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LES PEUPLES AUTOCHTONES

ROYAL COMMISSION ON
ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

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"for the record..."

STENOTRAN

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1 Ottawa, Ontario

2 --- Whereupon the hearing resumed at 9:00 a.m. on

3 Tuesday, April 6, 1993

4 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I would like to
5 welcome everybody back to this second day of hearings.
6 First of all, I would like to ask Lizzie Amagoalik to say
7 the opening prayer.

8 **(Opening prayer)**

9 **THE FACILITATOR:** Welcome everybody.
10 I would just like to review the schedule, briefly, for
11 the morning session. We are going to be starting off with
12 Samuel Arnakallak, who is from Pond Inlet. After he speaks
13 we will have two other speakers from Pond Inlet as well:
14 Jaybeddie Amaraulik and Simon Akpaliapik.

15 We will be reviewing the relocation from
16 the perspective of the Inuit from Pond Inlet and then,
17 according to the schedule here, we will also go into the
18 whole area of the relocation itself in 1953 in Craig Harbour
19 and Resolute Bay.

20 **(Translation)** They will be the first
21 speakers this morning. When the Pond Inlet people are
22 finished we will have the other witnesses. When you speak,
23 please make sure that you speak more slowly, for the sake

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1 of the interpreters. The interpreters had a hard time
2 -- or a difficult time keeping up with the speed of the
3 presentations, so please keep this in mind so that the
4 Royal Commissioners can get a full and complete account
5 of what exactly is being said by the witnesses. Please,
6 keep in mind to try to include all the facts -- the whole
7 facts -- of your story. Don't assume too much that
8 everybody knows all the details and please be sure to try
9 to tell all the story when you speak.

10 For those who have not been witnesses
11 at the table, please be aware that there will be a time
12 slot for you. Anybody who wishes to speak will be given
13 the opportunity to do so. The 1955 group will be able
14 to have their time and space tomorrow, so they should be
15 aware of that.

16 When the people at the witness table are
17 speaking, and anybody who wants to add something to what
18 the specific witness is saying, it is possible for anybody
19 from the back to go and come to the table and have your
20 say, if you want to clarify something that is being said
21 by any of the particular witnesses.

22 We can now start. Samuel Arnakallak
23 will be the first speaker.

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1 **SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** (Translation) I
2 am designated to be first. I would like to speak well,
3 but I am not accustomed to speaking. We are from the
4 Pond Inlet area. There were three men who were recruited
5 from that area and I am one of them.

6 In 1953 I was 28 years old. My wife and
7 I had four children; small at the time. I would like to,
8 first of all, explain where we were living before, in a
9 place called Nadluat, in English, "Low Point". It's
10 called "Low Point" in English. His son will point to it
11 on the map. It is 85 miles away from Pond Inlet.

12 There we were encamped for many, many
13 years. There was plentiful seals. We did not have a very
14 good boat. That particular inlet was very plentiful for
15 marine wildlife. We did not really have a good-quality
16 boat, and that was really our only need at the time,
17 although we had a poor-quality boat. We lived by
18 selling fox pelts, but we were not very wealthy at this
19 activity and we lived mostly by selling ivory tusks, which
20 one pound was selling for 50 cents in those years.

21 When government starting recruiting
22 people for relocation, they had the police spread the word
23 and the message that they were looking for people.

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1 Although they did not come to us directly, they spread
2 the word and Joseph Idlout was the interpreter, or he was
3 sort of the messenger. I received a letter, not from him,
4 but when I actually saw him -- and this was the first time
5 I ever heard in my life about the existence of government
6 and the fact that they were going to recruit three men
7 who had adequate dogs, who had children and who were able
8 to produce children, who were not too old. When I heard
9 about this I approved right away, because what came into
10 my mind was, this is a good opportunity for myself to get
11 a boat.

12 But I had to consult with my mother and
13 my parents. When I talked it over we came to the conclusion
14 that, perhaps, because the RCMP was accustomed to paying
15 their special constables and people who worked for them,
16 perhaps, that was how we were going to be treated. So,
17 we basically approved to go along.

18 So, we went to the community with all
19 of our equipment: our dogs, our sleds, and all the
20 equipment we had. The only thing we didn't bring was our
21 shelter, which was a qarmaq, a sodden-earth shelter,
22 because we were told we would be properly housed. All
23 we had for shelter then, when we left, was a summer tent

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1 -- a canvas tent -- something that we never, ever used
2 in winter.

3 So, I drove by dog-team to Pond Inlet
4 to prepare for departure. We waited there in July and
5 August, and then the ship finally came in August, because
6 we were expecting it. We were made to expect that -- we
7 were told that the people in Quebec were very badly off;
8 they were in need. Nobody specifically mentioned that
9 they were hungry or starving, but it was made clear that
10 they were living off government welfare and living off
11 the hand-outs from government. At that time, in our area,
12 there was no such thing as government hand-outs being given
13 out, although nowadays there are.

14 So, when the ship came, part of the crowd
15 of relocatees went onshore and they were fed Inuit food,
16 or traditional food. Our first conversations did not get
17 off very well because we couldn't understand each other
18 very well. So, even if they were expressing anger, or
19 frustration, I wouldn't have known what they were talking
20 about, because that is how different our dialects were.
21 We did not know who they were.

22 When I was a boy there was a particular
23 Qallunaag, white man, who had become an important

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1 government official. His name in English is Alex
2 Stevenson. He was now an important government official
3 who conducted a meeting of the relocatees. We were told
4 that these people, the Inukjuak people, had never been
5 in the dark or in the high Arctic darkness, and we were
6 charged with teaching them the particularities of the
7 climate. We were, at that time, able to get around in
8 the dark -- in the high Arctic dark -- through dog-team
9 travel.

10 We lived in sodden-earth shelters,
11 called qarmaq. We knew how to build them, but we needed
12 certain pieces of wood to make those shelters. Because
13 there was no wood in any of the areas we were newly settled,
14 we were not able to make these earthen shelters.

15 On the ship they were told not to attend
16 the meeting in which we were told what was going to be
17 our circumstances. I, myself, was recruited for the
18 farthest location, which is called Alexandra Fiord in
19 English, Sanannguavik in Inuktitut. So, I was recruited
20 to go there.

21 Now, we had two ships, side by side, and
22 we had to transfer our equipment to the ice-breaker. We
23 had to transfer all of our equipment and supplies on a

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1 plank, actually; no pulleys. So, when we had all our
2 equipment transferred to the other boat I was told, "No,
3 get your equipment back on the C.D. Howe because there's
4 going to be another ship going." Akpaliapik and
5 Thomassie's families were then put, instead, on the
6 ice-breaker, and so they were sent to Alexandra Fiord.
7 But they never made it there because the ice conditions
8 were too bad that year and they returned to where we were
9 landed. We lived with them in the new location where we
10 were landed.

11 The remainder of the relocatees were
12 sent to Resolute Bay. For those of us who were landed
13 in Craig Harbour, at that time, there were 31 souls. There
14 were about 19 from northern Quebec and the remainder of
15 us -- there was 12 of us. But there were 31. There were
16 12 adults from the Inukjuak area, without counting their
17 children, and there were six adults from the Pond Inlet
18 area. With the children, the whole group consisted of
19 31 people.

20 We were all used to being supplied with
21 the white man's trade goods, and we never really even
22 brought much from our original home in Pond Inlet because
23 we were under the impression that we were going to a land

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1 of plenty where everything was going to be provided. If,
2 at least, we could have been given some fuel, at least,
3 to bide us, or if we were told, "You are going to have
4 to bring your own supplies", we would have done so. But,
5 as it was, we were very poorly supplied, because nobody
6 told us that we were going to have to fend for ourselves.

7 When we were first landed in Craig
8 Harbour we spent ten days there. Yes, that's what I
9 remember. We spent ten days at that particular location.

10

11 We have also said that when we first
12 pitched our tents it was very dark. We did not have any
13 light. We had a qulliq, a stone stove. We didn't have
14 any light to eat by. Akpaliapik had a flashlight and,
15 so, he put on his flashlight while we were having our meal.

16 When that particular group finished eating they sent the
17 flashlight to another shelter so that those people could
18 eat. So we had to share a flashlight as light to eat by.

19 The next day we had a small dory; a very
20 small boat. It was one foot high, four-foot beam, and
21 we were using this boat with one of the boys of the
22 Akpaliapik, who was 15 years old, and we caught a harp
23 seal. That harp seal was what we used as fuel and light.

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1 We were able to cook by the fat of that seal. We were
2 able to catch seals later on, which we used as fuel, and
3 we were also supplied with caribou skins that we could
4 make into clothing.

5 There was another clarification I wanted
6 to make. The police and their employees -- their special
7 constables -- were the only ones allowed to do the actual
8 killing of the caribou. The police had this attitude that
9 we didn't know the difference between female caribou and
10 male caribou, so they were the only ones allowed to shoot
11 the caribou. I guess they thought we were ignorant of
12 such things. We were told, in no uncertain terms, that
13 we were not allowed to catch or kill any caribou from that
14 area.

15 All this has been related previously and
16 I don't want to cover exactly what has been covered before,
17 but I want to say that we started being in want very soon.
18

19 Then, on August 29th of that same year,
20 we were transferred to another location, which was about
21 40 miles away from Craig Harbour; 40 or 50 miles. There
22 are two large inlets between Craig Harbour and this
23 particular location. (Speaking native language.) There

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1 are two inlets between where they were landed at Craig
2 Harbour and where they were transferred ten days later.
3 These two inlets have very high winds. Craig Harbour
4 first, there. Left. There's Grise Fiord. There are two
5 inlets there that are very windy places, especially there.

6
7 On August 29th of that year we were
8 landed in the new place; in the new location. Then we
9 spent September and October there. I was trying to explain
10 that the Inukjuak people went to leave that place. The
11 Inukjuak people's dog-teams have very, very long traces.
12 I had never seen that before. They were not very suitable
13 for use in a place that was almost bare of snow. So, the
14 next day, my grandmother started getting worried about
15 the Inukjuak people who were going to the post by dog-teams,
16 so Akpaliapik and I were sent to help out.

17 I did not mention earlier my
18 grandmother's particular situation. When I was first
19 recruited to the relocation I had a concern about my
20 grandmother. My grandmother was about 80 years old at
21 the time and I was told that because she was no longer
22 of child-bearing age she was not allowed to go along on
23 the relocation. I became very angry at this and I said,

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1 "If she's not allowed to come along, I will not agree to
2 go to the relocation." So, the police, when they saw my
3 determination, allowed me to take my grandmother along.

4 I was 28 years old at the time, but I still had to depend
5 on her entirely for my life.

6 Now, I am going to go back to the trip
7 to the post. We came in from behind of the first group
8 that was going to the post, and we had not caught up to
9 them yet. We had not come up to them yet by the end of
10 the first evening and we had to make camp.

11 Now, I have to remind you that all of
12 us were under the sponsorship and care of the government,
13 technically speaking. Now, in the morning we had to get
14 some sort of tea brewed, and there was still a bit of fuel
15 left in Akpaliapik's Primus stove. So we brewed our tea
16 that way. But we did not have any more matches, so what
17 we did was remove the glass out of one of the telescopes,
18 face it to the sun, put some gun powder in its beam, and
19 started a fire that way. And here we were, technically,
20 under the care of the government. How pitiful.

21 So, when we met up with them the next
22 morning, we got to the camp and I was very anxious to find
23 out if we had any money in our account at the trading post.

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1 I was not a carver at the time, but I was told I did not
2 have any credit. So I had absolutely nothing in the
3 accounts, and I was not allowed to get anything on credit
4 that I could pay for later. But the others, the Inukjuak
5 people, had produced some carvings; not many, but they
6 had enough to earn a bit of money by carving. These people
7 were able to buy a bit of the trade goods. I, myself,
8 treated them like Qallunaat, because they were the only
9 ones able to get any trade goods from that particular trip.

10 On our return journey from that
11 particular trip, those two inlets that I had pointed out
12 earlier, that I said were very windy, were, of course,
13 very windy, and on our way back the ice -- the shore-fast
14 ice -- had been blown out by the wind, so there was no
15 more ice in those particular areas. So we had to make
16 camp.

17 Now, when we made camp that evening, I
18 had to mention that, "Look, how are we being treated here?"

19 I had to ask this question. "Why are we being treated
20 like this? Is this any way to treat people that you have
21 under your responsibility?" So, I was beginning to
22 wonder, even then, how we were being treated.

23 The next morning, when we set out again,

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1 we had to travel straight down offshore, towards the
2 offshore, because there was no other way for us to get
3 around. We had to sleep that night out in the open, because
4 there was no possibility of shelter where we were. So,
5 we had to lay beside our sledges.

6 We lived nearby Grise Fiord in our early
7 years. As I said earlier, the shore-fast ice got blown
8 away offshore by the large winds. Finally, we got around
9 to the general vicinity of our new camp, but we were not
10 able to get onshore. They had to come to us by the little
11 dory, which they got around by rowing it. Then, finally,
12 we were able to land on shore, by that little dory.

13 When we finally met up with our wives
14 and our family members, they had been worried sick. They
15 were greatly relieved to have us back alive. We were not
16 really in hunger, because we were able to catch seals.
17 We were able to try to catch foxes in November.

18 So when we had a few fox pelts to trade
19 we were able to go back to the trading post. It was as
20 if those same people had transformed into entirely new
21 people. They were very receptive this time, because we
22 had something to trade.

23 We, eventually, became more able to

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1 provide for ourselves. But our elders, like my
2 grandmother, always hungered for fish and other wild game,
3 other than seal and marine mammals, because that's all
4 we had to eat and people got sick and tired of eating the
5 same food.

6 That's it for now.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** Do you want to be the
8 next speaker, Jaypettie Amarualik?

9 **JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** (Translation) I
10 am going to now speak on our relocation.

11 When we were first made aware that they
12 wanted to have us be part of the relocation, I was never
13 told directly, myself. The police never directly told
14 me anything, but they had their Inuit employee, whom I
15 believe they used because he would get our agreement more
16 readily than the Qallunaaq, or white policemen. He was
17 the only one who dealt with us.

18 So, when I heard about this, because,
19 as a boy, before Resolute was a community, I had lived
20 in the area with my parents -- around the years 1927, '28,
21 '29, '30, I had lived in that area; in the area of Somerset
22 Island -- I knew there was wildlife there. So I knew the
23 area previously. My father came from a family of four

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1 brothers, but they had long been dead. At that time I
2 was able to support myself. So I figured that if I moved
3 there I could live off fox pelts and polar bear pelts.
4 So I readily agreed, when they told me that I was one of
5 the chosen ones. But my wife, who was the daughter of
6 Arnakallak's grandmother -- well, I figured that even if
7 we did not live in exactly the same location I could have
8 gone back to visit, back and forth. So I readily agreed
9 to the relocation. I thought it was possible for me to
10 visit back and forth.

11 When everybody else was landed at Craig
12 Harbour, I was the only one left with the crowd from
13 Inukjuak. When I counted the ones of us who were left,
14 there were 12 adults and nine children. So this was the
15 group that was landed in Resolute.

16 I did not speak any English at the time
17 and there happened to be a Roman Catholic priest who was
18 travelling on the ship. I tried to get any information
19 I could out of that particular priest. He said, perhaps,
20 there were empty buildings on the island somewhere that
21 could be occupied.

22 When we landed there were high winds and
23 there was snow falling. Our children were crying because

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1 there was no shelter to enter to speak of. We had to try
2 to keep them amongst our belongings to keep them warm while
3 we were pitching up our tents. So we finally pitched up
4 our tents. We, ourselves, were not accustomed to having
5 any wooden stoves, or wood-burning stoves, or any kind
6 of stoves in our tents. When the Inukjuak people pitched
7 their tents up they also set up their wooden stoves, or
8 wood stoves, and they were able to get warm in their tents.
9 My wife and I had to go to our neighbours to stay in a
10 warm place.

11 I was under the impression that we could
12 not live in tents the whole winter. We thought we could
13 make snow houses; igloos. So I was able to build a small
14 igloo, and I was able to insulate it with some cloth, and
15 we were able to stay warm that way.

16 When we were landed we had nothing. We
17 had no boats. The Inukjuak people had kayaks, but that
18 was all. So, when Salluviniq and I were taken around by
19 boat, we were able to catch enough seals to live off of.
20

21 When the ice finally formed we were able
22 to go out on the land by dog-team. We were able to go
23 to different locations. If we didn't catch anything

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1 ourselves, the others would, for example, catch a polar
2 bear, and so we were able to support each other from what
3 we caught. When there was no more flow edge we were able
4 to catch seals through their breathing holes. So we were
5 able to have fuel and light from these efforts. I also
6 had a seal net, and we were able to feed our dogs from
7 what we caught with the seal net.

8 After the first winter it started
9 getting into spring. I was recruited to be relocated
10 further away from Resolute Bay. The police, who was really
11 our boss, who always seemed to be angry with other people,
12 he was a bit better with me, but he was not of very nice
13 -- he did not have a very nice disposition towards people,
14 in general. In April of that first winter we were moved
15 to Mould Bay, there on the map; my wife and children.
16 We were sent there in April and I was recruited as a dog-team
17 driver in that area. In the Mould Bay area, there, to
18 your left a little -- yes, there. There was an outpost
19 there, with an airstrip. I had to go there by dog-team.
20 My wife and I were moved to that particular location.
21 My daughter was sick at that time.

22 I did not have very much dog food.
23 (Speaking native language.) I was a dog-team driver for

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1 a geologist, so I was taking around a geologist who was
2 examining and exploring the area for minerals. We had
3 run out of dog food, so we had to go back home. My children
4 were sick. I did not want to leave my family behind for
5 any reason because my children were sick, so my wife and
6 I were very concerned. They called in a plane to medically
7 evacuate my daughter, but there was a very thick fog around
8 at the time and aircraft was not able to land, and so my
9 daughter died.

10 They were all Qallunaat, white people,
11 there. She was brought home, by the time she had died,
12 and all the Qalunaat there tried their best to revive her.
13 They did their best to try to revive my daughter. They
14 had contact with some medical people on the radio and they
15 were able to get instructions as to what to do to try to
16 revive her, but they did not.

17 So, I had to take around two geologists;
18 two white people. I held nothing against them, but I,
19 myself, became very sad because I had lost one of my
20 children. Now, she was buried in a very desolate, even
21 -- no people -- unoccupied place. Because there was no
22 Christian ministers around, I was very concerned that she
23 would not get a decent burial, but she was given a Christian

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1 burial. But, because there was no way for us to make a
2 hollow in the ground, we had to cover her coffin with rocks
3 scraped from the top of the ground. This was done by people
4 who had no training in how to do this sort of thing, so
5 I was thankful that, even though they were not a religious
6 type of people, they gave my daughter a decent burial.
7 I was thankful that, at least, she was given that.

8 Now, at the beginning of September we
9 were sent back to Resolute from Mould Bay; back to where
10 Simeonie and the other people -- relocatees -- were. When
11 we returned, it was not long after that that my wife was
12 sent outside to a hospital. I had two very small children
13 to look after and I could no longer do any more hunting,
14 or serious hunting, at least. I had to stay nearby to
15 look after my children. I set a seal net and we were able
16 to catch seals by that method, so our dogs were fed that
17 way. I was able to provide my neighbours with the seals
18 that I caught that way. This was, basically, the only
19 way that I helped out, in any measure, the Inukjuak people
20 that I was settling in with. I thought I was going to
21 be able to catch, or pursue fox pelts and polar bear pelts.
22 I could not even do this, because now I had to stay at
23 home, looking after my children.

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1 When I was told to go to Mould Bay, I
2 was told I would be paid \$10 a day. Perhaps that's what
3 happened. But when I returned I was never informed, "This
4 is how much money you have in your account." What we did
5 was, take what we needed from the little trading post,
6 but we were never informed, like, if we were overdrawn
7 or how much we had left, so we were kept completely in
8 the dark as to what was in our accounts.

9 Now, the services of dog-team drivers.
10 There was a lot of activity. There was a lot of
11 exploration of those Arctic Islands going on. They
12 required three dog-team drivers. But I could not do that
13 because I was looking after my sick children. So, my own
14 particular dog-team was split between two men who were
15 going to go to two different locations to take explorers
16 out. When my dog-team, which was split in two, was
17 finished, they finished using them and they returned them
18 to me. I was never informed if I was going to be paid,
19 or if I was paid for the services of lending my dogs.

20 Simeonie and I, in the first trip, were
21 left behind at home while our dogs were used. Then there
22 was a second trip, later on, where he and I were recruited
23 to go to drive dog sledges on Somerset Island. I had two

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1 white men with me, and when we went on the other side of
2 Resolute Bay from south, there was a helicopter who brought
3 us home.

4 Nobody told us that we had earned a
5 certain amount of money, so each time I had no idea how
6 much I had earned or not. This is where I'll stop for
7 now.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Simon, if you would
9 like to say something, take the microphone and put it on.
10 Indicate who you are.

11 **SIMON AKPALIPIK:** (Translation)
12 Simon Akpaliapik from Pond Inlet.

13 Arnakallak said earlier about our
14 journey. I just want to add something to help him. I
15 just want to mention what he had not said earlier.

16 We were told to indicate what it was like
17 before our relocation in Pond Inlet. Life was fine. We
18 were not hungry. There we were doing well. I was more
19 and more becoming a man at the time; at the time we were
20 relocated.

21 The first time I did not agree to leave
22 my land, because it's the only land I knew. But we had
23 an interpreter who worked at the Hudson Bay, and we had

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1 the RCMP. The only reason why I agreed to go was, we were
2 told we would earn some money and there were plenty --
3 the game was plentiful. There was caribou. Because where
4 we were now, the caribou was -- there was not much caribou
5 any more. So, there, we were told there was plenty of
6 caribou and lots of game, and help out the ones that had
7 never lived up in the dark, in the high Arctic. There
8 was musk ox; caribou. We were told that each month you
9 would be allowed to have caribou; seven or eight caribou
10 each month. That was good news. That's one of the reasons
11 why I agreed to go.

12 So, we would wait. What Arnakallak said
13 earlier -- the dates. He had mentioned dates. I'm just
14 talking about the time I agreed to go.

15 As we were travelling and waiting in
16 Mittimatalik, in Pond Inlet, in the spring and summer we
17 waited, and so they finally arrived. Where we would go,
18 there would be government help. We would get government
19 help and they would help us out. We even left behind some
20 of our equipment that we would use. We just brought a
21 few -- perhaps, we were even thinking that we would have
22 shelter and we would be well housed.

23 The relocation to Craig Harbour. Once

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1 we arrived there, our relocation, we never liked -- I mean,
2 it was too hard. On our way we had a meeting, just us
3 Pond Inlet people. We had a little meeting, aside. They
4 divided Inukjuak people, for us to train them. Arnakallak
5 said earlier where we would go was Sanannguavik. That
6 is correct.

7 We had a meeting on the boat, just us
8 people from Pond Inlet. The people from Inukjuak were
9 not allowed to hear what was said in the meeting. What
10 was bad about it, too, was on the boat we took our equipment
11 by hand, because there was nothing to take it -- no
12 equipment to take our equipment to get off the boat.

13 His grandmother -- I only had -- we had
14 to unload our own belongings and that was really bad for
15 us. While we were trying to land there was too much ice
16 for us to continue to Craig Harbour, so some of us had
17 to get off. There were some people that were supposed
18 to be moved to Resolute Bay. When we returned, when we
19 got back to Craig Harbour, we spent one night. We
20 continued to Grise Fiord, as Arnakallak was indicating
21 earlier. We had nothing. We were poor at the time.

22 Later on, we were told that we were going
23 to a place where there's plenty, but later on we found

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1 out that it was not the case. At least, we had a tent.

2 It was an eight-by-twelve tent. We had to use that in
3 the winter. We were told that we were going to a place
4 with plenty, but we found out that it was exactly the other
5 way around. The government should have told us the truth.

6 If they had told us that we were going to be living with
7 these people from Inukjuak and we would have to provide
8 for ourselves, that would have been the truth, but they
9 told us all these lies.

10 I will stop here for now. Thank you.

11 **THE FACILITATOR:** I think we will hear
12 from the other witnesses from Inukjuak, who will be talking
13 about the period in 1953, when this relocation took place,
14 which will be after what these three gentlemen have talked
15 about. So, we will take a 15-minute break.

16 --- Short recess

17 --- Upon resuming

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** The witnesses are
19 here. We are going to be going through the period when
20 the relocation -- just before the relocation took place,
21 and at the time of relocation, in 1953. (Repeats in native
22 language.)

23 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

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1 I am glad to be given the chance to speak on what hurts
2 in my heart. I think I am going to get emotional, and
3 this is not intentional.

4 In 1953, when we left, I can still see
5 and imagine my mother and my father and the people who
6 were on the way to being relocated. In 1953. I can
7 remember what they said, and what was said. The people
8 of Inukjuak -- and there were many of them -- were told,
9 "Cousin, we're going to see each other again in two years.
10 We are going to be away only for two years. We are going
11 to see you again, for sure." That's what I remember being
12 said. But they were never going to see each other again.

13 Remembering this is so -- what I remember
14 hurts me very much. If I was to go and leave today, knowing
15 that I would never see these people again --

16 **THE FACILITATOR:** We will have
17 Samwillie stop for now. Can you speak, Simeonie?

18 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
19 Thank you, Mary Simon.

20 I would like to speak on what Amaraulik
21 from Pond Inlet said earlier about his landing in Resolute
22 Bay. I would like to add something to what he said. He
23 said that he took around geologists by dog-team to

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1 different areas. The people who called themselves
2 geologists were not geologists, actually. We found out
3 they were exploring for oil. When the government
4 recruited us to go to the high Arctic they were actually
5 recruiting us to take geologists and explorers around the
6 islands.

7 Those areas that we took people out to
8 examine or explore are now having oil extracted. Oil is
9 being taken out now by companies -- different companies
10 -- and the federal government is extracting a lot of
11 revenues out of those activities from the areas that we
12 used to take people out to, whereas we are being totally
13 ignored in this activity. Not even a penny has been
14 extended to us by the federal government in appreciation
15 of our efforts and work in opening up those areas.

16 Those of us relocated were sent to be
17 in want. Even our elders, who were getting old age
18 allowance -- old age pension -- were cut off. We were
19 sent to fend for ourselves. Amaraulik did not emphasize
20 enough that we were sent there to fend for ourselves.

21 He mentioned earlier that one of the
22 policemen was angry at people all the time. The police
23 that was originally with us in Inukjuak was our officer

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1 there and he could only speak three words in Inuktitut:
2 (Native words), which means, literally, "eskimo" and
3 "dog". Basically calling Inuit dogs. And Piujuq Auka,
4 which means, "no good". So we were not treated very well,
5 right around -- even at the time of the relocation.

6 Perhaps somebody else should carry on
7 from where I have left off.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Simeonie.
9 Jaybeddie, do you want to be next? Please say your names
10 clearly before you speak.

11 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) I
12 would like to talk about the landing itself; the landing
13 in Resolute, which is on the agenda, or on our outline.

14 When we were landed from the
15 ice-breaker, here was the situation. When we were trying
16 to pitch our tents up, because there were no rocks around,
17 because it's all gravel, we took quite a bit of time to
18 pitch up our tents. We were trying to do it as fast as
19 possible, but we were not able to do it very quickly.

20 When we were landed in the morning,
21 perhaps around -- we were only able to get our tents up
22 only in the afternoon. Our children were crying of cold.
23 That's true. There was a big boulder there, which was

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1 nearby where we were pitching our tents. I remember,
2 because I was 18 years old at the time. Our children were
3 on the lee of the big boulder, trying to get protection
4 from the wind.

5 Amaraulik's dogs were not violent or
6 feared by people, so Amaraulik's children were recognized
7 and cuddled by Amaraulik's dogs. So, Amaraulik's children
8 were warmed by the dogs. Because our dogs were of a
9 different temper -- a different temperament -- those of
10 us from Inukjuak, they were not in any way able to have
11 children amongst them. So, our own children were not able
12 to get protected by our dogs.

13 So, we were landed on a place that had
14 absolutely nothing. The day after the landing, if I was
15 to tell all that happened about the following day, also,
16 I would have to take quite some time, so I will stop for
17 now.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Jaybeddie.
19 Samwillie, do you think you can carry on?

20 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

21 I'm sorry. I apologize for bursting out in emotion, but
22 I have to explain. When we got on the ship to depart
23 from our original homeland, I want to say what exactly

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1 happened, as a family, and as friends. My mother still
2 had a father. My grandfather was still alive. All her
3 younger sisters and brothers were still alive. Larry's
4 father, he had a full range of brothers and sisters,
5 Philipoosie among them. At the moment of departure, I
6 remember Thomassie and Philipoosie, people who are no
7 longer living now, who were never going to see their family
8 members again. They died in the high Arctic.

9 We were told of the promise of two years;
10 that we were going to be there two years only. I remember,
11 there were waves -- they were waving each other goodbye,
12 with tears streaming down their faces. "Cousin, I am going
13 to see you again. I will return." And there were many
14 people saying that as the ship was departing. They never
15 saw their family again. Not only did they not see them
16 ever again, they never heard from them again.

17 This is why I was so emotional when I
18 was trying to describe this. People should not be treated
19 like this. A person who is departing from his land
20 involuntarily should not be treated like this.

21 I said yesterday that we did not know
22 of the conditions of any other land, and so we were
23 perfectly happy in our original homeland. We did not have

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1 any thoughts, such as, "Let's move away from here." We
2 were not in any want. It is frustrating and sad that we
3 were handled like this. We were greatly deceived. We
4 were lied to. The government's statement -- (native
5 language) -- the government's two years are still not up,
6 even today. The two years that were originally mentioned
7 are not up yet, according to the government.

8 When our step-father was dead, after
9 eight months, we wanted to return right away. That's my
10 family. But we were told by the police, who was the boss,
11 with no appeal beyond his particular authority, that the
12 ship could no longer go back to our original community,
13 "Therefore, you cannot return. If you ever return, you're
14 going to have to find other people to take your place,
15 because we have to keep this occupied. You are merely
16 Inuit and the ship cannot take you back to your community.
17 You would have to spend a lot of time in the south, in
18 transient, and that's not possible." So we were pleading
19 our case to return, but it was never transmitted, or given
20 as a message to any other authority, and we're able to
21 tell it only now. I am glad to have the opportunity to
22 say this.

23 This is not the only problem. In 1962

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1 I recall -- and I related it yesterday, but I want to
2 clarify. Rynie Flaherty's husband, Josephie Flaherty,
3 my step-father sent for him, but he never even got to see
4 him. My step-father asked for him and he never even saw
5 him alive. So, in 1962, Josephie asked to be returned
6 to his original home, back to our land, but he was told --
7 and he related to me what he was told, so I know this
8 firsthand, because he came to me and said -- Josephie,
9 first of all, said, "I want to return to my home." That's
10 what he said to the police. But he was answered -- and
11 he complained to me about the answer he was given. "They
12 are going to set up a school now and I have a lot of children
13 and I am not allowed to go back to my homeland." Tears
14 were streaming down his face when he said this. Josephie
15 was a young man at the time. He was a happy man. He was
16 easy to laugh. He was living life to the fullest. But,
17 after he was refused his request to return home, his whole
18 life took on a very different disposition and he was no
19 longer himself afterwards. Not only him, but there were
20 many others who turned very sad. His life was, basically,
21 down. His mind was down. He became weak physically, and
22 people began to think that he was suffering some sort of
23 a mental problem, or mental depression.

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1 Then, in 1979, I, myself, returned.

2 When he recalled, after his own request, he was utterly
3 turned down. He never brought up the subject again, but
4 he cried when I, myself, was returning. I can still see
5 him crying. "Why is the government treating people like
6 this? Why is the government letting us Inuit suffer like
7 this, removing them from their original homeland and lying
8 to them? Why are they lying to them, telling them they
9 can return?" They were waving their relatives

10 goodbye, and I can still see them, even today: our
11 relatives, our mothers, who never saw their sisters again.
12 We had many relatives; our extended family in our original
13 homeland. They never saw their mothers, their sisters,
14 their friends. Never to see them again.

15 I have pain in my heart because of this,
16 even today, and I am not happy today because I can still
17 imagine as I describe it. I am trying not to be saddened
18 by all of it, but if I had to go through the same experience
19 today, if I was going to be treated like this, I would
20 not accept it. It has touched our lives, not only myself.
21 We were not entirely voluntarily leaving.

22 Who was responsible for this? Is it me?
23 No. It's the government who was responsible for this.

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1 The government still has not acknowledged that they did
2 this. They ruined our lives. It has even touched my own
3 children; all the children of these people who were
4 relocated. My sister's children are in the high Arctic.
5 She's back in her original homeland. This has caused
6 many problems.

7 Why did the government do this? Should
8 they be allowed to ruin people's lives and have people
9 suffer depression? Should they be allowed to do this to
10 aboriginal people in Canada? No, they should not do this.

11

12 I have also heard that Canada is the best
13 country in the world. Should they be burdening Inuit with
14 such things? No, I don't think so.

15 I am going to say more about this later
16 on, but I would like to take some time now to describe
17 the actual relocation and the landing. My sister is going
18 to have to help me describe the landing itself.

19 When we started arriving, we were asked
20 on the ship, on the C.D. Howe -- I am going to return to
21 that a bit, to put all of this in context. As you heard
22 about my mother, I was the only one who was actually with
23 my mother at the time of the relocation. When they started

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1 dividing us on the ship, all of my mother's children, whom
2 she gathered from the different scattered camps, were all
3 designated to go to Alexandra Fiord. That can be pointed
4 out on the map. My mother was told, "Your children are
5 going to be designated to go where we tell them to go."

6 She was not very happy about being told that. Those of
7 us who have children today can just imagine suffering this
8 kind of treatment. Now, if I, myself, was told that my
9 children, my own children, are going to be scattered about
10 in all sorts of different locations, I would not be very
11 happy. I am sure that none of you would. I would cry.

12 I would weep if my children were going to be scattered
13 to many different locations. That's what my mother did.

14 She cried when people were separated on the C.D. Howe.

15 Even the dogs were howling, and the people were crying,
16 because they were being separated.

17 This was the first trauma that we
18 suffered. This was the first brutally emotional event
19 that we had to live through, that the government put us
20 through, which has an effect on us and our children, even
21 today.

22 When we arrived, finally, in the high
23 Arctic, I said yesterday that we were sent, but they didn't

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1 want us around the post. We were going to interfere with
2 the lives of the two lone Qallunaat that were there, so
3 they sent us to an even more desolate place. We were,
4 literally, set up on rock. There was no shelter. There
5 was not even one two-by-four that we were given for
6 sustenance. The few pieces of wood that we used as
7 accessories to pitch up our tents were the only things
8 that we had. Here we were, having been told that we were
9 going to a land of plenty. This was totally false. It
10 was not a land of plenty. When we were landed, we
11 were moved a further 40 miles away from where we were
12 landed. We were landed to this other location, Lindstrom
13 Peninsula, on a ledge that had -- we could not walk beyond
14 two miles. Three thousand feet is the elevation of the
15 mountain. We had never been in any such place. For us
16 it seemed like a prison, where we could not go anywhere
17 where we pleased. It seemed like we were fenced in. We
18 were put in a prison.

19 I am not trying to disparage the
20 geographical location itself, but it seemed like we were
21 being put in a prison. There was no place for us to walk
22 beyond the two-mile ledge we were put on. It seemed like
23 we were put in a prison, considering that the land -- our

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1 original homeland, we could go anywhere where we pleased,
2 without restriction. Once the ice set in, or even in
3 summer, we could walk all over, wherever we pleased. So,
4 we were very saddened and disappointed, especially Larry's
5 father.

6 So, we have suffered all these things
7 and it's only now I've been able to tell you all this.
8 I am telling you the truth. I am not telling you lies.

9 I want to tell you, further, that those of us who have
10 told about the trips to the out-posts -- and when we ran
11 out of tea and flour. Were we sent there to be well fed?
12 No. I say not. We were sent there for sovereignty
13 reasons. We were sent there to hold the land.

14 We used to be told to make the Greenland
15 Inuit feel unwelcome. Should we tell any other people
16 to not come here? Should we be told to tell others not
17 to come there? I say not. We should make any other human
18 beings, other than others, feel welcome.

19 Is it true that we were sent there to
20 be fed better than we were before? I say no.

21 I said, also, that they want people from
22 a far-away place; people that could not return to their
23 original home. We have been deceived. We have lived a

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1 great deception. We have been deceived by the government.

2 I am glad I am able to tell you this now. We were sent
3 there for no other reason than to occupy geography that
4 was not previously occupied and to call it Canada,
5 therefor. We were sent there to hold the land. We were
6 sent to assert Canada's sovereignty. We were lied to.
7 We were lied to when we were told we could return to our
8 original surroundings, but this was not true. So, now
9 we know that the government was not going to send us there
10 for nothing. They sent us there for something, for sure.

11 I will stop for now.

12 **THE FACILITATOR:** Sometimes the
13 interpreters have a hard time keeping up. Please try and
14 talk slowly, as much as possible. Please try to keep this
15 in mind, for the benefit of the interpreters.

16 John Amagoalik will be the next speaker.

17 Then the other delegates will have a chance. John.

18 **JOHN AMAGOALIK:** (English) Thank you,
19 Mary. I am going to speak in English.

20 My name is John Amagoalik. Because of
21 my work, I am living here in Orleans.

22 If I may, I would like to go back before
23 the actual journey, to the spring before the relocation,

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1 when the RCMP constable, with his interpreter, first
2 arrived in our little hunting camp, just north of Inukjuak,
3 to ask us if we were interested in this relocation project.

4 Now, you have heard in earlier testimony
5 that most people -- most Inuit -- were afraid of the white
6 man; that they found it difficult to contradict what the
7 white man was saying. There were, of course, exceptions.

8 My father was one of those exceptions. He was one of
9 those few that could say no, if he felt it had to be said.
10 He did say no the first three or four times. The RCMP
11 didn't come to our camp just once, they came back three
12 or four times. Each time my father said no.

13 It was through his stubbornness that he
14 managed to extract two promises from the RCMP, and those
15 promises were that we could return and that we would not
16 be separated. We, of course, know now that the government
17 never had any intention of honouring those promises.

18 It has also been mentioned that the RCMP
19 didn't meet with us collectively, together in a group.
20 They interviewed each family separately, always
21 separately, and this was very intentional.

22 I remember the RCMP telling my parents
23 that their other relatives had already agreed to the

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1 relocation and that my parents should agree too. We later
2 found that this was not the case. That was the reason
3 why they were interviewing each family separately.

4 I, of course, remember the RCMP painted
5 a very rosy picture of this new location. They made it
6 sound as if it was the promised land.

7 I remember the journey, which has been
8 described. I remember the news about our separation, when
9 we were on the ship. I remember the women crying. And
10 I remember landing in Resolute; late August, early
11 September. And, of course, the conditions have been
12 described.

13 I want to return a bit back to the spring
14 of 1953. I was just a young kid, but I remember things
15 very well. I remember my mother telling me that my older
16 brother was very sick. He had no energy. He was
17 lethargic. He was spitting blood. We knew he had TB.
18 We knew he was sick. My mother was preparing us mentally
19 for his departure to a southern hospital. I will finish
20 in a few minutes.

21 **THE FACILITATOR:** John will stop for
22 awhile. If any of you would like to continue -- Larry.

23 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) I won't be

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1 speaking Inuktitut.

2 It is very sad to think that the
3 government would not give us credit for being capable of
4 understanding what's going on. It is very obvious that
5 the government thought that we only knew about hunting
6 and a very simple life. This is a good case, or a good
7 example, of the government's ignorance of the Inuit.

8 Let me remind everyone, during the
9 fifties were the times in the eyes of the world, especially
10 in the western culture -- one of the most prosperous times.
11 Our country was not poor. We had just come out of the
12 big wars. The country wasn't poor.

13 I will say, again, that Grise Fiord and
14 Resolute Bay today are very good communities to live in.
15 We are very well off. I live up there. We have very
16 scenic communities today. But the price was very high
17 to get to where we are today. That's a very big price
18 to pay for getting to the stage we live in today, up in
19 the high Arctic. You are just seeing part of the price
20 that was paid.

21 If the government had been more honest
22 -- let me go back to the times of exploration, in the old
23 days, during the time of Franklin. When explorers were

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1 looking for people to come with them to the unknown, they
2 used to publish their intentions and look for recruitment.
3 They said, "Looking for hardy people, willing to risk
4 their lives, for no pay. You will be given, at least,
5 food and shelter, but, otherwise, we won't be responsible
6 for anything else." Why didn't the government use that
7 approach?

8 The Inuit have always been, because of
9 our -- up to now, too, we have always been very tough.
10 Risk-takers. We live in one of the harshest climates in
11 the world. Because of our ability to survive, we are here
12 today. If the government had said, "People needed to go
13 to the high Arctic. Completely different environment.
14 Different wildlife. You will have to adjust to a different
15 diet from where you come from. Expect not much", I'm sure
16 they would have had a response from some part of the Arctic,
17 instead of trying to sell a product, using a sales pitch,
18 "Almost too good to be true." They didn't give us the
19 benefit of the doubt. It's really sad.

20 For too long the aboriginals of this
21 country have been treated like second-hand citizens, or
22 second-hand product. We have our own culture with much
23 knowledge. We have as much intellect as anybody else in

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1 the world, if not more in some areas. This is an example
2 of ignorance of our civil servants of this country, and
3 the price we had to pay to get to where we are today no
4 longer should be ignored.

5 I will stop here for now. Thank you.

6 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry.

7 John, are you ready?

8 **JOHN AMAGOALIK:** (English) Thank you.

9 As I was saying, my mother was preparing us mentally for
10 my brother's departure that next summer, when the ship
11 arrived. The ship arrived and we had our examinations,
12 and we were very surprised that the doctors gave my brother
13 a clean bill of health. We were prepared for his
14 departure, but the doctors said he was healthy. He nearly
15 died that first winter, and he ended up infecting the whole
16 community.

17 The first ten years in Resolute were the
18 most terrible years of our lives. We spent years without
19 mothers, without fathers, without brothers, without
20 sisters, who were all sick in the hospital; in southern
21 hospitals. Our families were never complete in those
22 years. There was always somebody -- one or two or three
23 members of the family -- in the hospital at the same time.

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1

2 I remember my father sending letters to
3 my older brother, who was in hospital then. He used to
4 try and include a little bit of cash -- spare cash -- that
5 he had so that my brother could have some spending money
6 in the hospital. When my brother got back to Resolute,
7 we were surprised when he told us that he had never received
8 any money. He got some letters, a few letters, but there
9 was never any cash.

10 I remember scrounging, for food in the
11 dump, for clothing, for shelter. Whenever a plane arrived
12 in Resolute, we all used to rush to the dump, because we
13 knew that some left-over sandwiches from the flight would
14 be thrown away in the dump. That became an important part
15 of our food supply. My cousin Sarah nearly died that first
16 winter from lack of nutrition. His baby, Paul, who is
17 sitting back there, nearly died.

18 It was that first spring that my father
19 went to the RCMP to request that we be returned home.
20 He got a flat "no", right on the spot. The RCMP constable
21 didn't even bother passing on this request to his
22 superiors. He made the decision on the spot and said no.
23 That was it. Case closed.

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1 I do remember this particular constable.
2 He was extremely short-tempered. Whenever anybody ever
3 disagreed with him he flew into a rage. His face turned
4 all red. It was his way or no way.

5 There is one particular incident that
6 I would like to tell. I was a young kid, about nine or
7 ten years old. I was visiting my friends. We were playing
8 in their house. One of the younger kids had these sores
9 on his back. He kept scratching them. He couldn't stop
10 scratching them. This constable tried to put some
11 medication on, but it didn't work, the little boy kept
12 scratching his back. The RCMP constable lost his temper.
13 He took out a piece of rope. He tied it around one of
14 his elbows, around his neck, and to the other elbow. The
15 kid was squatting on the floor, tied up like this, and
16 the cop left. He just left. It was about five minutes
17 later that his father got enough courage to untie him.

18 We came from Port Harrison, which at the
19 time was developing. There was a school established.
20 There was a nursing station. There were government
21 services, although limited. But, up in Resolute, there
22 was absolutely nothing: no medical facilities, no
23 schools; nothing.

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1 We finally got a school, back around
2 1958. By that time I was 11 years old; one of the reasons
3 why I didn't get a higher education; one of the reasons
4 why many of the young people my age never did get an
5 education. We feel very much cheated by this.

6 Our first school was two miles away, in
7 what they called South Camp. We had to walk to school
8 every morning, two miles, in the middle of winter. In
9 blizzards. In minus 40, minus 50 degree temperatures.
10 The polar bear were roaming all over the place.
11 Amarualik's daughter did get lost in the storm one day,
12 coming back from school, and the whole community had to
13 go out and search for her.

14 I remember the men being out for months
15 -- months upon months -- and the women and children were
16 left alone in the community to fend for themselves.

17 I remember my parents always yearning
18 for food. They were crying for fish, berries, game birds,
19 and things that were just not available up there.

20 I think it is also very important for
21 people to understand the complete and utter isolation that
22 we experienced. We were completely cut off from the world
23 for the first three or four years; no way of communicating

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1 with our families and friends back home.

2 The past 40 years we have been trying
3 to get at the government to make them understand just
4 exactly what happened. I just can't understand why they
5 will not admit to their criminal negligence, their
6 abandonment, and the violation of our human rights.

7 Thank you, Mary.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, John.

9 Would any one of you like to add to what has been said?
10 Simeonie.

11 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

12 Thank you, Mary and Commissioners.

13 The fact that the government had really
14 paid it and the fact that the government refuses to
15 recognize us, we don't understand why they don't want to
16 recognize this.

17 Looking at the map, Grise Fiord had four
18 police constables in 1953, and Alexandra Fiord had four
19 police constables. Now there is only one police officer
20 there, since we've been moved there. The police that were
21 sent there by the federal government to prevent the
22 Greenlanders from harvesting musk ox, now we are there
23 basically to prevent the Greenlanders from harvesting

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1 wildlife up there.

2 We are telling the government: "Admit
3 that you had sent us there to assert Canada's sovereignty
4 up in that territory." We don't have an awful lot against
5 the government, we are just simply asking them to
6 acknowledge what the actual truth and their purpose was
7 for sending us there. Anybody can make a mistake, even
8 the government can, and the government should just admit
9 their mistake and thank us -- recognize that we deserve
10 thanks for our role and compensate us for the damages that
11 we have suffered in our lives. The damage is tremendous,
12 but we are asking for very little money. For the
13 government, the amount of money we are asking for is very
14 small, actually.

15 We are relating to you what has happened.
16 To us, the government should simply say yes to what we
17 are asking, considering all that has happened. The
18 government has treated -- and believe their aboriginal
19 people. If we tell them the truth, for sure, they should
20 know that we're telling the truth. The Government of
21 Canada is elected by all Canadians and, if we think of
22 it, he's sort of the bishop. We can think of him as a
23 bishop towards his people.

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1 When the government came on the scene,
2 in the Arctic, they sort of set out to destroy the lives
3 and the traditions and the culture and the language of
4 the people there. It is only in recent years, when we
5 had set up our own organizations -- our associations --
6 to counter this wholesale destruction and disruption of
7 our lives and our language and our culture that government
8 is starting to realize that, yes, there is something worth
9 preserving here. The Minister of Indian Affairs, who is
10 acting on behalf of the government to deal with the
11 aboriginal people, is in no way fulfilling his
12 responsibility.

13 The RCMP, which is responsible for
14 representing the Queen in our homeland, has the power and
15 authority to call for our destruction, basically.

16 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Minnie,
17 which one of you? Would Anna go first? Anna wanted to
18 speak.

19 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) I am Anna
20 Nungaq.

21 **THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to say,
22 first, when you are speaking, can you please try to make
23 clear who you are speaking about; who exactly it was that

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1 you are speaking about? People, if you can make clear
2 who it was that said these things to you -- if you can't
3 name them, that's not possible, but if you can make clear
4 who exactly you are talking about when you are speaking.

5 Can you understand if it's possible for
6 you to do this?

7 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) I am not
8 aware of the names, or I don't know the names of the
9 Qallunaat. I can talk about them and relate to them.

10 **THE FACILITATOR:** Perhaps, if you can
11 just name them, or what the Inuit call them, it would be
12 sufficient.

13 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) I would
14 like to add to what Samwillie said. When we were divided
15 into different groups on the C.D. Howe, we thought that
16 we were going to stay with Simeonie and his group. I've
17 said that earlier.

18 Now, when we were in the high Arctic,
19 I had many worries and burdens on my mind. I said earlier
20 -- I described the departing of my grandfather and the
21 fact that he travelled a long distance by kayak to visit
22 us for our departure. My mother came to get me and we
23 respected and abided by the wishes of our mothers and our

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1 Elders. When we were getting onto the ship, all of our
2 relatives who were coming to see us off, all wept and cried
3 as we shook hands.

4 Now, we understood at the time that we
5 were only going away for two years, but we all were aware,
6 and we were finally prepared to get onto the ship. People
7 who saw us off wept. No wonder they cried.

8 For me, I was not aware of the sheer
9 distance of where we were going. On the trip, itself,
10 at times, when the water and sea was very rough, plates
11 and bowls could not even stay still on the table. I,
12 myself, was already longing to go back home, during the
13 trip itself.

14 Now, when we had landed in the high
15 Arctic it was very cold. It was cold and it was not dark.
16 It was already snowing. It was already not a happy time
17 when we landed. We were not happy. When we were landed
18 by the C.D. Howe, we parted company with the people that
19 we thought were going to stay with us in our exile. John
20 Amagoalik has described the time when his parents were
21 alive, when Salluviniq was alive; these people that we
22 had grown attached to and had bonded with. Sarah and
23 Simeonie and their families, we departed with them and

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1 we pitched our tents in a very cold place. It was not
2 a happy time for us.

3 So, when we were established in the high
4 Arctic, where there was no shelter, no church, no hospital,
5 nothing, all we had was a tent. We landed and that's all
6 we had to live in, a tent. The police had houses, and
7 the people that -- there were two families that worked
8 for the police -- (native name) -- Kyak -- a special
9 constable, Kyak, and his wife, Leetia. They told us that
10 the previous description of the Quebec Inuit was that we
11 were all a bunch of thieves, so coffee containers and other
12 things which were stored outside normally were taken inside
13 for safer storage. I, myself, have never known thievery
14 or thieves, or people who stole back in Inukjuak. They
15 were preparing to be landed by a bunch of thieves. This
16 was a very disparaging description of us.

17 When the C.D. Howe was coming later on,
18 when we were living there, our parents and all of us used
19 to dress up in new clothing. We always tried to be in
20 a new set of clothing before the C.D. Howe came. I guess
21 it was to describe us as well-dressed, that we were dressed
22 in new clothing. And I guess it was to describe us as
23 well-dressed people, so that the police could see that

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1 we were well-dressed when the police came and the other
2 authorities came. We were dressed out in our very best
3 clothing before we went onto the ship to go and get our
4 x-rays. We were all dressed in our very best clothing,
5 and so we were when we went to get our x-rays. This was
6 not described. Perhaps people have forgotten it. But
7 I always remember it. Why was it that we were all dressed
8 in our very best clothing around ship-time?

9 Thomassie and his family, whom we lived
10 with, who landed with us, who are no longer living --
11 Thomassie and Mary, they are no longer living, but they
12 were with us when we were landed. They lived through the
13 burdens and fears that we experienced when we landed and
14 when we were trying to settle there. They, themselves,
15 were very homesick. They are no longer living, so people
16 don't speak about them, but they were very homesick, along
17 with all the rest of us.

18 Until the Greenlanders came, those
19 people from Greenland, who eventually came to visit us,
20 we never experienced eating any fish before they came,
21 and here we were sent there to protect that part of the
22 country from Greenlanders harvesting. But they were the
23 ones who told us where to find fish. I can't really say

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1 how many years we spent without eating any fish of any
2 kind, but it was not until the Greenlanders, many years
3 later, told us where to find fish.

4 We were always uncertain if there was
5 going to be another sunrise, or a sunset. We did not know,
6 in the early years, the conditions, but we were told by
7 our instructors, the high Arctic people who came with us,
8 what sort of climate conditions existed. Larry's father,
9 who was our catechist, or leader in prayer, died very early
10 in our exile. I do not live with them now, but I remember
11 all of this.

12 I would like to stop for now.

13 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Anna.
14 Minnie? Yes, Sarah.

15 **SARAH AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) My
16 name is Sarah Amagoalik.

17 I want to describe the splitting of
18 families when we arrived in Craig Harbour. We had all
19 been together on the C.D. Howe for the whole trip and we
20 were under the impression that we would all be together
21 in one location. Then we were split into different groups
22 and we were transferred onto the D'Iberville, which was
23 an ice-breaker.

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1 By that time we had grown so used to and
2 accustomed to conditions on C.D. Howe. It was sort of
3 a home for us by that time. But we were transferred onto
4 another ship, and the others were landed there, and we
5 lived in the foresection of the ship. They were on two
6 levels. There was an upper level and a lower level. I
7 lived in the lower level, while some of them were quartered
8 on the upper level of the foredeck.

9 Now, when we were transferred onto the
10 D'Iberville, the ice-breaker, we were put inside the stern
11 section, immediately below the helicopter landing pad.
12 We were living right below the actual landing pad of the
13 helicopter. We could not sleep, because a helicopter used
14 to land right above us, and there were all sorts of drums
15 -- oil drums -- in the stern section. The helicopter
16 landing pad was there. All they did was cover us with
17 a bit of canvas. There used to be a very, very noisy engine
18 that was turned on to heat the place where we were staying.
19 So, there was a lot of noise pollution where we were.
20 It was below the helicopter landing pad. So, all our trip
21 to Resolute was lived under those conditions. They were
22 not ideal conditions, I can say.

23 When we landed in Resolute we thought

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1 we were going to land in a place with Qallunaag, white
2 people. We were told of the possibility that we would
3 be occupying some empty buildings, but we were landed onto
4 a stretch of shore that was absolutely desolate.

5 We were able to get warm when we pitched
6 up our tents. Actually, there was wood on the shore and
7 we were able to use our wood-burning stoves. We were able
8 to use those stoves.

9 **THE FACILITATOR:** Where? Is that in
10 Inukjuak?

11 **SARAH AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) No,
12 after we landed in Resolute. We were able to use wooden
13 crates in Resolute. There was a lot of nails on those
14 crates. I used to spend -- I used to step on a lot of
15 nails on those crates, because that's all the wood we had.
16

17 I described yesterday the conditions I
18 had with my small baby, so I will stop for now.

19 **THE FACILITATOR:** Minnie, do you want
20 to speak next? Take the microphone beside Anna and use
21 it. Turn it on.

22 **MINNIE KILLIKTEE:** (Translation) I am
23 Minnie Killiktee.

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1 I was part of the relocatees that
2 travelled in 1953 up to the high Arctic. I am not
3 accustomed to speaking at such a large gathering, so I
4 am sort of shaking nervously.

5 I was 13 years old. I remember only part
6 of the events. I remember the relocation, or parts of
7 it. I remember my mother's recounting what they were told.

8 I was, myself, quite happy, because I was 13 years old,
9 because I was expecting to go to a much more pleasant place,
10 and I don't think I really cried, even though my mother
11 was weeping and crying at our departure.

12 Here we were, travelling on the ship.

13 I was actually looking forward to being on the ship;
14 spending time on the ship. I don't think I cried, even
15 though my mother and them were crying.

16 When we spent so much time on the ship,
17 it was no longer pleasant after awhile. I only remember
18 part of it. I don't remember all of it. But, what I do
19 remember, when we arrived at the high Arctic, the place
20 that was going to be our home, it was getting cold, it
21 was getting more desolate; getting more barren. I did
22 not know that it was dark in the winter and light in the
23 summer. When I first became aware that it was all dark

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1 all winter, I thought I was going to sleep all winter and
2 get up only in the summer. That was the mental image I
3 had upon hearing that those were the conditions.

4 I said earlier that the more we got
5 nearer our new home it was getting more barren and getting
6 less pleasant.

7 In 1953 when we landed there were only
8 two police officers and two Inuit families who were
9 servants of the police. They had wives and children.

10 From Inukjuak to Grise Fiord, I remember
11 these are the people who landed, including their children
12 and their adults. There were, perhaps, 18. Aqiattusuk
13 had a wife. Joadamee had a wife. Philipoosi had a wife.
14 Thomassie had a wife. These were the men with families
15 that went from Inukjuak.

16 Yesterday, somebody said that there were
17 teachers in Inukjuak at the time. I was in school before
18 our relocation in Inukjuak. We were relocated to the high
19 Arctic when our original homeland was being established
20 with a school. I lament for this, that we were sent out
21 just as one school was starting. I was one of the pupils
22 in school in Inukjuak, but this was cut right off beyond
23 Inukjuak, because we were landed on rock with absolutely

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1 nothing, and, therefore, our education could not continue.

2

3 I want you to know that I was one of the
4 first relocatees in 1953. Thank you for allowing me to
5 speak.

6 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Minnie.
7 Just for the information of the Commissioners, we have
8 five brothers and sisters in a row here, starting from
9 Larry Audlaluk on to Minnie, who was just speaking.

10 Samwillie wanted to add something.

11 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
12 Thank you for the opportunity to speak further to what
13 is being spoken. I want to add to what Anna said earlier
14 about being dressed in our best, which she said earlier.
15 She didn't quite complete the story, so I wanted to
16 complete it.

17 The police used to come when they were
18 expecting the ship to arrive, getting around to checking
19 what sort of clothing they would wear at ship-time. Boots
20 and other articles of clothing were inspected by the
21 police, with the intention of equipping them with new sets
22 of clothing and telling us, "You are going to have to wear
23 your best clothing when the ship comes. Are you sure now

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1 which ones you are going to wear?" That's what the police
2 used to tell us, or ask us. They used to inspect the
3 clothing that we were wearing. Did we have good boots?
4 Did we have good boots to wear at ship-time? If he did
5 not have good boots to wear, they would tell the women
6 to sew new boots. And they used to ask women, "Where are
7 the clothing that your children are going to wear at
8 ship-time?" When the shipped arrived everything was to
9 be as pleasant as could be.

10 We know this, so we can tell it today.

11 But I also remember my mother saying that Thomassie's
12 children -- and I am going to use them as an example.
13 Or, she used them as an example in telling this story.
14 My mother used to try to help everybody out. Mothers
15 giving birth, people who were sick, she used to try to
16 help them all.

17 Now, in the summer, Thomassie lost two
18 children. They used to wear torn clothing because there
19 was no store. There was no post where clothing could be
20 had. Then my mother said, "I have just told one of the
21 police officers two boys are no longer living. The one
22 who was very insistent. The one who could take 30." My
23 mother used to supervise giving birth and other events.

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1 My mother was a very well-respected woman. She said,
2 "I have just burnt the clothing of the two boys that lost
3 their lives." They used to be very poorly clothed, those
4 boys who lost their lives, but their parents were saving
5 very good clothing for ship-time. But they had died very
6 poor, actually, wearing rags the police were feared. If
7 they were not wearing new clothing, if they were not wearing
8 good boots at ship-time, the white people who were on the
9 ship that arrived would describe it. They wanted to be
10 able to say about us that we were well clothed. They even
11 inspected our clothing, making sure that we were wearing
12 good clothing at ship-time. This is how -- even our
13 clothing was supervised. We were required to wear our
14 best clothes at ship-time and be in our best boots. So,
15 because we feared the police, we used to try to dress up
16 in our best clothing. We were wearing our very best
17 clothing only during the ship-time; only during the time
18 when the ship was in our community.

19 I wanted to clarify that, because Anna
20 mentioned it earlier.

21 **THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, would like to
22 add to what has been said? After that we will break for
23 lunch. At 1:30 I'm going to have a few questions to ask

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1 of what you said earlier, to clarify certain things that
2 you said. Perhaps the Royal Commissioners will have some
3 questions of you also.

4 Larry, you will be the last speaker for
5 now.

6 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) I am going
7 to speak English. I would like to clarify a little bit
8 further about adjusting to the new country, for my parents
9 and brothers and sisters. My brothers and sisters are
10 sitting next to me, all the way to Elijah Nutaraq. From
11 me, Samwillie, Anna, Minnie and Elijah -- my brothers and
12 sisters. I am the youngest.

13 They had to adjust to a new way of
14 hunting, and adjusting to different diets; adjusting to
15 eating marine mammals more than water fowl. One of the
16 things they had to really get used to not having was fish.
17 But, in the summertime, in spring and summertime, much
18 of their time was spent trying to catch sculpin; what we
19 call in Inuktitut "kanayuq", because they didn't know where
20 the lakes were.

21 As my sister told earlier, we were not
22 aware of where to go for fishing until the Greenlanders
23 told us, the very people we had been asked to kick out

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1 of the area; keep away from the area.

2 The boys -- Thomassie Amaraulik's boys
3 -- the two boys who died, who drowned, whose clothing my
4 mother had to burn, I will talk about a little bit further.

5 They spent a lot of their time trying to catch sculpin
6 for the meals for the whole family, because their father
7 was too busy trying to go hunting other game, keep the
8 dogs fed; bigger game. The boys and us, with our older
9 brothers, some of them, like Samwillie or my brother's
10 wife, or my sister, we would go out often fishing for those
11 sculpin, because the old folks really missed having fish.

12 Sculpin was, at least, edible and it reminded them a bit
13 of a fish they used to have back home, before they
14 discovered the Arctic char lakes.

15 All summer we would do that, and spring.

16 One day, one morning, Elisapee Nutaraq -- my brother's
17 wife now, who is sitting in the back -- because he was
18 much older than us, decided to go sculpin fishing with
19 me. We were just going to go for a quick trip, but
20 Thomassie's children -- the two boys who were to drowned
21 later in the day -- saw us going and wanted to follow us.

22 But we were a little bit reluctant, Elisapee and I, because
23 we were in a hurry, for them to come with us. But, being

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1 respectful of the parents, we said, "Okay, we will wait
2 for them while they get dressed." This was about eight
3 in the morning; very early in the morning.

4 Because the two boys, who were a year
5 older than me, one of them, and the other one was about
6 three years older than I, had been hunting with their
7 parents now and then, more often than I was, they really
8 liked it, so the mothers decided that they should go with
9 us fishing so they won't bother their father while he went
10 out hunting big game. Because we didn't have a very big
11 boat in those days, I guess she was worried about them
12 taking up space in the boat, so she sent them with us.

13 We went fishing most of the morning, and
14 we didn't catch very many. But, Elisapee Nutaraq said,
15 "Well, time to go home." And the two older boys, the only
16 two companions I had when I was young, never came back.

17 I never saw them again because one of them drowned, but,
18 the other one, we never found his body. These are Simeonie
19 Amaraulik's nephews that went to Grise Fiord, instead of
20 going to Resolute with Simeonie. Because he was his
21 half-brother, he ended up going with us, so the whole family
22 just deteriorated later in life, after the two boys
23 drowned. My only companion when I was growing up -- and

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1 I was alone for a long time, because their youngest brother
2 was too young to play with me. By then I was already eight
3 years old.

4 Do you know what it's like to be lonely
5 and not have anyone to play with? Not knowing that I had
6 left behind so many cousins in Inukjuak -- my parents,
7 relatives -- never knowing that I could have had so many
8 friends in Inukjuak while I was growing up. I never
9 started school until I was 12. Imagine how much education
10 I could have had if I had started early in life in school?

11 I didn't start school until I was 12. And to lose my
12 two friends -- it was very hard in those days to have any
13 companions.

14 So, when Samwillie talks about my mother
15 burning the two boys' clothing that were saved for the
16 ship-time, to make us look good, she was very, you know
17 -- saying "disappointed". What a waste of such fine
18 clothing; the clothing that they had bought during the
19 ship-time, last September, and they were saving them for
20 this coming September, because the boys drowned during
21 July or early August. I don't know the exact date. All
22 summer long they were raggedly dressed in very poor
23 clothing and boots, and my mother seeing all that go to

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1 waste. It was a very, very shameful waste, she said, as
2 Samwillie related. I remember her saying that exact
3 thing, too, saying, "I just burned the boys' clothing."

4 That's all I wanted to say for now.

5 Thank you.

6 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry. We
7 are off for lunch. When we come back after lunch Markoosie
8 Patsauq will be the first speaker at the beginning of the
9 afternoon session.

10 --- Luncheon recess at 12:10 p.m.

11 --- Upon resuming at 1:30 p.m.

12 **THE FACILITATOR:** We decided that
13 Markoosie Patsauq would start off, but before he starts
14 we have a few questions in regards to what you were talking
15 about earlier, so we can clarify some of the points that
16 you made. Although you were very understandable, there
17 were some spaces that we want clarified, in order to make
18 everything full in detail. The Royal Commissioners may
19 also have questions.

20 First of all, the people from Pond Inlet,
21 you stated that you have had meetings where the Inuit of
22 Inukjuak were not allowed to take part in the meetings
23 that you had held. Would one of you clarify that further?

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1 During those meetings, the Qallunaaq
2 that had met you, what were they saying? What did they
3 say to you? Could one of you -- could Jaybeddie or you,
4 yourself --

5 **SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** (Translation)
6 When we talk about the meetings that were held between
7 us before we arrived into Craig Harbour, a few Elders from
8 Pond Inlet and the people that were representing the
9 government, they told us that the people from Inukjuak
10 had never been in the same climate as we were, so we were
11 told to assist them. The meetings that were held between
12 the Inuit from Pond Inlet and -- they were indicating to
13 us the names of the people from Inukjuak. Am I clear
14 enough?

15 **THE FACILITATOR:** Why did they say that
16 the Inukjuak people were not supposed to be involved in
17 those meetings?

18 **SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** (Translation)
19 They didn't explain that, but what I thought, maybe they
20 didn't want them to hear because they didn't want them
21 to know that they were going to be separated, because their
22 plans were already that they would be separated and they
23 didn't want them to hear that. When they did that we went

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1 out. They indicated to us that these five people will
2 be under your guidance.

3 **THE FACILITATOR:** Jaypettie, can you
4 state further?

5 **JAYPETTIE AMARUALIK:** (Translation)
6 That was the case. I am Jaypettie Amarualik of Pond Inlet.
7 We were told that we would be making
8 money, and we were told not to fear anything, that we would
9 be provided for all our needs, and we were happy to hear
10 that. Later on they said that supplies would be provided
11 by the government, so they would be less expensive. That's
12 the information that was given to us.

13 Those of us who were originally from the
14 high Arctic --

15 Three of us were convened. The three
16 of us from Pond Inlet, we were convened. We were told
17 that we would be sort of the supervisors of the other
18 groups, because they were not familiar with the terrain
19 and the climate of the region. So, in Resolute, I used
20 to do that sort of job. There were only four of us grown
21 men. When we did any hunting we were able to get seals.

22

23 We did not have that great a hardship

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1 afterwards, but my pain I still feel for the daughter that
2 I lost. I was crying inside.

3 The ice conditions were very different
4 and the snow was very soft. In June, when the snow became
5 soft, it was very, very deep.

6 There was a guy who was his white man. He was a geologist,
7 named Tim, from Ottawa.

8 Tim was just a geologist, and there was
9 Andrew, who was another white man. I am told that he's
10 in Edmonton these days, but he was going after small birds.
11 He was a naturalist. So, I wanted to go home, but both
12 of these people did not want to return.

13 **THE FACILITATOR:** Somebody mentioned
14 earlier the Greenlanders. Can we get a clarification as
15 to what exactly was told to the Greenlanders, and by whom,
16 and how they travelled there? Can somebody speak on that?
17 What were your instructions as to how to treat the
18 Greenlanders? Somebody mentioned this. Was it you?

19 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I am
20 Elijah Nutaraq.

21 Up there, when we were in Grise Fiord,
22 we had a bunch of Greenlanders arrive by dog-team, but
23 the first ones were not given any problems, but the ones

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1 that consequently came, later on, the police, who were
2 acting on behalf of the government, arrived by airplane.
3 They started arriving by airplane, the police officers
4 did. They didn't come very often. The RCMP came by
5 aircraft. I am not quite certain exactly who came, but
6 they were from the RCMP. I can't really name or recall
7 the names of the many various police officers that were
8 stationed there.

9 When the police came the Greenlanders
10 came also, when we only had two police officers. We
11 generally only had two police officers.

12 **THE FACILITATOR:** Were they given any
13 calling in Inuktitut?

14 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) One of
15 them was called Qiyuk, which means, literally, "wood".
16 We were not familiar with white people's names. I can
17 never keep them in my head. So, one was called "Wood".

18 So, the Greenlanders arrived.
19 Toomaqsie. That was his name. Then I was told to tell
20 them not to harvest any more polar bear, although there
21 was nothing said about seals. We were instructed to tell
22 them not to harvest any more polar bear. I attempted to
23 transmit that message in my own dialect, in my own language,

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1 to them, because that's all I knew. What I told them was,
2 "The Canadian authorities do not want you to harvest any
3 more polar bear." But, because they were Inuit -- but
4 continued to arrive, although dog food is scarce around
5 here.

6 So, they got my message and they
7 understood, although we had great difficulty in the
8 differences of our dialects understanding each other.
9 But they told me, "God made them. These animals are not
10 the property of government, and so we will disregard the
11 government's instructions." That's what the Greenlanders
12 told us. They told us that God made the animals; He created
13 the animals. They were not created by government. So,
14 they didn't have much regard for the government's word.

15 I told them, "Because they never
16 directly gave you this message, you probably do not have
17 to abide by what they are trying to get me to tell you."

18 So, they agreed to that. So, they continued to kill polar
19 bear.

20 They were traced -- the RCMP plane
21 tracked them down by air -- by aircraft that was equipped
22 with skis. They swooped down and landed in their
23 encampments, and if they had harvested any polar bear or

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1 any evidence of polar bear skins they would get confiscated
2 by the police.

3 I think this is the answer to your
4 question.

5 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. I would
6 like to return a bit to the Pond Inlet people. When you
7 were being met, when a meeting was being conducted with
8 you in explaining your relocation to the high Arctic, was
9 there any indication as to what you would find, or what
10 conditions existed in the new land that you were going
11 to be relocated to?

12 **SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** (Translation) We,
13 ourselves, had never been there previously, although my
14 mother had been in that area previously. So, we knew only
15 that that area was plentiful in seals; that marine mammals
16 were plentiful.

17 When we landed in Craig Harbour we caught
18 some walrus that were for the use of the police post at
19 Craig Harbour. When we were going to be relocated to a
20 new location, after the tenth day, we were landed to this
21 new location and the police, whose name was Sergeant, and
22 Kyak, the special constable, had found this new place.
23 When I went to examine it myself, to see if there was any

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1 water source, there was no river, there was a very tiny
2 brook. I thought, "Yes, that's okay." I thought, "We
3 can examine it more upon our arrival -- after our arrival."

4 So, this place was already chosen for
5 us as a site, even before our arrival.

6 We were told that there was plentiful
7 wildlife: polar bear, walrus, musk ox and plentiful
8 caribou. My mother told me that, previously, no caribou
9 had existed there. There was lots of foxes. So, we were
10 told all this. It was not a place where people would have
11 to depend on welfare or government hand-outs.

12 The Resolute people would know how to
13 identify this other one, who is called Umilik (ph), or
14 "Bearded One".

15 What I observed, though, is that the sea
16 mammals were more plentiful from our original homeland,
17 but land animals and other game were not more plentiful.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to ask
19 the same question of the Inukjuak relocatees. When you
20 were being prepared for the relocation, what exactly were
21 you told? What sort of description of a new land were
22 you given, and by whom were you given these explanations
23 of the conditions in the new land?

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1 There was a former teacher, whose name
2 was Marjorie Hinds, whom we have read about, who was part
3 of the people who explained the conditions in the new land.

4 Can any of you elaborate on what exactly you were told;
5 Lazarusie or John Amagoalik, or the others present here?

6 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) At
7 the time, when we were being prepared to relocate, the
8 teacher, whom you just mentioned, was hired by the police
9 to take part in the explanations, but there was one who
10 arrived by aircraft into Inukjuak, whose name was Alex
11 Stevenson. He arrived in 1953 by aircraft, in June. He
12 was the one who told their older brother, Joadamee, that
13 they should now be prepared to relocate, or they should
14 relocate. So, it was him.

15 He told Joadamee that he would be waiting
16 for them in Churchill, once they arrived in Churchill by
17 boat. But, because we lived in a farther camp, and they
18 lived in a nearer camp, we were told by the policeman,
19 Ross Gibson, and he explained to us the details concerning
20 relocation, although the others, the ones we were going
21 to follow, were explained this whole business by Alex
22 Stevenson.

23 I said yesterday that we were given one

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1 month's notice before the departure time. We were never
2 informed more than one month. **THE FACILITATOR:**

3 What were you told at the time? What exactly were you
4 told?

5 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

6 Well, the one who came to inform us, informed us that,
7 "You are going to go. You are going to leave. You are
8 going to depart, perhaps to Fort Ross, on Somerset Island,
9 or to Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island." Fort Ross is
10 much nearer than Craig Harbour from our original homeland
11 of northern Quebec. He told us we were going to meet them,
12 "That you are going to meet with Larry's father, and us,
13 and the people from Fort Chimo", that we were going to
14 meet and we were going to be together, and that, "You are
15 going to be there for two years, and when you want to return
16 after two years you can do so. If you want to contact
17 by radio, you can do so by RCMP radio to your relatives."
18 That's what we were told.

19 I asked for what reasons why we were
20 being relocated, and the police said to me that, perhaps,
21 living conditions would be better over there because wild
22 game and resources were becoming scarce. "That's why we
23 want to send you there. If you don't like it after two

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1 years you can always return. You are going to be helped.
2 You are going to be given assistance."

3 Then I asked, "What about our boat?
4 What is going to happen to our boat?" He told me, "No,
5 don't bring your boat. We are going to give you all the
6 equipment you need, including boats." So, that's what
7 we were told, but there was nothing. There was nothing
8 when we landed of any such assistance.

9 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
10 Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak. About the
11 teacher, Marjorie Hinds, and her involvement, perhaps
12 people don't have much memory of her. She attempted to
13 speak Inuktitut, I recall, once, just prior to the arrival
14 of the ship, when we were at the post, when we had moved
15 already from our original camp, from near Inukjuak to the
16 community itself.

17 **THE FACILITATOR:** She spoke in
18 Inuktitut. Was she able to speak?

19 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
20 Well, a word here and there. That's what she said --
21 (speaking native language) -- which means, "fox come".
22 We could understand -- (native word) -- and we could
23 understand "come". Perhaps that was the -- well, to my

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1 memory, that was the extent of Marjorie Hinds' involvement.

2 **THE FACILITATOR:** Was she there to
3 explain the conditions of the high Arctic to you?

4 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
5 Perhaps she was going to come to our camp, but we arrived
6 in Inukjuak before she departed.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** Lazarusie?

8 **LAZARUSIE EPOO:** (Translation)
9 Lazarusie from Inukjuak.

10 I don't have any comment to make about
11 the relocation itself, but I was also being prepared for
12 relocation, although I never did. I was never -- I never
13 had any contact with that particular teacher. But, I had
14 conversations with the police officer, who was named "Big
15 Red" -- (Kayualuk) -- and he gave me a description of --
16 he didn't give me any description of the disadvantages
17 of the physical terrain of the high Arctic, he only talked
18 about the plentiful foxes, polar bear, seals. So that's
19 what enticed me, because I was after those exact species
20 at the time. He did not give any indication whatsoever
21 about the physical and geographical aspects of the land.
22 All he said was about the animals. He did not even mention
23 that there were long periods of darkness up there. So,

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1 the only description he gave was of the plentiful wildlife,
2 nothing else.

3 **THE FACILITATOR:** I have other
4 questions.

5 Larry.

6 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) Larry
7 Audluluk. I grew up in Grise Fiord, because I was three
8 when we were moved. What the people are saying is true,
9 because I used to listen to my mother in times of despair
10 asking questions to no one in particular: "Where are all
11 the animals that they were promised? Where are the
12 animals? Where are the fish?" In fact, one time she even
13 said, "We were going to be told there may even be some
14 trees, or some high willows." So, plenty of animals seems
15 to have been the only theme that they worked on to entice
16 us to go up there. So, when my mother was very upset and
17 despairing she used to talk about all the plentiful animals
18 that they were going to be hunting. So, it was very
19 upsetting to hear her talking about it.

20 She got so tired of eating seal meat.

21 I remember her cooking dead dog, and another time I
22 remember her cooking -- we don't usually eat wolf, but
23 I remember her having wolf and saying that it almost tastes

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1 like caribou, because it probably had eaten some caribou,
2 the dead wolf that she was cooking.

3 So, in times like these she used to talk
4 to no one in particular, saying, "I expected -- we expected
5 these animals. Where are they?", looking into space.
6 "Where are those animals?"

7 Thank you.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** -- something that
9 happened while you were in Inukjuak, when you were told
10 that you were going to be moved to a place with more
11 plentiful wildlife, when you were still in Inukjuak. It
12 was mentioned here and there yesterday. I would like to
13 have it clarified further, because you seem to have been
14 told you were going to be moved to a place that was much,
15 much better than what you were actually living. You
16 described yesterday that you were living, and you were
17 quite contented and happy where you were because it was
18 the land of plenty and there was nothing wrong with where
19 you were living. So, you have been saying this. Can you
20 clarify it further, either of you? Simeonie?

21 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

22 Well, if they were saying that northern Quebec was having
23 a scarcity of animals and wildlife, perhaps it wasn't true

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1 in many ways, because we cannot say that Inukjuak has an
2 absolutely full range of species of all wildlife. In the
3 1940s, during World War II, in many areas of Canada wildlife
4 became scarce. It is only now that they have recently
5 become more plentiful. Perhaps it had something to do
6 with the effects of the war and the effects of the weather,
7 and so there is a fluctuation and different levels of
8 plentifulness of wildlife in different years.

9 Although we were told there was going
10 to be more plentiful wildlife up in the high Arctic, all
11 we have been able to ascertain is that marine mammals,
12 polar bear, seals, and walrus are more plentiful. That
13 is true. But, even today, I cannot shoot any polar bear.

14 We were told at the time there were lots
15 of musk ox, but then when we got there we were told --
16 my brother-in-law, John Amagoalik's father, said, "If you
17 shoot one you are going to be fined \$2,000, or you are
18 going to be arrested."

19 Now there are no caribou there. The
20 only thing resembling caribou was the musk ox, although
21 we were told there were lots of caribou. My younger
22 brother, Jaybeddie, we spent all winter, in two-week
23 stretches, looking for a place there was caribou, and we

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1 got a cow and her calf; only two caribou. That was all
2 we found.

3 After four years, when Jackoosie and his
4 brother came, we were able to wander and explore farther
5 and farther. So, only after four years we were able to
6 find more caribou.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** Andrew.

8 **ANDREW IQALUK:** (Translation) I was a
9 hunter at the time, and I enjoyed being a hunter. I was
10 competent at it. I learned the skills, so that's what
11 I was at that time.

12 When we settled there, in the high
13 Arctic, I was one of the ones who searched out the location
14 of the animals. I was never given any information as to
15 where they were, or what I could find in any special areas,
16 so I had to go in all different directions to find out
17 what was available in each location.

18 So, here I was, having been delivered
19 to a land of plenty, having to figure out for myself what
20 existed. Because my mother was an old woman and we had
21 no father and I had to look after her, and her eye-sight
22 was failing her, she was going blind, I could see the strain
23 that she was going through. It made me worker harder to

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1 try to find wildlife that she could relate to from her
2 earlier days. But I was only able to catch polar bear,
3 walrus and white whale. Those were the only species we
4 could find in those days. Thank goodness I was a
5 young man at the time and very able. We were competent
6 hunters. That's all we did for a living. That's how I
7 remember it.

8 Perhaps somebody else can add.

9 **THE FACILITATOR:** Lazarusie?

10 **LAZARUSIE EPOO:** (Translation) I am
11 Lazarusie. I have always lived in Inukjuak, and in the
12 area. I went to settle in the post of Inukjuak at the
13 time they were relocated, so I can give a sort of firsthand
14 description of the difference in wildlife resources.

15 We were able to harvest all sorts of
16 wildlife -- the only thing that was not really readily
17 available in the area was walrus -- which we could live
18 off of. We did. We did so. But our equipment was slower,
19 because we were using dog-teams in those days.

20 I cannot say that it is the most abundant
21 place for wildlife. Neither can I say that there is no
22 wildlife there. But, now, we have very large amounts of
23 caribou, large herds, that are right up to the town itself.

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1 Perhaps they will all move farther away sometime in the
2 future, but we have very plentiful caribou. We also have
3 plenty of polar bear, and we can harvest quite a few every
4 year, although they were not really plentiful in the years
5 when these people were being relocated. So, the only ones
6 that we can say that are more plentiful are the caribou
7 and the polar bear, since these people's departure.

8 The method of hunting has changed, also,
9 but we are now able to use motorized means to get to the
10 game areas.

11 **THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie, first.

12 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

13 Samwillie Eliasialuk. I moved to Grise Fiord in 1953.

14

15 In regard to wildlife, I would like to
16 say that I was relocated to a land of more plentiful
17 wildlife, but I want to demonstrate, or illustrate, what
18 we had to go through to get at the animals.

19 In some years the fox are very scarce.

20 This is true in all locations. Sometimes they are very
21 plentiful. When foxes were scarce and the Hudson Bay
22 Company was not able to attain a large harvest of fox pelts,
23 they said that foxes were gone.

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1 I am going to show you how far I had to
2 travel in the new land. I am going to show you. This
3 is where I used to have to go to, trying to look for foxes.
4 This is where we were delivered. This is where we lived.
5 I went through here, and this is my farthest. Sometimes
6 I travelled there two weeks at a time, hunting for foxes,
7 because there was nothing in some years. I went right
8 up, almost to the open water. And we went to hunt for
9 caribou in these areas.

10 I used to travel quite a bit, before I
11 got a job. There were no trade goods, and I used to camp
12 outside, in the open weather, because there was no shelter.
13 There was no way for me to buy anything. I used to hunt
14 foxes in those areas, to quite a distance, even though
15 I had been delivered there to, what was called, the land
16 of plenty.

17 Thank you.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie.

19 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

20 Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak.

21 I returned to Inukjuak in 1979. When
22 I saw the wildlife of Inukjuak, I saw much different
23 species. There was plenty of fish. All the lakes were

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1 stocked with fish. There were many river systems. It
2 was a place where somebody could get plenty to eat. And
3 there was a certain river that my grandfather used to live
4 in, where my brother and I used to live; where my family
5 lived, previously. I wanted to see that particular river,
6 so people in Inukjuak, there were many canoes, so I went
7 -- I was taken over there. We used to take fish right
8 out of the river and cache them in rocks. The fish were
9 still very plentiful there, when I went to see it, after
10 all my years in the high Arctic. And there was one large
11 barrel that my grandfather used to fill with fish, which
12 would be -- it would be filled in the spring and it would
13 be used to cache enough to last people for the winter.

14 Inukjuak has plenty of water; plenty of
15 rivers. I would take a bit of water from the rivers when
16 I was going out canoeing and, because there are many islands
17 offshore, I would go to the islands and hunt for birds,
18 ducks, geese, snow geese, Canada geese, and when I ran
19 out of water I would search out some lakes or ponds in
20 the islands. But, these are not good sources of water,
21 because even large ponds are all polluted with the
22 droppings of various game birds.

23 Hudson Bay is a good area for birds and

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1 other wildlife. Perhaps, at the time of the relocation
2 there was less than there is now, but there is plenty of
3 wildlife in that area.

4 Thank you.

5 **THE FACILITATOR:** I would like to move
6 on to another question. Larry, do you want to add to that?

7 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) I would
8 like to keep repeating, to make it a little bit more clear,
9 for those of us who live in Grise Fiord, who grew up there,
10 when we were very young we were relocated into the area;
11 Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. To us, that's our home.
12 And I am one of them. It will always be my home, because
13 that's the area where I grew up.

14 To me, today, it's a land of plenty.
15 I am used to the wildlife of the mammals, seals, walrus,
16 whales, polar bear, that my brothers and sisters told you
17 were alien to them, because they were used to a completely
18 different kind of wildlife; different types of it in
19 Inukjuak.

20 I will defend it today, while I am able
21 to -- give up my right arm, even. The area we are talking
22 about, Grise Fiord, which was so desolate when my parents
23 went up because, among other things, they didn't have the

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1 proper equipment to go where there were more game, we,
2 who are descendants, who have the opportunity to have good
3 boats today, can harvest. I am so used to having seal
4 meat, I don't think I can have caribou meat every day,
5 which my parents missed so much when they were moved, not
6 even a few months after they were relocated.

7 That's what I want to set straight. We
8 are talking about the difference in an area; the drastic
9 change from the hunting they are used to; hunting different
10 kinds of wildlife. When they were moved up there it was
11 as if there was nothing because, among other things, as
12 I said, they had no way to harvest the area, because they
13 were not given proper equipment. But, today, Grise Fiord
14 is not so ominous and scary as my parents went through.
15 But the price was too high to pay then.

16 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Larry. I
17 have another question, so, Simeonie, would you like to
18 continue with this issue?

19 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) I
20 am Simeonie Amagoalik of Resolute Bay.

21 What Larry is saying is true. Back then
22 we were not provided any boats, but today they have better
23 equipment and they are able to get around better.

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1 It doesn't have as many small game as
2 there are in Inukjuak. If the government had wanted to
3 relocate us to where there is plenty of moose, they would
4 have relocated us to Pangnirtung or Pond Inlet, because
5 there is more small game there than there is in the high
6 Arctic.

7 We were landed to where there was no
8 fish; no vegetation. They should have relocated us to
9 Baffin Island, where we could find blueberries and marine
10 mammals. As Larry said, today, there are a lot of
11 seagulls, though, when we talk about birds. They have
12 a lot of large mammals. We were not used to that, but
13 today the people that have grown up there are used to this.
14 That's true.

15 Thank you.

16 **THE FACILITATOR:** We will move on to
17 something else. Samwillie, you would like to say more?

18 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

19 As Larry was saying -- I would like to elaborate on that
20 a little bit. My mother -- I would like you to understand
21 what my mother went through. My mother really missed the
22 diet she was used to; the small game birds and the fish,
23 and she even ate wolf meat, because she was always eating

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1 polar bear and seal meat. She got tired of eating just
2 polar bear and seal meat, so she even ate wolf meat. I
3 have heard that she was so tired of eating the same kind
4 of meat, she even ate dog meat and wolf meat in order to
5 change her diet. Today we just throw away wolf meat and
6 dog meat. Because she was missing her regular diet back
7 home, she tried to change what she was eating every day.

8 I would like to make it clear what
9 Arnakallak was saying in regards to the information that
10 was given to them about us. The government says they
11 assisted us, they helped us, they gave us welfare, but
12 that's not the case. We were never given any welfare in
13 Inukjuak back then. Only the widows were given welfare,
14 and that wasn't much either. Only the widows used to
15 receive welfare. Anyone who was able to hunt was not
16 provided with any welfare. That was the information that
17 the government gave, that they were providing too much
18 welfare and too many hand-outs to the people of Inukjuak.
19 That's the information that was given to the Inuit of
20 Pond Inlet, and that was not the right information.

21 Thank you.

22 **THE FACILITATOR:** We will move on to
23 another question. The Royal Commission has to have a good

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1 understanding of what you were talking about in regards
2 to separating off the Inuit into groups. After you have
3 left Inukjuak, during the ride on the ship, you were divided
4 into two groups. Can you elaborate on that?

5 The families were separated. Were you
6 even separated from some of your children, or how was the
7 separation conducted?

8 I know it's hard for you to talk about
9 that, but could Simeonie start off with that?

10 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

11 Thank you. Simeonie Amagoalik, from Resolute Bay.

12 The fact that we were divided as
13 families, as I said earlier, my son-in-law -- two of my
14 sons-in-law, and my brother-in-law, older brother-in-law
15 -- two of my sons-in-law went to Resolute together, but
16 my step-brother, who is older than me, tried to follow
17 us up to Alexandra Fiord, but then he got off in Grise
18 Fiord. What we were talking about earlier, two of his
19 sons drowned looking for sculpin. We went to get him by
20 dog-team -- on a dog-team. He is now dead, but three of
21 his sons are where we are living now. But, because of
22 sickness and all the hard times he had been through, one
23 of them is unstable. One of the three is going back to

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1 prison. He repeatedly gets arrested.

2 My family has been divided throughout
3 Canada. The fact that we were divided on the boat, that
4 was the beginning. Even up to now, more and more we are
5 being divided. Even though -- my only brother now, who
6 is younger than me, we are not together; even my nieces
7 or nephews. Perhaps we would have been together if the
8 government had never said anything. That's the results
9 of what the government had done, broken the circle of life.

10 **THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie, were you
11 told that you would be together? Did anybody ever mention
12 to you that you would be together?

13 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) As
14 I said earlier, Larry's father, understood that we would
15 be together, but once we arrived, at the time the Pond
16 Inlet people had a meeting, that's when we first learned
17 that we would be divided.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you.
19 Samwillie, do you have anything to say on this?

20 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
21 I would like to add something. My name is Samwillie
22 Elijasialuk, from Grise Fiord. I lived in Grise Fiord,
23 yes. Yes.

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1 They wanted to divide mother and son,
2 or father and daughter. I am not lying. They wanted to
3 divide, but there seemed to be no way to do so. They really
4 wanted to divide children from their mother.

5 **THE FACILITATOR:** Did you not allow them
6 to do so?

7 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
8 It was not us. They really wanted to divide children
9 from their mother, or from their father, but we did not
10 go along with that, because my mother -- my father -- just
11 Larry -- could have kept only Larry, the youngest, and
12 would have gone to the furthest. That's what they wanted
13 to separate us, and they tried. The government tried.
14 I can divide my dogs, if I have dogs,
15 and put them here and give them away. That is what they
16 wanted to do, what the government wanted to do; give us
17 away to the land, just like that. Just take the child
18 away from my mom, if she had agreed to it, but she did
19 not. My step-father could have gone along with that.
20 That's what we saw. That's what they tried to do. So,
21 there was just me -- that his older brother -- Simeonie's
22 older brother, that you accompany Simeonie's older
23 brother. I was 17 at the time. I was given away to him.

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1 That's how we were divided. But, Philipoosie, Larry's
2 father's -- my father's -- my step-father's -- just agreed
3 to that, but Philipoosie had protected, or defended my
4 mother. But, Philipoosie said, "Just return him, because
5 he has no family and nobody to sew his clothing. How can
6 you not say, when he had so many relatives -- his
7 grandparents. Perhaps he was better off at his
8 grandparents. Return him right away." That had defended
9 me. I said, when this subject came -- Simeonie can even
10 say -- I was saying -- I even asked a question, like, "If
11 I go up there alone, nobody to look after me, maybe" --
12 I even said, "Maybe I should marry my cousin, so she can
13 do the sewing for me." I can recall that, and Simeonie
14 can recall what I said back then. They really tried to
15 separate us, as if they were separating dogs. It's true.
16 They really took us and separated us, just like that.
17 Treating Inuit as dogs, that was the case.

18 Thank you.

19 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you.

20 Jaybeddie?

21 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) I
22 can say a little bit on that separating issue. Leo
23 Kayualuk, who was our interpreter on the ship, he was able

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1 to speak Inuktitut, and he used to be really loud when
2 he talked to us. He asked a question: "Thomassie, would
3 you mind being alone with the Inuit of Pond Inlet?" They
4 tried to refuse that.

5 After about an hour, just before we were
6 finished, and as things were winding down, Kayualuk said
7 to my older brother, "Thomassie, would you be able to get
8 along with just the Pond Inlet people?" He answered again,
9 "I came here only to be with my family members." But,
10 on the third time he was asked that same question, he
11 finally gave in, and that's how we were divided. They
12 just kept on insisting.

13 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Anna
14 would like to speak.

15 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) Anna
16 Nungaq, from Inukjuak.

17 It was really traumatic for me when we
18 were being divided, in a very strange land. The people
19 that we were going to be settled with, we thought we were
20 going to settle with them, but they were separated from
21 us. I thought that all the Inukjuak, all the original
22 Inukjuak relocatees, would be all happily encamped in one
23 location. But, after we had past Pond Inlet we were

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1 divided.

2 We should have been told, all along, that
3 we would be divided into different groups, but we were
4 all together in this ship and it was a real wrenching
5 experience when we were being divided into groups.

6 When we landed there it was bare of any
7 population, very cold, and we had to leave the people who
8 we spent all summer on the ship with. So, it was with
9 a lot of foreboding that we landed onto a very cold shore.
10 We were very apprehensive, because we did not know what
11 was ahead of us.

12 Now, it's very different now, since our
13 arrival. There is more there now. The original landing,
14 and what exists now, is very different. Now there are
15 houses. Larry's description of it as being a very good
16 land and a land of plenty is true, but when we first landed
17 there it was a totally different circumstance; totally
18 different from what exists now. Only just before
19 Christmas, and only for the use of the police, supplies
20 were dropped from the air. There was an air-drop of
21 supplies towards Christmas, because there was no landing
22 strip. There were no houses. There were no aircraft.
23 There was nothing.

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1 When Josephie -- they had to go get ice
2 by dog-team. They had to use a dog team to go get their
3 ice.

4 I was married to Paulasee. He is no
5 longer living now, but I loved him. He went to Resolute
6 by dog-team. After having done that, in the service of
7 the police, he asked the police for at least \$10, because
8 our children were hungry and the welfare and hand-outs
9 that used to be issued in Inukjuak were no longer issued
10 in the high Arctic, because of me being a crippled and
11 disabled person. I don't know the English name. He was
12 called Policialuk. My husband asked for at least \$10 from
13 him, for his services to dog sledging from Grise Fiord
14 to Resolute and back. Josephie and my husband had to do
15 this in hunger and in cold, and they were physically very
16 exhausted by the time they returned. He went to ask for
17 money, and Josephie had muscle spasms from hunger and cold
18 and exhaustion. When I think back on that episode, I
19 remember.

20 Now, I said I've returned to Inukjuak,
21 but my children are still in the high Arctic. If the
22 government had never bothered to relocate us I would still
23 be with my children.

StenoTran

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1 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Anna.

2 We are going to take a break. I wanted
3 to ask one question of John Amagoalik, about the letters
4 that you wrote to your brother, who was in hospital. How
5 were they delivered to the hospital? Can you, please,
6 clarify how that was done? John?

7 **JOHN AMAGOALIK:** (English) John
8 Amagoalik.

9 As I testified earlier, my mother and
10 father used to send letters regularly -- tried to send
11 letters regularly -- to my brother in hospital. Whenever
12 my father -- our only source of mail was the RCMP. We
13 had to give all our mail to the RCMP in order for it to
14 be sent. Every time my father handed the RCMP constable
15 a letter to be sent, the constable always asked, "Is there
16 any money in this?" Of course, my father being honest,
17 used to tell him, "Yes, I enclosed \$2. I enclosed \$5.
18 I enclosed \$1." I always remember the RCMP constable
19 writing the amount of the money on the envelope and then
20 putting it in his pocket. As to how they got to the
21 hospital, I don't know. Perhaps my brother can put some
22 light on that.

23 **MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** (Translation)

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1 Those letters, were you asking how they got to the hospital?

2 **THE FACILITATOR:** How did those letters
3 get to the hospital?

4 **MARKOOSIE PATSAUQ:** (Translation) In
5 those days, in Resolute Bay, there was an Armed Forces
6 base, and the Armed Forces aircraft delivered the mail
7 when I was in the hospital. I received it through the
8 Armed Forces aircraft. And my younger brother, about what
9 he said, my father used to write to me, as did my mother.
10 They used to say, "I sent you money last month. Did you
11 receive it?" Well, in those letters I received, quite
12 often, questions in the letters asked me, "Did you receive
13 your money?" I know that I did not receive all the money
14 that they ever tried to send. I used to think they were
15 simply lost, because I was not aware that people stole
16 that kind of thing. It did not even enter my mind that
17 they could lose such things. Even when I didn't receive
18 the money, it didn't come to my mind as anything strange.

19 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. We are
20 going to take a short break; a 15-minute break. When we
21 come back, I think the Royal Commissioners would like to
22 ask a few questions. So, we will take a break for 15
23 minutes.

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1 --- Short recess

2

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1 --- Upon resuming

2 THE FACILITATOR: (Translation) We are
3 ready to start again and I am going to turn it over to
4 Judge Dussault.

5 COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT: Thank you,
6 Mary. We are going to start with Commissioner Wilson.

7 COMMISSIONER WILSON: You have talked
8 to us quite a bit about the terrible conditions that you
9 faced when you landed off the ship at your destination.

10 I think we are pretty clear about how awful these
11 conditions were and that they were not at all what you
12 had been led to believe they would be when you were being
13 sent there. And, you have also talked to us quite a bit
14 about the pain of being parted from your relatives, when
15 you went on the ship, and about the separation of families.

16 I think we have a pretty clear picture of that, also,
17 but there is one area that I am not quite clear about and
18 this is what I would like your help on.

19 I am really interested in knowing
20 whether you were able to communicate with your relatives
21 back home after you landed in your new location because,
22 obviously, they would be wondering how you were getting
23 along and what was happening to you and you would be

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1 wondering how they were getting along without you. So,
2 I would assume that you would be making efforts to get
3 the news back home, send them the news of what you were
4 living through, and hearing from them how they were getting
5 along without you.

6 We have heard an awful lot about the
7 means of communication. At one point it was mentioned
8 that there had been letters which were subsequently found,
9 had been opened and had been torn up and were found in
10 the dump. Then, just before lunch, we heard about an
11 attempt to send a letter to a patient in hospital containing
12 money.

13 I am wondering whether you were writing
14 home to your relatives complaining about the way you had
15 been deceived about the conditions that you were going
16 to. Were you writing home to say that you would like to
17 be sent back -- that you would like to get back? Was there
18 that kind of exchange of communication going on? How was
19 it done? Was it done by letters? Do any such letters
20 exist today that would show that you were wanting to return
21 within the two-year period and were not allowed? Is there
22 anything like that, because I don't think we are very clear
23 as to how you communicated with your relatives back home
and how much communication you were able to achieve?

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1 So, I would be glad if anyone of you could
2 tell us a little more about that.

3 **THE FACILITATOR:** Which of you can
4 answer these questions? Samwillie?

5 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
6 As Inuit, we have a practice. First, I am originally
7 from Grise Fiord. I was relocated to Grise Fiord and I
8 will answer her question. As Inuit, we have a habit of
9 not writing about very unpleasant things. We were not
10 in the habit of writing to our family members back home
11 about how terrible conditions were. We did not want to
12 worry them unduly.

13 Even if we did write such a letter, our
14 relatives back home were not in any position to do anything
15 about it, except to worry about what we were going through.
16 We could not write about such unpleasant things in the
17 form of written letters, and then I would unduly worry
18 and get my relatives back home to worry because this is
19 what we do. We never wrote about how terrible conditions
20 were to our relatives because we knew that if we were going
21 to have anything done about it we would have to, first,
22 get the police on the scene at the post to approve of
23 anything we requested, and they never agreed to or approved

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1 of our request.

2 The police was our boss there and people
3 expressing their desire to return expressed it to the
4 police as individuals: "I want to return because I am
5 unhappy here, or because conditions are unacceptable to
6 me here."

7 The letters were torn up. Yes, that is
8 true. We have seen those and, perhaps, somebody can add
9 to that.

10 **THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie, do you
11 want to add to that?

12 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
13 Yes, I want to add to that. The letters that we wrote
14 were torn up, but not all of them were torn up, some of
15 them survived. We were able to communicate through
16 letters only because there were no radio communications
17 in those days. Even though it was not very often, we
18 received letters, so we know some communication got
19 through. And we know that those that were tearing up
20 letters were very unfavourable towards the description
21 of the new land.

22 But, some mail got through and we used
23 to get mail, although it was not very often, as I said,

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1 that we were able to get this sort of communication. If
2 our letters were not uncomplimentary, these are the ones,
3 basically, that we found later that got through to our
4 relatives in Inukjuak.

5 The police in Canada, we know, read the
6 mail. So, because they were treating the people there
7 in the high Arctic as prisoners, or sort of charges of
8 some sort, they read their mail and some mail got through
9 and some didn't. If we were describing relatives who died,
10 for example, if a relative died we would hear about it
11 two months or so later. So, we did not hear things
12 instantaneously, but we heard about them after much time
13 had elapsed.

14 **THE FACILITATOR:** Can you further
15 answer the question that was raised by the Commissioner?

16 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I was
17 relocated to Grise Fiord. We used to communicate through
18 letters. Some letters were torn, for sure. But, I,
19 myself, wrote to my relatives and sent pictures or
20 photographs because our local police officer used to
21 develop pictures, although they were not coloured
22 photographs.

23 The first officer that we had was called

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1 Sergeant. I don't know if he was actually that name, but
2 we called him Sergeant.

3 So, I wrote a letter and I sent
4 photographs. The photographs were missing and the
5 envelope was sent back to me; an envelope that I was trying
6 to send to my relatives. But, when the cassette tapes
7 came into existence and we were able to tape our messages,
8 that was when we really truly started communicating,
9 through cassette tapes, but that was many years later.

10 I cannot say in exactly what year Grise
11 Fiord got a school established, but it was only at that
12 time that we were able to start really communicating.
13 Previously, it was very primitive.

14 **SARAH AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

15 Sometimes I lose track of the flow of the discussions,
16 but to answer the question that was raised -- if you don't
17 raise questions you are not going to have a full
18 understanding, so don't be afraid to raise questions so
19 that your understanding will be complete.

20 There was no radio and there was no
21 telephone, so we communicated by mail. But, we never
22 received or sent for a long time. In Resolute Bay there
23 was much traffic, there was much aircraft, so there were

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1 medical evacuations and whatnot. But, the letters that
2 we wrote to Inukjuak were delayed because Inukjuak, itself,
3 did not have a regular airmail delivery and that may have
4 been the only reason why our letters took a lot of time
5 to get to their destination.

6 But, there was no telephone in those
7 days. I used to get letters from my mother, let's say,
8 every two months, for example, when we were first settling
9 there.

10 So, don't be afraid to raise questions
11 so that we can try to clarify any questions you may have.

12 **THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie, make sure
13 to answer the question, please.

14 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
15 I want to try to clarify. Sarah says that she was landed
16 in a place that had plenty of air service, but we,
17 ourselves, were landed where no aircraft could land or
18 take off and our only means of communication with the
19 outside world was through the ship; only when the ship
20 came on its annual arrival. The only access to the outside
21 world from where we were was by ship. It was impossible
22 for us to receive or send any letters before a whole year
23 was up.

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1 We could have sent some mail by dog-team,
2 and that was what we attempted to do. But, I have seen
3 torn letters. We had no radio communication of any sort
4 whatsoever. We were not able to communicate; receive or
5 send communication for a whole year. There was no aircraft
6 service at all of any kind. Thank you.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** One more, I think,
8 response. John Amagoalik.

9 **JOHN AMAGOALIK:** (English) Yes, just
10 a short response. At the time, as I said earlier, the
11 isolation was very complete and it has been pointed out
12 that in Resolute a letter usually took two or three months
13 to reach the destination. Also, they did not have much
14 difficulty in getting it south, but it was getting it back
15 north, up to Inukjuak, that was part of the problem. And,
16 of course, in Grise Fiord they only got a ship a year and
17 there was no regular mail service.

18 Our despair usually was not included in
19 letters. It was done by word of mouth. So, that is as
20 I remember it. I was too young to be writing letters.
21 I don't know what the contents of those letters were, but
22 I do remember when we started receiving tapes -- magnetic
23 tapes -- the whole community used to gather around in one

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1 house and listen to the tape of that home and those were
2 very, very emotional times. That was when our
3 displeasures were expressed, by word of mouth on tape,
4 usually not by letter.

5 **COMMISSIONER WILSON:** Thank you. I
6 would like to thank you very much for trying to answer
7 my question. Thank you.

8 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I would now
9 like to ask Commissioner Chartrand.

10 **COMMISSIONER CHARTRAND:** Thank you. I
11 would like to begin -- and this is the first time that
12 I am speaking -- to offer you my greetings and to thank
13 you for having come here to talk to the Royal Commission
14 on Aboriginal Peoples. I am glad that the Commission is
15 able to be of some assistance in providing you with the
16 opportunity to explain these issues to us and to Canada.
17 The issues are very important, very large, and we know
18 they have filled many, many pages.

19 I have been informed about a lot of
20 matters in listening to you over the last day and half
21 and there are two more days, or so, remaining. It is,
22 as we have been told, important that we ask questions to
23 clear up things. But, it is also important that we listen

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1 to you and provide every opportunity we can for you to
2 tell the full story.

3 So, keeping that in mind, what I would
4 prefer to do right now is to give myself some time to reflect
5 upon what you have said and upon the issues that were
6 brought before us and to ask some questions later on, during
7 our hearings, and to provide, perhaps, other
8 Commissioners, who might be prepared now to ask questions,
9 to take the time. Thank you.

10 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** George
11 Erasmus.

12 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** About the
13 Greenlanders, there was a good explanation of that earlier
14 today, but prior to the Greenlanders coming was there any
15 description told to you by the RCMP about what you should
16 do if the Greenlanders came? Were you told, for instance,
17 that you should discourage them from coming; that they
18 should stay in Greenland? What were you told about the
19 Greenlanders before they arrived?

20 **THE FACILITATOR:** Can any of you answer
21 the questions about the Greenlanders? Before they
22 arrived, what were you told about them? What were you
23 told by the RCMP to tell them?

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1 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) Elijah
2 Nutaraq, relocated to Grise Fiord.

3 You asked a question about Greenlanders.

4 The police -- there were two Inuit and two Qallunaat,
5 or white people, in Grise Fiord who were in the service
6 of the police. One of the special constables had a mother
7 whose name was Martha, so we were told a lot about the
8 Greenlanders from her, that they had always made the trip
9 over across to Canada and they were sneaking into RCMP
10 post buildings when they were abandoned or during the times
11 that they were not occupied. So, the Greenlanders had
12 a reputation for breaking into these places and taking
13 food and whatnot, or whatever supplies.

14 We were told this by Kyak, or Kyak's
15 mother. Kyak was the special constable. But, we were
16 never told to discourage them from coming. We were simply
17 told to discourage them from catching polar bear when they
18 came because they were able to -- and not to discourage
19 them from harvesting marine mammals and seals.

20 But, in regard to polar bear, they needed
21 polar bear skins for pants. They made pants out of polar
22 bear skins; the Greenlanders do. And, even if they are
23 women, they wear that. It is a ceremonial or ornamental

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1 tradition of the Greenlanders. Some of these Greenlanders
2 wore very poor quality polar bear skin pants. In Canada,
3 they were discouraged from harvesting any more polar bear
4 when we started occupying that particular area, because
5 we Canadian Inuit were using the polar bear skins, not
6 for clothing, but for pelts as trade items.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, would like to
8 add to the answers here. Make sure you answer the
9 question, please.

10 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) I feel
11 unqualified to talk about borders between Canada and
12 Greenland. It is such a big political subject and I am
13 hardly the one to talk about it, but I will tell you what
14 I know from the Greenlanders that we have been seeing from
15 the beginning, since we were relocated.

16 They have come to become our friends.
17 In fact, today there are some relations through contact.
18 From what I can understand through the exchange visits,
19 Ellesmere Island is very much a part of their polar Eskimo
20 hunting area. That is why they were always coming up to
21 the Grise Fiord area. Until 1977, or very close to the
22 seventies, or late seventies, they were always coming to
23 the area. When we arrived -- when we first made contact,

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1 they knew the area more than we did. And I know some people
2 who were born in Craig Harbour who are from the polar Eskimo
3 region of Greenland.

4 That is all I wanted to say. Thank you.

5 **THE FACILITATOR:** Anybody else want to
6 -- Samwillie, do you want to add to the answer?

7 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
8 The Greenlanders. As my older brother said, our
9 grandmother said the buildings in Craig Harbour were
10 unoccupied for long stretches of time and Greenlanders
11 used to take their fuel and the food in Craig Harbour when
12 they were out polar bear hunting in the area. So, they
13 used those huts -- those buildings -- for their purposes
14 when they were hunting polar bear because police were never
15 there to occupy that post full- time.

16 There were two white policemen and two
17 Inuit special constables, who could never occupy that post
18 at all times.

19 I want to make clear -- I know I am
20 repeating this, but I want to make clear that Inuit --
21 to be there would have been very hard to supply and it
22 would have been a real burden and bother to have to supply
23 Inuit or others who may have been permanently residing

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1 there.

2 To me, the meaning of this is that they
3 wanted people who could not just take off or return to
4 their original homeland. And that is what I surmise was
5 the reason why they sent us there. They sent us there
6 to establish communities to assert Canada's sovereignty
7 so that it could be said that those places were now occupied
8 permanently by Canadian Inuit.

9 Well, the Canadian government says, "No,
10 that was not the reason." But, we do not believe their
11 statement.

12 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

13 Thank you, Mary. About George's question regarding the
14 Greenlanders, he asked if they were made to feel unwelcome
15 in Grise Fiord. Well, it was not to make them feel
16 unwelcome, but it was the law of the Canadian government
17 and law of the Greenlandic government, or the government
18 regime under which they were living -- were two very
19 different things. The Greenlanders were no longer
20 allowed, or they were being dissuaded from harvesting polar
21 bear and musk ox from what Canada deemed to be its areas.

22 So, because we were sent there to be
23 Canadians and to, by extension, apply the law of Canada,

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1 that is the information that was eventually made clear
2 to the Greenlanders, that this particular stretch of tundra
3 or that geographical area was now, no doubt, Canada and
4 the laws of Canada apply and, therefore, because it is
5 a different set of laws, the Greenlanders should abide
6 by them or follow the laws of that geographical area.
7 That was the point that was made clear to them, eventually.
8 Thank you.

9 **THE FACILITATOR:** Did you want to say
10 something? Are you going to answer the question? We just
11 want to keep strictly to the matter of the Greenlanders
12 and the question that was raised about them.

13 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I want
14 to relate something about the Greenlanders that I know.
15 I am going to stand up and go to the map.

16 This is where we were landed, and that
17 is where we lived. We first saw traces of the Greenlanders
18 there. We had heard about them, but we had never met them
19 yet. We found their tracks and traces of them hunting
20 polar bear in that area. We, ourselves, were hunting polar
21 bear in that area. The Greenlanders came from here and
22 went by that way. You had the habit of coming down there
23 by dog-team.

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1 Now, they visit by aircraft, so we have
2 been able to share much more information with them and
3 they tell us that this place was very rich in seals.

4 **THE FACILITATOR:** How is it now, and
5 what about that area?

6 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) There
7 was a very good breeding ground for polar bear.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Is it still there?
9 Is it still the case, because they had intimate knowledge
10 of the resources that were available in the very different
11 areas of that area?

12 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) When
13 we visit back and forth with them nowadays in Qaanaaq in
14 Greenland, by aircraft, we have been able to get
15 information about where to find fish. It was only through
16 them that we were able to find where the fish were, where
17 the animals were, and where the wildlife resources were.
18 We were Canadians sent up to that, and we feel we know
19 that area. But, we have been able to get that information
20 about these areas more completely only from the
21 Greenlanders' knowledge.

22 That is all I have to say for now.

23 **THE FACILITATOR:** George, is that

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1 sufficient, in terms of a response? Mr. Dussault, I will
2 give it back to you.

3 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** You are not
4 finished. Sorry.

5 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I wonder if
6 someone could describe for me what the situation was in
7 relation to caribou, the ability that people had to hunt
8 caribou, because we seem to have been given at least two
9 different stories. In one case it seemed that we were
10 told that only the RCMP could kill the actual caribou and
11 it may have been because they felt that you could not tell
12 the difference between male and female amongst the caribou.
13 In another case it seems that people were allowed only
14 to kill one caribou and, in another case, it seemed that
15 it might have been a bit more than that. There was promise
16 of eight or nine caribou a year or something. So, I am
17 wondering if we could just get the stories straightened
18 out. Perhaps, I was not hearing it correctly, or perhaps
19 it was that different communities were told different
20 things. I wouldn't mind getting that, more or less,
21 straight.

22 **THE FACILITATOR:** He is asking about
23 caribou. Some people said that you could only kill one

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1 and some people said only the police could kill caribou.

2 What exactly was the case? How could this be clarified?

3 Mr. Erasmus wants to know.

4 **SAMUEL ARNAKALLAK:** (Translation)

5 Well, I was the one who referred to us being prevented
6 from doing the actual killing when we were hunting them
7 for food. There was Sergeant, and Sergeant was the boss
8 and he told us -- and the land, actually, is all mountains
9 and cliffs. Habitable areas are very small.

10 In Lancaster Sound side we were told that
11 we could harvest caribou, but there were no caribou where
12 they told us we could harvest. Perhaps he could -- because
13 he is talking about areas and he said that there is a certain
14 area where they were allowed to -- they were told they
15 could. Lancaster Sound, that is Devon Island, the
16 northern side, across from Grise Fiord.

17 We were told we could harvest any caribou
18 across from Grise Fiord, which is the northern Devon
19 Island, in that area of the map. But, we were told never
20 to harvest or kill any caribou in the vicinity of Grise
21 Fiord and Craig Harbour. So, it was a matter of, you have
22 the right to kill there, but don't kill in another area.

23 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

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1 I want to point out where we were supposedly allowed to
2 kill caribou. But, the areas we were designated, where
3 we could hunt caribou, there were no caribou. So, I want
4 to point that out to you on the map.

5 **THE FACILITATOR:** Make sure the
6 question is answered as accurately as possible.

7 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

8 We have said that we were told there was caribou when
9 we were being recruited. There the rule was one caribou
10 per family from that area. And we were told that we could
11 have one again next year. We were told that we could hunt
12 for caribou there, there, and there, but we were told not
13 to hunt or harvest any caribou from that area. We were
14 told we could only kill one per year, so we searched caribou
15 in that area. They were very scarce there, very scarce.
16 Perhaps, only two were ever harvested there. Well,
17 I said that we could harvest one per year there around
18 that area, but it was after the first year -- never applied
19 -- that rule never applied again.

20 We searched there and we didn't find
21 anything. Then we eventually found some there and there,
22 and we found some there. But, the trail to that place
23 was hampered by 6,000-foot mountains, and it is a very

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1 inaccessible area. That was the only place where we could
2 harvest caribou, and not many either. Although we were
3 told there was plenty of caribou, we never ate very much
4 caribou meat.

5 So, what was said to our parents was
6 false. There were no plentiful caribou in the area
7 anywhere at that time.

8 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** Before he
9 starts, perhaps I could find something out. He said that
10 the rule of one caribou was what they started off with.
11 Was that the same rule every year since then? Did it
12 ever change? Could they ever hunt more caribou at any
13 time, if they ever found them? I mean, technically, if
14 you can't find any caribou, it doesn't matter how many
15 you can shoot, but did the authorities ever let them hunt
16 more than one caribou?

17 **THE FACILITATOR:** Exactly as it was
18 posed, Simeonie, can you answer that, if you can?

19 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
20 Larry asked -- this is where I lived. That is the only
21 area where we could -- then, eventually, the caribou from
22 the northern island -- he is pointing out to the areas
23 where he can only get caribou meat now, from Pond Inlet

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1 and Cambridge Bay areas, because all of the areas we could
2 have harvested caribou eventually ran out. We can no
3 longer harvest any more caribou in all of those Arctic
4 islands.

5 I just want to clarify that, because that
6 is the case with the caribou.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** Was there a change in
8 the one caribou rule, or regulation?

9 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) We
10 used to get them from there. We were very careful not
11 to over-harvest the caribou available on the island. It
12 is an island where we are, and the government has imposed
13 regulations to conserve the caribou available in those
14 islands. So, we can only get them now from the two places
15 that I pointed out earlier.

16 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
17 We were told that we could only harvest one caribou per
18 year. We never even ever harvested any more because there
19 was none available. They are totally wiped out, that area
20 is, of caribou. So, we were told -- the statement that
21 we were told that there was plentiful caribou was never
22 true, then or now. And now I am told that there is a
23 moratorium on harvesting of caribou for ten years. You

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1 can ask again.

2 **THE FACILITATOR:** Andrew, do you want
3 to answer the question?

4 **ANDREW IQALUK:** (Translation) I am
5 Andrew Iqaluk. I was formerly living in Resolute Bay.
6 I want to clarify what Simeonie said earlier.

7 I went there in 1955, and only then we
8 were able to eat caribou meat. We searched out areas where
9 caribou were available, and we were able to harvest caribou
10 because we found an area that had caribou available.
11 Nobody imposed any regulations on us. We were able to
12 harvest however many caribou from the areas that we
13 searched out ourselves.

14 Simeonie has pointed out the general
15 area where we were able to harvest caribou, but now he
16 says, in recent years, since my move back, that whole Arctic
17 islands area is off limits to caribou hunting.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** Jaybeddie, you wanted
19 to respond as well?

20 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)
21 Yes. I want to respond as well. This is Jaybeddie
22 Amagoalik.

23 Back then, in Resolute Bay, for two years

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1 we never ate caribou, from 1953 to 1955. Only in 1955
2 were we able to eat caribou meat. In the vicinity of
3 Resolute Bay we saw two caribou, and we got them. In 1955,
4 when Andrew and the other group came, we were able to find
5 caribou on the Bathurst Island, but there were not many
6 back then. Only when I was back in Inukjuak, they started
7 imposing regulations heavily in regards to caribou.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Elijah, you wanted to
9 add something? Try to make it brief.

10 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I will
11 add to what Samwillie Elijasialuk was saying, because we
12 were from Grise Fiord.

13 The nearest caribou -- we were told that
14 the only caribou we could kill was male, not female caribou.

15 So, we used to say that, we Inuit -- even if they don't
16 have male caribou, they are not going to multiply, because
17 our Elders told us that. If they do not have a male caribou
18 they cannot multiply, and so we saw that the only caribou
19 left were female. When the wolf came they were all wiped
20 out in the vicinity of Grise Fiord. We used to find caribou
21 on the ice which were attacked by -- the carcass of the
22 caribou on the ice. They were killed by wolves. I am
23 not really quite sure if they were completely wiped out

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1 by the wolf, but that was the case in the Grise Fiord
2 vicinity. We couldn't kill caribou as we pleased.

3 **THE FACILITATOR:** I think that pretty
4 well covers it. Are there additional questions? Mr.
5 Erasmus, does that clarify your question?

6 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** Perhaps we could
7 go back to Quebec and talk about what the situation there
8 was like. We heard that people thought there was a lot
9 of available game at home in the early fifties. Was one
10 of the animals that you were used to eating in northern
11 Quebec caribou? How far would you have to go to get caribou
12 when you were in northern Quebec?

13 **THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

14 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) In
15 the early fifties we used to hunt caribou in Inukjuak,
16 and it would take us a whole month, or sometimes three
17 weeks. That is how far they were. But, when we
18 were relocated to Resolute -- there is a lot of caribou
19 in the area of Inukjuak these days. Like I said earlier,
20 there is a fluctuation of game over the years. When we
21 left Inukjuak we had to go far to hunt for caribou, but
22 after we had been relocated they had moved back to the
23 vicinity of Inukjuak.

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1 **THE FACILITATOR:** Does anyone want to
2 add to that?

3 **ANDREW IQALUK:** (Translation) Back
4 then, between 1950 and 1955, we had to go to the middle
5 of Quebec to hunt caribou. We had to go very far inland
6 to hunt caribou. Back in the early 1950s that was the
7 case. I just wanted to clarify that.

8 **THE FACILITATOR:** Mr. Erasmus, does
9 that clarify that?

10 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** On another
11 subject, one of the points that you started talking about
12 -- and a number of people mentioned -- was the relationship
13 between the Inuit and the police. Some people feared the
14 police and some, as John Amagoalik told us, his father
15 didn't necessarily fear them. I would like somebody, or
16 a number of people, to talk a little bit about the general
17 relationship that existed between the RCMP and the Inuit
18 people.

19 Was there a feeling that when the police
20 asked you to do something it was something that you had
21 to do? Was it like an order? Was it just an idea or a
22 suggestion? You didn't have to do it if you didn't want
23 to? Was there something compelling about what they said

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1 that made you feel that you had to do this?

2 A number of times people have said, at
3 least, in either Grise Fiord or in Resolute, that, "The
4 police, they were our bosses and we did what they told
5 us to do." For us to understand what was going on we need
6 to have a good idea of the general relationship that existed
7 between the RCMP and the Inuit. So, if some people could
8 just tell us, in their own words, what the relationship
9 was like.

10 **THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

11 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

12 This is Samwillie Elijasialuk, originally relocated to
13 Grise Fiord.

14 When I was still in Inukjuak the police
15 told me -- and I was fearful for a long time because I
16 was told by the police that -- when the ship had arrived,
17 we were unloading the ship before we left Inukjuak. When
18 we were unloading the ship I wanted to go home because
19 my mother had said that we would get some milk from the
20 police because Larry has -- we were getting family
21 allowance for Larry, so my mother told me to ask the police
22 to ask for milk because Larry was a young baby then. But,
23 the police told me, "If you don't leave tonight", he said,

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1 "I will kick you to death, if you haven't left, and if
2 I see you in the morning -- if you haven't left -- if you
3 don't leave."

4 So, I was very fearful. And that is how
5 we feared the police. They were not just ordinary
6 Qallunaags. The police had told me that. He was called
7 Aupaqtualuk. He said he would come and kick me to death
8 in the morning, and he would take me aside. He had boots
9 that had steel on them and he had a gun and I was very
10 fearful of the gun. I am just trying to make you understand
11 how fearful I was.

12 **THE FACILITATOR:** Sarah Amagoalik,
13 again.

14 **SARAH AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) While
15 they are talking about the police, I would like to add
16 that I used to be very fearful of the police. We used
17 to go to the dump because the airforce used to dump a lot
18 of really good food, and we would like to go looking for
19 food at the dump. But, all week we were trying to make
20 sure that the police were not around when we did that,
21 because if the police saw us at the dump he would pick
22 us up and take us home. They would prevent us from going
23 to the dump. So, whenever we saw the vehicle of the police,

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1 we would hide because we wanted to go the dump.

2 When we went to the dump, if he saw us
3 -- he used to come into our houses almost every day and
4 he used to check our -- and he would ask us where we got
5 this or where we got that, whether we got it from the dump,
6 or if we got it from the air force. He used to ask us
7 those questions. That is how much we feared the police.

8 He wanted to run everything. The air
9 force was willing to help us, but the police wanted to
10 run everything. When the air force staff wanted to give
11 us a cigarette or some candy, he would first ask the police
12 if he could do that. The police, when he came to our
13 homes, he used to look into our pots and pans and everything
14 in the house to see what was in there, and asked where
15 we got it from if he saw anything. He used to ask us
16 questions about -- even if he saw a container -- what was
17 in the house. Even if we bought it, he used to ask us
18 these questions. Ross Gibson.

19 That is how we feared him. He didn't
20 allow us to go anywhere we wanted, and when we wanted to
21 go for a walk -- the women -- we used to always watch out
22 for the police.

23 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you.

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1 Jaybeddie?

2 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

3 Jaybeddie Amagoalik from Inukjuak, Quebec.

4 Regarding the police, you want to hear
5 more about how we feared them?

6 When the police officer has arrested a
7 person, the person, or the victim -- the person that has
8 been arrested -- would be fearful. It was like being a
9 hostage. The officer would do anything he wanted to with
10 the person.

11 And, at night, when it was dark we would
12 go to the MOT Land. We had to use a -- the boss -- I was
13 saying the police, the Canadian police. Anyone can be
14 fearful when they have arrested someone. They would have
15 to go through the RCMP, an arresting officer, and the other
16 side, which was more having to do with hostage taking.

17 When we would visit the other areas, then
18 we would know that we were being watched on the window.

19 So, anyone would be afraid of the police officers at that
20 time.

21 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Jaybeddie.

22 Simeonie, go ahead.

23 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation)

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1 Thank you. Regarding your question; the fact that the
2 police were sometimes feared by Inuit.

3 When the police had a partner he used
4 to take them by dog-team. We would have -- the dog-team
5 would have difficulty pulling the three of us. However,
6 we never got paid for having to do the duty. Jaybeddie
7 -- we each had a team.

8 Now, Amarualik combined four dog- teams,
9 or our dogs, and the four of us can travel on one sled.
10 He would tell the other group, "You go in that direction,
11 and you go in this direction, and the other will go in
12 that direction." So, he mixed up the men and they would
13 go in different directions. The people who owned the dogs
14 did not do what they wanted to do. They were told to do
15 this or that.

16 **THE FACILITATOR:** Are you finished
17 Simeonie? Would anyone like to add to this? Sarah?

18 **SARAH AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) I
19 forgot one thing in regard to the police in Resolute Bay.
20 We used to get some food supply from the air force at
21 times. It was not the case all of the time, but when they
22 were going to throw some food away, they used to -- instead
23 of throwing it in the dump, they used to give it to us.

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1 So, it was up to the police to distribute it, which came
2 from the air force. We used to get some food which came
3 from the air force. We used to really appreciate that,
4 and it was the first time that we saw that kind of food.

5 The police used to give very little to
6 the Inuit. We had a small boat and he sunk a lot of food
7 which we really wanted, and he said that it was bad. There
8 was canned meat, there was canned food, and there were
9 different kinds of canned food, and he threw them in the
10 water. We were really sorry to see that, and the men were
11 told to throw them in the water. Although they didn't
12 want to do that, they had to throw the meat.

13 Sometimes we would get sick and he was
14 our only doctor. There were doctors at the air force and
15 the police told them not to come and visit, or see and
16 treat the Inuit. The only medication he gave to us was
17 apple juice. That was the only medication he had to offer.

18 And he used to have some medication which had been frozen
19 before. My husband used to have ear-aches and all of the
20 medication he was given was apple juice.

21 I forgot to mention that earlier. I
22 just wanted to mention that. Thank you.

23 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you, Sarah.

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1 Elijah, did you want to speak on this?

2 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I am
3 Elijah Nutaraq. I am originally from Grise Fiord, before
4 I moved back to Inukjuak.

5 We used to hunt with our RCMPs by
6 dog-team to Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord, back and forth.
7 Sometimes we used to meet between Resolute and Grise
8 Fiord, half-way between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay.
9 That was the first time I saw police, or the Qallunaats,
10 white people. Simeonie's Primus stove, the first kind,
11 when we met between Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay, when
12 it stopped working, the police threw it at us and it sunk
13 into the soft snow and that was Simeonie's only Primus
14 stove. It was going to take us many days to get back home.
15 And that is how scary the police was, and I was young
16 then. I got so scared of him because he threw the Primus
17 stove. I can still remember it.

18 I just wanted to mention that. Thank
19 you.

20 **THE FACILITATOR:** Thank you. Mr.
21 Erasmus, do you have additional questions in addition to
22 that?

23 **COMMISSION ERASMUS:** I have very small

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1 ones. Just a very, very small one from this morning, from
2 Anna's presentation, when she was describing -- I think
3 it was her husband doing some dog-sledding for the RCMP,
4 and at the end of it he went and asked for \$10 because
5 they needed some cash to buy food. She never did tell
6 us if he received the \$10 or not.

7 **THE FACILITATOR:** They are asking the
8 question to Anna on what she was talking about earlier
9 this morning, the \$10 that her husband was suppose to
10 receive. Did he ever receive it?

11 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) Anna
12 Nungaq. I will answer the question.

13 My husband went on the trip. We did not
14 have money. We had children. We had several children.
15 They were hungry and we had nothing. Then he -- the one
16 that we call the big cop, the big police officer, he went
17 to approach him; my husband went to approach him. He was
18 hungry, he was tired, he was just arriving from a long
19 trip on a dog-team. He was even having cramps from hunger.
20 They had no flour or bannock. They were hungry. The
21 big policeman did not agree to give him the money.

22 After a long trip on a dog -- \$10. A small
23 amount. He did not even agree to give him that amount.

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1 That's how it was with the police. No payment, even after
2 a long trip in the cold. No supply for the dogs travelling.
3 None. No dump, no nothing. Empty. No store.

4 Grise Fiord was empty, just bare rocks
5 or gravel. The other people that lived in Grise Fiord
6 with me know this story, that it was empty. We had nothing:
7 no stick, no wood, no plywood; nothing. There we lived
8 in tents, on gravel as floor. But, we had a qulliq, an
9 oil lamp that used seal blubber. That's how -- in the
10 dark -- that was our first experience in the dark. That
11 is how it was.

12 I would be afraid on the gravel; on the
13 floor. We had the qulliq, the oil lamp, but this is not
14 how it was used. This was not how it was back in Quebec.
15 We did not have a qulliq in a tent and in the dark. I
16 was disabled. I am not able to walk -- and in the dark.

17 My brother and I were apart from my
18 mother. We each had our own tent. Nobody even put our
19 tent up in the dark. We had the old worn- out skin; musk
20 ox skin. That is dark. Even the skin is real dark.

21 And the qulliq was our only facility to
22 have drinking water. Our brother would go out hunting
23 fox; trapping. We were hungry. When we first arrived,

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1 we would be so hungry, we were dying for our food. The
2 only food we had -- the only meat we had was seal meat.
3 The seal, when we first went there, were bigger than the
4 ones we left back home. That was one of the reasons why
5 we wanted meat so much. We had no store, and the Qallunaat,
6 the white men we had, the Qallunaat who sent us -- we were
7 taken to nearby camps so we won't be a nuisance to RCMP.

8 The only people looked after us -- our
9 families; our parents. We couldn't survive on our own.
10 That was the first time I ever experienced this kind of
11 living.

12 In Inukjuak we used to live in an igloo.
13 We used to live in igloos. We were able to make an igloo
14 in Inukjuak. In the fall, in Grise Fiord when the fall
15 came, I thought we were able to make the igloos, but we
16 couldn't because the wind is so strong and the snow can't
17 stay. The wind would blow away the snow that comes.

18 In our little tent, in the fall and
19 winter, when we first arrived there, us Inuit, I don't
20 know how we survived. I don't know how we managed -- washed
21 our clothes. When we first started experiencing darkness
22 all year-round it was very difficult. Some of the places
23 where they could get ice for water drifted away. And

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1 Samwillie said yesterday that our mothers, when they went
2 to get ice for water, sometimes they were hacking out rocks
3 without knowing.

4 These are the conditions that we were
5 not used to at all. We never figured that we were going
6 to a place that was very dark for much of the year. Not
7 only dark, but very empty of any resources, empty of
8 anything necessary for sustaining life. Thank you.

9 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I have more for
10 tomorrow, but I have just one for today. I will let René
11 ask some of his questions. There were two relocations,
12 one in 1953 and another one in 1955. Did the people that
13 went up in 1953 ask their relatives to come up in 1955?

14 We have read some reports that say that,
15 perhaps, letters were sent, or else communications were
16 sent down to the people in different parts of northern
17 Quebec to suggest to them that life was good in the high
18 Arctic and, perhaps, they should join them.

19 Was there any kind of communication sent
20 to people to come to the high Arctic to join the people
21 that had originally come up, by way of letter, or else,
22 message through radio, or any way?

23 **THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

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1 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) In
2 response to George's question, I talked about it yesterday,
3 but at the time when the ship came the following year,
4 after our first year, Alex Stevenson and the person that
5 has been described as Qallunaat, and our policemen,
6 convened a meeting outside, because there was no building
7 in which to have a meeting.

8 We said, "Are we going back next year,
9 because we were told we were only going to spend two years
10 here?" So, that was a question we posed to them. Alex
11 Stevenson was using Kayualuk as an interpreter and said,
12 "Why don't you call for your relatives instead and, if
13 your relatives can come, you can always return with them."
14 We said, "Well, if they want to, perhaps, they could."

15 But, we were down-hearted right away with the reply that
16 we received. So, the people who had us sitting outside
17 at that meeting, then, apparently, sent a message to the
18 RCMP in Inukjuak asking for our extended families to go
19 up to the high Arctic. The police were the ones who told
20 our relatives in a later wave, in 1955, to come up to the
21 high Arctic.

22 **THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

23 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

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1 I have said it perviously. I guess, I have to make it
2 clearer. I am Samwillie Elijasialuk, who used to live
3 in Grise Fiord. Josephie Flaherty was called for by
4 Larry's father, the one that they never got to see alive.
5 Well, he was told to send for his relatives instead.
6 Was it Paddy or Josephie, or who?

7 But, the police -- the effect was that
8 the police sent for their extended families. Larry's
9 father, whose adopted son was Josephie, sent for Josephie.
10 Paddy Aqiattsuk asked for his adopted son. Paddy
11 Aqiattsuk was the one who died only after eight months,
12 and he died of a broken heart because he was told falsities;
13 he was lied to.

14 When he knew for certain that he was
15 never going to return again -- he was the one who died
16 after eight months. He is the one who sent for Josephie,
17 who was his adopted son.

18 The police instigated the families to
19 send for their relatives.

20 **THE FACILITATOR:** Larry, do you want to
21 talk about that?

22 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) Let me
23 clarify something here a bit in relation to 1955.

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1 We are now presently talking about after
2 landing in the designated areas, where we were dropped
3 off, and the life in the high Arctic. We had planned to
4 talk about our attempts to return and the attempts to return
5 being ignored -- our request to return being ignored.

6 Then we were going to talk about the
7 government trying to persuade us to get, or telling us
8 that we will get, our relatives to come up instead. Thus,
9 the year of 1955 relocation. So, I think it is only
10 appropriate that after talking about the life -- having
11 lived after the move of 1953 -- the life up there, we should
12 go to the subject of attempts to return; the broken promise
13 of two years to return back to Inukjuak. Thank you.

14 **COMMISSIONER ERASMUS:** I want to thank
15 you for answering my questions.

16 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** Thank you.
17 Mary?

18 **COMMISSIONER SILLETT:** I, too, would
19 like to thank everyone for participating in this special
20 consultation. I am going to be very brief because of the
21 time. But, I did want to say that -- I think George raised
22 an issue which came to me.

23 Throughout the hearings, I guess, we

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1 thought about the high Arctic exiles being in one place.

2 When we hear some of the answers, it might seem like,
3 to us, a contradiction. But, it occurred to me that there
4 might be differences in the life experience of the people
5 who were relocated to Grise Fiord and there might be
6 differences in those who went to Resolute.

7 For example, we heard earlier that in
8 Resolute a letter would take two to three months, because
9 they had an extremely good transportation system, and in
10 Grise Fiord they probably had communication once a year.

11 We heard that in Resolute the RCMP gave
12 different instructions with respect to caribou. I
13 understand that Resolute was nearby an air force base and
14 sometimes when the air force discarded food people would
15 go to the dump for the food.

16 But, I was wondering, throughout the
17 next few days, for my benefit anyway, if people would
18 identify clearly where they are from.

19 And I was just wondering if someone would be able to help
20 me by summarizing the kinds of differences that people
21 experienced in different communities. For example, in
22 Grise Fiord -- or in Resolute, we heard that in Resolute
23 there was an air force base and there was a dump and people

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1 would sneak there to get food. Was that the experience,
2 for example, in Grise Fiord? Can someone help me with
3 that?

4 **THE FACILITATOR:** Simeonie?

5 **SIMEONIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) In
6 regards to Mary's question, I want to answer briefly.

7 Perhaps the difference between Resolute
8 and Grise Fiord has not been described very well. These
9 are two very different people.

10 In Resolute, the people who landed there
11 -- the people who landed in Resolute have described the
12 falling snow, but in Grise Fiord the snow that falls there
13 is blown away right away. There is no snow packed enough
14 for building snow houses, whereas, in Resolute, mountains
15 are not as high and the snow can be packed, so snow available
16 there for building snow houses can be packed. So, the
17 two conditions of these two places are very different.
18 One can be -- in one you can build snow houses and in the
19 other you cannot.

20 **THE FACILITATOR:** Samwillie?

21 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)

22 To describe the differences further, it should be known
23 that they are very different places. There are two

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1 distinct communities. They should not be bunched in
2 together. You should understand well that they are very
3 different. One is absolutely devoid of any Qallunaaq,
4 white people, except for the two policemen and their
5 assistants. That was it. That was the extent of the
6 population.

7 In Resolute, there is a landing strip.
8 There are many white people there. There is wood
9 available. There is wood available for burning.

10 In Grise Fiord, there are no whites.
11 The only whites there are two policemen of the RCMP. There
12 is no wood. There is absolutely no wood. There is no
13 shelter. There is no material for building snow houses.

14 These two places are far away from each
15 other and the conditions you can find locally are very
16 different from each other.

17 **COMMISSIONER SILLETT:** Thank you very
18 much. Actually, that explains why there might appear to
19 be contradictions in some of the answers that we were
20 receiving. Very quickly, two more questions.

21 Anna mentioned the killing of the dogs.
22 Why did we have to kill the dogs? That was a question
23 that came out very clearly in our Inukjuak consultations.

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1 We heard that the dogs had a very essential role in the
2 lives of the Inuit, and Inuit were told to kill their dogs.

3 I am wondering, on that particular issue, what happened?

4 Why did the dogs have to be killed, and what kind of impact
5 did that have on the owners or the community?

6 **THE FACILITATOR:** She is translating
7 the question exactly as it was posed in English.

8 Can somebody state the reason why? Anna
9 Nungaq?

10 **ANNA NUNGAQ:** (Translation) Soon
11 after we arrived in the high Arctic I had sympathy for
12 my mother. They killed off the dogs of the high Arctic
13 people and my mother was recruited to skin the dogs and
14 dress the furs of the dogs. She asked, "Will the tails
15 be attached?" I don't quite recall for what purpose this
16 was being done, but I was very sympathetic. I had sympathy
17 for my mother.

18 **THE FACILITATOR:** Elijah?

19 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) I am
20 Elijah Nutaraq. I was relocated to Grise Fiord.

21 The police raised their dogs inside
22 fences and they became fierce. They became wild or they
23 became distempered, and the police employee killed off

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1 all of those dogs that had been raised inside a fence.
2 And my wife's mother was recruited to skin those dogs.
3 And they were never paid for their work. They were paid
4 to skin them and dress the furs of the dog and they were
5 never paid. That is the issue.

6 Anna raises that in the context of police
7 dogs and a lot of dogs who were suffering from distemper.
8 They were slaughtered as a result. And the people they
9 hired to dress them and look after the skins were never
10 paid. When the police had dogs -- this person was named
11 Nutaaguluk in Inuktitut, but the policemen were talking
12 about -- was a German or was of German ancestry, or was
13 a German. He was a lower-level policeman than Sergeant.
14 There were perhaps ten, or perhaps over ten dogs which
15 were slaughtered. They were in their prime. They
16 appeared to be good dogs, but they were slaughtered off
17 because they were enclosed in fences constructed just for
18 that purpose, and all of the dogs that were in there were
19 slaughtered by the person who raised them. Perhaps they
20 were suffering from a disease or distemper.

21 **THE FACILITATOR:** Were those dogs
22 slaughtered? Did you then become dogless as a result?
23 Was there an effect on your own use of dogs; that slaughter?

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1 **ELIJAH NUTARAQ:** (Translation) Well,
2 the way it has effected us was, our mothers were hired
3 or forced to work to skin the dogs for no pay whatsoever.
4 Not even a tea. Not even some food. This was done for
5 no pay. That is the issue, as it affected us.

6 **JAYBEDDIE AMAGOALIK:** (Translation) I
7 wanted to talk about dogs.

8 When we landed in Resolute, the police
9 had a friend who was working in the Armed Forces and they
10 had twelve dogs amongst the two white people. They were
11 different than our dogs. They were, perhaps, originally
12 from northern Greenland. There were about twelve dogs,
13 and the police wanted to slaughter them. So, he got me
14 on the truck and up at the base he had me slaughter those
15 dogs. But, he was very careful not to kill off any of
16 our own dogs.

17 Simeonie said that when we had to use
18 our own teams, the police were absolutely in charge of
19 where each individual went with which team. When we were
20 hired to do dog-team trips, and we killed polar bear, nobody
21 ever told us, "Well, now you have this much money because
22 of the polar bear skins you sold us."

23 When these two people went back to the

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1 military camp they left behind their left-over food, and
2 so, Inuit took advantage of that. Now, in Mould Bay, when
3 a white guy and I went on a dog-team, we killed a polar
4 bear. His name was Tim Mollocks. He did not want the
5 polar bear skin. But, when we went home, one of the white
6 people wanted to buy the polar bear skin, and he asked
7 me, "Is \$800 too small for you"? Well, I have never known
8 of how much a skin was worth. So, when he asked me the
9 price, I was just thankful. Nobody had ever quoted an
10 actual price for a bear skin to me before.

11 When we killed our own polar bear, we
12 sold them. But, we were never told how much each skin
13 was, or how much was put into our account as a result of
14 the polar bear skins we sold.

15 **THE FACILITATOR:** Martha?

16 **MARTHA FLAHERTY:** (Translation) I
17 wanted to talk about dogs.

18 Although I am a woman, I used to go on
19 dog-team trips with my late father. I was eight years
20 old when I was going along on these trips, and I was caring
21 for those dogs. I used to assist my father when he was
22 hunting for seals through their breathing holes. I was
23 not able to urinate by myself. I was very involved. I

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1 took part in the dog-team trips while a very young girl.

2 I don't quite remember the ones that Anna talked about,
3 but in 1962, in the community of Grise Fiord, where the
4 community is now, we were relocated to the actual Grise
5 Fiord. When the shacks and the huts were moved to Grise
6 Fiord, from their original locations, I remember that the
7 police slaughtered all of the dogs, when people moved to
8 the community of Grise Fiord.

9 Inuit were too independent, previously,
10 because they all travelled by dog- team. But, now it
11 seemed that they wanted to take away the independence of
12 the Inuit, and be put on welfare. The dogs, who were tools
13 of our independence, were removed and slaughtered, and
14 we were put on welfare.

15 The men of our community lamented for
16 their dogs. They had wanted to keep those dogs. They
17 were told that they were going to be replaced by
18 snowmobiles, but nobody ever gave them money to buy
19 snowmobiles, although their dogs were slaughtered and they
20 had no jobs to earn any income.

21 I was only small then, but as a child
22 I was very attached to dogs. I carried them on my back.
23 I was very attached to puppies.

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1 So, my questions were this: Perhaps,
2 there was going to be a faster transportation system?
3 Perhaps, there is going to be more ships coming more
4 frequently, or more aircraft? So, that is what came to
5 my mind when they slaughtered the dogs in Grise Fiord.

6 **THE FACILITATOR:** Larry wanted to be
7 next.

8 **LARRY AUDLALUK:** (English) Larry
9 Audlaluk.

10 The subject of 1955 can only be told
11 after we speak about attempts to return, on the word of
12 the promise, after two years. Looking at my schedule,
13 I am very worried about skipping the attempts to return;
14 the government's attempts to persuade us not to go back.
15 That is a very big subject. Tomorrow is going to be
16 talking about 1955, but that can only make sense if we
17 talk about attempts to return by the first group; 1953.

18 The subject of dogs. I would like to
19 say, I am not sure when, that there was a point in time
20 in Inuit history, in the north, when somebody's child,
21 a little girl, in one of the Arctic communities in eastern
22 Arctic, was killed by Inuit dogs. I don't know which
23 community. The RCMP inspector in Ottawa issued an order

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1 to all of the RCMP detachments in the eastern Arctic for
2 the dogs to be destroyed. That subject of dogs being
3 killed everybody knows in most of the eastern Arctic
4 communities.

5 Perhaps, that is part of the subject that
6 these people are talking about. I think there is a bit
7 of confusion as to why. If I remember right, I think that
8 is part of that, this government order. Thank you.

9 **THE FACILITATOR:** I just want to reassure
10 you, Larry, that we are not going to skip that; the efforts
11 to relocate.

12 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** Quite the
13 contrary. I would like to reassure Larry that the whole
14 issue is very central. According to my watch, I know that
15 it has been a long day.

16 I was struck from the first question that
17 was asked by Commissioner Wilson and the follow-up that
18 was made by other Commissioners.

19 I will be very brief, and I will just
20 say that I understand perfectly that there is a logic to
21 discuss the attempts to return, and then to discuss what
22 was said to the relatives.

23 We have touched the questions of letters

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1 to relatives today, who sent the letters, what were the
2 motives, and we heard explanations of how Inuit wrote
3 letters. But, we also learned that some of those letters
4 survived.

5 I think it is an important fact, so I
6 would like to be sure, as Larry just said, that we are
7 going to look at this very central issue tomorrow morning,
8 starting with the attempts to return. And, I think, it
9 should shed a better light on the communication that was
10 made afterward, either through the RCMP, or by people who
11 had moved to Grise Fiord or Resolute in 1953, to their
12 relatives. So, I will keep this for tomorrow.

13 However, I would like, maybe, just to
14 ask a short question to Lazarusie Epoo on the situation
15 in Inukjuak. It was mentioned by many that the caribou
16 had gone far away between 1953 and 1955, or for a few years.
17 We read in reports that they came back. Somebody told
18 us that, in 1979, when he came back, there was plenty of
19 caribou. As you have been in Inukjuak all of your life,
20 do you remember if the span of time, when the caribou went
21 farther away from Inukjuak, was long or short? Was it
22 a couple of years, and then they came back? Were they
23 already back in 1955? Could you just give us some

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1 additional information on that?

2 **LAZARUSIE EPOO:** (Translation) Yes.

3 Lazarusie Epoo.

4 They are not just close by, they are even
5 gone farther. I think they are too close and they are
6 even drowning due to the current of the sea.

7 The first relocatees left when the
8 caribou were far away. They must have been about 300 miles
9 away, but the way they migrate is hard to say. We used
10 to have to travel very far. It took a very long time before
11 they got very close. Every year they got closer, up to
12 the point where they came to the community even, and they
13 have even gone farther.

14 I know islands offshore, south and north
15 of Inukjuak -- and you can see them on the map -- they
16 have caribou there now, but it is hard to tell how they
17 got there because they have never been flown in. I know,
18 in the case of Sanikiluaq, caribou have been moved there
19 on purpose. But, it is hard to say exactly how the caribou
20 which now occupy the offshore islands -- it is hard to
21 say how they got there. I guess the only people who can
22 answer as to where the caribou came from are biologists,
23 or the ones that know how they migrate.

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1 The caribou in Belcher Island are a lot
2 smaller than the caribou we have on the mainland. The
3 caribou that we see now, that are close to the communities,
4 we don't even want to eat them because they have started
5 to eat the garbage from the Inuit. No one has tried to
6 capture the caribou, but today you are able even to touch
7 them. But, they are closer than the 1960s.

8 **COMMISSIONER DUSSAULT:** I think, at
9 this point, I would like to thank each and every one of
10 you for this long day of discussions. We are going to
11 continue tomorrow morning on some of these very important
12 subjects and, also, with the schedule that we have planned.

13 I hope that everybody will have a good evening and a good
14 night of rest. We are going to all meet in this room at
15 nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

16 If I could ask for the closing prayer.

17 **THE FACILITATOR:** The closing prayer
18 will be by Samwillie Elijasialuk.

19 **SAMWILLIE ELIJASIALUK:** (Translation)
20 Thank you. If you want to stand up, you can stand up,
21 but I, myself, will be sitting down to be near the
22 microphone.

23 **(Closing prayer)**

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1 --- Whereupon the hearing adjourned on April 6, 1993
2 at 5:30 p.m. to resume on April 7, 1993.