



PATTERNS OF CHANGE:
150 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF THE INUINNAIT PARKA



PITQUHIRNIKKUT ILIHAUTINIQ
KITIKMEOT
HERITAGE SOCIETY

We would like to acknowledge the multiple individuals and organizations who supported the Patterns of Change program, and helped to make it a reality. Firstly, we wish to thank the Inuinait Elders, both past and present, who have passed along their skills and knowledge to ensure that sewing remains a vital part of Inuinait culture and communities. Mary Avalak, Annie Atighioyak, and Mabel Etegik deserve special mention for their role in guiding this project and overseeing the planning and production of its parka making. We would like to thank all those people who supported and participated this project's many workshops, interviews, and resources. Last, but not least, we wish to thank our funders for their sponsorship of this project. Their generosity has directly contributed to keeping the art of Inuinait sewing alive in our community.

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Winter clothing in the Canadian Arctic is part of everyday survival. For thousands of years it has allowed people living in that region to thrive despite its subzero temperatures. It has provided them with warmth, identity, and a material way to express their culture, artistry and skill.

This book focuses on the parka traditions of a group known as Inuinnait. Inuinnait are a regional community of Inuit whose homeland lies in the Central Arctic on Victoria Island and surrounding areas. While their culture and history closely follows that of many other Inuit groups, they are unique in many ways including clothing and language.

The last 150 years have brought significant change to the lives of Inuinnait. Over time, their culture and life-ways have transformed from near total reliance on the surrounding environment to being influenced by media and materials from around the globe. Throughout this process, Inuinnait have learned to adapt to change, keeping parts of their culture they want to preserve while also adopting new traditions.



The Patterns of Change program was started in 2017 by Pitquhirnikkut Ilihatiniq to examine how clothing and fashion speak to broader changes in Inuinnait culture over the last 150 years. The program recreated five historical Inuinnait parkas through community sewing workshops. Each parka represents a different stage of Inuinnait history. In preparing and sewing the parkas, participants recreated tools and materials from the specific time period to process hides, create patterns, and sew the parkas together. Both tools and parkas are displayed together in a final museum exhibit located at the May Hakongak Cultural Centre in Cambridge Bay, Nunavut. When arranged together, the parkas and tools provide insight into how Inuinnait have grown in new directions, while still anchored in the land, resources and people that make them who they are.

This guidebook was created to provide additional context for each parka in the Patterns of Change exhibit. It explores the relationship between different Inuinnait parka style and the social and cultural environments that led to their creation. For more information about the exhibit, its materials, and the various workshops involved in their creation, please see our website at www.patternsofchange.ca.



INTRODUCTION

A HISTORY OF INUIT PARKAS IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the parkas worn by Inuit and their ancestors were made entirely from resources harvested from the land: sewing needles of pounded copper and sharpened bone, thread of caribou sinew, carefully scraped and dried skins of caribou and seal. A person's clothing tied them into an ongoing relationship with the animals and natural resources on the land that surrounded them.

Archaeological evidence shows that humans first occupied the Canadian Arctic around 4500 years ago, traveling from Alaska to occupy areas made newly inhabitable because of retreating glaciers. These first people are referred to by Inuit as Sivullirmiut (the first inhabitants), and by archaeologists as the Paleo-Eskimos. This populating of the Canadian Arctic happened through small group migrations over hundreds and hundreds of years.

Survival in any new environment requires adaptation, and this was no doubt the case with people's clothing. It is difficult to know what the Arctic's first parkas looked like and how they changed over time, but they would have undoubtedly been acclimatized to the extreme cold and sparse resources of the newly-inhabited region. The earliest evidence of clothing can be found in the sewing tools left behind by these groups. Sivullirmiut used a variety of small tools to create their clothing, including bone needles and awls. The majority of tools were made from chipped stone. These included microblades: long, thin and razor sharp blades of stone inserted into wooden handles for a number of clothing-related tasks such as butchering and skinning animals, and cutting pattern pieces for sewing. A scraping tool known as an endblade—about as small as a thumbnail—was used to remove the fat and skin from hides being prepared for parkas. The use of these miniature, but well crafted, tools have earned Sivullirmiut the title of the 'Arctic Small Tool Tradition' among archaeologists.



Above: Microblades would have been inserted into handles to scrape skins, cut patterns and perform other sewing related tasks.
Photo by Tim Rast.

A Tuniit carving discovered on Devon Island showing a person wearing a waist length parka with a high collar. McGhee/CMC RbJr-I:198c

Around 2500 years ago, a more uniform culture began to spread across the Arctic. This group is known by Inuit as Tuniit, or as the Dorset people by archaeologists. While this group is believed to have evolved from earlier Arctic cultures, they were unique in that they lacked many of the technologies those cultures used, including bows and arrows, the kayak, and dog sledding. Tuniit also lost the ability to drill circular holes, which was a technique that both earlier and later cultures in the Arctic relied upon enormously. Tuniit continued to tailor their clothing using recognizable sewing technologies, but there were small differences—such as the hole in the head of their bone needles being created as a straight up-and-down slit rather than a drilled circle. There are few explanations for these differences in Dorset technology and lifestyle, and they appear to have been influenced by religion and symbolism.

Tuniit were excellent artists and left behind many carvings of ivory, bone and wood that give us some insight into their lives, including their clothing. One Dorset carving from Devon Island shows a man wearing a short outer parka with a high collar rather than a hood. Based on these figurative artworks by Tuniit, it is guessed that three types of parkas existed (Rast 2013):

- 1) a short outer parka which ends at the waist,
- 2) an inner parka which hangs slightly lower on the hips, and
- 3) a long outer parka which ends at the lower thigh or knee level.

Inuit oral traditions about the Tuniit also shed light on the types of clothing they might have worn. The anthropologist Franz Boaz (1888:635) recorded an Inuit story about Tuniit that was provided to him in the 1880s:

“The principal part of their [Dorset] winter dress was a long and wide coat of deerskins, similar to the jumper of the Eskimo, but reaching down to the knees and trimmed with leather straps. When sealing in winter they wore this garment, the lower edge of which was fastened on the snow



“It was [the Tuniit] who made our country inhabitable, who discovered where the caribou crossed the water and made hunting grounds there, found the fish in the rivers and built salmon dams, built fences here and there and forced the caribou to follow certain paths. They were strong but timid and were easily put to flight and it was seldom heard that they killed others.”

-Unknown Nattilingmiut man recorded in Mathiassen 1927:187



by means of pegs. Under the jacket they carried a small lamp, called tumiujang (literally, resembling a footprint) or quming over which they melted snow in a small pot. Some Eskimo say that they opened the seals as soon as they were caught and cooked some meat over these lamps. When the seal blew in the hole they whispered, "Kapatipara" (I shall stab it) and, when they had hit it "Igdluiliq." Frequently they forgot about the lamp and in throwing the harpoon upset it and burned their skin."

Around 1250 A.D., a new group migrated into the Canadian Arctic from their ancestral home in Alaska. This group, known by archaeologists as the Thule culture, are the direct ancestors of all Inuit. The Thule initially lived in a similar way to their Alaskan ancestors, who specialized in maritime economy and the hunting of whales. They were gradually forced to adjust their lifestyles to accommodate the realities of their new environment. Unlike Alaska, their new home was lacking in driftwood, requiring them to replace open fireplaces with interior kitchens using qulliit (soapstone lamps) that used seal and caribou fat as fuel. Whalebone replaced driftwood as the building material of choice. During winters, Thule began to construct and live in igluit (snow houses), and settlement sizes became smaller to accommodate the frequent travel required to harvest a wider range of animals than they had previously exploited in Alaska.

This flexibility allowed them to expand into more diverse and marginal areas of the Canadian Arctic. Variations in the culture's tools, housing and culture began to appear as different groups of Thule adapted to specific environments and the animals populations that lived there. This transition, which occurred during what is referred to as the Little Ice Age (1400-1600 AD), signals the beginning of regional identities among Inuit, and by the 18th and 19th centuries, most Inuit groups had abandoned the uniform cultural traits of their early Thule ancestors. The hunting of bowhead whales and most other open water marine mammals had almost ceased to exist. Without whaling, Inuit were unable to accumulate large supplies of food for the winter, and spent the cold seasons hunting seals from the sea ice.

The first images of Inuit clothing appear with the arrival of Europeans to the Arctic. While both Tuniit and Inuit most likely encountered Norse at various points throughout their occupation of Greenland and the Labrador/Newfoundland region (c. 1000-1400 AD), the first extensively documented encounter was during the expedition of Sir Martin Frobisher in 1576 to locate the Northwest Passage. Landing on Baffin Island, Frobisher and his crew traded with local Inuit for several days before falling into disagreement with the group. Believing Inuit to have

kidnapped several sailors who went missing from his ship, Frobisher waged battle with the group and ultimately took three Inuit hostage before sailing home to England. The Inuit captives, whose names remain unknown, were to only survive for a single year in England before falling ill and dying. This was sufficient time to have their portraits created by multiple British artists. While these paintings give some ideas as to the clothing they wore, it remains difficult to tell whether or not the clothing's detail is accurately depicted or a product of the artistic imagination. As pointed out by clothing specialist Jill Oakes, the potential for inaccuracy remained strong over the next centuries of European paintings of Inuit. "Some illustrations" she notes (1988:27), "were made by artists who had never seen an Inuk. Others provided models with skin clothing which may have inaccurately depicted a specific family's clothing style."

IDENTITY AND ARCTIC CLOTHING



Over the last five hundred years, Inuit clothing has been the product of Inuit culture, but has also helped that culture express itself both within and outside Inuit society. The high visibility of Inuit parkas makes them an ideal form of communicating messages about the people who wear them. One of the ways it does this is through defining regional identity. Every regional group of Inuit has their own distinct fashion of clothing. These fashions reflect specific details about the environment, resources and beliefs particular to each group. While many styles have been passed down through generations, they also continue to change and evolve, helping Inuit to express new directions and dynamics in their culture and identity.

Left: and opposite page: Portrait of Arnaq and Nutaaq, by John White, c. 1585. British Museum. Some scholars theorize that John White took part as expedition artist in Martin Frobisher's explorations of the Canadian Arctic from 1576 to 1578.

Another way that Inuit clothing communicates identity is through its distinction of gender. The clothing of men and women were traditionally created to facilitate the respective jobs associated with each gender. Men and women traditionally have defined social and family roles in Inuit culture; men being responsible for hunting animals and providing food for their families, and women overseeing the raising children, sewing, and domestic duties. These responsibilities were seen as a way to create economic balance in families, ensuring partnerships that complemented one another and allowed for the family group to be fully self-sufficient. Despite the social and economic importance of these gender roles, they were not fixed in stone. Both men and women could assume each other's duties if they wanted to or if required by necessity.

Clothing also helped to distinguish the life stages of men and women. Until the age of about 4 or 5, both girls and boys existed outside of traditional gender roles in their community, and were often dressed the same. Once a child gained 'ihuma,' or consciousness of the world, they would be gently introduced into the gender identities that awaited them through games, training, and specific clothing. Young boys would be taught hunting skills, and often provided with a smaller version of a hunter's parka and weapons. Young girls would be encouraged to spend more time with the female members of their family, becoming familiarized with the domestic skills that would be expected of them later in life. A girl would practice the art of mothering by packing a doll in her parka, graduating to a younger sibling once she learned how to support it. Sewing and other domestic tasks were learned in a similar way, with newly gained sewing skills being practiced through the manufacture of doll clothing made from scraps of hide.



An Inuinnait girl in an outer parka with caribou teeth amulets attached to the front, Coronation Gulf, 1916. (Stefansson/CMC 20282).

Around puberty, girls and boys were often dressed in smaller versions of adult parka, with ornaments attached that indicated their readiness and availability for marriage. From this point onwards, an individual would be fully defined by their outfit. Women's clothing would demonstrate her childbearing status, with mothers often wearing an amauti, a parka with a pouch in the back to carry her small child. Men's clothing would often be ornamented in decorative animal parts that spoke to their success as a hunter. The quality, skill, and overall beauty of a person's parka spoke to their success in life.



Higilak sewing while wearing a parka with caribou teeth amulets, Bernard Harbour, 1915 (Wilkins/CMC 51570).

In addition to expressing the social position of their wearers, parkas also help the worldview and spiritual beliefs of their wearer take shape. In past times, parkas were often connected to the world of spirits through the use of amulets. An amulet is an object that is worn because it gives its owner certain new abilities or improves an ability that the individual already has. While many forms of amulets are used, their power is usually derived from the site of their placement on a parka, and from the spirits associated with the materials from which they are made. A bond is created between an amulet's resident spirits and its wearer, channeling certain characteristics and material qualities between them. Amulets can embody the spirits of many different materials, including ancestors, animals or other items from the natural world. A man seeking to better his hunting, for example, might don an amulet made from animals known for their predatory skills. A woman wishing specific qualities upon her unborn child might wear an amulet belt of materials representing desirable physical characteristics (for example, a rabbit's head for a flat and handsome nose, or an ermine skin for fleet-footedness). It is said that for an Inuinnait girl to become a good seamstress, the first piece of her sewing "must be fastened to the sleeve of the person who first took her when she was born" (Rasmussen 1932:48).

As amulets had very specific functions and were only useful in particular situations, most Inuit owned more than one of them. These multiple amulets were sewn into clothing or worn on a belt or sash so their wearer could remain under their influence and protection at all times.

In addition to amulets, the practice of sewing parkas was often accompanied by many taboos to ensure the presence of good luck and spirits. While each Inuinnait group had their own taboos designating where and how sewing could take place, they often revolved around keeping land and sea animals and environments separated from one another. It was often forbidden, for example, to sew new caribou skins while living on the ice during the dark days of winter (Jenness 1922:184).

“When I was a child I was given two amulets by my mother, which I wore on the sleeve of my parka. One was a sandpiper feather, which would give me the ability to sew well; the other was a rippled sea shell so that I could excel in crimping boot soles. A third amulet, a piece of sinew thread, was given to me by a skillful seamstress so I would also become a skillful seamstress.”

—Elsie Nilgak, in July Hall 1994:59



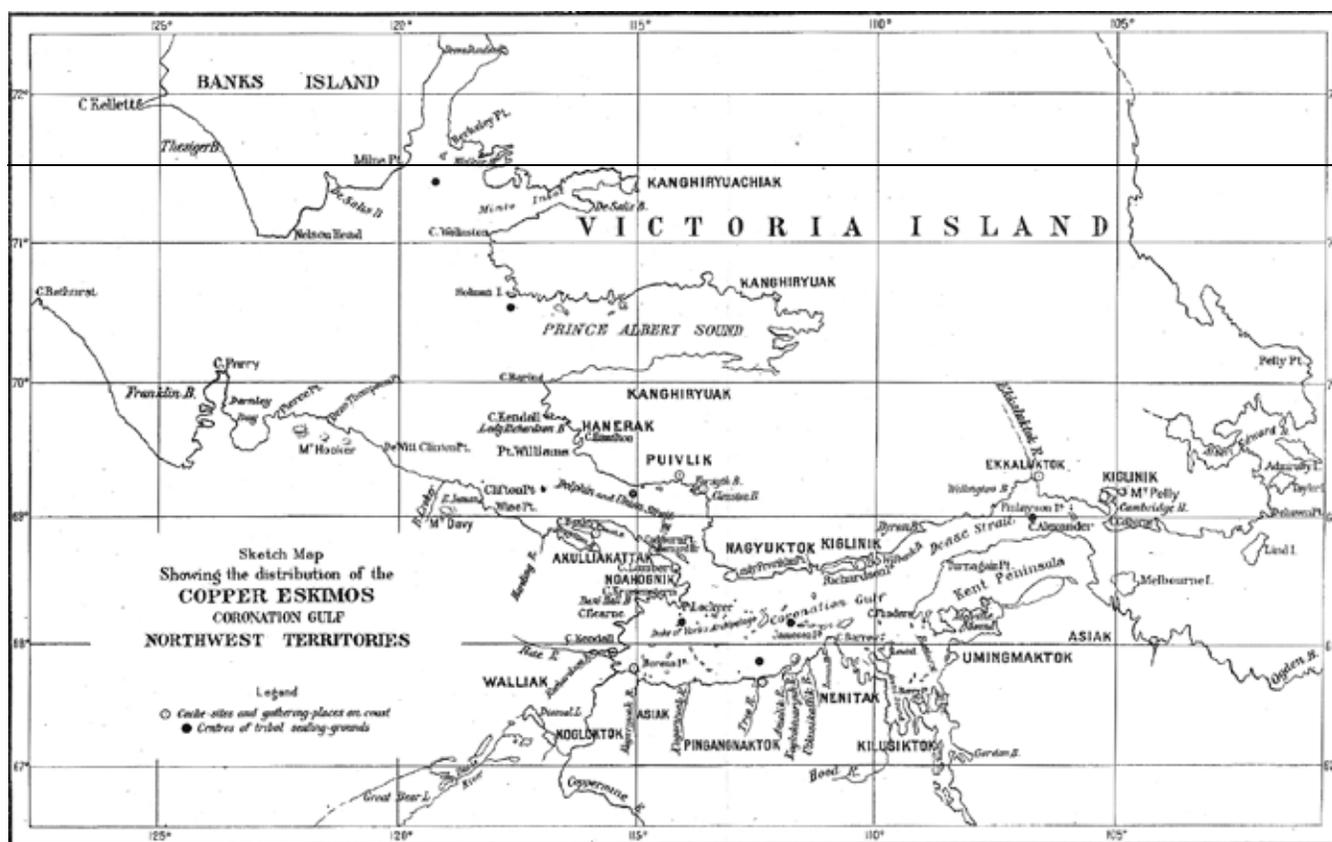
Amulets of bear teeth were often attached to a man’s parka for success in hunting. These also doubled as ornaments to illustrate the status and superior hunting abilities of men. Photo credit: Canadian Museum of History, object IV-D-1294 a-m.



Inuinnait couple Ipkukhuak and Higilak with weasel skin amulets on their parkas, taken at Bernard Harbour, 1916. (CMH/Wilkins/ 36913).

INTRODUCING INUINNAIT

The remainder of this book will look at the role that parkas have played in the lives of Inuinnaït. Inuinnaït (singular, Inuinnaq) means 'the people' in the Inuinnaqtun language, and refers to a regional group of Inuit whose homeland lies in the Central Canadian Arctic. When first encountered by Europeans, this group became known as the 'Copper Inuit' due to their use of naturally sourced copper for tool making. Historically, the term 'Inuinnaït' was never used by this group to reference to a collective, regional identity. Much like the word 'Inuit' in Inuktitut speaking groups to the East, 'Inuinnaït' was only a broad reference to being a 'real' human; a category distinguished from the range of other creatures they came into contact with: 'uumajuit' (animals), 'tuurngait' and 'ijiqqat' (the spirits), 'allait' and 'itqilgit' (more southerly indigenous groups), and 'qallunaat' (Europeans or white people). Inuinnaït traditionally referred to themselves according to their family group, taking their specific names from the geography



Above: A map showing the distribution of Inuinnaït groups throughout their territory surrounding Victoria Island (from Jenness 1922).



A map of the Inuinait region showing contemporary settlements. While Ulukhaktok, Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay are the primary communities of residence for Inuinait, several Inuinait families from the Perry River area moved to Gjoa Haven when the outpost closed in the late 1960s. Photo credit Bata Shoe Museum (with alterations to place names and boundary lines made by PI/KHS).

and environment of the lands in which they traveled, hunted and gathered. Occasionally, Inuinait would be referred to as Kitlinermiut by Inuit to the east and west, Kitlineq being the word for 'boundary,' and was used in reference to Victoria Island. Inuinait originally occupied Victoria Island and the adjacent mainland areas and small islands that surrounded it. The group is also recorded to have traveled to Banks Island as part of their seasonal hunting rounds, with travel there increasing after the discovery of the shipwrecked H.M.S. Investigator in 1852, from which they salvaged large quantities of wood and iron.

When first documented in the early 20th century, the population of Inuinait was estimated to be roughly 800 people divided across 16 to 20 family-based groupings. The extent of their territory is described as follows (Bennett and Rowley 2004:409):

"The lands of the Inuinait stretched from Victoria Strait, where their neighbours were the Qikiqtarmiut; southwest to Contwoyto Lake; west towards Imariauaq (Great Bear Lake), territory of the Dene; and northwest to Banks Island, land of the Awagmiut (Mackenzie Delta Inuit). Inuinait called themselves by the names

of their more than sixteen summer hunting and fishing grounds: Kangirjuarmiut, Ahungaahungarmiut, Umingmaktuarmiut, and so on. These groups were closely related, often mixed with each other, and shared each other's lands. While most Inuinait spent the winter and early spring in coastal sealing camps, a small number spent the entire year inland south of Bathurst Inlet and in the Contwoyto Lake area."

Over the course of the last century, for reasons this book will explore, most Inuinait moved from land-based living into the settlement communities of Kugluktuk, Ulukhaktok, Cambridge Bay and Gjoa Haven. Inuinait continue to engage with their surrounding landscape through hunting, travelling and the seasonal use of cabins and outpost camps. Most importantly, they continue to identify with the geographic regions their families originally inhabited. While centuries worth of knowledge, stories, and travel tying Inuinait to their home territory are more difficult to keep alive alongside the competing demands of 9 to 5 jobs and urban living, Inuinait culture continues to be anchored in the land.



THE 1880s

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the basic design of Inuinnait parkas is believed to have been largely uniform across their territory. Caribou skin was always the preferred material, with sealskin parkas also being used (albeit less often) for their waterproof qualities. Two layers of parka were worn during the winter months; the inner layer with the hair to the inside and the outer layer with the hair to the outside. Within the cultural pattern of the parkas stayed the same, each seamstress included decorative flourishes that clearly identified the parka as her own.

Despite their reliance on locally-sourced materials to create their parkas, Inuinnait were very active in their contact and trade with one another, and with Inuvialuit and Inuit neighbours to either side of their territory. Each regional group of Inuinnait had their own specialty of resources in which to trade. Kangirjuarmiut possessed a rich source of native copper and exported raw copper and completed copper snow knives. Puiplirmiut collected driftwood on the mainland, and other groups harvested soapstone, which they carved into lamps. This high level of trade

An illustration of an unknown Inuinnait family created by Edward Adams, assistant surgeon on the *Enterprise*, a British ship that wintered on Victoria Island in 1851. This is the earliest known visual recording of Inuinnait parkas. Photo from the Scott Polar Research Institute archives.



undoubtedly helped Inuinnait to form solid social relationships between different family groups, unifying their fashion and inspiring a shared visual vocabulary for their parkas.

Due to Inuinnait culture's reliance on oral rather than graphic forms of communication, no visual examples of early parkas were documented in their culture. The earliest glimpse we have of Inuinnait parka styles comes from the illustrations drawn by explorers. Inuinnait were among the last Inuit groups to be contacted and impacted by the outside world. While Europeans travelled through the Inuinnait region from the 1771 onwards, their interactions with Inuinnait were few, and often brief, doing little to change the course of their culture.

Between 1913-18, the first major anthropological study on Inuinnait lifestyle, objects and clothing was conducted by Diamond Jenness as part of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-18). Jenness's writing provided a window into a culture that would rapidly change in subsequent years. In a report published several years later, Jenness described the Inuinnait clothing he wore, documented and collected during his trip, estimating that it took at least seven caribou hides to provide one Inuinnait hunter with a complete set of travel clothing.

"In winter [an Inuinnait hunter's] costume comprised of two frocks or coats (atigi) worn one inside the other, the fur of the outer on the outside, and the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat (qulitaq), whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of pants



An illustration of a man's parka style documented by Diamond Jenness in 1914. (Jenness 1946:14)



(qaalik), worn in the same way as the coats; two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees (inner pair alektik, outer mitqulik), a pair of caribou fur slippers (ilupeqquk) between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes (tuktukaluk) as a final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit... Fashion decreed that between the shoulder blades [of a man's outer coat] should glisten a spot of white fur, preferably the tip of the caribou's tail...A second very common fashion was to adorn the hood with the two upstanding ears of the caribou...It was customary to peak the hood of the coat, and this peaking, with the two upstanding ears and the long tail trailing between the legs, gave a stooping Eskimo so close a likeness to a caribou that it sometimes deceived his dogs hauling on the sled behind him and purred them on to greater effort."

-Diamond Jenness 1946:12

Each Inuit would typically have two pairs of clothing; one for daily work and wear, and the other for special occasions such as drum dancing ceremonies and the visiting of neighbouring camps. Formal clothing was often sewn from light, summer caribou skins with a very high

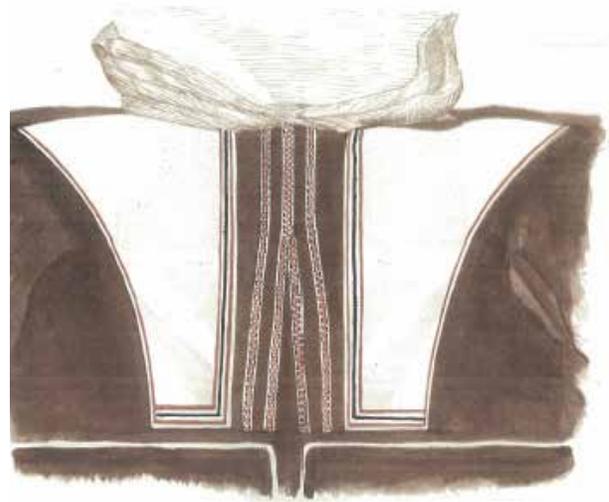


Above: An Inuit man and woman assembling their winter outfits. Illustration credit: Atelier Frédéric Back inc.

Below: Ipkukhuak and his wife, Higilaq, in their fancy dance clothing at Bernard Harbour, 1916. CMH/ Wilkins/ 36913.



waistline, which made it unsuitable for long term travel outdoors. These highly ornate parkas were richly decorated, designed largely as 'status wear' to show off the respective skills of seamstresses and hunters. Everyday work and travel parkas were far less formal, consisting of an outer coat made from heavy, largely undecorated, winter caribou skins that extended as far as the knees. Diamond Jenness notes that Inuinnait from the eastern Coronation Gulf often wore a single coat for every occasion, which was sufficiently decorated for fancy occasions but went well below the waistline so as to be functional while travelling (1946:17). During the wet spring months, a plain coat made from sealskins would be worn for its waterproof qualities.



Red and white detailing on the manohinik (breast plates) of a woman's fancy parka (Jenness 1946: 36).



A waterproof sealskin raincoat drawn by Diamond Jenness (1946:18)

Early Inuinnait parkas were not only functional outfits, but had a high degree of symbolism woven into their design. This was especially the case with the ornate parkas created for drum dancing. The pukiq, or fur from the caribou's underbelly, was of central importance to its design, and was used as trim throughout the parka. The bright white colour of the fur stood out in decorative contrast to the rest of the brown caribou fur and additionally symbolized the gift of the caribou and its spiritual protection for the wearer. White fur was also used to create two breast panels on the front of parkas- known as manohinik- that clearly identified its wearer as belonging to the Inuinnait culture. These panels are believed to represent the markings on the heads of the Canadian goose and loon (Mary Kaniak 2019). Tassles of white fur would often be hung from the shoulders, arms, back, and hood of the parka to create extra ornamentation.

In addition to their white decorations, fancy parkas often included strips of skin dyed red with a paint called 'ivitaq,' created from powdered iron oxide stone mixed with seal fat. Thin red strips were sewn into bands with other de-haired skin strips of white and black to edge the manohinik and outer areas of the parka for decoration and to reinforce them against curling. Amulets were also often used to decorate parkas to bring their wearers new skills and qualities. Ermine skins were commonly stitched to the shoulders and backs of drum dancing outfits to enhance the dancer's fleetness of foot, and accentuate their movements.

MEN AND WOMEN'S PARKA STYLES

The parkas of Inuinnait men and women were designed in different styles to reflect their status and roles within the community. As soon as a child learned to stand, it was given its first set of clothing, usually a one piece suit that would be worn by both girls and boys. Among the Umingmaktormiut (Inuinnait of the northern Bathurst Inlet area), this first garment is never thrown away, as it is believed that the life and vigour of the child are associated with this first covering (Rasmussen 1932:42). At around 5 or 6, children would be provided with miniature versions of an adult parka, often lacking the long back tail and gender specific traits. At adolescence, they would graduate into the full adult parka of their peers.



Left: Minigurin and her child Itaiyuk, 1916 (Cox/CMC 39726).

Right: A child's one-piece caribou suit (Jenness 1946:44).

A man's outer parka was created to symbolize his role as a hunter, and the caribou that he lived to hunt. These parkas would typically have a tight, pointed hood, a shorted waist-line and sleeves, and a long, straight back tail extending to below the knees. Fringes of caribou skin would often adorn the arms and back of the parka, the number and spacing speaking to the specific regional identity of its wearer. The strategic placement of caribou ears, caribou tails and white stomach fur in the parkas design, further helped the hunter become symbolically closer to his prey. The decorative front panels that adorned the chest of a man's parka were most often rounded.

While the overall design of an Inuinnaq woman's parka was quite similar to a man's—with a short waist and sleeves, elongated tail, and decorative front breast panels—specific details in its design spoke to the woman's expected role as a mother and wife. The back of the parka was extended so that children could be carried there for the first several years of their life. The shoulders on women's parkas were pointed, allowing ample space to move the baby around for breastfeeding. There are also stories that the squared shoulders were used by men in tug of war competitions when arguing over the woman's affections (a competition called *aqhautijuuk*, or *nuhuttaqtuuk*). As described by Metayer (1973), "each man took hold of the woman's clothing at opposite shoulders and tried to pull her towards him. She was supposed to remain neutral, but sometimes favoured one of them. This was in her interest, as the man who managed to pull her to his side kept her." Other distinguishing features of a woman's parka included its long elongated hood, which seems to have been solely for fashion rather than practical purposes, and a triangular tailpiece of brown and white striped fur on the bottom center of their parka's front.



Kila Arnauyuk and Jennie Kanneyuk, Dolphin and Union Strait, 1916 (Wilkins/CMC 51249).

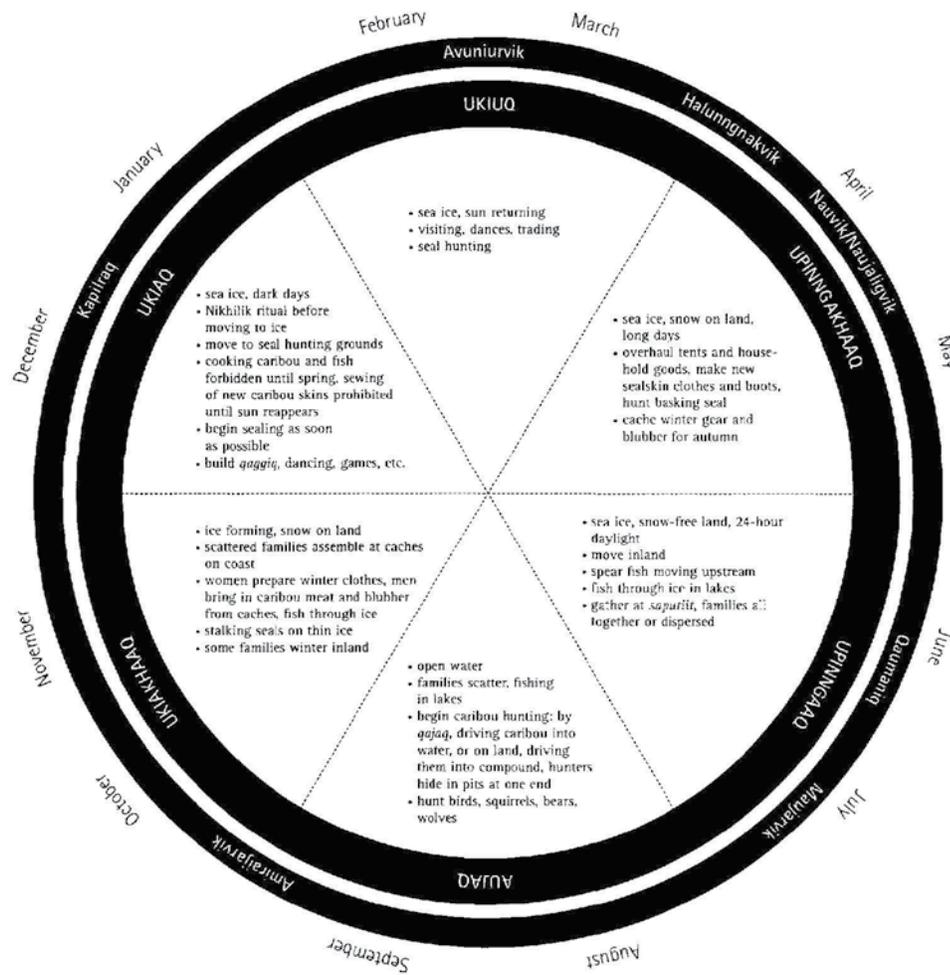
Note the elongated hood, wide shoulders and front triangular tails that defined the Inuinnaq woman's parka.

PARKAS FROM THE LAND

The earliest Inuinnait parkas were the product of a lifestyle deeply entrenched in the land. The materials used to create the parkas were harvested from the earth as part of the Inuinnait's seasonal rounds. The parkas' fashions communicated and celebrated the skills and roles of men and women as hunters and wives. The way of life that produced these parkas is summarized in the following excerpt (Stern 2004):

"Before the time of trading posts, Inuit in the Central Arctic lived entirely on their own. Food, clothing, implements and tools, all had to be procured or made by themselves. There was a great reliance on cooperation and helping others in need, by necessity. Even today the tradition of helping is carried on. Winter was often the hardest time of the year. About 5-6 months of the year was spent living on the sea ice. In large igloo camps of 100-150 people, each day the men would go out to try their best at breathing-hole seal hunting with harpoons. Often people went hungry, but no one starved while another ate. Women almost always remained in camp having their hands full with the numerous domestic chores, especially child rearing and sewing. There was a rich tradition of drum dancing and story telling. When times were good and there was lots of food, the big winter villages could be some of the happiest time of the year.

The warmer months of Spring and Summer were spent very differently. In May, the 24 hour sun spelled the end to living on the sea ice in igloos. As the snow and ice melted, winter gear would be cached on land and people broke up into smaller groups of a few families or less, and spread out to the various places on land that were good for catching char and caribou, ducks and geese, picking berries, etc. Camps were much smaller and moved more often. Surplus fish and meat was cached under rock piles for future use, in the hope that animals like bears, wolves, wolverines and foxes would not dig them out. In the Autumn, these caches would be revisited and used up. Then people would get ready sewing new clothes, making/repairing hunting equipment and tools at 'iniqhagviit', 'finishing places', to move out onto the sea ice, to continue the seasonal cycle of living."



Above: The seasonal round of Inuit. From Bennett and Rowley 2004.

“One of the things I noticed is that people were always traveling within our area. They did not stay in one spot. They would travel from one spot to another and I remember people would be going to other lakes...to fish. So people were travelling around all the time. They did not stay in one spot.”

- Marjorie Taptoona, 2001



THE 1930s

By the 1930s, a new parka fashion had swept across the Inuinnait territory. It began with the Klengenberg family, who moved into the Inuinnait region in 1916 to open a trading post in the area near the current settlement of Kugluktuk. Christian Klengenberg originally hailed from Denmark, and his wife Kenmek was an Inupiaq from Alaska. Finding the short sleeved and short waisted parkas of the Inuinnait too cold, Kenmek continued to sew the longer parkas of her Alaskan homeland for herself and her family, and the style gradually took hold. The woman's version of the Inupiat parka consisted of a long coat of caribou fur, which, unlike the Inuinnait version, adequately covered the body. The parka style used a colourful band of geometric designs called Delta Trim, which began to be created in the MacKenzie Delta during the 1880s . The parka's bottom and sleeves were typically decorated with wolverine fur, which was previously unworn by Inuinnait, but was quickly adopted into local concepts of prestige and beauty.



The Trader Christian Klengenberg and his family (1916).
Diamond Jenness/CMC/36912)

As noted by Julie Hall (1994:99), the Inupiat parka style varied for men and women:

“The hemline on the A-line-shaped outer parka reached to the upper thigh on men’s garments and to mid-calf on women’s. A triangular inset of white caribou fur on each side of the neckline, a reference to walrus tusks, was an extension of white fur panels on each side of the hood. A decorative trim of appliquéd sheared brown and white caribou fur adorned the hemline and epaulets.”

Around the same time, another parka style from the West took hold. Called a ‘Mother Hubbard,’ this parka was worn only by women—a plain, waist length fabric shell being the preference of men—and consisted of a knee length outer cotton shell over top of a an inner parka made from duffel fabric. While the Mother Hubbard came to Inuinait via Alaskan and the Mackenzie Delta in the 1920s, it was originally introduced to Alaska by Christian missionaries, and can be traced back to earlier trade between the Hawaiian Islands, China and Alaska. The parka is characterized by a brightly coloured cotton fabric known as calico, also introduced to Hawaii by missionaries, and later adapted for cold weather with a fur-trimmed hood when missions moved to Alaska (Oakes 1988:29).



Above: A map illustrating the locations of fur trading posts opened in the Inuinait homeland. Map by M. Poupart, McGill University 2008.

Upon their arrival to the Coronation Gulf in 1916, the Klengenbergs established a temporary trading post near Cape Kendall to the north of Kugluktuk. This post was moved several times before settling on Rymer Point (Nuvuk), near Read Island on the southwest shore of Victoria Island in 1919.

Other entrepreneurs flowed into the area and both a Northern Traders Ltd. and Hudson's Bay Company post were soon operating in the Coronation Gulf. For the first time, western goods became widely available to Inuinnait. Some Inuit would travel a long way from Holman Island, Minto Inlet, Cambridge Bay, and as far east as King William Island to trade for metal knives, guns, ammunition and other valuable items from the Coronation Gulf post.



Above: The first meeting of the Western Inuit and [Inuinnait] on Banks Island. The Western Inuit are dressed in skins, while the Copper Eskimos are in duffle and stroud. Egg River, Banks Island, N.W.T., 1932. Mrs. Peter Sydney / Library and Archives Canada / PA-027690

Middle: Two Inuit women, a child and a man wearing traditional parkas from the Kugluktuk region standing in front of a building.c. 1930. Royal Canadian Mounted Police collection / Library and Archives Canada / e006581015

Inuit girls, Cambridge Bay, South of Victoria Island, N.W.T., September, 1928. Burwash / Library and Archives Canada / PA-099700



Initially, only the wealthiest families could afford to purchase enough cotton material to make the longer, Mother Hubbard parka style, and it immediately became a sign of wealth and high standing amongst Inuinnait. Only the best hunters could harvest enough fox furs to buy the fabric needed for the parka's cotton cover, and interior lining of duffel wool.

PARKAS FROM TRADE MATERIALS

Following the introduction of trading posts during the 1920s, both Inuinnait parkas and ways of life began to change. While still anchored in their land and cultural traditions, Inuinnait were also exposed to materials and ideas from distant sources. As explained in this excerpt (Doug Stern 2004):

“The start of the ‘fur trade era’ was the beginning of large changes in the lives of Inuinnait who lived there. With the introduction of trade goods like firearms, sewing needles, stoves, tents, fishnets, etc. people’s possessions multiplied dramatically. And in return, traders wanted furs. Inuinnait were encouraged to buy traps, set trap lines and trap all winter long. It wasn’t long before the communal igloo communities out on the sea ice gave way to families breaking up into smaller groups to establish more permanent camps around good hunting, trapping and fishing places where people could more easily feed themselves and a dog team, and make long trap lines radiating out from there.

While the Arctic fox used to be a largely ignored animal species, the new value of its fur meant that family migration patterns were often re-arranged specifically to harvest as many foxes as possible. It became easier to procure food. Families became bigger. Dog teams increased in size and number. Inuit had the means to give up the winter sealing camps and become more mobile. In the summer, schooners, some of which were owned by Inuit, would transport families far and wide throughout the Central Arctic. For some it was a ‘Golden Age’ in travel. For most Inuit, spring, summer and autumn subsistence activities continued along more traditional lines but trips to the trading posts and picking up some wage labor, meant life would never be the same again.“



THE 1950s

The 1950s was an era of great transition for Inuinnait. While Inuinnait had previously used western materials to enhance their culture and improve their quality of life, the balance of their utility began to shift. There was a growing dependence on imported goods, and the need to acquire them began to greatly influence Inuinnait seasonal rounds and settlement.

The parkas of this time indicate a thorough mixture of two worlds. The use of traditionally prepared skins to sew parkas was still common among those who could access caribou as part of their daily lives. While canvas and cloth could not compete with the warmth of caribou skin, they were available options for those without the time or equipment to hunt. As more Inuinnait began to move to the vicinity of trading posts and settlements, the utilitarian fashion of fabric clothing gained appeal. While steel sewing needles, thimbles, and scissors had trickled into Inuinnait culture since the first arrival of explorers (Hall 1994:102), the introduction of the hand-driven sewing machine in the 1920s radically increased the interest for fabric and canvas sewing.

While the Mother Hubbard remained the most popular parka style for Inuinnait women, new and more exotically coloured fabrics continued to adorn their covers. Small accessories of traded goods—usually beads and metal tokens—were often used to further decorate them, the traditional use of amulets being strongly condemned by local missionaries due to perceived ties with shamanism and non-Catholic spirits.

The parka design of Inuinnait men also changed in subtle ways during throughout this period. As described by Jillian Oakes (1988:53):

“In the 1940’s, men’s parka hemlines dropped to just above the knee and were curved up at the sides towards mid-thigh. A similar hemline style was worn by a group of Inuit called Kittagazuit from the Mackenzie Delta. By the 1950’s, men’s parka hemlines and hood styles changed. The front hemline remained just above the knee and dropped to a point below the knee at the back. In addition, men began wearing hoods with rounded rather than peaked crowns. An interesting similarity between the silhouette of a man wearing his parka hood (ruff attached) up and the stalking pose of a wolf was noted by Pruitt (1965). While stalking caribou with his hood up he noted that caribou fled; with the hood down the caribou were approachable!”

The most noticeable shift in men’s parkas was again their use of non-local fabrics. As men became involved in the wage economy, particularly on military projects, their access to imported materials greatly increased and began to replace the skin and fur clothing accessories they had relied on for so long.



Leo Manning, manager at the Hudson’s Bay Company trading post, lists the items exchanged for. Kugluktuk, Nunavut], 1949 Harington/LAC PA-143236

PARKAS FROM SETTLEMENT LIFE

With a transition into settlements, Inuinnait fashion adjusted to the realities of living in town. The parkas of this time speak to this collision of worlds. As described by Doug Stern (2004):

“The introduction of firearms had disastrous consequences to the caribou and muskox populations. Numbers nose-dived as trapping and the size of dog teams increased. People and dog teams suffered as game animals became more scarce. And after 1929, the Depression in the rest of the world caused a sharp drop in the price of fur [from \$50 in 1929 down to \$8.00 in 1934 and \$3.75 in 1947]. The 1930’s and 1940’s saw the overall Inuit population actually decrease even though surviving families were larger than in the past. It was written about in newspapers, magazines and books down ‘South’ that the Inuit might even become extinct. By the 1950’s it was apparent that something had to be done to help the Inuit. The federal government of Canada decided that towns would be established at some of the old trading post sites. Basic services and education would be provided. The DEW Lines were being built across the Arctic at the same time, and would provide wage labour and mobility to many Inuit families.

Most Inuit still lived out on the land, but some were having hard times. Animal populations were decreasing and there were epidemics of flu and measles since the 1920’s. Inuit were encouraged to move to town where they could get housing, medical care, wage work, and education for their children at the new school. Many families arrived by dog team or schooner in those days.

When the Perry Island trading post, that was run by Stephen Angulalik closed in 1967, families from down that way, including his own, moved into town. His wife Mabel remembered coming to town

“In those old days the reason you really moved up this way was dad couldn’t hardly hunt anymore. Caribou or seal...whatever else. Because we were going hungry. And for that reason my mom and dad both came to Cambridge Bay. Because there was a Hudson’s Bay store here. And the way we bought our food was through getting social assistance...And then they had the DEW line here. My dad started working for them, so it was really good. It helped for food, and whatever you needed. Our dad worked for DEW line for many years. But before they started building houses in this area, my mom and dad they made their own house with all the scraps. Well, he was doing odd jobs like seeing the houses inside, moving crates and stuff like that. Whatever the DEW line guys needed to have things moved...So it was good in those days thinking about the DEW line when my dad was working a lot. And when he came home from DEW line he brought back oranges, apples, chocolates.”

-Annie Pokiak, Cambridge Bay 2009

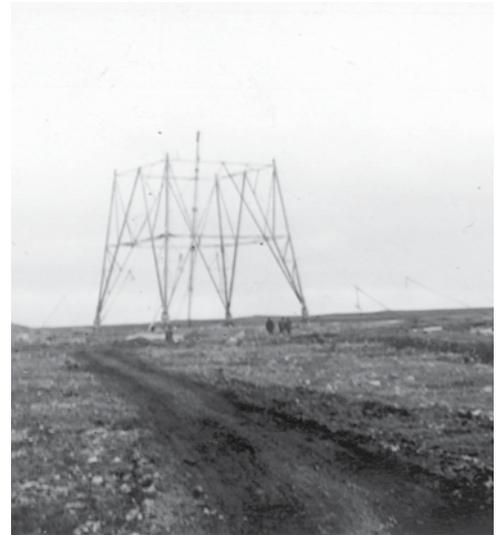
Owen Etegik (left) and Angus Egotak (right) at Cambridge Bay, Nunavut], ca. 1947 J.L. Robinson / Library and Archives Canada / PA-102255



by boat. Lena Evalik, also from Perry Island arrived by airplane to be with her husband, well known schooner pilot Norman Evalik, who was returning from the hospital in Edmonton. A relative brought their dogs to town for them. Evetalegak, Kaosoni, Ohokak, Oakoak, Etibloena, Emingak are just some of the families that came in from the Perry Island area. A lot of Inuit came to town from the Bathurst Inlet area as well."

The history of Cambridge Bay as a settlement (as detailed in KHS 2016) provides a good overview of how Inuinnait were introduced to southern ways of living:

"Until construction of the Loran beacon, [used for radio communication] in 1946, settlement population was made up of only traders, missionaries, police and the 3 or 4 Inuit families employed to help them. But with the spur in the tower construction, Inuit used scrap lumber and plywood at the site and built about 20 cabins, and a community of over 100 Inuit took shape. Soon after there



Construction of the LORAN tower in Cambridge Bay, 1947. Photographer unknown. On file at PI/KHS archives.

was a survival school here and the DEW [Distant Early Warning] Lines started to get built. The DEW Line station at Cambridge Bay was one of a series of 'Cold War' radar sites built from Alaska, across Arctic Canada and Greenland, to watch for an incoming attack from Soviet Russia fighter bombers. In it's heyday over 200 Inuit were hired to work on constructing the DEW Line as over 200,000 tons of supplies arrived to build it. It can not be stated too strongly how such massive undertakings in the 1950's and early 1960's changed people's lives.

Over two hundred Inuit from across the western Arctic found work in this sector in the late 1950s, and many settled in Cambridge Bay with their families. Inuit workers set up their tents and shelters close to the DEW-Line station, and the community started to shift from the east side of the bay to its west arm. The DEW-Line employees worked a wide array of jobs. While many performed janitorial duties and manual labour, others received training as mechanics and carpenters.

A small contingent even traveled to Alberta to learn how to operate heavy equipment. When Cambridge Bay elders remember their time on the DEW-Line, they recall working long days, driving jeeps and trucks for the first time, using new and powerful tools like jackhammers, and eating a great deal of military rations. While many of the men and women who have served on the DEW-Line over the decades remember their jobs fondly, they also highlight the many negative changes the military construction brought.

Inuinnait employees and their families quickly adopted elements of the housing, food, clothing, habits and language of their southern colleagues. They used the massive amount of surplus material in the station's dump to construct shacks and modified empty oil drums into rudimentary stoves. Despite their best efforts, these temporary dwellings were cold, uncomfortable and difficult to maintain. While Inuit workers continued to hunt and fish whenever they had a chance, more families started to supplement country food with whatever rations they



A young boy with rifle, 1947. Photographer unknown. On file at PI/KHS archives.

could secure from the DEW-Line. The wage economy began to undermine the traditional social organization of the Inuit, changed family life and parenting norms as men left for weeks at a time, and altered gender roles. The DEW-Line also introduced alcohol into the community, which many Elders remember as its most negative aspect.

"Awhile ago the number of white-men increased and that's when the changes started to take place. Especially when the DEW-Line sites came, that's when the lifestyle of the Inuit changed. People started to work for wages. People's lives changed for the worse when the DEW-Line came in. People began drinking alcohol at the sites. When people began earning money from these sites they started ordering alcohol themselves."

- Frank Analok, 2000



Above: A Model 99 hand crank sewing machine created by the Singer company c.1950. These machines were known as the 'workhorses of the Arctic.' Photo by Brendan Griebel/PIKHS.

Below: Hannak (left) and Bessy Kimirut (right), who is carrying her baby in her amauti 1953, Perry River Library and Archives Canada / e004923624.





THE 1980s

During the years following the Second World War, Inuinnait realized that they were rapidly becoming strangers in their own land. A generation of children had grown up in residential schooling, during which they were systematically separated from their language and culture. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, over 20 residential schools and federal hostels open in the Western Arctic, with the specific mission to assimilate Inuit youth into mainstream Canadian society. These schools were prone to physical and emotional abuse and many young Inuinnait returned to their communities traumatized. This cycle of trauma continued as they further found themselves caught between worlds: not educated in their culture's traditional language or life skills, yet also rejected by the non-Inuit world their schooling had supposedly prepared them for.

In bringing together Inuit and First Nations youth from across the Western Arctic, residential schooling exposed Inuinnait to a wider community of Indigenous people. Parka styles began to reflect these encounters, incorporating visual cues from multiple traditions. A Gwich'in influenced parka style with embroidered

shoulders, fringes and a flower motif first appeared in the late 1950's and by the 1970s was also present in Cambridge Bay. It is believed the style was passed along to Inuinait during their time with Gwich'in students in Aklavik's residential school. Inuinait parkas also began to incorporate newer forms of Delta braid from Inuvialuit, the trim having evolved from caribou skin patterns to an appliqué of ribbons made from layers of multi-coloured bias tape and seam bindings. The introduction of store-bought parkas also became more popular during this period, with wolverine and wolf fur added to the hood to add protection from the cold and a flair of local culture.

"Today, as ways of travel and communication have become less difficult, the Inuit from Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, and Homan are sharing the same ideas more and more. For example, the Inuit from these communities wear the very same parka for men and the Mother Hubbard for women."

-Peggy and Angela Richardson in Hall 1994:120

"Wolverine tassels continue to demonstrate wealth or prowess as a hunter among Copper Inuit...exceptionally well-made clothing from beautiful material indicates the wearer's special status, pride in her sewing skills, self-confidence, and competence."

-Hall 1994: 121



An example of an ornately embroidered parka in the Gwich'in style in Cambridge Bay, circa 1970s. Credit: McFarlane photo collection. On file at PI/KHS.

PARKAS FROM A GROWING INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY

By the early 1970s, the Arctic was the site of numerous development projects for oil, gas and minerals, all of which were being managed by qaplunaat (non-Inuit). In 1971, a group of young Inuit politicians started the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada—which has since become re-named the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)—as a group that could bring together the voices of all Inuit to speak loudly enough to be heard by the south. This organization started the process for the creation of an Inuit homeland through land claims negotiation, a dream that was realized with the formal passing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in 1993, and the birth of Nunavut as a territory in 1999.

In the 1970s, Cambridge Bay became the scene for some of the first discussions on Inuit land claims. It hosted several important meetings of Inuit leadership, including a pivotal gathering of the territorial government made the community the regional headquarters for the new Kitikmeot Administrative Region in 1981. As the land claims process heated up, local Inuinnait created the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) to give them a voice in the negotiations and to defend their interests. At the same time, Inuit in the Eastern Arctic were pushing ahead with their plans for the division of the NWT and Iqaluktuutiaq was briefly considered as a potential site for the capital of the proposed new territory. In the 1982



A group of women in Mackenzie Delta style parkas with Delta trim. Cambridge Bay, circa 1970. Credit: McFarlane photo collection. On file at PI/KHS.

territory-wide plebiscite on the proposed division, the people of Cambridge Bay voted against it while 80% of Inuit in the Eastern Arctic voted in favour of it. When the Western Constitutional Forum and the Nunavut Constitutional Forum agreed on a boundary between the NWT and the new territory in 1985, they decided to let the communities of Cambridge Bay, Kugluktuk, Qingaut and Umingmaktuug decide whether they would separate with the Eastern Arctic or stay in the NWT. The residents of all the communities faced a tough choice. Despite their close cultural, economic and political ties with the NWT and the Western Arctic, the lure of joining a new Inuit-led territory was strong and won out.

“ I sensed a great change in settlement living compared to living traditionally from my own home style. Arriving at first here in Cambridge Bay and having to move into a dwelling and too many people and too much alcohol was introduced as we arrived here but having lived in my area that I now long for and moving here it has changed very quickly. It seem like we no longer provide for our own family but having help has changed our way of life. We are given warmth and being idle and it seem we are given every comfort. I long for my old way of life.”

-Mabel Ekvana Angulalik, n.d.



A young boy in a wolverine trimmed parka in Cambridge Bay, circa 1970s. Credit: McFarlane photo collection. On file at PI/KHS.



THE 2010s

The new millennium has seen the revival and celebration of Inuit traditional culture and clothing. Young people are finding pride in their history, and using their Inuit identity to ground themselves on the global stage. The Inuit parka continues to redefine itself as it borrows from traditions and influences around the world. The use of animal furs continues, but they are most often hides that are chemically tanned, dyed bright colours, and purchased in local stores. Their commercial trajectory from Arctic harvesters, to southern industries, and back to northern markets does little to diminish their connection to ancestry and the land.

The traditional fashions of Inuit, the long tails and manuhinik, are again making a resurgence. The importance and symbolism of these parkas lies in great part in the knowledge behind their creation, passed from generation to generation. Projects to revitalize the art, skills and patterns of Inuit sewing are conducted in most communities, occurring both within the home, and community workshop settings.

The Patterns of Change sewing program, which produced the parkas featured in each of this book's chapters, was managed by Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq's team of Elders in Residence, Mary Avalak, Mabel Etegik and Annie Atighioyak. From 2017 to 2019, these women oversaw the teaching of multiple community workshops designed to give Inuinait parkas representing 30 year increments in the historical trajectory of Inuinait.

The creation of each parka was researched, and meticulously sewn according to the materials, processes, and styles of the particular historical era they represent. Materials were harvested from the land and sewing tools made from locally sourced copper. Historically accurate wool stockings, sewing machines and military issued winter supplies were located.



Above: Elders in Residence Annie Atighioyak, Mary Avalak, and Mabel Etegik use a hand-crank sewing machine to make boots to accompany the 1930s parka.

Left: Exhibit parkas being created through a sewing workshop.

Despite the sewing workshops' focus on historical accuracy, the purpose of this project was ultimately to transfer knowledge surrounding Inuinnait parkas into the future. The Patterns of Change program worked extensively with language experts to document fine grained Inuinnaqtun terminology surrounding Inuinnait clothing and sewing techniques. Sewing workshops encouraged participants to learn from Elders, but also to apply this knowledge towards the creation of parkas for their family and friends. The final Patterns of Change exhibit is accompanied by an interactive community sewing pattern library that encourages public tracing, borrowing, and exchange of sewing patterns.



Left:
Annie
Atighioyak
and Mabel
Etegik with
the completed
Inuinnait Parka
exhibit at the
May Hakongak
Centre in
Cambridge Bay

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ILIKTIRUTIT AALLANNGUQHIMAJUT:
150 UKIUNGANIT INUUDJHINGIT HAFFUMANI INUINNAIT ATIGI



Ilitarijumajavut amihut inuit timiqutinullu ikajuqhimajangit Iiktirutit Aallannguqhimajut ilihautikhaq, ikajulluaqhimajut itquumaliqtuq. Hivvani, qujagijumajavut Inuinnait Inutuqait, kinguani ublunganillu, taimaa ajuiqhaivakkamik ajuinningit qaujimajangillu aturaapagavut miqhurniq huli aulajuinmadjuk ilagiinnaqhugu Inuinnait pitquhinut nunaliillu. Mary Avalak, Annie Atighioyak, unalu Mabel Eteqik ilitarijaujukhat taimaaraaluk munariinnaqhugit upalungairutikhanut nautkaqhugillu atigiliurniq mikhaagut. Qujagijumajavut tamainnut inuit ikajuqhimmaaqpakkamik ilauqatauvakkamiglu una havaanut amihut ilittuqhaivakhutik katimavlutik, unipkaaqhutik, ikajuutikhangillu. Kinguanilu, qujagijumajavut tahapkuat ikajuqhimajut manitigut manngiliuqtit amiriinnaqhugillu havaanut. Ikajuinnaqhutik ajurnaittumik taimaa aturaaqhimainnaraptigu ajuinningit Inuinnait miqhuqtunit nunaptingni. Tahapkuat ikajuqtit ilagijaujut:



Canadian
Heritage

Patrimoine
canadien



Aboriginal Affairs and
Northern Development Canada

Affaires autochtones et
Développement du Nord Canada



	Hivuniqhuutigijangit	1
Pitquhituqangit Inuit Atigit iluani Kanatap Ukiuqtaqtumi		1
Nanminirijangit unalu Ukiuqtaqtuq Aannuraangit		5
	Hivuniqhuutigijangit Inuinnait	9
	Una 1880 mit	11
Angutit Arnallu Atigi Aallatqiingujut		15
	Atigit Nunamiuttat	17
	Una 1930 mit	19
Atigit Uvanngat Himmahiqhimajunit Pivikhangit		22
	Una 1950 mit	23
Atigit Nuutqaliramik Nunalingnut Inuudjuhia		25
	Una 1980 mit	29
	Atigit Uvanngat Angiklijuummiqtut	31
Nunaqaqaaqhimajunut Nunalingni		
	Una 2010 mit	33
	Kiuvikhangit	36



ILIKTIRUTIT AALLANNGUQHIMAJUT: 150 UKIUNGANIT INUUDJHINGIT HAFUMANI INUINNAIT ATIGI

Ukiuq aannuraangit iluani Kanatamiunit Ukiuqtaqtuq ilagiinnaqtangit qautamaat inuuhirnut. Taimaniraalungmi ukiunganit taimaa iligijaunginnaqhugit inungnut inuuhimajut aviktuqhimaningit nunanganit qaajurnaappiaqtumi aturaaqhimmaaqhugit niklaappiaqtumi. Taimaa uqquuqutigivlugit, ilitquhirivlugulu, unalu pivikhangit nalunaittuq ilitquhirivluniuk, hanaujarningit unalu ajuinningit.

Una makpiraaq hivunigijangit atigi ilitquhiit ilagiiktunut qaujimajaujut Inuinnainit. Inuinnait nunaqaqhutik nunalit Inuit aimavilik ilihimajaujut iluani Qitirmiut Ukiuqtaqtuq qaangani Kiilliniq avataanilu nunanganit. Taimaa pitquhingit ilitquhingillu qanilrukkut malikhugit amihut Inuit ilagijaujut, arlingnaqhutik pitquhilgit ilagijaat aannuraangit unalu uqauhingit.

Kinguani 150 ukiunganit taimaa aallannguqpalliavlutik inuuhirningnut haffumani Inuinnainut. Qangaraalungmi, pitquhirijangit unalu inuuhingit-ilitquhiit aallannguqhimaqut haniani atauttimut atuinnaaluaqhutik nunap avataita aktuqtauvlutik tuhagakhanut unalu pivikhangit avataanit nunarjuangani. Pigiartutaanit, Inuinnait illittuqhimaqut aallannguraluaqhuni pivallialiqut, taimaa pitquhingit aturaaqhimmaaqtangit imaatullu tiguaqhugillu nutaamik pitquhinut.



Una Iliktirutingit Aallannguqpallianingit ilihautingit aullaqtilihaaqhimajuq uvani 2017 mi ukunanngat Pitquhirnikkut Ilihatiniq ihivriuhugit qanuq aannuraat pinniqtut ilitquhingit uqaqhimajuq hivitujumik aallat iluani Inuinnait pitquhingit kinguangani 150 nit ukiunganit. Una ilihautikhaq nauffaarmijug tallimat pitquhituqangit Inuinnait atigit uvuuna nunalit miqhuqtunut havakhutik ilihautijut. Tamaita atigi takukhaujut aallatqiingujut ablungit haffumani Inuinnait pitquhingit. Upalungaiqhugit unalu miqhuqtut atigit, ilauqatauhimajut nauffaarmijangit ingilrutikhat unalu pivikhangit uvannat qangaraalungmi inigaluangit hanavlutik amit, iliktirutiliuhutik, miqhuqhutik atiginit atauttimut. Tamaita ingilrutit unalu atigit tautungnaqtut atauttimut iluani kingulliqaangit utuqqaqarviannit takunnaqtut uvani May Hakongak Pitquhivimiqarvik uvani Iqaluktuuttiaq, Nunavunmi. Atauttikut ihuaqhaivluni, atigit unalu ingilrutingit takunnaqhuni qanuq Inuinnait angiklivlutik nutaamik aulavikhangit, huli kihautivlutik nunami, avatingit, unalu inuit taimaa ilitquhiqaqhutik kitkuuvlutik.

Una maligautilik makpiraaq nauhimajuq ikajuutaumluni ilagijamingnit aallatqiingujut tamaat atigi iluani Iliktirutingit Aallannguqpallianingit takugakhanmi. Qaujihautijut ilaqatigiiktut ukunani aallatqiingujut Inuinnait atigi ilitquhingit unalu inuuttiarnigut pitquhirnullu avatingit taimaa nauhimajaujut talvannat. Naunaittariami haffumani takunnaqtumi, pivikhangillu, unalu amihuujut aallatqiit havakhutik ilihaqtut ilagijangit nauhimaningit, takuinnarialik qunniarnaqtuq qaritaujakkut uvani www.patternsofchange.ca.



HIVUNIQHUUT

UNA PITQUHITUQANGIT INUIT ATIGIT ILUANI KANATAMIUT UKIUQTAQTUMI

Hivuani Qablunaat tikitinnatik, Inuinnait atuinnaqtangit atigi, hivulliillu angajuqaangit taimaa anguniaqpagaat manirarmiunit: mitqutit taimaa kaukhimajut kunnujaq unalu ipikpiaqtumik hauniq, ivalua tuktu ivalungit, pidjarikpiaqtumik halukhimajut paniqhugulu tuktu nattirlu. Inuup aannuraangit qiliqhimavagaallu aturaarnaqtumik ilaqatigijangit anngutikhat unalu nanminirijangit avatikhangit nunamiuttat haniraanginnaqtangit.

Ittarnittat nalunaiqhimajangit tautungnaqhuni inuit hivulliqaami inuuhimajut uvani Kanatamiut Ukiuqtaqtumi uvaniqaat 4500 ukiungani, aullaaqpakhutik Alaskamit nunamiuliqhutik nutaanguliqtumik najurvikhangit hila hikuillu nuutqattaramik. Tahapkuat hivulliqaapaq inuit turaarvigivagaat Inuinnat imaatut Sivullirmiut (hivulliqaapaat najuqhimagaluaqtut), unalu ittarnitaliqijit taijauvagaat Hivulliqaapaat-Inuit qablunaatut Paleo-Eskimos. Una amigaitpialiqhuni haffumani Kanatamiut Ukiuqtaqtuq takunnaqhuni ukunani amihuunngittut ilagiikhutik ingilrajut qangaraalu hannat amihuujut ukiungani.



Qulaani: Ujarat ipiktut iluanunngarungnaqhivlugit tigummivingat halugiami amiit, iliktihutik aallallu miqhuqtuni ilagijamingnit hulijunit. Piksaluqtaa una Tim Rast.

Anguniarniq nutaami avataita taimaa pigiaqaqhutik ihuaqutikhangit, una nalunanngittuq inuit annuraangittuq. Ajurnaqtuq ilitturiami hup Ukiuqtaqtuup hivulliqaangit atigi tautugiami qanuqtauq aallannguqpalliavlutik qangaraaluk, kihimi nalunanngittuq ihuarijamingni qaajurnaqpiaqtumik pivikhaqattianngittuniglu nutaamut-inuudjutinut nunamit. Hivulliqaami nalunanngittuq aannuraangit nanilaaqtut miqhuqtamingnit ingilrutingit ikhinnaqhimajangit tahapkuat ilagiiktunut. Sivullirmiut atuqpaktut aallatqiingujut ingilrutikhat hanagiami aannuraangit, ilagivlugit hauniq mitqutit ingilrutingit. Amihuujut ingilrutingit hanajauvaktut kaukhimajumik ujaqaq. Ilagijangillu naptunnatait uqhugiat: takijaaqtut, haalukkaannuat unalu ipikpiaqtut pilautit ujaralgit tigummivivaqhutik qijungnit amihuujut aannuraakhamaat-ilagijamingnit hanjangit pilakhugit ammiqivakhugillu anngutikhat, iliktirutiqaqhutik ilainnaa miqhuqtakhat. Una halugvikhaq ingilrutit kinguani ipiktuq pilaut-mikijunnaaq kikiannuaq-atuqtauvakhugu uqhuijariami unalu ammiqivlutik amiit atigiliuriami. Atuqhimajangit mikijunnuut, hanattiaqhimajut, ingilrutikhat pidjarikhivlutik Sivullirmiut taijauvagaat haffumani 'Ukiuqtaqtumi Ingilrutinnualik Iltquhiit' nalunaiqhimajangit ittarnitaliqijit.

Una Tuniit hanaugaq nalvaaqtauhimajuq uvani Devon Qikiqtaq takukhajuq inuk atimajuq qitiani atigi puqtuhijumik qunguhirmialik. McGhee/CMC RbJr-I:198c

Haniani 2500 ukiungani, qanuq ihuarijamingnit pitquhilik pilihaaqhimajut hiamittuni tamainnut Ukiuqtaqtumi. Una ilagiiktut qaujimajavlutik Inuinnainut taijavagaat Tuniit, uuminngaluuniit Dorset inuit ukunani ittarnitaliqijit. Taimaa ilagiiktut ukpirijajut nuutpallialiqhutik hivulliqpaarmit Ukiuqtaqtuq pitquhingit, arlingnaqpiqhutik hanalrutiqattianngitkaluaqhutik qaujiharniagut pitquhiit aallat atuqpagaat, ilagivluniuk pitikhit qarjukhangillu, una qajaq, qinmiqtuqtunullu aalliarnut. Tuniit atuimmarikhugit ikuugiami kaimalluriktumik putuuqtunit, taamna qaujimajangit tamarmik hivuani unalu kinguanilu pitquhiit iluani Ukiuqtaqtumi atuinnaqpiqatngit. Tuniit huli atuinnaaraluaqtangit miqhuqhugit aannuraangit atuqhugit ilitarnaqtumik miqhuqtuni qaujimaningit, kihimi aadjigiinngittut—nalunanngittut putuuqhugit niaquani haunirnut mitqutingit hanajavvakhuni nalrumik qulaanit-unalu-taunani qupikhimajutut putuuqhimaittumik kaimalluriktumik. Ikittumik tukihinnaqtunit aadjigiinngittut uvani Dorset qaujiharningit inuudjuhingillu, aktuqhimajungnaqtut ukpiruhuutigut unalu tautungnaqtunik.

Tuniit nakuuqpiqatmik hanadjariktut ikhinnaqhutik amigaittut hanaujaqhimajut tuugaaq, ilagivlugit aannuraangit. Atauhiq Dorset hanaugaq uvannat Devon Qikiqtaq takunnaqtuq angut atuqhimaajuq naittumik atigi puqtuhikum qunguhirmialik nahaittumik. Tautungnaqpiqatmik hanaujaqhimajangit Tuniit, kangiqhijauhimajuq hamna pingahut aallatqiingujut atigit ittuugaluit (Rast 2013): 1) una naittuq atigi ihuani qitiani, 2) iluvruaniittuq atigi nivinngaqhimajuq nakitqijajuq qitiani, unalu 3) takitqijaaq hilataani atigi ihuaniittuq nakitqijajuq kanaaq hiitqurmilluuniit. Inuit unipkaangit haffumani Tuniit mikhaagut ilitturnaqhunilu aallatqiingujut aannuraarnit aturungnaqhijangit. Una inungnut qaujihaiji Franz Boaz (1888:635) nipiliuqhimajangit Inuit unipkaangit haffumani Tuniit unipkaaliuqhimajangit uvani 1880 mit:



“Unajuq [una Tuniit] pivalliavluniuk nunakput najurnalaaqtuni, ilittuqhimajangit humi tuktut ikaaqpagviat imarmi talvangaani anngutigiliqhugit nunami tahamani, nalvaaqhutik iqalut kuukkanit haputiluqpakhutik iqalukpikhanut, taluliuqhutik hamani tahamanilu taimaa maliquivlugillu tuktut ikaarviannut. Hakugikhutik kannguhukhutik kihimi qimaajukhutik tuhaumaruujuittangillu inuaqhijuitunilu aallanut.”

-Qaujimajaunngittuq Natilingmiut angut nipiliuqhimajaa uvani Mathiassen 1927:187



“Una hivullirijangit ilangani haffumani nanminirijangit [Dorset] ukiuq aannuraangit takijaaqhuni atigi tuktu amingit, aadjigiiktuaq iluvruangit Inungnit, kihimi tikihimajangit taununga hiitquanit nigjaqaqhunilu amingit qilirutikhat. Nattiqhiuqhutik ukiumi atigi atuqhugit, una nakitqijaanit kiglianit taimaa hukahimavlnulu apuqnmī atuqhugit tingittaitkunmit. Ataani jaakiaq tigumialiapagaat mikijunnuamik qulliq, taijavuagaat tumiujang (taidjutiqaqhuni, tumiu) uuminngaluuniit quming qaanganit mahakhugit aput mikijunnuami utkuhingmut. Ilangit Inuit uqaqaktut angmaqpagaat nattiit qilamiuqtumik igavlugillu ilainnaa niqaa qullirnut. Nattiq aniqhaaraangat aglumi nipikittumik niplijuktut, “Kapatipara” (Kapujakhara) unalu, kapigaangamiuk “Igdulviliq.” Ilitquhirijangit puiguqpakhutik qulliq iqqaraangamiuk iluanut unaaq ikivlugit uutuhugit amingit.”

Haniraani 1250 Jiisusiup Huirutaanit, nutaangujut ilagijangit ingilravlutik iluanut Kanatamiunut Ukiuqtaqtuq uvannat angajuqaangit aimavianit Alaska. Una ilagijut, qaujimajaujut ittarnitaliqijit qaujimajaujut Thule pitquhit, nalrungit angajuqaangit tamainnut Inuit. Una hivunngani inuuvlutik aadjigiigutaanit Alaskap angajuqaangit, ajunngitpiaqtut tarjurmiuttanit inuudjuhianut unalu qilalugaqhiuqtut. Qangannguqtumi akhuuqtauvaktut aallannguqtiqhugit inuudjuhingit maligahuaqhugit itquumajangit nutaannguqtumik avataita. Aadjigiinngittangit Alaskamit, nutaangujuq aimavingit qijuikhailliuqaktut, taimaa himmauhiliqhugillu angmaumajumik kikhuliuqtut uvannat iggaviqaqhutik atuqhugit qullit (ujararnut qullit) atuqhugit nattiup tuktuq tunnungit uqquuhikhamaat. Qilalugaq hauniq himmautauliqhuni qijuit tivjat hanavlutik pukukhimajangit. Ukiumi, Thule hanavallialiqhutik iglumiuliqhutiktauq (aput iglut), unalu inuit inuqqukiliqhuni inikhangit taimaa aullaanginnaliramik anngutikhaqhiuqtut hivitujumik aallatqiiit anngutikhatqijaugamik Alaskamit.

Hamna ajurnanngittuni angiklivalliagamik aallatqiingujut kiglimiuqhutik nunami haffumani Kanatamiut Ukiuqtaqtumi. Aallatqiingujut pitquhirijangit ingilrutingit, iglukhangit unalu pitquhirijangit takunnaqhlvuni aallatqiingujut ilagijangit haffumani Thule nuutpalliagamik avaliqanngittumik avataita unalu anngutikhat amihuuningit nunagijangillu. Una nutaannguqpalliani, takunnaqtuq uvani turaarviuvaktuq taijavuagaat Mikijunnuaq Hikumiuttat (1400-1600 AD), naunaitkutat pilihaaqhimajut nunagijangit ilitquhiita tamainnut Inuinnainut, uvanilu 18 nit unalu 19 nit santuvigijangit, amigaitqijit Inuit ilagiiktut ikhinnaqhugit pitquhirigaluangit atulihaaqhimajut Thule angajuqaangit. Anguniaqtut arviit amihuillu aallat angmaumajumi imarmiuttat amaammaktittijuktut huraaq tammaqpaliqhutik. Qilalugaqhiuqtut, Inuit amihunit pivikhailliuqaktut niqikhamaat ukiukhamut, qaajurnaqpiaqtumik ukiivakhutik nattiqhiuqhutik tarjup hikumi.

Una hivuani takukhaujut Inuit aannuraangit takunngaqhutik Qablunaat tikingaramik Ukiuqtaqtumut. Tamarmik Tuniit unalu Inuit takunngarungnaqhigaluangillu aallat taijavagaat Norse mik aallatqiingujumi nuvuani tamainnut aullaapakhutik Kalaallit unalu Labrador mit/Newfoundland mit nunangani (c. 1000-1400 Jisusip Tuqulvianni), hivulliqaangat hivitujumik unipkaaliuqhimajaujut qaujhaqtuqhimavluni una Sir Martin Frobisher uvani 1576 mi nalunaiqhiinahaqhugit Ukiuqtaqtuq Uataani Ikirahak. Mittunilu uvani Qikiqtaaluk, Frobisher havaktiitalu himmauhiliqhuttik nunamiuttat Inuit qaffiujungnaqhijut ublunganit qanurunaqpalihutik ilagiingnut. Ukpriijaujuq Inuit tiguujungnaqhivlugillu qaffiujut umiaqtuqtit tammaqpalliavlutik umiangani, Frobisher akiliqhugit akihautigivlugit ilagiiktunut taimaa tiguvgillu pingahut Inuit tigujuhimaqut umiaqtuqtinnatik aimavingnut England mut. Inuit tigujuhimaqut, atiit qaujimaunngittut huli, inuuhuinnginnaqtut aippaagunngurmat England



mi aanniaqpallaaqhutik tuqvlutik. Taimaa nalaumavlutik kiinangit titiraujaqhimajauvluni qaffiujut British titiraujaqtinut. Tahapkuat mingukhimajut titiraujarningit qanuq ihumagijauvlugit aannuraangit atuqhimajangit, huli ajurnaqhunilu qanurittaakhaat aannuraangit tukiqarmangaat kangiqhijaunginnaqhugit tukiliuqhimaningit qupangit titiraujaqtit ihumagijamingnit. Una tiliuqhimajangit aannuraanut ajuiqhaijuq ajuittuq Jill Oakes, hamna nalaumattianninginat huli hakugikhuni qangaraalungmi ukiukhamut haffumani Qablunaat munguujahimajangit Inuinnainut. "Ilainnaa titiraujarningit" titirahimajaa (1988:27), "hanajauhimaqut titiraujaqtit tautukhimanngittut Inungnit. Aallat ilaliutigijangillu aadjikkutaanit amirmik aannuraalingnit taimaa nalaumattianngittunilu kangiqhiinnaqhugit ilainnaatigut ilagiiktunut aannuraangit ilitqhirnut."

Haumingmi: una akilliq makpiraanmi: Piksaluqhimajuuq Arnaq unalu Nutaaq, ukukani John White, c. 1585. British-mit Utuqqaqarvik. Ilangit ajunngittut ilihaijujut ukpiqhimaavagaat una John White ilagijauhimagaluaqtuq qaujhaqhimaqunut titiraujaqtiuvluni uvani Martin Frobisher'p qaujiharngit haffumani Kanatamiunit Ukiuqtaqtuq uvannat 1576 mit 1578 mut.

ILITQUHIRIJANGIT UNALU UKIUQTAQTUQ AANNURAANGIT

Qangaraalungmi tallimanit hannaujungaahijumi ukiunganit, Inuit aannuraangit nauvallialiqhuni Inuit pitquhirijangit, kihimi ikajuutauvlutiktauq pitquhirijangit takunnaqhuni inmikku tamarmik iluani hilataanilu Inuit ilitquhirnut. Una puqtuhijuu takunnaqtunik Inuit atigit taimaattauq tuhagakhautauvlunilu unipkaaqtut inuit atuqpagaat. Aahiit ilitquhirijangittauq taimaa tukiliuqhimajangit aviktuqhimajumi ilitquhiita. Tamaat aviktuqhimajumi ilaqatigiiktut Inuinnait ahiqanngittumik ilitquhiqaqtut aannuraaliurniq. Tahapkuat pinniqaahijut takunnaqhunilu tukiliutait avatingnut, ikajuutingit unalu ukpiruhtingit kitunuliqaak ilagiiktunut. Taimaa amihuujut pinniqaahijut qaangiqtavagaat akunnganut, taimaattauq aallanguqtavakhuni ingilraraaqhunilu, ikajuqhugillu Inuit tunihivlugit nutaamut aulavikhangit unalu aallangajut pitquhirijangit ilitquhingillu.



Una Inuinnait arnaruhii atigiqaaqtuq tuktulingnit kigutik atataqaqhuni kakhimajuq hivuani, Kiluhiktuq, 1916. (Stefansson/CMC 20282).

Aahiittauq inikhaat Inuit aannuraaliurniq tuhagakhangit ilitquhirnut aallauvlutik angutaugumik arnaugumiluuniit. Una aannuraangit angutit arnallu ilitquhiqaqhunilu nalunaitunilu arnaukpat angutaukpalluuniit. Angutit arnallu tiliuqhimavlutik inuuhirngit ilagiiktut inikhangit iluani Inuit pitquhirnut; angutit munaqhiivagaat anngutikhaqhiuqtut niqikhaqhiuqhutik ilamingnut, unalu arnat munarivagaat nutaqqangit, miqhuqpakhutik, aimavingnilu hulilukkaaqtut. Tahapkuat munarijakhaat tautungnaqhunilu nauvakhugit maniliurahaqtunut atuqtakhainnit ilamingnut, taimaa parnautigiittiaqtut taimaa pivalliavlutik ilagiiktunut ilagiiktullu taimaa ikajuinnaqhugit inmi-pidjarikhijaangani. Kihiani inuuhitigut unalu maniliurahuarnikkut aturnaqtuq haffumani arnaugumi angutaugumiluuniit inikhangit, ihuaqhiiaunngittuni taimaa. Tamarmik angutit arnallu kangiqhihimalaaqtut tamaita amirijakhaat pigiaqaqqat kihiani.

Aannuraat ikajuutavakhunilu nalunaiqhiijangit inuudjuhiq ablurvingit angutinut arnanullu. Ukiuqaliramik 4 nit 5 nilluuniit, tamarmik arnannuit angutinnuillu takunnaqhutik hilataanit haffumani pitquhirngit angutaugumi arnaugumiluuniit ilitquhingit nunalingnit, aannuraaqhimavakhutik aadjigiiktumik. Una nutaraq ihumatturaangamik 'ihuma,' uuminngaluuniit qaujimmaliraangat hilarjuarmi, qajagivlugit hivuniqhuutigivagaat hunaungmangaat ilitquhirnut utaqqijuummiqtangit ulapqijunit, ilihautikhanut, ahikkut aannuraarnigullu. Inuuhuktut ajuqiaqtavaktut angunahuarnirnut, tunijavakhutik mikitqijaanit



Higilak miqhuqhuni atihimavlni atigimik tuku kigutingit atatalingnit, Nulahugjuk, 1915 (Wilkins/CMC 51570).

anguniaqtip atigi anngutikhangillu. Arnaruhinnuit pitquivakhtuk arnainnarnit ilagitqujavuktut ilamingnit, taimaa ilittuqhiivakhtuk arnat hulivangnianit naahurijavvluni uvattiagunnguqtumi inuuhirngit. Arnaruiq uuktuqattaqaktuq ajuinningit amaammaatut amaanguaqhuni inuujarnit atigimi, ilittuqhimagaangat amaaqpalihugit nukaanut ilittuqhimagaangat. Miqhuujarniq aahiillu hulidjuhingit ilittuqhimavlutik aadjigiiktumik, nutaamik ilittuqhimavlnilu miqhuujarniq uuktuqattaqhuni inuujannuanik miqhuujaqaktuq aannuraaliuqtunik ilakuinnaanit amirnit.

Angiklivallialiraangat, arnahurit inuuhuktuillu aannuraaqajuktut mikitqijaanit inirnitut atigiqajuktut, atataqajukhtuk kakihimavagaat atigaanut nalunairutauvakhuni parnairiiqhimajuq upalungaiqhimavlnilu katuhiriami. Uvanngat hivumut, inuk tiliujavvakhuni aannuraangit. Arnat aannuraangit ilittuqtauvakhuni irniulirumi ilitquhirnut, amaamaillu atuinnaqhtuk amautimik, atigi puuqaqtumik tunuani amaariami nutarannuangit. Angutit aannuraangit pinniqhaqpagaat anngutikhat ilanganit unipkaarjangit ajuinningit anguniaqtiujut. Ajurnanngittuni, ajuinningit, unalu tamaat pinniqhaqhimajut inuup atigingit unipkaarjauvlnilu ajuitpiarningit inuudjuhiqaqtut.

Ilagijangit takunnaqhunilu inuudjuhirnut inikhangit atigihimajangit, atigit ikajuutauvlunilu hilarjuatigut unalu anirningit inuudjuhingit takunnaqhuni atataqajuktut. Una atataq hunaujuq ativagaat taamna nanmirivluniuk qaujimattiaramilu ihuarjuummirnaqhunilu inungnut. Amihuujut atatait atuqpagaat, hakugingningit ilagijauvakhuni pivikhangit hunanut hanajauvagaat. Una katilviuniq aulapkaihimajuq ukunangit atataup nanminirijaanit anirningit unalu atihimajunut, ikaaqhutik ilitquhiita pivikhangillu ajuinningit ukunangit. Atatat kivgautihimalaaqtangit anirniit amihunut aallatqiinit pivikhangit, ilagivluniuk hivunngani angajuqqaangit, anngutikhat uuminngaluuniit aallat atuqpagaat uvangit ilitquhirnut hilarjuangit. Angut qiniqhiajuq nakuutqijaanik anguniarnigut, haffuminngatut, ilittuqhimalaaqtangit una atataq hanaujauhimajuq anngutikhanit ilihimajaujuq niqikhaqhiujuktunut ajuinningit. Una arnaq naahurilluaqtangit nakuuqpiaqtumik ajuinningit uvunga inuuhimanngittuq nutarakhaa atimaniaqtuq atataq taffimik hunaqaqtumik takunnaqtumik pinniqpiaqtumik timingnut ilitquhiqaqtumik (haffuminngatut, ukalip niaqua haalukkaamik unalu pinniqpiaqtumik qingaqariami, uuminngaluuniit tiriaq amingit uqiligiami kajumikhijaanganilu). Unipkaaqtavvakhunilu Inuinnait arnaruhig miqhudjarikhigiami, una hivulliqpaaq miqhaa "kakahimajukhaq airmigut una inuk tigummilraanga inuhaannuanguuvluni" (Rasmussen 1932:48).



Atatat nanuq kigutingit kakahimavagaat angutip atigaanut ajuqharnaittumik anguniarumi. Tahapkuat malruiqtaqhutik pinniqutingit ilittuqhaivlutik ilitquhiita angunialluaqpaktuq ajurnanngittuni angutinut anguniaraangat. Piksaliuqhimajaa ilitarijaujukhaq: Kanatamiunit Utuqqaqarvik Ilitquhirnut, hunaujuq IV-D-1294 a-m.



Inuinnait nuliariik Ipkakuhak unalu Higilak tiriap amianut atataqaqtut atigaanut, piksaliuqtauhimajuq uvani Nulahugjuk, 1916. (CMH/ Wilkins/ 36913).



HIVUNIQHUUTINGIT INUINNAIT

Hamna amiakkungit makpiraaq tautungniaqtangit inikhautikhangit atiginut taimaa atuqhimagaluaqtangit inuuhirmingnut haffumani Inuinnainut. Inuinnait (atauhiinnaq, Inuinnaq) tukiqaqhuni 'Inuinnait' Inuinnaqtun uqauhingit, turaarviuvakhunilu aviktuqhimajumi ilagiit Inuit aimaviqaqtunut tamainnit Qitirmiut Kanatamiut Ukiuqtaqtumi. Qablunaanit takunngaramik, una ilagiit illittuqtauhimajuq imaatut 'Inuit Kannujarmiut' kannujarnit ingilrutiqaqjukkamik. Pitquhirijangit, una uqauhiq 'Inuinnait' atiliuqhimangitkaluaqtangit ilagiiktunut, katinninganit, aviktuqhimajumi ilitquhiita. Tainiitigut 'Inuit' Inuktitut uqajuktunut ilagiit Kivataanirmiuttat, 'Inuinnait' illittukaffuinnaqhimajuq 'inummarik' inuujuq; illittuqhimajangit avaliqanngittunit aallataqiingujut aahiit uumajunut katilviuvaktangit ukunanggat: 'uumajuit' (anngutikhat), 'tuurngait' unalu 'ijiqqat' (anirningit), 'allait' unalu 'itqilgit' (hivuraanirmiuttat nunaqaqaaqhimajut ilagiiktut), unalu 'qallunaat' (Ahinirmiuttat uuminngaluuniit qablunaat inuit). Inuinnait pitquhiutigut turaarviuvaktut inmikkut ilagiit, atiita nunamiuttat ahinit avatingillu nunamit aullaaqpagvingit, anguniarvingit, katimavingillu. Ilaanittauq, Inuinnait turaarviuvakhutik Kiillinirmiut Inuit kivataanirmiunit uataanirmiunillu, Kiilliniq tukiqaqhuni 'kigliqaqtuq', turaarviuvakhunilu Kiilliniq.

Una nunaujaq haffumani Inuinnait nunangani takunnaqtuq nutaanguqtumik nunaliit. Hamnattauq Ulukhaqtuuq, Qurluqtuq unalu Iqaluktuuttiaq hivulliuvlutik nunaliit nunaqatigiiktut Inuinnainut, amihuujut Inuinnait ilagiiktut Kuugjuamit nunangani nuuttutik Uqhuqtuumut niuvvaavik umikkami kinguani 1960 mi. Piksaliugaat ilitarijaujuq Bata Shoe Museum (ihuaqhaqtauvlutik nunat atiita unalu kiglinganit hanahimajangit ukunanggat PI/KHS).

Inuinnait nanminirivluniuk najuqpagaat Kiilliniq qaliriiqhimajuq ahiaq nunangani qikiqtannuillu hanianiittut. Una ilagiik unipkaaliqpagaat aullaaqpakhutik Banks Qikiqtamut hilaqutitigut anguniaqpagvingit nunangani, aullaaqhimajut taimaa illittuqtauhimajuq umiaq ahiaqunga H.M.S. Investigator uvani 1852, talvanngat qijukhiurvigivagaat angijaaqtumik havigalingnillu.

Hivulliqaami unipkaarijauvakhuni atulihaaqtumik 20 santuritigut, amihuuningit Inuinnait qaffiujungnaqhigaluaqtuq 800 nit inuit avvakhimajut tamainnut 16 uvungaluuniit 20 ilagiiktut katimajut. Hamna aktilaanga nunallaamingnit tukiliuqhimajangit uvanggat (Bennett unalu Rowley 2004:409):

“Nunat Inuinnainut tahijaaqtuq uvannat Kiilliniup Ikirahak, nuatqatigijaraluangit Qikiqtarmiut; hivuraangat uataanit Tahirjuarmut; uataaniit hivuani Imariujaq (Great Bear Lake), nunallaangit inuit aallat taijauvagaat Dene-mit; unalu tunanngani uataa Banks Qikiqtaq, nunagijangit haffumani Awagmiut (Mackenzie DeltaInuit). Inuinnait tailiqpagaat inmi atiitigut amihutqijaat qulit, avvautaanillu aujami anguniarviujumi iqalukhiurvingillu nunanganit: Kangirjuarmiut, Ahungaahungarmiut, Umingmaktuurmiut, talvanngaanillu. Tahapkuat ilagiiktut qanilrukkut ilagiiktut, taimaattaug akujut ilagiikhutik, avvautigiikpakhutik nunanganit. Amihuujut Inuinnait ukiivakhutik upinngiivakhutiktauq tarjuq hinaanit nattiqhiurvimingnit, inuqqukkittuuvlutik aujiivaktut nunap iluani hivuraanit Qingaungmi uvanilu Tahirjuaq nunangani.”

Qangaraalungmi kinguani akuniraalungmi, qanurliqaak una makpiraaq qaujiaqhimaniaqtuq, amihut Inuinnait ingilravaktut manirarmiutauvlutik nuutqaqhutik nunalingnut Qurluqtuq, Ulukhaqtuq, Iqaluktuuttiaq unalu Uqhuqtuq. Inuinnait huli Manirarmiuliqpakhutik anguniaqhutik, aullaqhutik hilaqtigullu igluqpagvingmunngauvakhutik upinngiivingmunngauvakhutik. Uminngattaug upinnaqhuni, huli nalunaiqhiivakhutik nunamiutigut nunanganit. Qangaraalungmi akunngani unipkaarjangit, qaujimajangillu, aullaqhutik Inuinnait katilviuvaktut nunagijaanit ajurnaliqhuni inuugianganit akhuuqpakhutik akinahuaqhutik 9 mit 5 mut havakpakhutik nutaamiunillu inuuliramiktauq, Inuinnait pitquhingit huli kihaqhimaingnaqhutik qanilruaniinginnaraaqhutik nunamingnit.



UNA 1880 mit

Hivunngani tikitinnatik Qablunaat, hamna ajurnaittuq tiliugait Inuinnait atigit ukpirijaujut hivituuvlutik aannuraangit tamainnit nunallaamit. Tuku amingit nanminirilluangit aannuraaliurnirnut, unalu nattiq amingit atigit atuqtauvakhunilu (kihiani atulluaqhimanngittangit) kinilaipkutauvagaat atuqhugit. Malruk qaliriiqhimajut atigit atuqtauvakhuni qaajurnaqtumi ukiumi; iluvruanga mitqulik unalu hilataani mitqua hilataaniittutik. Iluani ilitquhirijangit iliktirutaat atigit aulahimaittut, tamainnit miqhuqti iliuraivagaat pinniqutikhangit tutqirnaqtumik nalunanngittuni arnaq miqhaa nanminirijangit.

Kihiani ikajuutigivagaat nunamiunit-pivikhangit hanajaami atigit, Inuinnait hulijakhaqainnaqtut turaarvigivlutik himmauhiqhutik nuatqatimingnit, ukunanilu Inuvialuit Inuit nuatqatigijangit haniraanit nunallaamit. Tamainnit aviktuqhimajumi



Una titiraujaqhimajuq qaujimaunngittuq Inuinnait ilagiit hanahimajaa una Edward Adams, taaktip ikajuqtinga uvani Enterprise, una British umianga ukiihimagaluaqtuq Kiilliniq ukiungani 1851. Una hivulliuvluni qaujimajajuq takunnaqtuq nipiliuqtauhimajuq haffumani Inuinnait atigingit. Piksaluqhimajaat uvannat Scott Polar Qaujiharvingit utuqqaliqivingit.

ilagiiktut Inuinnait nanminirijangit pivikhautiqajuktut himmauhirivluniuk. Kangirjuarmiut arlingnaqtumik hivitujumik nunamiuttat kannujarmik himmauhirijangillu kannujaq iniqpiaqhimajut kannujarmit hanahimajut panaliuqhimajut. Puiplirmiut kititiquhutik tivjaq ahiaarmit, aallallu ilagiit ujaraqtarviuvaktut hanaujakhangit qulliliuqtut. Hamna puqtuhijuuq himmauhiutaat nalunangittuq ikajuutaulluaqhimajangit Inuinnait akhuuqhimajut inuuqatigiivlutik aallat ilagiiktut, atautimuuqhutik pinniqtumik upinnaqpiqtumik avvagiiqhutik takunnaqtuq tainingit atiginut.

Ikajuinnaqhugit Inuinnait ilitquhiita uqauhigut titirauhiunngittumik tuhagakhautigut, aadjiliugaqanngittuni hivulliqaami atigit unipkaaahimannngittut ilitquhirijainnit. Hivulliqaami tautukhimajangit Inuinnait atigi ilitquhiita titiraujaqhimainnaqtut qaujijaqtunut. Inuinnait kingulliuvlutik Inuit ilagijunut turaarviulihaaqtut aktuumivlugulu hilataanit hilarjuarmit. Talvanngaanit Qablunaat aullaqaqakhimajut Inuinnait nunanganit uvannat 1771 mit hivumut, ilaqatigiikhutik Inuinnait inuqqukkittuni, aullahainnaqaqkhutik, hulivlutik pitquhirmingnit.

Akunngani 1913-18, hivulliqaangit hivitujumik inungnit qaujijaqtuqtuq nalunaiqhiivlutik Inuinnait inuuhirmingnit, ingilrutingit aannuraangillu aulavigivluniuk una taijavagaat Nianiasi atinga Diamond Jenness ilagiatigiikhimajaat Kanatamiut Ukiuqtaqtuq Qaujijaijut (1913-18). Jenness'ip titiraqtangit taimaa tautungnaqhigivlugit pitquhirnut taimaa



Una titiraujaqhimajuq angutip atigi ilitquhia titiraqtauhimajuq uvannat Diamond Jenness uvani 1914. (Jenness 1946:14)



Qulaaniittuq: Inuinnaq angut arnarluk hannaijaqhimajangit ukiukhamut aannuraangit. Titiraujaqhimajangit ilitarijaujuq: Atelier Frédéric Back inc.

Ataaniittuq: Ipkakuhak nuliangani, Higilaq, pinniaqtumik numiutingit aannuraangit uvani Nulahugjuk, 1916. CMH/Wilkins/ 36913.



qilanaaqtumik aallannguqpalliatuq qangaraalungmi ukiunganit. Uvani unipkaaahimajangit makpiraaliuqtauhimajuq qakugunnguqtumi, Jenness tukiliurutigijaat Inuinnait aannuraangit atuqhimajangit, nipiliuqhugit titirakkut kititihugillu aullaahimavluni, kangiqhijauvluni qaffit arvinilik malruk tuktu amingit aannuraaliuqpaktut atauhiinnaq anguniaqtuq aannuraakhaat aullaarutikhamaat.

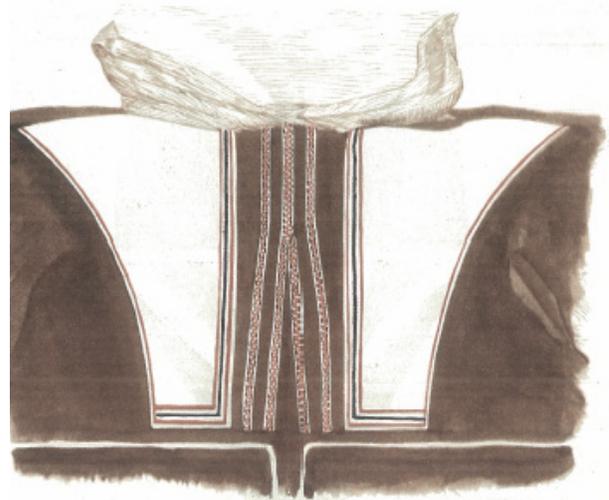
“Ukiumi [una Inuinnait anguniaqtip] aannuraanga ilagijauvagaat malruk ativikhaat uuminngaluuniit atigikhangit (atigi) atuqhugit atauhiq iluaniittuq iluvruakhaat, mitqua hilataaniittut, mitqua iluani iluvruakhaa timingmi qanilruaniittuni; una qulittaq (qulittaq), qajurnaqqiaraangami; malrurnik qarliiqajuktut (qarliik), atuqtangit aadjikkutaanik atigigaangat; malruk aliqtiqajuktut aadjikkutaanit, tikittugu hiitqurmingnit (iluani aliqtik), hilataanit mitqulik, tuktu mitqua ilupiqquk (ilupeqquk) iniqpiaqhimajuq pulattugu itigangik. Pualungit iniqpiaqhugit aannuraangit... Pinniqhaqhugit ittut akunngani kiahit [angutip qulittanga] takunnaqqiaqhuni qakuqtaq amiq, nuvua tuktuq pamiunga...Tuglia pinniqutiqaajuktut nahaa malruk qunmut ittut



tuktup hiutingit...Iltquhirijauvluni puqtuhivlugit nahaa atigaa, taimaa puqtuhijangit malruk qunmut ittut niuhingit unalu takijaaqtuq pamiunga taunaniittuni akunngani kanaangit, taimaattaug pirittuni una Inuk ilittuni tuktutut ilaani qinmit tuktuunahugivagaat aalliaqtuqtut tunuani iqhulaaqpakhugit akhuuqpiaghuni."

-Diamond Jenness 1946:12

Tamaat Inuinnaq malrunnik aannuraaqajuktut; ubluq tamaat ativagaat havakhuni atuqhuniuk, unalu aallat quviahuutikhautaaniit numiutikhangit unalu pulaaqhutik nuatqatigijangit upinngiijut. Aannuraattiaqhimajut miqhuqhimajaujut uqitqijaaq, aujarmiuttat tuktu amingit puqtuhiuvlutik qitirmit, qaajurnaqpiaqhuni nakuunngitkaluaqtuq aullaaraaqhimagaangat. Tahapkuat pinniqaqpiagtut atigit pinniqaqpiaghugit, atigliuqhugit 'ilitquhirijamingnit atigi' takurarahuaqhugit ihumagittiaqhugit ajuinningit miqhuqtunut anguniaqtinullu. Ubluq tamaat havaaq unalu aullaarutingit atigit pinnitqijaunngittut, ilaqaramik hilataaniit qulittaq uqumaitqijaujuq,



Aupajaaqtuq qakuqtarmiglu filiuqhimajangit hamna manuhiniq (iviangirmi manungit) arnat pinniqaqpiagtumik atigi (Jenness 1946: 36).



Una kinilaipkutaq nattiq aminga nipalukhiutit titiraujaqhimajaat una Diamond Jenness (1946:18)

pinniqaqhimaittuq, ukiukhamut tuktu amingit tahijaaqhuni hitqurmut. Diamond Jenness ilittuqhimajangit Inuinnaik kivataanirmiut Kiluhiktuq avaliqanngittumik atauhiinnarmik atigiqajuktut huliniaraangat, taimaa pinniqaqhimavlutik kihimi taununga qitirmiittuq aktilaanga ihuatqijauvluni aullaaraangat (1946:17). Kiniupagaangat upinngaami, atigiqajuktut nattiup amingit taimaa kinilaipkutigivlugit ihuarijamingnit.

Hivunngani Inuinnaik atigit ihuanngitkaluaqtut, kihimi puqtujumik naunaitkutiqaqhutik miqhuqhimajut pinniqtumik. Taimaa pinniqaqhimajut numiutikhainnit. Una pukiaq, tuktu naangit mitqua, qitqanit upinnaqhuni pinniqtuqarjuktangit hinikhaqarjuktut atigimignit. Qaumajuq qakuqtaq ivitaanga mitqua takunnaqpiaqhuni

pinniqtuqarjuktangit kajuqtumik qulittangit tuktu amingit ilagivluniuglu taimaa ilitquhiquaqhunilu aittuqtauhimajangit tuktumit anirningillu hapummivikhangit atuqtunut. Qakuqtaq mitqua pukia hanajauvagaat

Malruk iviangani iliuraivlugit hivuani atiginut-qaujimagangit atia manohiniq- taamna tutqittiaqtuq naunaitkutaat atuqtangit nanminirijangit Inuinnait ilitquhia. Manuhiniit ukpirijauvlutik tukiqaqhuni nalunaitkutaat niaquata Uluagullit unalu tuulliuplu (Mary Kaniak 2019). Nigjat qakuqtaq mitqua nivinngaqarjuktangit tuinganit, talianit, tunuanit, atigi nahaanit pinniqtutigijuktangit.

Ilagijangittauq qakuqtaq pinniqtutingit, pinniqpiaqtut atigit ilagijauvaktut nigjangit amingit aupajaaqtumik ivitaqajuktut taidjuhia 'ivitaq,' mingukhugit uvangat hiqvluqhimajut aupajaaqtumik ujaraq akuvlugit nattiup uqhuanut. Haalukkaaq aupajaaqtuq ivitat miqhuqhimajut aallat mitquijaqhimajut amiit nigjakhat qakuqtaq qirnariktumiglu kiglia una manuhiniq unalu hilataanit atigaanit pinniqaqtauvaktut taimaa iqijarnaittumik. Atatat atuqtauvaktut pinniqtikhait atiginut taimaa atuqtut qaujimagangit nutaamik ajunniqaqhutik ajuitpiaqhutiglu. Tiriaq amingit miqhuqhimavagaat tuimingnit tunuanillu qilaudjaqtunut numiutaanit aannuraangit qaujimagakhaat numiqtum uqilaittuuvluni, ilitturvikhangillu ingutaaraangat.



Nutarannuaq iluittuq tuktumik atajulik (Jenness 1946:44).

ANGUTIT ARNAILLU ATIGINGIT AALLATQIIT

Una atigit haffumani Inuinnait angutit arnailu tiliuqhimajut aallauvlutik takunnaqhuni ilitquhiquaqhutik iniquaqhutiglu nunalingni iluani. Nutarannuaq ilittulihaaraangat nangiqhuni, aannuraakhaanik tunijauvaktuq, atajuqajuktut atuqpagaat tamarmik arnaruhinnuanut angutinnuanullu. Tamainnit Umingmaktuurmiut (Inuinnait tununnganit Qingaungmiut nunangani), una hivulliqaangit aannuraangit igitaujuittut, ukpirijauvaluni taamna inuudjuhia unalu hakugingnia nutarannuaq ilagijaungmat hivulliqaangit qaliriiqhimania (Rasmussen 1932:42). Uvani haniani 5 uvvaluuniit 6 ukiunganit, nutaqqat tunijauvaktut mikijunnuanik inirnitut atigingit, piqanngitkaluaqtut takijaaqtumik tunuani pamiungit unalu arnaugumi angutaugumiluuniit ilitquhingit. Angiklivallialiqhutik, aittuqtauniaqtut hivitujumik inirniup atigimik ilagiiktut.

Una angutip qulittangit hanajauvaktut ilitquhiqaqhutik ininganit anguniaqtiujuq, una tuktu anguhimajangit anguniaqhugu. Tahapkuat atigit tahivjaktut, nahaalu nuvuqaqhutik, naittumik qitilik aingillu, unalu takijaaqtuq, nalrujut tunuani pamiungit tautunngaqhutik ataani hiitqurmit. Nigjat tuktu amingit talirmiittut tunuanilu atigimi, naahautingit akunnirmilu unipkaarivlutik humiuttaakhaat nunamiuttanit ilitquhiqaqhutik atuqtunut. Una parnaiqhimaningit iningit tuktu hiutingit, tuktu pamiungit unalu pukingit atigim tiliugait, taimaa ikajuutauvagaat anguniaqtunut qanilrukkut niqikhaqhiuqtunut. Una pinniqtungit hivuani manuhinit pinniqtuaujut qatiggarmi angutip atigaa kaimallurivjakhuni.

Tamatkiujut tiliugait haffumani Inuinnaq arnat atigi aadjigiivlutik angutingnit—naitqijaangit qitiani aingillu, takijaaqtuq pamiunga, pinniqaqhimaajuq ivianganit manuhinit—tukiqaqhunilu tiliugarnit unipkaarijaujuq arnap naahurihimajaujuq ininga amaammaugumi nulianguvlunilu. Tunua atigi angivjakhuni nutarannuit amaaqtaugiame hivunngani ukiulingnit inuuhirmingni. Tuingit arnat atigit nuvuqaqhutik, taimaa iniqarluaqhimaajut ingutaarianganani inuhaannuit amaammapkaijaami. Unipkaarijauvakhunilu kikkariktut tuingit angutip nuhukkautivagaat akiharahaqhutik arnanut nularijumavlugit (akihautingit taidjutiqaqhuni aqhautijuuk, uuminngaluuniit nuhuttaqtuuk). Tukiliurijaat uvannat Metayer (1973), "tamaita angutip figummivlugit arnap aanguraanga akunnganit tuingit nuhukkautivakhutik ingminat. Hulijakhaunngittunilu arnaq, kihimi ilaani pinnarilluarivagaat aippaanit. Inmi pijumavluniuk, una angut nuhukhimajaa haniani nularivluniuk." Aallat ilitqhingit arnap atigaa ilagivagaat takijaaqtumik nahaqajuktut, taimaa pinniqtuauvagaat, unalu tiritqulik pamiunga kajuqtumik qakuqtamiglu ikihaqaqhutik mitqua ataanit qitqanit atigim hivua.



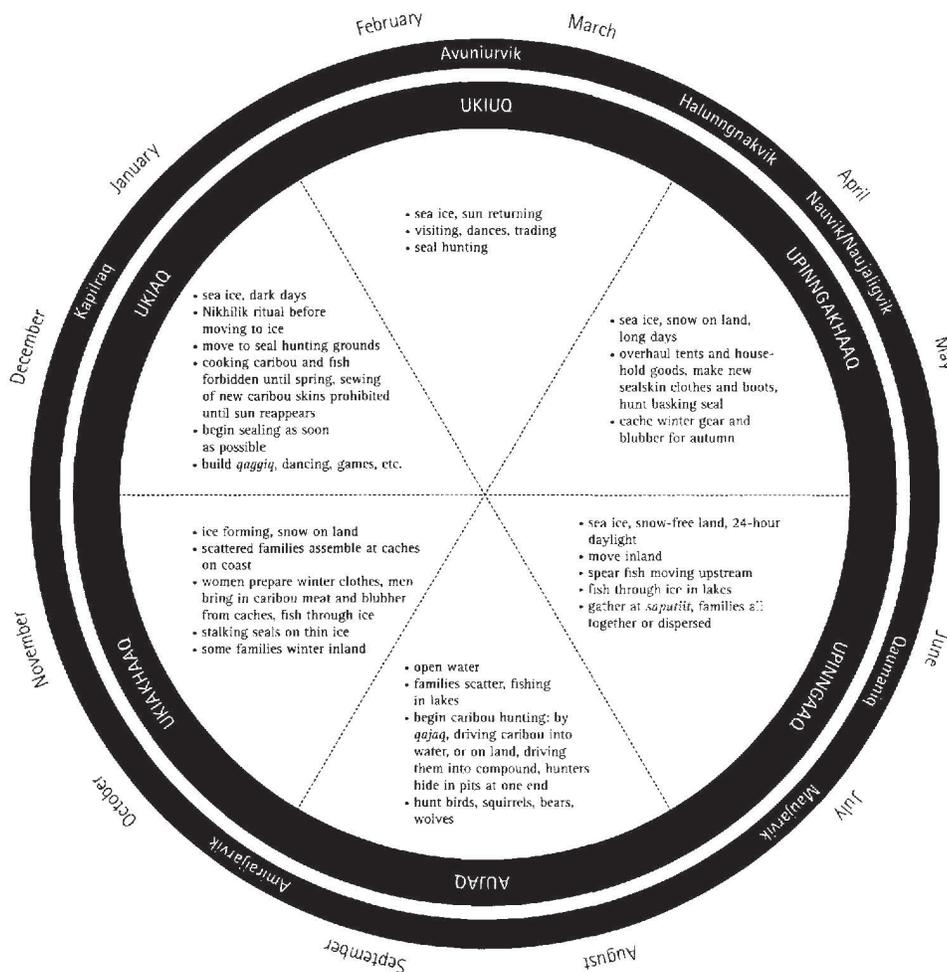
Kila Arnauyuk unalu Jennie Kanneyuk, Dolphin unalu Union Ikirahak, 1916 (Wilkins/ CMC 51249). Nalunaitkutaa una takijaaqtuq nahaa, ajaniqtujuq tuingit hivualu tiritqulik pamiungit naunaitkutaqaqhuni Inuinnaq arnap atigi.

ATIGIT NUNAMIUTTAT

Una hivulliqaami Inuinnait atigit ilitquhiutigijangit nunamiuttauvlutik. Pivikhangit parnautigijangit atigiliurnirmut anguniarvigivagaat nunamiunit ilagiinnaqpagaat Inuinnait hilaqutitigut anguniarvingit. Atigit pinniqutingit tuhagakhaavlutik quviahuutigijauvakhutik ajuinningit inikhangillu angutit arnallu anguniaqtiujut nuliariit. Inuudjuhingit nauvagaat atigiliuqhimajangit illittuqtauvluni uvani unipkaarijauhimagangit (Stern 2004):

“Niuvirviqanngillakhuni, Inuit Qitirmiunmi inuuvakhutik avaliqanngittuni. Niqit, aannuraangit, ihuaqutikhat ingilrutingillu, taimaa inmikkut hanajauvaktangit. Taimaa nuatqatigiikhutik ikajuqatigiikhutiglu havaqatigiikpaktullu pijumagaangat ikajuinnaqhutik. Ublumilu ilitquhivut ikajuqtut huli atuqhimmaaqtavut. Ukiumi ajuqhaliqpakhutik. Uvanngat 5nit-6nut tatqiqhiutigut ukiumi taimaa tarjumi ukiivakhutik hikumi atiqut. Angijaaqtumi qalgimi haffumani 100-150 nilluuniit inuit, ubluq tamaat angutit mauliriaqtuqpakhutik nattiqhiuqtut unaarmut. Amihut inuit kaaliqpakhutik, kihimi aqiaruaqhimannngittut aippaa niritillutik. Arnat munariinnaqpagaat ukiivingit hulijakhainnaqajukkamik hanaqivlutik, nutaqqiuquhik miqhuinnaqhutiglu. Taamna ajurnanngittunik ilitquhiqaqhutik qilaudjaqtunik unipkaaqtuniglu. Ajurnanngittilluni amihunit niqiqajuktut, angijaaqtumi qalgimi quvianaqtuuvluni ukiungani.

Qaajurnairaangat Upinngaami Aujamilu hulilukaaqtut aallatqijauvluni. Qiqaijaluvarvianmi, qaumainnaqhuni taimaa tarjumiihuiqhutik iglumi. Aputit hikulu mahagaangat, ukiungat aannuraangit tutquqhimavaktangit piruvlugit nunami inuit inuqqukkittuuvlutik ilagiikhutik qitunngailluuniit, hiamitpakhutik nunamut ahinut iqalukhiurvingnut tuktuhiurvingnut, tingmiaqhiuqhutik kanguqhiuqhutigluuniit, paunngaqaqhutigluuniit taimaatut. Upinngiivingit inuqqukkittuuvlutik hangujukkaluaramiktauq unghiktumut. Amigaittumik iqalut niqingillu piruvlugit ujaqqanut hivunngani parnautikhangit, naahurivlugillu anngutikhaqhiuqhutik nanut, amaaqtut, qalvit tirigannianiglu nivakhimaillugit pirujamingnit. Ukiakhami, pirujait pulaarviuvagaat atuqhugillu. Inuit upalungaijaqpakhutik miqhuqhutik nutaamik aannuraakhaat, hanavlutik/ihuaqhaivlutigluuniit anngutikhangit ingilrutingit uvani ‘iniqhagviit’, ‘iniqhaqtut nunamiunit’, nuuttutik tarjumut hikumi, hilaqutitigut hila malikhugit inuuvaktut.”



Qulaani: Hilaqutitigut
 Inuinnait. Uvannat Bennett
 unalu Rowley 2004.

“Tahapkuat ilittuqhimajara inuit aullaanginnaqhutik nunaptingni. Nutqaqhimanngittut. Aullaqaqpakhutik uvannat najurvingnit ahinunngauvakhutik qaujimatka inuit tahiliaqpakhutik...iqalukhiuqtut. Inuit aullaanginnaqhutik qautamaat. Nutqajuittut taimaa.”

- Marjorie Taptoona, 2001



UNA 1930 mit

1930 miliqtuni, nutaamik atigiqaliqhutik taimaa haliqpiaghugit tamainnut Inuinnait nunallaangit. Pilihaaqhimajuq uvannat Klengenberq ilagiiktunut, nuuttutik Inuinnait aviktuqhimajumi uvani 1916 mi angmaqtiqhuni niuvvirvingmi nunangani haniani tadjja atiqaliqtuq Qurluqtuq. Christian Klengenberq Denmark-minngaaqhimajuq, nuliangalu Kemnek Inupiaq Alaskamit. Aiqqukkittumik naitpallaaramik atigit Inuinnainut qaajurnaqpallaaramik, Kemnek miqhuqhimmaaqhuni takitqijaanik atigit Alaskamiut aimavinga inmi ilanganilu, una ilitquhiutauliqhuni. Una arnap tukiliutingit haffumani Inupiat atigi ilagivluniuk takijaaqtumik atigi haffumani tuktu amingit, taimaa, Inuinnaunngittuni, tamaat pulahimajangit timingit. Hamna ilitquhingit atuqhugit ivitaalgit kikkariktumik tiliugalik taijavuugaat Ualinirmiut Ikhia qupait, taimaa nauvallialiqhutik uvani MacKenzie Delta Ualinirmiut uvani 1880 mi. Una atigip ataani aingillu pinniqhaqhimajut qalvit puhitaanit, Inuinnait atuqhimannngittangit, kihimi tiguaqhugit pinnitqijaugami ihuaqhunilu.

Una nalunaiqhimajuq uvannat Julie Hall (1994:99), una Inupiat atigi aallavlutik angutit unalu arnanut:

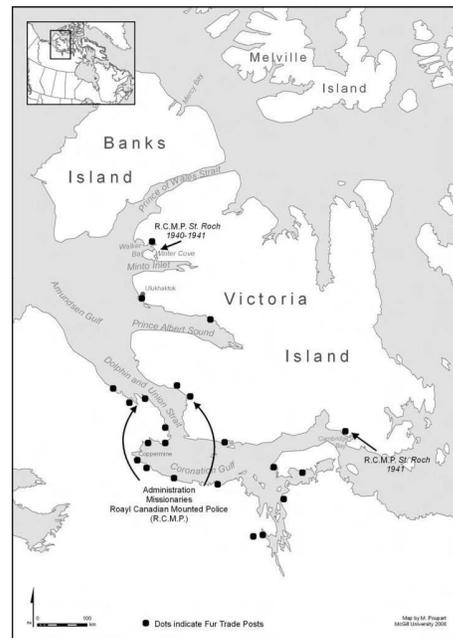
“Una killaijarnia uvani A-nalrujumi-iliktirutilik qulittarmi tikittunilu qulaangat qukturarmi angutinut atigaa unalu qitqanit-nakahungnarmi arnanut. Una tititqulik iluani pukiq tamarmik haniraanit qunguhirmigut, turaarviuvagaat aiviup tuugaangit, taimaa ilakuungujuq qakuqtamik mitqulgit haniraanit nahaa. Pinniqutauvluni takunnaqtuq uvanngat kajuqtumik unalu qakuqtamik tuktu mitqua pinniqutauvluni killaijarniani qupangit.”

Haniraani atauttimiqaak, aallat atigi ilitquhia uvanngat Uataangat ilittuqpalliajuq. Tadjutilik ‘Mother Hubbard,’ uuminngaluuniit Arnannaak una atigi arnainnat atuqpagaat—ajurnanngittuq, qitirmit takinia kalikuqaqhuni angutit aturluaqpagaat-ilagijangillu hiitqurmit takinia hilataa kalikuinnaq iluanittauq aliqtikharmik ilulik. Hamna Hamna Arnannaak Inuinnainmunngaavlutik uvanngat Alaska unalu Ualinirmiut ukiunganit 1920 mit, ilittuqhimalraaqtut Alaskanut ukunanngat Angaadjuktunut minihitat, ilitturnaqhunilu hivunngani himmautauvlunilu ukunanngat Hawaiian Qikiqtangit, China unalu Alaska. Una atigi ilitquhiqaqhunilu qaumajunik ivitaalgit kalikungit, ilittuqhaijangit uvunga Hawaii minihitanit, kinguanilu aturlualiqhugit qaajurnaqpiaqtumi hila hinikhautigijangit-puhitakhautigivlugillu nahaa minihitat nuuhimavlutik Alaskanut (Oakes 1988:29).

Tikinnamik Kiluhikturmut uvani 1916 mi, Klengenberg-
kkut niuvirvialiqturmit haniani Cape Kendall tununnganit Qurluqturmit. Una niuvirvik nuuqattaqhimajuq qaffiiqhuni Nuvungmunngaautinnatik (Nuvuk), haniani Qikiqtanajuk hivuraani uataani Kiilliniq hinaa uvani 1919 mi.



Una Niuviqti Christian Klengenberg ilaitalu (1916). Diamond Jenness/CMC/36912)



Qulaanittauq: Nunaujaq titiraujaqhimajangit najugaat niuvvaaviit angmalihaaqtut Inuinnait aimavingit. Nunaujaq ukunanngat M. Poupart, McGill Ilinniarviguangit 2008.

Aahiit nanminiaqaqtut tikitqaqtut iluani nunangani tamarmik Qulvahikturmiut Niuviaqtit taidjutilik Northern Traders Ltd. unalu Hudson's Bay Company Kapanit niuvirviit havaliqhutik iluani Kiluhikturmi. Atunngaliqhutik, qablunaat pivikhangit hivitujumik atuqattaliqtangit Inuinnainut. Ilangit Inuit aullaaqpakhutik unгахiktumit Ulukhaqtuurmit, Minto Kangiqhua, Iqaluktuuttiaq, unгахiktumillu kivataanit Qikiqtamit himmauhiqhutik haviit, hiqquutit, qarjukhat aallat ihuaqutikhamaat uvanngat Kiluhikturmiut niuvirvik. Ilitquhianit, tahapkuat ajuqhanngittut ilagiiktut niuviqhimalaaqtut kalikurmik, Arnannaak atigi ilitquhiit, taimaattaug ilittuqtauhimajuq nalunangittuq



Qulaaniittuq: Hivunngani katilviulihaaqhutik Ualinirmiut Inuit unalu [Inuinnait] uvani Banks Qikiqtangit. Una Ualinirmiut Inuit aannuraaqhimajut amirnit, hapkuattaug Kiluhikturmiut Inuit aannuraaqhimajut aliaqtikhanut hukinnaarniglu. Mannik Kuugaa, Banks Qikiqtangit, N.W.T., 1932. Mrs. Peter Sydney / Makpiraaqarvik Utuqqalijjilu Kanata / PA-027690

Qitqangit: Malruk Inuinnait arnak, nutarannuaq unalu angut aannuraaqhimajut pitquhirijangit atigut Qurluqtuq nunangani nangiqtut hivuani iglumi.c. 1930. Piliihimat kititiqhimajangit / Makpiraaqarvik Utuqqalijjilu Kanata / e006581015

Inuit arnat, Iqaluktuuttiaq, Hivuraanit Kiilliniq, N.W.T., Apitilirvik, 1928. Burwash / Makpiraaqarvik Utuqqalijjilu Kanata / PA-099700



ajuqhanngittunut anguniaqtiujut tautungnaqpiqhutik ittut Inuinnainut. Anguniadariktut anguniajukkamik tiriganniap amingit niuviqakhutik kalikurnit pijumajaugangat atigiliuqtut, ilulikhangillu aliqtit iluvruakhaat.

ATIGIT UVANNAT HIMMAUHIQHIMAJUNIT PIVIKHANGIT

Hivunikhautigijangillu niuvvaaviqalirma uvani 1920 mi, tamarmik Inuinnait atigit inuuhingillu aallannguqpallialiqtut. Huli katilviuhimmaaqhugit nunamingnit unalu pitquhirijangit ilitquhiit, Inuinnait atuqpallialiramitku ihuaqutikhangit pivikhangit ihumagijangillu unгахiktumit. Unipkaarijaujuq unipkaangit (Doug Stern 2004):

“Hamna atulihaaqtumik haffumani ‘tiriganniuqhiutut amingit inaa’ talvanngat hivitujumik aallannguqpallialiqtumi Inuinnait inuudjuhingit nunagijaanit. Ukunannat hivuniquhutigijangit ihuaqutikhangit haffuminngat hiqqutit, mitqutit, ingnirvit, tupiit, kuvjat, taimaittumik inuit piqutingit amihuuliqhutik qilaminnuaq. Himmataaraangat, niuviqtit tirigannianit pijumavlugit. Inuinnait akhuuqtauvaktut nakuujumik niuviqajavlutik naniriarnit, naniriaqtuqijangit ukiuraalungmi. Qakugunngurmat qanilrukkut igluqaraluaqtut tarjup hikumi qitungnagiik inuqqukkitkaluaqtut nuutqattalirmata nakuutqijarnit anguniarvikhangit ukiiviqattaliqhutiktauq, naniriaqtuqhutik iqalukhiuqakhutiktauq inuit ajurnaittumik niqikhaqhiuqhutik inmingnut qinmiqtuqtunullu, taimaa unгахiktumut naniriaqtuqattaliramik.

Hamnalu Ukiuqtaqtuq tiriganniat hivitujumik ihumaginngitkaluaqtangit annguktikhat, nutaangujumik mitquniliqhutik tukiqaqhunilu ilagiit ingilravingit aallannguqpalliavlutik anguniaqtamingnit tirigannianit pivlutik. Ajurnaiqhunilu niqikhaqhiuriami. Qitunngangillu inugiakhivluni. Qinmiqtuqtut angiklivallialiqhuni aktilaangit naahautingillu. Inuit tukiqaqhutik ukiihuiqhutik nattihiurvingnut ingilrainnaliramik ajurnaittumik. Aujami, umiaqtuqhutik, ilangit nanminirivluniuk Inuit, agjaqtuivaliramiglu ilagiit unгахiktumut hivitujumullu tamainnut Qitirmiut Ukiuqtaqtumi. Ilangit ‘Kuulutigut Ukiuqaliqtut’ aullaariangani. Amihut Inuit, upinngaami, aujami, ukiakhamilu hulijakhaqaqhimmaaqhutik ilitquhiita kihimi aullaqtut himmauhiriaqtuqhutik niuvirvingmut parnautikhangillu niuviriaqtuqtut, tukiqaqhunittauq inuudjuhingit aadjigiinngittuuvlutik.”



UNA 1950 mit

Una 1950 mi inuudjuhingit nakuuqpiaghuni nutaannguqpallialirami Inuinnainut. Taimaa Inuinnait atuqpaliqhugit qablunaat pivikhangit ihuaquhiutauliqhuni pitquhirnut inuuhirmigullu, ihuaqtumik hulijakhangit parnavutikhangillu aallannguqpallialiqhuni. Angiklijuummihunilu ikajuutikhangit niuviqhimajunit atuinnaqpallialiqhutik ihuaqutikhamaat, pijumavlugillu taimaa akturluaqtauvlutik Inuinnainut hilaqutitigut qautamaat nutqaqpalliavlutik nunalingnut.

Una atigit hamanngat naunaittuq akuhimaliqpalliajut malruk hilarjuatigut. Tahapkuat pitquhiraluangit amiliqinirnut miqhuriami atigit huli tuktu amingit ilagiinnaqhugit ublumimut inuuhiannit. Hamnalu tupiqajuktangit kalikuillu akimalaittangit uquujunit tuktu amingit, angmauvakhutik ihumagijainnit ukunanngat ingilrutiqanngittunut anguniariami. Amihuujut Inuinnait nuutpaliramik himmauhiriaqtuqtut nunalingnullu nuutqaliqtut, taamna aallatqiignit kalikut aannuraaqaqpallialiaqtut takunnaqhunilu. Hamna havigalit mitqutit, tikit, unalu kivjautit arliruhukpiaqtangit ihuaqutijamingnit Inuinnait ilitquhiita hivuani tikinngaqtut qaujihaqtit (Hall 1994:102), una hivuniqhuutingit algautigut-miqhuqtitat uvani 1920 mi pijumalluaqpagaat kalikuit tupikhautiit miqhuriami ihuarivluniuk.

Hamna Arnannaak atigi huli atuqhimmaaqtangit Inuinnat arnanut, nutaamik pinniqaqtumik qupalingnit kalikuqajukhijut. Mikijuit ihuaqutingit himmauhiqhimajangit ihuaqutingit—hapkuangujut hungaujat unalu havigaliit aittuuhikhait—atuqpallialiqhugit pinniqtikhangit, una ilitquhiita aturaluaqtangit atatata qinngijauvallaarmat atuqujuqtangit nunalingni minihitat ihumagigamitku angatkunut unalu Paalangmiutaunngittut anirningit.

Una atigi tiliuqhimajangit Inuinnait angutit aallannguqpalliavluni tamainnut akunngani. Tukiliuqhimajangit ukunangat Jillian Oakes (1988:53):

“Uvani 1940 mi, angutit atigingit kigliit katakximajut qulaani hiitqurmi iqihimavluunilu haniraanit qitqani-qukturarmi. Aadjigiigtuaq kiglingit ilitquhia atuqtauvaktuaq ilagiiktut Inuit taijauvagaat Kittagazuit Ualinirmiut uvannat Mackenzie Delta. 1950 ngilirami, angutit atigit kiglia nahaalu ilitquhingit nutaannguqpalliajut. Hivunngani kiglinga huli qulaanit hiitqurmiittuni katakximajurlu nuvuanit hiitqurmi tunuani. Ilagivluniuk, angutit atuliqpalliajut nahaat kaimallurivjaktumik nuvuanit niaquanit. Una pijumalluaqpagaat aadjigiivjaktumik ukunangat tarraa angutip atuqhimajuq atigi nahaa (puhitalik ilagijangit) quunmut amaruqtut idjuaqhugu nalunaiqhimajangit ukunangat Pruitt (1965). Taimaa idjuaqhugu tuktu nahaa qulvahiktuq naunaiqhimajangit taamna tuktu qimaahimajuq; nahaa taunaniittuaq tuktu anguniarnaqhuni!”

Una ilitturnatqijaujuq ingilraningit angutip atigit talvanngaanit atuqhimanngittut qanilrunngittumik kalikuit. Angutit ilaqatigiiliqhugit havaktunit akiliqtauliramik maniliurahaqtut, uvani angujaktit havaangit, ihuaqutingit unghiktumit agjaktauvaliramik angiklijuummiqhuni taimaa himmautauliqhugit amiit mitqungillu aannuraakhaat ihuaqutingit atuinnaaluaqtangit qangaraalungmi.



Leo Manning, atanngujaq uvani Kapanimi taijauvagaat Hudson's Bay Company'ip niuvirvik, atiliuqhimajangit himmauhikhangit. Qurluqtuaq, Nunavut], 1949 Harington/LAC PA-143236

“Taimani huurlikiaq nuutpalliagamik hungmalli aappaakput anguniaruiqhimavlnilu. Tuktu nattirniqluuniit...hunaluuniit. Taimaa kaaliqpallialiqtuta. Taimaattuq amaammaga aappagalu Iqaluktuuttiarmiutaujuk. Niuvirviqalirnat Hudson’s Bay niuvirvik hamani. Taimaa niuviqpaliaqtuta niqinit taimaa ikajuutikhaqaliqtuta inuudjuhunmikstore ...Unalu DEW Line qaralvaramik hamani. Aappaga havalihaliqtuta taikani, taimaa nakuuqpaliaqtuta. Ikajuutigivlugit niqikhanut, hunanigluuniit pijumajaptingnit. Aappaakput havakhimagaluaqtuq DEW line amihuujut ukiunganit. Igluliuqtinnatik uvani nunami, amaammaga aappagalu igluliuqhimagaluaqtut hunavalungnit. Taimaa, havakhimagaluaqtuq hulivluni tautukhugit iglut iluani, nuuttugillu qattarjuut kikkariktut taimaittumik. Hunanigluuniit tahapkuat DEW line havaktut hunaniklikiaq nuugiaqaqtangit... Taimaa nakuujuugaluaqtuq taimani ihumagivlugit haffumani DEW line miunit aappaga havagluaqpakhuni. Aimaliraangat Dew line mit angilrautiliqaqtuq uulaisinit, aapuillu, saklait.”

-Annie Pokiak, Iqaluktuuttiaq 2009



Owen Etejik (haumingmi) unalu Angus Egotak (taliqpingmi) Iqaluktuuttiarmi, Nunavut], ca. 1947
J.L. Robinson / Makpiraaqarvik unalu Utuqqaliqijit Kanata / PA-102255

ATIGIT NUNALINGMIULIQHUTIK INUUDJUHA

Ukuninngat nuutqaliramik nunalingnut, Inuinnait ilitquhiita aallannguqpalliavlunilu inuudjuhiriliqtangit nunalingni. Una atigit uvannat unipkaaqtavlnuni tulurnikhutik aallatqiiit hilarjuangit. Una tukiliuqhimajaa Doug Stern (2004):

“Una hivuniqhuutingit hiqquutinit taimaa ulurianaqhiivluni qanurilinganiagut tuktunut umingmainillu amihuuningit. Naahautait puqtuhivalliavluni naniriaqtuqtunut aktilaangillu qinmiqtuqtut angiklivalliavlunilu. Inuit unalu qinmiqtuqtut ajuqhaliqpalliajut anngutikhangit piiqpallialiqtut. Unalu kinguani 1929 mi, Ajuqhaqpallaarningit tamainnit hilarjuarnut taimaa akikhangit tirigannianut katakpiaghuni [uvannat \$50 uvani 1929 mi katagjuummiqhuni uvunga \$8.00 taalanut uvani 1934 mi unalu \$3.75 uvani 1947]. Una 1930 mi unalu 1940 mi tautukhutik tamatkiqtangit Inuit amihuuningit nungutpallialiqtut taimaa anguniajuktut ilagiiktut inugiakhigaluaqtut qangaraalungmit. Titiraqhimaajuq uvani tuhagakhautimi, makpiraanut unalu makpiraanmit taunani ‘Hivuraanit’ Inuit nungutpallianaqhimagaluaqtut. Uvani 1950 mi ilitturnaqhuni huligiaraluaqtut ikajuqhimagialik Inuinnut. Una kavamatuqangit Kanata ihumaliuqhugit nunalingniigiaqaqtut nuutpaliqtutik ilangani niuvvaaviumi najugaanit. Ikajuutikhangit unalu ilihautikhangit ilaliutauliqtut. Una Dew Line angujaktit igluliuqhimmaaqhutik tamainnut Ukiuqtaqtumi atauttikuttuq, ikajuutavalliavluni havaakhaqhiuqtunut nuutqaliqtut amihuujut Inuit qitunngangillu Amihut Inuit huli manirarmiunginnaqhutik, kihimi ilangit ajuqhaliqpallaqtut. Anngutikhait amihuuningit nungutpalliavlutik aanniaqpallaaliqtutitauq uvannat 1920 mit. Inuit ikajuqtauvlutik nuutqujavlutik nunalingnut humiliqaak igluqarnirmi, munaqhiqarnirmi, havaaqarnirmi, unalu iliharvikhangit nutaqqangit

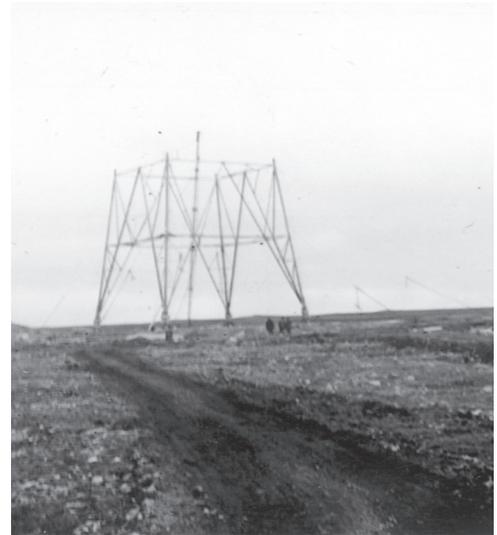
uvani nutaamik iliharvingmi. Amihut qitunngangit tikitqaliqhutik qinmiqtuqhutik uuminngaluuniit umiakkuq qangaraalungmi.

Hamna Kuugjuaq niuvirvik, munarijaraluanga Stephen Angulalik umikhimajuaq 1967 mi, qitunngariit taunanirmiuttat, ilagivluniuk inmi, nuuttut nunalingnut. Nulianga Mabel qaujimagaluaqtangit tikinnamik nunalingnut qajakkut. Lena Evalik, Kuugjuarmiuttarlu tikinnami tingmiakkut uinga malikhugu, qaujimajavluni umiaqtuqtunut aqutiugaluaqtuq Norman Evalik, utiqhimalirnat aanniarvingmit Edmontonmit. Ilaata qinmiqtuqtuni nunalingnunngautijangit. Evetalegak, Kaosoni, Ohokak, Oakoak, Etibloena, Emingak ilagijavlutik qitunngaqtigiiktut tikihimajut Kuugjuarmit. Amihut Inuit tikittut nunalingnut Qingaungmittauq.”

Pitquhutuqangit Iqaluktuuttiaq nunaliuvluni (tukiliuqhimajangit uvanngat KHS 2016) ilaliutigijangit nakuujumik tamatkiumaningut qanuq Inuinait hivuniqhuutigijangit hilataanit qablunaanit inuudjuhianit:

“Havaliramik haffumani Loran napparvia, [atuqhugit naalautikkut tuhagakhanmit] uvani 1946 mi, nunalingni amihuuningit inuqaliqhutik niuviqtit, minihitat, piliihimat unalu 3 nit 4 nigluuniit Inuit qitunngalgit havakhimajut ikajuqhugillu. Kihimi hamna napparvinga havaangit, Inuit atuqhugit amiakkungit

Hanavlugit haffumani LORAN napparvinga Iqaluktuuttiami, 1947. Piksaliuqtiqaujima-jaunngittuq. Titararnimi uvani PI/KHS utuqkaliqijit qaujimajaunngittuq.





Inuuhuktuq
hiqqulik, 1947.
Piksaliuqti qau-
jimajaunngittuq.
Titirarnimi uvani
PI/KHS utuqqa-
liqijit.

qijuit igluliuurutikhangillu 20 nit igluqpaliuqhimajut, nunalingnilu avatquhimavluni 100 Inuit ilauqatauhimajut. Qanilruani iliharviniliqhuni hamani unalu DEW [Ungahiktumi Nalunairutauvluni] Igluliuqhimajut. Una angujaktit Dew Line havagviat Iqaluktuuttiami nalunaiqhimajut haffumani 'Qajangnaqpiaqtumik Angujakhimagamik' naunaitkutaq najurviit hanajaulirmat uvannat Alaskamit, tamainnut Ukiuqtaqtuq Kanata unalu Kalaalliit nunanganit, munaqtiuvlugit angujakhimajaugamik uvannat Soviet Russia qaaqtuilaaqtunut. Uvani ukiunganit avatquttumik 200 nit Inuit havakhimavlutik igluliuqhutik uvani DEW Line avatquttut 200,000 uqumaidjuhingit parnautikhangit tikittuni igluliuqhutik. Uqaqhimalruunngittuni qanuq hulivangmangaat uvani 1950 mi unalu atulihaaqtumi 1960 mi aallannguqpallialiqhutik inuit inuudjuhingit.

Malruk hannautigut avatquttut Inuit tamainnit uataanit Ukiuqtaqtuq havaakhaqhiuqhimajut ilangani kinguani 1950 mi, amihut nuutqaliqhutik Iqaluktuuttiamut qitunngaillu. Inuit havaktit tupiqpaliqhutik uqquuhikhamaangillu qanilruani uvannat Dew-Line havagviannut, unalu nunalingi talvangaanit aallannguqpallialiqhuni kivataanit kangiqhuani uataanit akulailrumit. Una DEW-Line havaktit havakhimaaqtut aallatqiinit havaangit. Amihut halummaqhaivakhutik igluliuqhutiktauq, aallattauq ilihaudjavlutik ingniqutitigut igluliuqtunullu. Ikittuuvlutik aullaqaktut Alberta mut

ilihaqhutik ingniqutitigut. Iqaluktuuttiaq Inutuqangit qaujimavagaat hulivlutik Dew-Linemi, qaujimajangit havagluaqpakhutik, aquttutik akhaluutinnuamik akhaluutiniglu aqunngaqhutik, atuqhugit nutaamik alrujaqtulingnit ingilrutingit haulaaqtumik kautaujait, niritiaqhutiktauq angujaktit niqingit. Amihut angutit arnaillu kivgaqtuivagaat DEW-Line qangaraalungmi qaujimajangillu havattiqhutik pinnarivluniuk, uuminngattauq nakuunngittumiglu hulivakhutik nakhautijangit angujaktit igluliuqtunut tunihimajangit.

Inuinnaat havaktit qitunngaillu tiguaqpaliqtangit iglukhangit, niqingit, aannuraangit, hulivangningillu uqauhingillu taunanirmiuttanit qablunaanirmiut havaqatigiiktut. Angijaaqtumik pivikhangit havagviata iqqakuungit igluqpaliuqhutik ihuaqhaivlugillu imaittut qattarjuit innirviliuqhutik. Ihuaqtamingnit, tahapkuat iglungit qaaurnaraluaqhutik, ihuittuuvlutik ajurnaqhunilu munarigiami. Inuit havaktut huli anguniaqaktut iqalukhiuqpakhutiktauq havanngillakhutik, inugiakhivlutik qitunngait niqikhaqhiuqpaliqhutik hunanik piqallakhutik uvannat DEW-Linemit. Una havaktut maniliuqtut atuqpallialiramik pitquhirnut inuudjuhingit timinganit

Inuit, aallannguqpalliaqtangit ilagiiktut inuudjuhingit unalu pamiqhimajangit angutit ublukhautitigut aullaqhimavakhutik, himmauhiqpakhutik inikhautingit. Una DEW-Line ilittuqhimavlugillu imirmik nunalingnut, taimaa amihut Inutuqait taimaa ihuiluutigivagaat.

“Qangaraalungmi amihut qablunaat inugiakhivlutik taimaa aallannguqpallialiqhuni. Hamna DEW Line havagviit tikinnamik, talvanngaani inuuhiquput Inuit aallannguqpalliajuq. Inuit havaliquhutik maniliurahuqhutik. Inuit inuudjuhingit ingattaqpallaaqhutik. Inuit imiqpallaaliramik havagviannit. Inuit maniliuliramik havagvingnit inmi aqiuqtuliquhutik imirmik inmikhamut.”

- Frank Analok, 2000



Qulaani: Ilitquhia 99 algangmut miqhuqtitaq hanajauhimajuq Singer nanminirijangit c.1950. Tahapkuat miqhuqtitat qaujimaajuut 'havaglualaaqtut Qinmiqpait Ukiuqtaqtumi.' Piksaliuqhimajaa Brendan Griebel/PIKHS.

Ataani: Hannak (haumingmi) unalu Bessy Kingmirut (taliqpingmi), amaaqtaa nutarannuanga amautaanut 1953, Kuugjuaq Makpiraaqarvik unalu Utuqqaliqijit Kanata / e004923624.





UNA 1980 mit

Uvani ukiungani malikhugit Tuglirijangit Hilarjuatigut Angujaktut, Inuinnait ilittuqhimajangit taimaa qilamiuqtumik aallannguqpalliavlutik nanminirijamingnit nunangani. Akunngani nutaqqat pamiqtauvaktut aullaqhimavlutik ilihariaqhutik, taimaa nalunanngittuq avaliiqpalliavlutik uqauhirmingnut pitquhirmingnullu. Uvanngat ukiungani 1950 mi unalu 60 mi, avatquttumik 20 nit ahinit hiniktarviuvagaallu ilihagtunut unalu kavamajuat nutaqqanut hiviktarviliuqhimajut angmaumavluni Uataani Ukiuqtaqtumi, hivunikhaliurahaqhutik ilitturahaqtaangit Inuit inulrammiit hivunikhaanut Kanatamiut ilitquhirmingnut. Tahapkuat iliharviit akhuuqpallaaqhimajut timingnut ikpingnaqtumik ulurianaqtumik amihut inulrammiit Inuinnait utiramik nunalingnut quglukhimajutut innamik. Una ulurianarninga huli aulajuiqhimavluni taimaa qanuq ihumaliqhutik aallanik hilarjuatigut innamik: ilihaqhimaittut pitquhirnut ilitquhiraluangit uqauhingit uuminngaluuniit inuudjuhigut ajuinningit, kihimi qinngijauvakhutik Inuinnaunngittunut hilarjuangit ilihaqhimajangillu upalungaiqhimalraangit.

IAtuttimut Inuit unalu Nunaqaaqahimajut inulrammiit tamainnut Uataani Ukiuqtaqtuq, unгахiktumut ilihariaqhimajut tautungnaliqhutik Inuinnait hivitujumik

Nunaqaaqahimajut inungnut. Atigi ilitquhiita tautungaliqhunilu tautuktuujaqtangit, ilagiliqhugit takunnaqtut aallatqiit ilitquhirnut. Una inuit allat taijauvagaat Gwich'in ilittuqhimalluaqtangit atigi ilitquhiita qupalingnit tuingit, nigjalingnit unalu nauttialik pinniaqtuq takunnaqhuni uvani kinguani 1950 mi unalu uvannгаллу 1970 mi takunnaqhivluni lqaluktuuttiami. Ukpriijaujuq una ilitquhia qaangiqtauhimaajuq Inuinnainut hamna ukunani Gwich'in ilihaqtut uvani Aklavik iliharvianit. Inuinnait atigit ilittuqpallialiqtut nutaamik haffumani Delta pilrangit Inuvialutmit, una ikhia nuutpiaqhuni uvanngat tuktu amingit iliktirutaanit unalu pinniaqhivlutik pinniaqutingit hanajauhimaajut qaliriiqhimaajut aallatqiit-ivitaalgit ikhikhautit unalu hinikhangillu. Una hivuniqhhuutaujuq niuvirvingmit-niuviqhugit atigit aturlualiqhugit uvani ininganit, qalviit unalu amaqqut mitqua ilagivluniuk nahaanut qaajurnaitkutavlutik iidjivallaaqtumi pinniaqtavvlunilu nunamiunganit pitquhia.

"Ublumi, qanuq aullaapaktut unalu tuhagakhanmi taimaa ajurnailirami, Inuit lqaluktuuttiarmi, Qurluqtuq, Ulukhaqtuq avvautigiikhutik aadjigiiktumik ihumaliugakhangit ajurnailiqhuni. Haffuminngatut, Inuit uvanngat nunaliit atuinnaqhutik aadjigiiktumik atigi angutin unalu Arnannaak arnap pivingit."

-Peggy unalu Angela Richardson uvani Hall
1994:120

"Qalvit nigjat huli illiturnaqtutik ajurnanngittut uuminngaluuniit ajuinningit anguniaqtijuq uvani Kiluhikturmiut Inuit...nalunainngittuni miqhudjariktumik aannuraangit pinniaqiaqtumik pivikhangit ilittuqhimajuq atigihimajaa ahikkut ilitquhinga, harimajuq miqhuqtunut ajuinningit, inmikkut-quviahuutigijangit, unalu akihautinga"

-Hall 1994: 121

Haffuminngatut pinniaqtumik qupalingnit atigi uvanngat Gwich'ilitquhinga lqaluktuuttiami, crica 1970mi. Ilitarijidjutinga: McFarlane piksaliugangit. Titiraqhimaningit uvani PI/KHS.



ATIGIT UVANNGAT ANGIKLIJUUMMIQTUT NUNAQQAQAHIMAJUNUT NUNALINGNI

Atulihaaqtumi 1970 mi, Ukiuqtaqtuq najugauvlunilu amigaittumik pivallianikhangit havaanut uqhurjuanut, kaasiliirnut unalu ujarait, tamaita munarijavugaat qablunaat (Inuinnaunngittut). Uvani 1971 mi, ilagiikhutik inulrammiit Inuit kavamaliqijjujut naupkaqhimajangit Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami –atiningmijuuq atiita Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)—ilagijangit atauttimut katilviuvlutik nipingit tamainnut Inuit nipiqaqtujumik niplilaaqhutik naalaktaugiami hivuraanut. Una timinganit naupkaqhimajangit piliriakhangit nauhimavluniuk Inuit aimavikhangit ukunanngat nunat nanminirijangit niruarvigivlugit, hinnaktuumajangit ilittuqhimajuuq ihuaqtumik qaangiqtauhimaajuq haffumani Nunavut Angirutaanit uvani 1993 mi, unalu inuulihaaqhunilu Nunavut nunallaangit uvani 1999 mi.

Uvani 1970 mi, Iqaluktuuttiaq tautungnaqhunilu ilangani hivunngani katimadjutigivlutik Inuit nunangani nanminiqutingit. Katimapkaivlutik amihunit aturnaqtumik katimajut Inuit hivuliqtuuq, ilagivlugillu ihumagilluaqtakhat katimajut haffumani nunallaangit kavamat taimaa nunalik aviktuqhimajumik hivulliqtiuvluni nutaamik Qitirmiut Aulattittijangit Aviktuqhimajumi 1981 mi. Hamna nuna nunataarvingit piliriakhaq akhuuqtauvluni, nunamiunit Inuinnaat naupkaqhugillu Qitirmiut Inuit Katudjiqatigiit (KIA) nipiqualiqhutik niruarviujakhangit unalu hapumminahuaqhugit pijumajainnit. Atauttimuttauq, Inuit iluani Kivataanit

Ilagii arnat iluani Ualinirmit uvani Mackenzie Delta ilitquhia atigit Qupalingnit hinikhangit. Iqaluktuuttiaq, crica 1970mi. Iltariidjutinga: McFarlane piksaliugangit. Titiraqhimaningit uvani PI/KHS.



Ukiuqtaqtumi akhuuqpaliqtuttauq hivunngani upalungaijautikhamaat aviquivlugit haffumani Nunatsiami unalu lqaluktuuttiaq ihumagijauvlugit najurvigijakhaat hivunngani tukhiutigivluniuk nutaamik nunallaamik. Uvani 1982 mi nunallaami-hivitujumik katimadjutigivlugillu uvanngat tukhiutigijangit aviktuqhimajumik, inuit lqaluktuuttiarmut niruaqhimajangit qinngihimajanngit uvanngattauq 80% haffumani Inuit iluani Kivataani Ukiuqtaqtumi niruaqhimajangit angiqhugu. Hamna Uataani Kavamaliqinirnut Katimajut unalu Nunavut Kavamaliqinirnut Katimajut angiqatigiikhutik kigliliuqhutik ukunganngat Nunatsiaq unalu nutaamik nunallaangit uvani 1985 mi, ihumaliuqhugillu nunaliit lqaluktuuttiaq, Qurluqtuq, Qingauk unalu Umingmaktuq ihumaliuqhugit humiliqaak avvautigijumajangit Kivataani Ukiuqtaqtuq uvvaluuniit iluaniillutik Nunatsiami. Nunaqatigiiktut tamainnit nunaliit tautukhimajut ajurnaqtumik ihumagijakhaat. Kihiani qanilruanit pitquhingit, maniliurahuarningit, unalu kavamaliqinirnut katilviujut ukunani Nunatsiamit unalu Uataanit Ukiuqtaqtumi, nuhuktauvluni ilaugiangani haffumani nutaangujuq Inuit-hivuliqtigijangit nunallaaq hakugikpiaqhuni akimavlutiktauq.

“ Ikpigilluaqtara aallannguqpallianirnut nunalingni inuudjuhingit uvanngat maniqqamiujunit nanminirijara aimavingmit ilitquhianit. Tikinngarapta lqaluktuuttiamut nuupluta iglumut inugiakhunilu imiqpallaaqpakhutik ilittuqhimajaujut tikinnapta hamani nunagigaluara ungagaluaqhugu hamunngarapta aallannguqpalliavluni. Huurimna ilakput ikajuttiaruiqhugit kihimi ikajuqtaugapta aallannguqpallaaqhuni inuuhiquput. Tunijaugapta uqquujumik hulittiaruiqhutalu taimaa naammaktutut innamilu. Ungagaluaqhugu inuuhiraluama.”

-Mabel Ekvana Angulalik, n.d.



Inuuhuktunnuaq qalvik puhitalik atigi lqaluktuuttiaq, crica 1970mi. Iltarijijdjutinga: McFarlane piksaliugangit. Titiraqhimaningit uvani PI/KHS.



UNA 2010 mit

Una nutaaqpiangujuq ukiungani makimatigijavut quviahuutigivlugulu Inuinnait ilitquhingit pitqulia unalu aannuraangit. Inulrammiit nalvaaqhugillu harimahukhutik pitquhituqangit, atuqhugillu Inuinnait ilitquhingit tunngaviunahuariami inmikkut himmahiliramik pitquhirnut mihingnaqtuniglu avataanit hilarjuarmit. Huli anngutikhat mitqungit atuqhimmaaqpagaat, kihimi tuktuvalingnit hannairiiqhimajut atuinnaliqtangit pinniqtumik aallatqit ivitaalgit, niuviqtavvagaat nunamiunit niuvirviit. Anguniajukkaluvaqtangit uvannat Ukiuqtaqtuq anguniaqtit, uvunga hivuraanit havaktauvaktut, uvannat tununnganit utiqtauvaktut niuvirumajunut hulihimaittumik katilvuhimaittunilu angajuqqaanganit hivunngani nunamilu.

Una ilitquhiita pinniqhaqhimajut Inuinnait, takijaaqtumik pamiulik unalu manuhiniq, takukhauvallialiqut. Una upinnaqtuq pinniqtut ilitquhilgit haffumani atigit taimaa ilagijuummiqtavut qaujijangit nauhimalraangit, qaangiqhugit tunivlugillu akuniujunut qangaraalungmi. Havaarijangit makimanahuaqhugit hanaugait, ajuinningit iliktirutingillu Inuinnait miqhaangit nauvalliavlutik nunaliit, takukhauvlutik tamarmik iluani aimavingmi, nunalingnilu havakhutik ilihautijut.

Una Iklitirutingit Aallannguqpallianingit miqhuqtunut ilihautijut, hanavagaat atigit ilitquhilingnit tamainnit uvani makpiraami nakataita, munarijangit ukunangat Pitquhirkkut Ilihautiniq'it ikajuqtigiiktut Inutuqait Munarijangit havakhutik, Mary Avalak, Mabel Etegik unalu Annie Atighioyak. Uvanngat 2017 mit 2019 mut, hapkuat arnat munarivlugit ilihautivlugillu amihuujuq nunalingni havakhutik ilihautijut tiliuqhugit tallimanit Inuinnait atigit tautungnaqhunilu 30 nit ukiungagut ilagihimajait iluani pitquhitsuqangit iniliugangit haffumani Inuinnait.

Una nauhimajangit tamaita atigi qaujiharluaqtauvlutik, miqhuttiaqhimavlutik atuqhugit pivikhangit, piliriakhangit, ilitquhingillu ihumagivlugit pitquhitsuqangit ukiunganit kivgautigijangit. Pivikhangit anguniaqhimagaluangit nunamit unalu miqhuqtunit ingilrutingit hanajauvakhuni nanivagaat kannujaq. Pitquhitsuqarmik ihuaqtumik kiluariitkutikhangit ilupaaqajuktut, miqhuqtitat unalu angujaktit tunihimajangit ukiumi parnautikhangit nunamiutauvlutik.



Qulaani: Inutuqait Aimaviujut Annie Atighioyak, Mary Avalak, unalu Mary Etegik atuqhutik algamut miqhuqtitaq kamiliuqhutik piqatigijangit hamna 1930 mit atigi.

Haumingmi: Takunnaqtut atigit hanajauhimajut miqhuqtunut ilittuqhajut havakhutik.

Kihiani miqhuqtunut ilittuqhajut havakhutik hivunigijangit pitquhituqangit nalaumattiarningit, hamna hivunikhangit haffumani havaarijangit taimaa turaaqhiinahaqhgugit qaujimaqangit ihumagivlugit Inuinnait atigit hivumut. Una Iliktirutit Aallannguqhimajut ilihautingit havagluaqhimajut uqauhikkut ajuittunut nipiliuriami nakuuqpiagtumik ilitturnaqtumik Inuinnaqtun uqauhingit hivunigivlugulu Inuinnait aannuranngit unalu miqhuqtunut qaujimaqangit. Miqhuujaqtut ilittuqhajut havakhutik ikajuqhimalluaqtangit ilauqatauhimajunut ilittuqhimavlutik Inutuqarnut, kihimi aturahuarlugillu qaujimaqangit hivunngani nautkaqhimajangit atigit ilagiiktunut ilannamingnilu. Una kingulliqaangit Iliktirutit Aallannguqhimaningit takunnaqtut ilagijaujut ilitturnaqtumik nunalingni miqhuqtakhat iliktirutit makpiraaqarvik taimaa ikajulluaqhimajangit kitunuliqaak iliktirutiqarumajuq, atullagumajangit, unalu himmauhirumajangilluuniit miqhuqtunit iliktirutikhat.



Haumingmi: Annie Atighioyak unalu Mabel Etegik in- iqhimattiaqtumik Inuinnait Atigi takunnaqtut uvani May Hakongak Makpiraaqarvik Iqaluktuuttiami

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