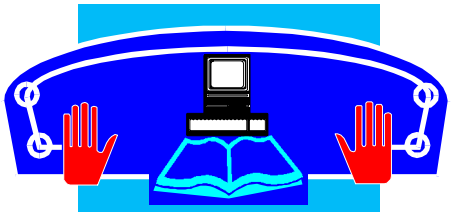

Baker Lake - A Community Study
Type of Study: Plans/strategies Tourism, Nwt General- Tourism
Date of Report: 1982
Author: G.n.w.t. - Education
Catalogue Number: 11-8-51

BAKER LAKE

a community study

INTRODUCTION

An important component of the Social Studies Curriculum of the N.W.T. is the study and comparison of communities throughout the Northwest Territories. Due to the facts that:

most teachers are southern born and trained, arriving with little or no knowledge of northern peoples, their history or their cultures;

teacher turnover is comparatively high;

most published materials are southern biased;

-and published materials which reflect the needs of our schools are often not readily available;

teaching this component of the Social Studies Curriculum has proven difficult for many teachers.

The Education Programs and Evaluation Branch, Yellowknife, sponsored two workshops in April, 1981; in Baker Lake, April 7 - 9, and in Fort McPherson, April 28 - 30. The purpose of each workshop was to :

- provide a model for researching and producing a community study
- producing a community profile for the host community.

The entire education staff of the host community was involved in the workshop, as well as a representative from each of the other communities in the region. In this way, it was hoped that community profiles would, in time, be produced on each community in the Keewatin and Inuvik Regions.

In order that these community profiles be truly representative of the people, the bulk of information found in these pages was gained from interviews with local residents. Care was taken, when using written references, to avoid bias and over-generalization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Community Profile was sponsored by the Education Programs and Evaluation Branch, Yellowknife, through the co-operation of :

George Diveky
Regional Superintendent of Education
Rankin Inlet

This publication would not have been possible without the support and co-operation of the residents of Baker Lake, who shared with us their time, their memories, and that knowledge which has been their heritage, passed down from generation to generation. Because of them, teachers may now begin to play a small part in passing these things on to the children through the school program.

Participating in the research and production of this profile, from Baker Lake, were:

Janice Beddard	Mel Pardy	Jim Shaw
Jon Gurr	Evelyn Power	Margaret Taylor
Burdette Johnston	Ron Power	Teri Thayer
Margaret Pardy	Susan Riach	Marie Wiseman
		Jean Zazelenchuk

as well as participants from other Keewatin Communities, who were:

John Whitehead,	Coral Harbour
Dave Watson,	Eskimo Point
Joanne Ares (Murray),	Rankin Inlet
Tom Thompson,	Repulse Bay
Bob Stevens,	Whale Cove

A special note of thanks is due to Jon Gurr, Teri Thayer and Joyce Whiteford for their additional assistance,

Kathy Zozula, seconded to the Education Programs and Evaluation Branch, Yellowknife, was responsible for organizing and conducting the workshop, and for the development of this book.

Sue Shirley, of the Keewatin Resource Centre, deserves special mention as she contributed greatly to the development and publication of this community profile.

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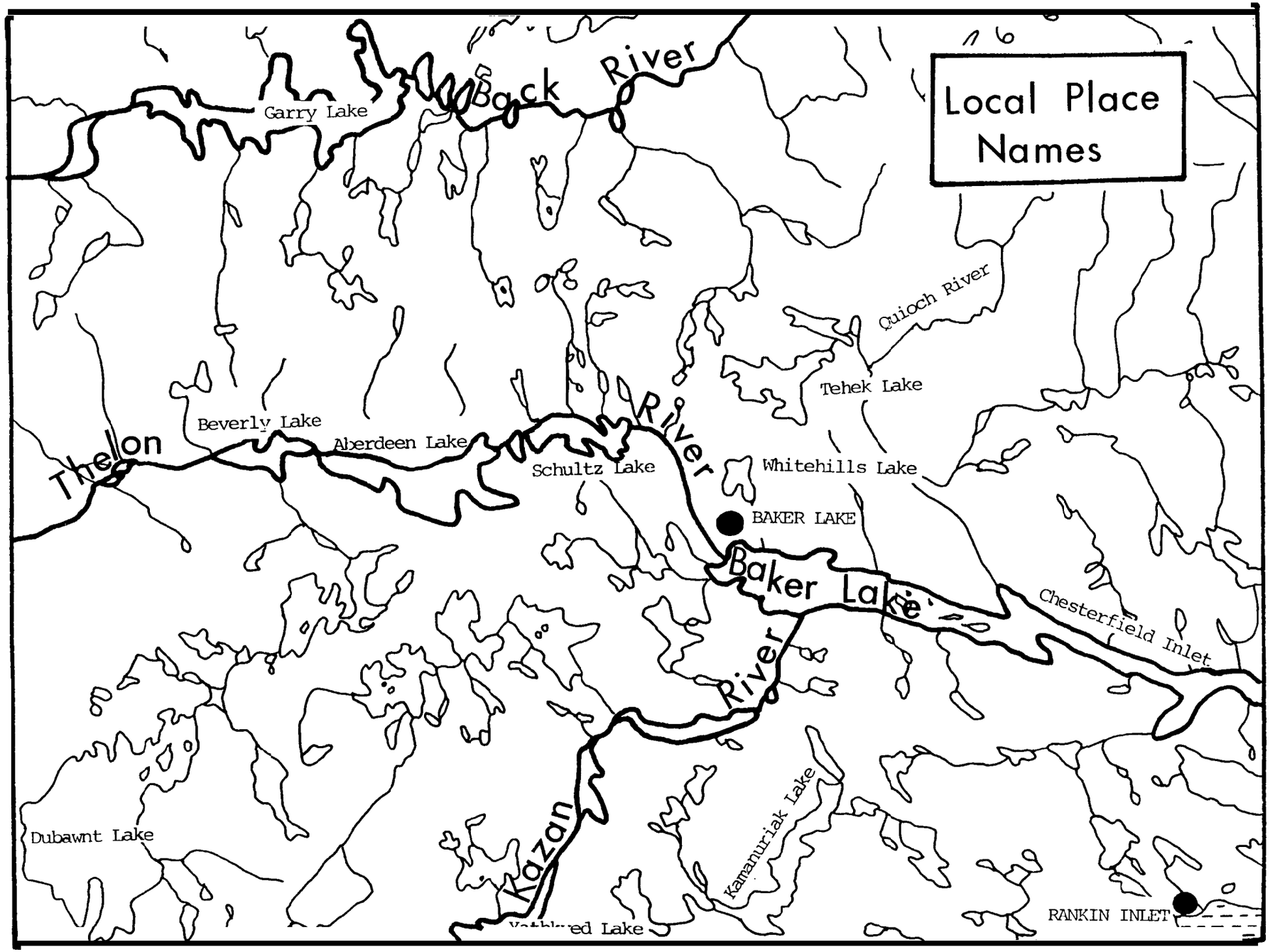

Local Place Names
Back River
Garry Lake
Quioch River
Tehek Lake
Beverly Lake
Aberdeen Lake
Thelon
Schultz Lake
River
Whitehills Lake
BAKER LAKE
Baker Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
River
Kazan
Dubawnt Lake
Kamanuriak Lake
RANKIN INLET

PLANT

LIFE

Baked Apple or Cloud Berry - This berry is yellow. It has big red leaves in the fall. It has a white flower. The leaves make good tea. The berries taste like baked apples.

Arctic Cotton Grass (Cyperaceae Seage Family - Ereophorum Augustifolium) - This flower is white. It has flat leaves and several spikelets. It is found near ponds. In Baker Lake, it was used as a wick to burn fat from caribou.

Labrador Tea (Ledum Decumbens) - It grows in dry, gravelly areas. It's useful for fires and teas. The Inuit in Baker did not use it much for tea. Hairs on the underside are crowned in midsummer by clusters of tiny white flowers.

Mountain Cranberry - The mountain cranberry has tiny leathery leaves. They have tiny bell-shaped flowers, which are pink and white. The shiny red berries ripen in August or September. It is found in dry or damp bogs. The people of Baker Lake mixed leaves and tobacco and smoked them in a pipe.

Crowberry - This plant grows black berries which are sometimes eaten. It is found near hills and in mossy places. Most of the berries are not sweet or sour.

Arctic Heather (Ericaceae) - This flower is white. It is found in mossy places. Sometimes people use arctic heather for a comfortable mattress or emergency fuel.

Moss Campion - This flower is pink. It grows in dry, rocky places. One long root holds it steady. This root brings up moisture from the deep ground. This plant lives in places where some other plants can't live.

Arctic Willow - This flower is white. It is found at the edge of lakes or streams.

Shield Fern (Dryopteris Fragrans) - This plant is green. It grows in dry gravelly areas. A stout root is covered with persistant and curled old fronds.

Arnica Alpina Angustifolis (Armica)- This flower is yellow. This flower has arnica which is a medicine. Arnica drives the blood out of the bruises and helps them heal faster.

Painted Cup (Castilleja) - This flower is yellow with pink tips. It grows in damp, mossy places.

Broad Leafed - Willow - Herb (Epilabium Latifolium) - This lower is purple. It grows in dry gravelly areas. It's the largest flower in the Arctic.

Cruciferae - Mustard Family (Cardamine Bellidifolia or Bitter Cress) - This plant is low and tufted with oval, slender stalked leaves and erect ascending high flowering stems; petals are milky-white. The plant is found in mossy places, often by cold brooks and in shaded rock crevices.

Chickweed (Cerastium Alpinum) - This flower is found in rocky, sandy or gravelly places, frequently on manured soil or bird cliffs and near human habitations.

Wooly Louseword (Scropulariceae - Figwort Family or Pedicularis Lanata) - This is one of the earliest flowers to bloom in spring. Some children enjoy picking the flowers and sucking the sweet nectar from the end. The root can be eaten raw or cooked. The stems and flowers can be eaten as a salad or boiled. The name 'lousewort' came from Europe. Cattle that grazed on these plants were thought to get lice from them.

Purple Saxifrage (Saxifraga Oppositifolia) - This is the first flower to bloom in our region. Its blossom can be seen in early June and throughout the summer. It always grows in very damp places. Sometimes children like to eat the blossoms because they have a sweet taste. They may be densely or loosely matted with crowded or trailing branches with scale-like, leathery leaves. The petals are lilac or purple, very rarely white.

Mountain Aven (Dryas Integrifolia) - This plant is common and found everywhere in the arctic. It also has one of the most beautiful flowers to be found. For these reasons it was chosen as the floral emblem for the Northwest Territories. When the long oiled seeds are on the stem, they point in the direction of the wind.

Wild Camomile (Matricaria Ambigua) - This plant is found on sandy soil usually around the settlements.

Bladder Campion (Melandrium Alpine) - This plant is anchored firmly by the tap root which stores more food than other types of roots. The petals are milky-white.

Prickly Sarifrage (Saxifraga Tricuspidata) - In the old days when dog teams were important, the sharp leaves of this plant were pressed against the feet of young puppies. This helped to toughen their feet so that when the puppies grew into sled dogs, they could cross the sharp ice in springtime. If this plant grows in strong light, the leaves are red in color. If it grows in a shady place, the leaves are green.

Ground or Dwarf Birch - The ground birch is abundant in rocky places. It is a depressed, matted or ascending shrub with rounded somewhat shiny leaves, uniformly dark green on both sides.

Mountain Sorrel (Olyria Hill) - Common in cool, moist ravines where the snow remains late. The species responds readily to fertilizer as shown by its luxuriant growth on moist ledges below bird cliffs and near human habitations. The succulent, mildly acid leaves and young stems of the mountain sorrel are edible and may be eaten raw as a salad, cooked as a green or pot-herb, or stewed. Due to its high vitamin content, its wide distribution and local abundance, mountain sorrel is among the most important edible plants of the arctic. The fresh leaves and stems are also eagerly sought by caribou, musk ox and geese.

Caribou Moss (Cladonia Rangiferina) - Caribou moss is really a lichen. This is an important food plant for caribou, although these animals eat many other kinds of lichens and plants. This is an important source of fuel, too.

Cruciferae - Mustard Family (Drabia Cinera) This plant is found on Rocky Barrens. Its flowering stems are single or forked, stiffly erect or ascending, bearing one to three leaves. The petals are white.

Arctic Poppy (Papauer Radicatum) - When you pick this plant, you will notice a yellow milk juice flowing from the stem. The flower will form a capsule to hold the seeds. There are small openings at the top of the capsule which let the seeds shake out when the wind blows.

Dandelion (Taraxcum Lapponicum) - The dandelion is a coarse plant with broad lance-like leaves, fresh green and somewhat fleshy. They have large, flowering heads, which are dark yellow and lacking pollen.

Pearlwort (Sagina Nodosa) - Small tufted herbs with thread-like, awlshaped reduced leaves and small terminal or auxillary flowers. Petals are fine, white or notched.

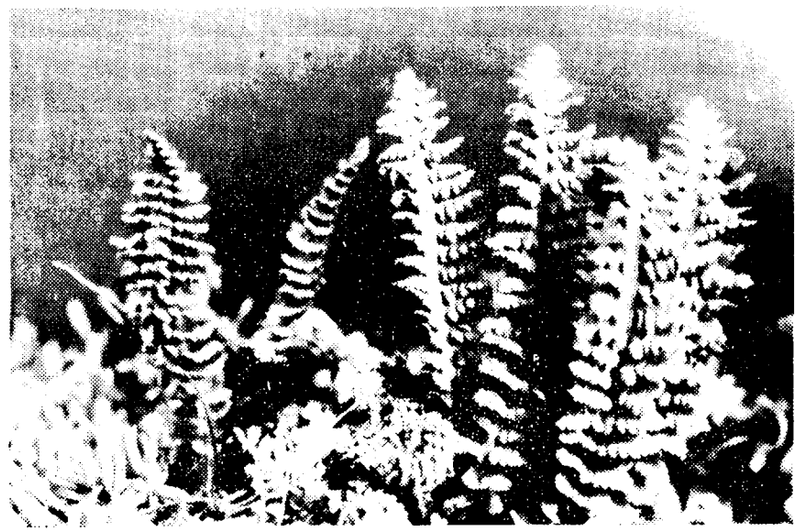
Cinquefoil (Potentilla Vahliana) - Densely matted with stout, compact, nearly-woody branching stems. The stems are densely covered with long yellowish hairs. Petals are broad, overlapping each other, and are a deep yellow color with a dark orange base. This plant is found in lime-rich soil .

Liquorice Root (Hedysarum Alpinum) - This plant has a fleshy root which can be eaten raw. The root tastes something like licorice. Cooked, it tastes more like carrots. Some kinds of mice" store this root in 'caches' in the ground.

Lichens - They can take water from mositure in the air and so can live without rain. Lichens can dry out completely without injury to the plant. Some lichens are important sources for use as dyes and others are useful in making medicines.

Arctic Willow (Salax Reticulate) - This plant is prostrate, with rather stout, freely rooting leaves. Leaves are oval, leathery and dark green. The leaves are wrinkled on the top and net-veined beneath. This plant is found in not too dry, sandy-or gravelly places.

Grasses and Mushrooms are also found in the Baker Lake area.



THE MAMMALS

Caribou - The Kaminuriak Caribou herd is the one that is nearest to Baker Lake. The herd is the one from which the hunters of this area usually take their caribou. "

For the past 30 years, the range of the Kaminuriak herd has gradually been changing, moving further north into the Keewatin area. The herd has now abandoned its traditional range to the northern part of Manitoba. It now covers the area from Nueltin Lake in the south (on the Manitoba/N.W.T. border) to Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet in the North. Sometimes, caribou can be seen migrating to the northwest, past Baker Lake, in early August.

Today the Kaminuriak herd is less than one-half its former size. The decreasing numbers and changing migration patterns of this herd are of great concern to hunters, biologists and wildlife officers of the north. Studies are under way to try to determine the reasons for the changes which have taken place over the past 30 years.

Musk Ox - The Inuit word for musk ox is "Omingmak", which means "the animal with skin like a beard." Several herds of musk oxen may be found in the Thelon Game Sanctuary, west of Baker Lake.

In the early 1900's musk oxen were hunted for the fur trade. Inuit hunters sold the hides they caught to white traders, who shipped them to Europe for sale. The effects of hunters, explorers, fur-traders and whalers on the herds of musk oxen almost led to the extinction of these animals. Population of musk ox herds increases very slowly due to the following characteristics: a) their reproduction rate is very low - cows produce no more than a single calf in one year, and in some areas several years pass with no births of calves at all; and b) the musk ox is a passive animal and its defense habits (ring formation) make them vulnerable to attack with firearms.

Because of excessive slaughter of musk oxen for meat and hides, hunting was banned in 1917. The establishment of the TheIon Game Sanctuary in 1927 provided protection for the musk oxen, and the population of their herds is slowly recovering. Until three years ago, musk oxen were under complete protection. Now , limited hunting by Inuit is allowed. In the regions where musk oxen are found there are quotas, which are done by a draw. The quota for Baker Lake is 6 musk oxen per year.

For further information on the musk ox refer to "Omingmak, the Muskox", produced by the National Museum of Natural Sciences. Available from: Fish and Wildlife Services, Government of the N.W.T..

Arctic White Fox – The white fox is the principal fur-bearing animal of the Arctic. It is a small compact fox, about the size of a domestic cat.

The beautiful and valuable pelt of the arctic fox makes it important to the fur trade. Over the years, since 1917, the number of fox pelts traded at Baker Lake has varied greatly from one year to the next, i.e. 256 pelts in 1928-29 to 3,844 in 1940-41. Populations of arctic fox fluctuate from place to place and from year to year, depending on migration patterns and availability of food.

The arctic fox lives in the tundra, making its den in sandy, well-vegetated areas of gentle slopes. It feeds on small mammals, particularly lemmings and mice. In coastal areas or on islands, foxes also eat fish, sea-bird eggs, sea mammals and invertebrates.

Barren-Land Grizzly Bear - The barren-land grizzly is of the same species as the Rocky Mountain grizzly, but of a different sub-species. It is smaller than the Rocky Mountain grizzly, with a shoulder height of three to four feet and weight ranging from 600-1500 pounds.

These bears eat berries, fish, mice, marmots and ground squirrels, and if it can be found, dead whale or fish. The grizzly digs a den in the tundra, as his home during winter and summer.

Very little information is available on the barren-land grizzly - its history in the Northwest Territories, its characteristics and habits, its population and its range across the Territories. Little research has been done on this arctic animal.

Arctic Wolf – The arctic wolf is common across the Northwest Territories, particularly in areas where caribou are plentiful. Caribou is the principal food of the arctic wolf, which feeds on the weak, old, very young, or sick members of the caribou herd.

Arctic Hare - Arctic hare is quite common in the Baker Lake area. Hunting of these animals for their skins is done on a casual basis.

Lemmings – Lemmings are plentiful across the N.W.T.. They are the principal food of the arctic white fox. Their abundance depends on the number of foxes feeding on them.

Ground Squirrels and Mice are also abundant in the Baker Lake area.

THE

F SH

Lake Trout - The principal fish of this area, is plentiful here, and forms a significant part of the diet during summer and autumn months.

Arctic Grayling - The Arctic Grayling looks like a trout. It is 30 to 38 centimeters long. The back is purple and the sides are gray and blue with some pink. The stomach is gray to white. Grayling have V shaped or O shaped marks on the sides. The head is green. The dorsal fin is mainly black.

Spawning season for the grayling is in June when the ice breaks up. It spawns in small streams with a sandy or rocky bottom. Males guard their territory to protect the eggs. The eggs are 2½ millimeters long. The baby fish are only 8 millimeters when they hatch. Adult grayling grow up to 11 or 12 years old. The largest known grayling was 757 millimeters long.

Whitefish - The whitefish is long and narrow with large scales. The average length of a whitefish is 38 centimeters. They are mainly silver with greenish brown backs. The fins are white with black tips.

Spawning takes place in the fall around the month of October. They spawn every two or three years, in depths of water less than 8 meters. They lay their eggs in stony or sandy places. The eggs are scattered around the lake bed. The female lays approximately 9,000 eggs which are about 2 millimeters in diameter. Babies hatch in the spring and can grow to 9 kilograms or more.

Whitefish are bottom feeders. They feed on small fish, insect larvae, insects, fish eggs and snails. The whitefish is an important commercial fish. It is sold canned, fresh or frozen.

Cisco or Lake Herring - The cisco is 20 to 30 centimeters long. The back may be black to any shade of blue or green. The sides are silvery. Their stomachs are white.

The cisco spawns in September. The spawning takes place in shallow water, 1 to 3 meters deep. The fish drop their eggs at the bottom and then leave. The largest known cisco was 3.6 kilograms.

Cisco eat insect larvae, their own eggs, eggs of other fish and minnows. They travel in schools.

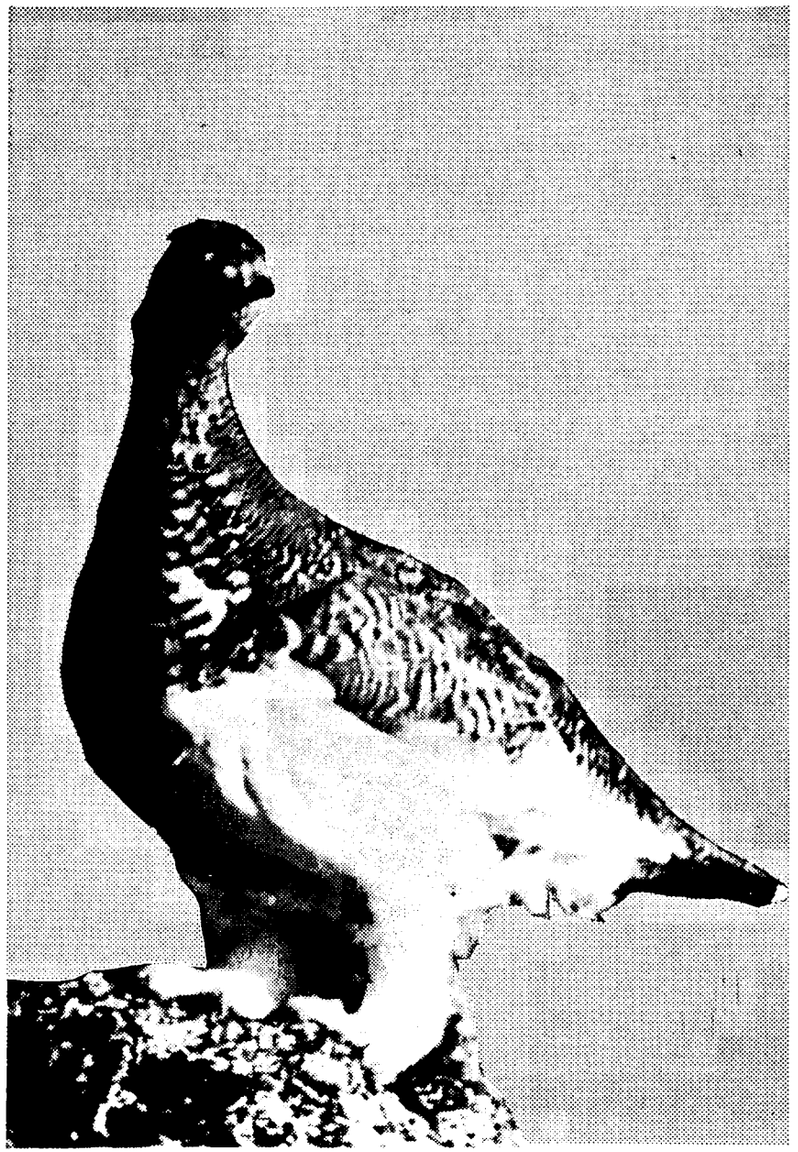
Cisco can be bought frozen, smoked or fresh. The fish are caught in nets, with a rod, or with spears. Inuit use it for dog food.

Sculpin - It is a type of fish sometimes caught in the nets. It is disliked by the Inuit fishermen, and , if used, is fed to their dogs.

Other fish found in the Baker Lake area are Arctic Char and Northern Pike.

THE

B RDS



Rock Ptarmigan or Lagepus Mutus - Ptarmigan are white in winter and brown in summer. Their feet are covered with feathers. They are found in bleak, treeless areas. They nest in poorly lined hollows. They lay eight to twelve eggs which are splotched with red.

Arctic Loon or Gavia Arctics - The loon has a straight, thin bill. It is black, brown, grey and white. Its legs are very far back on the body, and project behind the tail when the bird is in flight.

Canada Goose or Brant Canadensis - This is a large goose. It is identified by a broad white chin strap. It's bill and legs are black. There are ten different kinds of Canada geese. They breed in the lakes, bays, and marshes of the arctic.

Sandhill Crane or Grus Canadensis - This is a long-legged, long-necked, grey bird with a bald, red crown. The tail area is tufted. It nests in a haylike mound in a marsh, and lays two olive colored eggs.

Trumpeter Swan or Olor Buccinator - This is a large swan, with an all–black bill. It nests on a large mound near lake or island margins. It lays four to six whitish colored eggs.

Snowy Owl or Nyctea Scandiaca - This is a large white owl, with darker flecks or bars. It has a round head and yellow eyes. It nests in a grass-lined hollow on the tundra, and lays five to eight whitish eggs.

Herring Gull or Larus Argentatus – The herring gull is large and pearly grey, with black wing tips and flesh-coloured legs . It nests in colonies in a mass of grass and seaweed, and lays two or three brown and olive coloured eggs.

Peregrine Falcon or Falco Peregrinus - This falcon is about the size of a crow. It has a slate-grey back and a pale belly, with bars and spots. It nests in a scrape or high cliff ledges, and lays two to four reddish, spotted eggs.

Raven or Corvus Corax - The raven is all black and very large. It nests on high cliffs or rocks, in a nest made of sticks, sea weeds, and grass.

Gyrfalcon or Falco Rusticolus – This is a very large falcon with a longer tail and slower wingbeats than the peregrine. There are black, grey and white types in the arctic. They are found on the arctic barrens, seacoasts, and open mountains. They nest on cliff ledges in nests made of sticks. A gyrfalcon lays three or four cinnamon-spotted eggs.

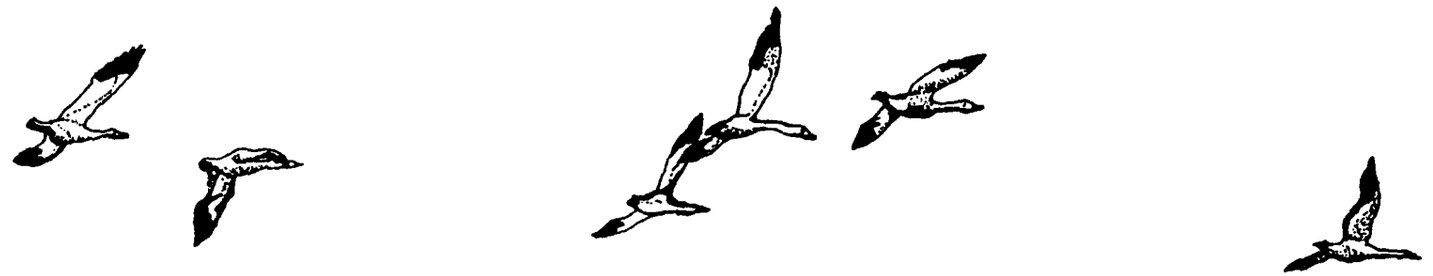
Snow Bunting or Plectrophenax Nivalis - This bird appears almost brown, but has large white wing patches that appear in flight. The male has a black back, a pure white head and white breast. The snow bunting nests in a feather-lined hollow on the tundra. It lays four to six spotted eggs.

Horned Lark or Eremophila Aplestris - This is a small brown bird with a black eye streak, a black throat patch, and two lack horns. It nests in a grass-lined depression on the ground, and lays three to five grey, spotted eggs.

Golden Plover or Pluvialis Dominica - This is a very dark bird, with a black belly, and golden spots on its back. It is the size of a killdeer. There is a broad white stripe from the eye and down the neck. It nests in moss-lined hollows on the tundra. It lays three or four spotted, buff coloured eggs.

Rough-legged Hawk or Buteo Lagopus - This is a large hawk, with a black belly and a lack patch at the "wrist" of the wing. The tail is white with a black band running towards the tip. It nests on cliffs and in ravines, in twig and moss nests, and lays two to six blotched eggs.

Lapland Longspur or Calcarius Lapponieus - The male has a black throat, and a rusty collar. In the winter it has a grey smudge on the breast. It nests in a feather-lined depression on the tundra, and lays four to seven pale olive, spotted eggs.




CAMP FIRE

TRAO T ONAL

CAMPL FE

1. Homes

Barnabus Piryuaq remembered traditional camp homes as being igloos in the winter and caribou skin tents in the summer. They became good homes if there were animals nearby to provide food and clothing.

A camp usually consisted of several homes; the number depended on the availability of animals. Each family lived in a separate igloo. After a couple had married they usually stayed in the husband's camp.

2. Migration

Campsites moved for a variety of reasons. The main reasons were to return to specific caching areas, to follow fox and caribou and to go to fishing areas. Occasional trips were made to trading posts.

People were generally stationary in the summer months, usually living in the same fishing area each summer. May and June were the best months for drying fish. July was the holiday month when it was too warm to preserve fish or meat and the quality of the animals became inferior.

When the ice started forming, families began moving inland. They moved constantly in the winter.

3. Transportation

Travel in the winter was done mostly by foot or dog sled. In the summer people travelled by kayak. One of the main reasons for using these forms of transportation was to move camp. However, there were other reasons as well. Traveling was necessary to check traplines. Since families were kept away from the migration routes of the caribou (so as not to distress the caribou), it was also necessary to travel to and from the caribou herds.

4. Clothing

Clothing was made from caribou skins. The best caribou clothing would be made from skins obtained in August, that had been dried and softened in an igloo. Caribou clothing that is made from skins dried in houses that are very dry are not as warm.

5. Food

Caribou and fish formed the staple diet of the people in this area. Rabbits, ptarmigan and berries were sometimes available for food. Foxes were trapped for their furs and the meat occasionally was used to feed the dogs. Food was always shared among the families in the camp.

All parts of the caribou were used. The skin was used for clothing, tents, repairing the sleds and making boats. The meat was used for food. The bones and antlers were used for making bows and the sinew was used for sewing or tying things together.

Tea and tobacco were bought at a trading post when possible.

6. Roles

Men went hunting, fishing and trapping. Women helped with the fishing, cooked, sewed, looked after the igloo and took care of the children.

Campsites were set up for the very old and the very young, away from the wildlife. Children, by age six, started to learn how to survive on the land. They started by getting water, learning to cook and build igloos. Then they were taught how to fish and finally how to hunt ptarmigan, fox and caribou. Children learned these things through the guidance and examples of their parents.

7. Traditional Government

The people followed a number of unwritten rules that were strictly enforced. One of the most important of these was the protection of the animal paths. No one was allowed to disturb these in any way.

8. Traditional Tools

The traditional tools were made from caribou, musk-ox and fish bones, as well as caribou antlers. Caribou sinew was often used to tie things together.

Later, the traditional tools were made with wood and metal to make them stronger.

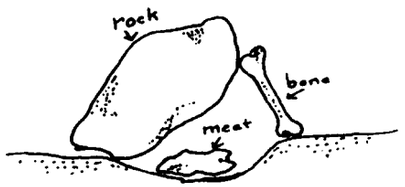
Fish spears (qakivaq) were made from musk-ox horn. The horns were scored first, then broken apart, and bent into the correct shape over a fire. Braided caribou sinew was used to hold the qakivaq together. The sinew was soaked before it was used. When it dried, it shrank and became very tight.

9. Hunting, Trapping and Fishing

Hunting. To prepare for caribou migrations, the path was cleared of anything that would have a human smell. They wanted the caribou to travel without fear. It was difficult to hunt because of the lack of firearms. Often, only the headman in the camp had a gun (with ammunition being in powder form) . The months of August, September and October were spent killing as many caribou as possible to cache for the winter.

Trapping. There were two basic kinds of fox traps. One fox trap was a deep hole dug into the ground and lined with smooth rocks. Seagull wings were positioned over the hole so that foxes could fall through and be trapped. The wings would then close over the hole again. The fox could not climb up the smooth walls and would be trapped.

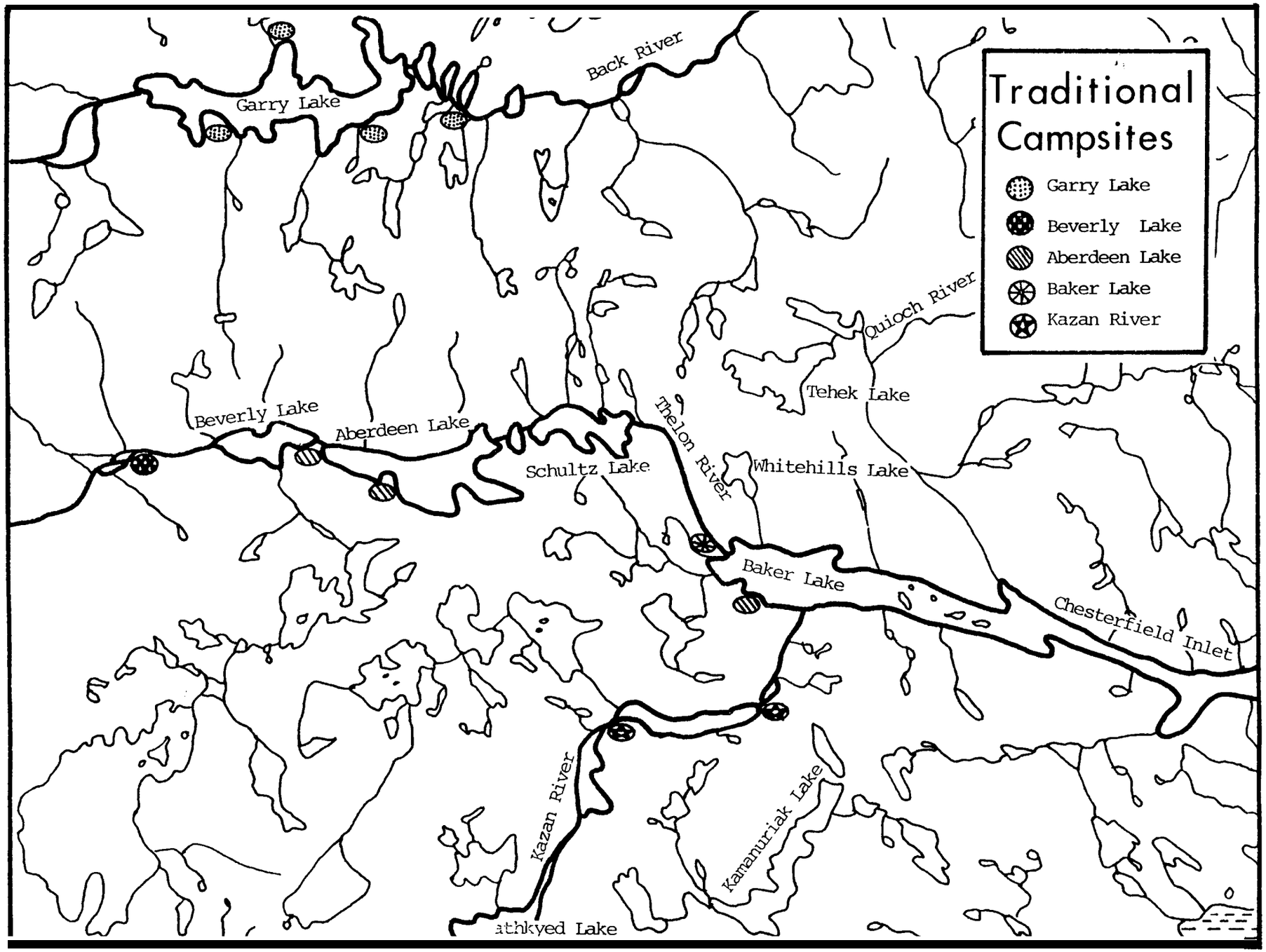
A second kind of trap was a shallow hole, with a large rock, positioned so that a fox trying to take the meat would knock the bone away and be crushed by the rock.



Fishing. Fish spears were used to catch fish.

SPECIF C

CAMPS


Traditional Campsites
Garry Lake
Beverly Lake
Aberdeen Lake
Baker Lake
Kazan River
Back River
Garry Lake
Quioch River
Tehek Lake
Beverly Lake
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Schultz Lake
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Whitehills Lake
Baker Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
Kazan River
Kamanuriak Lake
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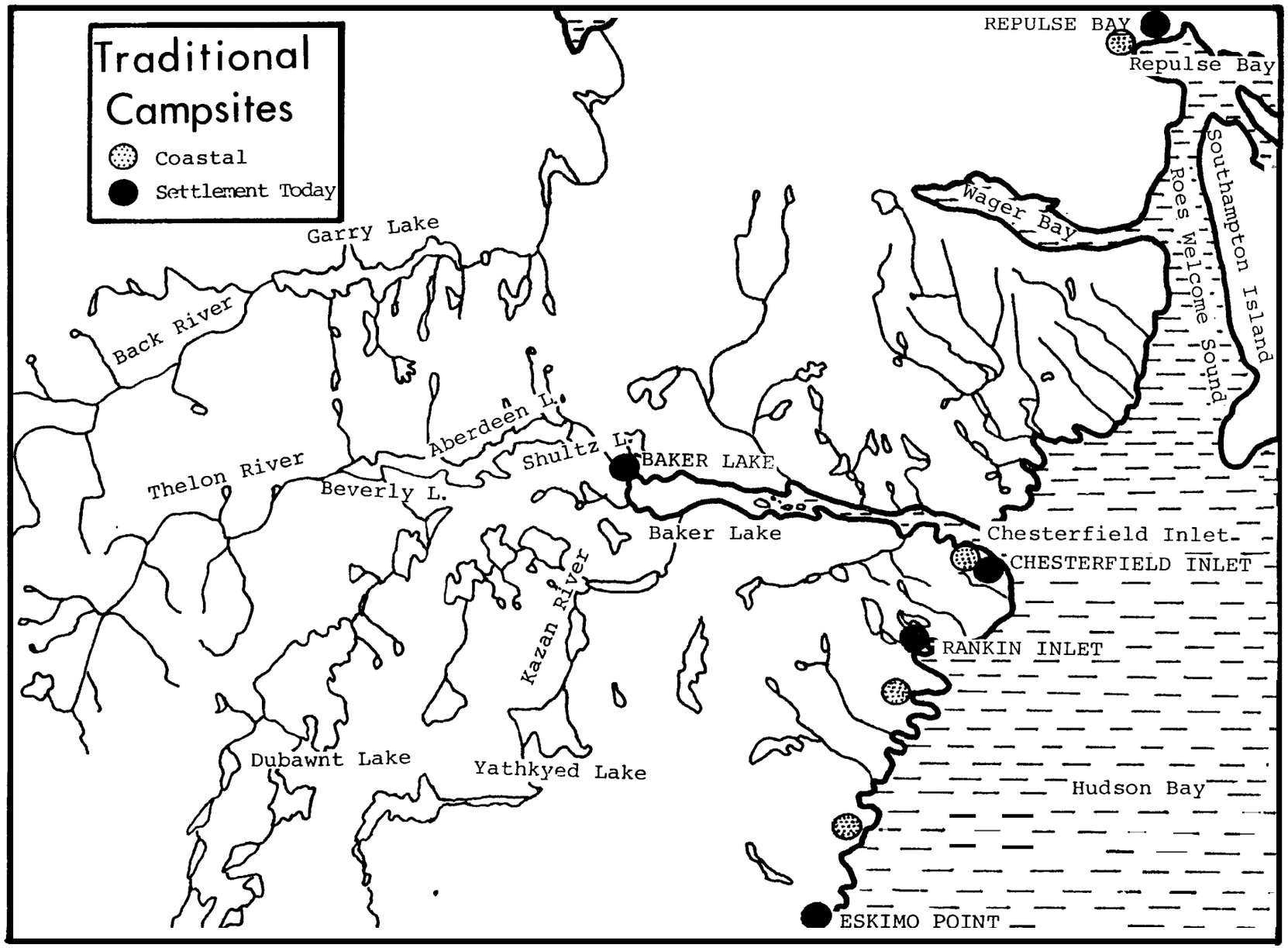
Traditional Campsites
Coastal
Settlement Today
REPULSE BAY
Repulse Bay
Southampton Island
Roes Welcome Sound
Wager Bay
Garry Lake
Back River
Aberdeen L.
Shultz L.
BAKER LAKE
Thelon River
Beverly L.
Baker Lake
Chesterfield Inlet
CHESTERFIELD INLET
Kazan River
RANKIN INLET
Dubawnt Lake
Yathkyed Lake
Hudson Bay
ESKIMO POINT

The Aberdeen People - Thomas Kakimut

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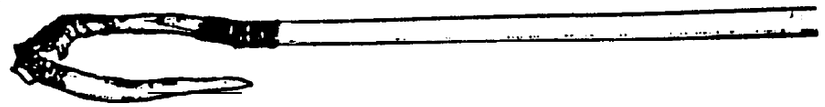


Thomas Kakimut originally lived with his parents and family on the northwest tip of Aberdeen Lake. After his parents passed away, he lived alone with his two children and his wife.

The family living closest to him was his brother, Kingilit, who lived 60 km away, on the north shore of Aberdeen Lake.

Travel

Traveling was done by dog team and canoe. Most travel occurred during hunting and trapping activities.

Kakimut trapped a huge area from Aberdeen to Baker Lake. His trapping "trips" coincided with trips to the Bay (called Kungmalik) in Baker Lake for supplies.

Kakimut did much of his hunting and trapping alone, but also mentions meeting and working with his brother and Scottie.

Food

The basic diet included caribou, nipku (dried caribou), dried fish as well as some goods from the Bay. Fox furs were used to get food and supplies from the Bay.

Move to the Settlement

The move to Baker Lake began when the children began going to school there. Kakimut's wife stayed in the settlement then. Kakimut spent the summers in Baker Lake and was on the land hunting and trapping in the winter.

Kakimut eventually moved to Baker Lake in 1968, as there were few caribou on the land and he was lonely. By this time many people had settled in Baker.

Other Interesting Information

Dogs were very important to the people. Kakimut tells us the kinds of things they would train their dogs to do:

1. They were trained to sniff caribou; when they caught the scent, they were not to bolt after the caribou but rather to go around rocks (so as not to break the kamatik) and then get back on the scent. Dogs also had to be trained to approach the caribou quietly so they would not be disturbed.

2. Dogs were trained not to run after the foxes on the trapline.

3. They also had to be trained not to tangle their harnesses and not to fight.

Dogs were respected but not pampered. If they needed punishment, it would be given. Dogs were not over-worked or let go hungry. If the owner taught the dog well, the dog would be as intelligent as its owner.

Back River - Moses Nagyugalik
(also referred to as Gary Lake People)

Sanninajuarmiut

Size of Camp

This camp was situated in the Back River area. It consisted of, on the average, five to six families, who lived in caribou skin tents in summer and igloos in the winter. The inhabitants of the camp were essentially an extended family. Each family unit occupied an igloo or tent.

There were frequent visitors to the camp, especially in late summer, when fishing was good. They celebrated and socialized with drum dances.

Travel

Travel was mostly done on foot. There were very few dog teams. Five dogs was the maximum for any camp. When they moved, they normally carried very little, depending on whether or not they expected to find many caribou along their way. Their larger cooking utensils, many of which were carved from soapstone, were usually left behind.

On water, the people travelled by kayak. To cross a river and transport their belongings,

they would use two kayaks with a crosspiece strapped between them. When kayaks were not available, caribou skins would be used to ferry their goods across the water.

Travel was dependent on food availability. The people were generally stationary in the summer months and usually returned each year to the same area to fish. In winter, they travelled inland, moving constantly.

Food

During summer and until the ice formed, the basic diet was fish, which were caught with spears. It was dried and cached along the migration paths of the camp members. Food was always shared among the families of the camp. When visiting families brought caribou or other meat, they all shared what they had.

Rabbits and ptarmigan were sometimes available. Foxes were trapped for their furs and perhaps provided dog meat.

Caribou hunting was better in the summer than winter. It was difficult to hunt, because of the lack of fire-arms. Often, only the head man in camp had a gun. Ammunition was in powder form.

The closest trading post was Gjoa Haven, which most families visited once a year, to trade fox pelts for tea, ammunition and tobacco.

Move to the Settlement

Moses and his family moved to Baker Lake approximately 20 years ago. At that time, the children were forced to start attending school and were billeted with families in the community. Children were collected from the land by the R.C.M.P. plane. Families who did not send children to school were refused family allowance.

The Back River People - Innakatsik

(also referred to as Gary Lake People)
Sanninajurnmiut

The Size of the Camp

The size of the camp depended to a large extent on the size of the family. It included brothers, sisters, inlaws and parents. Sizes of camps also depended on the season and the food supply. In the winter time groups tended to be larger and there was quite often contact with other camps. In the summer time contact with other groups was rare. Even the family camp would break up into smaller units. People would tell each other their general hunting area and arrange to meet at a given place in the fall.

Travel

Travel occurred mainly in the spring and the fall. In winter, they hunted seal on the sea ice, and in spring they travelled inland on foot to hunt caribou. The people remained inland during the summer and used caribou skins for clothing. In the fall, they returned to the sea ice.

Inns.catsik's family didn't have dogs when he was a child; however, he did have dogs when he moved into-his father-in-law's camp.

Food

Harpoons were used to hunt seals and guns to hunt caribou. However, ammunition wa ; difficult to get. Even fish hooks were very rare.

Seal and fish were frozen in the winter and caribou meat was dried in the summer. When food was scarce, they would separate into smaller groups to fish. When meat was scarce, they had to survive for long periods of time on fish. Most food was kept within the family group; however, they did share with other groups who were low on food.

Move to the Settlement

Matthew's camp was near Back River, so he traded out of Baker Lake. He actually took up residence in Baker less than twenty years ago, when he was given a house in 1968. Prior to that he lived in "two worlds" - on the land and in the settlement. He would come into the settlement mainly to visit his daughters who were staying in a hostel and going to school. He had been in a T.B. sanitarium for four years and his health was not good.

At this time most of the family groups were slowly moving into the settlements. Innakatsik cited school as the main reason for the move.

Government administrators threatened to cut off the family allowance if the kids didn't attend school. In addition, they claimed that if the kids didn't get an education, they wouldn't get jobs. Now when he thinks back on it, he considers school a "waste of time". There are many kids who leave school and don't have job prospects.

Baker Lake People - Ami'naaq

Qairnirmiut

These people lived in the area of Baker Lake. There were about five families in this group. Some families had no dogs. The Ami'naaq family had four dogs. Each family had its own igloo in winter and tent in summer. In the spring and fall they lived in earth mounds.

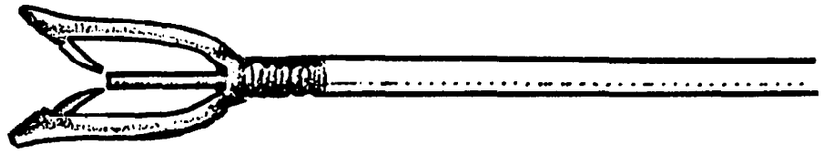
The men went hunting for caribou. The women took care of the igloos, sewed clothing and looked after the children. The little children played outside. The older children helped the adults. In their spare time they played Inuit games.

THe Baker Lake people ate caribou and fish. They also ate some berries. In 1958 and 1959 they moved to the settlement at Baker Lake. The government told the people they must move.

The Baker Lake people were not really going hungry at this time. Ami'naaq enjoyed camp life when there were less problems and they didn't have so many things to think about.

The Coastal People - Louis Tapatai

Tariurmiut



Size of the Camp

Louis cannot remember the actual size of the camp, but he did say that the size fluctuated with the availability of food in the area. In times of surplus, more families visited the area.

Travel

Major travel was done by dog team. The people kept just enough dogs, so that proper care could be administered to them. They travelled close to the coast and encountered other families.

Louis said the people were "different" from camp to camp. The reasons for contacts were to share any abundance of food, information of good hunting or simply to socialize.

The first contacts with white men were the whalers. Louis said the whalers introduced metals and wood to the camps. He remembered that the arrival of the whalers brought significant changes to the Inuit.

Food

The main sources of food were the sea mammals - whales, seals and walrus. Other foods such as caribou, polar bear, and fish were also used. Families ate first and then the dogs ate.

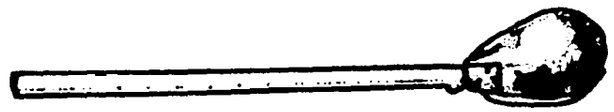
Food was cached along the route for both people and dogs. At that time there were no stores of any kind. There were times of plenty and times of famine. The most serious famine lead to the movement of families into the communities.

Move to the Settlement

Constant pressure exerted by the federal government, and the famine, both contributed to the movement of people into the settlements. Not all the families moved at once. They came a few at a time. ,(Louis did not seem to have been happy to move.) Louis recalled his parents moving to Baker Lake to work for Revillan Freres around 1923. There were no whites or Inuit in the area before that time. The following year, 1924, saw the arrival of a ship which took four young men to Montreal to be trained as traders for the company.

Beverly Lake People - Ada Kingilik

Akilinirŋmiut



These people lived north of Beverly Lake. They travelled west on the Thelon River to a place where there were trees. In the winter they followed the caribou herd.

Ada Kingilik forgot how many families there were in the camp but she remembers that there were many. Some were the families of Tuluqtuq, Itiut, Aqigaausuagaq, Qungarjuaq, Saragat, and Quligjuaq. They ate caribou, ptarmigan, fish and black berries. Everyone in camp had work to do. The men went hunting and built igloos. The women sewed and scraped skins. The children helped their parents. In their spare time the women went walking and taught the children.

They often travelled by dog team. They had 3 or 4 teams. About 5 dogs were on each team. They also walked, or used caribou skin and wood kayaks. Later they also traded skins to the Bay for canoes. The canoes were precious to them.

The people came to the settlement of Baker Lake for Christmas day. A few times a year the men came to the settlement to trade skins for food, and other supplies.

Sometimes the minister came to Beverly Lake to preach to the people. Sometimes people from the Back River came to visit the Beverly Lake people.

Ada Kingilik remembers one year when the Beverly Lake people were very hungry. She was a child then. Itiut came and took them to Beverly Lake to eat fish. In about 1959 the people of Beverly Lake moved to the settlement at Baker Lake. They came in the summer by canoe. They came because the children had to go to school. First they lived in tents and igloos but soon they had houses.

Ada like living on the land. She says there are too many problems in Baker Lake. She said life was easy at Beverly Lake. It was fun too. All summer they got ready for winter. They caught caribou and sewed clothing.

Other Interesting Information

Louis recalled his birth date as 1905, which was his first concept of time measured in years.

The Gary Lake People - Barnabus Peryouar

(also referred to as Back River People)
Sanninajurnmiut

Although Barnabus Peryouar moved all over the Baker Lake area, in this interview, he is talking only about the Gary Lake area.

Size of the Camp

Approximately 30 or more families camped together. As the people in this area moved around, the size of the camp changed.

Trave 1

In winter the people of the camp travelled in groups. In the spring people often took solitary trips. Yathkyed Lake was a favourite fishing spot to travel to.

Most of the traveling was done by dog team. Each family had five or six dogs. (There were more dogs than there were people!) In 1958, the government said dogs couldn't be fed caribou anymore because of the declining herds. The Inuit already knew there would be a decline because in 1953 it had become too hot. Because the dogs didn't like inland fish and couldn't be fed caribou, the numbers of dogs in the camp decreased.*

Food

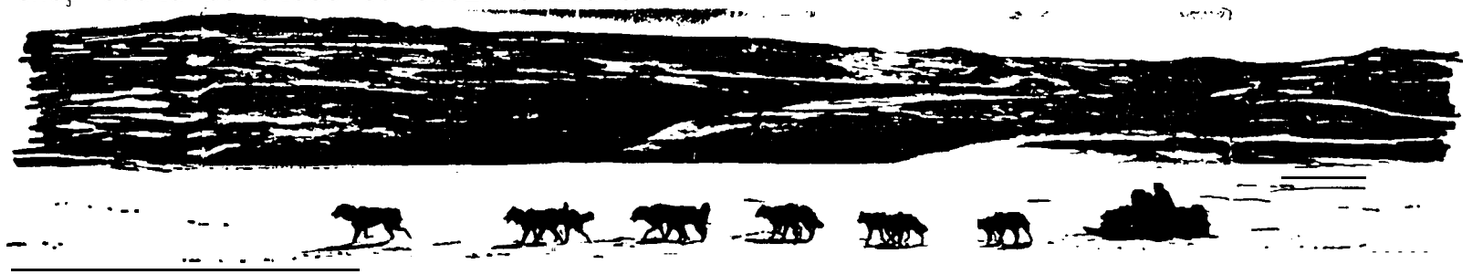
The main food of this area was caribou; however, they also had lots of fish. Green foods were only eaten by the children. Meat was dried in May and June and cached in September.

The caribou migrated so there was usually food at some camp. If a camp had meat, they would share it with others.

Barnabus can remember only two times when his family went hungry. The first was when they had one child. They were out of food for about one month. Finally, his wife's brother came to get them. By this time they had lost several dogs; only two were left.

Move to the Settlement

Permanent settlement in Baker Lake began in 1958 when the Green School was built. Kids were told by the government to go to school, so parents started moving in so that they could be close to their children.



* It was probably not so much that the dogs didn't like fish, but rather that the fish had much less nutritional value per serving than the caribou did.

KAZAN RIVER PEOPLE - David Ikuutaq

Sarvaqtuurmiut

David Ikuutaq was born at the Kazan River in 1926. His parents were Martha Iktuluka'naaq and Simon Manngili'naaq (both now dead).

He remembers many families who used to live at the Kazan River. Some were the families of : Pukirlu'tuaq, Nutaraqtaaq, Kijuru'tuaq, Manngilik, Tatanni'tuaq, Siksigaq, Iksiktaarju'naaq, and Uliut. They ate caribou, fish, ptarmigan, berries (blueberries, crowberries, and bake apples) and other plants.They followed the caribou herd.

They travelled by dogteam and qayaq. They walked for miles with supplies on their backs. Their dogs also helped carry most of the supplies. Dogs, when well fed and trained, are strong helpers.

They traded pelts of wolves, foxes, and wolverines by coming into the settlement of Baker Lake. The women did some sewing and braided sinew to sell at the trading post.

Sometimes the people of Kazan River did not have any food when the caribou did not come or when fishing was bad. David Ikuutaq remembers one time when hunting was so bad, he had to scrape a piece of caribou skin and cook the skin to chew on it. It was not very nourishing, he says. But, he has never experienced or seen starvation.

During the old days they did not know what Christmas was so they never celebrated it. They did not have calendars. Only a few people had prayer books as most of the people did not know about them.

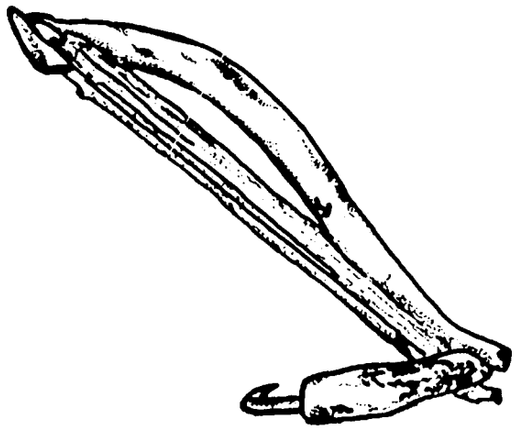
He still pictures in his mind every lake, river and landform at Kazan River although he cannot go back and see the land he once knew.

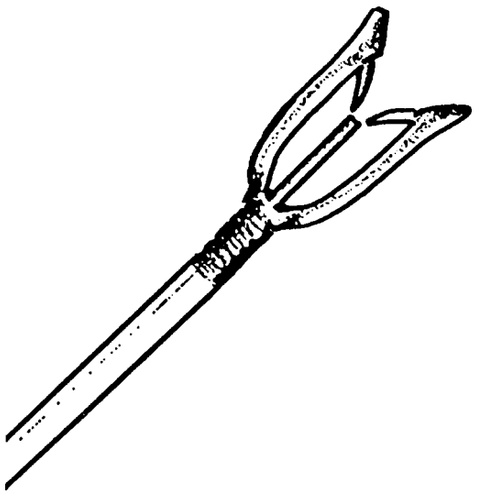
After living in Kazan River a number of years, he moved to Beverly Lake and married his wife, Janet, and brought her along with him to Kazan River. He remembers Reverend Canon James and Thomas Tapatai arriving at Beverly Lake to teach him about Christianity. He also remembers Ataata Gijuq.

Canoes in those days were low priced. For a long time they didn't have outboard motors so they paddled or sailed their boats. He remembers Kijuru'tuaq had a nice boat like the one north of the present Anglican Mission. He recalls one funny incident when Saqpi'naaq bought a brand new outboard motor and was given a lubricant to grease the propellor on his new motor. He greased the whole motor with the lubricant for his propellor.

Ikuutaq's have been living in Baker Lake ever since his wife, Janet, had to go to a sanatorium down south and he couldn't take care of the children alone and he didn't have any more dogs to use for transportation. He needed medical attention during that time too.

Good memories are all he has now of the good and the hard times on the land in which he was born and raised.





EARLY CONTACT

LOCAL

NTERV EWS

Interview with Vera Akomalik

The first white person Vera met was the manager of the Hudson Bay store in Chesterfield Inlet. Later, the brother of this man set up a store south of Baker Lake on Big Hips Island. Vera was living on the land at that time, so she doesn't know how much trading was done at the post. When she did want to trade, she travelled back and forth to Baker Lake, by dog team.

When the people in the area found out they could trade, they started trapping fox. They traded the furs for such things as guns, traps and some white people's foods. Her favorites were tea, molasses and bannock. People living in traditional camps started moving closer to the trading posts so they wouldn't have to take such long trips to trade.

Through contact with the trading post, people heard rumours about religion. Later, when they came in to trade, people started going to church. The Anglican priest and minister had also travelled by dog team out to the camps to preach by this time.

Vera remembers how all families came into the settlement for Christmas (where they learned more about religion). As a young girl, Vera looked forward to the gathering and couldn't sleep thinking about it. Because she was a young girl, she had to baby-sit and wasn't able to attend the drum dance. They had mostly square dances, however, which she had learned at Chesterfield Inlet. She does not know who actually started them.

After Vera's husband died, in the fall of 1939, she was told by her brother, Thomas Tapatai, to move to the settlement. She arrived in Baker Lake with drinking cups, a cooking pot, a few sleeping things and two babies. She lived with her brother. When she came to Baker Lake to live, there was an R.C.M.P. station, an Anglican mission, an R.C. mission and a Hudson's Bay post.

The first house Vera lived in was something like the one that is presently near the Bay. That building is the only original one left. It was a store, originally, and is presently a warehouse.

Interview with Martha Talerook

Martha is from Chesterfield Inlet, and she remembers it always having a Hudson's Bay store and an Anglican and Roman Catholic church. The priest taught the children school. Martha doesn't know who was the first person from Chesterfield to come to Baker Lake, but she came here because her husband lived around Baker Lake. (Martha's husband drowned in 1968 when his skidoo sank; his kamatik was still on the ice.) Martha married her husband after her husband's parents told the Anglican minister they wanted their son to marry her. When Martha came to Baker Lake, she found even the Inuktitut was different from that spoken in Chesterfield Inlet.

Martha travelled from Chesterfield Inlet to Baker Lake by dog team several times. Martha and her husband had ten dogs in their dog team, which were used for long distance traveling. Only six dogs were used to go to the fox traps though. On one of Martha's trips from Baker to Chesterfield they came across a ship that was stranded in the ice. Lots of Chesterfield Inlet people came to help break the ice, and when this wasn't successful, they helped unload the ship before it sank. Some of the people left for Chesterfield again, but some stayed in Baker Lake to live.

Martha also remembers traveling by dog team or canoe to other groups or families that were less fortunate, for example out of food, and bringing them back to their camp where the food was plentiful or sufficient for their needs. She says everyone was prepared to help one another and could survive in a situation that might otherwise have meant certain death.

In the very early forties Martha moved to Baker Lake, and eventually bore seven children here . Martha said she doesn't know when she was born (but there would probably be a record of her birth at Chesterfield Inlet), and quipped, "I don't know when I was born so I don't have any birthday."

Martha lived in summer tents and igloos until her husband started working for the Nursing Station, at which time they got a house. Martha's husband would build the igloos "and I would make the porch-part of the igloo", she says.

Martha and her husband were the second people with a house in Baker Lake. Thomas Tapatai, the Anglican Minister, got the first house. Their house had a stove but no fridge, etc. Martha's husband worked at the Nursing Station helping with repairs and with patients. He would also trade fox pelts, and once was able to buy a canoe with sails. When the fox were plentiful, he could catch twenty fox a day.

There were only two skidoos in Baker Lake when her husband bought one. Flour, ammunition and powdered milk, and some cloth for summer clothing are the only things Martha remembers buying at the Bay in her early married life. Winter clothing was made from caribou and everyone had two sets. One set was used for inside the igloo and one for going outside. Martha learned to sew from her mother and mother-in-law. She now teaches the children sewing in the Land Program in the present school. (She likes teaching sewing at school, but wishes there were fewer pupils to teach at one time!) Martha also sews sealskin, which she gets from a friend in Coral Harbour.

Only two of Martha's seven children went to school "well, for any length of time." These were her two youngest, Sarah and Hugh. Martha remembers her son, Hugh, used to run home at recesses and her husband would have to take him back to school. Martha stated she wanted her children to go to school so they could get jobs when they grew up.

Martha comments, "If my chidren are happy, I'm happy." She feels her children are happy with life now. Is she? Yes, but she prefers traditional food, (caribou and fish), to anything she buys at the Hudson's Bay store. Martha still dries fish.

Interview with Louis Tapatai

Louis ' first personal contact with white people was with the whalers in Repulse Bay. Louis remembers that the American and Scottish whalers used to winter in the Repulse area. It was during this time that the Inuit started getting rifles and traps (muskets, gunpowder and gun ram were the usual).

In 1923, when Louis was 16 or 17, he came south to Baker Lake with the Revillan Freres. Louis arrived on a ship called "Jean Revillon" where he was being trained as a cook.

Initially there had been five Revillon Freres employees who travelled from Repulse by ship. These were a captain, mechanic, assistant officer, carpenter and manager. Two Inuit families also came on that ship. When they arrived they built a trading post which is now a warehouse for the Bay.

The Revillon Freres, as a trading company, had contact with all the Baker Lake groups. An intense competition developed between the Hudson's Bay Company (which was situated 20 miles southeast of Baker Lake on Big Hips Island) and the French trading company. During this time the Inuit became more affluent. The Bay eventually "won" the competition and in 1936 the Revillon Freres moved out.

When the Revillon Freres moved out of Baker, Louis returned to Repulse until the R.C.M.P. contacted him to ask him to be a guide/interpreter for them. He returned to Baker Lake and did that. With the R.C.M.P. he was a guide and delivered mail to coastal Keewatin areas. Louis also worked with the Air Force, building the air strip in Baker Lake.

Interview with Thomas Tapatai

The first white people Thomas saw were in Chesterfield Inlet. He doesn't remember how old he was, but he says he was "old enough to remember." The early Kabloonas were missionaries, trading post people and the R.C.M.P.

The first ship Thomas ever saw was the "Nascopi" at Chesterfield Inlet (which belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company). It looked so big; Thomas says "It was the biggest thing I had ever seen, it seems so even now." It was a sailing ship.

When the Hudson's Bay Company trader first came in from Chesterfield, they used a small trading ship because the Nascopi had to go on to Repulse and Eskimo Point before freeze-up. The same small sailing ship, bringing the trader, had already delivered the mission houses (Roman Catholic and Anglican) on an earlier trip. Now it was too late in the fall to move in to the present Baker Lake site because the lake was already freezing, so the trader landed at Big Hips Island and put up the post there. There were three buildings and one shack where they dried foxes. The Hudson's Bay Company stayed at Big Hips Island for approximately five years. During that time they were looking for a site with a good mooring for ships. They decided on the place of the present Bay store but before they could move there, Revillon Freres, a rival trading company, took the land. The Hudson's Bay Company had to move their store to a site near the airstrip rather than the preferred spot. At that time people could go to either trader, but usually went habitually to the same trader. Later the Hudson's Bay Company bought out the Revillan Freres.

While the Hudson's Bay Company was at Big Hips Island, Tapatai was the man who handled foxes for the Bay. When the Hudson's Bay Company moved in from Big Hips Island, he became a cook for a time. The missionaries had already been here for two years when his guardians agreed that he could go to work for the Anglican mission, although he himself was reluctant to leave the Bay's employ. He took most of his training with the Anglican missionary, Canon James. After he moved to work for the Anglican mission, he started his own dog team and travelled with the missionary to camps, telling people about the Bible. He has worked, assisting the Anglican clergy, ever since. Thomas says it was difficult to talk to people at first because they had never heard of the Bible.

The Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries came during the same summer. The Anglican missionaries came a few weeks earlier than the Roman Catholics. Both used a small boat to travel from Chesterfield Inlet to Baker Lake. The R.C.M.P. also started coming in about this time. It was a long time later that the government officials and school teacher arrived.

Canon James started teaching children school work - syllabics and English. The children taught were ones living in the settlement, not camp children. Armand Tagoona, Hugh Ungungai, Lisa Ruth Anatoosi (Tulurialik) were among the first students. Canon James spoke Inuktitut. He was doctor and dentist as well as teacher and clergyman. He was also the weatherman. He informed Chesterfield, through the Hudson's Bay Company radio, what the Baker Lake weather was like.

After teachers came, children from camps were boarded in the settlement homes. Canon James no longer continued being a teacher. Later, hostels with Inuit hostel parents were built for camp children.

When they travelled to the various camps to hold church services, Tapatai and Canon James used Tapatai's dog team. Thus they could cover more camps than the Roman Catholic missionary who waited to hitch rides with people who happened to be going that way. In the camps people were free to decide which missionary's teachings to follow. Both missionaries were recruiting converts. Some believed immediately, others resisted for a while.

Tapatai thinks he remembers Chas Lindbergh passing through Baker Lake on his round-the-world, over-pole trip. It wasn't the first plane he had ever seen, but nearly the first. They (the man and woman - Chas and Anne Lindbergh) were on their way north. They stayed overnight in Baker Lake. They had a plane that had to have the propeller turned to start it. He turned the propeller and she started the engine. They sat one behind the other in that plane. They went to a church service while they were in Baker Lake.

REPORTS

I. THE EXPLORERS AND EARLY CONTACT WITH THE INUIT

This section deals with the history of contact between the native people in the Baker Lake area and the explorers. Although the first three explorers have left no evidence of coming into direct contact with the Baker Lake Inuit, they are mentioned here because they were a few who led the way to exploration in the Keewatin area.

1. The Knight Expedition - 1719

Knight sailed from England in June of 1719, in search of the Northwest_ Passage. No word was heard from him until 48 years later, when Captain Scroggs went northward from Churchill on a trading cruise and obtained some relics which appeared to be from the lost expedition.

In 1767 two Hudson's Bay Company ships found the remains of the Knight expedition on Marble Island, where, apparently, the Knight ships had been stranded.

2. Captain Coats - 1727 and 1751

The captain travelled with the Hudson's Bay Company visiting the northwestern part of the Hudson's Bay several times between 1727 and 1751.

3. Middleton – 1741

In 1741, two ships under the command of Captain Middleton sailed from England to explore the western shores of Hudson's Bay in hopes of finding the Northwest Passage.

Rankin, one of Middleton's officers, explored the inlet west of Marble Island. It was named after him. The expedition also explored and named Wager Bay and Repulse Bay.

Little is recorded of the contact between Middleton and the Inuit of the area; however, their voyage did much to set the stage for further exploration in the area and consequently future contact between the European settlers and the Inuit.

4. Captain Christopher and Moses Norton - 1755/56 and 1760/61

Captain Christopher aboard the sloop, Churchill, accompanied by Moses Norton, made several expeditions on the northwest coast of the Hudson's Bay. In 1760 they

"re-discovered" Chesterfield Inlet and sailed up it approximately 160 km. In 1761 they returned to this area and sailed into Baker Lake, naming it after Sir William Baker, the governor of the Company from 1760 to 1770.

5. Sir John Franklin . 1819, 1825/1826 and 1845

Franklin was born in Lincolnshire, England and joined the British Navy at the age of 15. He was a midshipman on Matthew Flinders voyage around Australia in 1803. In 1819, Franklin explored the mouth of the Coppermine River while leading his first Arctic expedition. He led hs second expedition to the Arctic in 1825 and 1826. In 1845, Franklin led the best equipped expedition that had ever entered the Arctic up to that time. No one ever returned from it. Lady Franklin's courage inspired many expeditions to search for her husband. This resulted in a full exploration of the North American Arctic Regions.

In May, 1845, Franklin set out with two ships, Erebus and Terror, and 129 officers and men to search for the Northwest Passage. The vessels cleared Lancaster Sound north of Baffin Island, penetrated Wellington Channel to 77°N, then wintered at Beechey Island. Continuing his search in 1846, Franklin successfully navigated the Peel and Franklin straits. However, on September 12, 1846, both Erebus and the Terror became trapped by pack ice in McClintock Channel between King William Island and Victoria Island.

During the months that followed many of the party weakened and died; Franklin himself perished June 11, 1847. The survivors did not abandon the ships until April 22, 1848, and they too perished while attempting to reach Boothia Peninsula. Six years passed before John Raid found the first traces of the missing expedition. In 1859, Sir Francis Leopold McClintock discovered some of the skeletons and the records that provided a history of the expedition and its fate.

6. Captain Duncan - 1792 to 1793

In 1792-1793 Captain Duncan, in the Beaver, a vessel of 76 tonnes, sailed from England on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company to examine a number of inlets on the west coast of Hudson Bay. In 1793, after wintering in Churchill, he penetrated Chesterfield Inlet to the head of Baker Lake and went 21 km up the Thelon River.

7. Ipillkvik and Tukkolerktuk - 1839 to 1880

Of all the northern native people who assisted, befriended and rescued European explorers, none is more important than the two who, in English, were called Joe and Hannah. Tukkolerktuk, which was Hannah's real name, was born in 1839 at a whaling station near Cumberland Sound in Baffin Island. She was the sister of two great leaders, Tuktu and Inuluapik. Ipilkvik, called Joe by the whalers, was about the same age and also came from a leading family.

Because of their ability they were invited to visit England by a merchant called Bolby. They sailed there in 1858 and stayed 20 months. They were married in England and dined with Queen Victoria. When they grew tired of being curiosities in England, they returned home. They had learned English and European ways, and Tukkolerktuk taught knitting to her Inuit women friends. She tried to stop some of the bad behaviour of the whaling crews, and kept her Victorian bonnets and dresses for special occasions. Despite their knowledge of European ways, she and Ipilkvik remained faithful to Inuit beliefs and customs, and were always first-class travelers and hunters.

In 1860, while Ipilkvik was working as a ship's pilot, the American explorer Hall came to the region. He met the Inuit couple and they became friends. He lived with them and learned their language, and made journeys to learn their way of traveling. Ipilkvik's grandmother, Okioksilk, told Hall the Inuit story of Frobisher's landing 300 years earlier. Her account was so good that Hall was able to visit Frobisher Bay and find the remains of Frobisher's house.

In autumn 1862, Hall took Ipilvik, Tukkolerktuk, and their baby son Takralikitak (Butterfly) to the United States. The baby died in New York, but the parents stayed with Hall for over a year, helping him raise money and prepare for an expedition in search of the lost Franklin party. In the summer of 1864 they were put ashore by a whaling ship in the wrong place. For nine months they travelled with local Inuit until they reached the Wager River. Here Tukkolerktuk had another baby boy. She became ill, and so did the baby, but they carried on with Hall until they met the Netsilingmiut of Pelly Bay.

The Pelly Bay people were rough and fierce. They took away the best dogs and weapons from Hall's party and challenged the men to box or wrestle. Tukkolerktuk had heard that the Netsilingmiut would hide a sharp-pointed bone in their mitts with which to kill a wrestling or boxing partner, and she advised Hall to turn back. On the way back to Repulse Bay the baby died, and according to local custom for one year Ipilkvik and Tukkolerktuk could not eat raw meat, sew clothing or make

weapons. Hall tried to recruit a party of helpers from the crews of whaling ships, and shot one man dead when trouble broke out. The other seamen would have shot Hall, but Ipilkvik had hidden all the guns. During this time Ungerdlak of Repulse Bay drew a map of Foxe Basin for Hall. It is amazingly accurate when checked with modern maps.

In March 1869 the party set out west again. There were ten Inuit with Hall, including Pudnak, a little girl adopted by Ipilkvik and Tukkolerktuk. Despite their fear of the Netsilingmiut they reached the region where Franklin had been. The Netsilingmiut Inukpuyiyuk told Hall about his meetings with Franklin, who the Inuit called Tulugak, "The Raven", and how the Inuit had fed the starving sailors as they dragged their boats south. Tukkolerktuk acted as interpreter, but while Hall and Ipilkvik were away obtaining relics of Franklin's ship, she was badly treated by the Netsilingmiut.

The two Inuit and their daughter returned with Hall, who was now famous, to the United States, where they took a house at Groton, Connecticut. Hall made plans to reach the North Pole, and in 1871 they all set out on the ship Polaris. . Hall had a great deal of trouble with the officers and crew of mixed nationalities. He became ill, perhaps because of poison, and died on the north coast of Greenland.

The ship stayed in the pack ice all winter, and Ipilkvik hunted for the crew, together with a Greenlander, Hans Hendrick. Hans had travelled with the explorer Kane, and the missionary Rink later made a book of Hans' life story. Hans' wife Merkrut and their four children were with him on the ship.

In October 1872 the Polaris drifted south into open water, but hit a mass of ice. In a panic the captain, Tyson, made everyone go onto the ice, and the ship drifted away. There were nineteen people on the ice floe, with two small boats and very little food. Ipilkvik made snow-houses for everyone, and lamps of pemmican cans, using wicks of canvas. Captain Tyson lived with Ipilkvik and Tukkolerktuk, and the three stayed faithful to each other during very bad times.

As the ice floe drifted south, only Ipilkvik and Hans knew how to hunt for seal, bear, or birds. All winter the two men hunted in cold and danger, crouching over seal holes for up to two whole days without moving. Ipilkvik shot nine-tenths of all the seals, and saved the whole party from starvation by killing a big ukjuk seal and a polar bear.

The European crewmen were lazy and ungrateful. They took food away from the Inuit and made no attempt to hunt for themselves. The Inuit could have escaped over the ice as their ice floe drifted past Cumberland Sound, but Ipilkvik and Tukkolerktuk believed it was their duty to save Tyson and his crew, as Captain Hall would have expected.

Tukkolerktuk gave birth to a baby girl on the ice floe, but the baby died. They drifted on and on for almost 3,220 km, during six and one half months. The ice floe melted away and the whole party crowded into one boat. After four days of terrible sailing, they were picked up near Newfoundland by a sealing ship.

Although Ipilkvik had saved the lives of Tyson and his crew, the United States Secretary, Robeson, discharged him without a word of thanks, and he was not even paid in full.

Ipilkvik and his family settled down again in Groton, Connecticut. Tukkolerktuk sewed for a living, and Pudnak went to school, where she did very well. Ipilkvik soon returned north with Captain Young on the ship Ondera. Pudnak died in 1875, and Tukkolerktuk, weakened by the ordeal on the ice floe, died of tuberculosis in 1876.

Ipilvik left the United States and never returned. He was the guide and interpreter for the explorer Schwatka from 1878 to 1880. Three explorers who became famous – Hall, Tyson and Schwatka – owed most of their fame, and in two cases their lives to Ipilkvik. His training of Hall and Schwatka in Inuit travel methods was passed on to Peary and Stefansson, opening the way for a new and more successful age of exploration by Europeans.

Neither Ipilkvik's nor Tukkolerktuk's name appears on modern maps of the Arctic, though the maps bear many names of people less courageous, patient, and intelligent, far less important in the history of arctic exploration.[1]

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[1] This entire section has been taken from: Arctic Fever – The Search for the Northwest Passage by Wilkinson, pp. 131 to 135.

8. George Back - 1833 and 1836/1837

George Back entered the Royal Navy as a midshipman in 1808 and sailed with Sir John Franklin in 1818 on his voyage to Spitsbergen. He was also with Franklin on the land expedition through the Canadian Arctic in 1819 to 1822 and again in 1825 to 1827.

In 1833, Back commanded a combined rescue and exploring expedition in search of Sir John Ross. During his expedition he heard that Ross was safe, but continued on his exploration.

Back was probably one of the first explorers to come in contact with the Inuit on the lower Back River. His party went down the Back River to its mouth at Chantry Inlet on the Arctic Coast. He made several attempts to communicate with the Inuit he met.

Later, Knud Rasmussen, during his Fifth Thule Expedition in 1923, travelled south towards the mouth of the Great Fish River (later named Back River after George Back). He was told that when George Back left that area, after a one night stay, the local chief stood on a rock and cast a spell to prevent any white man from returning.

Back returned to the Arctic again in the Terror in 1836/1837. He explored the coast line from Regent Inlet to Cape Turnagain.

9. James Anderson - 1855

James Anderson, in 1855, was sent by the Hudson's Bay Company in search of possible survivors from the Franklin Expedition. He made another descent of the Back River. He, like Back, attempted to communicate with the Inuit people he met, bringing them gifts for trade.

In these early explorations, the Europeans seldom involved the Inuit in their expeditions. Because of this, they could not understand the Inuit and valuable chances to obtain information from them were lost. Later day visitors or explorers to this area give us more detailed accounts of the Inuit they met. They also give evidence of changes made in the material culture of the Inuit, following the Hudson's Bay Company traders and whalers' expeditions.

10. Charles Francis Hall - 1864

In 1864, American anthropologist, C.F. Hall landed at Depot Island by the whaler Monticello. Hall spent five years among the Inuit of Repulse Bay in search of relics and information about the lost Franklin expedition.

He wrote about the degree of sophistication of the Inuit he encountered and other effects of social interaction that had taken place between the whalers and the Inuit.

11. Schwatka and Gilder - 1878 to 1879

After wintering in Daly Bay, Schwatka, Gilder and Eiberbing (he had also accompanied Hall on his Franklin search) along with a group of Aivilik Inuit travelled overland to the vicinity of Chantry Inlet and the mouth of the Back River. They were searching for documents and/or information of the Franklin expedition. When they came to the mouth of the river, they encountered a group of Utkuhikhalingmuit who had never seen white men before - with the exception of the two oldest men of the tribe. With the assistance of Eiberbing, Schwatka was told:

> "A long time ago," said Puhtoorak, "when I was a little boy living with my people just below the bad rapids near the mouth of Great Fish River, we saw a wooden boat with white men going down the river. The white men shook hands with the Inuit and later rubbed the back of their hands down their breasts, a sign of welcome." (from Schwatka, 1965, p.62)

This was probably a reference to Back and his party on the descent of the Back River in 1833.

Schwatka's party also observed that these people had few European implements. He took it upon himself to introduce the gun to them.

12. The Tyrrell Brothers - 1893/94

The Tyrrell brothers, J.B. and J.W. went on a surveying expedition via Edmonton, Fort McMurray, Lake Athabasca, Black Lake, the Dubawant River System, the Thelon System, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet and finally along the western shores of Hudson Bay to Churchill. They went on this expedition in 1893 and because they made no attempts to hire Inuit guides or ask for assistance, they missed getting valuable information about the land they were traveling on and the people they encountered.

In 1894 they made another expedition, this time hiring six Inuit guides. They travelled down the Kazan River, into the Ferguson River to Hudson Bay and along the coast to Churchill. Tyrell says this of his guides:

> "Our Eskimo guides were now paid off, and we parted with them with much regret, for during the month that they had been with us we had become excellent friends." (From Tyrrell, J.B., 1895, pages 444-445.)

13. David Hanbury

In 1901, an American "sportsman" and "adventurer" visited the barrenlands and has left a very lucid account of his observations of the Eskimos he visited and travelled with. Hanbury travelled to Great Slave Lake and aproached the Barrens from the west. He travelled to the Thelon River, and then descended it to Baker Lake. He wintered between Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet, and the following summer he travelled across the northern Keewatin to the Arctic coast, along the Arctic coast to the Dease River, and south through Great Bear Lake. Hanbury's supplies for his stay in the Arctic were shipped north on the whaling vessel Francis Allyn.

Hanbury first encountered Eskimos on his descent of the Thelon River near Aberdeen Lake. He described his encounter as:

> "The (Eskimos) at Udi-ek-telling were poorly off, and had run out of both ammunition and tobbaco. Few of them had ever been to Forth Churchill. What little 'fur' they had caught had been traded to the whalers months before . . . and I was glad to be able to provide them with a few of the necessaries of life, such as ammunition, tobacco, knives, files, needles, matches, etc." (From Hanbury, 1904, p. 44)

Further on in his journey, Hanbury encountered another Eskimo camp on the southern shores of Baker Lake:

> "Here I was met by Uttungerlah . . . a great musk-ox hunter. He had just returned from Repulse Bay, whither he had gone in his whale boat to find out the wintering quarters of any whalers remaining in Hudson Bay." (From Hanbury, p. 60)

Uttungerlah was truly a remarkable man and was largely responsible for Hanbury being able to survive and travel in the Arctic. Uttungerlah was also a well travelled man and Hanbury was astonished when Uttungerlah showed him some of his prized personal possessions:

> "He had a large box in which was stored a collection of rubbish, including a pair of old leather boots, old silk neckties, railway maps, and scraps of coloured cloth and paper . . . With great difficulty did I prevail on him to leave behind the fashionable old pair of English boots which he had brought back after a visit to Winnipeg." (From Hanbury, 1904, p* 107)

The following spring Hanbury and his party set out to cross the northern Keewatin to the area near Chantry Inlet. Near the mouth of the Back River they encountered a group of Utkuhikhalingmiut. Hanbury describes the meeting as:

> "These natives appeared to be very friendly and exhibited not the least fear. One man possessed a musket, which he had traded from another (Eskimo) whom he had met on the Ark-i-kinik River. He had no powder, nor caps, nor lead, and did not know how to fire the thing off, still he was quite proud of it, and packed it along wherever he went." (From Hanbury, 1904, p. 151)

Hanbury's observations seem to coincide with many of the earlier travelers, that the Eskimos near the Hudson Bay coast possessed a relatively high degree of technical sophistication and had adopted many items of European technology. It also appeared that the further inland or north one went to the Arctic coast, the more traditional the lifestyle was and there was less reliance on the trade goods from the Hudson's Bay Company or from the whalers.[1]

Extensive botanical and geological notes were made by Hanbury in 1899, when he discovered a new route from Hudson Bay to the Mackenzie Valley via the Thelon River. He was the first white man to cross the Baker Lake to Pelly Lake interior.

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[1] The entire section on David Hanbury has been taken from: Tolley, C. A History of Contact Between the Inuit of Northwestern Hudson Bay and White Sy - 1610 to 1910. 1978, 53 pages, 54 and 55

14. Fifth Thule Expedition

In 1922 the Fifth Thule Expedition, under Knud Rasmussen passed through Baker Lake.

15. The Revillan Freres

In 1924, the Revillan Freres established a trading post on the present site of Baker Lake. They also built the first home in Baker Lake, at that time. It is now the waiting room on our present day curling rink.

II. THE INUIT AND THE CHURCH

History of the Anglican Church of Canada

Reverend Smyth, the first person connected to the church to come to Baker Lake, arrived by boat in 1927.

At that time, the only building in the settlement was the Revillan Freres Trading Post, which was operated by one or two traders, with several native helpers. There were no native (Inuit) people settled in Baker Lake then.

The church's first services were held in the store, until its own building could be erected.

In 1928, Thomas Tapatai, an Inuit from Chesterfield Inlet, started as a lay helper, working with Reverend Smyth. At this time, other Inuit made contact with white men and began coming into the settlement to visit and find out more about the church.

Reverend Smyth left Baker Lake in 1930, and was replaced by Canon James. Work began on the construction of a church building. Also in this year, the first R.C.M.P. arrived and established a permanent operation and house here.

In 1932, the first Inuit to be confirmed were presented to the Bishop. When Archbishop Fleming visited Baker Lake in 1974, he performed the first baptisms of four Inuit, two men and two women.

While the Anglican Church was being established in Baker Lake, there were frequent visits, by the minister and his lay helper, to camps out on the land, in the surrounding area. In this way, contact was made with many more of the Inuit people.

There was some resistance towards the Church and its teachings by native groups, who held to their traditional beliefs and customs. In particular, the Shamans were opposed to the presence of the Church and its influence on the Inuit people.

The Catholic Church was also operating in the Baker Lake area, having been established at approximately the same time as the Anglican. Between these two religious groups a great deal of tension and rivalry existed in their efforts to spread Christianity.

During the 1930's and 40's, people of the North felt the effects of the Great Depression, as the market for their furs decreased. These were hard times for the settlement and its people.

In 1946, Revillan Freres was replaced by the Hudson Bay Company. A gravel air strip was laid out, as air travel increased. Operation Musk-Ox, carried out by the Canadian Army across the northern regions, took place in 1946.

Throughout the 1940's the Bible was being translated into Inuktitut. During these early times, the Anglican minister and the police often provided first aid and basic medical assistance.

The early missionaries (both Catholic and Anglican) were responsible for the schools. In 1953, 34 children were in attendance at the Anglican mission school.

Failure of the caribou herd in the 1950's resulted in widespread famine. This brought many families to the settlement in search of food.

In the late 1950's many more families came in from the land to reside more permanently in Baker Lake. This was caused by the building of schools and forced attendance of children. Until then, few family units had settled in Baker Lake.

A school building opened in 1957 with one teacher. A hostel accommodated children whose parents remained out on the land.

In 1962 Canon James left Baker Lake, having lived and worked for 32 years in the area.

Bahai Faith

The first Bahai came to Baker Lake in 1957. Gradually over the next 12 to 13 years the community grew to the point where it could elect a Spiritual Assembly (a counsel of nine members whose purpose is to guide the Bahai community). The Bahai Faith is a religion whose main purpose is to bring unity. It recognizes the oneness of God, of the World's Great Religions, and of mankind. Some of the functions of the Spiritual Assembly are: to guide the Bahai community; provide for the instruction of children, provide counseling; spreading the knowledge of the Bahai Faith; and making sure that Bahai holy days and feasts are observed.

Roman Catholic Mission

In 1927, the first Roman Catholic church was begun in Baker Lake, on the south side of the lake. In 1930 it was transferred to the north side. In 1957, a modern building was erected. In the early days of the church it was necessary to travel by dog team to see the people. After 1957, visits to camps became less frequent and by 1967 they stopped, as people began living in Baker Lake permanently.

The main function of the church is to tell the people about God, Christ and the church.

Today there is one transient priest, and a full-time Inuit Catechist who leads services and distributes communion in the absence of the priest.

Father Didié

Father Didié is a Roman Catholic missionary. He came to Canada in 1935. He came from France, to Italy, then to Canada by grain boat. He docked in Churchill, Manitoba. Since coming to the Arctic, Father Didié has lived in Chesterfield Inlet, Igloolik, Repulse Bay, Rankin Inlet, Coral Harbour, Pelly Bay, and Baker Lake. At present he lives in Churchill and travels to the settlements.

Once he travelled by dog team from Igloolik to Churchill. The trip took him three months - the same trip today takes three hours by plane.

Father Joseph Choque, O.M.I.

Baker Lake, September, 1948. A violent storm had just driven the airplane ashore laden with provisions for Father Buliard at Garry Lake. It was then that, arriving on a Newfoundland tramp steamer, for the first time, I met Father Choque at that time director of the Mission. We spent the winter together in that multi-level house built from odds and ends about 20 years earlier and which one could not call a model of mission architecture.

Father Choque had been there since the fall of 1944. He was to live there until 1952, then after a break for holidays in Belgium, return there in 1963 for another period of 11 years. It is probably the mission he was most attached to, though he did not lack difficulties in that post at that time frequented by a motley population, subject to periodic famine and where the Catholics were but a small minority.

The various groups which came to sell their white fox furs at Baker Lake – and which the missionary had to visit in their camps by dog team - depended almost entirely on caribou for their subsistence. When tuktu changed his routes or delayed his coming for too long, there was famine, famine that the local people had come to regard as a natural phenomenon. It was against this fatalism – already noted by Rasmussen - that Father Choque strove to fight by example, knowing well that hunger hears not, not even the Gospel.

Actually Baker Lake was rich in fish – trout and especially white fish – and it was not only to feed the personnel and the dogs of the mission that the priest forced himself to fish all winter, even in the coldest temperatures, but above all to be an example for the Eskimos. The winter of 48-49 was bitter with temperatures hovering for months between 40 and 50 below zero. I have kept a frightful memory of those visits to our nets when we had to first dig through several feet of ice, being careful not to cut the cord holding the net, then pull up the net, take out the fish with our bare hands and often straighten out the net all tangled by the flipping of a trout.

I must admit I was often tempted to throw in the towel, particularly when a north-west wind brought drifting snow. Father Choque seemed to barely notice the cold. His slight frame was deceptive for he was well built and strong and did not spare himself. He liked physical work and puttering and when, during his last years, he was sent to Frobisher Bay, he told me that was what he missed most in the mission where everything was too “citified.”

Joseph Choque was born the 6th of February 1912 in Remoiville-Hompré, in Belgian Luxembourg, where his father was a teacher. He was the seventh of eleven children of whom eight were boys. The church claimed a goodly number of them: an older sister of Father Joseph's became a nun, a younger brother a curé in Belgium while the youngest joined him as a missionary in Hudson's Bay.

After his secondary schooling at the junior seminary of Bastogne, he entered the Oblate novitate at Nieuwenhove in 1933 after which he continued his theological studies at the Velaines-Tournai scholasticate where he pronounced his perpetual vows on the 28th of June, 1937. Ordained the 25th of July, 1937 by Bishop Rasheur in the cathedral at Tournai, his studies completed, he received his obedience for Hudson's Bay the llth of April, 1938. The following 8th of July he left Montreal for the North aboard the mission supply ship "M.F. Thérèse".

It was at Chesterfield Inlet that he servedhis apprenticeship in missionary life, learning the Eskimo language under the expert direction of Father Didié. The next year he went to keep Father Rio company at the newly founded mission of Cape Dorset in southern Baffin Island. Three years later he crossed Hudson's Straight to spend two years at Ivuyivik before being called to take charge of the Baker Lake mission.

In 1954, he was sent to Coral Harbour on Southampton Island where he stayed until 1963. There he found a small Catholic community a bit more numerous than that at Baker Lake and a more encouraging ministry with, however, the opportunity to expend his physical energy.

He was indeed energetic, always ready to man saw or hammer, shovel or ice chisel. One was immediately struck by his direct, almost brusque manner. It would have been difficult to find in him a trace of what has been called ecclesiastical suavity. He said what he thought without bothering with diplomatic formulas and had definite opinions on many subjects, though it might mean retracting them later to take a more moderate stand. His brusqueness was quickly unmasked as camouflage for a big heart. He could go without transition from a severe attitude to a great burst of winning laughter.

Always ready to be of service and help out someone in trouble, he had many friends. It was probably this availability to others and the interest he manifested in the presidency of the community council in a village with a heavy Anglican majority like Baker Lake.

He was more fitted for action than for pure speculation. I remember that, from time to time when I would ask him for an article for Eskimo, he would answer me: "I'm not a writer. You'd do better to ask my brother for that." That did not prevent him from instructing himself and keeping abreast of theological problems. According to the weekly Nunatsiaq News, "One always found him reading, studying." The same article notes however "he will certainly best be remembered as a people rather than book oriented man." And it adds: "Deeply concerned with Northern social justice, Father spoke with courage and candor against what he saw to be abuses of power and privilege, both in the public and private sectors."

Father Choque was a man of faith. At the Requiem Mass celebrated at Frobisher Bay after his death, the president of the parish council declared that, for him Father Choque "was the living reality of a man who obeyed Christ's command to forsake all others and follow Him. . . . a man who believed in the primacy of the Spirit, and his homilies and other counseling were directed to an awakening of the spiritual life in each of us."

A religious and a priest, he always presented himself simply as such and did not feel the need as some today, to minimize or camouflage his priesthood in order to appear "with it".

His posting to Frobisher Bay in 1974 was a trial for him, which he accepted generously. The ministry and the milieu were very different from those to which he was accustomed. He had however, become acclimated and as the president of the parish council emphasized, "once the laity showed a willingness to undertake the responsibilities laid upon them one could not have found a more-encouraging guide."*

* This entire section on Father Choque has been taken from Eskimo, Spring-Summer, 1980, N.S. No. 19, pp. 7-9.

111. THE INUIT AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in 1670, however, no trading posts were built in the present day Keewatin area until 1911. This first trading post was located at Chesterfield Inlet.

Intermittent trading between Company ships and the people on the west coast of Hudson Bay began in the early 1700's. The trading post at Churchill, built in 1717, was intended to serve both the Chipewyans of that area and the Inuit north of Churchill.

Voyages by trade boats were made as far north as Marble Island. Following is a list of goods that were traded on a voyage in 1744, and appears to be typical of most trade voyages:

3	pounds of beads	9	pairs of Hawks bells
6	fire steels	14	chisels
32	awls	73	knives
4	brass collars	3	looking glasses
24	coat buttons	34	rings
12	bayonets	3	double scrapers
60	waistcoat buttons	10	sword blades
4	ivory combs	6	pairs scissors
45	quilting needles	5	alchemy spoons
21	hatchets		

(from: Cooke, 1973, pp. 211 and 212)

The summer trading voyages along the western coast of Hudson Bay, which were begun in 1719, seem to terminate abruptly in 1790. It had been proven by this time that the Northwest Passage did not lie along this coast and interest in further exploration of this area seems to have ceased. The Inuit, from this time on, were expected to make the long trip down the coast if they wished to trade.

Although Baker Lake was as far north as direct trade went, there seems to have been intergroup trading going inland and farther north. Ross in 1833 reports that the people at Lower Back River had some European implements that might have been obtained by trading with other Inuit.

After 1790, due to the long distances involved in going to the post at Churchill, only a few men would make the trip.

In 1864, the Hudson's Bay Company was beginning to become concerned about the dwindling Eskimo trade in Churchill and began to investigate the rumour that American whalers were trading with the Inuit. Reports indicated that there was indeed a tremendous trade potential with the Inuit of the Northwest coast of the Hudson Bay. In 1892, the Hudson's Bay Company sent the Perseverance to Hudson Bay with instructions to participate in whaling in Roes Welcome Sound, and also to engage in trade with the Inuit of that region.

By the fall of 1897, the Hudson's Bay Company ended its attempts in whaling, as it no longer was profitable to them. The trading portion of their voyages had been far more successful so they decided to extend their trading system. Posts were founded at Wolstenholme in 1909, Chesterfield Inlet in 1911, Baker Lake in 1916 and Repulse Bay in 1919.

IV. THE INUIT AND THE AMERICAN WHALERS

> "With the pioneer voyages of the SYREN QUEEN and the NORTHERN LIGHT in 1860-61, a new economic interdependence between the white visitor and the Eskimo gradually began to emerge. The occurrence of scurvy was very high among the whalers in the early years of the whaling era, and the whalers turned to the Eskimos to supply them with fresh meat. The whalers also came to depend on the winter clothing made by the Eskimo women. In turn, the Eskimos came to depend on the whalers for a variety of trade goods that they had previously obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company post at Churchill." (From: Tolley, Chuck. A History of Contact Between the Inuit of Northwestern Hudson Bay and White Society - 1610 - 1910. 1978, page 42.1

The introduction of firearms and whaleboats to the Inuit, by the traders, probably had the most far-reaching impact on the Inuit.

Contacts between the Baker Lake Inuit and the whalers were mostly for trading purposes, although some Inuit were hired for providing food and clothing to the whalers. The Baker Lake Inuit also acted as a middle-man, trading goods with such groups as the Back River Inuit.

The whalers brought not only European goods to the people, they also brought diseases:

> "The elimination of the Sadlirmiut of Southampton Island in 1901-02, appears to have been the result of the introduction of a virulent gastric disease from the Scottish whaling vessel ACTIVE." (From: Tolley, 1978, page 40.)

Whaling in Hudson Bay reached its peak in about 1870. The last whaling voyage was made in the summr of 1919.

V. THE INUIT AND THE N.W.M.P.- R.C.M.P.

1915 - first post established in Baker Lake

All in a Winter's Patrol - by W.O. Douglas

By the time that furrows of slab ice were forming around the shores of Baker Lake and the first wisps of snow were blowing over the black, fast-freezing water, everything that should have been done at my detachment at the south end of the lake before winter finally set in, had been attended to. Coal was stacked in a convenient location and coal-oil and gasoline barrels were up-ended so that they could be more readily located when heavy drifts of snow covered the land.

Sled and dog harnesses were put in readiness for the first patrol in the winter of 1917 - my second winter in the Arctic with the Royal North West Mounted Police. We also laid in a good supply of grit-free peat. On the first really cold day, this peat was given a warm-water treatment in a galvanized tub, then moulded into warm balls which our employees quickly applied over the steel shoeing of our sleds. Winter travel with steel-shod runners would be heavy and slow. The peat when frozen to the runners was roughly smoothed off with an old plane; then a glaze of ice was applied over it. The glazing was usually done with a piece of polar-bear skin on which water was drooled from the man's mouth to prevent it freezing. The idea of applying peat to sled runners to reduce the drag is said to be a Canadian Eskimo contribution to arctic travel.

That summer I had given a man named Cunnernerk temporary summer employment around the detachment. Before freeze-up we had transported him and his wife and twelve-year-old son to the north shore of Baker Lake where they could hunt the caribou which we needed

for most of our winter dog feed. We were reasonably satisfied that the family would make out all right.

With the first cold days, rumours started to circulate among the native families who were either living at the detachment or camping nearby. Caribou would be scarce, the people would be starving during the winter, and even fish might be hard to get. I traced these dire predictions to my principal employee, a man named Akular, a famous conjurer. He had been conversing with his spirits, and the people regarded him seriously.

Akular was a remarkable man: loyal to the core and a fine guide and traveller. It was he who had relayed the two men, Radford and Street, to Bathurst Inlet far to the north and west, where he handed them over to the care of the people of that area. They were subsequently murdered and then it was Akular who took Inspector French and Sergeant-Major Caulkin of the Royal North West Mounted Police back to where he had left the two men whose murders they were now investigating.

Akular had yet to convince me of his power as asorcerer, although in the light of what happened that winter, his predictions did come true. He had two fine sons; the eldest, Atonglar, was a fine hunter who prefered living the life of his people, while the younger son, Savgatar, liked to work with the white men.

When the ice had formed and there was a sufficient covering of snow, I decided to visit Cunnernerk to see how they were making out with the caribou. We crossed the lake, Akular driving the lead team and Savgatar coming behind with the second. We planned to visit briefly with Cunnernerk and his family and then to continue on to the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Baker lake. There we would learn what was happening in outlying camps.

Suddenly Akular stopped his team and signalled to his son to do likewise. What he had seen after scanning the country with his telescope was evidently not to his liking. There was a pole on the land near Cunnernerk's camp with a piece of deerskin attached to it. This, according to Akular, meant that someone had died. There was also something on the ice which he could not understand. Although I was unable to follow the conversation between Akular and his son, I did hear the name 'Eeshateek' mentioned. This was the twelve-year-old son of the man I had sent to hunt caribou, and to whose camp we were now headed. We had a mug-up - hot tea and some dried meat – and then moved on. As we came closer to the object on the ice, the two Eskimo drivers had difficulty holding back their excited dog-teams.

While the two drivers were handling the dogs and keeping them in check I walked over and, to my horror, saw the body of twelve-year-old Eeshateek frozen into the ice. By now the two men had removed anything that would spill, such as coal oil and primus stoves, from the sleds and had turned them over to keep the dogs from getting close to the body.

Then Akular came towards me. He remained quiet for a few moments and then started to walk towards the shore of the lake some fifty feet or less away. He was gone for some time and on his return informed me that he had come across an abandoned igloo. He was all for leaving the scene of the tradgedy, saying there was nothing we could do. It was my duty to find out what had happened and I asked for his opinion. The boy Eeshateek, he believed, had been tobogganing down the little hill at the edge of the lake. The momentum had evidently carried him and his sled - also frozen into the ice close to the body - out over the thin ice which had collapsed under his weight.

The parents would be unaware of the accident when it occurred and by the time they realized something might have happened to their son he had already died of exposure. There was no way they could retrieve the body since the ice would not bear the weight of an adult person.

Akular and his son had already started to straighten out the dog traces and, from the few snatches of conversation I could understand, I learned that they intended to leave right away for the Hudson's Bay Company post at Baker Lake, without doing anything about the body. Their explanation was that we would need all our time to make the post before dark.

Akular actually started off but stopped his team a little distance off so that Savgatar and I could join him. There was a lot going through my mind. Although I had charge of the patrol I could do nothing without the two men. I had every faith in Akular and liked him very much, but it seemed to be against his beliefs to touch the body in any way. His whole attitude had changed; even his usually smiling son had become quiet and sullen.

My conscience, however, would not allow me to leave the body in the ice. I asked Savgatar for his ice chisel and started to chop around the corpse. While I was doing this, with the intention of cutting the body free and then pushing it under the firm ice where animals could not reach it, Akular returned and stood watching me. It was quite evident that he considered me inept with the ice chisel. It was a heavy tool, fixed to long, strong wooden handles which provided more weight.

Akular let me know that he thought I was not doing the cutting properly. I should be cutting into the ice on an angle rather than straight down. Then I would be able to

slide the imprisoned corpse onto the firm ice and take it ashore for burial. His interest rather surprised but pleased me. I had not expected any assistance, co-operation, or advice. Akular also suggested that I punch a hole through the ice in which the body was encased and which was now afloat, then reeve a piece of rawhide line through the hole -- so that we would be better able to drag it to the shore. We pulled it up onto the ice and then Akular suggested I also cut out the small sled, which we could use in pulling the body to the shore.

Ashore we found plenty of stones to form a grave, but all were frozen to the ground. Akular and his son pitched in and before long had managed to free enough stones to cover Eeshateek's body in its ice coffin. Because they had not actively taken part in the freeing of the body, the spell may have been broken, for the men seemed relieved. I was very thankful for the help they had given, for I could not have done the work alone.

That evening rather late, we arrived at the Hudson's Bay post and received the usual warm welcome from Manager Harry Ford. At that time Ford was the most proficient interpreter in the country; I had been told that he conversed with several different groups of Eskimo in their own dialects. I told him about finding the body and he agreed " to have the parents, when they came in to trade, travel the one-day journey to the police detachment and give me their account of what had happened to their son.

"1

I spent the evening talking to Mr. Ford and his assistant. Very few people had yet been in to trade and there was every indication that this was going to be a hard winter for all of them. The yearly caribou migration on which the people were almost entirely dependent, had failed. Now all their time would have to be spent fishing the many lakes in the district. It was a grim prospect indeed.

In those days the turbulent water where the TheIon River entered Baker Lake was a favoured caribou crossing. I saw one migration there in later years and the number of animals was staggering. For almost three days an unbroken herd crossed the river. When for some reason or another - possibly changes in the customary weather pattern or the direction of the wind - the herds were diverted from their usual routes, the inland-dwelling people were compelled to lead an almost nomadic life, moving from lake to lake in search of fish for themselves and their dogs.

It had been a sad and tiring day for me. In the morning, after a good night's sleep, I awakened to the smell of what we northerners called 'sowbelly', which we ate with hot cakes. Mr. Ford had an excellent Eskimo cook who made good bread - delicious when toasted and buttered. , I am afraid that I often over-ate on occasions such as this.

It appeared that it was going to be a busy day of trading so I went to the store to deliver the usual handshake and meet the people from the TheIon and Kazan River districts. They were cheerful and had a few fox pelts to trade, but all had the same complaint about the disappointing failure of the caribou to arrive. I assured them of police assistance in case of a general famine and returned to the house to write up my diary.

Later that day, at lunch, I asked Mr. Ford if he would interpret for me, as I understood there was a man who was anxious to see me. Mr. Ford was agreeable and a message was relayed to the hunter that I would see him. Soon the door flew open and a short Eskimo entered, dressed in full winter traveling apparel. He pushed back his hood and came towards me. He then waved his arms, threw back his head and shouted a few words. Mr. Ford immediately translated them: 'Here I am and now you can shoot me'. I was shocked by his words. His eyes looked quite wild, but he was unarmed and did not seem dangerous.

I then asked Mr. Ford what this was all about. The man was talking quite loudly, in a sort of a chant which now and again reached high notes. There was no doubt but that he was living in another world. I thought Harry Ford looked alarmed and I wondered if I should feel that way also. I asked Mr. Ford to interrupt him and bring him back into the world of reality. I got up, invited the agitated man to have a chair and, since it was near four o'clock, offered him tea.

When Manager Ford went out to put on the kettle I caught a glimpse of a crowd of curious people in the kitchen." They probably were aware of-what was happening and and waiting for my reaction to the story we were about to hear. We didn't rush things but, when we had finished our tea drinking, I asked Mr. Ford if he would tell me the story. After a long conversation between Mr. Ford and the agitated man, the interpreter turned to me and said that this man had shot his son and had heard that if the police knew about it they would come and shoot him. I assured him that this was not true, and that I appreciated his coming to the trading post to report the incident. I expressed my sympathy and regretted that he had been through such a difficult time.

The man was to return the following day but something unexpected happened and it was not until a day later that I got the story. Five people were involved in the tragedy: the man who had shot his son, his wife, two other sons, and a daughter. The eldest son had been crippled all his life and was unable to walk. The family had been living south-west of Baker Lake post, at the Kazan River caribou crossing. With the failure of the annual migration, family after family left for the fishing lakes, leaving the one family alone. Because of the crippled son they had decided to stay on, hoping day after day that the caribou would appear. Finally, if they were to survive, they had to move to the lake to fish, leaving the crippled son alone. It was a hard

decision to make but there was no alternative. They were unable to carry him and had some distance to go to the lake they had in mind.

The crippled boy would only be alone until they could get some food and return; by then it was hoped that conditions might have changed and they would be able to haul him on a small sled, assisted by their two thin, starving dogs.

The wolves were all around, suffering just as the people were because of the failure of the caribou migration. In order to protect their son they built a rock igloo around him and left him on comfortable skins with what food they could spare. The family possessed only one rifle and they could not leave it behind in case they should find a stray caribou. The two half-starved dogs were unable to pack anything, so the group had to carry their things to the fishing lake: a caribou-skin tent and two wooden poles, an ice chisel, bedding and a very small amount of food. The crippled boy was terrified at the thought of being left alone at the mercy of the wolves without any defensive weapon.

The group walked all day and in the evening the man told his wife that at first light he was going back to his son while the others started fishing. He told them where to fish and assured them of his quick return.

When he arrived at the stone shelter, some wolves had moved into the camp area; others were howling a short distance away. They were all starving. The crippled son heard his father and pleaded to be taken away. The father stood transfixed. The thought of his well-loved son's body being torn to pieces by the animals passed through his mind. He feared that he would go insane if he listened much longer to his son's pathetic plea. He could stand it no longer.

He picked up his rifle, placed the gun barrel through a crack in the rocks and fired. No sound came from inside the rock shelter. He waited until he thought his son's spirit had departed the body, stuck the murder weapon in the snow, then turned and ran away. By the time he reached his family, who had been successful with their fishing, he was in a state of complete exhaustion. Noting that the father's gun was missing and understanding the tradition, the family realized what had happened. The demented mother went outside crying out to the spirits, while the frightened teenagers huddled together.

Without a rifle they were now restricted to fishing, and ate the fish raw except on the odd occasion when they could gather some moss and. a few willow twigs together, to make fish broth. Shortly after the first snow fell a visitor arrived at their fishing camp,

the son of a family well-known to them, on his way to trade furs. He was able to provide them with a little dried meat and gave them three traps. It was their small success with these traps that brought the family in to trade and to tell their sad story.

What I have related is simply the outline of the story. The interpreter would tell me in a few sentences what had taken the man quite a while to relate; no detail had been too small for him to recall. We were later joined by the distressed mother who told us her version of the incident. Obviously she had suffered terribly and she would go into a chant as she related her part of the story. I had to get all the information because this was going to be one of the most difficult reports I would have to write. I had to convince someone in Ottawa that the conditions I was reporting on were quite common. In some years starvation was never far away from the inland people.

The government would be quite ready to give the unfortunate man a small outfit to start out with, but this would not include a rifle. Without the rifle the family would have to subsist almost entirely on fish. So I parted with my own rifle, from which I had never fired a shot. That night I spent many hours trying to point out in my report the tremendous hardships and mental anguish this unfortunate man had gone through.

During my stay at the Hudson's Bay Company post another tragedy was unfolding. An apprentice working on the store roof noticed a person walking in circles out on the lake . Occasionally he stumbled and fell. It turned out to be a man seeking relief for his starving family. Since he was close to the limit of his strength he was taken care of in the post kitchen. He was unable to identify himself but we gathered from his garbled words that his son had started off to seek relief but failed to make it to the post. Later two young men arrived to trade; they were able to tell us who the man was and where his starving family was located.

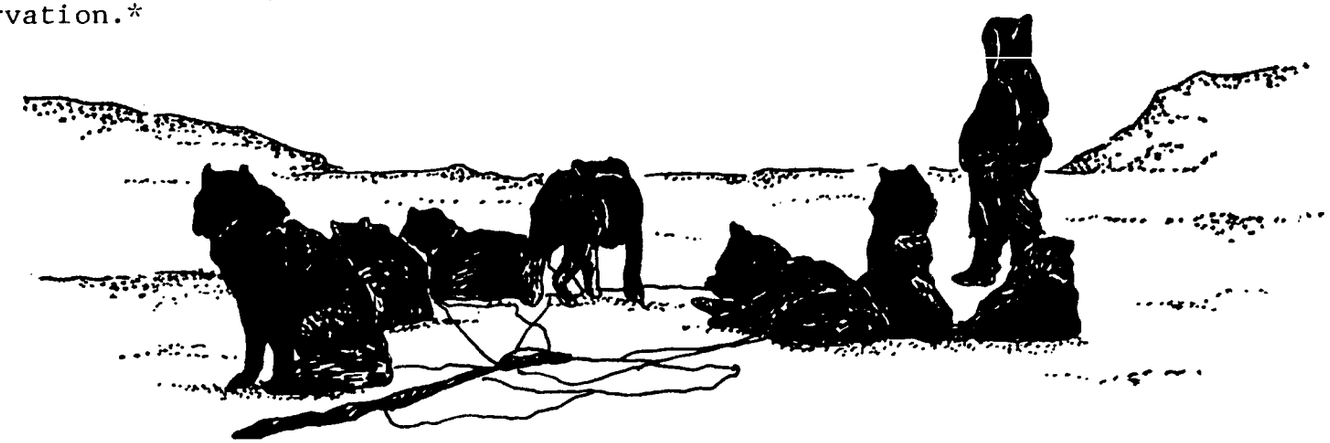
Harry Ford had a deep understanding not only of the language, but of the people. This remarkable knowledge was an asset to his employers, to the government, and to travelers from outside the area who did not speak Eskimo. There were several good men who worked with Harry Ford, in particular Keenak, a quiet, capable Eskimo. Keenak and my guide Akular set out together to find the boy who had originally gone for help and to search for the starving family of the distraught man. They were unable to find the family themselves but fortunately they met two men who gave them the information they needed. So they returned to the post, loaded emergency rations on a large sled and sent relief supplies on the way.

When I returned to the detachment, we received the news that several families whom we had thought might be starving, were managing to survive by fishing. Then a blizzard struck; a terrible storm with high winds, intense cold, and blowing snow. It lasted for three days without let-up.

Later I received a letter from Mr. Ford in which he informed me that the relief party had brought back the destitute family; however they had failed to find the boy's body and the father, who never recovered from his anxiety, had died. His family was being taken care of at the Hudson's Bay Company post, and would probably be reunited with their own people in the spring.

The letter also contained a sequel to the murder story. The man who shot his son never quite recovered from the tragedy and was described by those who met him as 'queer' . During the blizzard he wandered off and was found later, frozen to death, his body crouched behind a snow shelter. I was sorry to learn of his fate, but knew that he was so filled with remorse that it was unlikely he could ever be normal again. It was a great load off my mind however and I lost no time in adding a postscript to my report on the case which was ready to go out in the winter packet to Churchill. Had the father of the crippled boy lived, there would have been a trial, and I did not relish the idea.

On that one winter patrol in 1917 there had been four deaths, all related to near-starvation.*



* This article has been taken from: The Beaver, Winter 1978, pp. 9 to 14.

VI. THE INUIT AND EDUCATION

The Mission School

The first school in Baker Lake was run by the Anglican Church. School was taught in the church. There was no electricity and no heat. The children whose families lived in the settlement went to school if they wanted to. There was no school for the families who lived on the land.

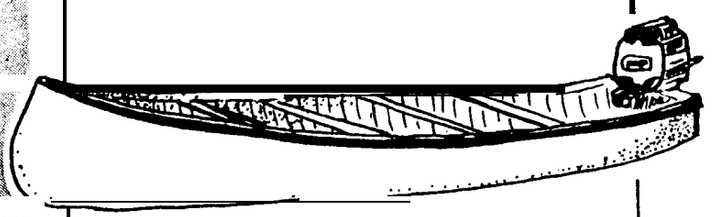
In 1955 Canon James taught at the Mission School. He had about 14 students. Some of his students were Winnie Tapatai, Sally Webster, Bill Kushla, Hugh Ungungai, Bill Martee, Sally Iglookyouak, Nancy Tupiq, Janet Tagoona, and Ruby Angrna'naaq. They mostly learned reading and writing in Inuktitut. They learned a few words of English. There was a small chalkboard in the school. They learned from memory and from what Canon James wrote on the chalkboard. School wasn't as organized then as it is now.

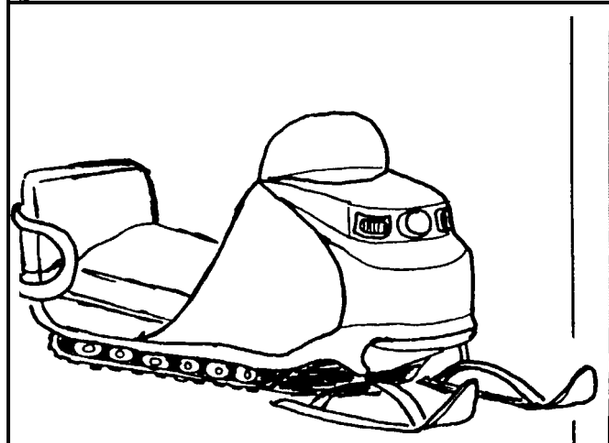
The Federal School

The Federal Government started a day school in Baker Lake in 1959. The green school was built at that time. There was one teacher. (The school house is now the hamlet resource centre where meetings are held.)

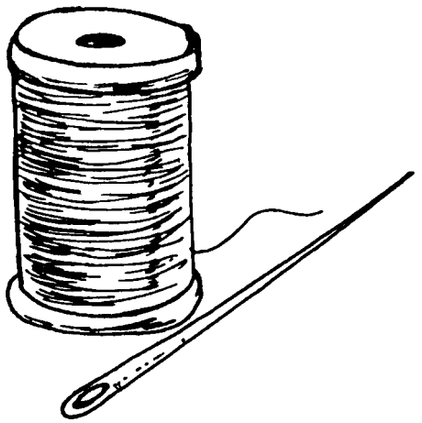
Soon there were too many pupils, so they built the blue school. The main school was built next. As more children came to school, they made additions to the main school.

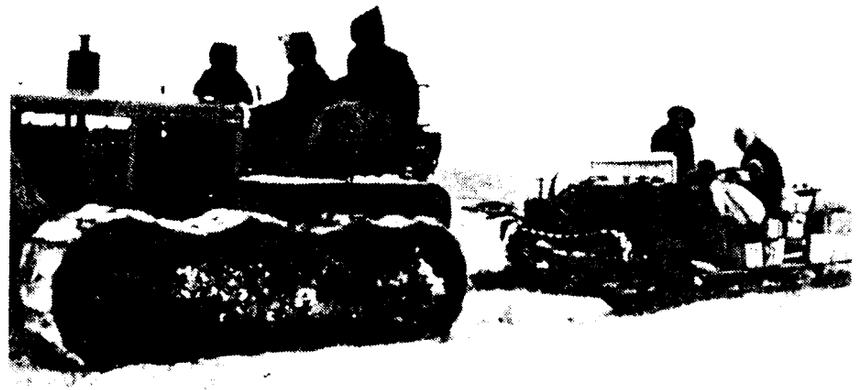
1967 was the last year that some people lived in igloos behind the settlement. That year there were seven teachers, one janitor, one interpreter and one cook at the school. 150 pupils attended school at that time. The children learned English, there was no Inuktitut or land program. The children had a hot lunch at school, because many families didn't have food. The children never missed school. The attendance was between 95% and 100%.

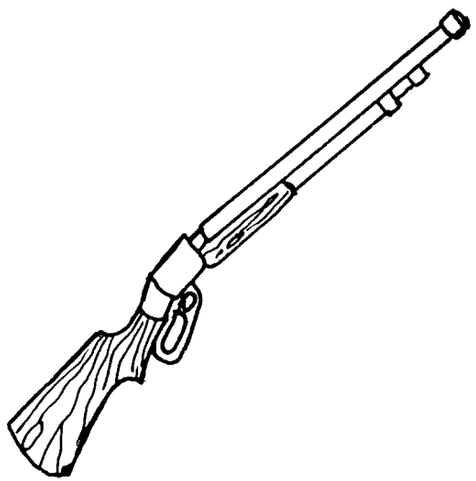


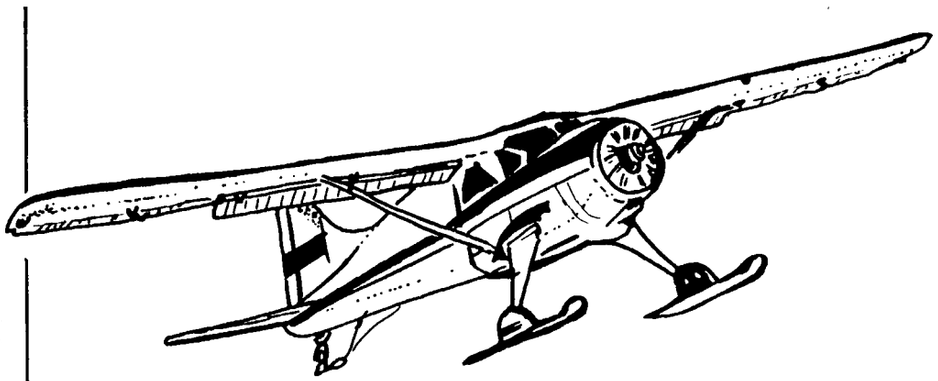


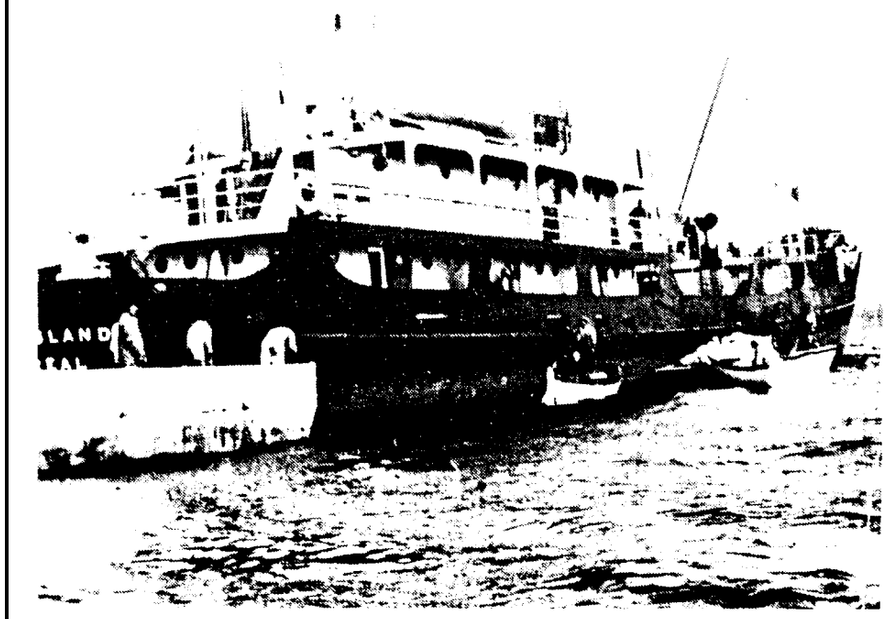
FLOUR











MODERN COMMUNITY

THE MODERN COMMUNITY

1. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT - Hamlet Council
   - Local Education Authority
   - Volunteer Fire Department

2. TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT - Adult Education
   - D.P.W. Garage
   - Economic Development
   - Housing Association
   - School
   - Social Services

3. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT - N.C.P.C.
   - Nursing Station
   - Post Office
   - R.C.M.P.
   - Upper Air

4. PRIVATE BUSINESS - Bahai Faith
   Baker Lake Lodge
   Co-op
   Hudson's Bay Company
   Iglu Hotel
   Inuit Broadcasting Corporation
   Inuit Pitqosii
   Ladies Group Store
   Roman Catholic Mission
   Sewing Centre

5. THE PEOPLE

6. HOLIDAYS, SPECIAL DAYS AND ACTIVITIES

7. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

1. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Hamlet Council

The Hamlet Council is the government of the community of Baker Lake. It looks after water, sewage, town planning, and recreation" It is also the political voice of the community.

Baker Lake became a Hamlet on April 6, 1976. There are eight full-time members on the Hamlet Council

Local Education Authority (L.E.A.)

Baker Lake has had a L.E.A. since around 1970. The people of Baker Lake vote for the members of the L.E.A. To run for the Committee, one must be 18 years or over, have lived in Baker Lakeat least three months, and plan to be a long-term resident of Baker Lake. The L.E.A.'s main purpose is to make recommendations, to the Department of Education, on how the school in Baker Lake could be improved.

In 1980, the Education Committee in Baker Lake achieved society status. This gave them control of the annual education budget, and thus the flexibility to allocate funds to fit programs, etc. to which they felt priority should be given. Becoming a society also gave them the right to hire their own teaching staff.

Volunteer Fire Department

The volunteer fire department began in 1969. It has twenty volunteers. The fire chief is Joe Scottie and the truck drivers are William Tapatai and Joedee Joedee. There are fire drills twice a month.

The fire department's equipment includes: trucks, axes, air tanks, hoses, clothing> safety equipment and a water pump.

Adult Education

Adult education began in 1972, upon request from the community. The main function was to train people in skills such as: Inuktitut, homemaking, prospecting, small engine repair, cooking and driving. The adult educators also operated a hotel and day-care centre. In order for people to obtain specific training, the educators encouraged them to attend A.V.T.C. in Fort Smith.

There are two full-time educators in Baker Lake. Instructors for specific courses are employed locally from time to time.

This organization is important to the community as it gives adults an opportunity to obtain additional education necessary to function in the changing community.

D.P.W. Garage

D.P.W. built their first garage in Baker Lake in 1963. The present garage was built in 1970. It keeps all the D.P.W. vehicles in driving condition. D.P.W. has vehicles for delivering fuel and water and picking up garbage and sewage. The department employs thirty people as: mechanics, heavy equipment operators, drivers and labourers.

Economic Development

The pupose of this department is: to promote local business, initiate loan programs; and give advice to small businesses. A sewing centre is operated through Rankin's regional centre.

The department employs an Area Economic Development Officer who is hired from the South and a trainee who has been hired locally.

Housing Association

The Housing Association came to Baker Lake in the early 1960's, when it was operated by the Department of Local Government. Its purpose is to provide low-cost housing and to maintain all northern and public housing (excluding M.O.T. and G.N.W.T. housing).

The Association's function is to provide the local people with low-cost housing. The houses are pre-fabricated, and have oil heating and electricity. The later models are supplied with furnaces, running water, electric ranges, refrigerators and flush toilets.

The Housing Association has a manager, an assistant manager, a part-time secretary, a janitor, two furnace mechanics, a plumber, an electrician and two carpenters.

The Housing Association provides all the low-cost housing for the people in Baker Lake (85 - 90% of the population).

Ilitsijaqturvik (The Territorial School)

In 1970 the Government of the Northwest Territories took over the responsibility for education in Baker Lake. The gymnasium was built that year, as well as two more classrooms. Another portable was added in 1975. Today approximately 300 children attend school. There is one principal, one assistant principal, three custodians, two land program instructors, fourteen teachers, six classroom assistants, and one secretary working in the school.

Students learn core subjects as well as Inuktitut and land programs. In the senior grades there is a life skills program. Some children participate in after school sports.

The attendance is between 60 and 65%. Some reasons for the decrease in attendance are that the students have more things to do and warmer homes to go home to. The children who attend school now, know more English and Inuktitut than children did ten years ago.

Social Services

Social Services began in the 1950's, through the R.C.M.P. At that time its main function was to provide financial assistance to the local people.

Today, in addition to providing financial assistance, it allocates government housing (under an executive in Rankin Inlet), dispenses liquor permits and driver's licenses, calculates vital statistics and provides counseling services and training of Social Service employees.

The staff includes: social workers who are hired from the South; government allocation staff who are locally hired; and local trainees who are trained for two years in

Red Deer or Algonquin College.

The work incentive programs, probation services and welfare program are important to the community.

3. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

N.C.P.C.

The Northern Canada Power Commission came to Baker Lake in 1968. At present it runs six generators to supply power to the community. The Commission employs two people.

Nursing Station

Medical services have been in Baker Lake since the mid-fifties. In order to provide adequate health care to the people, nurses often went by plane on camp patrol. These patrols were stopped quite some time ago, when most people came into Baker Lake to live.

The main part of the nursing station was built in 1958. Extensions were built in 1970-71.

Today, in Baker Lake, Medical Services employ three nurses, one dental therapist, one clerk-interpreter, one housemaid and one janitor. With the exception of the three nurses, all of the employees are Inuit.

The health care program includes some preventative medicine and health teaching. This is achieved through school visits and working with the health committee (seven Inuit members) as well as on an individual basis. Provisions are made for immunization against communicable diseases. Nurses make home visits to the elderly, and sometimes to the very young - particularly to newborns. They supply medicines free of charge and transportation out, if need be, for hospitalization.

The referral centre for Baker Lake is Churchill, Manitoba. A general practitioner comes to Baker Lake from Churchill about once a month. His visits usually last three days. Also, a few specialists come up from Winnipeg once or twice a year to see patients referred to them by the nurses. Other specialists travel only as far as Churchill, and patients from Baker Lake are transported there to see them.

There has been no one in Baker Lake on T.B. medication since 1977.

Post Office

The post office was first located in the local Hudson's Bay store. It now employs one person and a helper at peak periods. It's main functions are: distribution of mail, provision of money orders, stamps, c.o.d.'s and registered mail.

R.C.M.P.

The R.C.M.P. began work around Baker Lake in 1928. At that time they ran the Post Office, Medical and Social Services as well as recorded Vital Statistics. An R.C.M.P. building was erected in the 1940's.

Today the R.C.M.P. are responsible for law enforcement, inoculation of dogs and search and rescue. The area covered by this police detachment is 315 miles from north to south and 250 miles from east to west.

Most of the crimes in Baker Lake are alcohol related. The crime rate reached its peak in 1977 and has been increasing slightly since then.

The R.C.M.P. , at present, employs one constable, one special constable, and one maintenance person. In addition, they hire interpreters and guards when required.

Upper Air

This organization began as a weather station in 1948, operated by R.C.A.F. Since 1949 it has been operated by M.O.T.

Its main functions are: to take meteorological soundings of the atmosphere; to take temperature, humidity and wind data from the surface up to 100,000 feet; send up world weather balloons every 12 hours; monitor amounts of solar radiation, depth of snow and ice; and monitor energy consumption.

At present Upper Air has two employees.

4. PRIVATE BUSINESS

Baker Lake Lodge

The Baker Lake Lodge opened in 1967 as an Indian Development Program to promote tourism and create jobs. From 1967 to 1974 the Lodge operated year round. In 1974, the main building burned down, since then it has only been open in the summer months. At presen⊂ it is privately owned.

The main function of the lodge is to provide tourists with lodging, fishing and tours the area around Baker Lake.

There are twelve local people employed by the lodge during the summer. They work as cooks, maids and guides.

Co-op

An Arts and Crafts Group began in Baker Lake in 1962. In 1967 the Sanavik Co-op was built. It served as an outlet to sell the arts and crafts made in Baker. At Christmas in 1978, the building, tools and all the arts and crafts that were in the building burned. The new Sanavik Co-op opened in February 1979. The Sewing Center and Inuit Pitqcsii are located in the upstairs of this building.

Sanavik is a self-sufficient Co-op, with an elected Board of Directors making its decisions. It has a staff of 20 people.

Hudson's Bay Company

The Hudson's Bay Company was originally a fur trading company, which used aluminum tokens instead of money, as exchange for furs. The Bay was also involved in issuing welfare during the early days in the North, running the post office, keeping records for the community, and providing some medical assistance in emergencies. Today it still buys furs - fox and wolf in Baker Lake, seal and bear skins in the coastal settlements and caribou skins in some communities.

The Bay now sells groceries, a variety of dry goods, clothing, footwear and hardware. All of the supplies are shipped via Winnipeg, most come on a yearly shipment from there via sea lift. Recently, the Bay stores in northern communities have also initiated a nutrition program, which was to be carried out in co-ordination with the nursing station, the school and the radio station.

The Bay employs 12 full-time employees and two casual employees year round. Of the 12 full-time employees, 9 are Inuit and 3 are white. Positions include: cashier, office workers and stocking clerks. At the time of the sea lift's arrival, an additional 25 workers are hired temporarily to assist in unloading and warehouse work.

The Bay is the only food supplier in Baker Lake. It is also the only place where clothing and other essential items are available. Many people take advantage of the Bay's services in cashing cheques and providing some banking services.

In the North, Bay stores are much more independent than those in the South. Each manager decides what items will be stocked to satisfy the needs of the particular community.

Iglu Hotel

The hotel opened in 1977. The Inuit Development Organization has since bought enough shares to have controlling interest.

The main services provided by the hotel are: room and board, coffee shop, and dining services . The hotel employs twenty local people. It costs approximately $80.00 to stay at the hotel which includes three meals. Thirty-four people can stay at the hotel a day.

Inuit Broadcasting Corporation

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation began in 1976 as an I.T.C. pilot project to improve native communication in the North. It is presently funded by the Secretary of State.

The main function of this organization is to broadcast television programs of local and cultural interest as well as local people and events. The Corporation employs a project director, a secretary, producer, editor, two camermen and a producer trainee.

The broadcasts provided by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation are valuable in maintaining Inuit knowledge and culture in the community. At present they broadcast on C.B.C. for half an hour each week.

Baker Lake is the headquarters for the corporation, however, they also have local broadcasting on C.I.T.S. , channel 4.

Inuit Pitqosii

Inuit Pitqosii began as a L.E.A.P. project in Baker Lake in 1975. It is located in the Co-op building.

The main function of the organization is to have local craftsmenmake traditional clothing, games and toys. These items are made either in full-scale or miniature. Items are sent to schools and libraries, both in the north and the south. Caribou clothing is sold to the local people of Baker Lake as well as to people in other Inuit communities.

It is of importance to the community because it helps to keep Inuit traditions alive by training-young Inuit in craftsmanship.

Today there are seven people on salary, working all year round for Inuit Pitqosii. They still receive grants from the Employment Development Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs.

(As of 1982 Inuit Pitqosii project has been canceled.)

Ladies Group Store

In the late 1960's the ladies in Baker Lake felt that there were things such as skills, etc. which they wanted to share with other people in the community. They formed a ladies group and began by opening a day-care centre. This centre was not profitable, so it was closed and a store was opened soon after. This store provided goods that were not available at the Bay. The store, in conjunction with the adult educators, also offers courses such as: caribou skin sewing, knitting, cooking and duffle sewing.

The ladies group has also taken over the coffee shop in the Iglu Hotel. At present they have nine employees working at the coffee shop and at the store.

Sewing Centre

The Sewing Centre began in Baker Lake in 1968. Six people work at the Sewing Centre and another 45 people work at home. These people make wall hangings, mitts, duffle socks, vests and parkas. The wall hangings cost from $45.00 to $700.00 and the parkas cost from $125.00 to $175.00. When the Sewing Centre opened the employees used sewing machines, now most of the sewing is done by hand.

Armand Tagoona

The Inuit leaders of the past were not called "leaders" or "bosses". They became leaders by gaining respect from the people; not by getting elected. The leaders gained respect of their peers through example by demonstrating that decisions they had to make were the right ones.

Shamans occasionally became leaders when there was fear amongst the people or when sickness came. Armand Tagoona cannot remember Shamans making decisions about hunting, however, he does say that if a Shaman was intelligent and had all the qualities of a leader, he may have becomes leader of his camp.

There is a difference in Inuit leadership in traditional and modern times. Two of the reasons for seeking leadership today are: a leader can make decisions and run the affairs of the people; and an elected leader can make good money. There are also more problems with leadership today. One of them is that leaders are now responsible to so many people that not all people's expectations can be met. Traditional leaders were only responsible for the few people within their camp.

Reverend Tagoona comments that more people should become involved in election of leaders. He also says that as far as women are concerned, "... they would represent a different point of view on how to handle the problems of today." (From "Armand Tagoona: Inuit became leaders by gaining respect", Inuit Today, page 8.)

Reverend Tagoona concludes by saying that being a religious leader is more like being a traditional leader. One is not elected to the position but rather seeks it because of his feeling the need to help his fellow man. He must also earn the respect of other's.

Adapted from:

"Armand Tagoona: Inuit became leaders by gaining respect", Inuit Today, Vol. 8 October 1980, pp. 6 - 8.

6. "HOLIDAYS, SPECIAL DAYS AND ACTIVITIES

Christmas

Christmas activities begin with a school concert, in which all students participate. There are church services and, if there is enough caribou, there is a feast at the Community Hall.

During the week between Christmas and New Year's the Recreation Committee holds social events. There are skidoo races, pop can races, barrel racing, dog-team races, running races, tea-boiling contests, ice chiseling contests and three-legged races on the ice. Traditional games are played at the community hall for older people and crawling, smiling and running contests are also held there for the toddlers.

Following these activities there is square dancing in the community hall.

The same celebrations also take place at Easter time.

7. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Sports

School children use the gym every day from 3:45 to 5:30 for an after school sports program. Full-day tournaments are held periodically.

The gym is open six nights a week from seven to eleven for adult sports. There are competitive leagues for men's and women's **floor hockey, and for over-25 volleyball. Basketball and badminton are also played.**

Cubs

The cub pack meets once a week for an hour and a half. At present there are forty-five boys and four leaders involved in the program.

Brownies

The Brownies get together once a week for an hour. There are eighteen girls and three leaders involved.

scouts

Forty boys and two leaders get together every other week for an hour and a half.

Community Hall

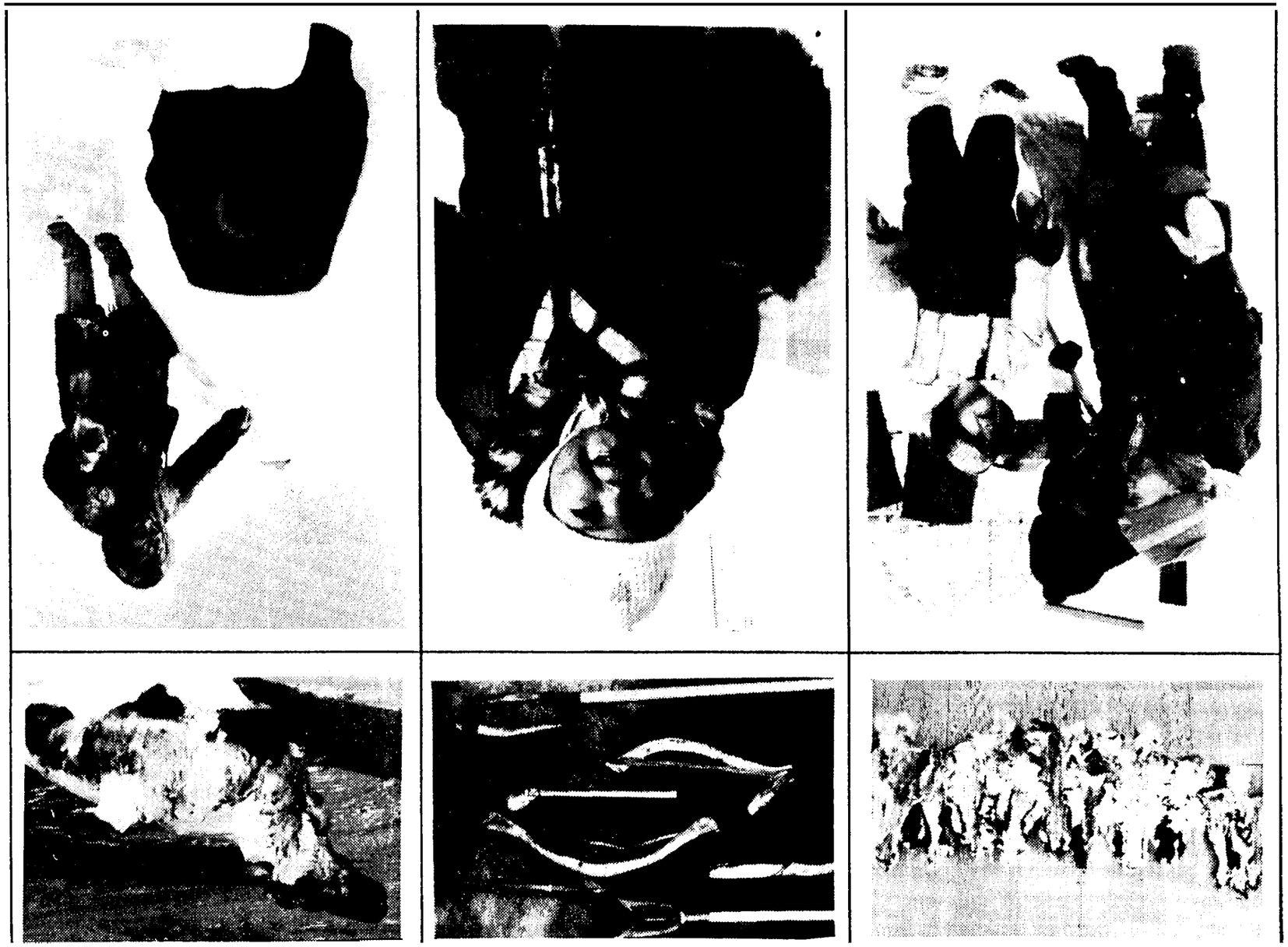
The Community Hall is run by the recreation committee. Teen dances are held every Friday, and most Saturdays. Bingo is held every Monday and Wednesday night. Movies are shown twice a week. Square dances are held at the hall on holidays and for visiting groups.

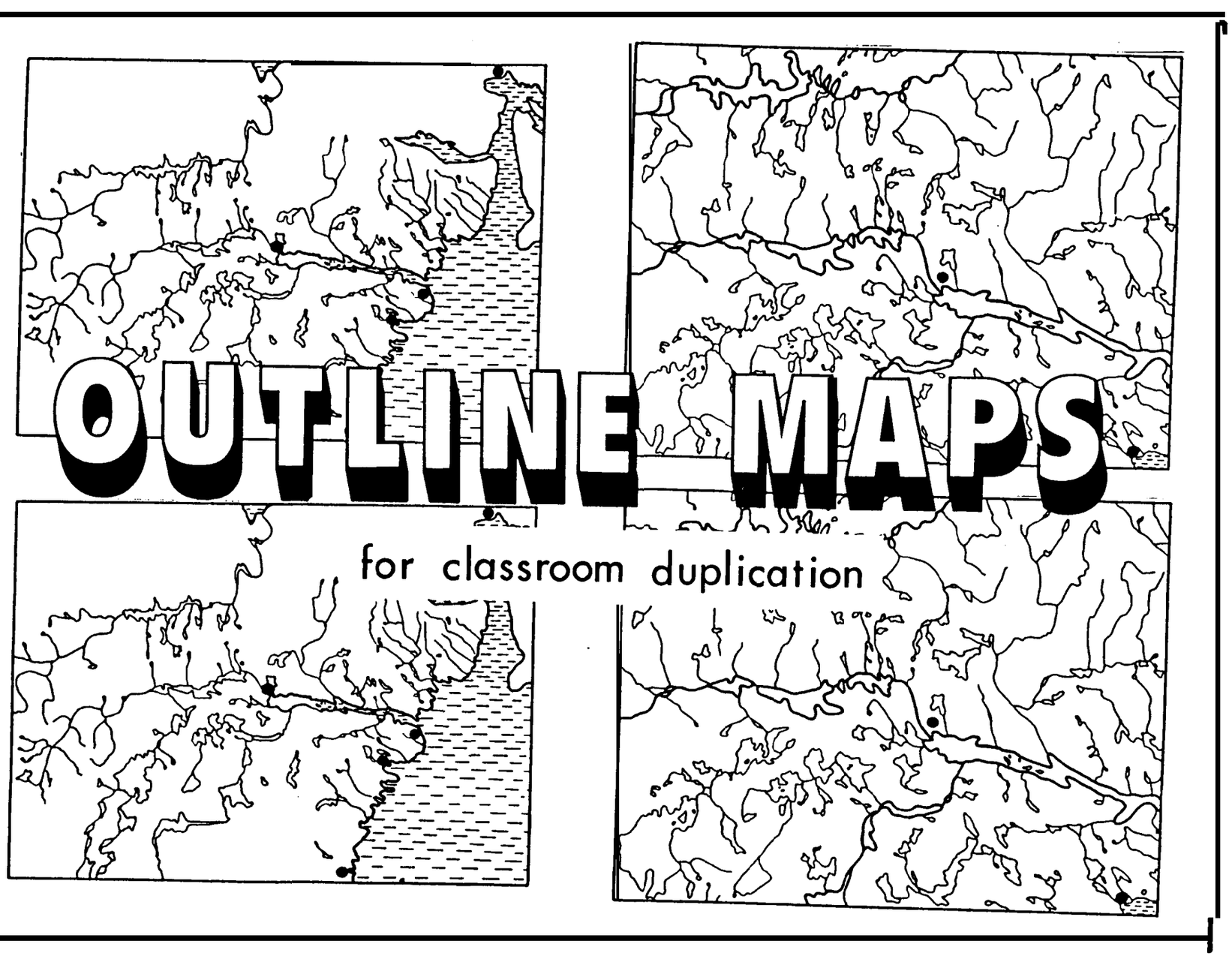
Qilautimiut (Old People's Group)

This club was formed in 1972, through Adult Education. The old people of the community asked to form a club, to have a feast once a month, when they could get together and talk, and play traditional games.

This group was instrumental in beginning Inuit Pitquosi, a local business which makes traditional games and tools. Working with an L.I.P. grant, the group manufactures sets of tools and games and sends them out to schools across the Territories. The group also put together the Northern Peoples booklet, which tells the stories of four Baker Lake people . They are now recording legends to be translated and broadcast over C.B.C. radio.

The group is run by a board of directors. About fifty people attend the monthly feasts. They have been given grants to hire young people to help them with heavy work, shopping, etc. They have also run two workshops, in 1977 and 1980, for old people across the Keewatin, to get together to discuss mutual problems and ideas.

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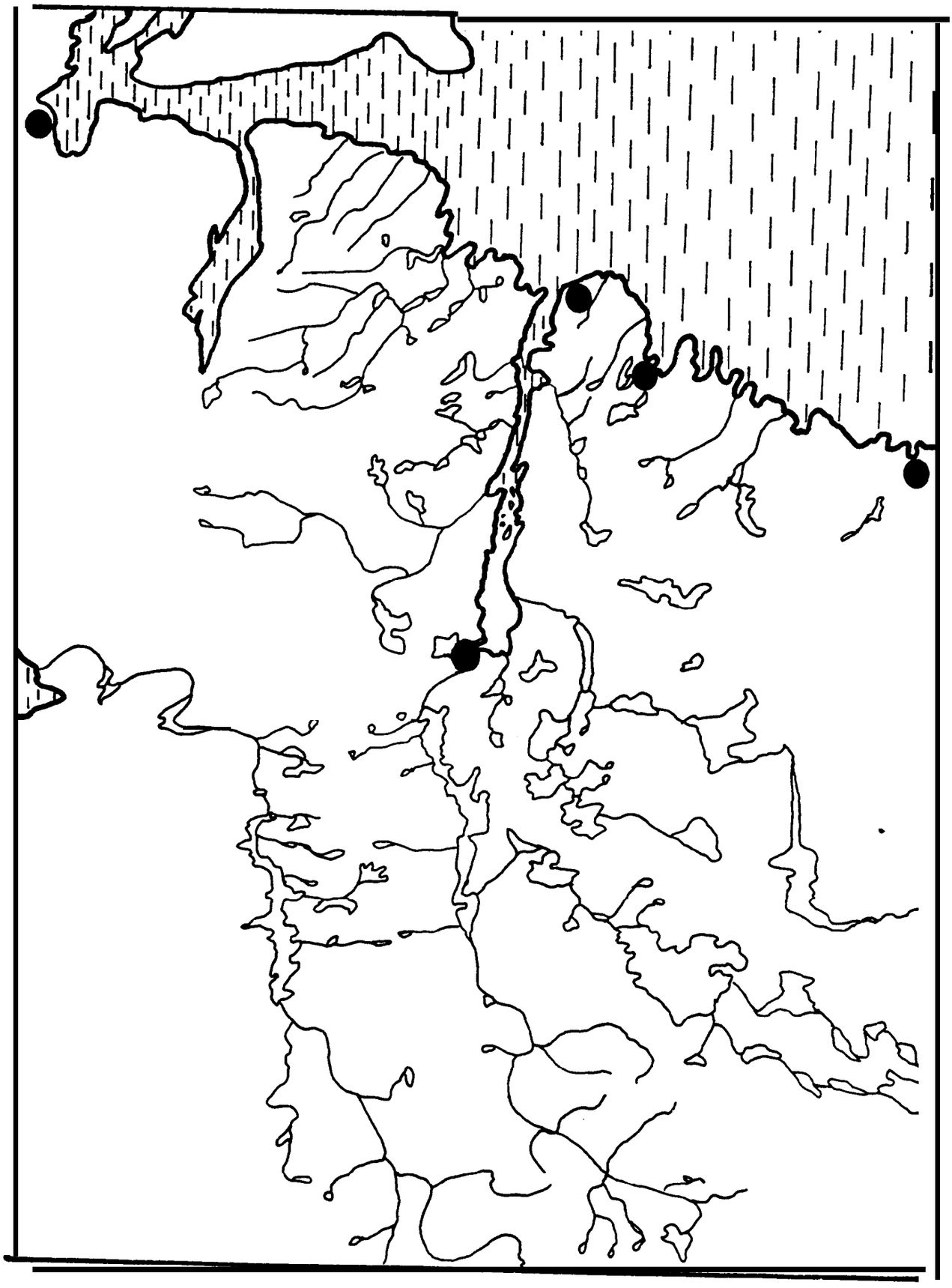

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Page 11 u.l.-Crowberry, KATHY ZOZULA
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Page 12 Caribou Calves, WILDLIFE

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Page 18 Ptarmigan, INFORMATION

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Page 21 Group Camping (counter clockwise beginning from child in lower centre) :Tupirjuaq, Talirurjuaq, Siatsiaq, Niviuvaarjuk, Niviq, Kanjirjuaq, Amaujaq, Iqqaat, and Auga'naaq with baby Utuqqaq in amauti, 1953, ARMAND TAGOONA

Page 22 - Hanna Siksik in beaded amouti, date unknown, BAKER LAKE RESIDENT

Page 26 - Paungrat, date unknown, BAKER LAKE RESIDENT

Page 39 - u.l. Tagoona and Atangalaaq Families drying fish at Qikiqtaujaq-Amaujak is pictured here, date unknown ARMAND TAGOONA
l.r.Sanngusaaq in qayaq, 1952, ARMAND TAGOONA

Page 40 - Inuit on Thelon River, 1900. PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA

Page 41 - On the Roof of the H.B.C. Store (from the left) 4th-Misiraq, 5th-Kayuryk, 6th - Unurniq; (from the right) 5th - Arnammaktiq, 1926, PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA

Page 42 - Barnabes Peryuar, 1981, LORNE SMITH

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Page 49 - Yacht at Payne River, 1897, PUBLIC ARCHIVES CANADA

Page 59 - Knud Rasmussen, 1922, FIFTH THULE EXPEDITION

Page 65 - Father Joseph Choque, ESKIMO MAGAZINE SPRING - SUMMER, 1980

Page 77 - u.l. Tagoona and soldier 'Mikiju'naaq' at Sugar Loaf, 1947, ARMAND TAGOONA
l.r. (from left) Ami'naaq, Tagoona, Puanngat, Ukpagaq, 1948, ARMAND TAGOONA

Page 78 - u.l. Aasiraaryuk, 1953-1954, ARMAND TAGOONA
-u.r. Qasulrat and Atangalaaq, just married, 1951, ARMAND TAGOONA
-l.c. Army Moving into Baker Lake, 1953-1954, ARMAND TAGOONA

Page 79 - u.r. Weather Station (M.O.T.) moving its base to Baker Lake - Tagoona is driving, Arngna'naaq sits beside him; Augdnaaq is farthest right, 1954, ARMAND TAGOONA
1.1. Kanaju'tuaq (far right) with unidentified companions, 1930's, BAKER LAKE RESIDENT

Page 80 - 1. Victor Sammurtok (left) and Papi'tuaq (Papialuk), 1920's, BAKER LAKE RESIDENT
r. The Rupertsland, Montreal H.B.C. , 1950's, ARMAND TAGOONA

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Page 81 - Baker Lake from M.O.T. hill, 1981, LORNE SMITH

Page 91 - Inuit Pitqosii shortly before it closed, (from left to right) Aviliajuk, Arnatqik, Mikkinguaq, Paul Toolooktook, 1981, LORNE SMITH

Page 92 - Armand Tagoona, 1981, KATHY ZOZULA

Page 95 - u.l. caribou leg skins drying, KATHY ZOZULA;
u.c. traditional tools from Inuit Pitqosii, KATHY ZOZULA
- u.r. frozen caribou, KATHY ZOZULA
- 1.1. children playing, KATHY ZOZULA
-l.c. Alister Peryuar, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
-l.r. Matthew Innakatsik demonstrates igloo to school children, 1978, KATHY ZOZULA

Page 96 - u.1. Drum Dance; Matthew Innakatsik, Lucy Kawnat, Arngna'naaq, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
u.r. children examine carcass of killer whale, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
-1.1. Armand Tagoona, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
-l.c.l. Jessie Oonark, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
-l.c.r. George Tutannuaq, 1979, KATHY ZOZULA
-1. r. Brian Ford, 1981, KATHY ZOZULA

Page 97 - 1. scraping caribou hide, 1979 KATHY ZOZULA
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