April 1993 hearings, attempted to contact former Special Constable Arreak without success. Commission counsel also attempted to eontact Anne Padlo in Iqaluit without success. Commission counsel spoke by telephone with Mary Cousins in Iqaluit but she expressed no desire to appear before the Commission and said nothing that indicated any significant disagreement with the views expressed by the relocatees. Commission counsel also pursued other suggestions made by Mr. Rowley about potential witnesses.

Wilfred Doucette

Mr. Doucette worked as a news photographer in Halifax before moving to Ottawa and working for the National Film Board. He worked as a freelance still photographer/motion picture cameraman based in Ottawa for a time and in 1955 joined the CBC, where he worked for thirty-five years. He is now retired. In 1951, he was on the Eastern Arctic Patrol. In 1952, he went to the Arctic again to visit the Canada/U.S. joint weather stations at Resolute Bay and elsewhere in the High Arctic. In 1953, he was on the maiden voyage of the *d'Iberville* when it met the *C.D. Howe* for the purpose of taking Inuit families to new homes at Cape Herschel and Resolute Bay. In 1954, he made a second visit to the Canadian Arctic joint weather stations at Resolute Bay and elsewhere in the High Arctic. In 1956, he accompanied the visit of the Governor General to the Aretic which included a visit to Resolute Bay.

After the parliamentary committee had reported, various articles and editorials began to appear in the Toronto newspapers concerning the relocation of the Inuit to the High Arctic. He found that the various articles and editorials, as well as letters that were published, were based on facts that he knew not to be accurate. Mr. Doucette stated that the relocation was motivated solely by a sincere humanitarian concern to help the Inuit preserve their traditional lifestyle and to help them move to areas where there was adequate game for this to be possible because the hunting conditions at Port Harrison in the 1950s were poor. The Inuit agreed to move because they wanted a better life for themselves and their families and the rich, untapped hunting areas on Cornwallis Island and Ellesmere Island offered them that opportunity. Sovereignty was not a consideration.

He considers it offensive to compare the relocation to Nazi experimentation as Professor Orkin had apparently done. Mr. Doucette stated that anyone who had been to Port Harrison in the early 1950s knew that the Inuit had plenty of experience with hardship, hunger, privation and cold and they agreed to leave Port Harrison because they wanted a better life for themselves and their families. The new locations offered the opportunity of a better life and the government officials involved made efforts to ease the transition and the adjustment to the new location, including the long period of darkness. The reasons the Inuit moved from Port Harrison were no different than the reasons many Canadians moved hundreds of miles in the 1950s to find work and a better way of life.

The Inuit were moving to areas where they could sustain their traditional hunting lifestyle and restore their pride and dignity by not having to rely on government relief.

Henry Larsen of the RCMP and Alex Stevenson of the Department of Resources and Development had extensive Arctic experience; were knowledgeable about the Arctic and the Inuit; were concerned about the welfare of the Inuit; and were, based on the way they were greeted by Inuit in the various communities, well respected by the Inuit.

Mr. Doucette saw the conditions in Arctic Quebec in 1951 at Fort Chimo and Port Harrison. He visited some of the hunting camps at Port Harrison and observed the Inuit living under poor conditions. He was not surprised when he learned, in 1953, that one of the tasks of the *d'Iberville* would be to take people from Port Harrison to new communities in the High Arctic. The Inuit were told that their new land was better and that game was more plentiful but they were not told that it would be a promised land. No force was used in the relocation because all the Inuit had agreed to the move.

The *d'Iberville* was unable to get through to the proposed settlement site near Cape Herschel and those families were landed at Craig Harbour.

When Mr. Doucette visited Resolute Bay later, he saw a community which was doing well, the people well dressed and healthy. The conditions he observed at Resolute Bay were a great improvement to the living conditions he saw at Port Harrison in 1951.

Any Canadian who was in the Arctic was contributing to Canadian sovereignty, including the Inuit relocated to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord but that was not the reason for the relocation. The relocation was the result of a sincere humanitarian concern to help the Inuit improve their standard of living and preserve their traditional way of life.

When Mr. Doucette was at Craig Harbour in 1951, he saw many walrus and seals. He also saw caribou and foxes. He saw the remains of the earlier Inuit settlement.

Mr. Doucette has read the Hickling report, the Gunther report, Alan Marcus' paper, as well as material sent to him by Professor Grant. He also has his own papers, including his notes of his various journeys.[346]

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346. Friday, June 25, 1993, Transeript of special consultation between Commission counsel and Mr. Doucette, as a result of Mr. Doucette's

When he was on board the *d'Iberville* in 1953, Inspector Larsen was on the ship from Montreal. Alex Stevenson was on the *C.D. Howe* when it rendezvoused with the *d'Iberville* near Pond Inlet. He did not hear anybody talk about the reason for the relocation as being anything other than because they had been on government welfare. The game was scarce at Port Harrison and the Inuit were being relocated to areas where there was game and they could pursue a traditional lifestyle.[347]

He was under the impression that it was important that there was an RCMP detachment at each of the locations to help the Inuit and he was also under the impression that it was important that there would be no Hudson's Bay Company presence to force them to go fur trapping rather than to pursue their traditional way of life. He was under the impression that the Department would take the furs traded by the Inuit at the small store run by the RCMP and sell them with the profits being returned to the store essentially on a co-operative arrangement which, he understood, would be better than simply getting the price that the Hudson's Bay Company would pay for the furs.[348]

When he was on the ship in 1951 for the re-opening of the Craig Harbour detachment, he had been told that the detachment was being re-opened to show the Canadian presence on Ellesmere Island.[349] He described the ceremony which was held to mark the re-opening of the detachment as follows:

inability to attend the hearings. Mr. Doucette made a statement followed by questions from Commission counsel. The information summarized to this point is contained in the statement at pp. 1-74.

347. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

348. *Ibid.*, p. 75-76.

349. *Ibid.*, p. 77

> It was decided that we would have an official ceremony to mark the opening of the detachment and Alex Stevenson asked the Captain if he would come ashore and present a flag for the new detachment. Captain Chenier flew ashore in the helicopter and we were all lined up around the flagpole: Alex Stevenson and the minister that we happened to have, Superintendent Larsen. The two constables were by the flagpole.
>
> The helicopter landed and the Captain came over and presented the flag to Superintendent Larsen, I think, and he presented it to the two Mounties and they hoisted the Union Jack which was the flag that they were flying at that time at the RCMP detachments.
>
> The Minister said a prayer and we sang "God Save the King" and we gave three — Alex Stevenson said that we should give three cheers for the Mounties to be left at the post. We gave three cheers for the Mounties and the Eskimo families of the two special constables were standing around in the background and other people who were on the ship came ashore for the little service.[350]

Mr. Doucette understood that the purpose of showing the Canadian presence related to the fact that Greenlanders were coming over and hunting and not paying attention to Canadian hunting laws.[351]

In 1953, it was his understanding that the police post was being re-established at Cape Herschel for the purpose of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic at a point of land which was the closest to Greenland. The Inuit settlement was being put there because the RCMP would be there.[352] The Greenlanders were not paying attention to Canadian hunting regulations and the object was to show that this was Canadian territory.[353] He did

350. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79. The Craig Harbour detachment consisted of two regular RCMP members and two Inuit special constables.

351. *Ibid.*, p.79.

352. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

353. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

not see a connection between the sovereignty purpose for re-establishing the RCMP post and the proposed establishment of the Inuit settlement at Cape Herschel. Cape Herschel offered the good hunting which gave the Inuit from Port Harrison the opportunity to become more independent, to get off welfare, and to get back to the traditional way of life.[354]

At Craig Harbour, the Inuit and the supplies were not landed on the beach at Craig Harbour itself because of the ice conditions. Everything and everybody was landed down the coastline several hundred yards from the post. When the Inuit from Port Harrison came ashore, the RCMP constables and Inuit special constables and their families were there to greet them. Everyone helped to carry the supplies back to the post.[355]

At Resolute Bay, it was a cold day with temperatures between -40° and -42° F. It began to snow before the ship left. Visibility was poor. Everything and everybody went ashore in the barge which ran up onto the gravel beach. The responsibility of the ship's crew was to put the supplies ashore above the high water mark and leave the supplies there. When the Inuit from Port Harrison were put ashore on September 7, they and their possessions were put ashore. The supplies for the RCMP detachment and the supplies for the small store that the RCMP was to run, were put ashore when the *d'Iberville* was at Resolute Bay earlier in August. The people were not left to fend for themselves because Constable Gibson was with them.[356]

When he went up to the Eastern Arctic in 1951, he had been told that when the ship came in the Inuit got all dressed up in their best clothes just as southerners do when company is coming. The people at Fort Chimo and Port Harrison did not look too good. "If they had on their best clothes

354. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

355. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

356. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

to be dressed up for ship-time, then I don't know what — their poor clothes must have been terrible because what they had on did not look like their Sunday best. I was told and from what I saw of how they looked, I was convinced that things weren't very good at Port Harrison."[357] When he saw them in 1953, "They looked — the clothes weren't all that great. They didn't look as good as the Eskimos that I had seen on Baffin Island...".[358] When he went back to Resolute Bay in 1954 and 1956, he thought things were much better. The dogs looked better. The equipment looked better. The igloos had lots of furs on the sleeping platform. There was meat visible. There were furs drying. There were white fox pelts. They looked better than they did at Port Harrison in 1951.[359]

Mr. Doucette learned of the promise to return later but he had been told when on board ship in 1953 that the Inuit had all agreed to go, that they had volunteered. "They wanted to go up there. I could almost say that I heard they sort of jumped at the idea of going to some place where there was a better lifestyle."[360]

Based on what he was told in 1953, he understood that "They were being offered a place where there was game. I had seen game at Craig Harbour and, therefore, when I was told they were moving because of this better game and better chance to go back to their traditional way of life and to get off of government welfare, that seemed to be the big thing. They wanted to bring back the dignity and pride to these Eskimos to get them off of welfare and get them looking after themselves."[361]

357. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

358. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

359. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

360. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

361. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Nothing he observed about the Inuit on board the *d'Iberville* led him to question anything he had been told by government officials about the relocation. When the ship reached Craig Harbour, everyone was quite excited about going ashore and even the people who were going on to Resolute Bay went ashore and visited.[362]

On his visits to Resolute Bay, he was aware that none of the Air Force personnel were allowed down to the Inuit settlement, nor were the Inuit allowed up to the base. He understood from Constable Gibson that this was to prevent them from being exposed to white man's diseases. Mr. Doucette also felt that it also prevented the Inuit from getting involved with the alcohol which was available at the base and prevented the Inuit from getting involved with the airmen up at the base. This would also control trading with the Inuit. They were told, however, that the main reason was for health.[363]

The *d'Iberville* had an X-ray machine on board. Had there been any problem with the X-ray machine on the *C.D. Howe*, the X-ray maehine on the *d'Iberville* could have been used. He does not doubt that, if the doetor on board had been told that one of the children was ill, the doctor would have done something about it.[364]

The trip by the Governor General in 1956 was for sovereignty purposes.[365]

362. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

363. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

364. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

365. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-111.

A.C. Fryer

Cley Fryer was with the RCMP detachment at Craig Harbour in 1953-54. He did not wish to attend the oral hearing in June 1993 but submitted a letter dated June 24, 1993 which refers to his February 1954 article "Rehabilitation Program of Eskimo at Craig Harbour" which was written for the *RCMP Quarterly*. He supplemented the information contained in that article with several further observations.

He notes that the article describes what could only be considered abundant game and that the Inukjuak Inuit proved their hunting and trapping capabilities within the first year. He recalls that one of the Inukjuak Inuit was the top trapper that year. The planners had had the benefit of the annual reports which had been sent by the RCMP from Craig Harbour which reported on game conditions in the area. "G" Division Headquarters in Ottawa also had on staff, under Inspector Larsen, two members who had served at Craig Harbour in the 1930s.

Reports were submitted by the detachment on the status and well-being of the Inuit on a priority basis to "G" Division Headquarters by, among other things, telex messages. He does not recall any of the Inuit wanting to return home although, as noted in his article, one Inukjuak Inuit expressed his displeasure with the winter conditions. He assumes that one of the major reasons for relaying information to Headquarters was to determine whether return arrangements would have to be made.

He observes that common sense dictates that a camp not be established in a caribou feeding ground. Both of the hunting areas to which the Inuit were introduced in 1953 were believed to contain non-migrating caribou and musk-ox herds and both were within one day's journey by dog team. He does not recall housing being a major issue of discussion with the Inuit over the first winter. As he observed in his article, one reason the Inuit were going to relocate their camp was as a result of the poor snow conditions at that particular spot. This did not mean that there was no

snow but rather that the grade of the snow was not completely suitable for building a long-term winter shelter. The tent was used as a liner with snow blocks placed around the outside. Drifting snow provided further insulation.

He considers that the last year he was posted at Craig Harbour, which was 1953-54, to have been one of the most fulfilling in his nineteen years of service in the Arctic. He was, as his article notes, proud to be involved in what he considered to be a completely successful project. He also believes that, forty years ago, the Inuit who were involved in the relocation were also proud of what they had accomplished. Forty years ago, isolation and everything it implies was a fact of life at Craig Harbour making life difficult and challenging for everybody.

His February 1954 article is as follows:

Constable A.C. Fryer
R.C.M. Police
Craig Harbour, N.W.T.

Rehabilitation Program of Eskimo at Craig Harbour

For many years it has been evident that Eskimo districts were becoming over-populated, and that game was gradually dwindling. These conditions were more apparent in the Hudson Bay area, at places such as Port Harrison in the province of Quebec.

The Canadian government decided to take steps to rehabilitate groups of Port Harrison natives to further Northern areas, where game was known to be plentiful. With this plan, the Eskimo could follow their native way of life and become less dependent on the white man. One of the natives would be appointed as a trader and would be granted a loan of $5,000 worth of trade goods. The member in charge of the police detachment would supervise the trading until the native trader was capable of assuming full responsibility. Also, with each group of families from Port Harrison, there would be one family

from Pond Inlet, the latter being accustomed to the country and hunting conditions in the more Northern regions. Such a scheme was to be carried out at Craig Harbour, situated on South Eastern Ellesmere Island.

On August 29th, 1953, three Port Harrison Eskimo families and one Pond Inlet Eskimo family disembarked at Craig Harbour from C.G.S. C.D. HOWE. Due to adverse ice conditions encountered by C.G.S. D'IBERVILLE, on their return trip to Alexandra Fiord, (a Police detachment situated 250 miles North of Craig Harbour) two Eskimo families that had been scheduled to land there, were transferred to Craig Harbour. This made a group of four Port Harrison and two Pond Inlet families who were to reside in the Craig Harbour area.

After the natives were temporarily encamped, close to the detachment, the men were taken on a hunting trip in the vicinity of Jakeman Glacier. The hunting conditions were ideal for walrus on this particular day. There were large packs of loose, floating ice, on which groups of walrus were sleeping. For the majority of the natives, it was the first time that they had ever shot a walrus and were unfamiliar with the method of cutting-up the carcasses. Three walrus were killed and at least fifty other walrus were counted, but left unmolested as the boats had full loads. Returned to Craig Harbour with a spirited group of natives, who were enthused over the abundance of game.

Following the Walrus Hunt, the younger natives were taken on a Caribou Hunting trip in Fram Fiord. Again with the exception of the Pond Inlet natives, the others had never seen or shot a caribou before. Ten caribou were obtained, mainly for the purpose of supplying natives with skins, with which to make winter clothing.

Even in the short time that had passed since the natives had arrived at Craig Harbour, there was a marked difference in them. The first impression given to the members of this detachment by the Port Harrison natives, was that they were a depressed, lifeless group of individuals, who were looking for too many handouts from the white man. Since familiarizing the natives with surrounding country and hunting conditions, they

now have an eagerness to proceed to their new camp and look after themselves.

The new camp site is on the South Eastern tip of Lindstrom Peninsula in Grise Fiord, approximately 40 miles from Craig Harbour detachment. This location was chosen because of the known abundance of sea game, especially the Harp seal in Grise Fiord, and for the fact that it would be a good distance away from the caribou and musk-ox feeding grounds.

In three trips with the police power boat, all the natives and their belongings were transported to Grise Fiord. During these trips, six walrus, two bearded seal and several common seal were contributed to the natives' cache of meat. All the natives, with the exception of one old fogey from Port Harrison, were delighted with their eamp loeation. This one particular native didn't like the idea of having a 1,000 foot mountain directly in back of him, whereas he was accustomed to seeing the wide open spaces of Port Harrison.

All the families, prior to leaving for Grise Fiord, had been given a substantial issue of government Relief, enough supplies to carry them over until they could bring in items to trade. Also to assist the natives, the police loaned an old trap-boat in serviceable condition.

In the middle of September, a further Caribou Hunt was staged, which included all the native men and Detachment members. The hunting was restricted to the shooting of bucks. Ten were killed and the caribou skins and meat were divided evenly among the native families. It seemed to be a peak year for land game, as there were not only large numbers of caribou seen, but also hundreds of ptarmigan and scores of Arctic hare. This concluded the assistance intended to be given by the detachment, so that it was now up to the natives to make a success of their undertaking.

One week after the Caribou Hunt, several of the natives arrived at Craig Harbour to trade ivory carvings, and to obtain medicinal supplies for several of the natives, who according to symptions [sic] had stomach flu. Because of rough seas, the police power boat had to tow the natives' boat through the roughest stretch of water. Craig Harbour area is noted for strong winds and rough seas in late September and the natives

were advised not to make any further attempts at reaching Craig Harbour by boat.

Nothing was seen of the natives until October 16th, when four dog teams arrived at the settlement to trade. Everyone at the camp was reported to be in good health. The natives had added two walrus, six narwhal, three bearded seal, three harp seal and a dozen common seal to their winter cache of meat. Ivory carvings were traded, Family Allowance issued and approximately fifty traps per hunter were loaned in preparation for open trapping season. With heavily loaded sleds, the natives left on the return trip which from later information, proved to be a long and delayed one, as the ice had been swept out of the fiords by strong winds.

First results of trapping were brought in on November 9th., and fox were reported plentiful. The Port Harrison natives could hardly be recognized as the same ones that had first landed at Craig Harbour. They all looked happier and healthier, having visibly put on weight.

Trapping conditions continued to be good through November and all the natives joined in on spending sprees at the trading store. It would be diffieult to find a group of Eskimos anywhere in the North that could claim to be as well off as the Grise Fiord camp. Along with all the luxury items that can be obtained at the native trading store with fox pelts, they have an unequaled variety of fresh meats.

In December, trapping became poorer but the natives were still obtaining enough fox to indulge in extravagant buying. They had also added six bear to their larder by this time. The dark period, in which the sun is not seen above the horizon from the middle of November to the middle of February, hadn't seemed to interfere with their routine, with the exception that all the natives purchased flashlights so that they could find and tend their trap lines. About half of the camp occupants arrived for the Christmas festivities. A dance and games were staged and enjoyed by everyone.

By the new year, the meat caches were nearly depleted, so that the natives were spending more time at hunting seals through aglos (breathing-holes of seals). The results of their concerted efforts proved to be better than anyone had expected. There

have been over one hundred seals obtained in this manner. These natives disproved that Craig Harbour was a poor seal producing area. On one of the numberous [sic] seal hunts in January, a Pond Inlet native bagged six seals in one day, a feat that would be hard to beat in the best of seal hunting districts.

At the time of this writing, February 1st, 1954, Eskimo conditions could hardly be better. The Port Harrison natives have adapted themselves very well, following the example set by the Pond Inlet group. It was expected of course that the Pond Inlet families would make a good showing, as both hunters had good reputations and conditions at Craig Harbour are similar to those of Pond Inlet. The Port Harrison natives however had to familiarize themselves with the different types of game and the hunting method of same. They had to become accustomed to the dark period, more mountainous country, differend [sic] sled travelling conditions and for heating and cooking they had to depend solely on the blubber lamp instead of their wood-burning stove. Relations between the Port Harrison and Pond Inlet natives are good. Differences in dialect and routine hasn't [sic] formed any barriers.

It is expected that the natives will be moving their camp several miles west of the present location. At the proposed spot, they will have better harbour facilities, shelter from the strong seasonal winds and more snow for building igloos.

These natives have spent five of the worst months of the year for living and hunting in, and in answer to the query of whether or not they were desirous of remaining at Craig Harbour for another year, all the natives, with the exception of the old fogey from Port Harrison who declined to answer, expressed their desire of remaining. This one native wishes to see what the spring and summer have to offer. The Port Harrison natives with their ability to carve ivory and stone, would never have to go in need even in a poor trapping year, as they have a source of income that would buy the necessities at the trading store. There is no reason why these natives or three times their number, couldn't live and thrive off the abundance of game at Craig Harbour for many years to come.

The END

Graham Rowley, in his presentation to the Commission, made extensive reference to the Fryer article.

Robert L. Christie

Dr. Christie was with the Geological Survey of Canada and did geological field work on southern Ellesmere Island and eastern Devon Island in the 1960s. He has provided information to the Commission by way of a letter dated August 19, 1993.

He visited Grise Fiord in this period and worked with members of the community during four spring and summer field seasons. In 1960, he and his assistant worked in the area with the help of two dog team drivers and their teams from Grise Fiord. The following year, he worked out of Alexandra Fiord with two dog team drivers and their teams from Grise Fiord. He also worked in the area in 1968 and 1969, again using local drivers, although at that time, motor toboggans had replaced dogs. In 1969, he and his wife and five children, as well as his assistant, lived in the Grise Fiord community for five months.

As an officer of the Geological Survey of Canada, the relationship with the community was professional and based on full respect. His initial contact for the work was made by Dr. Fortier of the Survey to Superintendent Larsen of the RCMP. When he arrived at Grise Fiord, he negotiated with the dog drivers through the RCMP constables. The initial requirement of the dog drivers was that they take their entire families on their field work. An agreement was reached whereby he would pay the dog drivers and the families would have credit at the village store. Each driver was paid a daily rate complete with team and equipment.

Officers of the Survey were well aware of the sensitivity of many northerners to scientific summer visitors who came, left and were never heard from again.

> Our scientific publications invariably contain a heading of 'Acknowledgements' in which we give credit, in a dignified manner, to those who aid us in our field work. In my case, credit was given to the dog drivers who worked with me. When my own papers were published (usually within about two years of the end of field work) I sent copies to the village of Grise Fiord (I have never heard whether the papers were appreciated, or whether anyone read or explained them).

In 1968, when he considered bringing his family to Grise Fiord, he spoke to some of the villagers about the idea. Although his fluency in Inuktitut was limited, he felt certain that no one discouraged him from the idea. In 1969, he and his family were made welcome and they rented the only Inuit-built house in the village. They paid their way, buying food and heating oil at the co-op. His school-age children attended the local school during the day. There was considerable visiting by both children and adults and they felt quite a part of the community. Mrs. Christie had brought drawing and painting materials with her and "conducted drawing and painting 'classes' for the children...". Mrs. Christie found the children "exceptionally free in their ability to express themselves and believes that the children's work showed no 'darkness' that would signify a pervasive unhappiness in the community." The village children were fluent in English. She is an experienced leader of children in painting and drawing. Their impression was that the villagers were as content as were the members of any small community living in the remote areas of the country.

> There was an understanding that anyone who wanted to could visit their people in the South at some interval, and that if they were discontented with Grise Fiord they could return to their earlier home. No complaint was expressed that they had been frustrated or betrayed.

Country food seemed plentiful and, when the Governor General and his party visited, caribou were obtained and prepared for the visitors.

The only complaint which the family noted was about the government-built houses which were drafty and difficult to heat and not

well designed for a village that used an iceberg as a source of water and had no sewage system.

The village enjoyed many community activities: movies, visiting, games days, and trips for hunting and fishing. Long trips were common and occasionally Greenlanders would visit. Their impression was of a community "with a great deal of self-respect, energy and satisfaction with a High Arctic way of life."

> There may be a continuing questioning of the reasons for living on southern Ellesmere Island, but what we saw in 1969 was a well-settled community.

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