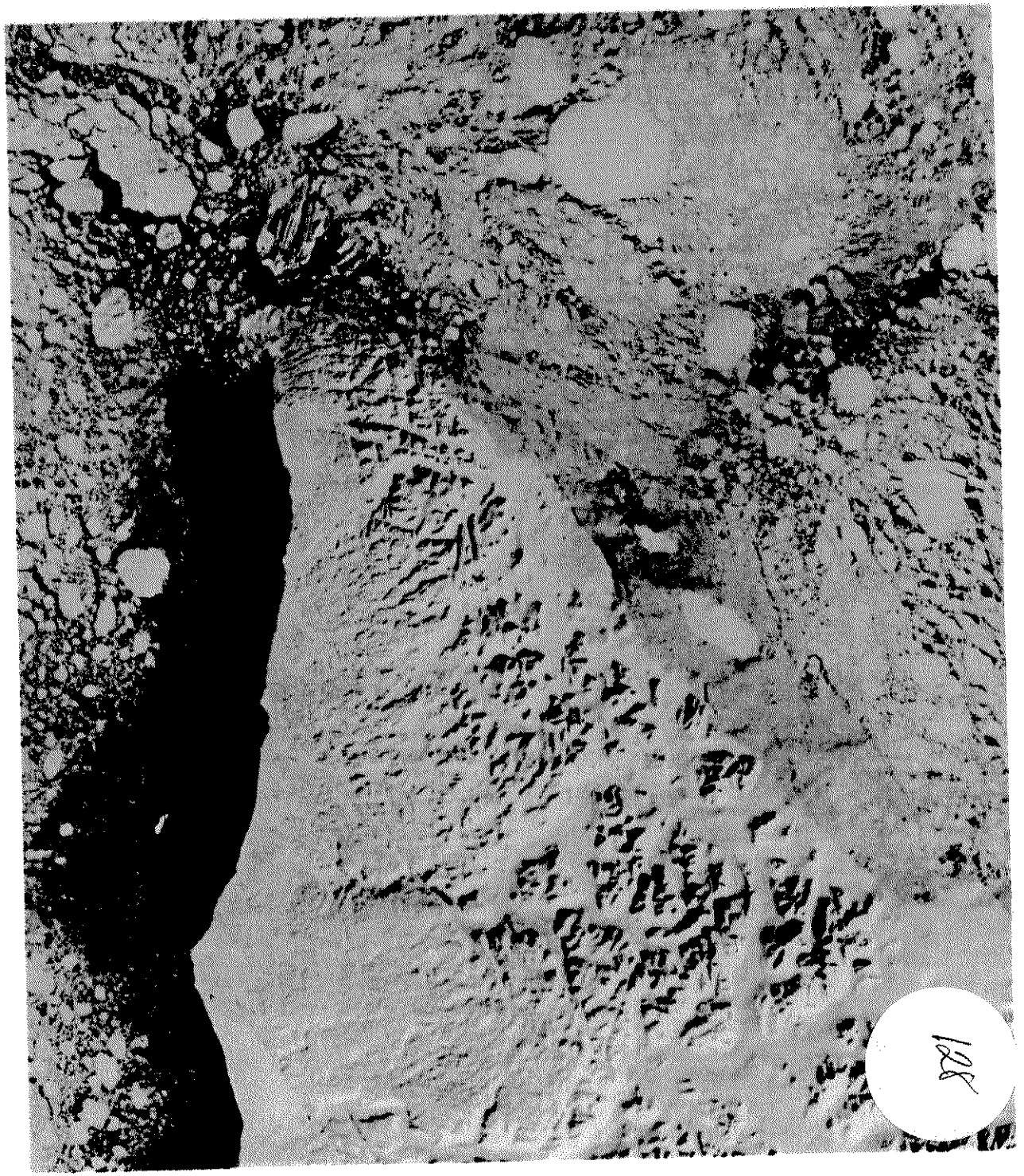
THE INUIT OF NUNAVIK STATEMENT OF CLAIM TO LABRADOR



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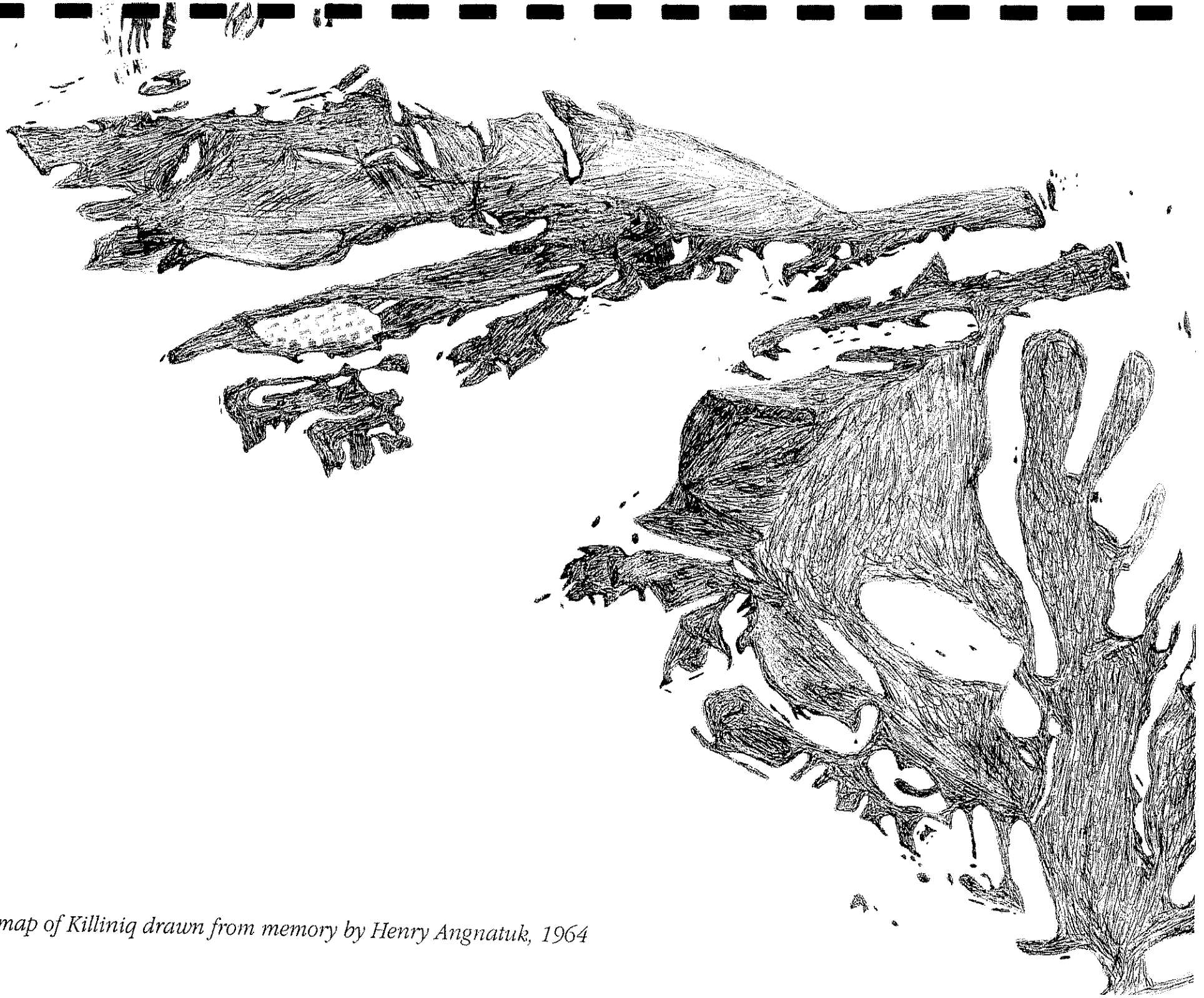

A map of Killiniq drawn from memory by Henry Angnatuk, 1964

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Land Use and Occupancy by the Inuit of Nunavik for the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador (1:500,000)

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Map 2 Marine Mammals

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Map 4 Bearded, Harp and Ranger Seal

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Map 12 Birds

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Map 14 Canada Geese

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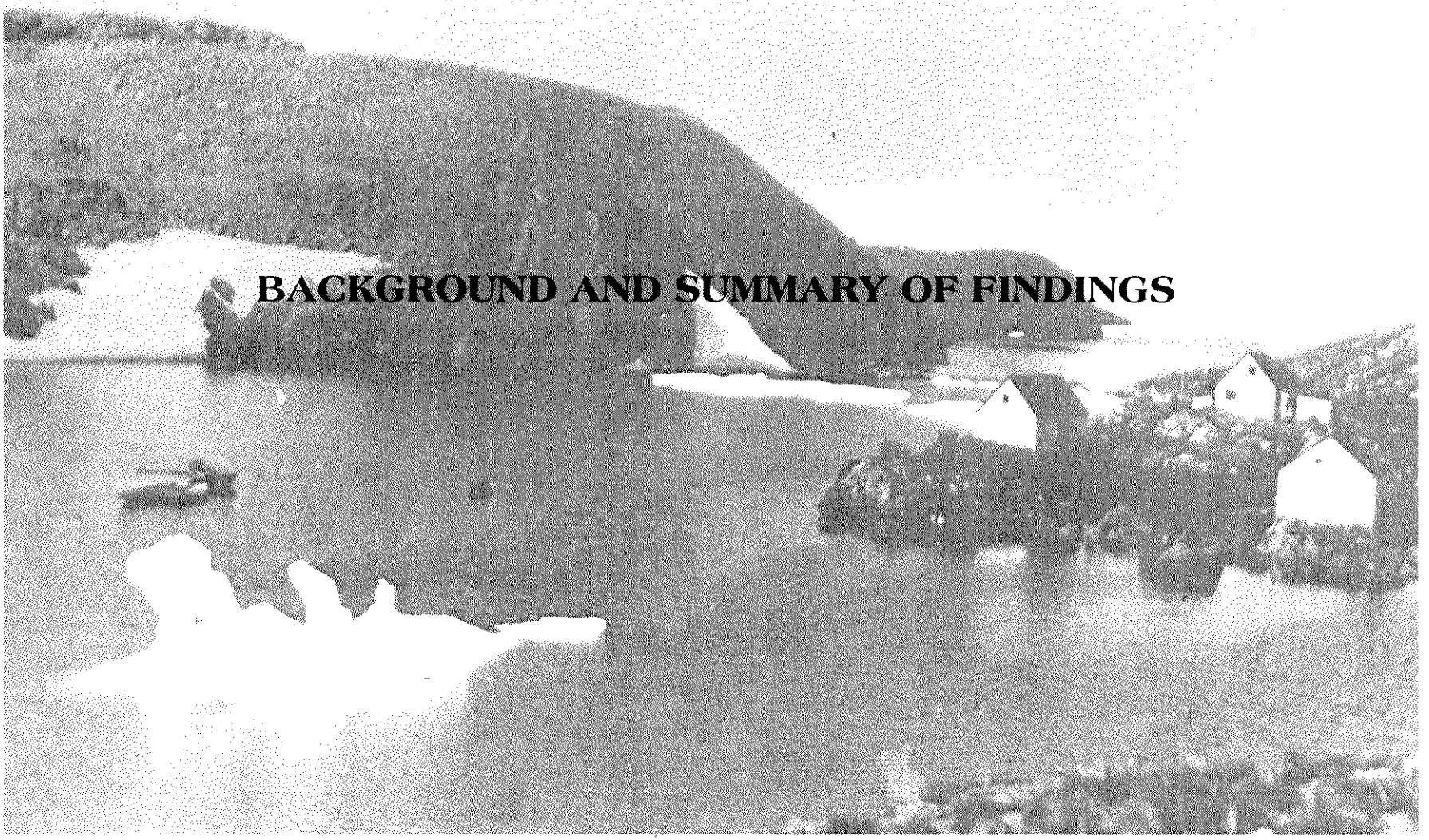
This atlas illustrates land use and occupancy by individual hunter for each species group and individual species by season.



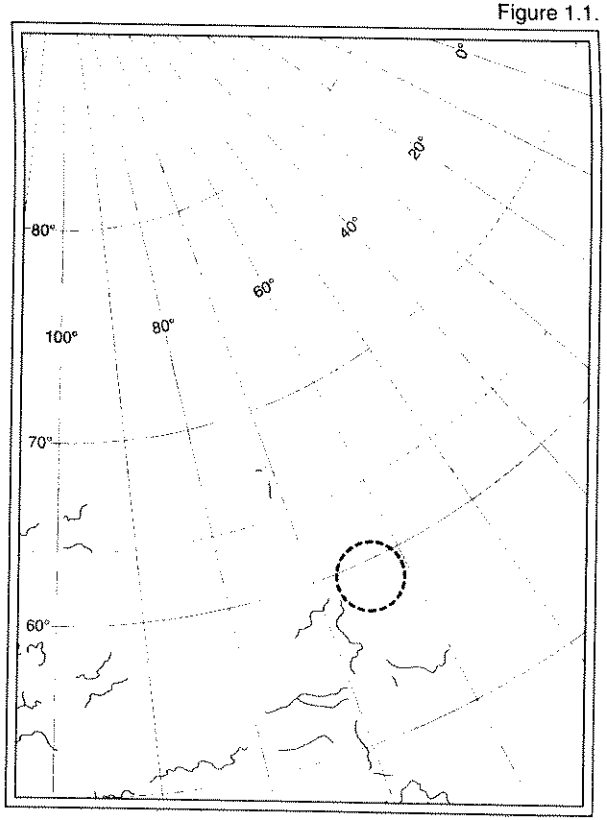
BACKGROUND AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Background

The People and the Place

The large triangular land mass often referred to as Québec-Labrador peninsula, juts into the Atlantic ocean to form the northeastern most extension of continental North America (Figure 1.1). The peninsula separates the waters of Ungava Bay to the west from those of the Labrador Sea to the east, and its varied interior landscapes are bounded by an irregular coastline which is defined by deep embayments and clusters of small coastal islands. Often shrouded by fog during the summer and always jammed with ice throughout the winter, this geographically complex and ecologically diverse region has been occupied by Inuit for almost 4000 years. During these four millennium of Inuit cultural development on the Québec-Labrador peninsula, all but the last 300 years were carried out in isolation from active contact with Europeans. Generation after generation the ancestors of present-day Inuit were able to establish and refine their cultural adaptation to the environment and resources of this territory, and in so doing, they slowly created patterns of settlement and land use that are still clearly evident in the land use patterns of today.

Figure 1.1.



The Québec-Labrador Peninsula

Long before the political boundary that now divides Québec and Labrador was drawn on the map of Canada, the coastal and inland zones of the region comprised part of a much larger territory of Inuit cultural development. In prehistoric times, the area occupied by Inuit once extended from the Strait of Belle Isle north to Killiniq and then west along the shorelines of Ungava Bay, Hudson Strait and the east coast of Hudson Bay to James Bay. Throughout the time span of Inuit occupancy of this vast area there have always been internal sub-divisions based on the Inuit cultural practise of forming distinct but interrelated social and territorial groupings. Although these social and territorial divisions gave an appearance of geographic separation, they did not limit social interactions between the many settlement areas that defined the cultural landscape of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, or indeed of the larger territory of Ungava that lies to the west.

The connectivity between settlement and land use areas can be identified for the historical period from the ethnographic record and postulated for prehistoric times through the use of both ethnographic and archeological data. Although the conditions and objectives that shaped both the localized and regional associations between Inuit and between Inuit and their territory, these changes did not eliminate either the persistence or importance of a culturally structured system of land use and occupancy that encompassed both the coastal and inland zones of northern Labrador and Ungava.

The cultural area included in this study is where the three large environmental and ecological regions of Ungava, Labrador and Hudson Strait converge. It is as well, an area where the Inuit social groups that have continually utilized this region come together within the structure of a land use system which includes all the micro-environments of these three zones. From the time of the first settlement of the peninsula, Inuit moved back and forth between the Ungava Bay region and the territory of Labrador. Settlement sites, travel routes, social networks and knowledge of the land and resources all contributed to the development and maintenance of an occupation that reflected this structured overlap of territory. In this report there will be a continuing reference to the Inuit of Nunavik and Labrador. It should be clearly understood, however, that this usage is in relationship to the events that have taken place over the last 50 years and especially since the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Prior to that time and even today, the geographic references used by Inuit identified either distinct local or regional groups.

Objectives and Organization

The purpose of this report is to provide the information required for establishing the boundaries and determining the validity of the comprehensive claim to Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. The primary information that will be used for this purpose is presented in the form of maps and written text that utilize data from a long-term research program on the geographic patterns and historical continuity of land use and occupancy of the Québec-

Labrador peninsula and its surrounding marine waters, by the Inuit of Nunavik. The territory of Nunavik including the region under the consideration in this Statement of Claim is illustrated on Figure 1.2.

In 1984-85 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was preparing to commence negotiation of the Labrador Inuit comprehensive land claim in and to Labrador. Makivik Corporation was excluded from any information by the governments of Canada and Newfoundland concerning the process. Because of the possible prejudicial effect of such negotiations on northern Québec Inuit aboriginal claims in and to Labrador and the offshore surrounding Labrador, Makivik formally advised on April 1, 1985 and November 26, 1985 (and again on April 29, 1988 and May 2, 1988) both the governments of Canada and Newfoundland that northern Québec Inuit have unextinguished aboriginal claims, rights and titles in and to Labrador and the offshore and that such rights are recognized and affirmed by Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982.*

At that time it was determined that Makivik Corporation, which represents all Inuit of northern Québec, would be responsible for the preparation of an initial Statement of Claim that would identify the historical and current land use of the offshore and land areas of Labrador by Inuit now residing in northern Québec.

On June 18, 1987 Makivik Corporation submitted a series of 1:500,000 scale land use maps and supporting text to the Office of Comprehensive Claims. The subject matter portrayed on these maps defined the historical and current patterns of land use by the Nunavik Inuit for the coastal and inland territory that falls within the present day political boundaries of Labrador. The preparation of specific maps for land use in Labrador was partially supported by funding from Indian Affairs. These funds were used to expand and review land use information through additional field work and to process and print this data through the use of a Hewlett-Packard computer mapping system.

On July 4, 1991 the Office of Comprehensive Claims sent a letter to Mr. Charlie Watt, President of Makivik Corporation concerning the June 18, 1987 submission. This letter identified six additional areas of information that would be required before the Makivik Statement of Claim to aboriginal rights in Labrador would be considered for acceptance for negociations under the present claims policy. The six topics that needed to be addressed were:

1. The archeology and pre-historic occupancy of the region identified in the comprehensive claim;

2. The utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik during historical times as defined by the Office of Comprehensive Claims to be from first European contact to the year 1930;

3. The family histories or genealogical linkages that establish relationships between present day Inuit of Nunavik and the lands and offshore waters of Labrador;

4. The historical development of the Port Burwell/Killiniq area in relationship to original settlement and relocations;

5. The descriptions and analysis of the patterns of land use and occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik;

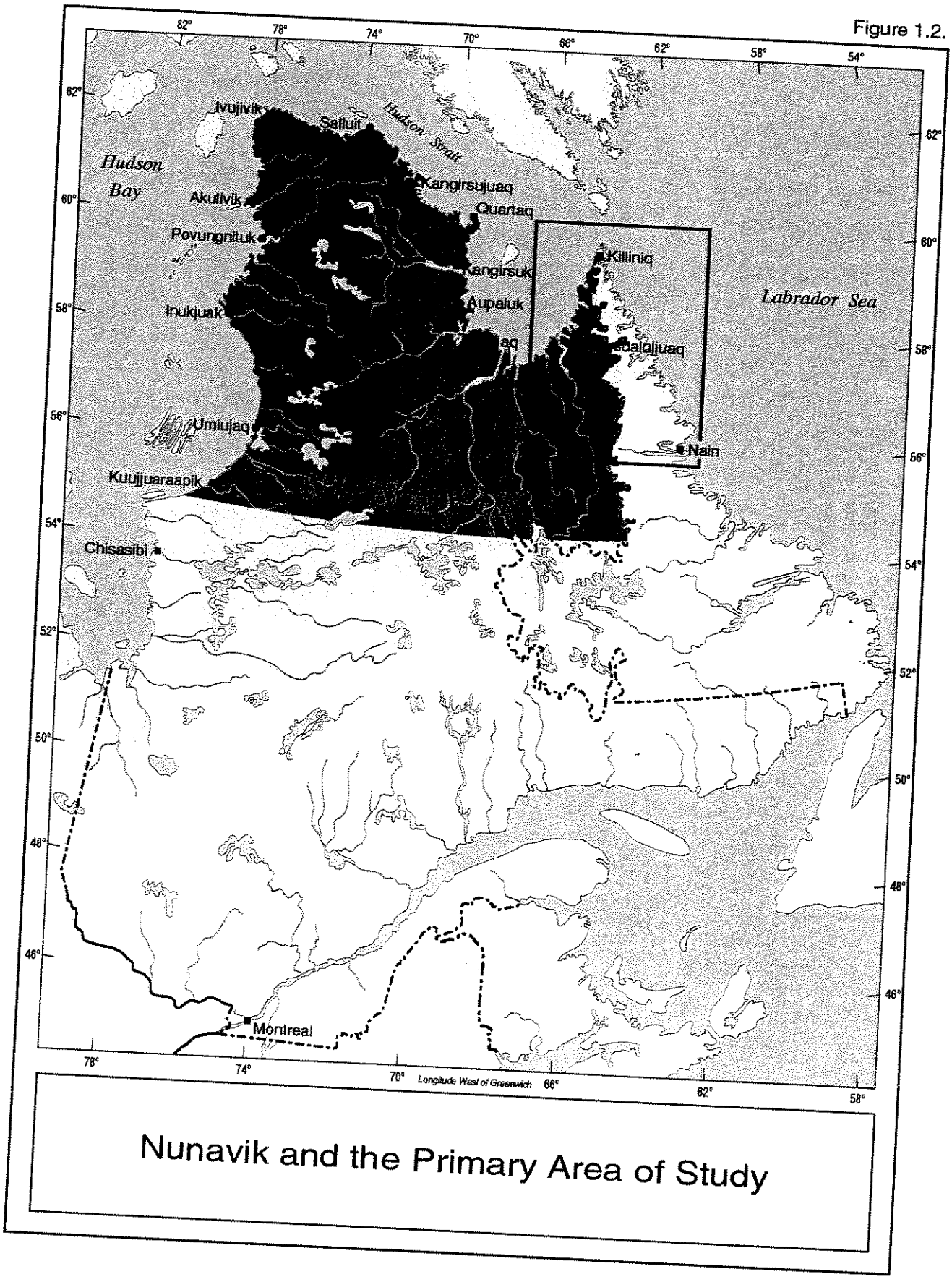
6. A map that clearly identifies the claim area.

The documentation used to address these six topics is presented in two volumes. Each topic begins with a brief description of the information needed to explain the topic itself, and to clarify its relevance for the Statement of Claim to Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. It must be understood, however, that in order to address certain of these questions in greater detail a major research program would have to be undertaken.

The following report stresses, therefore, the results of the land use, occupancy and Inuit environmental knowledge research which has been undertaken in Nunavik over the last 15 years. It is felt that this study provides a large body of pertinent data that was derived from a systematic research program which was in turn guided by a well-defined methodology and consistent procedures of data collection (see Figure 1.3). As well, an emphasis on land use and occupancy data makes the approach taken by Makivik Corporation compatible with the approach and information used in Labrador and in the Northwest Territories.

One primary difference that must be noted for the land use study in Nunavik, as opposed to the two earlier studies, is the fact that the Nunavik work involves a long term research program that did not have as its primary focus, the identification of territory for the purpose of a land claim. The Nunavik study, for example, identified the relationship between land use and environmental/ecological knowledge, and it attempted to place land use within the broader context of the social, economic and political development of Nunavik. In addition, this data base has been organised around a computer technology that was not available earlier, and which was specifically designed for processing geographic information.

Figure 1.2.



Nunavik and the Primary Area of Study

Volume 1 provides background information on the Inuit of Nunavik use of Labrador lands and offshore waters and presents a summary of findings that support the validity of their comprehensive claim to this territory. The findings and supporting documents are organized around the six areas identified by the Office of Comprehensive Claims. All of the information used to address these six areas is presented as written text and as an atlas of computer generated maps. This atlas contains a series of 18 color maps which provide a complete overview of land use and occupancy of the Québec-Labrador peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik. Throughout this report maps are considered to be an essential means for the presentation and analysis of data relevant to the Inuit of Nunavik Statement of Claim to Labrador. A place name map for all places refered to in the text is included in the atlas

Volume 2 is comprised of an atlas of land use and occupancy maps at a scale of 1:500,000. Whereas the maps in Volume 1 portray generalized land use patterns at a greatly reduced scale, the more detailed maps of Volume 2 illustrate individual hunting territory by season and species. Volume 2 also includes a series of maps that illustrate the outer boundaries of land use and occupancy as practised by the Inuit of Killiniq in the early 1970s at a time prior to the closure of this community.

Establishing a Data Base

Early in its development, Makivik Corporation realized the importance of having an extensive and readily available data base on land use and on Inuit knowledge about the ecology and environment of Nunavik. Consequently, a decision was made to establish and fund a Research Department which would design and carry-out the studies required for this purpose. The Research Department was expected to promote Inuit participation in every phase of research; to help develop cooperative studies with government, universities and other research groups; and to encourage Inuit to use their own research findings when developing policies and programs related to the sustainable development of the lands, waters and resources of Nunavik. These principles of cooperative research have been followed in all of the studies carried out by the Makivik Research Department.

After several years of community based studies, the Research Department was asked to develop an appropriate geographic information system that could be used to process, store and present the large data base that was being established for individual communities and for Nunavik as a whole. The computer system and "electronic" data base developed by the Research Department are essential components which now influence the design, methodology, and execution of all research programs in Nunavik that are related to land use and environmental

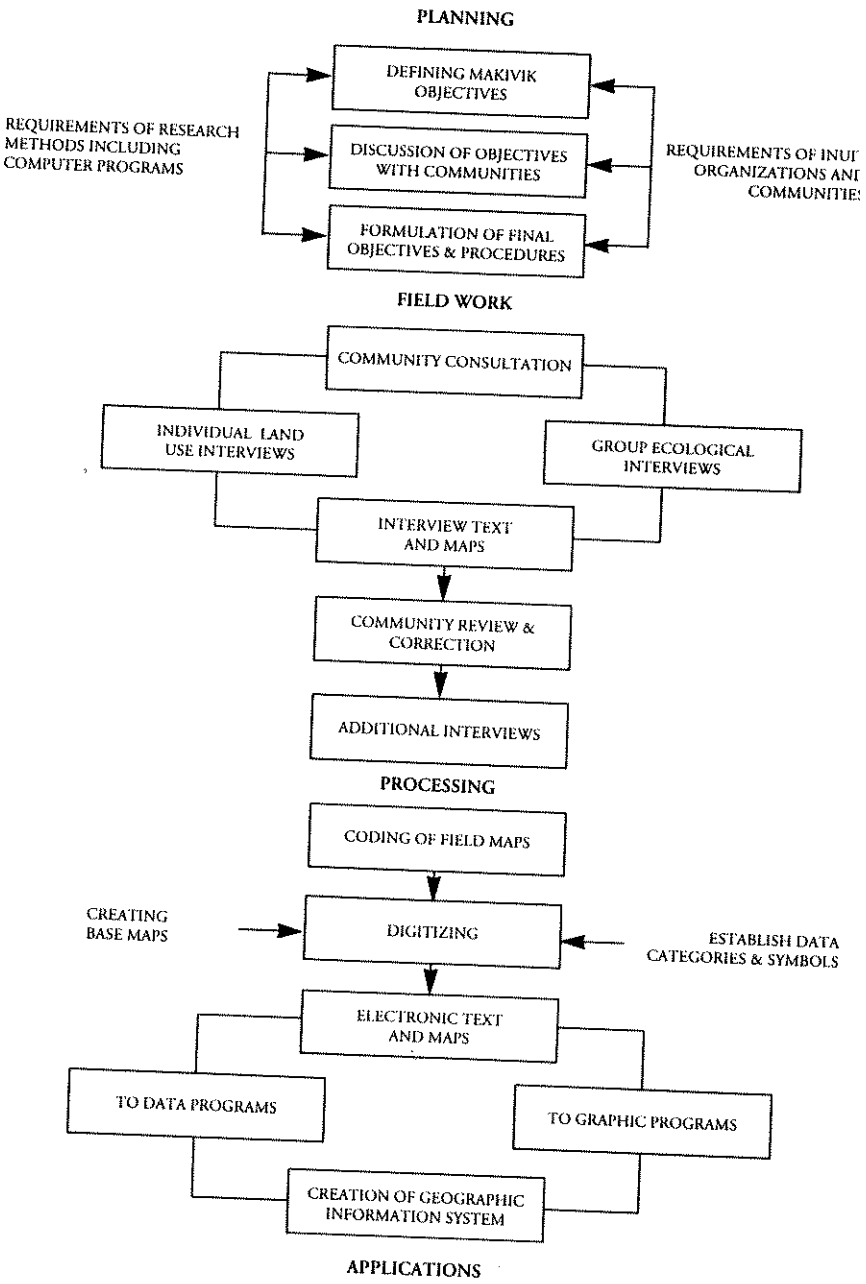


Figure 1.3 Creating a Land Use and Ecological Knowledge Data Base

knowledge. A more detailed description of the Research Department, the data base and the computer-based mapping system is provided in Annex 1. The organization of the research process that eventually gave rise to the land use and occupancy data base is illustrated and explained in Figure 1.3.

All data on Inuit land use and ecological knowledge presented in this report was collected and analyzed by the Makivik Research Department between the years 1974 and 1990. Table 1.1 lists the most relevant studies for the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Primary information was collected through individual hunter interviews on past and present land use patterns and through individual and group interviews on Inuit knowledge about the ecology, environment, history, living sites and travel routes of this territory. Additional information on the Inuit occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula has been drawn from published and unpublished documents, archive records, and from discussions with archeologists and other researchers who have worked extensively in this region. The topics covered include pre-history; ethnology and family history; and the history of outside contact and culture change including recent events of social, economic and political development.

Over the past ten years the Avataq Cultural Institute has played a role in the expansion of the Nunavik data base especially for topics on archeology and cultural-history. Avataq is responsible for all archeological research in Nunavik either through their own field projects or through the review of projects submitted by outside organizations. In addition to archeology, Avataq has been mandated to oversee the collection of information on the culture and history of Nunavik, and to make this data available through the establishment of a photo library and archive. The integration of data from the Makivik Research Department with that from Avataq serves to strengthen the available information on land use and occupancy in Nunavik, including the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The land use and occupancy data base that is presented in this report includes the following seven units of information.

Archeological Data. Data on the archeology of Nunavik including the Québec-Labrador peninsula that is accessible through the published and unpublished reports or through the actual collection of artifacts at Avataq Cultural Institute. General maps of site locations and specific maps of site analysis are also on file at Avataq. For the Québec-Labrador peninsula, certain of these site location maps have been incorporated into the computerized data base of the Makivik Research Department. Additional archeological information of direct importance to land use on the peninsula and coastal islands is available from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. and from theses and reports that describe archeological work along the Labrador coast, including Killiniq Island. At the

TABLE 1.1

THE MAKIVIK RESEARCH DEPARTMENT STUDIES (1974-1990) RELATED TO LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY OF THE QUÉBEC-LABRADOR PENINSULA BY THE INUIT OF NUNAVIK

HARVESTING STUDIES	
1974 - 1975	Harvest Study Phase 1 - All Communities
1975 - 1980	Harvest Study Phase 2 - All Communities
LAND USE AND ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE STUDIES	
1974	Land use and occupancy - Killiniq.
1975 - 1976	Land use and ecological knowledge study: Koksoak River and southern Ungava Bay
1977 - 1980	Collection of land use information as part of harvest calendar data
1982-1987	Beginning of systematic land use and ecological knowledge studies - all communities
1985	Land use and occupancy of the Québec-Labrador peninsula related to the proposed Taqpangayuk relocation
1985+	Inuit ecological knowledge study of the northeastern sector of the Québec-Labrador peninsula
1986	Field studies related to land use an occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik
1987	Field studies related to impacts of low-flying military aircraft on land use and ecology of the Québec-Labrador peninsula
BIOLOGICAL AND ECOLOGICAL RESOURCE STUDIES	
1980	Eider duck cooperative study - Eastern Ungava Bay coastal survey : Population biology, down production
1984	Killiniq fisheries project - Phase 1
1985	The Common Eider banding project in east Ungava Bay
1986	Killiniq fisheries project - Phase 2
1987	Killiniq fisheries project - Phase 3
1987	Offshore exploratory fisheries programme - Phase 1
1987+	Research programme to monitor experimental commercial Arctic Char (Salvelinus alpinus) fishery in the vicinity of Kangiqsualujjuaq
MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING STUDIES	
1980	The redevelopment of Killiniq
1981	Site potential for the relocation of Killiniq, Bell Inlet and Singer Inlet
1985	Feasibility study and community plan for a new community at Taqpangayuk for Killiniq resettlement
ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDIES	
1985	Archeological survey of the Singer Inlet area, northeastern Ungava Bay.
1986	Archeological survey of the airport study areas of the villages of Kangiqsujuaq, Quartaq and Kangiqsualujjuaq
1986	Archeological survey phase 1 of the east coast of Ungava Bay (Kangiqsualujjuaq to Abloviak Fiord)
1988+	International research project and Inuit archeological field school at the Nunaingok site.

present time, the most intensive archeological research has taken place along the northern coast of Labrador, and not along the Ungava coast. Very little survey work has been carried out in the interior areas including the major river valleys.

Cultural History Data. Data on the cultural history of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and for Nunavik is derived from several primary sources. These sources include the archives of the Moravian Missions, the oral history and historical photograph archives of the Avataq Cultural Institute, the oral and written interviews that form part of the Makivik land use and occupancy study, and the published and unpublished documents on the history of Nunavik that are available as documents or as references to documents in the Makivik Research Department or Avataq Cultural Institute. In terms of both research and publication on the historical period the situation is similar to that found in archeology in that much more work has been carried out for the Labrador sector of the peninsula.

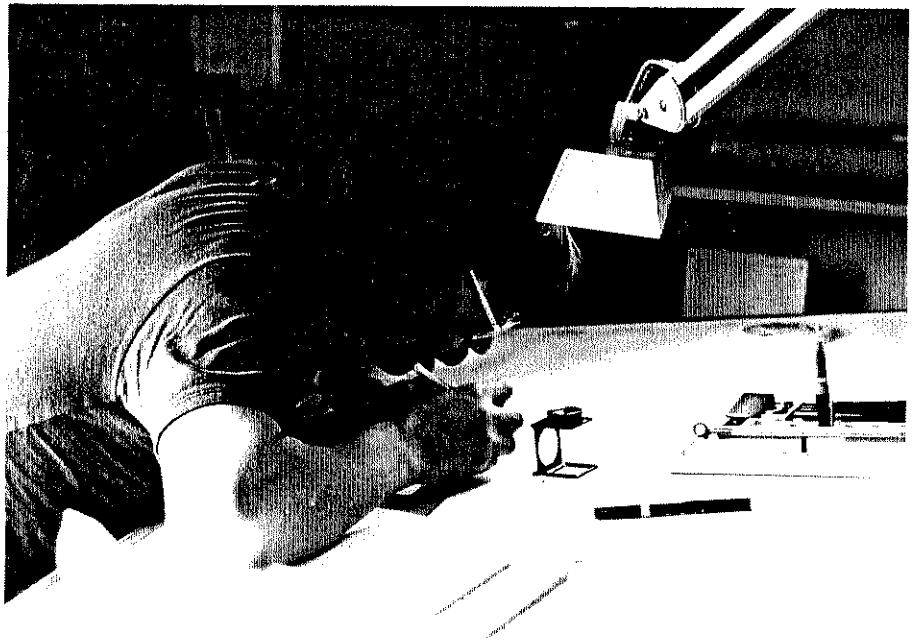
Land Use and Occupancy Data. Data on past and present land use and occupancy for the Québec-Labrador peninsula is available from three sources. In 1974 the *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study* for the Northwest Territories included interviews from all of the residents of Killiniq. The maps and written interviews from the 1974 Killiniq community study have now been transferred into the Makivik geographic information system and data base. In 1976 the Labrador Inuit Association carried out a similar land use and occupancy study for all Labrador Inuit communities. The information from this study is only available to Makivik Corporation through the published maps and community descriptions in *Our Footprints are Everywhere.* The third and most important land use study for the purpose of this Statement of Claim was carried out by the Makivik Research Department. From 1975 to 1990. This study includes additional data collected from other Makivik sponsored research that had a land use and ecological knowledge component. In preparation of this Statement of Claim, original land use and occupancy interviews carried out by Makivik were reviewed and updated by hunters of Kangirsualujjuaq and former residents of Killiniq. All of the Makivik land use information has been entered into the geographic information system.

Environmental Knowledge Data. Data on Inuit knowledge about the environment and ecology of the Québec-Labrador peninsula was collected as part of the long-term Makivik land use and occupancy study. The Makivik study represents the first time that this type of indigenous knowledge has been systematically collected on maps and in written form. This data base provides essential information for explaining patterns of settlement and land use, and the existence of this knowledge is, in itself, a statement of occupancy. All of the environmental and ecological data from the interviews is now being added to the geographic information system and will form part of the computerized data base.

Harvesting Data. Data on Inuit harvesting is available for the Inuit of Nunavik who utilized the Québec-Labrador peninsula through the results of a five year study (1976-1980) on levels of harvesting. This study was carried out by the Makivik Research Department in cooperation with the federal and provincial governments, Hydro-Québec and the James Bay Development and Energy Corporations as part of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. It represents the first long-term systematic collection of harvesting information. Along with other applications, the results of this study can be used to confirm the importance of harvesting and to suggest the productivity of land use patterns that are illustrated on the maps for land use and occupancy. All harvesting information has been entered into the data base. Although the figures derived from the harvest study have not yet been updated, this information is still accepted as an accurate "picture" of productivity from land use.

Family History Data. Data on family history used in this study has been obtained primarily through the life history interviews that were collected as part of the Nunavik land use and occupancy study. Information on family history, geography and genealogy available from the Makivik land use study has been expanded through information derived from independent ethnographic studies for the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Life history information for all hunters, has been incorporated into the geographic information system and computerized data base for the production of individual or regional cultural maps. A total of 59 family units that cover a time span from approximately 1920 to the present are available for the peninsula.

Regional Development Data. Data on the economic and social development of the region has been collected as part of a series of research projects on various topics related to issues such as the closing and potential relocation of Killiniq; the inland fishery development of the east coast of Ungava Bay; and the offshore fishery development that would be centered at the former community of Killiniq. Where appropriate, information from these studies has been incorporated into the Makivik geographic information system. For the most part, however, these studies must be used in their report form.



Developing the Land Use and Ecological Knowledge Maps.

- the interview.
- discussing the meaning of the mapped data
- creating the base maps for land use and ecological knowledge data base.

Summary of Findings

Information pertaining to the six areas identified by the Office of Comprehensive Claims of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has been reviewed and analysed. The findings from this analysis enables each area of concern to be addressed within the framework of the comprehensive claim to Labrador's lands and offshore waters by the Inuit of Nunavik.

The data considered most relevant for this Statement of Claim has been drawn from the findings of the Makivik Corporation land use and occupancy study. The maps, life histories and environnemental-ecological knowledge collected from these interviews establish a clear record of occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit that now live in Nunavik. It is this clearly defined record of occupancy derived from the same type of study carried out earlier in Labrador and in all Inuit communities of the Northwest Territories, that Makivik Corporation considers to be most relevant for validating their comprehensive claim to Labrador. The methodology that underlies this study is available for review and all of the generalizations presented in this report can be supported by levels of data that increase in detail.

•Archeological data helps define geographically and culturally the time depth of occupancy and it establishes the fact that a cultural area linking the coast of Labrador with both the eastern and western sectors of Ungava Bay, was a reality from the very earliest period of settlement that began almost 4000 years ago.

•Findings from the historical period demonstrate that contact intensified movement to and use of, the Labrador area by Inuit of Ungava Bay. They also illustrate that even though land use patterns were determined by a range of factors that could not be as easily controlled by Inuit, these factors did not lead to a breakdown of the long standing patterns of land use and occupancy.

•Data on the social organization and family groups help explain one of the key mechanisms of land use and occupancy especially when placed within the framework of family histories of Nunavik Inuit. This data on social linkages continues to be a fundamental element of land use choices and patterns even though contact with non-Inuit institutions brought about new objectives and established different types of controls.

•The history of Killiniq clearly demonstrates the importance of this settlement for maintaining a year round occupation in the northern sector of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. As a consequence, this fact helps to explain why the reestablishment of a community in northeastern Ungava Bay remains so critical to the Inuit of Nunavik. The history of Killiniq also supports the fact that the movement of families from western Ungava to the eastern shore of Ungava and to Killiniq in the early 1960's was not a new phenomena, but rather part of a well established and age-old pattern of occupancy.

From all the data now available it is possible to summarize the utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik in reference to the six areas identified in the July 4, 1991, letter to Makivik Corporation from the Office of Comprehensive Claims .

Prehistoric Land Use Patterns

Archeological evidence presently available from excavations and surveys of the Québec-Labrador peninsula can be used to establish at a reasonable level of confidence, the patterns of settlement and land use for each stage of adaptation that defines the prehistoric occupation of this cultural region. The primary adaptive stages are defined as Independance 1,pre-Dorset, Dorset, Thule and Modern Inuit. The first ancestral Inuit arrived about 4000 years ago (3800 B.C.). From that time on the peninsula has been occupied by a succession of adaptations that are regional expressions of the cultural designations applied to the various stages of Inuit adaptation throughout the eastern Canadian arctic.

The early occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, represents the spread of a population that, over time, gave rise to a distribution of people and settlements that helped establish a cultural core area that extended from Labrador to southeastern Hudson Bay. Within this broad zone, regional adaptations developed as a reflection of local resource and environmental conditions while maintaining what archeologists often refer to as the "broad commonality of arctic cultures." The most culturally and geographically relevant context for understanding the pre-historic movement of people and social interconnections for the settlement areas of the Québec-Labrador peninsula included a zone that stretched from the coast of Labrador north from Hamilton Inlet to the Button Islands, south along the east coast of Ungava Bay to the Whale River area and then west as far as Diana Bay. It is within this expanded cultural area that pre-historic Inuit established the first definable network of settlements and associated hunting territories that were in turn interconnected by travel routes. Although further archeological evidence must be collected, it can be assumed that settlement, travel routes and land use utilized the major river valleys that linked coastal and inland zones of occupation in more recent times.

It is within this region that the most frequent movement of people, materials and ideas between Labrador and Ungava Bay took place. From this

perspective it must be concluded that the prehistoric populations of the Québec-Labrador peninsula were never isolated from one another. They had their own territories but these territories were interconnected through many mechanisms. The Québec-Labrador peninsula formed what the archeologist Cox (1978:116) referred to as an "interaction area" A term he defined "as a region in which geographic, environmental, economic and social variables were able to influence the direction and extent of cultural communication between settlement and thus between land use areas." The archeologist Maxwell (1976:5) also discusses the importance of contact within and between settlement and land use areas. In his discussion of core areas of pre-historic cultural development, Maxwell noted that "over considerable geographic space there appears to have been such a high degree of interaction and information exchange that even minor stylistic shifts moved rapidly through the network".

Contact History and Land Use

Information about the impact of historical events on the occupation of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik, has been collected for analysis from archival sources and from the published and unpublished reports of ethnohistorians. Life history information obtained as part of the Nunavik land use and occupancy study also provides a description of the response by Inuit to the differing types and conditions of contact as defined in settlement and land use patterns. Data on cultural history illustrates that the contacts between Inuit of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and outsiders had a profound effect on the life and adaptive strategies of the various social and territorial groups that stretched from Labrador to western Ungava. Most importantly, the data indicates that this contact resulted in an intensification of movement to, and in the expansion of land use in, Labrador by the Inuit of Ungava, especially in the early stages of contact. This intensification was brought about by the fact that the first sites of missions and trading stations were on the Labrador coast and thus drew people from west to east.

Contact that would have an immediate effect on patterns of land use and occupancy for the central and northern sectors of the peninsula began in the early 1770s when the Moravians first established a permanent mission at Nain. From that time forward there was a complex history of openings and closings of additional mission stations for trade as well as religious objectives; of eventual long-term competition between Moravians and the Hudson Bay Company (after 1831); and of shorter term competition with the Anglican church and other smaller trading and fishing interests.

Once missions and trading posts were established, the more stable economic base of land use patterns became much more "fluid", primarily because of the influence of trade and the development of trade related patterns of seasonal activity. From 1770 until 1830 all of the mission and trading stations were on the Labrador coast, a fact that drew a movement of Inuit from west to east and then south along the Labrador coast. At this time the pattern of occupancy also reflected divisions between the "heathen Eskimos" of Ungava and the "Christian Eskimo" of central Labrador.

Although the original idea of the Moravians may have been to "centralize and settle" the Inuit by reducing their need for mobility, the end result, on a region wide basis, had the opposite effect. Kaplan (1980). Long distance travel became more frequent, especially within the framework of the geographic and cultural area that stretched from the Labrador coast to western Ungava. The west to east "pull" was modified after 1830 when the Hudson Bay Company established a post near Kuujjuaq and later near Kangirsualujjuaq. The attraction of Inuit from the Ungava region to the northern area of the Québec-Labrador peninsula was,however, intensified by the development of Killiniq as a trading post and mission in 1904. This encouraged and reinforced another "eastward pull" from in Ungava to Killiniq. This in turn, served to reinforce a series of overlapping north-south land use areas along both the eastern Ungava and Labrador coasts. It was this pattern and focus as clearly defined on the individual hunter maps that formed the basis of the land use and occupancy patterns that have been established through the Makivik study. Geneological information for Killiniq in the 1960's clearly demonstrates that this western or Ungava influence persisted and gave rise to the modern Killiniq.

Family History and Social Linkages

Information on family histories and on the social relationships of individuals and family groups that occupy the peninsula are available from two primary sources. Family histories were collected as an integral part of each individual land use and occupancy interview in the 1974 research and in the studies carried out in the 1980s. Certain references to family relationships are available from these interviews but for the most part the emphasis was on family history and on determining the specific living sites that were an integral part of this history for every family unit. For the most part these family histories, when coupled with living sites and land use areas, are a much more precise indicator of occupancy than are genealogical linkages.

The important information drawn from kinship relates to the way in which family units and larger social groups were organized in relationship to the utilization of specific territorial units. It was, and in many instances still is, the social linkages that enabled people or family groups to move and for larger social

groups to overlap their local areas of land use to form larger, yet socially integrated, areas of land use and occupancy. This fact describes the situation that existed throughout the Québec-Labrador peninsula and the adjacent territory to the west. Small settlements were connected to other small settlements to form land use areas and these areas were interconnected with each other to form still larger areas. Each area had an independence but also an interconnectivity, and it is this inter-connectivity upon which the utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik is anchored in space and in time.

The primary conclusion that can be drawn from family histories and kinship is that there was a well-established network of coastal living sites and seasonal inland sites that extended across the entire peninsula. These living sites were interconnected by a network of travel routes. In earlier times living sites represented the central point of family territory and they identified the associations between family units in a way that could establish interconnected social networks usually defined in the anthropological literature as "bands". The social and territorial definition of these bands was flexible but there was enough persistence in the areas utilized to allow for well defined patterns of occupancy to develop and be maintained.

Both pre-historic and historic Inuit could travel by boat across the waters of Ungava Bay to its eastern coast. From there, boat travel was possible north to Killiniq and south towards the present settlement of Nain. At the same time, the inland river valleys of the Québec-Labrador peninsula were used as routes of travel between the eastern and western sectors of the peninsula, and as noted above, Killiniq island served as the major northern area of settlement that supported land use patterns along both coasts. The early formation and persistence of this cultural area that bridged the historic and pre-historic period was first described and documented by the ethnographer Lucien Turner who visited the region in 1882. From his interviews with Inuit about the primary social groupings and interactions between groups he was able to establish a broad social and territorial affiliation that stretched from the Labrador coast west to the Leaf River.

Land Use and the Claim Map

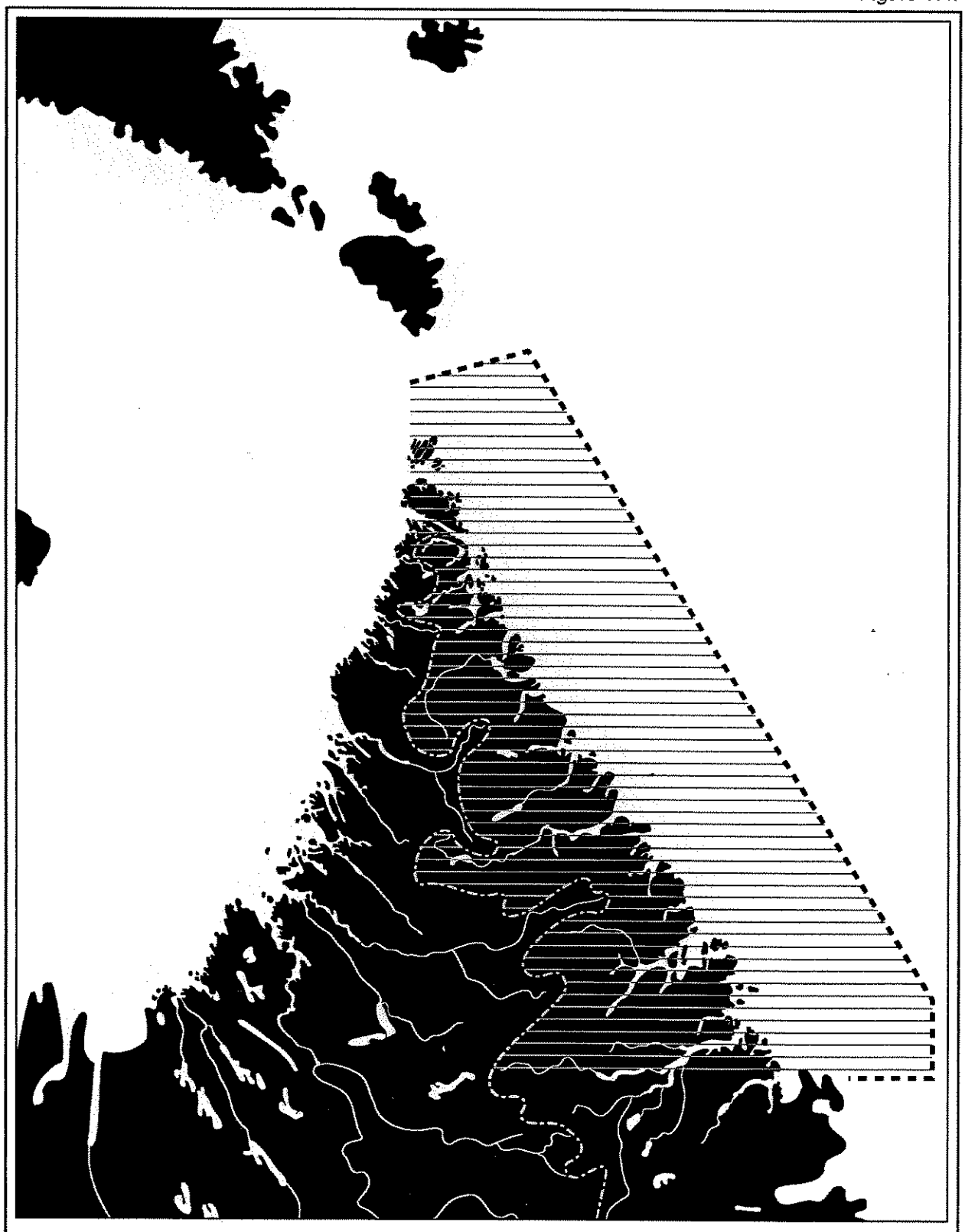
A map of the comprehensive claim is illustrated in Figure 1.4. This map represents a composite of all land use and occupancy information developed for the Inuit of Nunavik. In this comprehensive Statement of Claim, the land use patterns that are considered most relevant for establishing the extent and validity of occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik have been established through a long term study that can be evaluated in terms of the study design, the methodology used for interviewing and data processing, and in terms o results based on these identifiable criteria and procedures.

The time frame of these interviews extends from the early 19 although some of the oldest informants refer to earlier years, and continue t present time. They thus connect with the historical events that shaped the hi of contact which in turn are linked to the conditions that gave rise to the historic patterns of land use and occupancy. When looked at over time, the possible conclusion that can be drawn is that the land use patterns of today are of this very long-term process and that it is important to focus on the continu this process, in spite of occasional shifts in or changes of the territory Although particular ecological conditions or historical events can have a st influence on the shaping of short-term patterns of land use and occupancy it long-term regional patterns that define the commitment to territory. The cl of Killiniq and the subsequent inability for Inuit of Nunavik to have regular a to the most northerly and easterly sectors of the original cultural area, repre this type of historical event.

The long-term patterns are clearly evident on the series of maps tha presented in this report. The maps show a land use pattern that extends fro area to the southeast of the present-day settlement of Kangirsualujjuaq, nor the Killiniq region and then along the Labrador coast to an area south o present-day community of Nain. In more recent times the northern area c coast formed the primary region of seasonal occupancy for the Inuit of Nur Land use along the coastal zone of Ungava Bay and Labrador was interconn by the use of the interior; a use that was structured by the large river and systems that gave access to the inland areas and facilitated overland movemer people between the coasts.

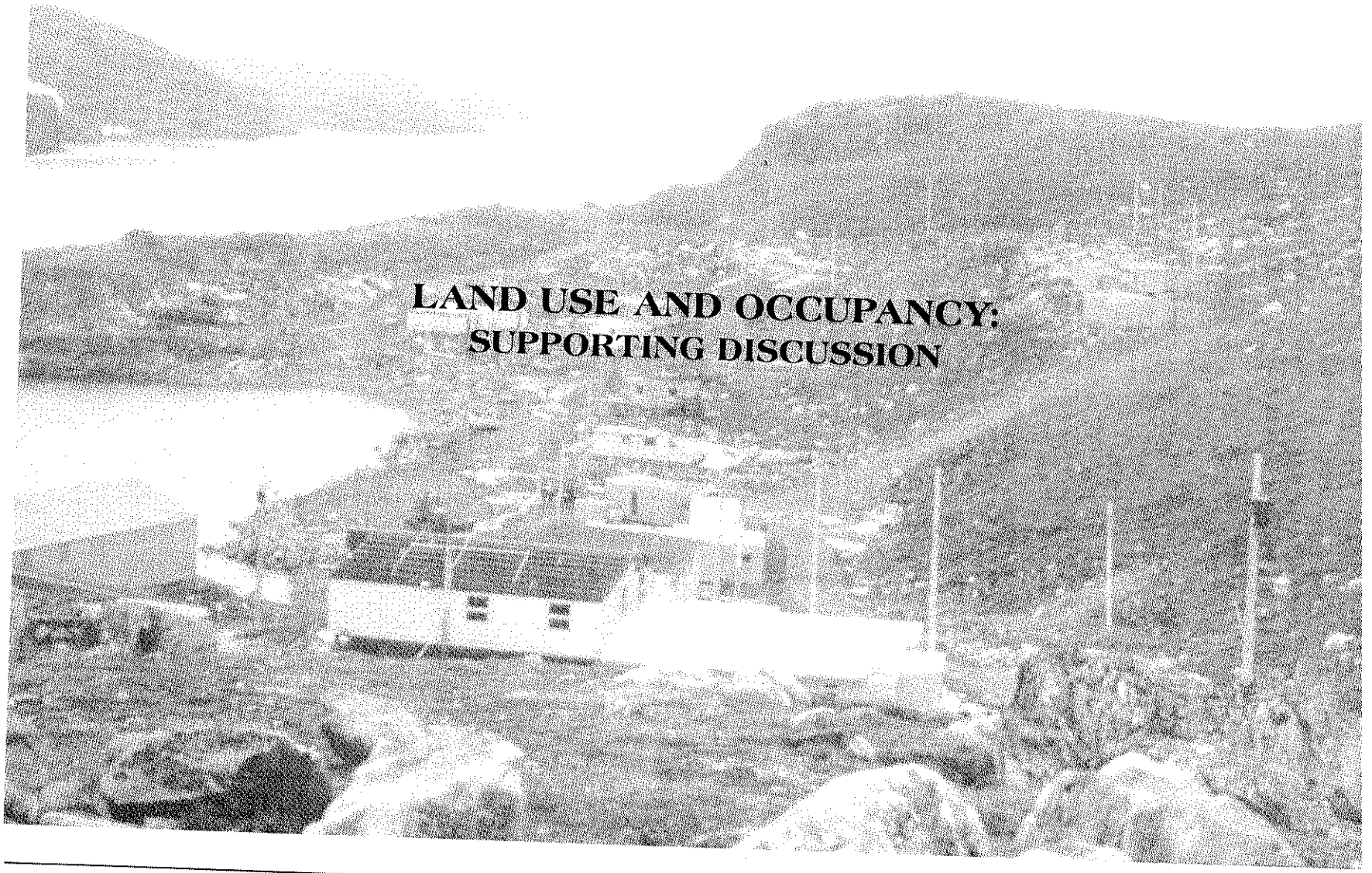
The cultural adaptation to this physical geographical setting is not reflected in the land use patterns but also in the structure of travel routes and sites that underlie and support the broad land use patterns. The primary concl that can be drawn from the composite land use maps, is that patterns of lan and occupancy represent a broadly based response to the always changing e that define the ecological, cultural, historical and economic conditions of Inu on the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The reality of this response is that lan patterns are built up over extended periods of time. Within any one time p however, there are many localized and even regional fluctuations in the cond that underlie cultural adaptation and these fluctuations are, in turn, reflected i patterns of land use and occupancy. From this perspective the idea of consister land use incorporates the reality of changes, shifts, and fluctuations in the utili of territory and resources by both local and regional groups.

Figure 1.4.



THE CLAIM BOUNDARY

APPROX. 1:2.592.000



LAND USE AND OCCUPANCY:
SUPPORTING DISCUSSION

Two primary sources of archeological information have been reviewed for this Statement of Claim. The first is the published and unpublished reports of site excavations and surveys of the peninsula and adjacent areas of Nunavik. The second source of information is derived from discussions with archeologists that have been directly involved in field work and analysis of the cultural history of the region. A list of references on the prehistory of the region is provided in Annex 4.

At the present time, most archeological fieldwork and analysis has focused on sites located along the coast of Labrador and on Killiniq Island. Considerably less survey work and excavation have been undertaken on the Ungava coast and no extensive surveys have been conducted for the interior river valleys or plateaus. As a result, it may appear as though the Labrador coast was more actively used in prehistoric times than was the coastal zone and inland areas for the Ungava side of the peninsula. Until more survey work is carried out along the Ungava coast from Killiniq south to Kangirsualujjuaq, it should be assumed that the bias towards Labrador is a function of the available information rather than a function of the reality of prehistoric settlement and land use patterns.

The archeological staff of Avataq Cultural Institute supports the assumption that the data now available gives a false impression about the extent of settlement and land use on the western side of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Prior to 1986, the area from Killiniq to Kangirsualujjuaq had never been surveyed. Since that time preliminary surveys have been completed for the east coast of Ungava Bay with the purpose of locating historical sites and establishing an overview of the archeological potential for selected areas. Additional preliminary surveys were completed near Taqpangayuk. As a result of these surveys, approximately 25 areas of high archeological potential and 40 specific sites have been identified. In the area of Keglo Bay alone a single zone of archeological potential contains 80 dwellings of early Inuit origin. The importance of this fact is noted in the following statement.

> It would be completely incorrect to assume that the east coast of Ungava Bay was not intensively settled during prehistoric times. In fact I feel quite confident that once we are able to carry out more surveys we will be overwhelmed with sites. I am sure that the density and richness of sites will exceed what is now across the peninsula on the Labrador coast. Especially the early or pre-Dorset sites are generally much more extensive and impressive in other parts of Nunavik than they are on the Labrador coast and I am sure that we will find the same thing to be true on the east coast of the Ungava once the surveys are carried out. (Ian Badgley, Avataq Cultural Institute per com. April 13, 1992).

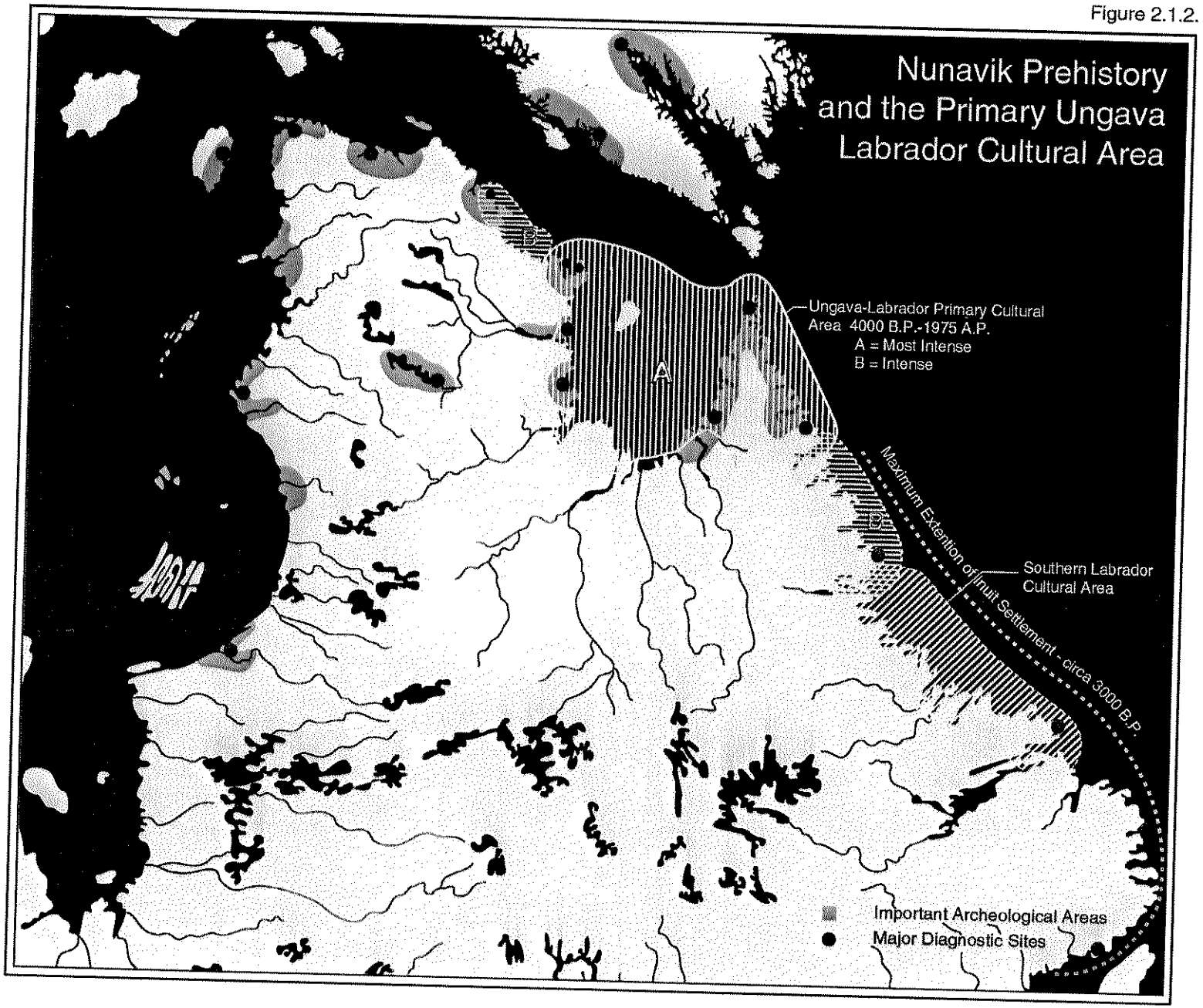
Although the emphasis of this section of the report is on the prehistoric utilization of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, it must be understood from the outset, that the cultural history of the peninsula as a specific region cannot be easily separated from questions concerned with the origin and development of Inuit culture in Nunavik as a whole. It is this larger setting, and particularly the area of Ungava Bay that forms the most relevant cultural context for understanding the occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and its offshore waters by the Inuit of Nunavik.

All of the major adaptations that define Inuit pre-historic cultures, as described in the archeological literature, can be found along the Labrador and Ungava Bay coast. Although the most persistent area of prehistoric settlement and land use extended north from Hamilton Inlet to Killiniq and then south past Kangirsualujjuaq, Inuit occupation once extended as far south as the Strait of Belle Isle. A generalized time frame for the cultural development of the Québec-Labrador peninsula within the larger context of Nunavik is provided in Figure 2.1.3. The cultural sequences by geographic zone give an indication of the cultural complexity for the entire area of Inuit occupation of the Labrador and Ungava regions. The general outline of the cultural area that emerged during paleo-Inuit times is shown on Figure 2.1.2. When the archeological designation shown in the regional sequences are translated into actual descriptions of prehistoric adaptations and the land use required to support these adaptations, then it becomes obvious that the entire region was actively utilized. It also becomes obvious when reviewing the time scale of events, that this broadly based utilization kept evolving into new forms of adaptation to the lands and resources of Nunavik and Labrador.

The pre-history of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and the larger area of Nunavik can be divided into two general phases of cultural development. Phase 1 is characterized by a progression of adaptations that are referred to as the paleo-Inuit occupation. This occupation began with the first settlement of the region and includes what archeologists define as the pre-Dorset and Dorset adaptations. More recent interpretations of house structures and other archeological evidence indicates that what has generally been defined as early pre-Dorset may well be more representative of what is considered to be an even earlier Inuit adaptation known as Independence 1.

Phase 2 is represented primarily by the Thule adaptation which, in its various manifestations, is sometimes referred to as Neo-Inuit. There is not yet adequate data to clarify the relationship between the later stages of the paleo-Inuit adaptation and the early stages of the Thule adaptation. Logic would suggest that Inuit of the Thule culture sometimes replaced, sometimes merged with, and sometimes coexisted with paleo-Inuit adaptations but eventually the earlier cultural levels were replaced by the Thule adaptation. What is clear from both archeological and early historical descriptions is that it was Thule Inuit who came into contact with Europeans and as such, they are the immediate ancestors to the present day Inuit of the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

Figure 2.1.2.


Nunavik Prehistory
and the Primary Ungava
Labrador Cultural Area
Ungava-Labrador Primary Cultural
Area 4000 B.P.-1975 A.P.
A = Most Intense
B = Intense
A
B
B
Maximum Extention of Inuit Settlement - circa 3000 B.P.
Southern Labrador
Cultural Area
Important Archeological Areas
Major Diagnostic Sites

An interpretation of archeological evidence now on hand, indicates that the first settlement of Nunavik resulted from two population movements. The earliest, and the one most relevant to the interpretations put forward in this report, took place approximately 3800 years ago (1800 B.C) when the Québec-Labrador peninsula was first settled by Inuit groups that may well have migrated from

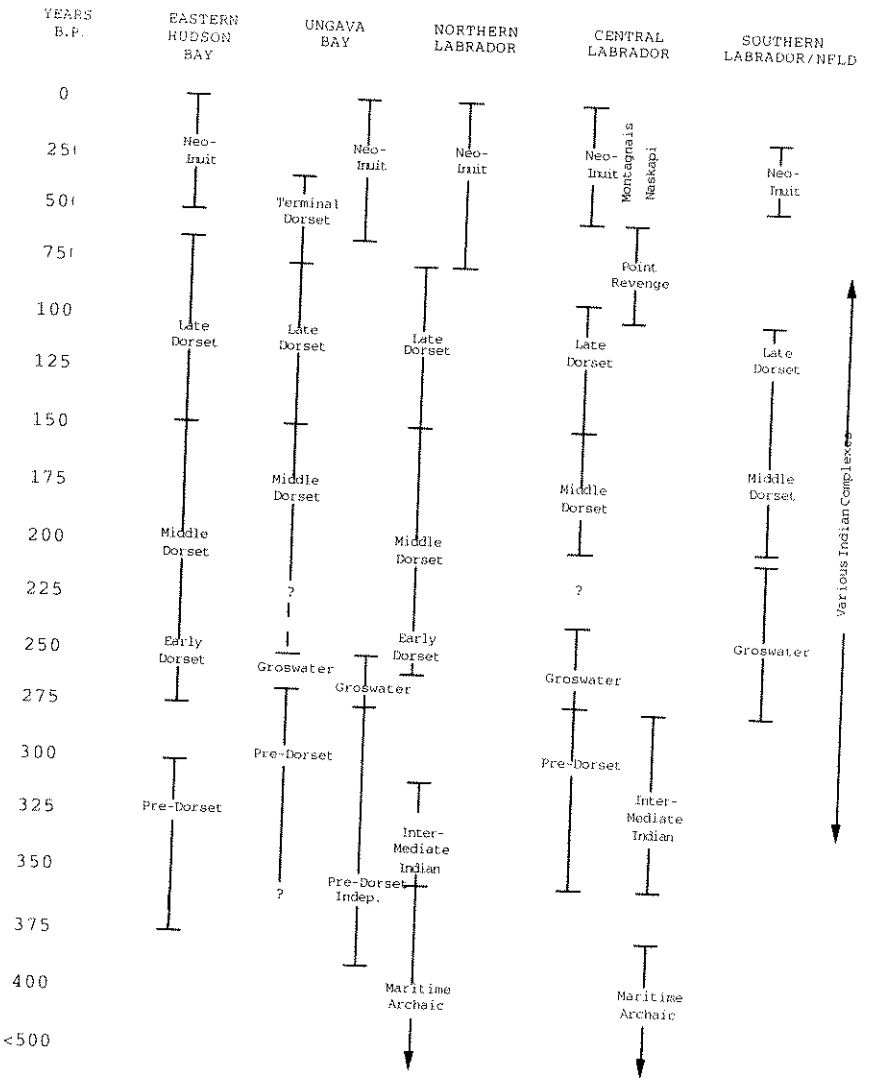


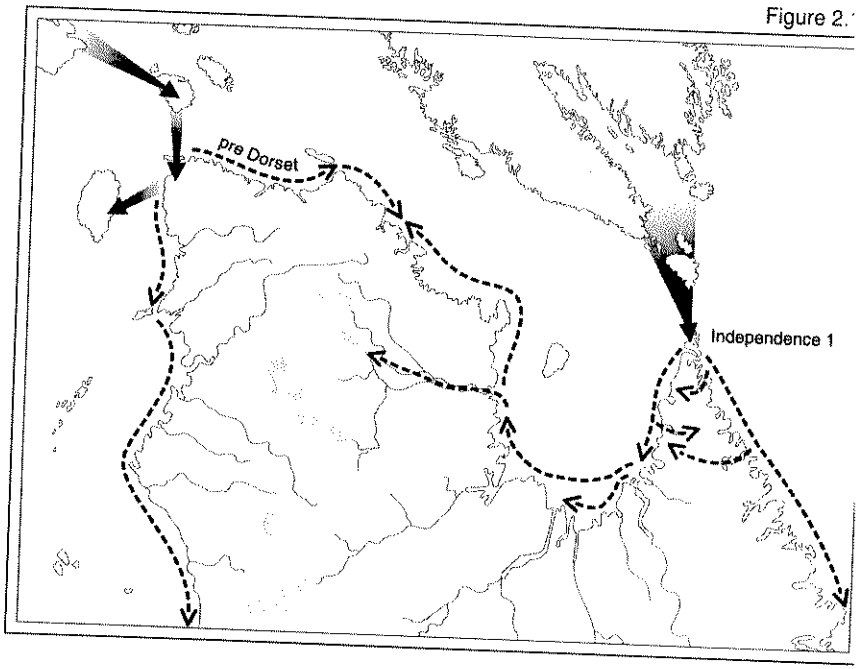
Figure 2.1.3

southern Baffin Island to the Killiniq area. The route of migration into the r is yet to be fully substantiated by archeological material or dating. Although is a major archeological site known as Nunangak (JcDe-1) located on Ki Island, it has not yet produced a clear indication of the earliest inhabitants. date, no systematic archeology has been carried out on the Button Islands whi just to the north of Killiniq.

This population then spread south along the Labrador coast and we the coast of Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait, as far as Diana Bay and perhaps t vicinity of the present-day community of Kangirsujuaq. This popula movement and subsequent settlement was by an adaptation that has generally referred to as pre-Dorset but which has characteristics that are very similar to, may well be representative of Independence 1. Figure 2.1.4 illustrates the or and possible direction of movements for the first phase of occupancy. following statement describes why archeologists consider that the Ungava Bay Labrador area form part of a much larger cultural region.

> The broad continuities that existed at the first stage of occupation between the Labrador coast and the west coast of Ungava Bay are illustrated by a site in Diana Bay referred to as Diana-3 (KdDq-12) (JfEl-3) and by a site on the Labrador coast referred to as Dog Bight (HdCh-5), some 360 kilometers to the

Figure 2.

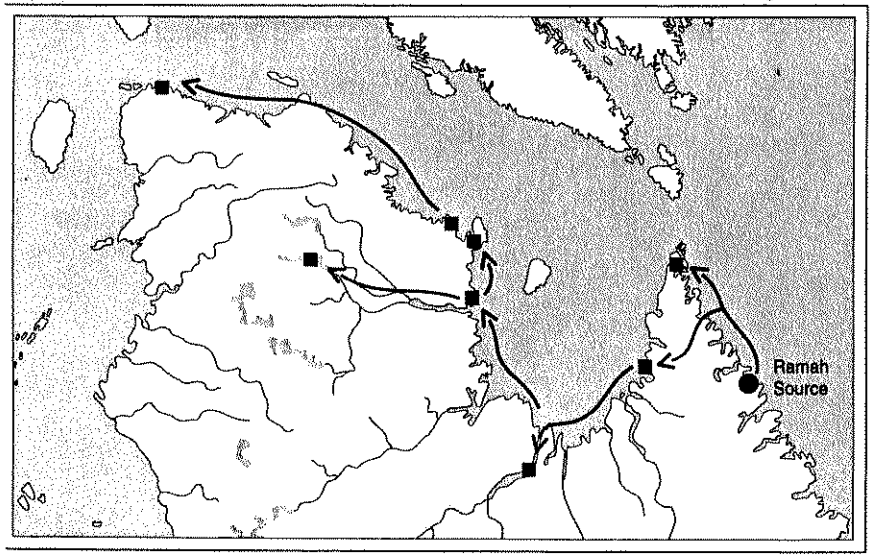


east. The Dog Bight site is dated at 1860 B.C. A date is not yet available for Diana-3, but the house patterns and tool assemblages of these two sites are extremely similar, with almost identical structures and artifacts. Although the Labrador site is officially classified as Pre-Dorset, its characteristics, especially in the light of more recent findings, indicate that it might well be representative of Independence 1. There is less than five centimeters difference in the dimensions of these two structures, their layout is the same, as are the tool types in terms of material, style, type of workmanship, and size. (Ian Badgley, Avataq Cultural Institute per. com. April 13, 1992).

The fact that there may have been a more rapid movement west rather than south from Killiniq during this earliest time period may well be attributed to the fact that central Labrador and parts of the northern coast of Labrador were occupied by a pre-historic Indian adaptation referred to as the Maritime Archaic. This adaptation spread as far north as Ramah Bay which is a valuable source of chert that was widely used for weapon and tool construction. It is this Ramah Bay chert that now provides an excellent diagnostic material which enables archeologists to determine the movement of people and cultural traditions from Labrador west into the Ungava Bay region. The range of distribution for Ramah chert from Labrador, is shown in Figure 2.1.5. The importance of exotic raw materials for demonstrating inter-regional contacts is explained in the following statement:

> Exotic raw materials like the relatively abundant Ramah chert show that relations with the Atlantic coast were well established during the earliest period of occupation. Few objects appear to originate from western sources, however, and thus there is no specific proof of relations with the Salluit and Hudson Bay region. A quick examination of the collection from the Hudson Strait south coast, west of Kangirsujuaq, as well as collections from Hudson Bay and south Baffin shows the presence of raw materials originating from Ungava and Labrador in small, discrete concentrations. This evidence seems to indicate the occurrence of regional groups which were in direct or indirect contact with the Ungava and Labrador groups. (Plumet, P., 1985: 151).

Figure 2.1.5.



The western sector of Nunavik was settled by another movement of people that entered the area from the west, probably by way of Nottingham and Salisbury Islands, which are referred to by the Inuit of Hudson Strait as "the stepping stones." This movement was by pre-Dorset Inuit and dates between 3700 and 3500 years ago. Pre-Dorset settlement then spread east towards Ungava Bay and south along the coast of Hudson Bay at least as far as the present-day community of Kuujjuaraapik. Evidence from archeology and culture history strongly suggests that the dates of these two paleo-Inuit migrations mark the beginning of an occupation of the Québec-Labrador peninsula and of Nunavik, that has continued until today.

There is much debate about the development of different phases within the larger cultural patterns that define the paleo-Inuit adaptation. It is known that the northern and central sectors of the Labrador coast are well represented by late pre-Dorset and all Dorset cultural levels. There is not a great abundance of pre-Dorset or Independence 1 sites in the northern sector of Labrador but this is probably a result of site erosion. These cultural levels are also found on Killiniq Island and it is certain that they will be identified on the north eastern Ungava Bay coast or coastal islands once archeological surveys are undertaken. The interpretation of archeological evidence has identified cultural levels and sequences that characterize the development of paleo-Inuit adaptation for the Québec-Labrador peninsula from about 3800 B.P. to around 1000 B.P. The nature of cultural complexity from the perspective of archeological interpretation is indicated in the following statement:

> Data from approximately 300 sites allows for a few tentative remarks about the culture history of the northern Labrador coast. For the most part, paleo-Inuit sites preceding the Middle Dorset period are absent north of Nachvak Fiord, which is probably due to the active erosion of most beach terraces. Middle Dorset populations were very large and may have approximated Thule/Labrador Inuit populations. Although Middle Dorset subsistence-settlement patterns are very similar to those of Thule, active whale hunting does not seem to have been practiced. A Middle to Late Dorset in situ evolution seems to have occurred on the Torngat coast, but Late Dorset sites are not nearly so numerous nor as intensively occupied as in the Middle Dorset period. Hence, data from paleo-Inuit sites from the Torngats seems to indicate an Independence 1 related Pre-Dorset to Groswater Dorset continuum, followed by an intrusive Hudson Bay "core area" Early Dorset which probably evolved directly into Middle and Late Dorset. (Jordan, R,. 1978: 4).

Emphasis on this complexity, however, should not mask the fact that there was a rigorous and sustained pattern of adaptation on the peninsula characterized by seasonal cycles that exploited the marine, land and fresh water ecosystems of localized regions. Though localized with respect to the economic cycle, they were linked together with respect to the larger regional social network that provided the context for cultural development within the Ungava Bay and Labrador area.

The development of paleo-Inuit adaptation continued until about 1000 to 800 B.P. (1000-1200 A.D.) when the Thule Inuit entered the region. The exact origins of the Thule movement is still not known but it most probably spread from western Nunavik to the eastern shore of Ungava Bay and from Killiniq south along the Labrador coast. Between 800-600 B.P. the Thule adaptation established itself along the coastal area of the Québec-Labrador peninsula with a pattern of settlement that was similar in distribution to the Dorset adaptation. Again Jordan, notes that:

> The Late Dorset/Thule transition still needs to be clarified. There is still little evidence of Late Dorset occupation after A.D. 1000 (and no refinement)... of initial occupation (of Thule) between A.D. 1200 and 1400. Extremely large winter villages, many of which were continuously occupied until the 19th or 20 century, were discovered in each fiord complex and whale hunting seems to have been an extremely important subsistence activity throughout the prehistoric and historic periods. (Jordan, R. 1978: 4.).

The Thule culture had a well defined pattern of settlement that was based on larger and more permanent winter settlements that were marked by well defined house types. On the Labrador and Ungava Bay coast large semi subterranean dwellings were used during the winter and the upper part of these dwellings were sometimes made of sod or, especially in Ungava, of skin. In the winter, snow houses could also be used and in the spring and summer skin tents were utilized at the seasonal camping sites. The general picture of Thule culture is one of larger communal groups in which the bounds of social structure were no doubt well established. The Thule adaptation for the Québec-Labrador peninsula emphasized, but was not completely dependent on, the harvest of marine resources including large baleen whales especially at Killiniq and the area immediately to the east and west. The harvest of these whales provided a greater abundance of food which is assumed to be one of the factors that enabled larger communities to emerge. It is also reasonable to assume that the amount of cooperation required for hunting large whales could not have existed unless there was a well established social system in place.

A reliance on large whales during certain parts of the year, especially late spring and early fall, was supplemented by a seasonal cycle that utilized smaller marine mammals harvested in open water, along the floe-edge or in small natural ice-free areas, and at the breathing hole. Open water sealing depended on the use of kayaks and the classic skin umiak of the Thule culture. The seasonal patterns of land use activities also included inland and coastal fisheries, again in the spring and in fall, which were in turn supplemented by the hunting of ducks and small, game as well as by collecting eggs, seaweeds and certain types of berries.

The maintenance of Thule patterns of land use and adaptation required, as it had for the paleo-Inuit cultures which preceded them and as it would for the historical Inuit that were to follow, a functional technology; a well established and active system of knowledge about the environment and its resources; and the existence of a social network. This social network had to function in a manner that allowed for individuals to be incorporated within a family structure, for these families to be recognized in terms of, but not bound to, specific territory; for family groups to be incorporated into local bands, again within the framework within recognized territory; and, finally, for local bands to be integrated within the larger social aggregate of a regional band.

The fact that there was a continued development of the family-based social structure in Thule times, along with the maintenance of hunting territories, meant that the technology of dog-sled, kayak and umiak could be productively used for moving between community areas. It is logical to assume that the extension of the social territory of the Thule Inuit extended westward well into the area of Nunavik which formed the cultural area of which the Québec-Labrador peninsula was the eastern extension. The focus of the Labrador coast westward does not mean there may well have been connections north to Baffin Island, but it is not realistic to assume that travel north from Killiniq across the waters of Hudson Strait would be practiced on a regular basis. The archeologist Kaplan suggests the following explanation for northern Labrador:

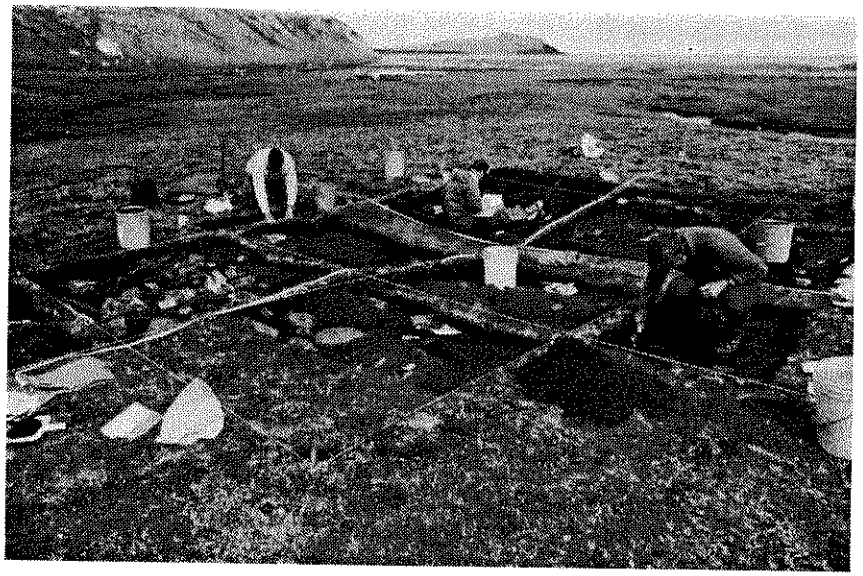
> The material culture, faunal remains, structures, and settlement patterns associated with Thule culture indicate that a people with a cultural tradition different from that of Late Dorset Eskimos entered the area some time between A.D. 1400 and A.D. 1500. Lack of data prevents determination of the newcomers' homeland, however, Baffin Island or Ungava Bay are likely points of origin.
>
> In all likelihood, Thule Inuit travelling by dog sled, umiak, and kayak, investigated sections of Labrador before settling in the area, or had knowledge of its resources through contacts with Late Dorset groups. The Thule people brought with them both finished tools and raw materials with which to fashion implements such as semi-lunar knives, single-bladed knives, endblades, drill bits, soapstone lamps, and soapstone pots. Initially, they may have maintained ties with their homeland. (Kaplan, S., 1983: 333-334).

Thule, or neo-Inuit culture gave rise to the more recent traditions and practices that characterize the last 300 years and which emerged and developed as a response to the increasing level of contact between Europeans and Inuit. Although the archeological record may not as yet be precise enough to define in detail, the genetic, linguistic, and cultural linkages between paleo and neo-Inuit people, it does clearly demonstrate the linkages between present day and Thule or neo-Inuit. There is also enough detail in the archeological record to illustrate the persistence of many cultural traits from paleo-Inuit times to the present. And no where is continuity more clearly defined as it is in the persistence of land use patterns.

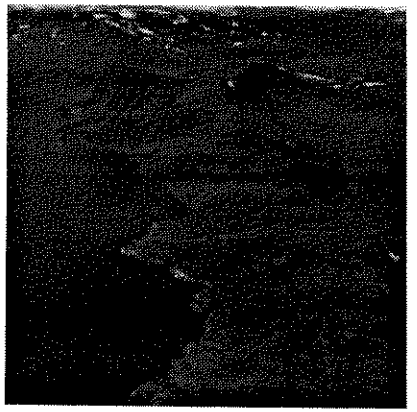
The 3700 years of independent cultural developments that characterize the land use and occupancy history of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is formerly imprinted on the land use patterns of the historical period and of today. When Inuit recall from their oral history the places, purposes and reasons associated with specific land use choices or when they describe their own experiences, they are, in reality, describing what has gone on since the earliest phase of occupation. Changes in the technology or in the social and economic objectives that underlie land use patterns did not destroy the fundamental nature of these patterns with respect to space, time and purpose.

Looking across Killiniq to Button Island

Nunaingok Site East Cove Area



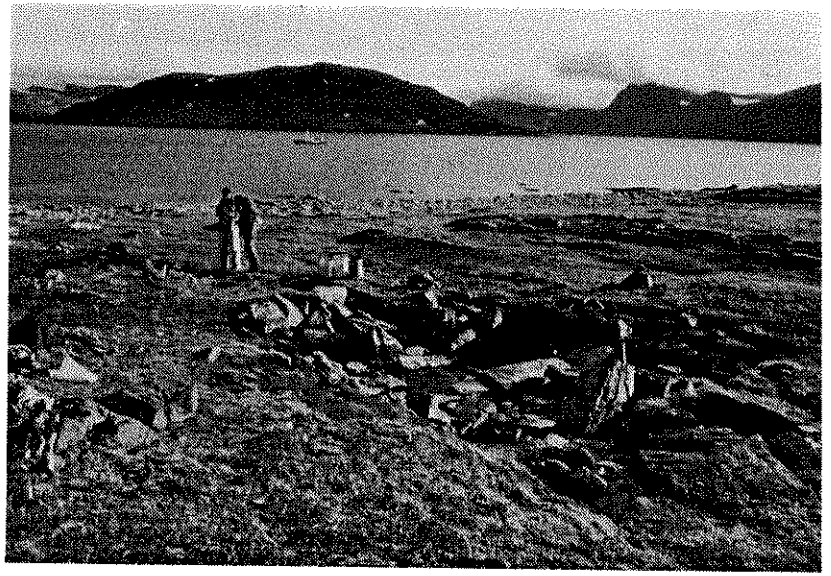
Eraly Dorset Site at Seven Island Bay



Ramah Chert Quarry

Ramah Bay

Thule Site at Staffe Island



Land Use in the Historical Period

It would be impossible to describe and analyze in detail, the impacts of almost 300 years of contact on the patterns of land use and occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. At times, the relationship between a contact event and a land use result was very direct, or it formed part of a "string of events" that worked their way through the land use system. At other times, however, the cause and effect relationship was much more complex, moving instead through the social, economic or ideological sectors of Inuit society before having an impact on land use patterns or practices. The analysis of contact-linked changes in land use and occupancy must consider, therefore, the consequences of both the direct and indirect events with respect to the way Inuit used the lands, waters and resources of the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

An outline of major events that had an impact on the utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik is presented in Figure 2.1.6. The events identified in this Figure provide a framework for analysis about why and how various types and conditions of contact are actually reflected in land use and occupancy. As well, the events represented in this Figure gives an indication that over time not only do the large and not so large events of contact accumulate into an accelerating and intensifying process of change, but many of these events also persist and rearrange themselves to form new combinations and therefore to create new types of impacts. Many of these impacts are reflected in the way Inuit utilize territory. One of the important general conclusions that can be drawn from an examination of findings for the land use studies that have now been completed in different regions of Inuit territory throughout Canada is that even though the reasons why, or the particular ways in which, Inuit use the land have changed significantly over time, the actual patterns that "encompass" this use have remained incredibly stable. This conclusion is certainly true throughout Nunavik, including the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

The earliest contacts took place from 1530 to 1650 and probably had little if any impact on Inuit living in northern Labrador-Ungava where, at that time, land use practices reflected the later stage of Thule culture. Throughout this period, it is logical to assume that the cultural area first established in Dorset times was still in use. This area, as noted earlier, extended from Nain north to the Button Islands, then west across Ungava Bay to near Kangirsujuaq. For the first two phases of the historical period (1530-1650; 1650-1770) this area provided the larger cultural and social context for the land use patterns linked directly to the Québec-Labrador peninsula (Figure 2.1.7).

By 1650 certain European trade goods introduced far to the south near Hamilton Inlet on the Labrador coast, may have found their way north towards

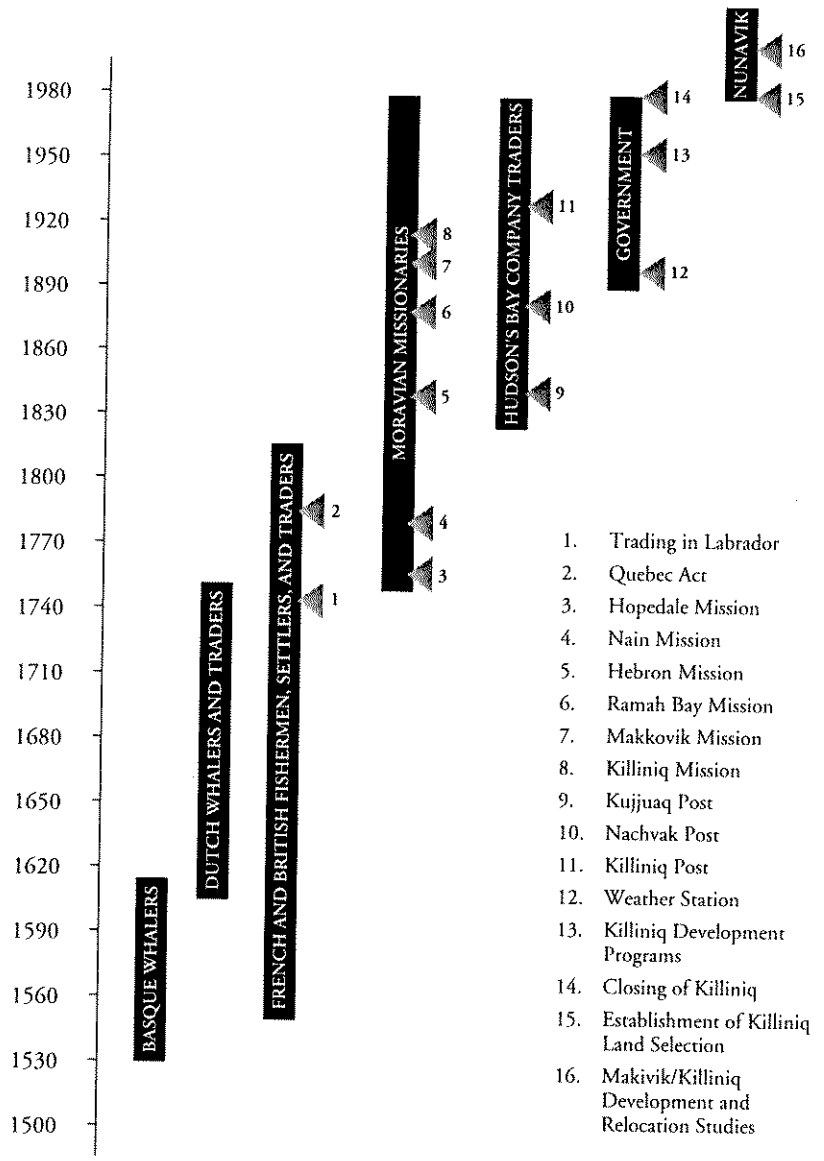


Figure 2.1.6

Killiniq and west into the Ungava Bay region. The movement of goods was part of the social interaction between local groups and the pathways of trade followed the coastal and inland routes of travel that linked these localized settlements and land use areas into the much larger regional network of occupancy. Certain types of trade goods were no doubt useful, and may have been accompanied by information about their source, but there is no indication that these materials created a demand strong enough to alter significantly traditional patterns of movement or land use. Over the next 120 years (1650-1770) there are indications that trade intensified to the point that it may have directly changed the way in which Inuit used the northern territory of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula, especially towards the final quarter of that 120 year period.

Some indications about the existence and possible impacts of trading relationships that may have had an influence on land use patterns in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik are available from research on the ethno-history of the region. Taylor (1974: 6), for example, states that:

> ...In 1694 Louis Jolliet explored the coast as far north as the Nain area and traded peacefully with the Eskimos he met at various localities north of Chateau Bay. By this time the Eskimos had already obtained many wooden boats of European manufacture (Delanglez 1944: 193).
>
> There is sufficient evidence to indicate that Eskimos were frequenting the coast as far south as the Gulf of St. Lawrence throughout the seventeenth century. However, the reports of this period do not specify whether these Eskimos were permanent residents of the south coast or whether they were "northerners" who returned home again during the winter.

After the establishment of the Moravian mission at Nain in 1771, there was for the first time, a source of contact within the geographic area that focused its activity on the northern sector of the peninsula. Between 1741 and 1830, trade was almost exclusively carried out through the mission stations as part of a policy to attract and then attach Inuit to the missions. From the point of view of the Moravians, the availability of trade goods was expected to reinforce change in the ideological, rather than to reshape the economic, sectors of Inuit society. Nevertheless, a changing ideology, especially when coupled with other policies and practices of the missionaries, did have important and long term impact on Inuit land use.

The actual situation that defined the relationship between missions and Inuit from the perspective of land use was no doubt very complex. The description by the historical archeologist Kaplan (1983) who in turn draws on the work of Whiteley (1964), Taylor (1974) and Hiller (1977), provides some insights about the activities, objectives and policies of the Moravians that gave rise to this complexity. The following passage taken from Kaplan (pp. 168-173) gives a background to the circumstances that started a chain of events which would eventually have a profound and continuing impact on the utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik.

> In 1769 the British Board of Trade granted the Moravians the right to occupy 100,000 acres of land in Labrador, with sole access to that land. The Moravians were given permission to live in Labrador year-round, to establish a mission in Labrador, and to conduct trade with the Eskimos (Whitely 1964: 42; Hiller 1971: 77-78; 1977: 84-85). The Moravians chose Nain as the location of the first station [in 1771].
>
> ...their efforts to contain the Eskimos north of non-Mission European establishments [i.e. Nain] were not entirely successful. This was in part due to the Mission's initial refusal to supply the Eskimos with firearms, which were in great demand. Therefore, the steady flow of traffic [south to trade] continued, such that by the late 1780's many Eskimos owned firearms and the missionaries reversed their policy (Taylor 1974: 9).
>
> The Moravians' presence in Labrador greatly altered the nature of European-Eskimo relations.... they lived among the Eskimos, or rather tried to get the Eskimos to live around the stations; they attempted to isolate Eskimos from contacts with other Europeans (and eventually separated heathen and Christian Eskimos); and they made contacts with natives through trading transactions.
>
> Faced with the difficulty of contacting Eskimos, the Mission decided to establish more stations. The brethren were awarded two additional land grants, each for 100,000 acres of land, under the same conditions set forth in the Nain land grant. This time the missionaries settled in areas known to support large fall and winter populations. In 1775 and 1777 they "purchased" first Okak lands and Hopedale lands...

Moravian Mission at Hebron

Other mission stations opened as the Moravians expanded north and south in order to contact additional groups of Eskimos and restrict the growing numbers of Canadian and American traders access to the main Eskimo population. Thus, Hebron opened in 1830, Zoar in 1866, Ramah in 1871, Makkovik in 1896, and Killinek in 1904. Attempts to open stations in Saglek and Nachvak fiords were abandoned, due to conflicts with the Hudson's Bay Company....

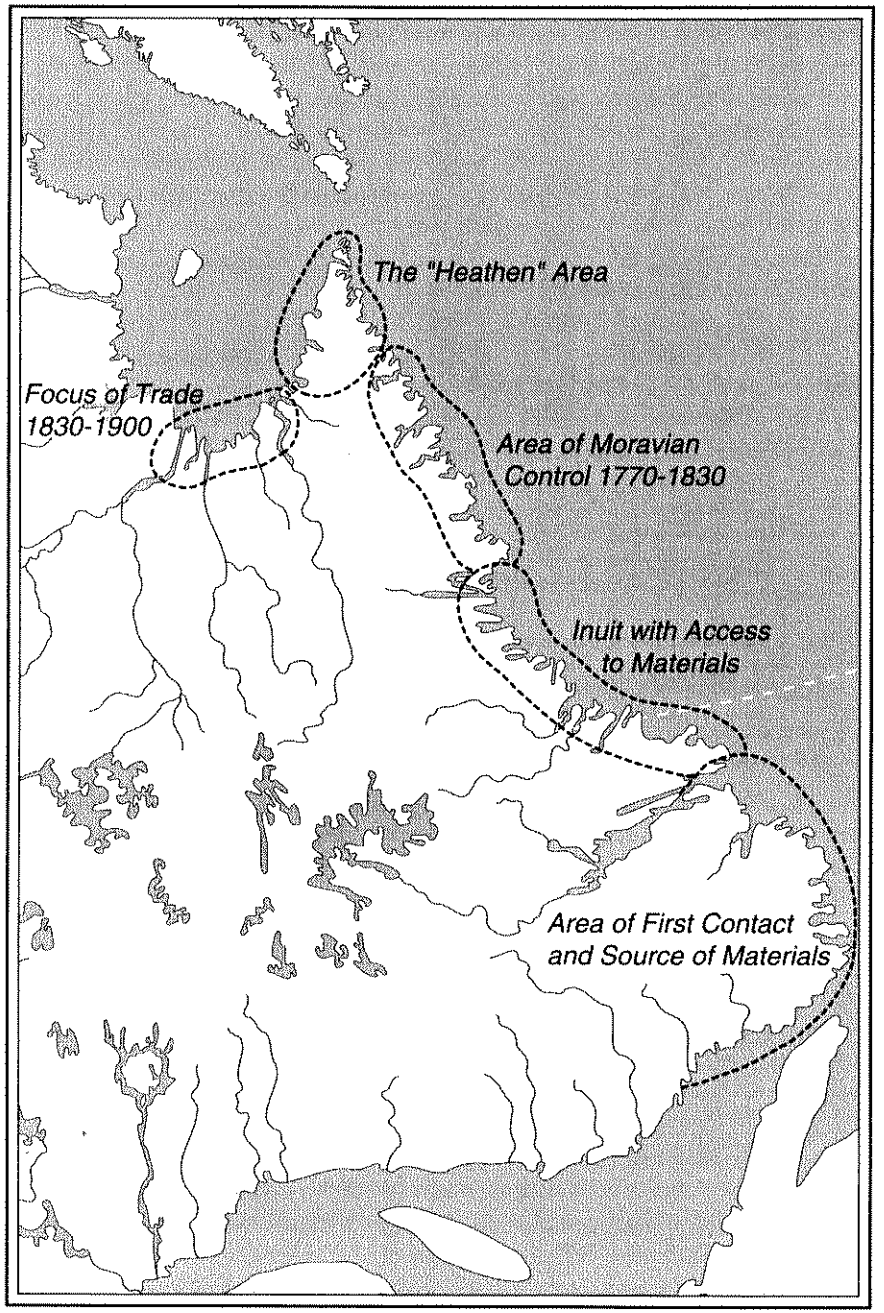
is explanation of early relations between Inuit and Moravians illustrates the nomic basis of what was essentially a religious or ideological objective. The fact t permanent territory was granted to the Moravians also meant that land use ctices would be influenced by two factors. The first was the creation of the ttled" Inuit who were expected to develop a seasonal land use pattern around itory that was arbitrarily selected, but which none the less had fixed boundaries. e second factor and the one most important to the Inuit of Nunavik in terms of ir "rights" to use Labrador areas was that in theory at least, the activity of the navik Inuit was intended to be confined to the northern and inland sectors as wn on Figure 2.1.7. The missionaries referred to the Inuit living within this a as "northerners" or "heathen." A distinction which helped to reinforce the graphic separation and redefine the boundaries of the once larger cultural area.

As a result of the Moravian policy towards land use, settlement, and de, the "northern" or "heathen" Inuit were still without regular contact even ugh the Moravian and other archival records indicate that some long-distance vel for the purpose of trade may have taken place. It was not until after 1830, wever, that guns and ammunition finally were able to be acquired on a tinuing and more secure basis by Inuit living along the east and west coasts of northern sector of the peninsula. Journals written as late as 1858 to 1861 make ntion of the "northerners" meaning Inuit living at Killiniq and along the thern reaches of the east and west coasts of the peninsula. Loring (1990:4) ed that "the Moravians dreaded the disruptive influence of northern visitors" en they would arrive at the more southerly mission stations, yet they also saw se visits as a challenge to their mission work. This attitude is evident in the owing statements from the Periodical Accounts:

> I have taken much interest in the Northlanders who occasionally visit this settlement (Hebron). Among them are often men with long hair and beards, while others wear amulets, and the women usually carry the infant-children naked in their hoods. As they refuse to leave their native district, the only way by which they can be benefited, would be, the establishing of some new Mission stations among them. [Private correspondence from A. Ribbach at Hebron, Periodical Accounts 23:86:1858].

> One man said, that they knew the same things of their Torngak, which we told abut our Jesus, as the former had recalled to life not a few angekoks who were quite dead, etc. ... Upon this, the man cut the conversation short, by saying, laughingly, that they had heard enough of such matters, and would like to see

Figure 2.1.7.



some of our European articles. [Private correspondence from F. Erdman at Hebron, Periodical Accounts 23:300:1958].

As soon as they [Northlanders from the Ungava Bay and Kangiva districts] had procured the articles they wanted, they hurried back, some of them declaring that the Torngak was angry with them for listening to what was told them of Jesus. "We want presents", said some of them; "of Jesus we do not want to hear." [Extracts from private correspondence from Hebron, Periodical Accounts 24:471, 1861]. (See Loring S. 1990:4)

The situation described above had specific and direct implications for land use practices and patterns for the Inuit who chose to live within the sphere of the Moravians. It also had important implications for land use in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. Kaplan (1983: 173-175) summarizes the findings of her own research along with those of other ethnohistorians with respect to the role of these policies on land use.

The missionaries wanted to establish Eskimos in religious settlements. To the Mission conversion to Christianity"... meant the adoption of a new kind of economic and social life which took the form of a settled community" (Hiller 1971: 87) which would replace the nomadic lifeway of the Eskimos. However, they also believed that the Eskimos should retain many of their traditions in the sense that they not change their manner of dress, their basic technology, or their subsistence practices. The Mission envisioned that this Eskimo community would remain economically independent of Europeans (Hiller 1971: 89).

For a settled community to exist, economically independent of Europeans, meant reliance on local resources. The Mission soon realized that the nature of Labrador's resources would force alteration of their plan. Not only were animal resources highly seasonal, but also dispersed, requiring a great deal of mobility on the part of the hunter. Modifying their concept of the community, the missionaries began to think in terms of a settled winter community which would live off resources stockpiled throughout the year (Hiller 1971: 89).

... the necessity of protecting new converts from the pressures and influences of heathens (Kleivan 1966: 29, Hiller 1971: 85). Therefore, the [Moravians] emphasized the caching of food, argued for short hunting trips, and instructed Christian Eskimos to avoid contacts with non-Mission groups (Taylor and Taylor 1977: 59, Hiller 1971: 81-82).

... Initially, the Church emphasized the territorial boundaries of Mission land grants in order to keep other Europeans away from the Eskimos and to restrict heathen Eskimos' activities among the converts (Hiller 1977: 88). In the early and mid-19th century the emphasis shifted to Christian Eskimos' sole rights of access to resources found in and around Mission lands because areas surrounding the stations were being overhunted and food shortages were developing. In 1849 for instance, the Mission named Saglek as a fishing place for Hebron Mission Eskimos, stating that the heathens living there had to leave the area completely or move to Hebron and join the Church (Kleivan 1966: 32).

The year 1830, when a trading post was opened at Kuujjuaq, ushered in a new era of events and conditions that would over the next several decades have a profound impact on traditional land use practices. This date meant that the need to have access to trade goods could only be supported by the trapping of arctic fox for its "commercial" value. It also meant that the use of fire arms became more prevalent in order to acquire food. In 1836, another post was opened near Kangirsualujjuaq which meant that the more frequent west to east travel was replaced by a movement of people from Labrador and the northern sector of the peninsula to the Ungava Bay posts on the eastern and southern shores.

View of old Kuujjuaq

After 1830, trading posts were opened and closed in various places on or near the Québec-Labrador peninsula and with each opening or closing, families were forced to adjust land use and activities in order to maintain the technological and economic base around which they continually reorganized the ways in which they continued their attachment to territory, resources and to the Inuit social system. Control was often not in their hands and this was reflected in the choices they could exercise over land use. The list of trading post and mission openings and closings shown on Table 2.1.2 cannot possibly reflect the complexity of what was actually happening on the Québec-Labrador peninsula after the year 1860. This is especially true for the more northerly sectors of the peninsula.

During this era land use patterns continued to reflect an attachment to territory that had been used for generations, but other factors also began to have strong influences. Some of these factors involved competition between traders, or between missionary groups, or between traders and missionaries. In many instances much of this competition was carried out through attempts by either trading companies or missions to gain control over one another by seeking means

TABLE 2.1.1

KEY DATES: MISSION STATIONS AND TRADING POSTS IN THE KILLINIQ REGION

Year	Moravian Mission	Hudson Bay Company
1830	Hebron (established)	
1831		
1843		Fort Chimo (established)
1865	Saglek (established)	Fort Chimo (closed)
1866	Saglek (closed)	
1867	Nachvak (established)	Saglek (established)
1868	Nachvak (closed)	
1871	Ramah (established)	Nachvak (established)
1876		
		Saglek (closed)
1904	Killiniq (established)	George River (established)
1905		
1907	Ramah (closed)	Nachvak (closed)
1916		
1923	Killiniq (closed)	Killiniq (established)
1926		
1939		Moravian Trading Rights Leased
1941		Killiniq (closed)
		All leased Moravian Holdings are closed

of controlling the territory used by different Inuit groups. It was also at this time that the most pervasive form of control over the land use activities of Inuit, a control that persisted until very recently was instituted on a broad scale. This control involved regulating Inuit land use and economic decisions by restricting the availability of western goods and materials through the system of debit and credit. It was this economic system that brought about a shift in land use from subsistence to a mix of subsistence and commercial objectives. Since all of the land based activities now incorporated essential tools and materials obtained through trading, Inuit were dependent upon maintaining credit in order to maintain the sequence of seasonal land use practises.

As the trading companies slowly took control over the economic and land use decisions of Inuit and as the actual number of trading posts began to increase and spread throughout the Ungava region, the conditions that controlled the large scale movement of people and patterns of land use started to undergo significant change. Prior to the development of trading companies in the Ungava region it was necessary for people to follow the age old system of travel routes and to utilize the social and mechanisms that regulated inter-group movement in order to have access to the trade goods that were at first only available on the Labrador coast. Over time, certain of these long distance moves were eventually integrated into the seasonal patterns of land use and settlement for particular social groups, giving rise to a settlement pattern that was in part based on access to resources and in part based on access to trade.

The increase in the number and distribution of trading posts along with the power held over Inuit by the trading companies superimposed a new configuration of land use activities; a configuration, however, that still operated within the traditional patterns that continued to define the geographic structure and the seasonal organization of land use and occupancy for the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Long distance moves were often necessary to reach the points of trade. But, as access to traders increased the use of territory became more circumscribed bounded in part by traditional land use areas and in part by the "sphere of influence" created by particular traders and their ability to "manage" Inuit land use decisions through the vehicle of debit and credit. As a consequence of this change the long distance movements were discouraged and competition between traders "forced" land use patterns to become more restricted to the territory defined by the "sphere of influence" for each particular trading post. Along with this factor, the movement of individual hunters or of families was discouraged. The need for credit was the device most often used by the traders to encourage Inuit to adhere to and maintain this system of land use. Kaplan (1983: 182, 183) provides a glimpse of this competition and of its land use implications at an early stage of development in the northern sector of the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

> In the early 1860s the Moravians realized that independent traders were reaching the northern Labrador and Ungava Bay Eskimo populations. In an effort to contact these northern peoples before irreparable harm was done, the Moravians approached the Hudson's Bay Company about the possibility of the Mission's expansion into Ungava Bay, land to which the Company had sole access. The Company refused the request. Still feeling the need to take steps to counter the free traders, the Moravians travelled to Saglek in 1867 with plans to open a station there. Saglek was an ideal location from which to contact the northern Eskimos, as it was within easy reach of the rest of the north coast of Labrador and the overland route between Labrador and Ungava Bay began in Saglek. [The H.B.C.] was made aware of this plan and [they] immediately made arrangements to erect a post in Saglek, having argued for the need of a northern post for a number of years. When [an H.B.C representative] arrived in Saglek he found that the Moravian had left building materials in the fiord. While the Moravians were absent [the representative] unloaded building supplies and immediately erected the post...(Kleivan 1966; H.B.C. A.11/58/134d; H.B.C. A.11/58/138d)...
>
> The Hudson's Bay Company, like the Moravian Mission, demanded loyalty from those with whom it dealt. This was particularly the case along the northern Labrador coast due to the checker board distribution of Company and Mission establishments (Figure 44). The Mission for religious and economic reasons, tried to isolate heathens and Christians, and the Company tried to keep

"their Eskimos" from travelling to the fiords inhabited by the competitors, for fear of losing business. The Moravians complained of the Hudson's Bay Company's tactics, reporting that "...the Nachvak trader will not allow them (Eskimos) to go and live at Ramah" (P.A., March 1874: 67 in Kleivan 1966: 128).

An Eskimo who dealt solely with the Company and who regularly traded in fox furs, seal skins, and fish was rewarded with favourable business deals and credit advances. When goods such as ammunition were in short supply, the regular customers were supplied with the scarce commodities. Eskimos who only occasionally traded at the post, and those who were known to also trade with the Moravians, were denied scarce materials and credit...

...The sudden year-round presence of rival trading establishments had an immediate impact on the social and economic life of the northern communities [of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula]. Eskimos resident along this stretch of coast were lured into a trapping economy. In addition, they were encouraged to develop stronger economic ties with particular Europeans than they maintained with one another.

From the descriptions quoted above it is obvious that the Québec-Labrador peninsula was a very active area where the economic and social objectives of the traders and missionaries were continualy being integrated with the land use practises, settlement patterns, and social organization that characterized this region. The major event that had the strongest and most continuing impact on the utilization of the coastal and inland areas of the peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik was the establishment of mission and trading ventures at Killiniq. The decision to develop the original patterns of Killiniq into a new type of community structure, underlies the social, economic and land use patterns for most of the peninsula from 1904 until the present day.

Killiniq Land use

The Inuit occupation of the Killiniq region dates back 4,000 years. Killiniq was the first Inuit settlement on the Québec-Labrador peninsula and perhaps the earliest settlement in all of Nunavik. In both prehistoric and historic times, the community was located on an island approximately 300 meters from the Québec mainland. All of the cultural, historical, economic and logistical factors, however, linked Killiniq directly to the territory and people of Ungava Bay including the western sector as far as Kangirsujuaq. These linkages with Québec were formally acknowledged by the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement that recognized the Inuit of Killiniq as a signing party. Killiniq was and, with respect to the Category 1 and 2 land selections continues to be, the most northerly settlement in an extended network of seasonal camps and travel routes that covered the lands and waters of the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

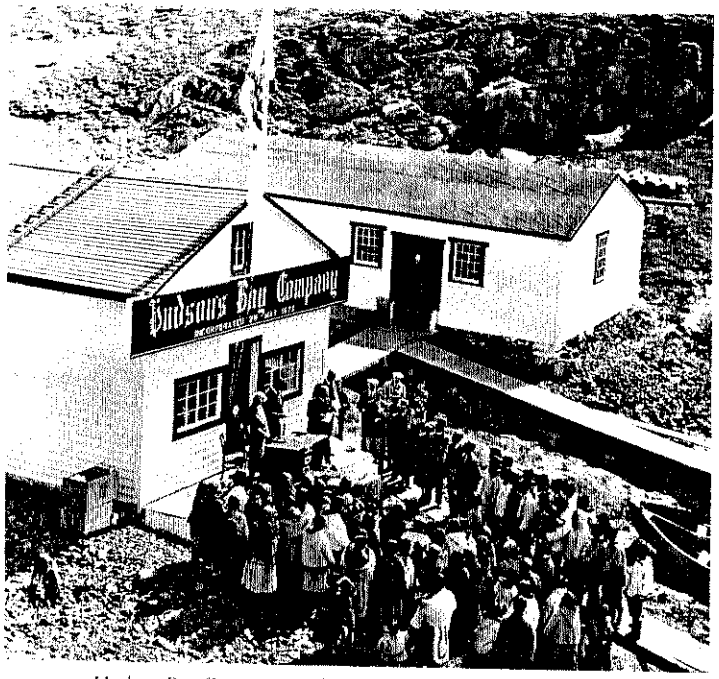
Although the community of Killiniq may represent one of the oldest continually occupied living sites within all of Nunavik, its history including more recent patterns of land use and occupancy also reflects a phase of development that emerged as a function of recent government policy and which continued through the recognition of this community within the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. This phase began in the late 1950s, when the federal government initiated a program for the re-development of Killiniq, based in part on the commercial exploitation of inshore fisheries and other marine resources and in part on the recognition that this rich area of resources has long been utilized by Inuit groups from both the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula as well as from further west in Ungava Bay. The redevelopment began through a policy to relocate families from western Ungava Bay to Killiniq. This economic and social development initiative maintained its momentum until the early 1970s, at which time the government began to reduce programs and services. The closure of Killiniq in 1978, along with the events that followed, represent the most recent chapter in the long history of this region. It is also an event that has had a significant impact on the ability of the Nunavik Inuit to exercise, at this point in time, their seasonal land use practices in northern Labrador.

The importance of the Killiniq region was first recognized by outside agencies in 1904 when the Moravians established a mission on the island. This event was preceded by a government meteorological station that operated from 1884 to 1886, and by a small commercial fishery that operated out of Killiniq from 1896 to 1904. From 1902 to 1905 the Church of England also operated a small mission. In 1905 an agreement was reached between the Moravians and the Anglicans that they would divide the mission territory between the two with the Moravians having rights to the Labrador coast an Inuit, while the Anglicans would have rights throughout Ungava. This division tended, to some degree to restrict the movement of Inuit between "Anglican Ungava" and "Moravian Labrador". Archival data does illustrate, however, that this division was not strong enough to limit trade, even though it did act as a limit to land use activity.

Moravian Mission Killiniq

In 1916 the importance of Killiniq as a settlement area was expanded by the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company that remained in operation until 1939. The location of the Hudson Bay Company at Killiniq brought about an intensification of land use along both the Labrador and Ungava coasts. Killiniq was the center of trading activity, and during the spring and fall it was also an important center for both subsistence and commercial harvesting. Seasonal camps were established along both coasts, and the interior was traversed and the inland resources exploited from Killiniq south to George River and east to the Labrador coast. Summer travel and settlement also extended north to the Button Islands. The presence of the Hudson Bay Company provided a ready source of materials and supplies for the Inuit who in turn had to focus their land use activities on the commercial needs of the company. These commercial needs were primarily for fox fur in the winter for the harvest of beluga whale in the spring and for the harvest of beluga whale, harp seal, and salmon in the fall.

In 1920, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a detachment to take advantage of the "strategic gateway" position of Killiniq and represented the federal government's presence in that region until 1936. The Moravian mission carried out religious and trading activity until 1923, when the operation was



Hudson Bay Company, Killiniq

closed. At that time many of the Inuit attached to the Moravian church relocated to Hebron in order to remain in close proximity to the mission. The closing of the mission had, however, an unexpected importance to the development of land use patterns since it left the Killiniq region "open" for settlement by the Anglican Inuit of Ungava. It was the closing of the Hudson Bay Company post in 1939 that brought about yet another temporary reduction of the population since families again moved to other areas in order to be close to the traders. Moravian families families again moved towards Hebron, whereas, the Anglican families shifted their land use back into the Ungava region. Nevertheless, five families continued to live at Killiniq full-time and many other Inuit continued to utilize the territory during summer and fall.

The next and most important phase of development began in the early 1950s when scientific surveys indicated the richness of marine resources and of their potential for local development. During the 1950s there was a general concern within the federal government about the economic potential of arctic communities and regions. As the need for a cash economy grew, the sources that could provide income had to diversify. Technology was changing and so were the practises and schedule of harvesting. Jobs, schooling, the creation of social programs and local enterprises all played an important role in community development throughout Nunavik including the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Although hunting changed, it continued to be critical for the supply of food and hunters were not displaced from their traditional territory even though the way they organized their activities needed to exploit this territory were changing.

In order to guide community development, a series of Area Economic Surveys was commissioned to provide basic data and to suggest possible courses of action. A survey was carried out along the east coast of Ungava Bay in 1958 that gave immediate direction for a redevelopment of Killiniq. This redevelopment was to be based on the potential for small scale commercialization of local resources and on the provision of better services for the Inuit through the creation of a full-time government position. Together, these would create the momentum for community development. In a report on that survey prepared by the Industrial Division of Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, it was noted:

> The successful establishment of a planned economic development program at Port Burwell (Killiniq) will make it possible for the people to develop their communities... The results, therefore, of establishing a few well-planned industries will be to provide a sound economic basis for the community which in turn will make it possible for the people to gain a much greater amount of independence and control over their own lives which is not possible under the existing economy.

The possibilities for economic development at Killiniq were considered to be "excellent" and would include experimental and commercial programs for exploiting Arctic char, Atlantic cod, Greenland shark and Harp seal. The creation of such a development program would be coordinated and supervised by an on-site representative, but the actual involvement of people in their own development would be through the creation of a northern cooperative.

The ideas expressed in the 1958 report of the federal government were supported by the oceanographic and fisheries research that was undertaken in the waters of Ungava Bay and the eastern arctic from 1949 to 1955 (M.J. Dunbar and H.H. Hildebrand, 1952; M.J. Dunbar, 1958). The practical applications of this research also emphasized the importance of Killiniq in the economic life of the Ungava Bay region. It was assumed that the appropriate development of fisheries would translate into an improved state of health and economic as well as social well-being not only at Killiniq but throughout the Inuit population of Ungava (M.J. Dunbar, 1952). It is noted by Dunbar (1952: 12) that:

> It is significant that Burwell, the least attractive of the Ungava Bay settlements from the point of view of the fur trader, should appear as the richest of them all

from the point of view of the old-style Eskimo. There is no doubt that it is. It is not surprising that the few Eskimo who did not leave Burwell in 1941 when the post was abandoned... should be the best situated in the bay. The surprising and depressing thing is that so few stayed, that the majority preferred to follow the trade-store to George River or Chimo.

This statement defines the resource potential of the area but it also clearly illustrates that the Inuit population of Killiniq is linked to the region as much through support services, in this instance, the fur trader, as it is through resources. In this respect Killiniq is exactly like every other settlement and land use area in Nunavik and indeed throughout all of the Canadian north. The availability of services are essential to the maintenance of land use in the adjoining territory. Consequently, the growth of population within the 1960s as the services were increasing and the subsequent out migration of this population in the early 1970s, as the services declined, mirrored historical trends of the relationships between population groups and services that characterized all Inuit areas. Documentation on the early stages of re-development provide many insights about the need for demographic growth. A government memo written in 1959 stated:

One of the major difficulties we now face is a shortage of people at Port Burwell. Officers here who know the Labrador Coast well, say that there are a number of Eskimo families in that area who would probably be willing to take up residence again in the area from which they originally came. We intend to follow this matter up.

Fisheries Research at Killiniq 1949

The most active period for the most recent phase of Killiniq development began about 1962 as Inuit started to return. Some returned because of their own desire to reestablish themselves at Killiniq while others responded to government initiatives for relocation. Although the original plans for relocation may have assumed that Inuit would also move to Killiniq from Labrador, this did not occur in any significant numbers. Instead families were brought to Killiniq from western Ungava. By 1960, about 30 people had relocated and by 1969 the population was around 150. The primary source of the population was from a relocation program that attracted families from western Ungava and as far away as Kangirsujuaq. With this program in operation, the age-old attachments between the western and the northeastern sectors were reestablished. A diagram of the genealogical relationships and family groups by place of origin that comprise the Killiniq population is presented as Figure 2.1.10 in the following sub-section of this Statement of Claim.

Another internal report written in 1959 described the early development of the community:

In fact, they [the Inuit of Port Burwell] were interested in every plan and idea for their future and I am convinced that they intend to persist provided we can give them the support that is needed to sustain the confidence that now exists. They are incredibly dependent on us for direction and they seem prepared to do just about anything we ask if it will help them maintain their independence at Port Burwell.

The need to attract people to the community remained a problem that was aggravated by a lack of housing and the availability of services once again repeating the historical trends.

In another memo written in 1963, it was observed by a Deputy Minister that the per capita income climbed from less than $200 per family in the mid 1950s to approximately $3,800 per family by 1963 with a projection of $5,000 in the following year. In a final paragraph of the memo, it is concluded that:

Port Burwell, situated as it is in the Northwest Territories, is an important location for future economic development in the eastern arctic. It is a strategic location for shipping and also for trans-shipment with an excellent protected harbor. Port Burwell is important now to the Department and its significance may well increase in the future as headquarters for deep sea fishing, not only for the Port Burwell people but also possibly for Eskimos from Baffin Island. Port Burwell is an area rich in renewable resources and can adequately sustain a population of 200-250 people (40 families). The most severe inhibiting factor to the growth of income there today is not lack of resources but lack of people.

The development of services and the growth of population continued to reinforce one another throughout the 1960s. Everywhere in the north including Nunavik, the 1960s was the decade in which community development began.

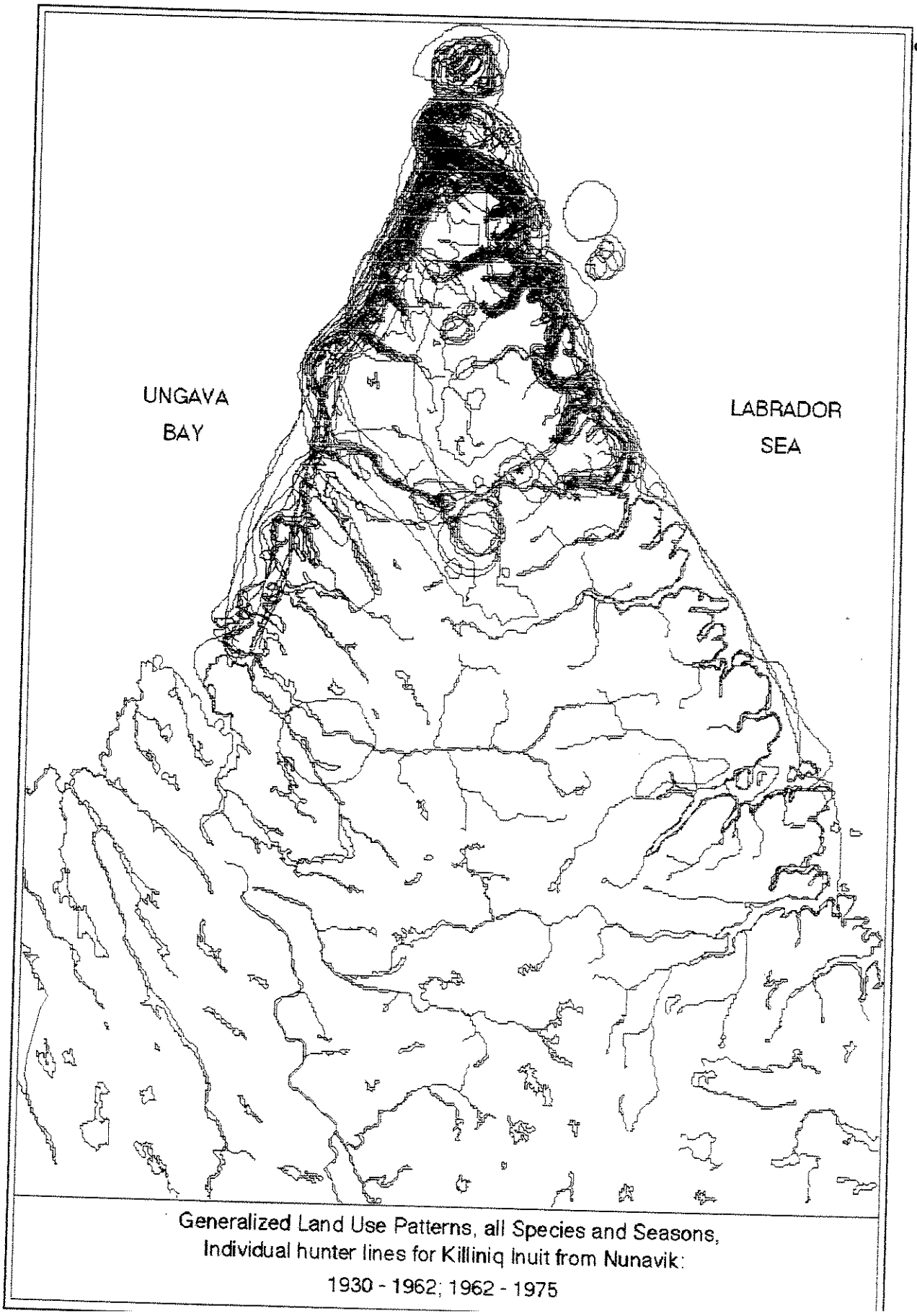


Figure 2.1.8

Generalized Land Use Patterns, all Species and Seasons,
Individual hunter lines for Killiniq Inuit from Nunavik:
1930 - 1962; 1962 - 1975

This was not an easy process for Inuit or government. Newly created communities offered Inuit a measure of protection through access to certain essential services. In turn, the governments had to rapidly establish both the infrastructure and programs for the physical and social development of these new communities. Killiniq is no exception to this process, except for the fact that the rugged physical conditions of its site made the development of infrastructure much more difficult than in other communities of Nunavik. From the late 1950s to the early 1970s Killiniq was able to demonstrate a much more active form of economic development than were most of the other Nunavik communities.

Land use patterns that were maintained by the families that continued to exploit this region or which were reestablished by the new families that arrived from western Ungava after 1960, give clear evidence of the ease with which Nunavik Inuit were able to utilize the entire northern sector of the Québec-Labrador peninsula on a seasonal basis.

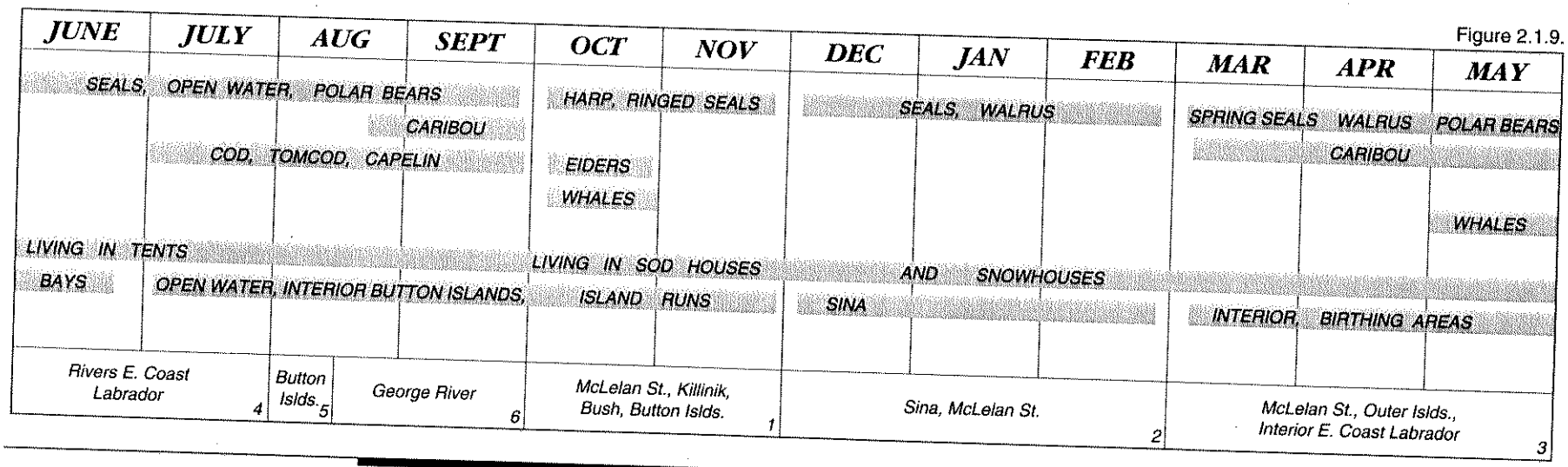
Figure 2.1.8 illustrates the land use patterns that were established between 1930 and 1975 by residents of Killiniq. Although the year 1930 is the earliest time represented in this map, by far most of the hunting areas reflect activities between 1962 and 1975. The land use interviews carried out for this area with hunters now living in other Nunavik communities, are illustrated on maps in the following section of this Volume and in Volume 2.

Land use and occupancy patterns as reflected in Figure 2.1.8 were based on a seasonal cycle of activities as defined in Figure 2.1.9. This seasonal cycle included a winter residence at Killiniq although at times there were settlements at Aulatsivik and Ikirasakituk. In early spring the entire groups would move to spring camps on the northwest Labrador coast, but also in Ungava where they fished for char, and then later would collect duck eggs primarily on the islands. During the spring local secure areas of ice, usually at the mouths of bays were important for hunting the marine mammals that were moving along both coasts. After break-up, usually in mid July, families would travel to Killiniq to trade and earn some money unloading the supply ships. During this time they would base their hunting activities out of Killiniq where they would hunt marine mammals and fish for Arctic char close to Killiniq or sometimes they would travel to the Labrador coast.

In the late fall, just before freeze-up, Killiniq residents would gather on the island to wait for the returning harp seals that moved through in great numbers from the west. People from Killiniq concentrated their land use activities in the Killiniq and Button Islands area and the northern portion of the mainland from spring through to freeze-up. In winter they would travel as far south as Ikirasakituk and Kangalaksiorvik Fiord especially for caribou. Every land use or settlement region had a particular seasonal distribution of resources that were regularly exploited. Nevertheless, individual hunters or family groups would make frequent moves between areas, thus attaching their activities to another geographic pattern of resource distribution. The use of large boats in summer would tend to extend the land use areas south along both coasts, while inland patterns depended on the long-term cycle of caribou and the short-term cycles of fox.

Early in the 1970s, the government-financed infrastructure programs for Killiniq started to decline and gradually fell behind the other Nunavik communities. The problem was intensified by the difficult environmental

Figure 2.1.9.



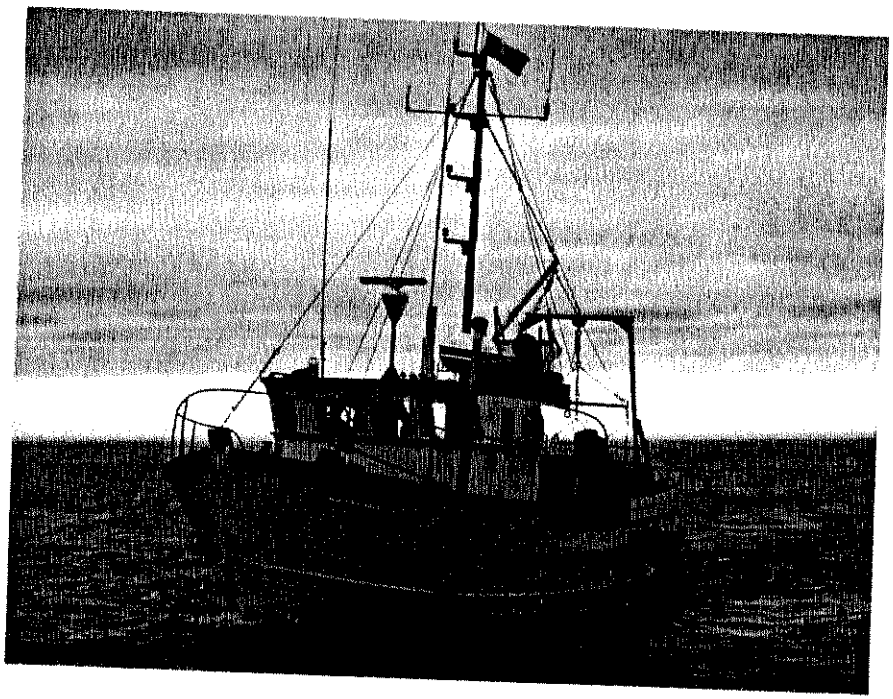
conditions of Killiniq. This was especially true for airstrips. Killiniq had no area that was large enough to develop an airstrip and therefore it could not benefit from improved air service. This problem was made worse by frequent and persistent fog, serving to make this community one of the most isolated places in the entire eastern arctic.

The required funding for services in Killiniq first slowed and then began to decline in the early 1970s. Prior to 1975, the Killiniq Inuit had discussed the possibility of relocating as a group to the mainland of Québec. The intent was not to leave the region, but simply to find an alternative community site on the mainland of Québec. The area immediately south of Killiniq has less fog and it was hoped that a better physical environment would facilitate easier planning and construction of settlement infrastructure including an airstrip. The move would also formalize the culture and historical link to Québec, as recognized under the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement. Most important, the move would allow for the land use pattern for the northern sector of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula to be maintained or, as the history of this region indicates, to be reestablished.

The concern to relocate became an urgent need on February 8, 1978 when the community of Killiniq was closed. On that day the residents were loaded onto planes an distributed to five Ungava Bay communities. They arrived in their new communities without housing, without income, without many of their personal effects, and social groups were broken up. This catastrophic event in the lives of Killiniq residents was foreshadowed by a decline in government services between 1972 and 1978, which created a deteriorating social climate. This in turn gave rise to a gradual out-migration of families that felt compelled to move in search of a safer settlement with more secure access to essential services, especially health and air transport. Between November 11, 1975 and February 8, 1978 a total of 97 Inuit left Killiniq. Fifty left on their own accord, in search of a more secure environment with basic services, and the other 47 remained until February 8, 1978.

It is this legacy that the former residents of Killiniq are desperately striving to overcome as they try to hold together as a community. Since 1978, the desire of the Killiniq people to regroup in a new community has continued to intensify. The Killiniq Inuit still struggle to maintain their solidarity as a social group, even though their ability to communicate and make decisions is severely restricted by the distances that separate them. Nevertheless, the Landholding Corporation continues to function, community interests are recognized in all discussions or negotiations on the social, economic and political development of Northern Québec and there has been a three-year feasibility study on the commercial exploitation of inshore fishery resources since the summer of 1983. This fishery brought a group of 25 Killiniq people back to the region each summer. In the fall of 1985 two families left their host communities and with financial assistance from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, began to establish a permanent camp at Taqpangayuk.

As long as there was a year round settlement in the Killiniq region, there was the ability to maintain an active pattern of seasonal land use even though the numbers and therefore the intensity may not have been as significant as before. As part of the relocation for Taqpangauk, the Inuit who would form the core group of families were asked to define their preferred land use patterns for subsistence in this new community. The maps that resulted from this exercise closely resemble the land use patterns defined on Figure 2.1.8 since they illustrate the need as perceived by the potential residents of Taqpangayuk, for utilizing the resources of the Labrador coast and interior in all seasons of the year. The maintenance of a large boat and the continuing existence of a land holding corporation for Killiniq have also been factors that have enabled the former residents to exploit the Labrador coast at least during the open water season. This exploitation was enhanced during the mid to late 1980s by the research and development programs sponsored by Makivik Corporation with the objective of developing a commercial economy that would both utilize the local marine resources of the Killiniq region and which would also use Killiniq as an operational center for fishery research in other parts of Ungava Bay, Hudson Strait or the Labrador Sea. Although these efforts may at present be inactive, the concern for yet another redevelopment of this region is still strongly felt by the former residents of Killiniq.



Social Linkages, Family History and Land Use

An understanding of social linkages and family histories is essential for comprehending both the structure and patterns of Inuit land use. This is particularly true for the Québec-Labrador Peninsula where the patterns of utilization are so strongly influenced by the peninsulas' particular geographic location and physical characteristics. Throughout the entire Inuit territory land use is tied directly to two fundamental elements. The first is the knowledge held by Inuit about the environment and ecological realities of their home and territory, while the second is tied directly to the social mechanisms of Inuit culture. It is these social mechanisms that form one of the most important links between an Inuit population group and the territory they occupy. Understanding this fact allows for archeological data to be more effectively interpreted in terms of its meaning for the movement of people and for the development of cultural sub-regions but it is also essential data for explaining the land use implications of the more recent transformations in Inuit society in terms of settlement patterns and organization of territory for both subsistence and development.

Anthropological and human geographical research have explored in depth, the relationship between Inuit social groups and the territory they occupy from many perspectives including ecological conditions and food availability, the formation of social units and the operation of kinship systems, the need to share resources, the maintenance of inter-group boundaries, and the regulation of population size in relationship to the ecological and social "carrying capacity" of a given population. Cultural research has also provided more detailed descriptions of specific family histories in relationship to settlement and land use areas. The data on Inuit social organization and kinship is essential for developing an understanding of how Inuit organize themselves and their activities in order to utilize territory. Specific family histories illustrates the actual or real-life decisions and strategies that Inuit have used in the processes of establishing their occupancy of territory.

For the purpose of explaining social organization in the context of land use in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik, information on family histories and on the social relationships of individuals and family groups that occupy the peninsula are available from two primary sources. Family histories were collected as an integral part of each individual land use and occupancy interview carried out in Nunavik. Certain references to family relationships are available from these interviews, but for the most part the emphasis was on family history and on identifying the living sites that are an integral part of this history for every family unit. For the most part these family histories when coupled with living sites, travel routes and land use areas, give a good indication of place and movement over time. This "where and when" data is valuable and indeed is the essential indicator for constructing land use maps. This data, may not be "static" but it is also not in itself dynamic. The dynamic nature of land use comes from the behaviors linked to social structure and environmental knowledge, for it is through social structure and knowledge that the when and where of land use are explained in terms of the why and how of occupancy.

The actual kinship or genealogical associations for Inuit of this region are available from anthropological studies that have been undertaken since the early 1960s. Although findings from these studies show some kinship linkages across the peninsula, they also show linkages that extend to the west; again illustrating the very broad regional associations that are characteristic of the area. The important information drawn from kinship relates to the way in which family units and larger social groups were organized with respect to the utilization of specific territorial units. Although this organization is essential for many elements of Inuit culture, one of its primary functions has been to regulate the use of territory and the sharing of the resources obtained from that territory. An example of the population and social organization in more recent times is illustrated for Killiniq in Figure 2.1.10. This Figures illustrates how the individuals and family groups are linked together, and it also clearly indicates the attachment of the relocated families to the original Killiniq population.

The basic element for understanding the relationship between Inuit and their territory is the family unit and the inter-connection between family units to form larger social groups. The basic connection between a group and their traditional territory is recognized by the term *miut* which means "the people of" or "the people belonging to" a particular place. The cultural landscape of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is built up of the same type of social units that characterize Inuit settlement throughout the eastern arctic.

Settlement and land use patterns on the peninsula begin with the family. Family units are then connected together to form a larger social grouping usually noted as an extended family. It is the extended family that lives in what we can best define as a settlement and therefore is the basic social unit that is bound to a particular geographic area and is recognized through the term *miut*. The territory occupied by this social unit is usually geographically isolated to some degree from other settlement areas but is linked to the adjacent areas through well defined bonds of kinship. The inter-connection between groups living in the same area forms the second level of organization that has territorial recognition and is referred to as a band. Groups that comprise a band usually share the same hunting territories, at least during particular times of the year, and they may group together for particular periods for social and harvesting reasons. Well defined bands, that is, territorial groups, could be recognized by particular elements of the language as

well as by the clustering of social relationships, the sharing of food and the exchange of information.

The social linkages that defined the band "weaken" as they move outward from the core social and territorial area and at the outer margins they would overlap with the outer margins of the neighboring band. It is in this way that the larger social network was built up and in so doing the territory that could be easily utilized by an individual or family was defined. The boundaries might be best recognized geographically, but they were defined socially. It was this larger social unit that had to be utilized by individuals for marriage, adoption or even the long-distance exchange of materials. It is the existence of these social networks that has to be recognized in order to understand why the broader patterns of land use and exchange of people on the Québec-Labrador peninsula cannot be realistically assumed to conform to a superimposed political boundary that calls part of the territory Labrador and part Québec. The emergence and continuity of a much larger cultural area as defined earlier in this report, has been one of the primary indicators of social connectivity; a connectivity that was, and continues to be essential for the utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. The origins of this cultural area were discussed in the section on archeology, and its continuing role during the most recent phase of Killiniq was defined in the previous section.

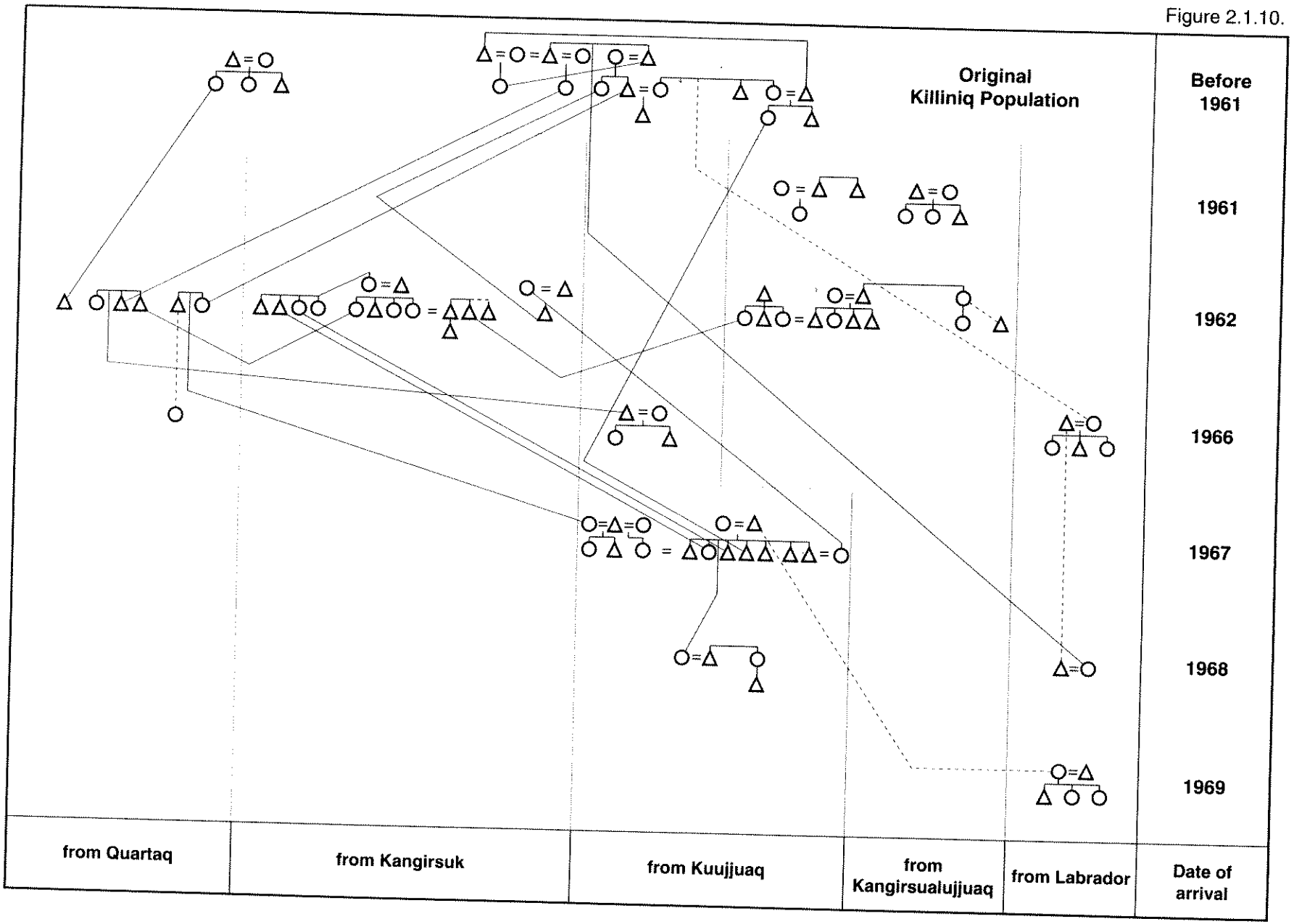
It was this general pattern of land use, as related to the distribution of social groups that was described by the ethnologist Turner, who visited the area in the 1880s when living in Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo). Turner noted that the Inuit of the region defined themselves to be *Sû hi'nimut*, or those who dwell in the sun. This designation referred to the Inuit of the Labrador coast and the Ungava region west at least as far as Leaf River. This designation conforms to the idea of an extended cultural area, although it no doubt extended further north and west from the Leaf river. The observations by Turner, support the idea that the Inuit of Labrador and the Inuit of Ungava were culturally homogeneous, and that this broad area of social and cultural homogeneously was further subdivided into smaller even more homogeneous areas. These were the *Ki lin'ig myut*, from Cape Chidley, the *Kan'gûkelualua'luksoagmyut*, from George River; and the *Koksoagmyut*, the people from Fort Chimo. Turner's work was later refined and expanded by a 20th century ethnologist, Hawkes (1961). Hawkes said there were: the *Killin'nunjmiut*, the lands end people from Cape Chidley; the *Kanniluallakka 'amiut*, the long narrow bay people of George River; the *Kokso 'akmiut*, the big river people of Fort Chimo, and the *Una 'vamiut*, the farthest north people of Cape Hope's Advance (1916:24-25). The network of social groups as defined by Hawkes conforms very well to the concept of connectivity between Labrador and Ungava.

The recognition of a larger area of cultural interaction was also noted by the Moravian missionary Jens Haven as early as 1793. This fact may in part, be responsible for some of the confusion in the geographic literature that seems to use the term Labrador for all of the coastal area of Ungava Bay and eastern Hudson Strait. The larger cultural and geographical context of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is noted by the ethnohistorian Taylor, (1974:10) in reference to the population of the region early in the historical period.

> Since pre-contact times the Eskimo of Labrador have inhabited not just the coast of Labrador (which in this study refers to the Atlantic coast only), but also much of the coastal area of the Labrador-Ungava Peninsula bordering on Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. In order to place the population statistics for the coast of Labrador in a wider context, this section examines the total Eskimo population of Labrador-Ungava.
>
> In 1773 the missionary Jens Haven estimated that the Eskimo population of Labrador did not exceed 3,000 persons.
>
> Of these, only 1,340 were situated on that part of the coast of Labrador south of Naghvakh, and were thus within the area that Haven himself had travelled. He clearly indicates that the remaining 1,660 were located farther to the north:
>
> From Nagvack to Hudsons Strait are 10 more places, which in general are more populous than those to the south. I compute the people of these 10 places to be about 1,660, so that the number of Inhabitants on the coast of Labrador from 55 [degrees] to beyond 60 may be 3,000. [Haven 1773]
>
> Although the geographical limits of Haven's population estimate may not be entirely clear in the quotation, information given elsewhere in his report indicates that the term "coastal of Labrador" probably refers to the coast of the entire Labrador-Ungava Peninsula. When Haven gives the names of the "10 places" to the north, it is obvious that he is referring to a much greater area than just the Atlantic coast. The only place he mentions that is north of Naghvakh, and yet still on the Atlantic coast, is Killinek.

Within the framework of a local band the locations of settlement and specific use of territory that together defined a land use pattern was shaped by the seasonal distribution of resources and by the seasonal characteristics of the physical environment. Land use was usually based on a cluster of seasonal camps with the late fall and winter encampment being the most stable and usually having the largest number of people. Families would shift their settlement in order to reduce daily movement to productive harvesting areas and, in certain places, a number of families would converge upon a small productive area which was a practise that would strengthen the social bonds of a band. The role of particular ecological conditions such as breathing hole sealing which were used to coordinate a larger scale social effort in some parts of the arctic were seldom practised on the Québec-Labrador peninsula because of the general lack of large areas of land fast ice that

Figure 2.1.10.


Original
Killiniq Population
Before
1961
1961
1962
1966
1967
1968
1969
from Quartaq
from Kangirsuk
from Kuujjuaq
from
Kangirsualujjuaq
from Labrador
Date of
arrival

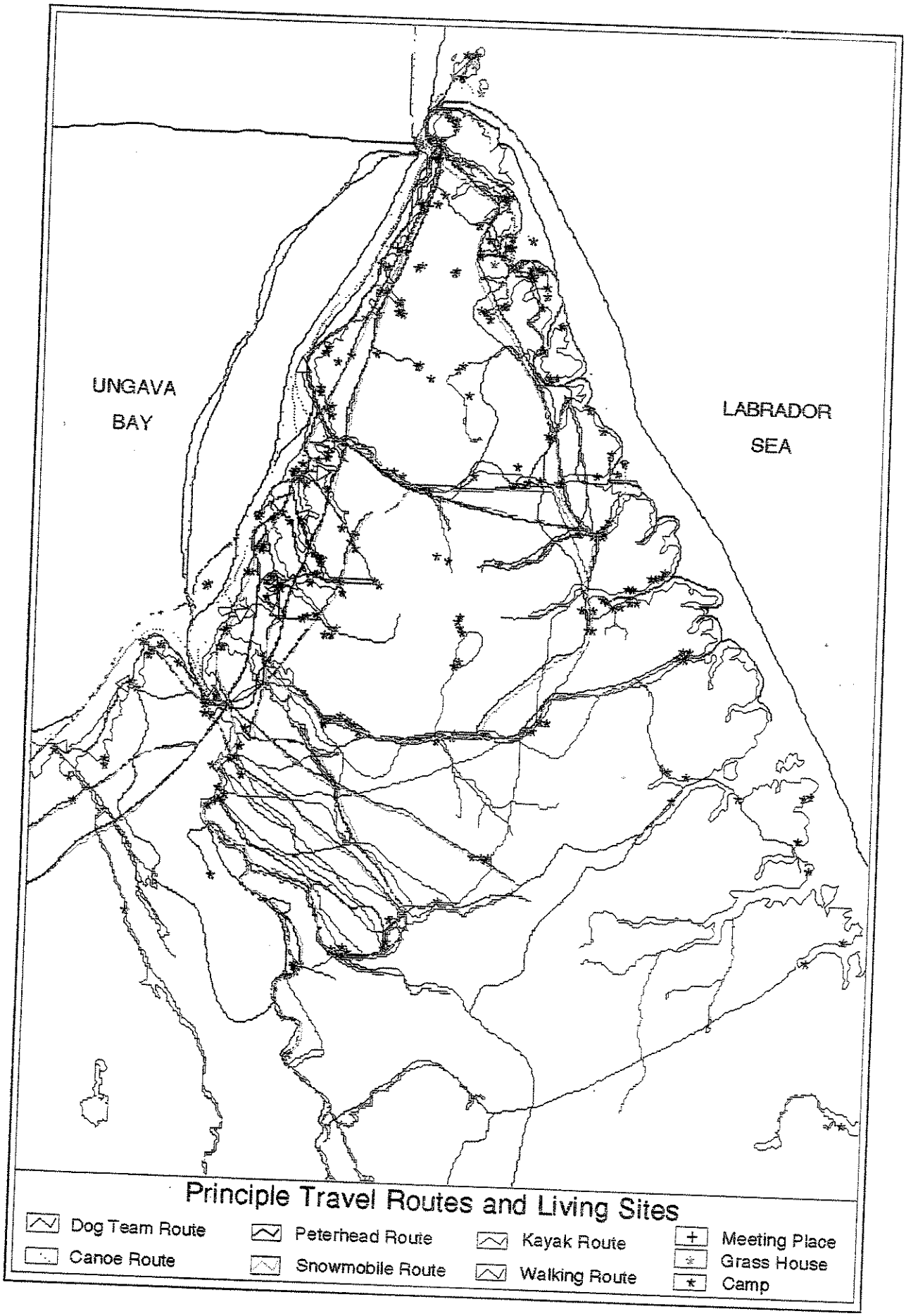

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Principle Travel Routes and Living Sites
Dog Team Route
Canoe Route
Peterhead Route
Snowmobile Route
Kayak Route
Walking Route
Meeting Place
Grass House
Camp

Figure 2.1.11.

would make this practise possible. Some long distance travel would take place, especially for caribou hunting. Inuit also told of long-distance journeys that were made to visit relatives, to trade, or to find wives.

The land use and life history interviews from the Makivik Land Use and Occupancy Project indicates that the largest region that was actively used for cultural exchange spread along the coast from the Whale River at the southwestern margin of the territory to around Nain at the southeaster margin. Inuit stated that even though family settlements and their hunting territory had to be located in as productive an area as possible, there seemed to be a regularity in the spacing of these land use zones. A rough evaluation shows that a distance of about 30 miles separated the core of one land use zone from that of another. This generalization seems to hold throughout the area from Killiniq to Diana Bay. The composite land use maps show the merging of the outer limits of these zones in order to create a almost contiguous pattern of occupancy.

The primary conclusion that can be drawn from family histories and kinship is that there was a well-established network of coastal and inland living sites that extended across the entire peninsula. These living sites were interconnected by a network of travel routes (Figure 2.1.11). In earlier times living sites represented the central point of family territory and they identified the associations between family units in a way that could establish interconnected social networks usually defined in the anthropological literature as "bands." The social and territorial definition of these bands was flexible but there was enough persistence in the areas utilized to allow for the patterns of occupancy to develop and be maintained. It is the larger social system of families that were in turn linked together through kinship to form the larger band.

The information derived from the land use and occupancy study has been supplemented by additional information on family history and the use of territory in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik through separate studies on this topic that were commissioned by the Makivik Research Department. The general framework of living sites and travel routes that clearly demonstrate the linkages between Nunavik and Labrador as defined from information provided by life histories of Nunavik Inuit is illustrated on the map titled Principle Travel Routes and Living Sites at a scale of 1:500,000.

The distribution of camps shows the utilization of coastal fjords and islands that extend from south of Hebron Fjord to the Button Islands. This map also shows that selected areas of the interior plateau mid-way between the Labrador and Ungava Bay coasts were utilized on a regular basis for seasonal settlement related to specific land use activities. Living sites on the Labrador coast were most often utilized for longer periods of time within the seasonal cycle and on a more consistent basis from year to year. Settlement sites were linked directly to travel routes and the pattern of travel by dog team during the winter months and by foot during the summer months forms a dense network of routes that criss-cross the peninsula and which also move north-south along the Labrador coast. The north-south dog team routes for both the Ungava Bay and Labrador coasts, and now snow mobile routes, converge at the northwestern most corner of the peninsula at an area just south of McLelan Strait. Kayak and freighter canoe routes also linked the two coastlines in a pattern that closely followed the near-shore waters. The coastal travel between Ungava and Labrador by Peterhead was able to utilize marine waters more distant from the coast.

A specific example of individual land use patterns related to the utilization of Labrador is illustrated in Figure 2.1.12 and is supported by a sample of interview notes in Table 2.2.2. More detail interviews are presented in Annex 6. These interview notes also describe activities that extend west into the Ungava Bay region and thus support the fact that Labrador was not only linked to the Nunavik side of the peninsula but also to the entire Ungava Bay region; a linkage that had its beginning in pre-historic times. All of the points and travel routes that are illustrated on Figure 2.1.12 are supported by similar descriptive interview notes that define in more detail the activities associated with each particular site or travel route in Labrador.

An even earlier account of the utilization of the Labrador coast as part of the larger land use patterns that extended to the western shores of Ungava Bay are available in the six generations of Inuit occupation that began with the individual referred to as "the Annanack," who was the first with this name and who is an ancestor of many of the people now living in Kangirsualujjuaq. He was considered to be a skillful and generous hunter and could easily support his two wives and twelve children. The Annanack was born around 1850 far to the west in the area of Kangirsuk where he often would spend the winter. He also enjoyed utilizing the northern part of the Labrador coast where he would hunt seals and walrus during spring and summer. In the summer time he and others in his family would often walk from Machvak on the Labrador coast to Kangirsualujjuaq and from there to Kuujjuaq. The longer journey from Labrador west to Kangirsuk or from Kangirsuk to Labrador were usually done by dog team around the southern coast of Ungava Bay. On several occasions trips between Kangirsuk and Labrador were done by skin umuijaq and the smaller kayak.

An older Inuk was able to reconstruct the annual cycle of land use for Annanack around the year 1900 based on stories passed down to him by his father. In that year the Annanack had traveled in spring from the west coast of Ungava

Bay around the Payne River east towards the Labrador coast (1). He then traveled north by dog sled early in the following winter to Button Island (2). He spent the winter and summer in Button Island but would travel to Ramah on the Labrador coast in order to obtain supplies (probably through the Moravian mission) (3). After trading at Ramah he returned to Button Island and then left to go further south to Nachvak fjord where he spent the following winter (4). In spring he settled north of Nachvak fjord and then returned to Button Island (5). Later he returned to the Kangirsuk region by boat to visit and stayed for some time there (6). This life history of Annanack may be exceptional but it is not unusual. The life history of an individual living in Quartaq in 1962 illustrated travel from the Diana Bay region south to Payne Bay and then along the Labrador coast to Killiniq and south to Ramah. After two years, this individual returned to the Diana Bay region.

Many other examples of Labrador land use that relies on social linkages and reflects family history can be cited. In one interview they describe how the family spent the whole winter and spring inland near the centre of the peninsula close to the Korok river. At that site they were living mainly on ptarmigan and fish since the caribou were not numerous. In late spring they traveled to the Labrador coast and then in the early summer of that same year some of the men walked from the Labrador coast to Kangirsualujjuaq in order to obtain ammunition and other supplies. When conditions were good it took three days to make the journey from Labrador to Kangirsualujjuaq. It was noted that on that trip the men bought bullets, tobacco, two pounds of tea and 25 pounds of flour.

Another individual who was born north of George River has a life history that reflects yet another aspect of movement and land use between Nunavik and Labrador.

> When we had our camp (north of George River) my father used to go to Killiniq by dogteam, travelling on the land through the lakes, to buy supplies. When I was 9 years old my father died, and I stayed at the same place, first with my older brother, then with my uncle. At the beginning of July we used to go by boat to Button Island to hunt seals until the end of August. At the beginning of October in fall we would come back to our camp. I stayed in this camp until I was 40-45 years. Then I moved from this camp to Komaktorvik, on the Labrador coast where I stayed one year. I made this trip by dog team in the month of May. Then I and one of my relatives decided to move to a place close to the caribou near Kangirsualujjuaq where supplies were easily accessible. We stayed there through the winter. In spring I decided to move with my family to Hebron. We spent the spring and summer on Randy Island and from there we went to Nachvak to fish arctic char which we would sell to a company. There were 20 Peterheads there. After fishing for arctic char, we would fish for cod. After that I found a job in Hebron and stayed in Labrador almost two years. My daughter is still living in Nain, but I decided to come back and settle in Kangirsualujjuaq where I had spent my youth and early adulthood.

Finally, it must be noted that the issue is not really one of determining specific genealogical linkages between people now in Labrador and those in Nunavik since this has little relevance to understanding the actual social network that operated in order to bring people from the Nunavik side of the peninsula into Labrador. Instead, the question must focus on the family histories that portray actual use and on the more general nature of Inuit social structure that created broad cultural regions within which people could move, maintain social contacts with other groups and attach themselves to different land use areas.

It is the insights derived from this type of information that creates a framework within which the long history of interaction between the Inuit of Nunavik and the territory of Labrador. It is also within this larger social framework that the following discussion on land-use in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik is best understood.

Figure 2.1.12.

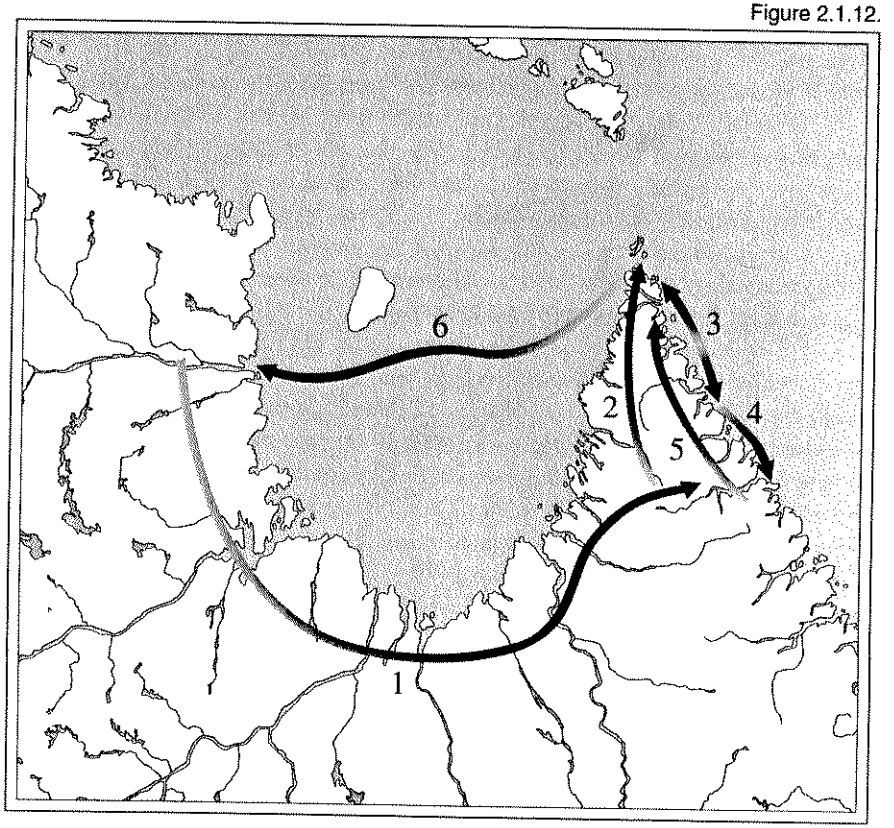


TABLE 2.1.2

Interview	[redacted]	**HUNTER #040**
Topic	**HISTORICAL LAND USE (Tasiujaq/Kuujjuaq)**	**Birth: 28/10**
Date	**May 23, 1985**	
Interviewer	**D.M, L. R**	
Map	**# 13-040-02**	

LIFE HISTORY

When they were children, my parents lived far down Leaf Bay, Tasiujaq. My father moved to Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo). He used to go hunting up the Koksoak River. There were hardly any caribou around Kangiqsualujjuaq (or old George River Post). My parents moved to Koroc before I was born. My father used to go by boat, or by dogteam to do his shopping at the company.

There used to be French persons at Leaf Bay. Before my father got married he worked for the Révillon Frères (possibly the French people mentioned) in Leaf Bay/Leaf River.

Pt.1 In October, my father went by Peterhead to Cap Kernertut. I was born on October 3, 1928.

Pt.2 I grew up in Koroc. I was able to hunt ptarmigan with my .22. There were hardly any animals in this area. They moved through Koroc River valley to Nachvak Fiord.

Here our family lived all year round, I "grew up to be a man" in this area. I was not married yet. I did my hunting north of the Nachvak Fiord.

I hunted for seals in the area around Koroc (around pt.2). I fished around Koroc Lake for char (pt.8) in winter.

Pt.3 I lived for 20 years at the end of Alluviaq Fiord (pt.3). I was still single during this time.

Pt.4 A summer camp. I was doing my shopping by walking to the Company at George River. I did some caribou hunting while I was walking. I also went to Hebron for shopping (pt.7).

I used to stay at Ramah also (pt.5).

I was going inland for caribou hunting in this area. Inland to the Ugjuktok Fiord.

The best area for seal hunting is, as marked, east of Kangalaksiorvik Fiord. I hunted there all year round, when I was over 20 years old.

In those days, when my father was still alive, we were hunting in the area as marked on the east coast.

The hunters saw planes once in a while, though they were usually not going over where the hunters were.

Pt.8 The hunters would take the Peterhead around to Killiniq, and down to trade at George River Post. There was also a HBC at Killiniq. In those days, I was very small and I had to hold on to someone all the time. I saw the RCMP for the first time at Killiniq. White men managed the company. I used to be scared of them, even though I wanted candy from them. In those days it was hard to get caribou; instead we would get fish. I remember being hungry all the time, during the summer and winter time. In those days we were starving, even as we went hunting. Our summer and our winter hunting was done by walking. The routes marked are inland walking routes. When my father was still alive, I was following him. My father showed me the best areas for hunting. There were rough and easy areas. Good and bad weather.

In those days in Labrador, I was still single. When I went back to Old Chimo, I got married to a woman that I have been travelling with. I was married in 1957. My first born was Minnie, she was born in 1959 at pt.8, Koroc.

Pt.9 I moved to George River in 1959, when the Co-op started (pt.9).

Pt.10 There were still dogteams in those days. When the Co-op started up, I also moved to pt.10, south of Ryan's Bay.

Last time for dogteam was in the early days of the dogteam.

Pt.11 This place is used for recent hunting. Two years ago, when I went hunting around pt.3, I wanted to see what the area was like from the old days where I used to hunt with my father, when I was single. When I returned, I was very tired. I say to myself that I was getting old.

We used to go by dogteam to get caribou, from the coast inland near Ford Lake in March.

The caribou were coming north in March, I hunted them as marked. In those days there were only a few caribou during the year. In the springtime we would go back to pt.5.

In the bays and inlets along the east coast, there were seals (both types) in the spring and summer. The best areas were

around Seven Islands Bay, Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (for seal). My father used to tell me: "when I've passed on, hunt on the Labrador coast (near pt.3)." This was the best time/place (follow the Alluviaq/West Wind River Valley).
My relatives now live near Hebron. My father's brother is in Nain.

Pt.12 All year living area and crossing the inland to Labrador following Koroc River.

Pt.13 Port Burwell (Killiniq).
When hunting, we were going back and forth in these areas. The places we had stayed before, we didn't bother to go back. In the fall we travelled to several places. My father was a "head man". Etok was a nikcname, not the family's real surname.
The Labrador coast "was our hunting ground". When I was growing up there were no whites in the area. Now the "Newfoundland government want to take our land away".

DUCKS

Eiders fly through the Alluviaq Fiord pass in the fall.

BELUGA WHALE

In those days there were only a few, but I got one or two in the Nachvak Fiord. Beluga were taken in the summer

WALRUS

In winter there were lots of walrus in Seven Islands Bay, but I didn't hunt them. In summer there were many people in Nachvak. We used to harpoon walrus when they come in. They were taken from land, not too far from land.
There is a story about getting bowhead whales. Before I was born there used to be these larger types of whales around. In those days, the hunter would go on the top on the whale, and cut the back of the whale. The back would break as the whale started to go down into the water. Only if the whale was facing inland would they cut its back. When they cut the whales' back it would go to the edge of the land. The whale's back would be open and start bleeding as it was moving. Soon it would not move. It would die in a few minutes as its' blood ran out. The hunter would go from the kayak to the back of the whale. He would go back to his kayak when the whale started to shake. There were no guns in those days. Another man would take his place until the whale began to shake. I don't know if these hunters are still alive or not. I have only heard the stories about what was done before my time.
In those days Germans and Inuit used to be together. They would save whale oil in sealskins, using it for light, to cook with. The whole animal was used for meat. The people were very satisfied after hunting and eating whale. They would keep the meat for 1 or 2 months. Baleen was saved as well.

POLAR BEAR

My father hunted bears in Seven Islands Bay (Akpatok Island and beyond). He would go to Northwest Territories to get bear. Bear were found in the inlets and bays, all up and down the coast, even in the ocean. They are the best divers, they can be underwater the same as seal. When a Polar bear get a seal, the bear would carry the seal inland on his back. I have found seal bones high up in the mountains, carried all the way to these highlands by Polar bear.
When the bears got fat, they were going to the Northwest Territories, to the north and the open waters. They were staying in the good sealing areas until they got fat, sometimes all year. The Polar bear was usually moving all year round. I shot a Polar bear in Weymouth Inlet, in the springtime.

Interview Topic **DAVID ETOK** **HUNTER #040**
CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL LAND USE

Date **May 29, 1985** **Birth: 28/10**
Interviewer **D. M, L. R**
Map **# 13-040-02**

EIDER DUCK

There are hardly any ducks around Nachvak Fiord, because the Nachvak Fiord has very high, steep cliffs which are impossible to nest on. There are only ducks once in a while. Ducks are usually moving north, in flocks. The cliffs were very steep. I know that there were eggs farther up the coast, though I didn't necessarily pick them. He never picked duck-down in those days.
Ducks were found, as marked, around Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (the best area) and farther north.

GEESE

There were hardly any geese around pt.4, but I did hunt them around there (Nachvak Fiord).
I shot my first goose arount pt.5, Ramah Bay. Generally there were a few geese, and as a result, I didn't see too many eggs either. Before the Co-op really started I moved from pt.9 to Seven Islands Bay. There were hardly any geese before 1959. I travelled along the Koroc River Valley to Seven Islands Bay. Since that time, many geese are found along the Labrador coast.
In those days, I didn't ever see sheets of paper like the one I am writing on. The Inuit children were writing in the sand instead. Sometimes I found soapstone around Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (across Alluviaq river) which could be used as slate or lead. These stones would be carried like pencils.
Also, there were no matches in those days. They used white stone like a flint, and tinder from dried mosses to make a fire. Soapstone was also used for sharpening knives.

FISH

I caught salmon in Komaktorvik Fiord. There were not too many salmon to be found in those days, in that area. When there were fish, they were caught with the kakivik or with rope from the company, woven into nets. Perhaps the salmon in the Komaktorvik Fiord was the only one in the whole province.
Lake trout - I never tried to find out about Lake trout in the lakes.
Brook trout - Brook trout were caught along the Koroc River. For catching them, I used a soapstone sinker, a small black hook from the company and sinew from the caribou to make the line. It was quite hard to fashion this equipment together.

PTARMIGAN

Ptarmigan were found around Koroc. Also around the mouths of rivers, as marked, the West Wind river, Komaktorvik River, Palmer and Koroc River. Ptarmigan are found where there are bushes and small branches. Bullets were very valuable and I didn't take more than 10 bullets for hunting. I was trying to get fox even when I was hunting ptarmigan, because fox fur was valuable. If I had no bullets I used rocks to hit them instead. My parents would not let me use a gun if I didn't bring back any animals after a hunting trip. My parents were strict in the sense that they didn't like bullets wasted. Because I was short of real ammunition, I learned to use other sorts of things, like rocks, to get animals.
I lived at pt.12 (on the Koroc River as marked) where I learned to use bow and arrow, taught by my father. The bow was made from wood, the rope from braided caribou muscle, the arrow head (and arrow) was made out of bone, sharpened to a point.

FOX

Fox are found in the same places ptarmigan are found, near the bushes along the West Wind River mouth, the Komaktorvik River, the Palmer and Koroc rivers.

WOLF

I have heard of wolf being near Ramah and Saglek Fiords but I have not seen any there.
I don't have time to do a map for the present day, but most of the places I went by dogteam are the places that I use by ski-doo nowadays.

Inuit Land Use and Occupancy

This final section of the Statement of Claim describes the more recent patterns of land use and occupancy in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik. The land use, ecological and cultural patterns which are identified from these interviews describe the time period from around 1930 to 1990, although information provided by some of the older Inuit certainly extends this time frame by at least another decade. The information used to address this topic is drawn entirely from the Inuit land use and environmental/ecological studies that were carried out in Nunavik, including the community of Killiniq, from 1974 to 1990.

The data that has been used to produce the maps and descriptive text on land use in Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik is drawn from the following: 78 interviews with individual hunters about their life history and seasonal land use patterns; 17 group interviews on Inuit environmental knowledge; and six group interviews on cultural features including archeological sites, more recent settlement areas and travel routes. The objectives, methodology and procedures for this long-term research program were described in a field guide that was used in all communities and for all interviews. The interviews that were specific to the land use and occupancy project were supplemented by additional information from interviews carried out for studies on low flying aircraft, and on the relocation of Killiniq to Taqpangayuk. A listing of the interviews is presented in Annex 2. A description of the field guide can be found in Annex 5.

The Land Use Patterns and Maps

Information on culture history makes it clear that the land use patterns of the Québec-Labrador peninsula for the years 1930 to 1990 are an expression of an occupancy that is almost 4000 years old. Although it is impossible to ignore the strong imprint of Inuit history and cultural tradition on present day land use patterns, it would be equally incorrect to ignore the impact of more recent events and cultural change on the way in which the Inuit of Nunavik now use their land and offshore waters. From this perspective land use patterns must be read as an expression of not only past and present, but also of the future. They are simply the geographic expression of a very dynamic process of continuing adaptation to the conditions that underlie Inuit life.

All of the data collected during the land use and occupancy research, when linked to information from archeology and ethnohistory, indicates that the generalized land use patterns that are shown on the maps have been incredibly stable in their outer boundaries throughout the entire time span of Inuit occupancy on the Québec-Labrador peninsula and its surrounding waters. Within the territory defined by these general patterns and outer boundaries, however, there are constant shifts and adjustments in the areas used on a season by season, year by year basis. All of the land use and occupancy maps presented in this Statement of Claim are composites and as a consequence they are not intended to illustrate the dynamic nature of Inuit land use that constantly redefines the specific details of adaptation within the framework of the more general boundaries of seasonal land use.

The fact that it is possible to construct composite maps that incorporate, though do not express, the dynamics of Inuit land use and occupancy, is based on four factors that have operated throughout Inuit history and which still operate today. These are: the continuing availability of the same species of wildlife resources within a geographical and ecological framework that has changed very little over time; the continuing role of Inuit social structure and cultural behavior in determining how territory is utilized; the continuing importance of hunting as a dominant force in the economic and social development of Inuit culture; and the continuing role of Inuit knowledge about the environment and ecology of their land use areas.

A description and analysis of land use and occupancy of the Québec-Labrador peninsula is based on five categories of data. These are:

1. Individual land use patterns based on species and seasons for different time periods;

2. Composite land use patterns based on a grouping of land use maps for individual hunters according to either species and or seasonality of hunting;

3. Data on settlements, travel routes and other cultural factors that give structure to patterns of land use;

4. Data on Inuit knowledge about the environment and ecology of the region which provides the data needed to understand why Inuit hunt where they do;

5. Data on the levels of harvesting that give an indication of the productivity of land use.

As pointed out earlier, the land use patterns for the Québec-Labrador peninsula cannot be separated into those that fall within Labrador and those that fall within Québec. The social, ecological and environmental factors that underlie the land use of this diverse environment are such that land use for any one area is inter-connected to that of the adjacent areas thus building still larger territorial units. It is this amalgamation which establishes the cultural territory or homeland for the Inuit of Nunavik including those who reside on the Québec-Labrador peninsula.

The general area to be considered extends from the Button Islands in the north to approximately Nain on the Labrador coast and to Kuujjuaq in Ungava Bay. These north-south extensions include all of the inland area and the coastal zone of islands and marine waters. The southern inland limits can be arbitrarily set by constructing an arc between Kuujjuaq and Nain. It is within this region that the most intensive utilization of the Québec-Labrador peninsula took place.

The Environmental Setting

The Québec-Labrador peninsula has a great diversity of environments, landscapes and ecological systems (Figure 2.2.1). In spite of this diversity, however, it is an environment that has two primary stages for the land - snow covered and snow-free; and four primary stages for the marine waters - open water, freeze-up, sea ice, and break-up. Geographically, all but the northern tip of the peninsula lies to the south of the 60th parallel. Nevertheless, the entire Inuit area must be considered to have an arctic environment even though it does not experience the long summer days or winter nights that help define the seasonality of more northerly areas.

In the northern part of the peninsula the entire coastal zone and highland region is without trees of any size while to the south, especially within protected inland valleys, significant stands of trees can be found. The northern sector of the peninsula is dominated by the Torngat mountains. In this region peaks reach 7000 meters and valleys plunge almost to sea level making the topography extremely varied and rugged especially where the land meets the sea. This is particularly true for the northeastern most sector of the Labrador coast. This stretch of the Labrador coast is characterized by deep, steep-sided fjords, some of which penetrate far inland. The northern sector of the Ungava Bay coast is not as severe, but the land rises quickly and there are many embayments. Along both coasts the number and position of coastal islands is an important element of the physical environment, especially when these islands are in the mouths of embayments and fjords.

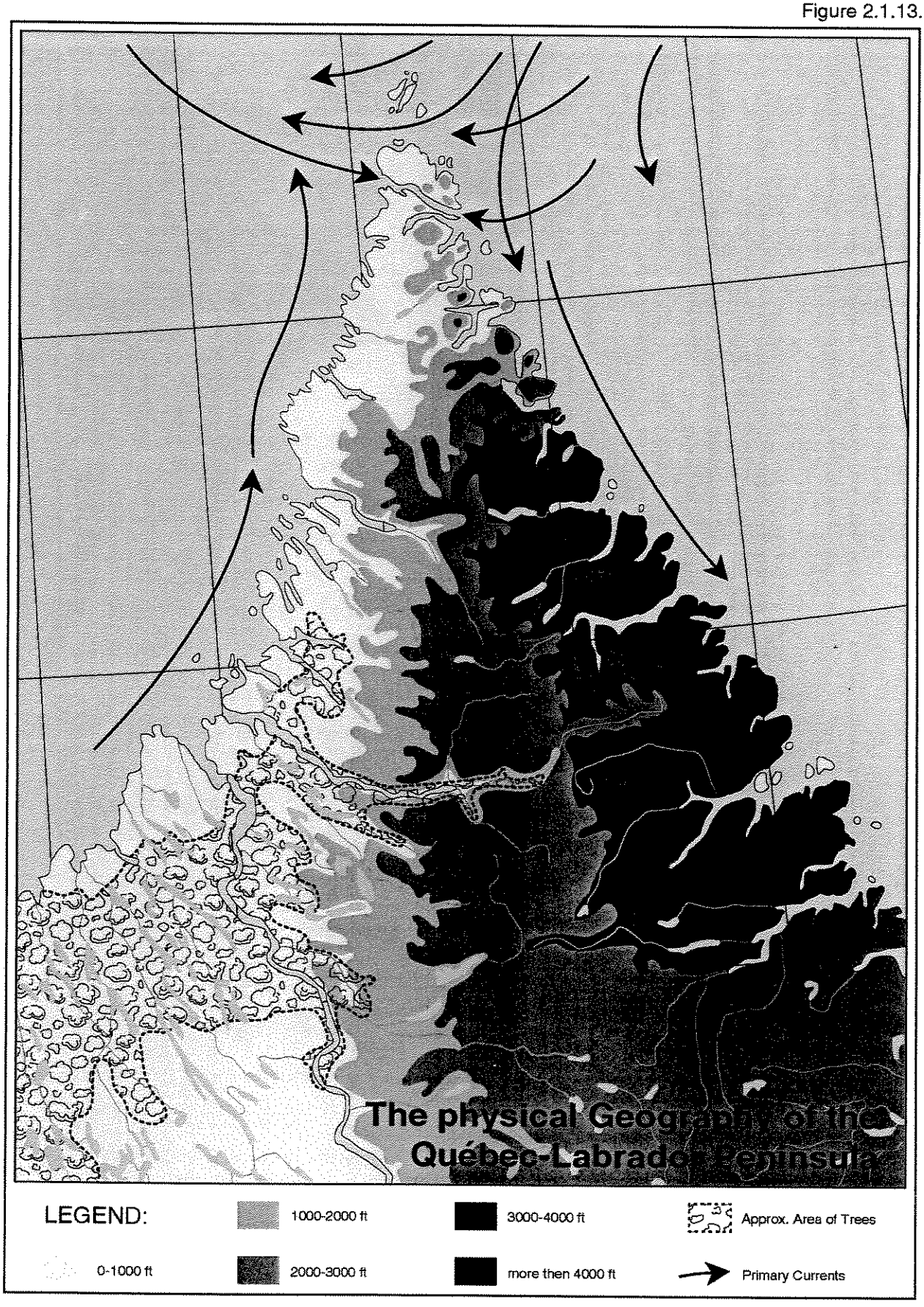
Further south and somewhat inland the topography gradually lowers in elevation and becomes less rugged so as to form a large central plateau with an elevation that averages about 600 meters and which is characterized by many lakes and river systems. The inter-connection of lakes, rivers, and structural valleys provides the physical conditions around which travel routes have been developed. In the southeast sector of Ungava Bay, the plateau serves as a backdrop to the large arc of low-lying coastal plain, that stretches from Kangirsualujjuaq to Kuujjuaq. Here several large river systems flow into Ungava Bay providing the only topographic definition to this low lying area. Along the coast the plateau forms an irregular topography for the coastal plain along both the Ungava Bay and Labrador coasts.

The other major environmental region that shapes patterns of land use and occupancy is formed by the sea ice and open water conditions of the coastal zone, islands and offshore waters. The Labrador coast is effected primarily by the southward flowing cold Labrador current whereas Ungava Bay is most effected by a large counter clock-wise current resulting in a general northward flow along the coast towards Killiniq. The Killiniq area is itself strongly influenced by the convergence of currents and marine conditions from the Labrador Sea, Ungava Bay and Hudson Strait. Nowhere is this convergence more apparent than in the McLelan Strait area, especially at the changing of the tides. Though McLelan Strait is only 1.5 km in width, it is often a barrier to travel in summer, and its crossing in winter, requires a special route.

The processes and patterns associated with the sea-ice environment are diverse and vary significantly from one area to another. There is also a marked difference in the sea-ice environments between the Ungava Bay and the Labrador coast. The general pattern of sea-ice build-up and break-up for Ungava Bay is primarily influenced by the currents, tides and input of fresh water. In southeastern Ungava Bay freeze-up occurs earliest where there is a lower salinity caused by the outflow of fresh water from the major river systems. In the spring these areas are the first to have open water, a condition caused by the force of these rivers as they carry melt water from the land to the coast. Along both the Ungava Bay and Labrador coasts open water and sea ice conditions are effected by the tides. The importance of tides is especially evident in Ungava Bay where they range from 45 feet in the south to 22 feet at Killiniq. The combination of general currents and tidal currents interact with the position of offshore islands, the configuration of the shorelines and the depth of the waters, to create many localized zones defined by the conditions of the sea ice or open water. All of these conditions make travel at any season of the year difficult and often dangerous. However it is also these localized environments that are often directly related to the presence and abundance of resources.

The Ungava Bay floe-edge usually forms by January but its seaward limits are not extensive because of the strong northward current. The formation and expanse of land-fast ice is also significantly affected by the impact of the tide which in turn is influenced by the depth of the waters and the configuration of the coastline. For the most part, the floe-edge never extends more than two or three miles from the coast and its western limit is usually anchored to the outer perimeter of the offshore islands. The Inuit hunters note that offshore islands and reefs often serve as points of growth for ice formation and as such encourage the development of a stable ice platform that may be surrounded by unstable areas. Within the areas of land-fast ice, there are always polynias, or small open water

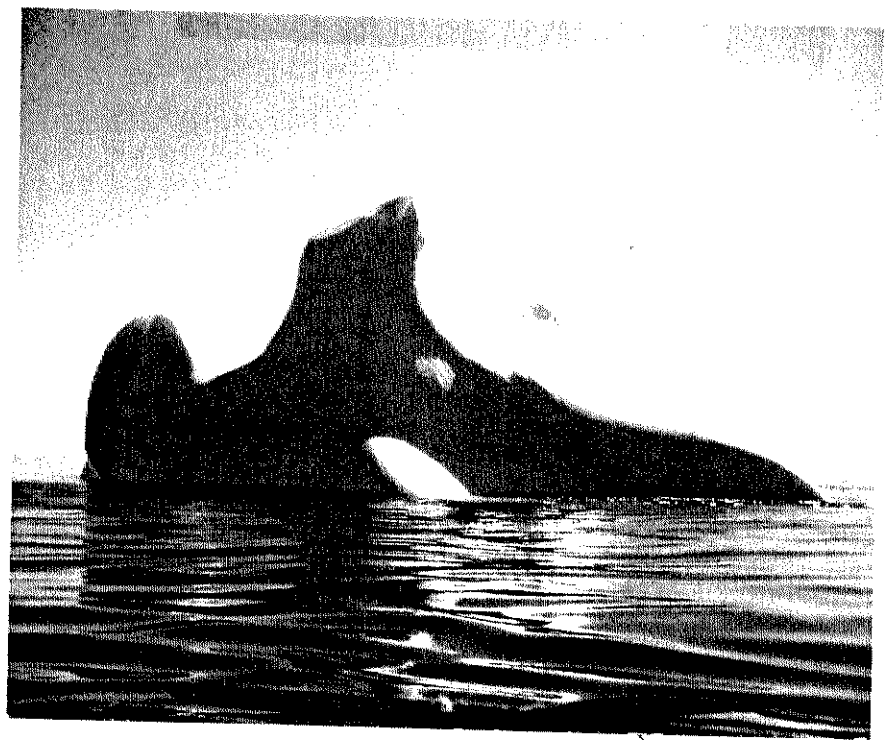
Figure 2.1.13.



APPROX. 1:1.801.300

areas. All of the various configurations of the sea-ice have an association with different levels of ease and safety for travel and with different levels of resource availability and abundance. To the west of the Ungava Bay floe-edge there is constantly moving pack ice which moves east to west depending on the tide but also northward because of the current. Strong east winds create open water off of the floe-edge, whereas west and northwest winds push the pack ice against the floe-edge.

When discussing ice conditions on the Labrador coast with the Inuit of Nunavik it is possible to get detailed information based on their utilization of the coastal zone of Labrador in winter. In general, Labrador has a much more exposed coast with a much stronger south flowing current and there are few major rivers that can reduce the salinity of the near shore waters. The major factor that encourages the formation of stable land-fast ice along the Labrador coast are the deep fiords and the presence of coastal islands at the mouth of these fiords. The tides are not as severe along the northern sector of Labrador and this factor helps facilitate the early development of ice in the fiords. The configuration of the floe-edge and location is much more irregular along the Labrador coast and Inuit of Nunavik can draw very detailed maps illustrating its pattern in relationship to the position, number and shape of islands. Because of the strong Labrador current there are many times when the floe-edge is swept clear of pack-ice. This however, is a condition that the Inuit describe as being able to change very suddenly, and at times the floe-edge can be jammed with moving pack ice for extended periods.



A general description of the topographic, climatic and vegetation patterns for the Québec-Labrador peninsula provides an overview of the environmental conditions that shape the adaptation of Inuit. Although there larger scale patterns are important, one of the major elements of Inuit environmental knowledge involves their detailed understanding of both the patterns and, especially, the small nuances of this complex environment. What matters to hunters and, therefore, what is reflected in their maps, are the factors and processes that create a "local environment". Hunters seldom describe the environment in terms of large scale processes or patterns, preferring instead to explain the nuances and meaning of a particular area in terms of its micro-environments.

The environmental knowledge interviews reveal not only the geography of environmental conditions but also the subtle shifts that occur in the conditions that define a particular location making each place distinctive. The same type of detail emerges from the interviews on ecological knowledge and again, the hunter does not perceive the resources of the Québec-Labrador peninsula as broad patterns but rather as a cluster of inter-related details. It is for this reason that group interviews are far more productive when attempting to gather Inuit knowledge. Although Inuit do not wish to talk about large scale processes or patterns, they do speak of "big forces" and recognize that sometimes the power of the environment cannot be rationalized through knowledge alone.

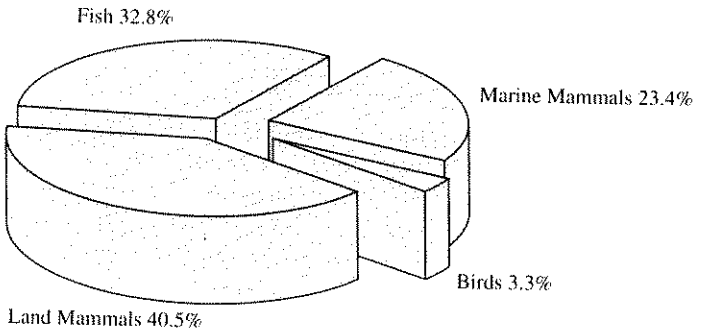
The Land Use Maps and Harvest Levels

The primary patterns of land use for the territory under consideration are illustrated on three types of maps. These are the general land use maps for the four major species groups, the more specific maps for selected species within each of these groups, and ecological maps for selected species or species groups based on Inuit knowledge. Since the maps in this volume are presented at a reduced scale, more specific information showing the area used by individual hunters for each species and season is detailed on a set of maps at a scale of 1:500,000 which can be found in Volume 2. Harvest level data that provides an indication of the productivity of land use is summarized in Table 2.2.1, Figure 2.2.1 and in the harvest level graphs that occupany the land use description for each species.

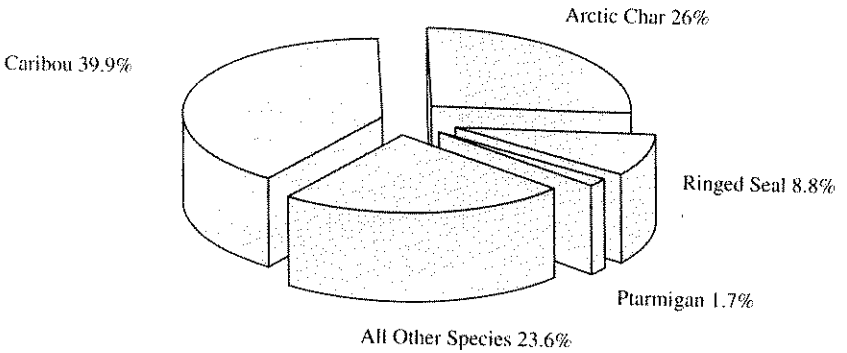
TABLE 2.2.1

AVERAGE HARVEST LEVELS BY NUMBER AND WEIGHT (LBS) FOR THE QUÉBEC-LABRADOR PENINSULA (1976-1980)

	Total No.	Total Wt.
Marine Mammals		
Ringed Seal	927	29219
Bearded Seal	103	22427
Ranger Seal	11	648
Harp Seal	68	6441
Beluga Whale	24	15173
Walrus	1	32
Polar Bear	8	2800
Total		**77034**
Land Mammals		
Caribou	1031	131968
Arctic Fox	500	1651
Arctic Hare	61	310
Total		**133929**
Birds		
Snow Geese	6	21
Canada Geese	566	2659
Ducks	770	1309
Murre	155	155
Guillemot	153	123
Loon	77	192
Rock Ptarmigan	5898	4719
Willow Ptarmigan	1506	1055
Grouse	77	54
Snowy Owl	18	67
Duck Eggs	2713	624
Goose Eggs	68	16
Total		**10994**
Fish		
Arctic Char	19130	86087
Salmon	693	5892
Lake Trout	1054	7379
Cod Fish	319	797
White Fish	3469	703
Brook Trout	3327	6655
Sculpin	972	486
Land Locked Char	191	477
Total		**108476**
TOTALS	**40899**	**330433**



Comparison of Percentage Contribution to Total Harvest by Species Groups



Percentage Contribution of Four Primary Species to the Total Harvest.

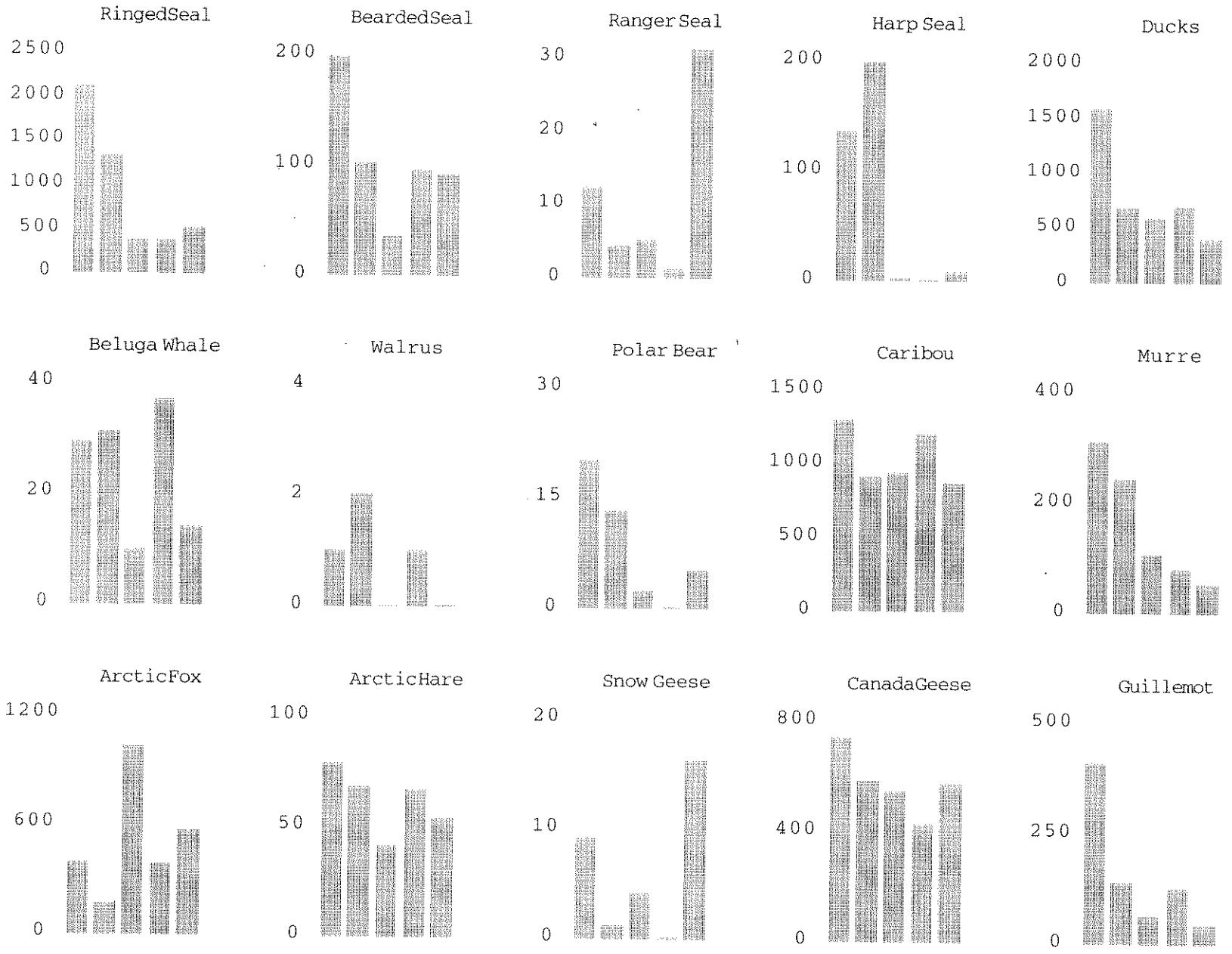


Figure 2.2.1 Harvest levels by species and year 1976-1980 for the Québec-Labrador Peninsula

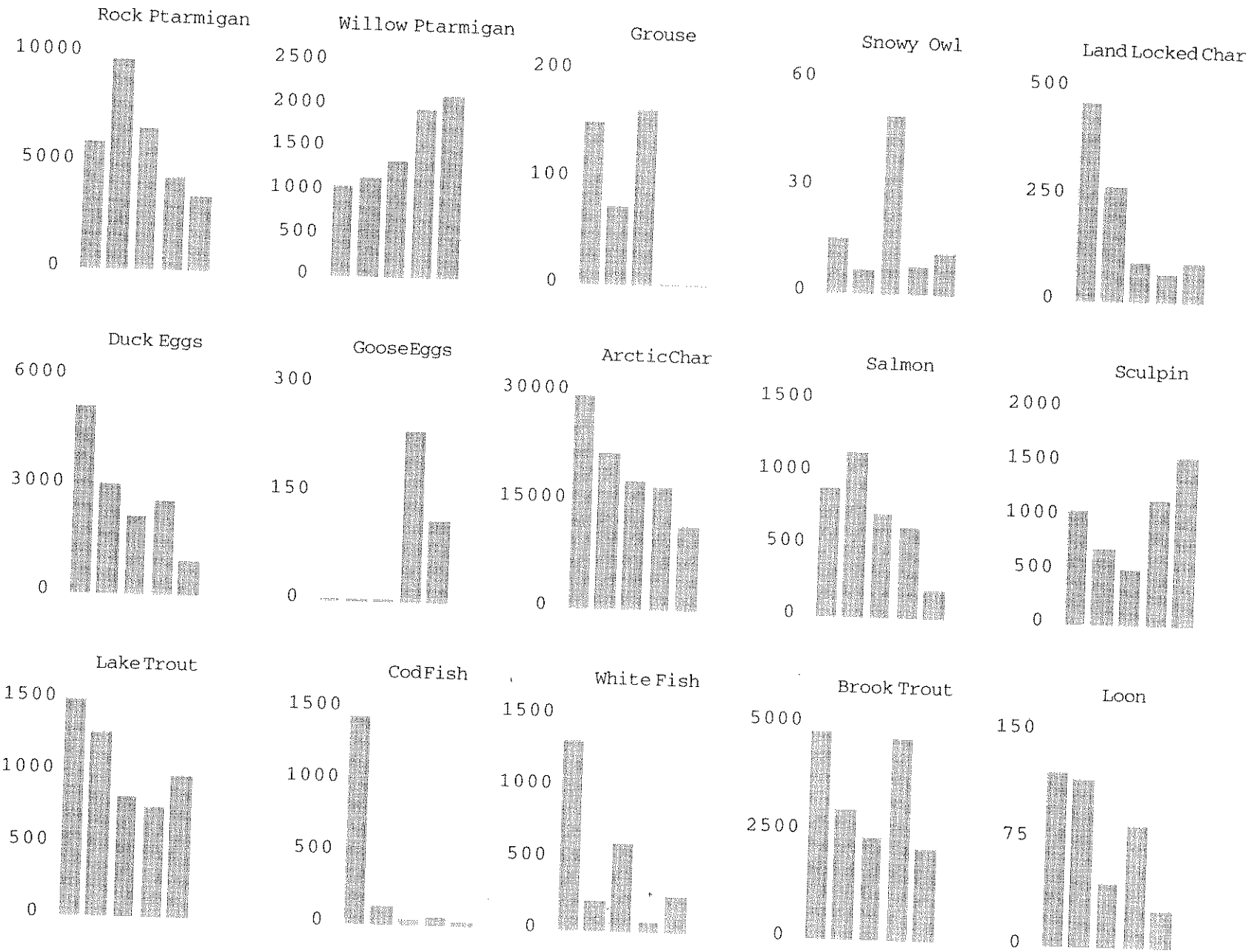


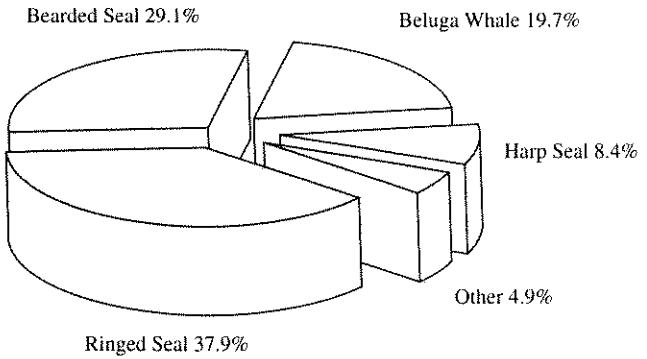
Figure 2.2.1 (continued) Harvest levels by species and year 1976-1980 for the Québec-Labrador Peninsula

The following discussion of land use patterns is divided into four major species groups, describing both the ecology, from the perspective of Inuit knowledge, and land use for the individual species within these groups. The maps that accompany this description are presented in the form of an "atlas" that follows the written descriptions of land use by species groups. These maps are all designed to present land use information by area. In order to understand the patterns of individual land use the more detailed 1:500,000 series of volume 2 must be referred to.

Marine Mammals

The outer boundaries of land use for marine mammals are illustrated on Figure 2.2.3; and for individual species on Figures 2.2.4 and 2.2.5. The ecological patterns for marine mammals are illustrated on Figures 2.2.6 and 2.2.7. A more detailed description of seasonal land use by species at a scale of 1:500,000 is illustrated on composite land use maps 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Volume 2.

The ecological patterns of the resources that frequent the Ungava Bay and Labrador coast are closely linked to changes in the open water and sea ice environment and in the pattern and timing of tides and currents. Marine mammals are grouped into those that are present all year round, which includes the ringed and bearded seals, and those that migrate into the area in spring and out in fall, which includes the harp seal, beluga whale, and occasional walrus.



Contribution of Individual Marine Mammal Species to the Total Marine Mammal Harvest

Ringed seals are found on both the east and west sides of the Québec-Labrador peninsula in all seasons of the year. Although some of the seals remain throughout the year, others tend to migrate into and out of the region, following the same migration routes as the harp seal. The hunters also note that there is a "drift" of seals towards the north in the open water season and towards the south later in the fall. During break-up the seals tend to congregate in areas where there is loose ice and where they maintain breathing holes in the winter time. All of these areas are well known to the hunters. Most of the important areas where seals give birth are located on the Labrador side of the peninsula.

The pattern of bearded seals is more complicated. The general spring pattern of migration for the bearded seal follows a route north along the east coast of the peninsula and then west around the northern side of Killiniq Island. On reaching the waters of Ungava Bay some of the seals move south towards Kangirsualujjuaq while others move further west across Ungava Bay. Even though there is a general migration, many individual seals remain in the bays and fjords, and some remain near the Button Islands, where they can be found throughout the summer. In the fall the bearded seals begin their southern migration following the same routes as in the spring except for some which the Inuit note move into Ungava Bay following the same routes as the polar bear.

The harp seals migrate up the east coast of the peninsula during the spring. Like the bearded seals, some continue to move while others remain at places along the route, so that in summer they can be found in the bays, fjords and inlets on the northern sector of both coasts and at the Button Islands. The southern migration begins in the fall (October/November) and follows the same routes as the northern migration.. This pattern of migration means that large numbers of harp seals pass by Killiniq Island. The Inuit hunters state that ranger seals on the other hand, do not move very much but stay in the same general area. A few locations where ranger seals can be found during the summer were known. The ranger seals give birth to their offspring in June, and breed in July.

The ecology of beluga whales for the Québec-Labrador peninsula forms part of a widespread pattern of movement that is, like that of harp seals, from the east to west in spring and from west to east in late fall. Within this generalized pattern there are many local movements and a complex division between male and female as well as between older and younger age groups. The exact pattern and timing of movement depends upon the location of ice and open water, and the Inuit note that there are many feeding and resting areas along the migration routes. During the spring migration the movement of the whales is slower, and follows the outer edges of the land-fast ice. The Inuit can identify specific places along the ice edge where the beluga whales will rest and feed. In the fall, the

movement is faster and tends to utilize the near shore waters since they follow the coastline. The Inuit note that Killiniq is the point at which whales from Davis Strait and the Labrador Sea come together. Most of this larger group moves west across the opening of the Ungava Bay while a smaller number will move south along the west coast of the peninsula.

The polar bear migration route begins on the east coast of the peninsula where they can be found feeding on ringed seal pups in the spring (February/March). The polar bear will then slowly make its way across the west coast where it will get on the ice when it forms in the fall/winter. Once out on the ice, the bears head out into Ungava Bay and then towards the north. Eventually, the ice flow will carry them back towards the east coast of the peninsula for a winter/spring arrival.

The harvest of marine mammals has long served as one of the primary adaptations of Inuit culture. For Nunavik as a whole, marine mammal hunting has been the most important harvesting activity in terms of the total supply of food. On the Québec-Labrador peninsula, however, the abundance and accessibility of fish coupled with the importance of caribou have tended to reduce the need for marine mammals and especially for the ringed seal. Nevertheless, the marine environment is still heavily utilized and the outer boundaries of land use as shown on the maps define a zone that includes the entire length of both coastlines for the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Seven species of marine mammals are harvested including polar bear, which accounts for the fact that certain inland areas are included on the map. The outer limits of marine mammal hunting extend from north of the Button Islands to south of Hebron Fjord on the Labrador coast and south of Kangirsualujjuaq on the Ungava Bay coast.

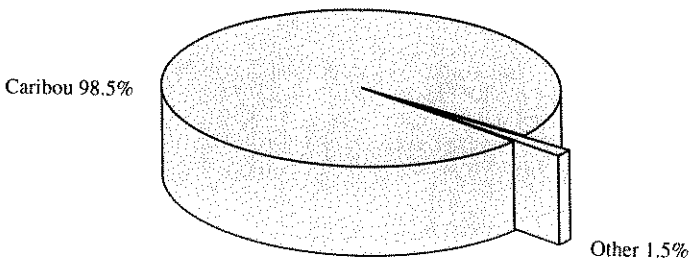
The most widely hunted species are the ringed seal and bearded seal. It is these two species that account for the extended coastal pattern along both the western and eastern shores of the peninsula. On the Ungava Bay coast almost all of the hunting is for these two species, whereas on the Labrador coast the Inuit of Nunavik extended land use pattern for seals also includes the migratory harp seal. Land use patterns that define the hunting of beluga whale and walrus are less extensive since these two species are harvested at well defined places. This is also true for the harvest of the harp seal to the east and west of Killiniq Island and in McLelan Strait.

The land use lines shown on the more detailed marine mammal maps in Volume 2 clearly illustrate the impacts created by difficult sea ice and open water conditions that frequently prevail within the coastal zone of the peninsula. The extended hunting patterns of the Inuit of Nunavik in Labrador as well as along the Ungava coast seldom extend far offshore because of the dangerous conditions caused by waves and currents in the summer and by unstable land-fast ice in winter. The only safe hunting areas in winter are the deep embayments, especially those protected by coastal islands. As a result, the Labrador coast is an extremely important area in winter and spring since the fjords and the density of offshore islands create stable ice conditions that are important in the seasonal land use of the Nunavik Inuit.

In winter most of the fjords and deep bays can be reached by overland travel routes that connect the interior segments of the fjords. Due to the difficult and dangerous travel conditions on the Labrador coast in the winter time, the Nunavik Inuit would in earlier times establish winter camps in the fjords and the land use patterns were then built around travel to resource harvesting areas from each particular camp. In the spring and summer the extent and area of land use on the Labrador coast takes on a longitudinal pattern since it is possible to travel on the outer side of the headlands or exposed coast by either freighter canoe or Peterhead. This travel is always considered dangerous and unpredictable. The recent acquisition of larger boats by the Inuit of Nunavik has made long-distance travel along the Labrador coast less dependent on the conditions of the sea.

Land Mammals

The outer boundaries of land use for land mammals are illustrated on Figure 2.2.8; and for individual species on Figure 2.2.9. The ecological patterns for land mammals are illustrated on Figure 2.2.7. A more detailed description of seasonal land use by species at a scale of 1:500,000 is illustrated on composite land use maps 6, 7, and 8 in Volume 2.



Contribution of Caribou to the Total Land Mammal Harvest

The land use patterns on the Québec-Labrador peninsula for land mammals are based on two primary species; the caribou and the arctic fox. The caribou is now of critical importance to the Inuit of Nunavik that exploit the peninsula since it is their largest source of food, accounting for almost 43% of their total harvest. Arctic fox, on the other hand, are extremely important because of their economic value. However, the establishment of well defined traplines is an important land use function. The more detailed land mammal maps in Volume 2 indicate that the territory of Labrador and Nunavik are utilized in all seasons of the year although there is less use of the interior during spring. The patterns and intensity of land use linked to caribou hunting are closely related to the long-term cycle of growth whereas land use patterns for the fox vary according to a much shorter cycles of abundance and decline.

Three species of land mammals are utilized by Inuit for food or fur. Of these six species only the caribou and fox have well-defined ecological patterns that can be easily mapped. The Inuit note that the other species are widely distributed throughout the region and, although they describe particular patterns of behavior and can locate areas of importance for each particular species, they are not easily mapped.

The ecology of caribou can be described in detail by the Inuit of Nunavik who hunt throughout the Québec-Labrador peninsula. The peninsula is the "home territory" for what is referred to as the George River caribou herd, and it is this herd whose economic importance spreads as far west as Leaf River and then north into the central interior of Nunavik. The herd's calving ground is on the Labrador side of the peninsula. They leave this calving area in spring, moving north on the peninsula and "west" into Ungava. In fall, the movement is reversed as they move towards the wintering and calving grounds. The Inuit point out that this great migration is probably one of the most important reasons why the Québec-Labrador peninsula is known and utilized by Inuit of all Ungava.

> The old Inuit were probably just like caribou. We could follow them one way in the spring an another way in the fall. I think this is one of the reasons why us Inuit from Québec were all over the place. It is how my great grandfather Annanack learned to travel from even beyond Kangirsuk all the way to Killiniq and over to the Labrador coast. Those caribou always went the same way and you can see their trail very easily. It is really like a road not a trail. Even a child would never get lost walking from Payne Lake to Killiniq. (George Annanack, March 1962).

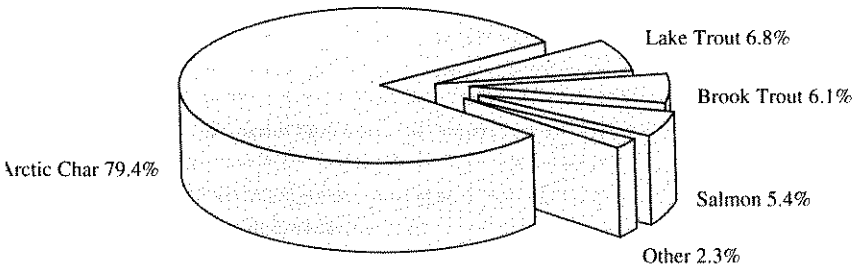
The caribou ecology for the peninsula, as for all of the southern and western Ungava region, has as its most central characteristic long-term cycles of population growth and decline. The knowledge of caribou ecology and abundance, as stated by Inuit, is always predicated on particular stages of the cycle. The Inuit that live on the Québec-Labrador peninsula note that because they are in close proximity to the most important place in the caribou cycle they do not experience the changes as much as do Inuit living further west. They do explain however, that the size of the herd has a direct relationship to the movement and other behaviors that define the ecology of the northern sector of the peninsula. This in turn effects the seasonal and geographic pattern and therefore the accessibility of caribou to the hunters of the peninsula.

The general pattern of migration for caribou is to move north up the peninsula in the spring (March/April) and then south in the fall (September). The caribou tend to meet at the base of the peninsula before heading north and having their calves (April/May) on the east side of the peninsula. The caribou will go as far as the northern tip of Killiniq Island during the summer. The hunters state that more caribou stay in the Killiniq region when the population cycle is increasing and as the numbers get larger, small groups with their own small calving grounds begin to be noticed. At that point, some caribou do not migrate long distances, tending to stay in the same territory throughout the year. Hunters also state that even when numbers are low, there are always some caribou that can be found in any season of the year in the northern most sector of the peninsula.

The importance of the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula in the seasonal ecology of caribou is clearly evident in the patterns of land use, expecially those patterns shown by the individual hunter lines on the 1:500,000 scale maps. There is a constant use of the interior that is linked to the exploitation of caribou, and the seasonal land use lines clearly illustrate use of the interior during all seasons of the year. This pattern is reinforced and its specific points are determined when the more geographical wide ranging activities associated with caribou hunting are combined with the specific geographical requirements of other harvesting activities, especially fishing. In addition, the importance and extension of hunting by Nunavik Inuit into Labrador is evident. Long, well defined routes lead to caribou hunting areas and some of these areas such as the one shown in the south eastern sector are extensive. Others are more precisely defined. Winter is the dominant season in which the land use patterns for caribou and fox reach their greatest extent throughout the peninsula. Land use linked to caribou and fox hunting also includes areas of sea ice and this is especially true along parts of the Labrador coast. Summertime patterns are much better defined but they once again illustrate the importance of the inland and coastal areas of Labrador to the Inuit of Nunavik.

ish

'he outer boundaries of land use for fish are illustrated on Figure 2.2.10; and for ıdividual species on Figures 2.2.12 and 2.2.13. The ecological patterns for fish re illustrated on Figure 2.2.11. A more detailed description of seasonal land use y species at a scale of 1:500,000 is illustrated on composite land use maps 9, 10 nd 11 in Volume 2.



Contribution of Individual Fish Species to the Total Fish Harvest

Fishing comprises a major land use activity for the Inuit that harvest the esources of the Québec-Labrador peninsula. Fishing is carried out in all seasons of he year but for the major species, spring and fall are the most important seasons. 'he generalized pattern shown on this map represents, in fact, a composite of ıany smaller land use areas that usually focus on specific and well defined zones of he many lakes and rivers that comprise the fresh-water environment of the eninsula.

There are eight species of fish whose ecological patterns are known by the nuit hunters. As noted, Arctic char is by far the most important species, followed y cod and then salmon. Unlike other arctic communities, lake trout and brook rout are not important and are only utilized occasionally when hunters travel ɔuth along the Ungava Bay coast. arctic char is by far the most important species f fish harvested, supplying approximately 39,000 kg. (87,000 lbs.) each year. The ɔtal of all fish harvested averages 48,500 kg. (107,000 lbs.). All fish accounts for 5% of the total food supply while arctic char alone accounts for 28% of the arvest from the Québec-Labrador peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik.

Arctic char are found along both sides of the peninsula. The general pattern is for the char to overwinter in freshwater lakes before migrating in late spring downstream and into the deeper saltwater just offshore. After spending summer in the sea, the char once again migrate inland. The migration usually begins in mid to late August, but ice conditions and water temperatures can disturb the timing and path of movement.

Salmon is the other anadromous species that, though important, only frequent in very particular rivers. Whereas char are available in all seasons of the year and in many different water systems, salmon only are harvested in significant numbers for certain rivers as they move upstream at the end of August. Salmon, like char have the timing of their migration up river influenced by ice and temperature conditions. When the salmon arrive near Killiniq during June and July, the hunters say they are thin. Although most salmon move into the north Atlantic some stay in the coastal waters where they feed until mid August, a process the Inuit refer to as "becoming fat". The salmon leave again in mid-August after feeding in the coastal waters and "becoming fat". Salmon are also found on the east side of the peninsula especially in Ikudliayuk Fjord.

Less is known about the ecological patterns of cod because they do not reside in the near shore except for a very short period of time. During the summer, once the snow is off the land and ice is gone from the water, the cod will appear in the vicinity of Killiniq Island and in areas along the Labrador coast. However, the cod do not always make their appearance. In the winter the cod move off into deep water to the northwest and much further to the south.

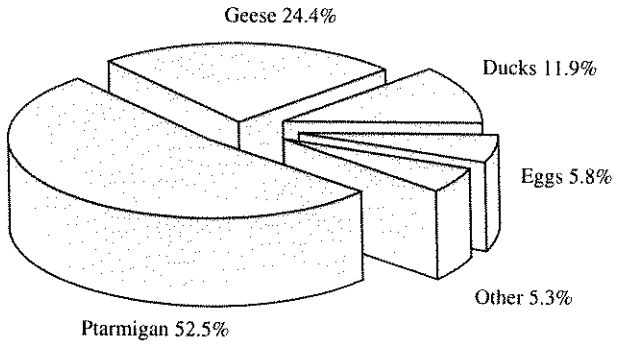
An examination of the more detailed fishing maps in Volume 2 illustrates the location of important fishing areas for all seasons of the year. Winter fishing is confined almost entirely to inland lake and river systems. During the winter most fishing takes place with nets that are set under the ice and checked on a regular basis. The location of netting sites is not random and on a very detailed map Inuit will be able to point to productive fishing spots with great accuracy. In winter some spear fishing is still undertaken especially when fishing in rivers. Towards spring the selection of fishing areas is even more precise since hunters recognize the changes in location as fish move into spawning beds. As the weather warms and the snow melts from the lake ice, spear fishing becomes more important. The anadromous fish begin to move down stream and throughout the summer the most intensive fishing activity occurs along the coast.

In early summer coastal fishing takes place with nets or spears in ice leads or open water areas. Some summer fishing takes place inland but usually towards the end of summer when people move up the river valleys for caribou hunting.

This was especially important in earlier times. Summer inland fishing with nets is primarily confined to lakes for land locked char and lake trout. Coastal fishing activity declines during late summer and does not become important until the arctic char and atlantic salmon start their fall migration inland. At that time, the land use for fishing occurs at very specific places along the migration route of the fish. Some of the fishing spots are located in estuaries where nets are used and later in the fall fishing takes place in the rivers using nets or spears. The use of weirs to "collect" fish as they move upriver is no longer actively practised, but the sites of weirs are still considered to be the most important fall fishing areas. The people further north in the Killiniq region followed the same seasonal pattern, but almost all of their land use devoted to the harvest of fish was confined to the coast and fjords of Labrador.

Birds

The outer boundaries of land use for birds are illustrated on Figure 2.2.14; and for individual species on Figures 2.2.16 and 2.2.17. The ecological patterns for fish are illustrated on Figures 2.2.15. A more detailed description of seasonal land use by species at a scale of 1:500,000 is illustrated on composite land use maps 12, 13, 14, 15 in Volume 2.



Contribution of Individual Bird Species to the Total Bird Harvest

The harvest of birds comprises an important activity within the seasonal cycle even though the overall harvest accounts for only 3% of the total food harvested. It is an activity that is almost always carried out as an adjunct to a more productive land use, but it is also an activity that is carried out in all seasons because of the numbers and types of birds available. Ten major species are hunted and of this number it is possible to describe hunting activities in terms of three primary groups. These are geese and ducks, sea birds, and ptarmigan and other land birds. Geese and ducks are seasonally available in the region as they migrate through the region while all other birds may be found throughout the year although their territory shifts with the changes of the seasons.

The ecology of three main bird species is known in detail by the Inuit, although six other species are known and utilized. In addition, nesting areas and movements of falcons and hawks can be pointed out as can minute details about species seldom utilized.

For Canada geese, the general pattern of movement in the northern area is a northward migration up the peninsula during the spring (May), and a subsequent return journey in the fall (October). As the geese move north some stop along the way to nest on the lakes of the region, while others continue on to Resolution and Baffin Island. It is explained that few geese come north but many return south. Eider ducks migrate northward up the east coast of the peninsula in the spring (May) with many stopping along the way. Upon reaching Killiniq Island the eiders can either continue northward or head down the west coast of the peninsula. The eiders nest on both sides of the peninsula and lay their eggs on many of the small islands along the coasts. In the fall (November) the southward migration begins for the eiders via the same routes they came north by. Some eiders on the Québec coast return via a route across the interior of the peninsula.

Rock ptarmigan migrate northwards in the spring (April) along routes up the coasts and the interior of the peninsula. The ptarmigan tend to continue past Killiniq Island to regions unknown to the Inuit hunters. On the return trip in the fall the ptarmigan follow more or less the same routes but do not stop to nest. Willow ptarmigan only winter in areas south of the northern most region of the peninsula where small bushes that they use for cover and gor feeding are more numerous.

In practical terms, the hunting of birds may produce high numbers but a low food yield. For example, almost 7,500 ptarmigan can be harvested in an average year but this number of birds yields a little over 2,600 kg. of edible weight. Nevertheless, the harvest of birds and of bird eggs, especially duck eggs, provides an important nutrition and taste diversity to the diet. Ducks also yield an important by-product since the nests of eider ducks provides down which is harvested each summer.

The generalized land use patterns shown on the maps for birds, indicate the extent of outer boundaries for the hunting of all birds. An examination of the

more detailed maps for particular species of birds in Volume 2 illustrates the seasonal locations of specific hunting activities. With the exception of areas selected for the spring hunting of geese and the early summer hunting of eider ducks, including the collection of down, most other birds are hunted while pursuing other land use activities either on the coast or inland. Eider ducks have very well defined nesting areas in the early summer and spring, and gathering areas in the fall that are known and utilized by hunters for that specific harvesting activity. Early summer, however, is the most productive season. Geese harvesting is confined to well established areas that are used by geese for resting and feeding during their spring and fall migrations. Certain of these areas are also used by geese for nesting which extends the possibility of harvesting into the summer months. Other sea birds such as murre and guillemot are hunted opportunistically and primarily during late spring and early summer.

Ptarmigan is the most important land based bird and it is actively hunted during the spring when hunters will select particular routes to inland fishing lakes based on the occurrence of ptarmigan. Productive areas for spring ptarmigan hunting are most often located on the upper slopes of river valleys where snow has melted because of direct exposure to the sun or in areas where they seek protection in clusters of bushes and trees. Fall hunting of ptarmigan is more problematic since it is not possible to travel great distances at that time except on foot and since hunters note that the abundance of ptarmigan in the fall is very dependent on the particular weather conditions which may vary considerably from one year to the next.

The discussions about the ecological and hunting patterns for each species provides a description of the many separate components that, together, comprise the totality of Inuit land use. Although each of the individual components has its own importance, it must be understood that the strength and stability of land use comes from the integration of these components into a much larger system. Inuit may be very specialized in certain aspects of their technology, skills and knowledge, but they have consistently been able to apply these "specializations" across a wide range of harvesting activities. Finally, it must also be understood that a land use system is comprised of more than an integration of activities, skills and ecological conditions. In the final analysis land use is also part of a social system that defines and regulates the behaviors and structures that bind Inuit into social groups. Perhaps the role, objectives, technology along with other certain necessities associated with hunting have changed, yet hunting continues to be a defining force in the social, economic and political development of Inuit society. The land use system of the Québec-Labrador peninsula represents a territory of major importance for the Inuit of Nunavik and its role for the continuing development of Nunavik must be recognized and protected.

Atlas of Land Use and Occupancy for the Quebec / Labrador Peninsula by the Inuit of Nunavik

Figure 2.2.1.

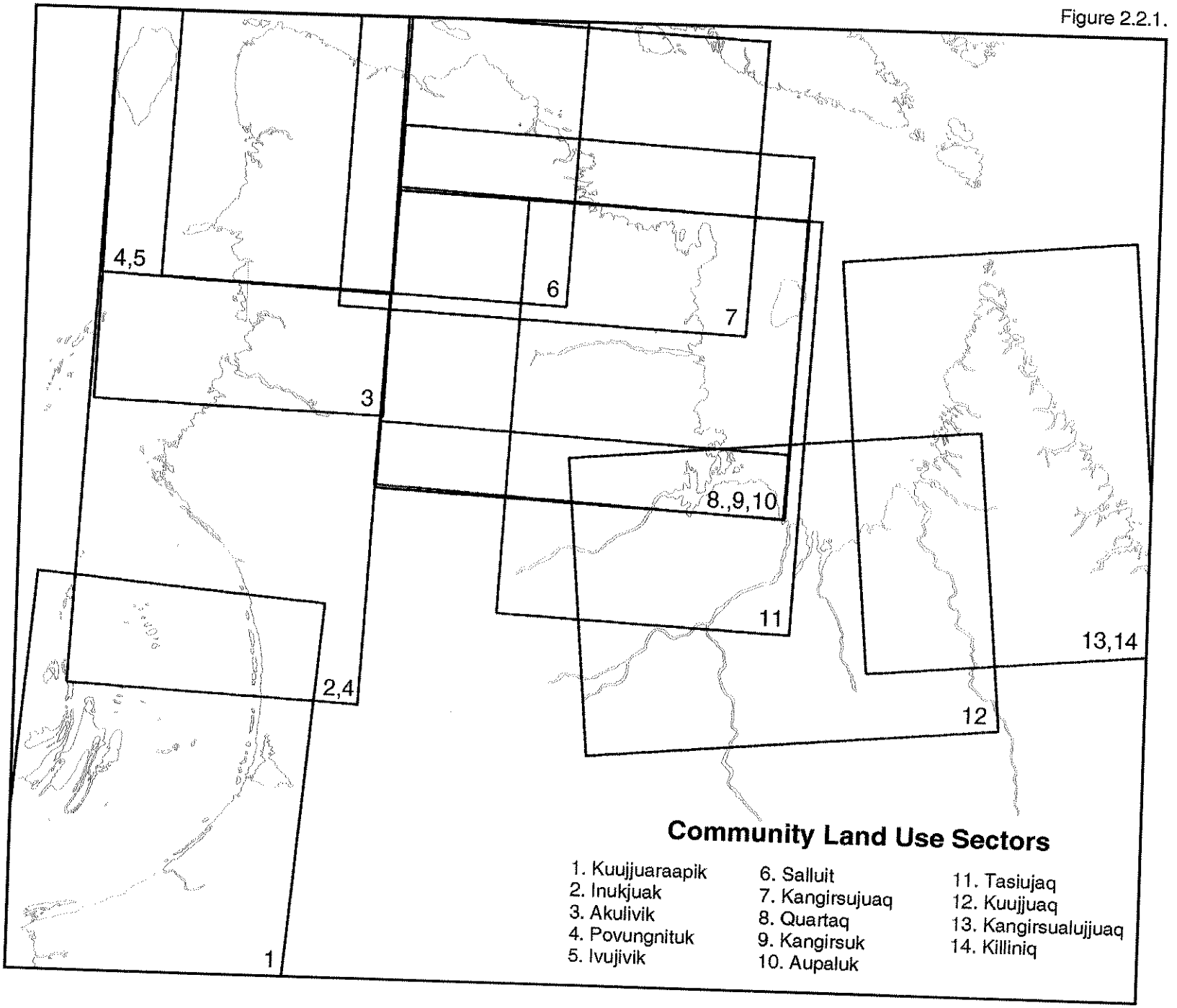
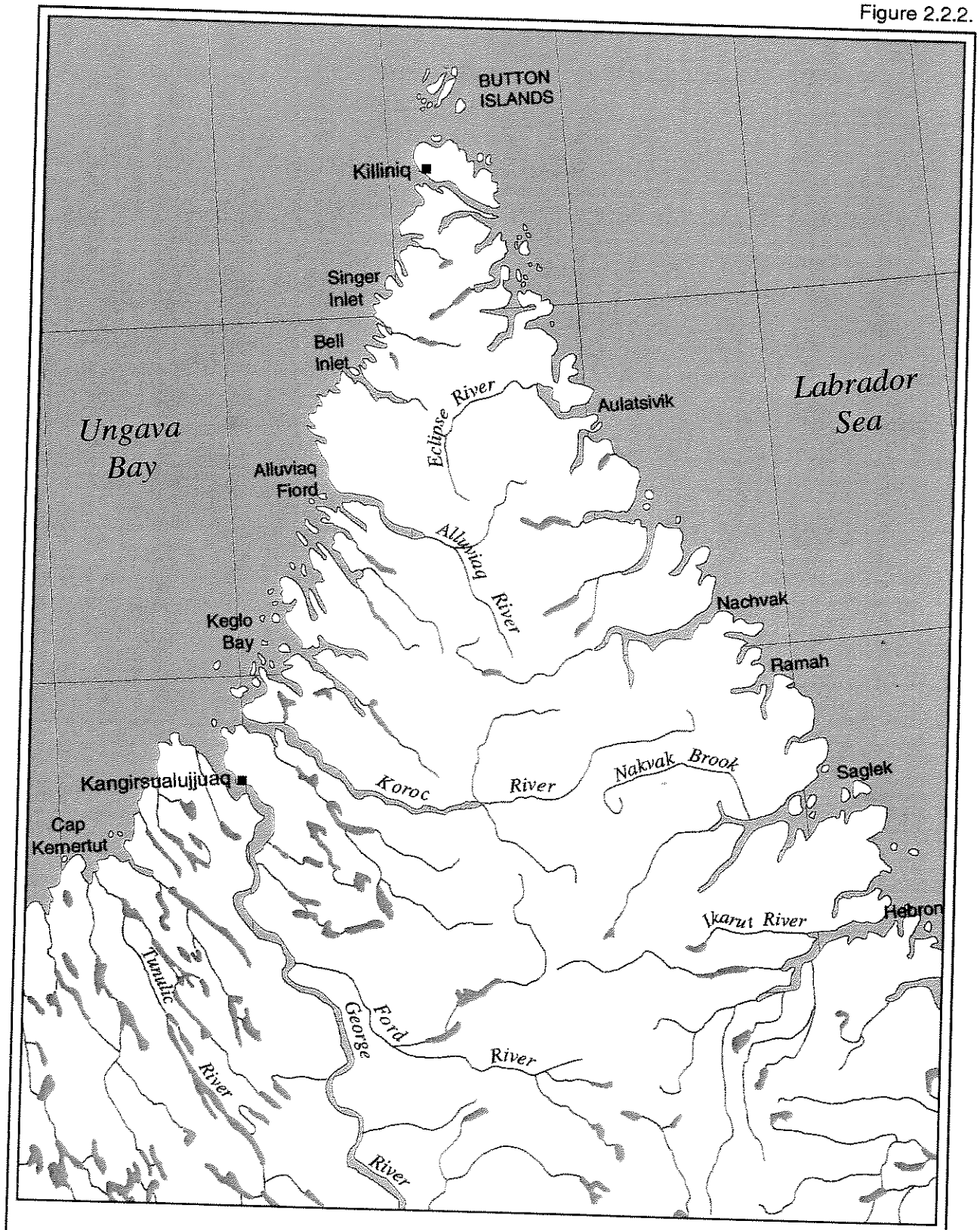

4,5
6
7
3
8.,9,10
11
13,14
12
2,4
1
Community Land Use Sectors
1. Kuujjuaraapik
2. Inukjuak
3. Akulivik
4. Povungnituk
5. Ivujivik
6. Salluit
7. Kangirsujuaq
8. Quartaq
9. Kangirsuk
10. Aupaluk
11. Tasiujaq
12. Kuujjuaq
13. Kangirsualujjuaq
14. Killiniq

Figure 2.2.2.



Place Names of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula

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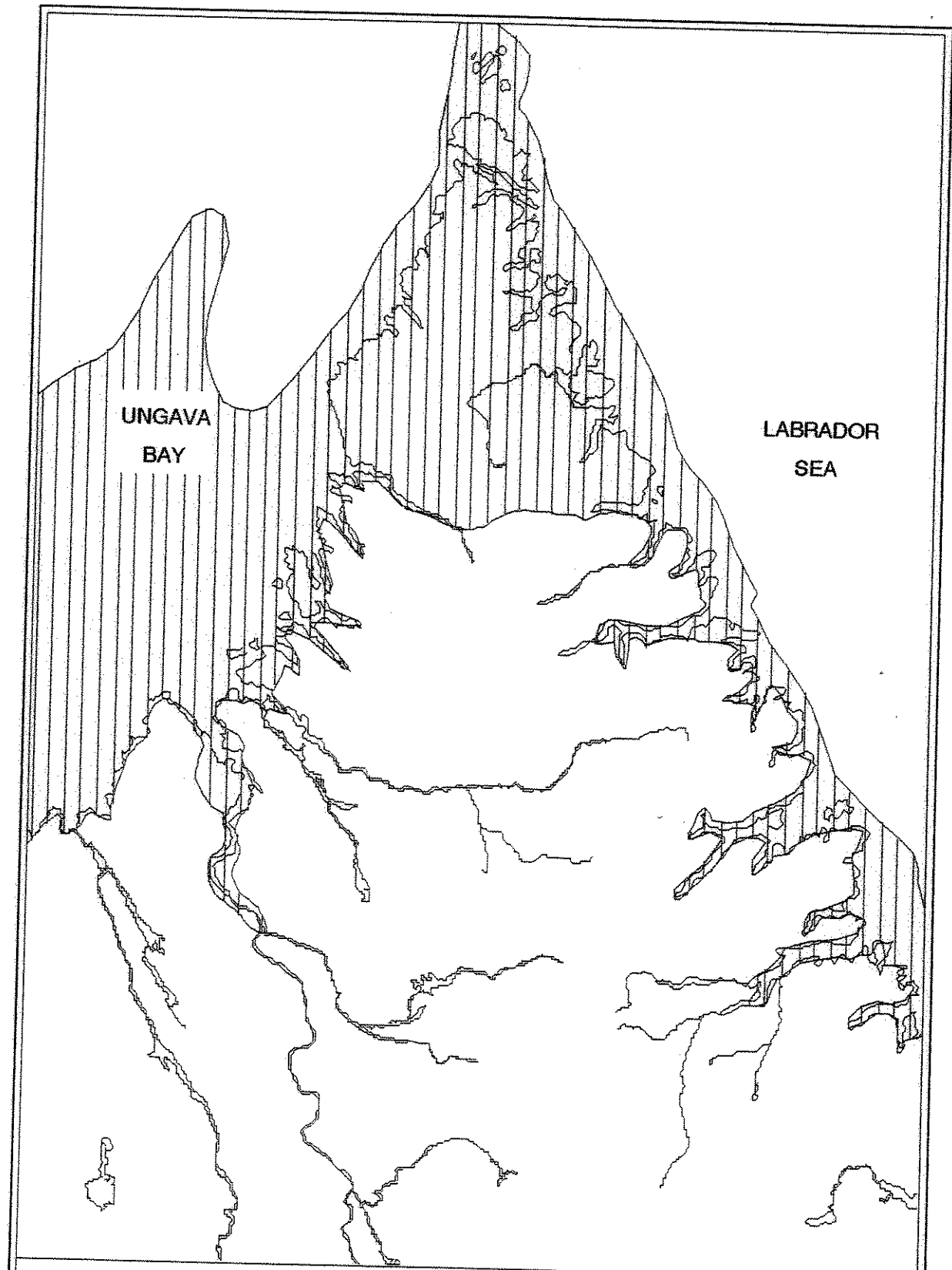
Figure 2.2.3



Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Marine Mammals)

Figure 2.2.4

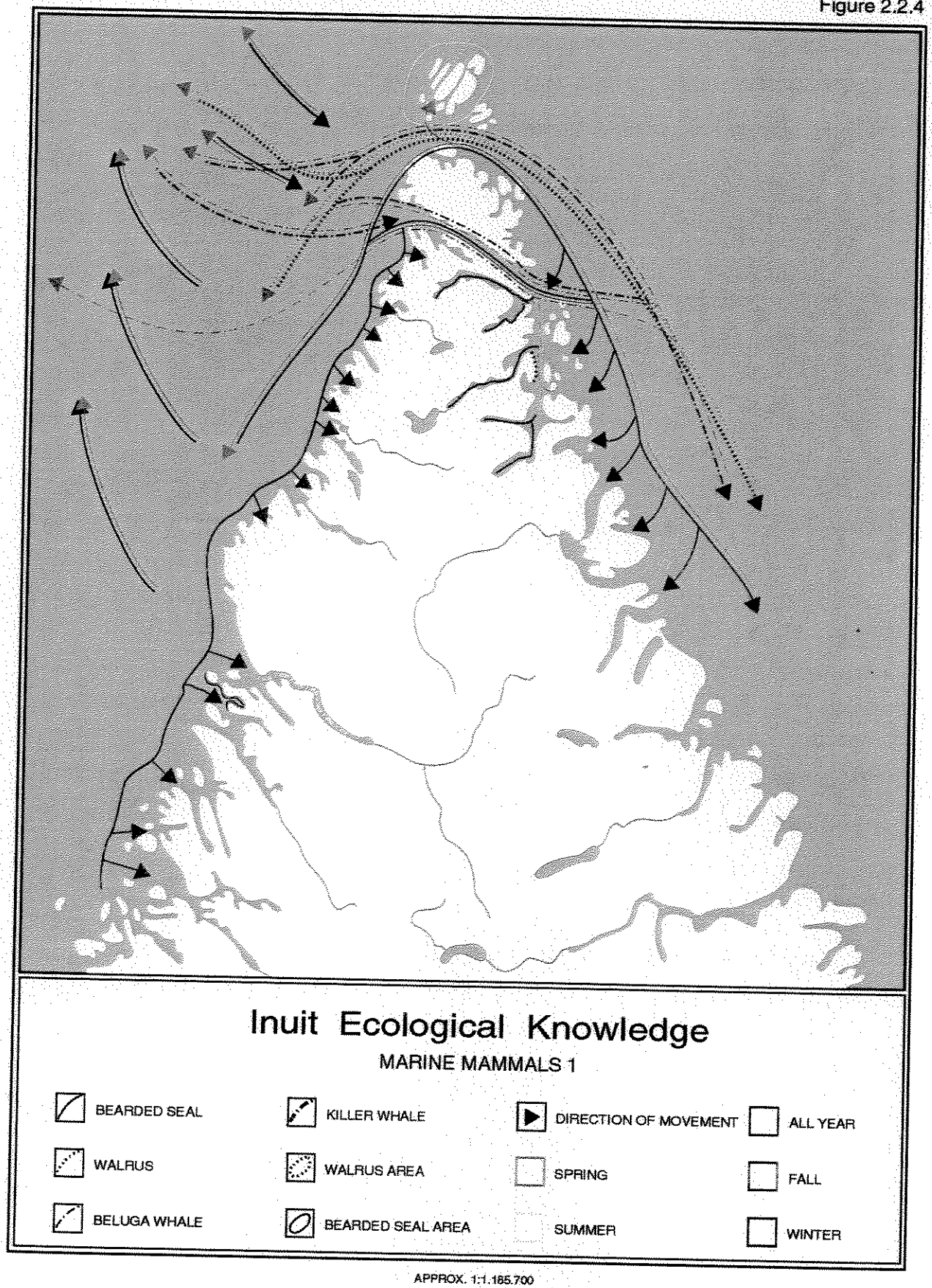


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Figure 2.2.5

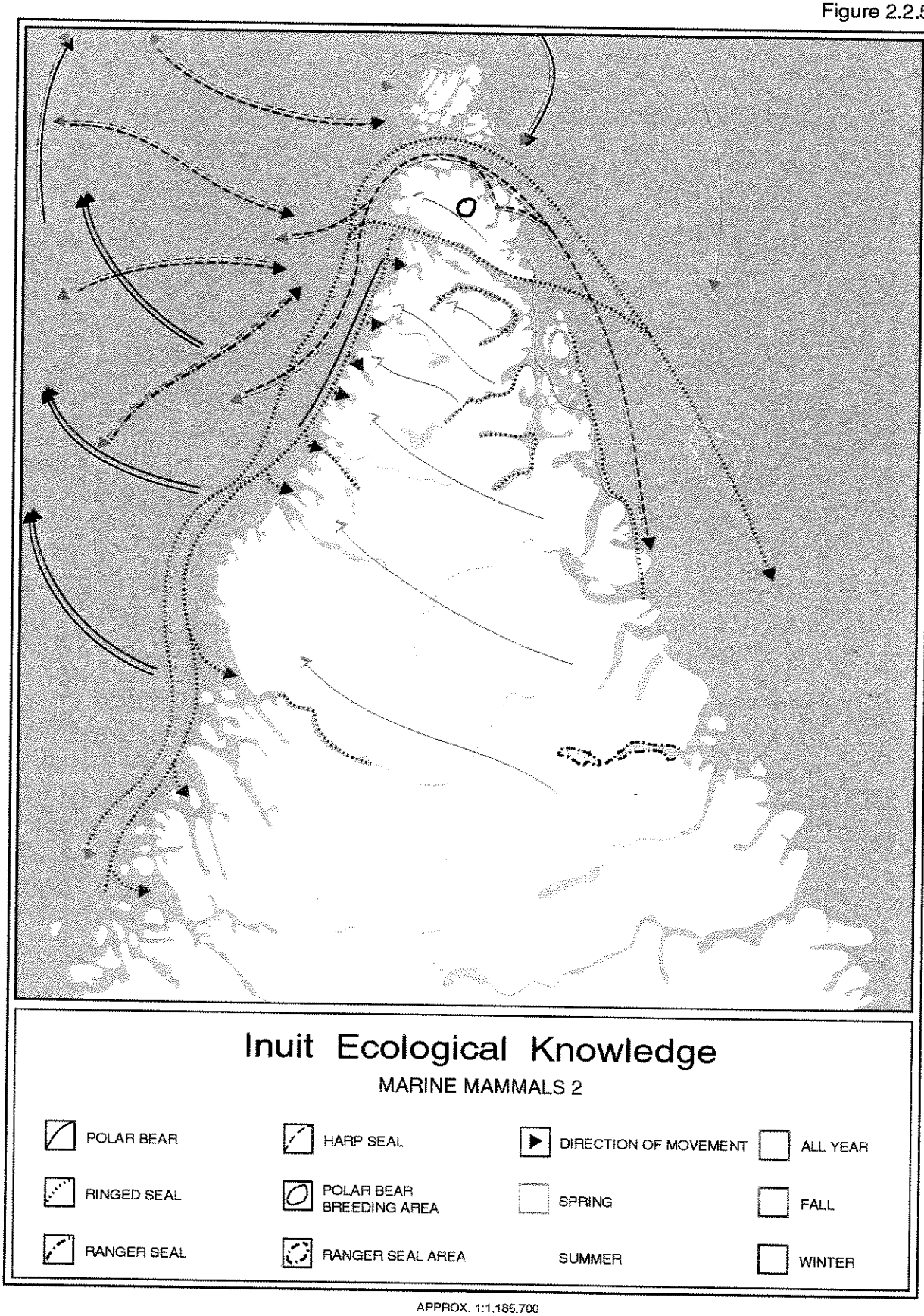
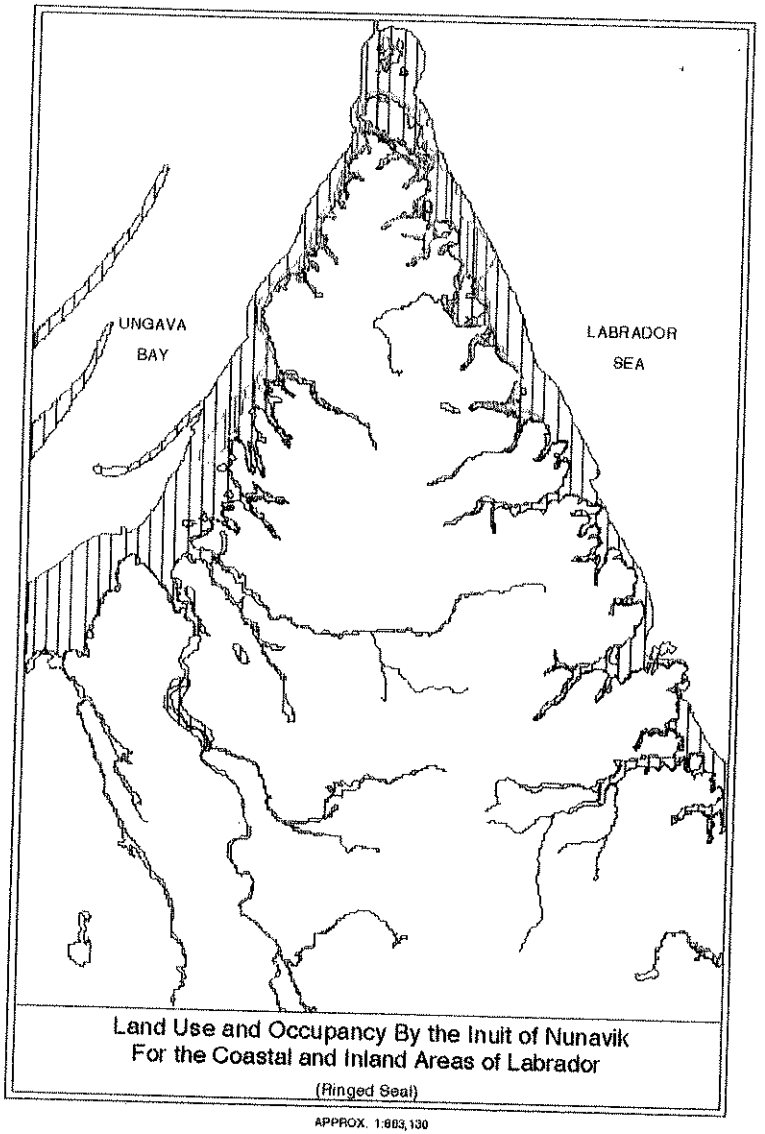

Inuit Ecological Knowledge
MARINE MAMMALS 2
POLAR BEAR
HARP SEAL
DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT
ALL YEAR
RINGED SEAL
POLAR BEAR BREEDING AREA
SPRING
FALL
RANGER SEAL
RANGER SEAL AREA
SUMMER
WINTER
APPROX. 1:1,185,700

Figure 2.2.6


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Ringed Seal)
APPROX. 1:883,130

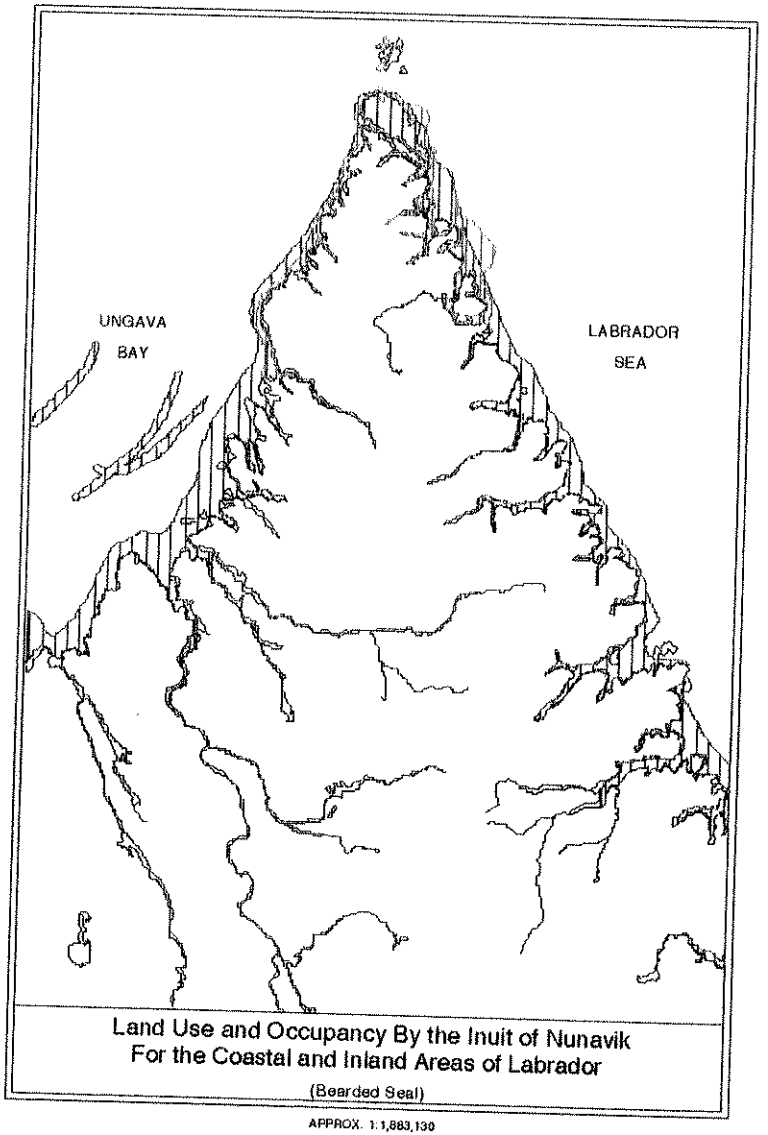
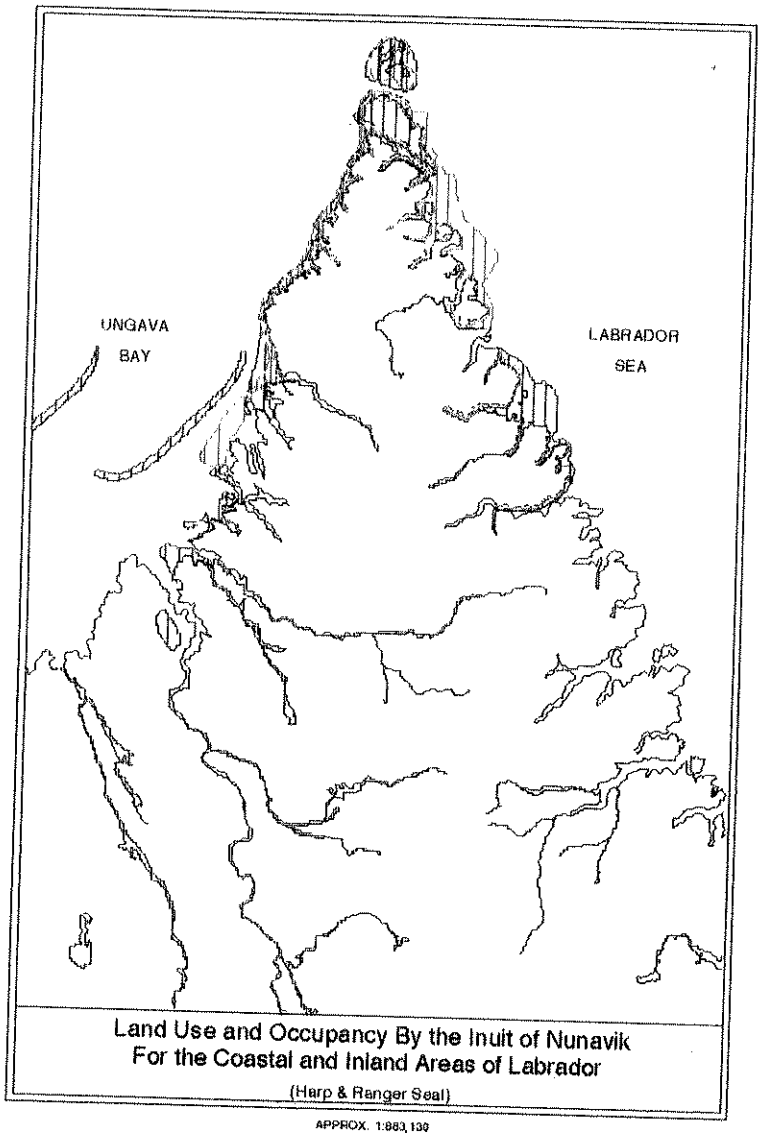

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Bearded Seal)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

Figure 2.2.7


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Harp & Ranger Seal)
APPROX. 1:883,130

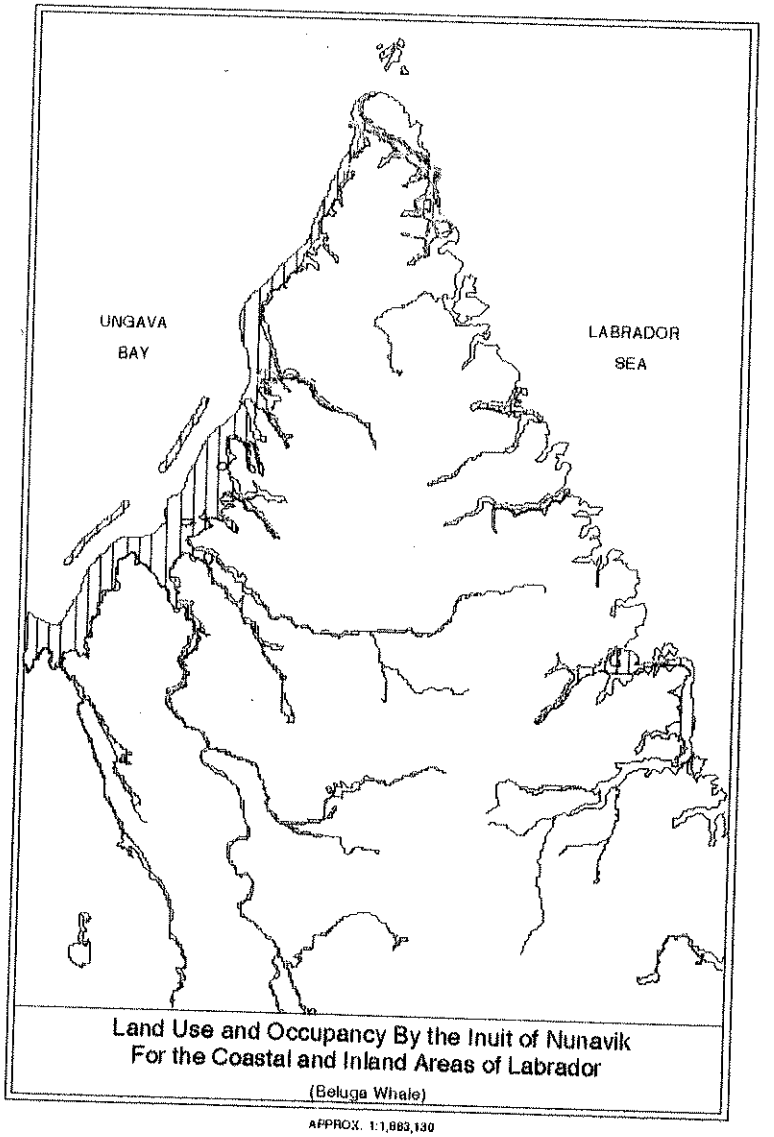
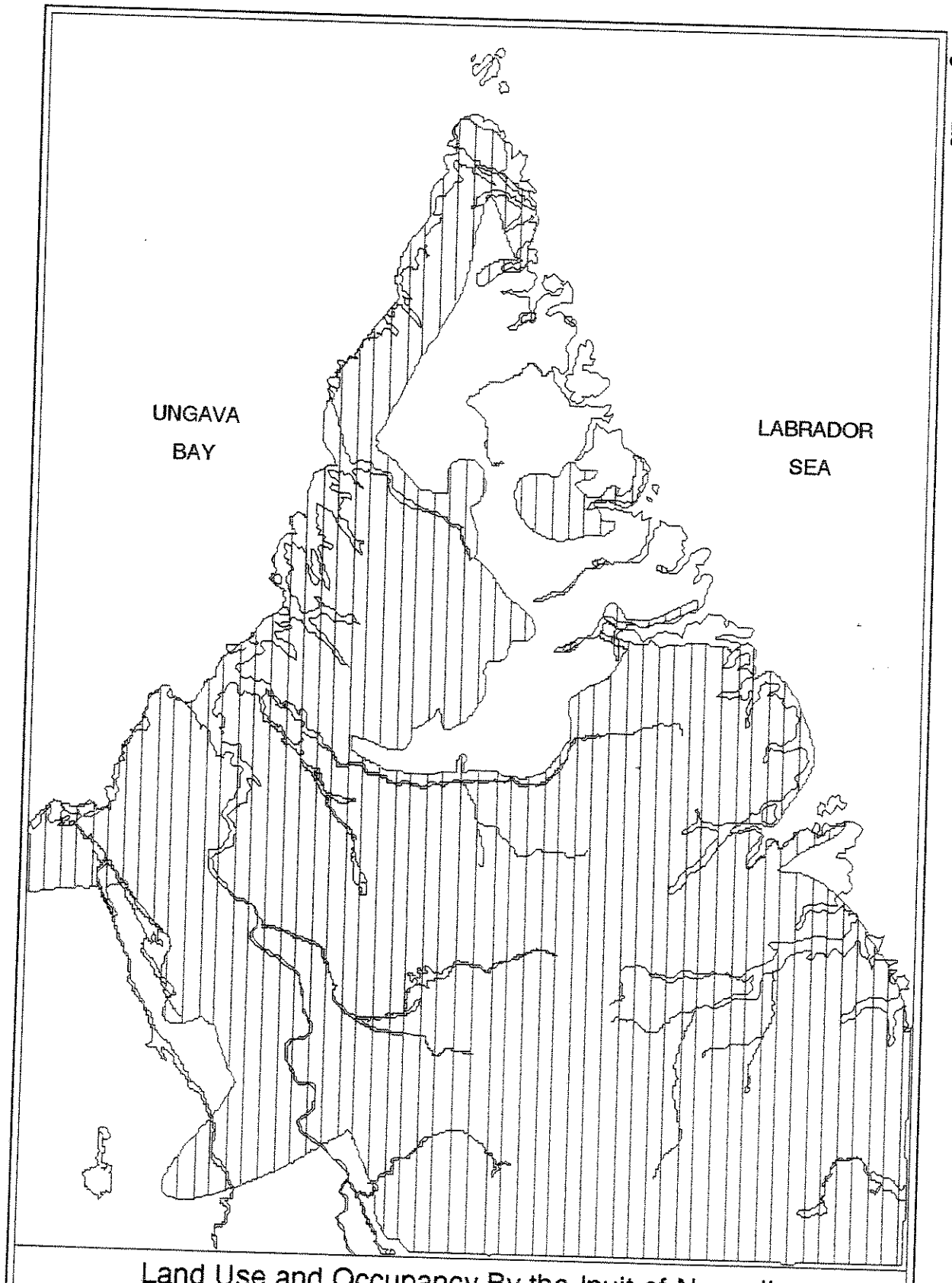

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Beluga Whale)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

Figure 2.2.8



Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Land Mammals)

Figure 2.2.9

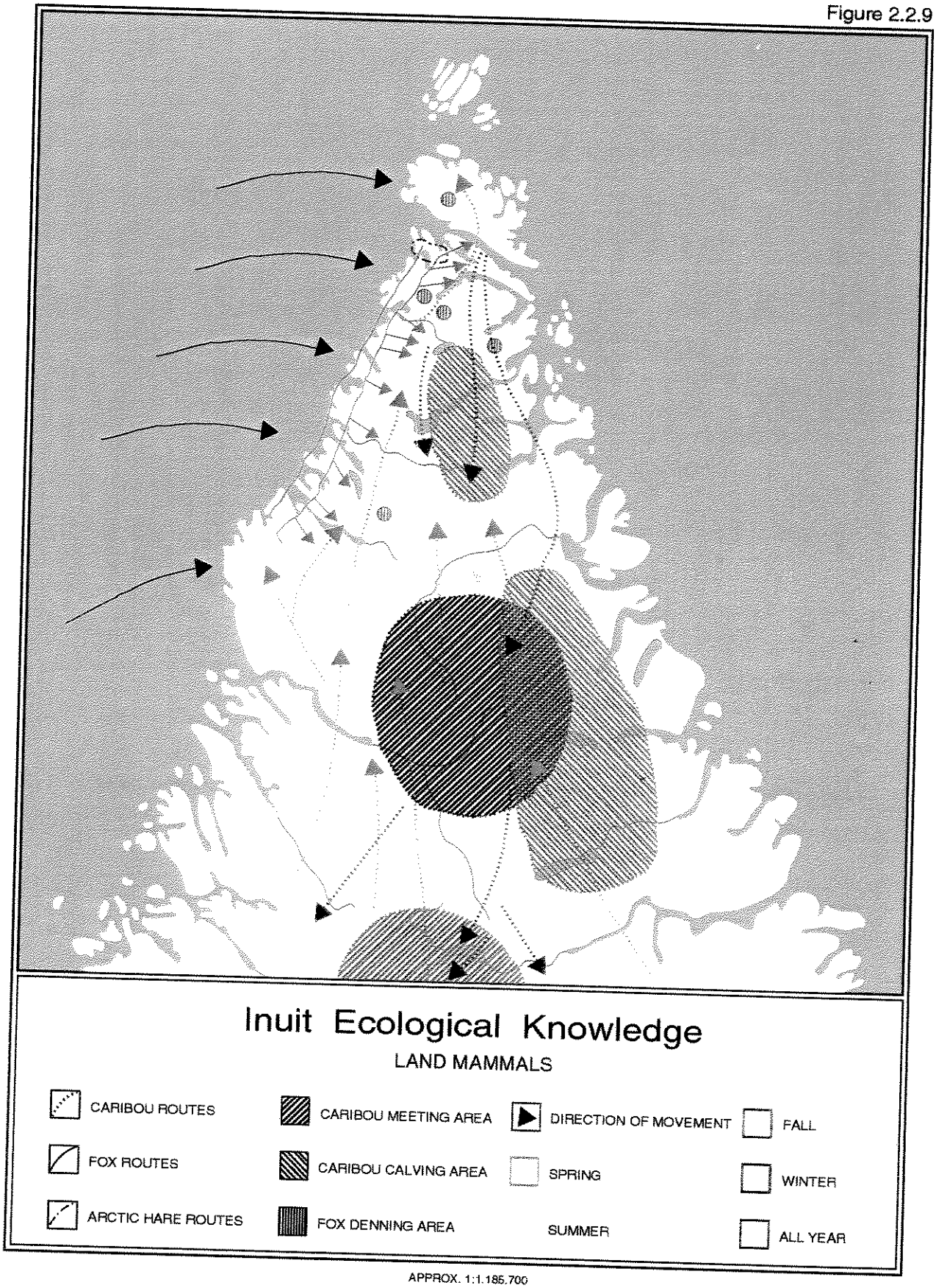
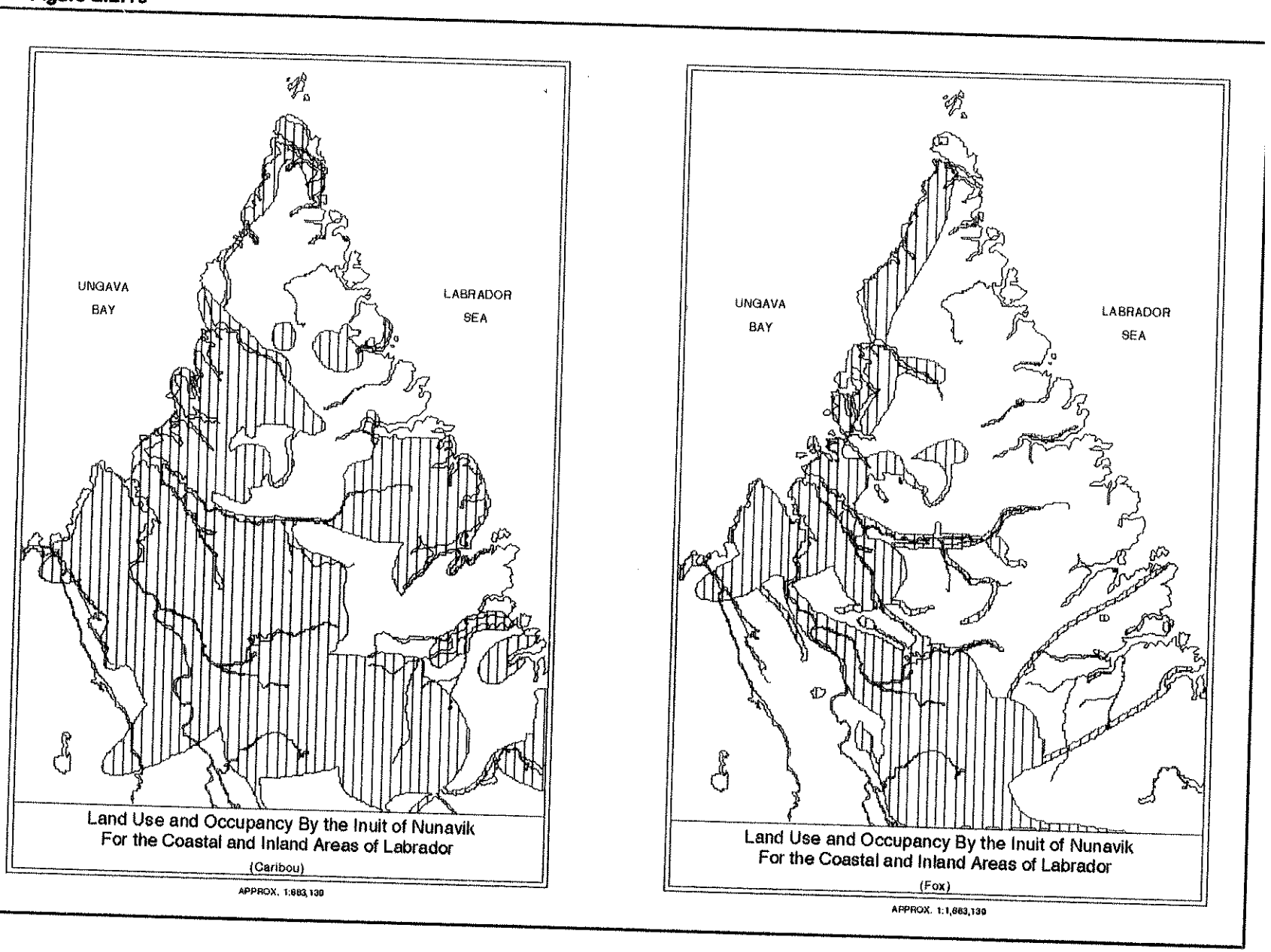

Inuit Ecological Knowledge
LAND MAMMALS
CARIBOU ROUTES
FOX ROUTES
ARCTIC HARE ROUTES
CARIBOU MEETING AREA
CARIBOU CALVING AREA
FOX DENNING AREA
DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT
SPRING
SUMMER
FALL
WINTER
ALL YEAR
APPROX. 1:1,185,700

Figure 2.2.10


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Caribou)
APPROX. 1:883,130
UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Fox)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

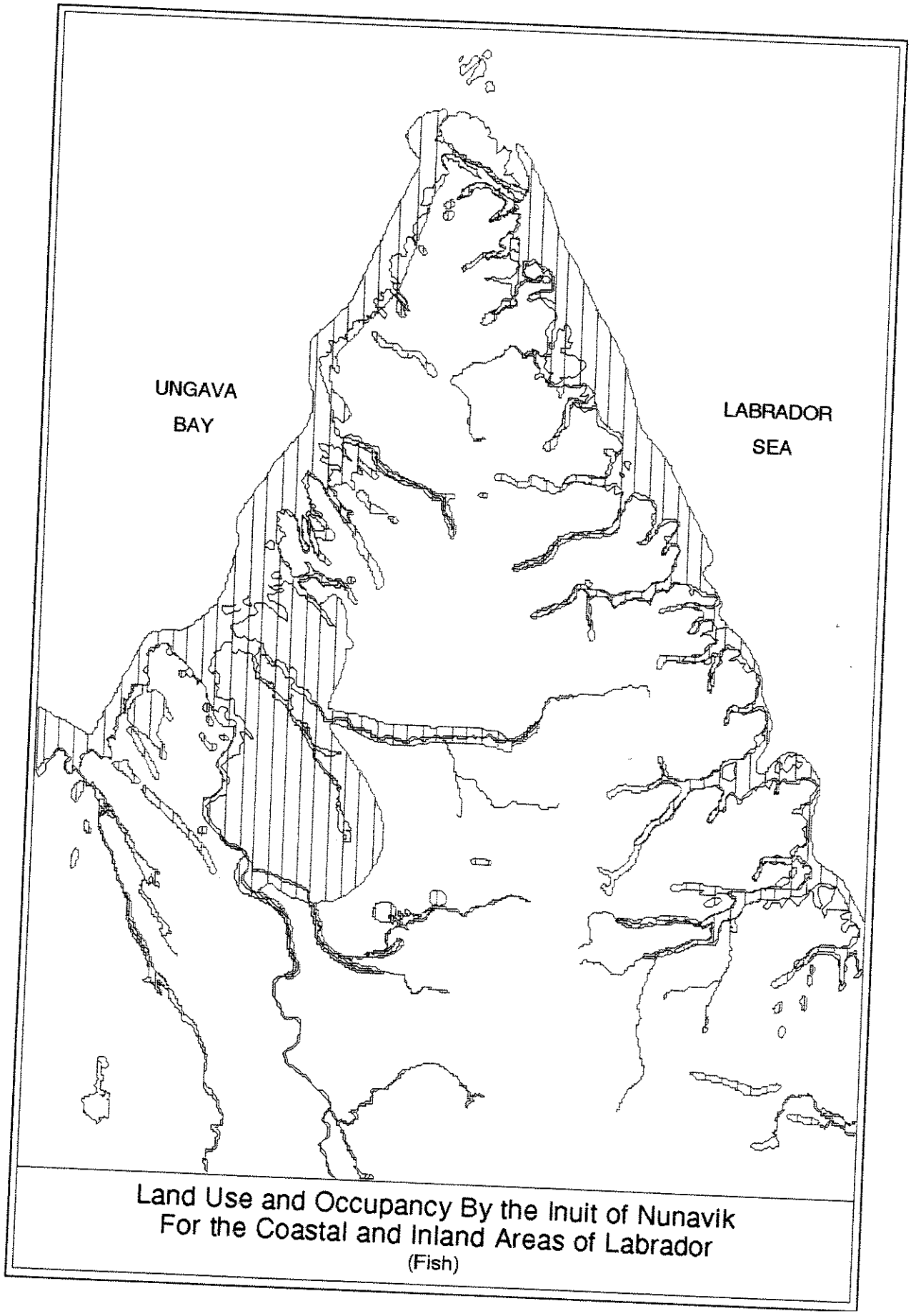


Figure 2.2.11

Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Fish)

Figure 2.2.12

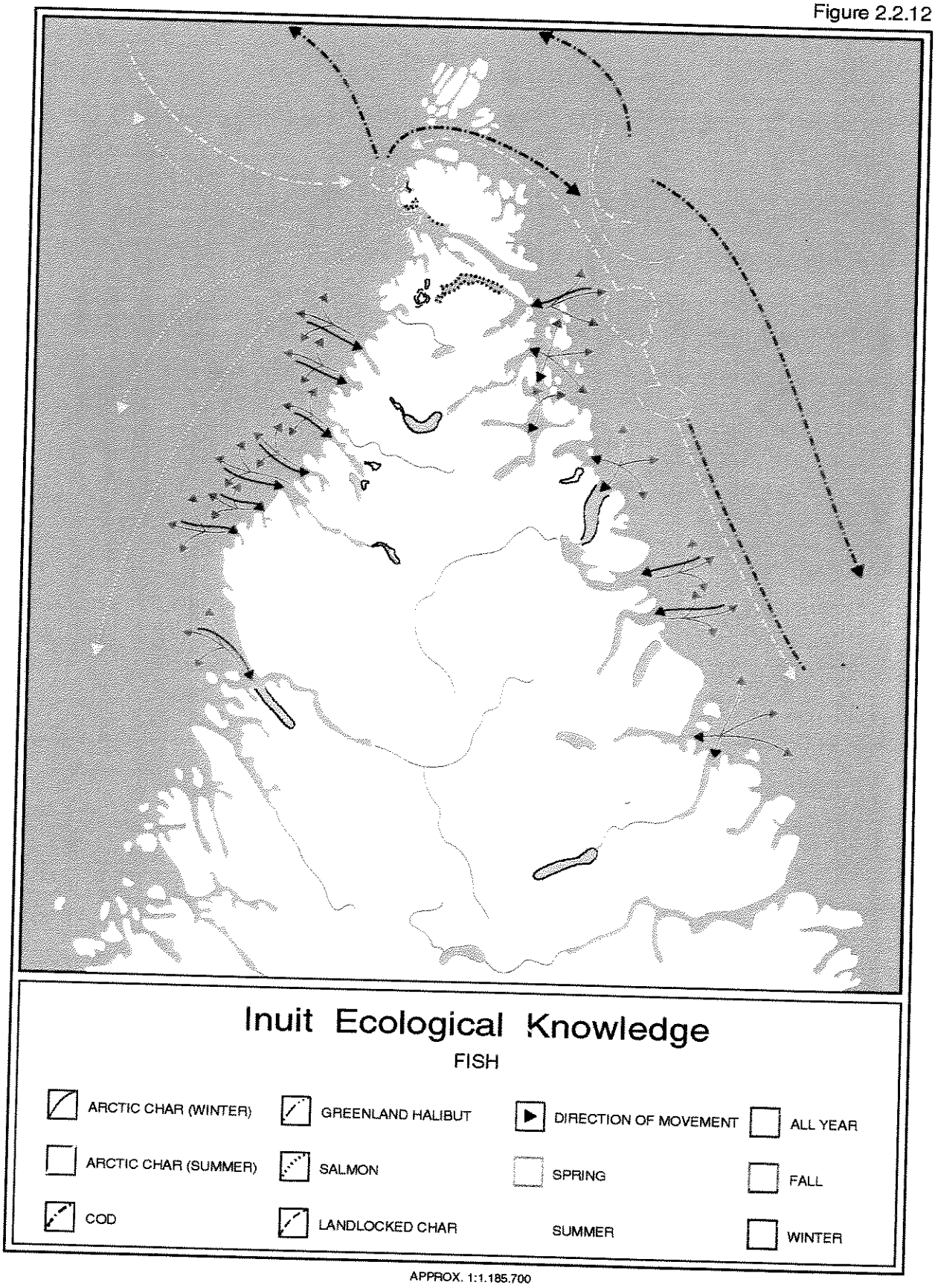
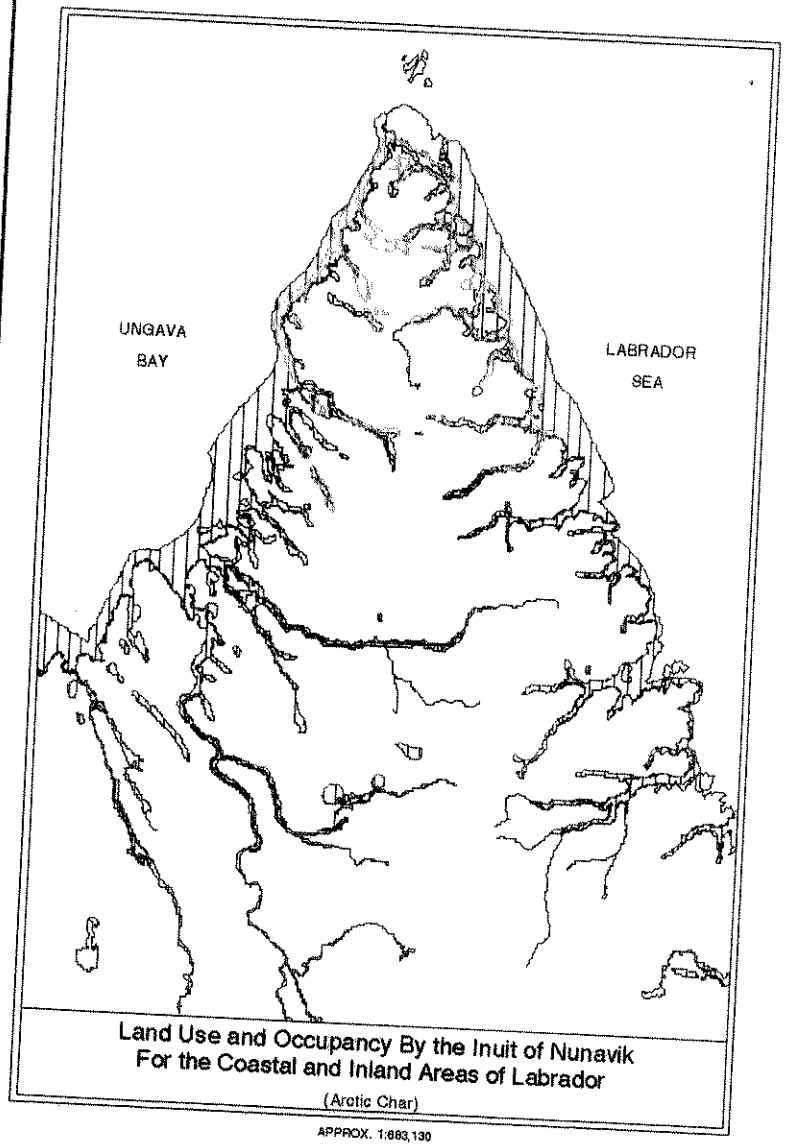

Inuit Ecological Knowledge
FISH
ARCTIC CHAR (WINTER)
ARCTIC CHAR (SUMMER)
COD
GREENLAND HALIBUT
SALMON
LANDLOCKED CHAR
DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT
SPRING
SUMMER
ALL YEAR
FALL
WINTER
APPROX. 1:1,185,700

Figure 2.2.13


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Arctic Char)
APPROX. 1:883,130

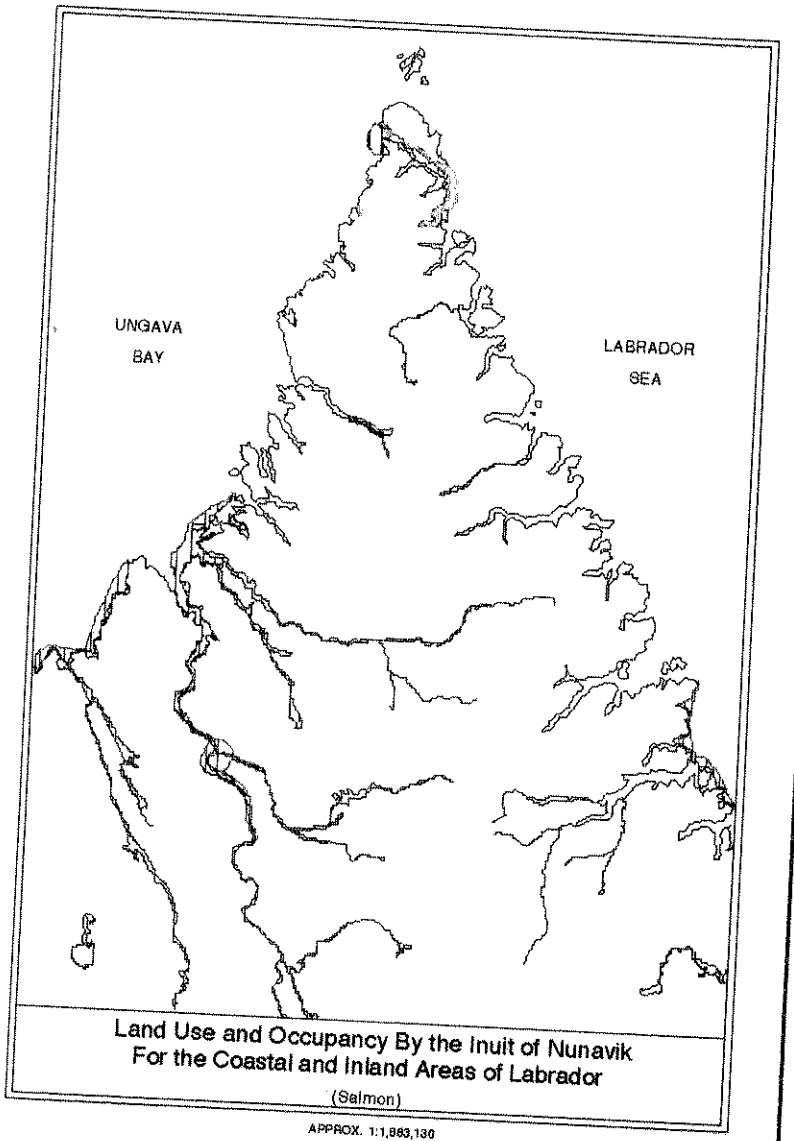
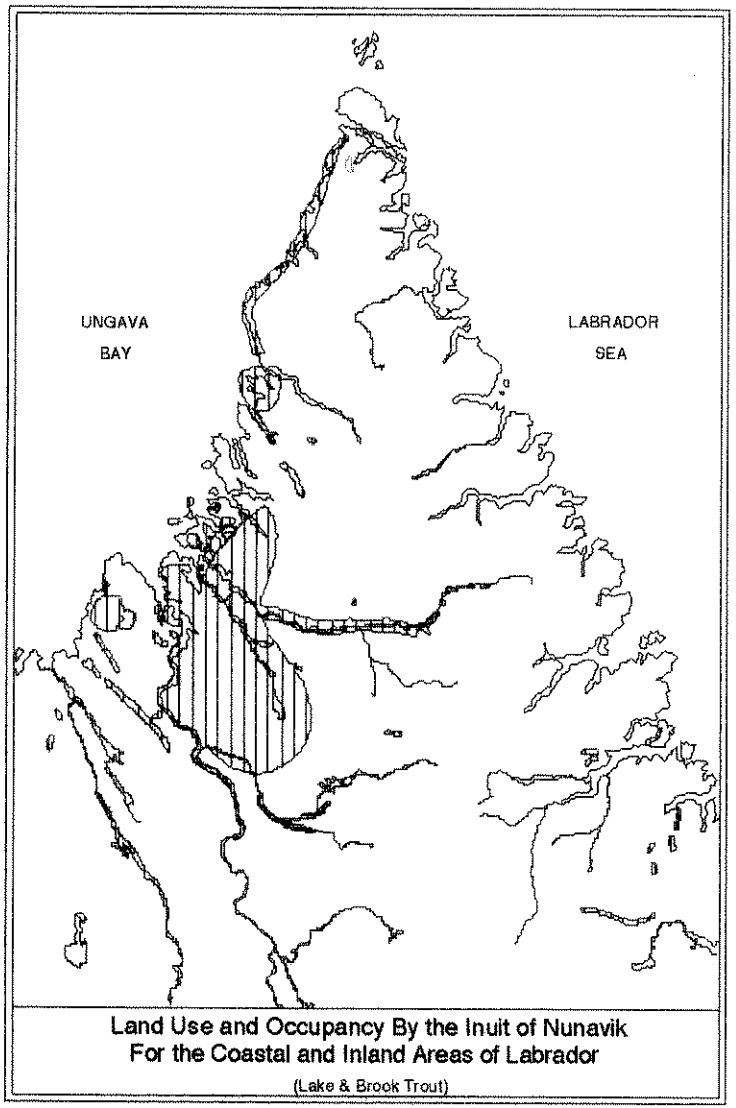

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Salmon)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

Figure 2.2.14


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Lake & Brook Trout)
APPROX. 1:863,130

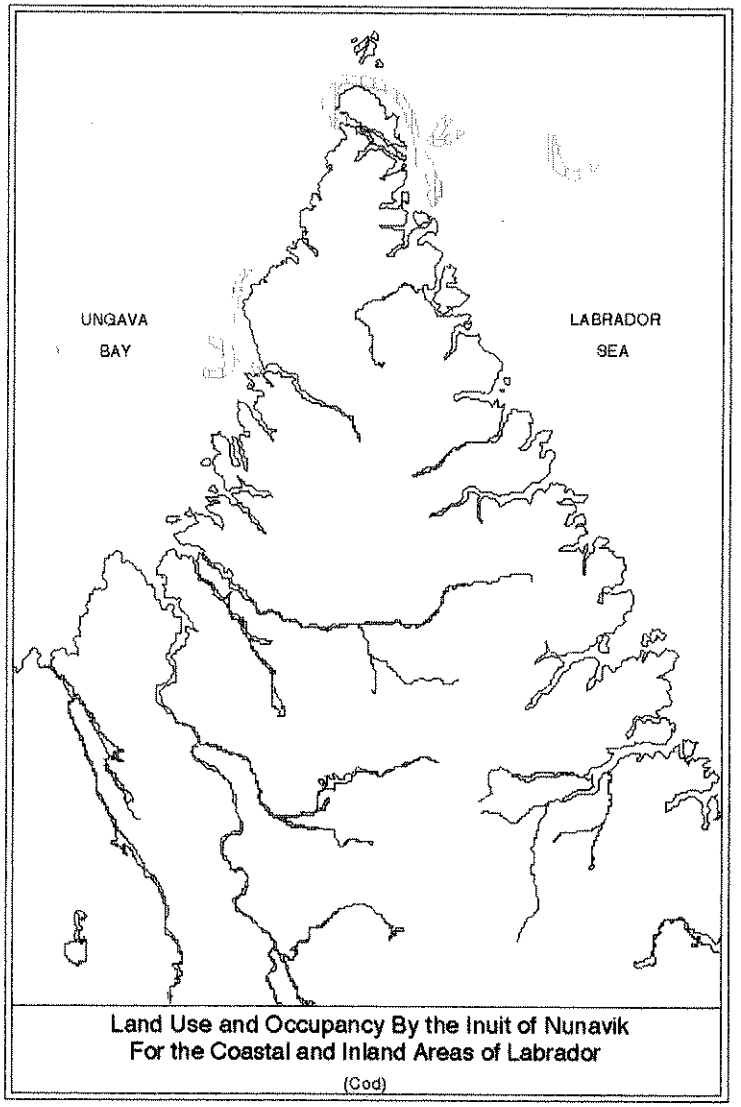
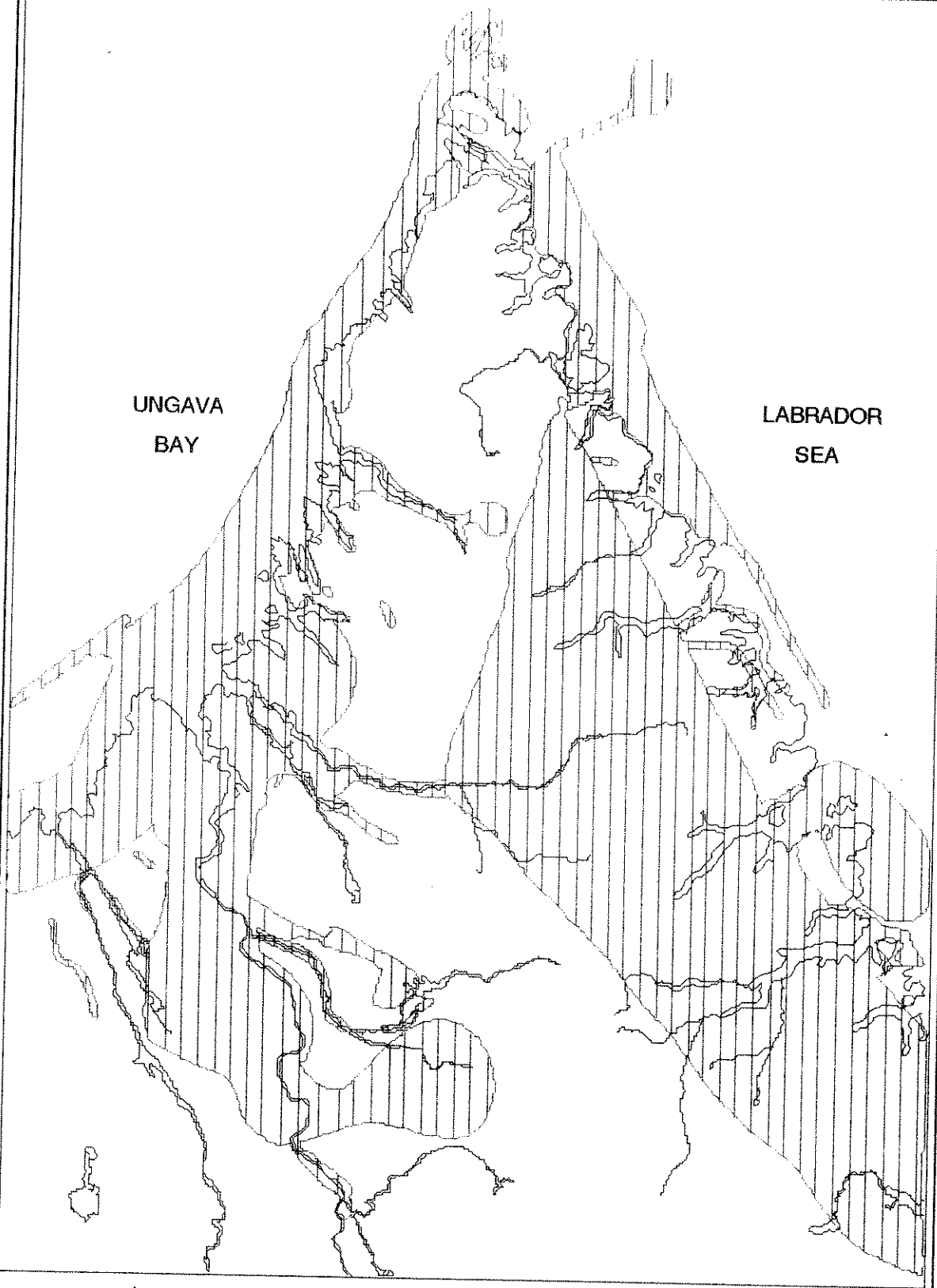

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Cod)
APPROX. 1:1,863,130

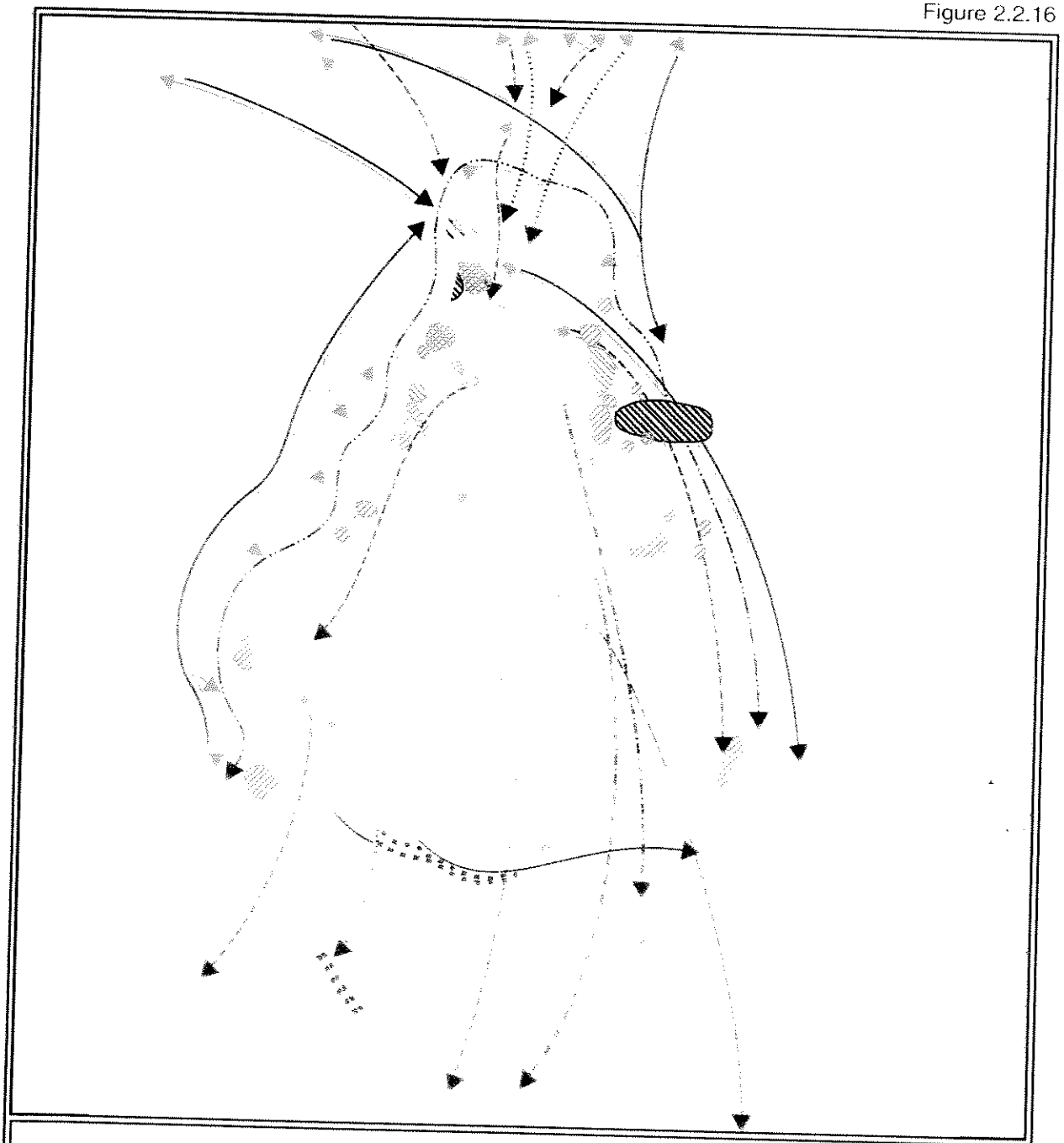
Figure 2.2.15



Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Birds)

Approx. 1:1,610,000

Figure 2.2.16



Inuit Ecological Knowledge

BIRDS

WILLOW PTARMIGAN

ROCK PTARMIGAN

CANADA GOOSE

CANADA GOOSE
MAIN MIGRATORY CORIDOR

EIDER DUCK

SANDPIPER

NESTING AREA

RESTING AREA

ALL YEAR

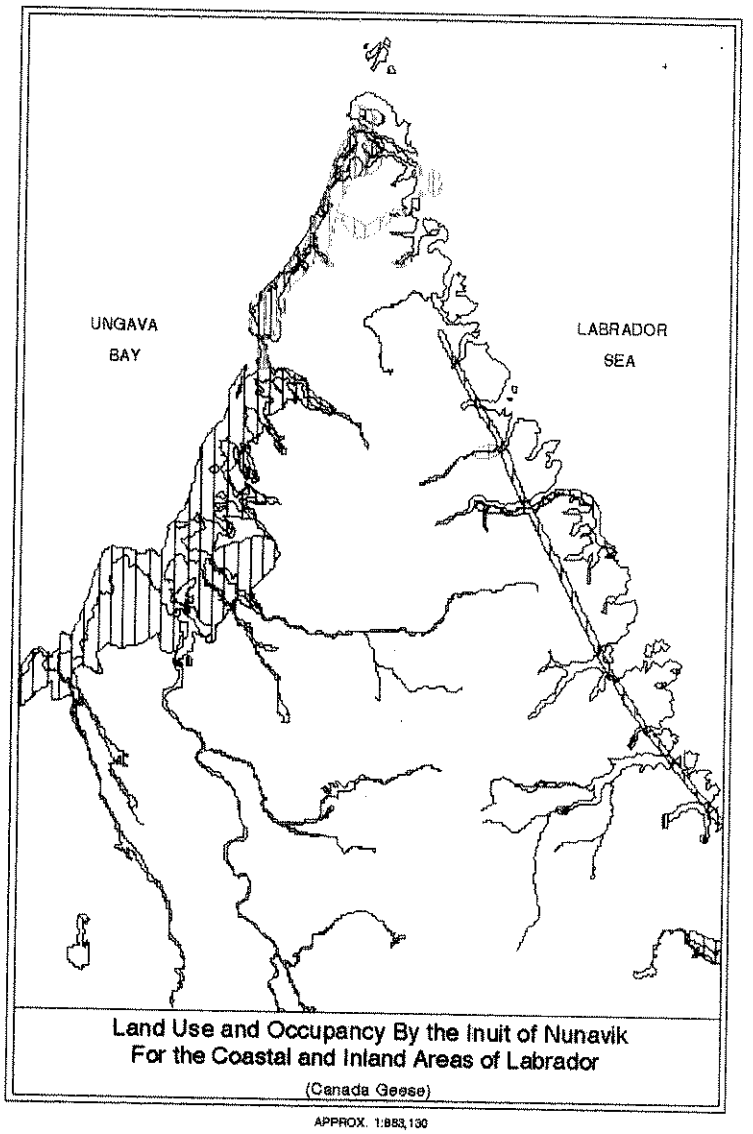
SPRING

SUMMER

FALL

APPROX. 1:1,185,700

Figure 2.2.17


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Canada Geese)
APPROX. 1:883,130

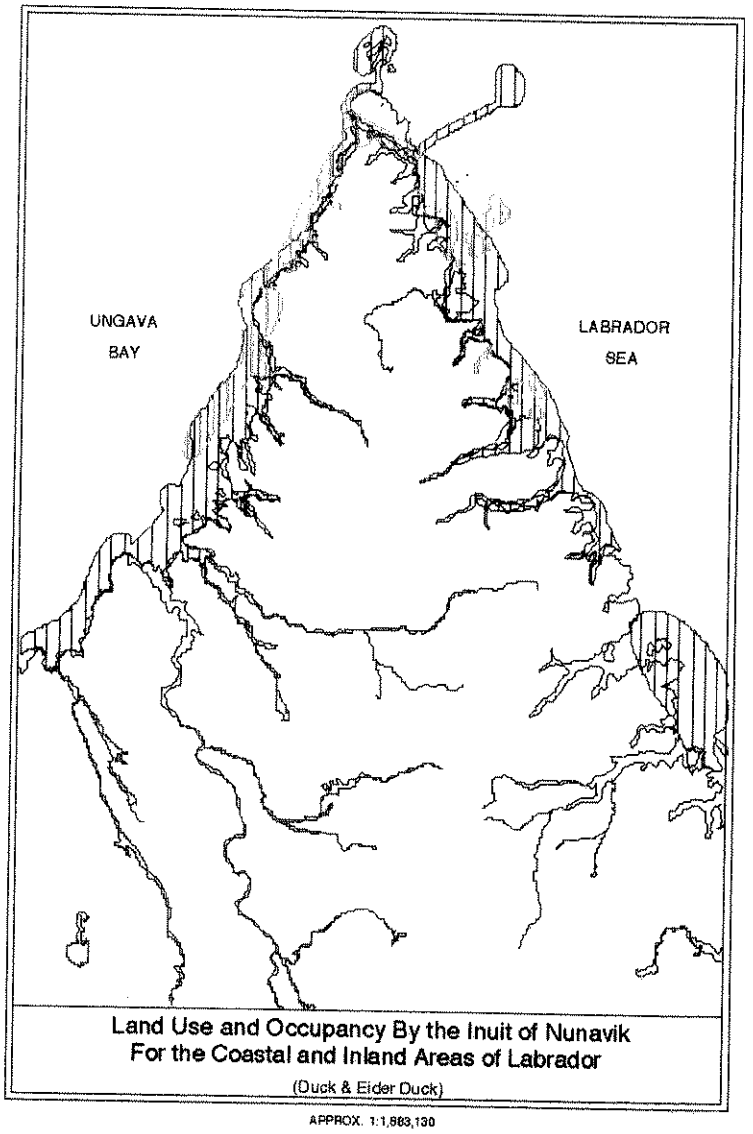
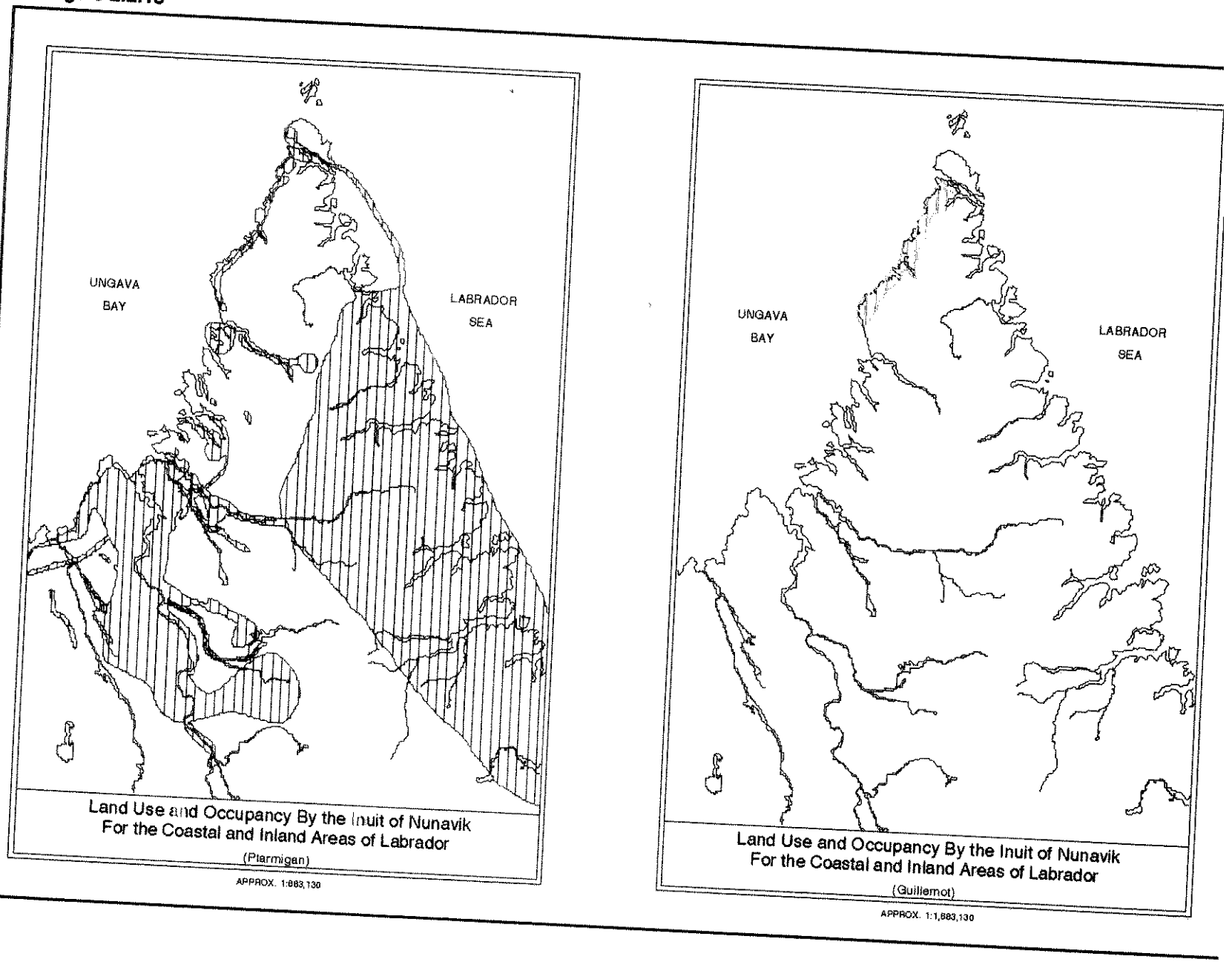

UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Duck & Eider Duck)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

Figure 2.2.18


UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Ptarmigan)
APPROX. 1:883,130
UNGAVA
BAY
LABRADOR
SEA
Land Use and Occupancy By the Inuit of Nunavik
For the Coastal and Inland Areas of Labrador
(Guillemot)
APPROX. 1:1,883,130

LIST OF ANNEXES

Annex 1	The Makivik Research Department
Annex 2	The Data Base for Land Use
Annex 3	Review of Periodical Accounts
Annex 4	Bibliography of References
Annex 5	Field Guide to Land Use Research
Annex 6	Land Use Interviews
Annex 7	Acknowledgements

The Makivik Research Department and the Development of a Land Use and Occupancy Data Base for Nunavik

The Research Department

As a result of the court case and negotiations leading up to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and in order to effectively implement the Agreement, the Inuit realized that they required access to, and control over reliable information about the territory, resources, culture, and economy of Nunavik. To guarantee the availability of an information base of this type, Makivik Corporation made a decision to establish and fund a Research Department. This department was asked to address four objectives during the first phase of its mandate. These objectives were:

1. To identify the research needs and priorities of the Nunavik Inuit and develop a relevant and effective program of studies for meeting these needs and priorities;

2. To establish a set of principles and guidelines which will govern Inuit participation in all phases of research and which recognize both the intrinsic value as well as the scientific importance of Inuit knowledge to the future success of northern science and research;

3. To encourage Inuit participation in scientific work through programs of training and education, and to foster the exchange of knowledge and skills through the development of a cooperative working relationship between Inuit and non-native researchers;

4. To establish a data base and expertise within Makivik Corporation which can be used to inform decision-makers, help in the formulation of policies and programs, and assist Inuit communities and other organizations.

A staff of non-Inuit researchers was hired to work directly with Inuit on all phases of research. This group was also expected to establish the training and educational programs required for developing the research skills needed by Inuit. A research centre was opened in Kuujjuaq to carry out studies on wildlife resources, and a centre for cartography that would stress Inuit land use and ecological knowledge was established in Kangirsujuaq.

Many different types of studies have been carried out since the Research Department was founded 15 years ago, but three areas have been emphasized: long-term studies on Inuit land use and on Inuit ecological and environmental knowledge; wildlife resource and planning studies; and cultural and historical studies. The reader is refered to Annex 5 for additional information on field procedures for land use and environmental-ecological knowledge research.

Land Use Research

The primary objective of land use research in Nunavik is to gather, review and continually update the information needed to build a large geographical data base on past and present land use patterns for the entire land and offshore territory of Nunavik. This project also provided the opportunity to create a permanent set of maps and supporting text for the vast amount of land use information that, prior to this study, had never been systematically documented. The following objectives were essential:

1. To collect land use information through individual hunter interviews that stressed the following units of data:

- past and present land use patterns by species and seasons; a life history map for each hunter; the identification of places of cultural or historical significance; the identification of campsites and travel routes.

2. To support the land-use map for each hunter with a written transcript of the interview.

3. To transcribe each map for computer processing and enter all information through electronic digitization into a computerized data base for analysis and presentation.

4. To verify and expand the information through a continuing process of community-based interviews.

5. To develop a series of community and regional maps and atlases at various scales that include land use and ecological information.

Before the land use and occupancy project began, explanations of the project's importance, along with how and by whom the information could be used, were widely disseminated in all communities. Each hunter was free to make a decision as to whether or not he was willing to participate. The interviews were based on a manual of procedures and techniques written for this project.

Every interview had to make a division between past and present land use for hunters who were born prior to about 1950. This division had to be flexible since the age and life history of each hunter, rather than a specific date, was used to determine the separation between past and present land use. Past land use usually referred to a time in which winter travel was based on dog teams and summer travel on freighter canoes or wooden community boats powered by small diesel engines.

The land use interviews could include a potential of 30 species of wildlife that are harvested by Inuit during different times of the year. Although Inuit hunters divide a year into more than four distinct seasons, it was necessary for the purpose of mapping and analysis to reflect the four primary seasons of fall, winter,

spring and summer. Each one of these seasons, however, is defined by environmental events and shifts in animal behavior rather than by reference to fixed calendar dates.

After the hunter interviews were completed for a community, the information was coded onto a "transcribed" map that was then electronically digitized for computer processing. Once the transcribed map was entered into the computer, various types of composite maps could be created. These composite maps were then taken back to the communities for hunter review, correction, and expansion. The review process utilized groups of hunters who were asked to study and discuss the maps and make comments. Review sessions provided a critical evaluation of the scope and accuracy of the land use information, and often required interviewers to return to an individual hunter with further questions about the original land use map. Only after the review and evaluation stage are hunters prepared to accept the results of land use studies as a realistic portrayal of their seasonal hunting patterns.

Environmental Knowledge Research

A second major program of research critical to the building of a relevant data base involved the systematic collection of Inuit knowledge about the environment, ecology, and resources of their territory. This study also provided the opportunity to create a permanent record of this critical intellectual heritage. The project had four primary objectives. These objectives were:

1. To provide through maps and descriptive text a systematic inventory of the biological resources and their marine, fresh-water, and terrestrial habitats.

2. To locate on maps and describe in text the geographical areas of concentration by season and distribution, the seasonal migration routes, and the associated life cycle activities including times and places for feeding, resting, breeding, and birth.

3. To locate on maps and describe in text the physical characteristics of the marine, open water and sea ice environments, including the transitional stages between the two.

4. To create an detailed record on tape of all individual and group discussions, and to produce a written transcription of these discussions.

The need for this type of information was based on three major concerns expressed by the Inuit. The first was to demonstrate the existence of an indigenous knowledge base within Inuit culture which is derived from long-term observations and experiences of all aspects of the environment. The second concern was to record this oral knowledge for use today, and also for future generations. Finally, hunters wanted to demonstrate the relationships between land use and the physic and biological environments. Hunters were always cautioning the interviewers tha it is not enough to ask and record where hunters go. They must also understan why they use, or do not use, particular areas, and why their use of areas may hav changed over time.

This research was carried out simultaneously with the land-use projec The methodology used to collect Inuit knowledge was based on individual an group interviews. The individual interviews asked hunters to provide specifi environmental or ecological information within the context of their land-us interview. The group interviews were based on identifying hunters who ha special knowledge about a particular ecological or environmental topic or region Both the individual and group discussions were guided by procedures, techniques and introductory questions described in the field manual. Although map continued to be important for data collection, it was essential to ensure that the knowledge that could not be shown on maps was recorded as written text.

Almost all discussions were in Inuktittut, and the complexity of the topics and liveliness of the exchange meant that translation would certainly slow, and most probably interfere with the flow of ideas. Consequently, information was recorded on tape and then translated. The ecological and environmental knowledge gathered during the interviews would then be reviewed and transcribed on a new set of maps. A second, third, and often fourth round of group discussions and mapping would then take place to pose additional questions, clarify contradictions and expand the information base.

Wildlife Research

The long-term plans of the Research Department called for the information on land use and ecological knowledge to be supported by, and when possible integrated with, more precise studies on the wildlife resources of Nunavik. These studies, however, are to incorporate scientific research procedures and at the same time to encourage Inuit perspectives and techniques in all phases of research. It was assumed as well, that the incorporation of Inuit perspectives and techniques not only helps to facilitate the design and execution of research, but that it is essential if the findings from studies are going to be accepted by Inuit.

A wide variety of long-term studies on wildlife resources have been carried out by the Kuujjuaq Research Centre. In so doing, the center continues to pursue its training goals and to encourage the integration of scientific findings with those derived from Inuit ecological knowledge. To date the most important studies have been carried out on ecological and population problems related to eider ducks,

beluga whales and arctic char. Recent work has focused on inland fisheries and on the enhancement of streams in order to expand the fishing potential throughout Nunavik. Long-term monitoring programmes on anadromous fish continue, and the monitoring of toxic substances and parasites in resources consumed by Inuit is now an important part of the work. Major research activities have taken place on near shore and offshore marine resources in preparation for commercial development of marine fisheries.

Cultural Research

Cultural research includes all work concerned with the prehistory, history and culture of the Nunavik Inuit. The mandate of the Research Department did not call specifically for research on these topics but nevertheless a significant amount of work has been carried out. This work focused specifically on cultural issues, but much more simply acknowledged the fact that in Nunavik, almost all research topics have some level of cultural content and even the research process itself results in information concerned with the social and cultural attitudes and beliefs of the Nunavik Inuit.

Most of the specific work of the Research Department on cultural topics, however, has been carried out in cooperation with Avataq Cultural Institute. Over the last 15 years, work has been undertaken on a series of projects relevant to landuse and occupancy. Of particular interest are long-term programs on the culture history of Nunavik. This work focused on family history and settlement; the history of Killiniq; the relocation of Inuit to Resolute Bay and other places; and the history and consequences of whaling, trading companies, missionary and government activity in Nunavik. The data base on these topics includes information gained from field work and archival sources. Finally, the Research Department will eventually incorporate the results from the archeological site surveys and excavation by Avataq and other archeological research groups into the Nunavik data base.

Planning and Impact Research

The final results from research projects on land use, ecological knowledge, wildlife, and cultural research have many different applications and uses. One of the most important areas of application, but an area which is also a topic of research, is that of planning and impact assessment. Makivik Research Department has had a long and continuing concern about the orderly development of the economy and territory of Nunavik. In order to guide the growth in a direction towards sustainable development the Research Department has started to produce community based management plans and to carry out environmental and social impact assessment linked to specific projects. Each of these areas has its own specific research procedures.

Creating a Geographical Information System

All information presented in this document has been processed on a computer system developed specifically for the land use and ecological knowledge data base. Prior to undertaking the land use study it was anticipated that a significant amount of data would be collected and that the work involved in analyzing, correcting, and updating information could be overwhelming. It also became apparent that it would often be necessary to apply the findings from this data base to many different types of problems and questions raised by Makivik Corporation, other organizations, and the communities of Nunavik. In order to meet sucessfully a wide range of potential needs, it would be important to have minimal delays in the production of maps and other materials. In view of these requirements, the Research Department of Makivik Corporation was asked to investigate the possibilities of acquiring a computerized data processing and mapping system for geographical and other types of information.

An evaluation of the options in computer hardware and software that were available in 1982 indicated that no ready-made system could be purchased and applied to the data processing needs of this project, or to the expected applications required by the Inuit. As a result, the Research Department was requested to select the appropriate computer hardware and to write the programs needed to operate it. A Hewlett-Packard Series 9000, Model 217 computer was used to develop the first phase of the geographic information system and a detailed program was written to accommodate the land use and ecological knowledge data base. The fundamental task of the program was to translate the information collected on the field maps into an electronic data base through digitization. This data base formed the primary source of information that could be used for the production of maps.

Although the Hewlett-Packard system proved capable of performing a wide range of graphic and data analysis functions by 1988 the data base and the requirements placed upon it had outgrown the system. At that time, new and faster equipment, as well as more versatile software that could be dedicated to geographic information systems, was becoming available. As a result, a decision was made to expand the capacity and versatility of the computer system required for processing the geographic information. A Macintosh system was selected which would use MicroStation software for mapping and Oracle software for the data base.

A set of programs was written to make possible an electronic transfer of the data base from the Hewlett-Packard to the Macintosh system. This analytical system is now supported by another computer system, based on a Macintosh

Quadra 900, that is designed to use various software for the production of finished maps and graphics.

The long-term goal for the use of this geographic information system is to develop its content and potential in a way that will facilitate its use as a primary data bank for use throughout Nunavik. Under the continuing direction of Makivik the system will be used to maintain and expand the data base on environmental, ecological and cultural resources and to apply the information to the many applications that are required for the social, economic and political development of Nunavik.

The Inuit of Nunavik Land Use, Occupancy and Ecological Knowledge Data Base, for the Québec-Labrador Peninsula

Killiniq Land Use and Occupancy Study 1974

nterview	David Tukak
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 8, 1974
Map No.	1

nterview	Arthur Munick
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 8, 1974
Map No.	2

nterview	Thoomas Thoomas
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 10, 1974
Map No.	1

nterview	Ben and Paul Jararuse
opic	Present Land Use
ate	Sept. 14, 1974
lap No.	5-6

terview	Willie Annatok
pic	Present and Past Land Use
ate	Sept. 14, 1974
ap No.	7

erview	Sanak and Sam Unnatweenuk
pic	Present Land Use
te	Sept. 15, 1974
p No.	8/9

erview	Elijah Thomasak
pic	Present Land Use
te	Sept. 15, 1974
p No.	10

rview	Jacob Thomasak
ic	Present Land Use
e	Sept. 16, 1974
No.	11

Interview	Johnny Munick
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 16, 1974
Map No.	12

Interview	Jobie Munick
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 16, 1974
Map No.	13

Interview	Kenny Asswak
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 17, 1974
Map No.	14

Interview	Peter Salarsiak
Topic	Present Land Use
Date	Sept. 17, 1974
Map No.	15

Interview	Mark Annahatuk
Topic	Present and Past Land Use
Date	Sept. 19, 1974
Map No.16	

Makivik Land Use and Occupancy Study -Nunavik 1981-1985

Interview	Noah Angnatuk	Hunter 002
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1912
Date	1981 or 05/19/10	
Map No.	13-002-02	

Interview	Noah Angnatuk	Hunter 002
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1910
Date	May 17, 1985	
Map No.	13-002-02	

Interview	Elijah Sam Annanack	Hunter 003
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1930
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-003-02	

Interview	Elijah Sam Annanack	Hunter 003
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1930
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-003-01	
Interview	Elijah Sam Annanack	Hunter 003
Topic	Historical Land Use/ Ecological Information	Birth 1930
Date	May 16, 1985	
Map No.	13-003-02	
Interview	Adam Annanack	Hunter 004
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1961
Date	May 8, 1985	
Map No.	13-004-01	
Interview	Charlie Jake Annanack	Hunter 005
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1967
Date	May 21, 1985	
Map No.	13-005-01	
Interview	Mark Sam Jesse Annanack	Hunter 006
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1935
Date	May 9, 1985	
Map No.	13-006-02	
Interview	Johnny George Annanack	Hunter 007
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1926
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-007-02	
Interview	Johnny George Annanack	Hunter 007
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1926
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-007-01	
Interview	Johnny George Annanack	Hunter 007
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1926
Date	May 9, 1985	
Map No.	13-007-02	
Interview	Silas Moses Annanack	Hunter 013
Topic	Current Land Use- Incomplete	Birth 1958
Date	1981	
Interview	Silas Moses Annanack	Hunter 013
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1958
Date	May 21, 1985	
Map No.	13-013-01	
Interview	Mark Thomas Annanack	Hunter 016
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1941
Date	May 23, 1985	
Map No.	13-016-01	
Interview	Noah Annanack	Hunter 018
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1937
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-018-01	
Interview	Noah Annanack	Hunter 018
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1937
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-018-02	
Interview	Johnny Sam Annanack	Hunter 020
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1941
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-020-01	
Interview	Johnny Sam Annanack	Hunter 020
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1941
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-020-02	
Interview	Johnny Sam Annanack	Hunter 020
Topic	Current, Historical Land Use	Birth 1941
Date	May 30, 1985	
Map No.	13-020-01, 13-020-02	

Interview	Joshua Maggie Annanack	Hunter 021
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1946
Date	May 21, 1985	
Map No.	13-021-01	
Interview	Stanley Annanack	Hunter 024
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-024-02	
Interview	Stanley Annanack	Hunter 024
Topic	Historical and Current Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	1981	
Map No.		
Interview	Stanley Annanack	Hunter 024
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	May 8, 1985	
Map No.	13-024-02	
Interview	Thomas Edward Annanack	Hunter 026
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1927
Date	May 15, 1985	
Map No.	13-026-01	
Interview	Joseph Annanack Jr.	Hunter 028
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1960
Date	May 31, 1985	
Map No.	13-028-02	
Interview	Bobby Baron	Hunter 029
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1946
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-029-01	
Interview	Bobby Baron	Hunter 029
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1946
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-029-02	
Interview	Tommy Lucas Baron	Hunter 030
Topic	Historical and Current Land Use	Birth 1950
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-030-01	
Interview	Tommy Lucas Baron	Hunter 030
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1950
Date	May 10, 1985	
Map No.	13-030-01	
Interview	David Baron	Hunter 033
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth unknown
Date	May 28, 1985	
Map No.	13-033-01	
Interview	Ned Emudluk	Hunter 035
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-035-02	
Interview	Ned Emudluk	Hunter 035
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-035-02	
Interview	Ned Emudluk	Hunter 035
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1919
Date	May 21, 1985	
Map No.	13-035-02	
Interview	Willie Emudluk	Hunter 038
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1924
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-038-01	
Interview	Tommy Emuk	Hunter 039
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1933
Date:	1981	
Map No.	13-039-02	

Interview	Tommy Emuk	Hunter 039
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1933
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-039-01	
Interview	Tommy Emuk	Hunter 039
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1933
Date	May 22, 1985	
Map No.	13-039-02	
Interview	Tommy Emuk	Hunter 039
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1933
Date	May 30, 1985	
Map No.	13-039-02	
Interview	David Etok	Hunter 040
Topic	Historical Land Use Map (Tasiujaq/Kuujjuaq)	Birth 1928
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-040-02	
Interview	David Etok	Hunter 040
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1928
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-040-02	
Interview	David Etok	Hunter 040
Topic	Historical Land Use (Tasiujaq/Kuujjuaq)	Birth 1928
Date	May 23, 1985	
Map No.	13-040-02	
Interview	David Etok	Hunter 040
Topic	Continuation of Historical Land Use	Birth 1928
Date	May 29, 1985	
Map No.	13-040-02	
Interview	Thomas Etok	Hunter 044
Topic	Historical Land Use	Birth 1915
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-040-01	
Interview	Thomas Etok	Hunter 044
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1915
Date	1981	
Map No.	13-040-02	
Interview	Tommy George Etok	Hunter 047
Topic	Current Land Use	Birth 1961
Date	May 30, 1985	
Map No.	13-047-01	

Land Use and Occupancy Study 1986-1987

Interview	Noah Angnatuk
Date	February 1986
Interview	Elijah Sam Annanack
Date	February 1986
Interview	Johnny George Annanack
Date	February 1986
Interview	Josepi Sam Annanack
Date	February 1986
Interview	Josepi Sam Annanack
Date	February 1986, (Second Interview)
Interview	Clara Etok
Date	February 1986
Interview	Tivi Etok
Date	February 1986
Interview	Tivi Etok
Date	February 1986 (Second Interview)
Interview	James Ittulak
Date	February 1986
Interview	Nick Ittulak
Date	February 1986
Interview	Sanak Unatweenuk
Date	February 1986

Interview	Sanak Unatweenuk
Date	February 1986 (Second Interview)

Interviews in Conjunction with EIA of the NATO Base - Goose Bay

Interview	Joshua Annanack
Date	November 24, 1987
Interview	Lucas Billie Etok
Date	November 24, 1987
Interview	David Annanack
Date	November 24, 1987
Interview	David Etok, Willie Emudluk and Johnny George Annanack
Date	November 20, 1987
Interview	Mark Annanack
Date	November 19, 1987
Interview	Willie Emudluk
Date	November 20, 1987
Interview	Stanley Annanack, Nick Ittulak, Simeonie Baron
Date	November 23, 1987

Review of Periodical Accounts

In September of 1991 research was carried out in St. John's Newfoundland at the Memorial University Centre for Newfoundland Studies. The following is a report on this research.

The purpose of this library research was to locate, document, and copy references to "Northerners" which, in the Moravian *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen,* refers to Inuit from Killiniq, and Ungava Bay. The objective was to use these accounts to document the utilization of the coast and inland areas of Labrador by Inuit living in what is now referred to as Nunavik.

Time limitations did not allow for all the available volumes of these rich and lengthy records to be assessed. Nevertheless, a significant number of references were located and catalogued. Index A describes the holdings of Periodical Accounts available at Memorial University Centre for Newfoundland Studies. Index B lists references in these volumes that are specific to Labrador. Index C provides a list of materials copied for the periods 1789-1818, and 1841-1851.

Nature of the "Periodical Accounts"

The *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen,* document the activities of the Moravian Missions throughout the world. Through the descriptions provided in these accounts the reader is able to acquire a great deal of rich and unique information on the nature and circumstances of Inuit life during their first stage of sustained contact with the outside world. The descriptions are comprised of a variety of information on things such as land use, community patterns and travel routes, the nature of the traditional economy, social organization, and some references to "heathen" practices, though with few details of indigenous ceremonies and cosmological beliefs since the missionaries tended to reject such details as "too tiresome to mention."

However, after several years of exposure to the Moravians, who were traders as well as missionaries, the "Accounts" become a chronicle of the effects of European contact on indigenous populations. These effects are well documented in the "Accounts" themselves, as the Moravian missionaries record their "successes" in the conversion process, the building of churches, new mission sites, trade relations, the conduct of the natives, the conduct of other Europeans, and the development of their schools and other European-based institutions.

The primary data found in the "Accounts" is drawn from the daily journals of the various missions and the personal correspondence of the missionaries themselves. Selections of these documents were published for the English audience and presented to the public at regular intervals, and were designed to encourage subscribers to financially support the activities of the missionaries. The accounts do not make much mention of the trading activities which the Moravians carried out along with their religious activities other than to state that tradding was necessary in order to:

1) Attract indigenous people to their missions. Trade, they claimed, would provide an opportunity for contact with the local population and thus an opportunity for preaching to them.

2) Offer an alternative to the other European traders who were operating in the region and corrupting the local people with their bad influences, alcohol and other "sinful" activities.

Index A

Extent of review of Periodical Accounts at Memorial University, Sept. 1991.

Volumes 1 - 3	1789-1805
Volumes 4 - 6	1806-1818
Volumes 16 - 18	1841-1848
Volumes 19 - 20	1851-1852

Mission Station Name *	Date of Establishment
Nain	1771
Okkak	1776
Hopedale	1782
Hebron	1830

* as of 1852. More stations were established after this period.

Index B

Index of references to Labrador in the "Periodical Accounts Relating to the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen."

Volumes 1 - 6 and 16 - 20 as found in the Memorial University micro-films. Sept. 1991.

Volumes 1 - 3 (1789-1805)

Vol. 1
45-51; 155-162; 85-94; 193-194; 211-223; 247-259; 349-361.

Vol. 2
52-65; 121-138; 323-332; 435-442; 465-475.

Vol. 3
7-21; 103-117; 241-258; 321-347; 444.

Volumes 4 - 6 (1806-1818)

Vol. 4
76-90; 106-140;200-212; 261-296; 311-325; 445-461.

Vol. 5
49-61; 122-137; 250-264; 401-414; 491-496.

Vol. 6
49-60; 162-167; 233-242; 263-272; 385-407; 442-447.

Volumes 16 - 18 (1841-1848)

Vol. 16
17-27; 96-101; 173-178; 220-230; 278-285; 375-380; 441-452; 523-528.

Vol. 17
65-83; 101-110; 170-177; 216-220; 304-316; 373-379; 414-420.

Vol. 18
9-19; 77-82; 223-233; 285-289; 336-338; 379-386.

Volumes 19 - 20 (1851-1852)

Vol. 19
8-17; 75-80; 127-131; 182-184; 214-229; 273-277; 290-294; 321-331; 423-434; 494-498.

Vol. 20
67-71; 116-129; 189-189; 281-288; 328-339; 393-399.

Index C

Materials Copied, Early Period (1789-1818)

Vol. 1
47-49; 193-194; 247-249; 355-361.

Vol. 2
53-57; 326-327; 465-469.

Vol. 3
16-21; 111-117; 241-246; 329-335; 336-347; 458-465.

Vol. 4
76-80; 196; 209-212; 274-278; 285-292; 455-461.

Vol. 5
58-61.

Materials Copied, Middle Period (1841-1851)

Vol. 16
22-23; 98-99; 173-178; 285; 450-452.

pVol. 17
176-177; 216-220; 314-316; 414-416.

Vol. 18
79-82; 231-233; 289; 384-386.

Vol. 19
226-229; 423-425; 433-434; 494-498.

Vol. 20
27-129; 184-189; 397-399.

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Field Guide and Methodology for Land Use and Ecological Knowledge Interviews

Introduction

The Project

The Land Use and Ecological Knowledge Project forms the "central core" of information representing the past and present occupation of the mainland offshore and areas of Nunavik including the lands and waters of the Québec-Labrador Peninsula. The studies associated with the project took place over a period of 15 years and resulted in a data base for the entire region utilized by the Inuit of Nunavik. Both land use information and ecological knowledge was collected and then developed within the framework of a computerized geographic information system. A brief overview of these projects is presented in Annex 1.

These are two types of interviews; the individual hunter interview for land use and occupancy information, and the group interview for environmental/ecological knowledge. Each of these interview types requires a different set of procedures.

The 309 individual hunter interviews and the 260 group interviews on ecological and environmental knowledge are only the formal expression of a much larger project. The "formal," interviews were supported by many hours of "informal" discussions and meetings. Activities that referred directly to the land use and ecological knowledge program of research, were supported and the data base was strengthened and expanded, through land use and ecological interviews carried out as part of other research programs on beluga whale, eider ducks, salmon and arctic char. Interviews for projects linked to environmental baseline studies, impact assessment, resource management, regional or community planning and cultural history also contributed valuable data that was incorporated into the geographic information system.

This field guide will describe the procedures for collecting the basic interview data from hunters, on Inuit land use and ecological knowledge. The general methodological framework that is being applied during this long-term research program, has been developed from two primary sources. The first was a review and revision of the methods and techniques used to carry out the land use and occupancy studies for the Northwest Territories (1973) and for Labrador (1975). The second source was through discussions with the Inuit of Nunavik about their information priorities with respect to land use and ecological knowledge and about the most appropriate ways to collect this information from hunters. It was particularly important to "rethink" this earlier methodology from the perspective of new technology related to geographic information systems and in relationship to the general principles of Inuit involvement in research which governs the overall approach of the Makivik Research Department.

The development of a guide to the methods and procedures used over the last 15 years to collect, organize and process this type of information has two priorities. The first is to enable data base users to understand the data in relationship to the methodology. The second, is to leave a record of the research process under the assumption that future studies will be required to expand and upgrade the information now on hand. It is essential for any future data collection to build on, yet not be limited by, the methodology of the earlier work.

The Interview Field Guide

The field guide is essential for maintaining continuity throughout each separate project and for facilitating land use and environmental/ecological knowledge information derived from other projects into a larger data base. It's primary use is to inform data base users and researchers about the general philosophy and purpose of the Nunavik data base, and to instruct them on all phases of interviewing and data collection. The most important aspect of the interview process is to encourage a systematic collection of information without restricting the flexibility required for this type of data gathering. The instructions and suggestions set out in the interviewing field guide are intended, therefore, to strike an appropriate balance between structure and flexibility.

The first part of this guide is addressed to the hunters, communities and researchers. It is intended to inform them about the land use and ecological knowledge project, to explain why it is important, how it will be done and how Inuit will both use and at the same time control the use of, the data base once the information has been collected and processed. The second part of the guide explains how the researchers should work with the individuals being interviewed and with the community as a whole. The third and most detailed section explains the interview procedure and identifies the types of data that must be obtained through the interview process.

It should be clearly understood that this manual is a guide and not a set of precise instructions. It helps provide a framework and direction to the vast amount of work that is entailed in interview based data collection, but it cannot provide answers to all the questions that may be raised during the course of this project.

Explaining the Project

The final success of the Land Use and Ecological Knowledge Mapping Project will be based on the degree of co-operation and enthusiasm shown by each hunter and by the community as a whole, towards the study. Explaining the project to Inuit and the community is the essential first step of success. Cooperation and enthusiasm will in turn, be linked to how well hunters accept why the project needs to be done, and understand who actually has final authority or control over the information.

Why the Study is Important

It is critical for the Inuit of Nunavik to begin the process of developing an information base that reflects their priorities about the type of information needed in relationship to the possible ways in which it can be used. Once this type of basic information starts to become available to Inuit through a process they themselves design, participate in and control, an important element of "dependency" i.e. the need for Inuit to rely on others for information about themselves, will be greatly reduced. Although ending the "information dependency" will not be accomplished quickly, it is logical to begin with three basic units of information that are, in the long-term, extremely critical to a wide range of applications. These are land use, occupancy and environmental/ecological knowledge. All three units include information on the mainland, fresh waters, offshore islands and marine waters.

Land Use Information: This data base includes the specific details of where, when and for what species Inuit hunt, at the present time and during earlier time periods. The types and patterns of activities that define land use activities are best described by hunters through the use of maps and supporting written text. Maps allow each hunter to define the geographical locations of land use by species and season for one or both of the predetermined periods of time. When information from individual maps is combined, then larger geographic patterns showing the areas and intensity of use by various combinations of species, seasons, and hunter groups, longer periods of time can be defined.

Occupancy Information: This data base includes a different type of information about the land and resources. Although this information may often be closely associated with hunting, based land use it includes other categories of "land-related" information as well. The data on life histories, settlement patterns, social and family relationships, place names, cultural sites and travel routes are all examples of occupancy. Occupancy addresses the reality that land use is part of a larger social, economic and cultural system, that includes both tangible and intangible elements, activities and benefits. As such, it recognizes the importance of Inuit attitudes and concerns about specific places and territory and incorporates the existence, but not the content of, Inuit knowledge about lar resources and place.

Environmental/ecological Knowledge Information: This data ba includes what Inuit know or believe to be true about their physical environme and their resources. It establishes therefore, the environmental and ecosyste factors that underlie the patterns of land use, and it recognizes the fact th knowledge is a critical factor that both leads to, and results from land us Environmental/ecological knowledge must account for elements such as Inu knowledge about the components, biology and ecology of the resource base; tl components and seasonal characteristics of the physical environment; and tl understanding Inuit have about the integration between the environment, ar ecology of the area in which they live.

Project Objectives

The creation of a data base on land use, occupancy and environmental/ecologic knowledge is essential for the following objectives:

Cultural Objectives: It will preserve knowledge about land us occupancy, ecology and environment for use by future generations. Consequent it plays a role in a more general understanding of Inuit society since this data ba is essential for preserving a rich cultural heritage in a oral (recorded), written an mapped form.

Management Objectives: It will provide very valuable information an ideas about the animals and the environment of each community for use in Inu based decisions about management.

Economic Objectives: It will provide information required by Inuit fo making decisions related to questions of subsistence use and the commercia development of resources at various levels.

Planning Objectives: It will provide the essential information that wi enable Inuit communities or organizations to create detailed plans for th protection and development of their territory and its resources including impac assessment.

Political Objectives: It will demonstrate very clearly the real extent an pattern of land use and rights to territory that can be used for land claims an planning on a large scale. It will also show the relationship between Inui

territorial needs against the reality of Category 1, 2 and 3 lands. It will also provide every individual and family with a record of their land use that will serve as a clear statement of their historical rights with respect to particular areas of use.

Educational Objectives: It will provide Inuit teachers and students with a large and critically important information base about their territory information that will be absolutely essential for the development of a curriculum based on Inuit knowledge and concepts.

Project Principles

The following principles governing this study and the resulting data base have been established through the consultation process that was used to plan the study and establish the methodology.

1. The Inuit will participate in the design of the study including the setting of objectives and the establishing of the culturally most appropriate techniques for accomplishing the research objectives.

2. The information is controlled by Inuit for their use according to their priorities, questions they want to answer, and problems they need to address.

3. The information can be shared with others parties, but only when the Inuit agree to sharing and only after they establish the rules for its use including use by their own organizations such as Makivik, Kativik Regional Government and Kativik School Board.

4. The project should only be funded from Inuit sources, in order to assure Inuit control over the information and its use.

5. The processed information will be returned to each community in a format suitable for their use.

6. The hunter will receive a copy of his own map with all of the land use information that he contributed through the interview process.

Informing the community

There are many different ways to communicate information within a community and every community will have one particular way that "works best". It could happen that there will be a misunderstanding or misinterpretation about this project. Regardless of how we organize the distribution of information and explain the project, nothing will take place of time and patience. Certain approaches, however, must be considered:

Community Approval: Meet with the Community authorities. The first meeting is to present the project. Establish the best time to have a meeting with the community, and be prepared to explain the project and answer questions during this meeting. If important issues or problems are raised, they should be discussed with other project staff and decisions can then be made on how to accommodate the special concerns of each community.

Community Radio: Select a well respected hunter who would work with you to give a talk about the project and work plan on the radio. Announce how long you will be working in the community, how many people are working and who they are - announce their names. Also who's maps must be completed. Announce times, and where you are set up to do the work. Invite whole community to come visit the office.

Community Meeting: Project presentation; names of people who should make their maps; working schedule; place to interview. You should keep in touch regularly with community authorities. Don't be shy to appoint a person who can be your "elder" for times when you need consultation.

Individual Hunter Contact: After all the public presentations, it is then important to visit hunters in their homes since a much more personalized discussion can be accomplished in the home atmosphere. Sometimes, the hunter will prefer making his map at home, but it is, as a rule, better if he makes his maps in the designated project work space, since the light is usually better, there are fewer interruptions, and it is quieter (vis a vis) background noise for recording the interview.

The Interview Process

General Procedure

Notes Accompanying Mapping Process: Both the land use and ecological knowledge interviews must be accompanied by notes and by a taped record of the interview. In the notes it is very important to include information that is not "mappable". This might include certain types of opinions about places, processes, events, behaviors etc. that involves information that cannot be mapped.

Seasons: It is important to use the Inuit division of the year into seasons since this will be used for describing and categorizing land use, occupancy and environmental/ecological information. It is this seasonal designation and not specific months that is most reliable for structuring the organization of information by seasons. It may be necessary as well, to distinguish seasonal relevance and divisions according to the behavior or seasonal cycle of a particular species.

A Hunter's Sense of Time: It is important to recognize that every hunter is going to define time differently. Each individual will use a distinct set of "clues" for trying to relate events to time. The important thing is to try and keep events etc. in a relative time scale (which came first, etc.) not an absolute time scale. The absolute scale probably can be constructed after the interview if required.

Hunter Reactions to Style: Keep notes on how hunters have reacted to a particular idea, questions, maps, etc. Note anything interesting the hunter is doing in the process of mapping, for example saying how much he "loves" an area, how sure he is of the lines he is marking, why he prefers a particular place, what the family, personal or cultural ties to a place are etc. Every hunter has his own approach to an interview and the skillful interview team will be able to anticipate the mood, interests, approach, capacities, likes, dislikes etc. of each hunter. A good interviewer must sometimes lead and sometimes be led during an interview; to know when to let a hunter go "off topic" and when to "pull" the conversation back to the topic at hand; to know when a hunter is tired and when one should "continue on", etc.

Land Use and Occupancy Interviews

The land use interviews requires two people. One to work with the hunter to make sure the map is marked correctly with respect to color codes for species and season. The other to work with the notes. All land use interviews will be carried out on the 1:500,000 map scale. The interview requires a color coded map legend; color pens with permanent ink; erasers; neatly cut acetate sheet to overlay on the printed map and registration marks to latitude and longitude clearly identified; notebook; and tape recorder.

Each older hunter will have two land use maps, one historical and one current. The historical map is the time before people were living in modern settlement or when they were hunting and travelling using dogteams, etc. it is basically before 1970. The present day map is since people have been living in the community, while hunting by canoe and skidoo. It is primarily after 1970.

In the land use interview it is also important to let the hunter draw his own lines. If he feels shy you can explain that it is too difficult for the researcher to try and mark his lines precisely. Although mistakes may be made by the hunter, the permanent ink pens used in the interviews can be erased. What is important, if for the interviewer to be able to identify the meaning of each line after the interview especially in terms of the pen color according to the pre-selected code, and to coordinate the written (verbal) references and descriptions used by the hunter as he makes his map.

The interview must encourage and enable the hunter to present his own facts, observations, explanations and ideas about his historical and current day patterns of land use and about the ecology and behavior of each particular species. In order to do this two points are essential :

1. The hunter must clearly understand why these interviews are being carried out.

2. The hunter must understand that they are really not there to answer questions, but rather to provide expert information. Questions should not result in short "yes or no" type answers, but rather descriptions and explanations. The hunter's own statements are the most important to record in order to achieve the best understanding of his explanations.

The interview should be kept interesting for the hunter. Relaxed, but serious, breaks or rests when required and sometimes extending the interview over more than one session, especially for older and more informed hunters. The interview should never be rushed but it is not unusual for the data to become somewhat repetitious as more species are described and this can sometimes mean that the process can speed up. On the otherhand, caution should be exercised to prevent hunters from "skipping over" valuable "new" information towards the end of a long interview.

Past and Present:: Depending on the age of the hunter, therefore, the land use interview will have two parts; a past or historical map with supporting written documentation and a present day map with supporting written documentation. If a hunter will be doing both a present and past map, then the past interview will begin with a life history and this will be followed by the seasonal land use interview for the past which, in turn will be followed by a seasonal land use map for the present. If a hunter is only doing a present day map, then the interview will also begin with life history, although often less complex or reflecting different topics such as employment, schooling, etc.; followed by the seasonal land use map.

It must be understood that the distinction between past and present will not always be clear, and it should also be kept in mind that this type of distinction does not, in itself, mean that either Inuit society or Inuit land use patterns have two distinct phases or parts. It is simply a useful approach for making a division based upon a definable set of events (the creation of permanent communities, shifts in technology, schools and changing economic possibilities) that had a significant impact throughout all of Nunavik, an impact that in turn influenced the nature of land use activities. When this set of events is translated into chronological time,

the boundary between past and present falls for the most part around 1965 to 1970.

Life History: The reconstruction of a hunter's life history will begin all interviews. For older hunters, the life history will include geographic information, such as place of birth, living sites, etc. It also includes descriptive information about family, where certain living sites were selected, reasons for moving, etc. It must be remembered that younger hunters may emphasize different events than older hunters, but both groups must try to define these events within a relative and absolute time scale. As noted above, older hunters will have a different perspective on life history events than younger hunters, and although the events that influence the life of the younger hunters may not be directly related to land use, they may have more impact than is first apparent on land use objectives and, therefore, land use patterns, for the present time period.

Specifically, the life history interviews should make reference to the following points:

- Where were you born and when?
- Which seasons did your family live at this place and why?
- From there where did you move, when, why and approximately how long did you stay at each of the living sites that are part of your life history?
- What was the "seasonal cycle" while you were at each of the main living sites?*
- What family lived with your family at each living site? It must be understood that the information on individual life histories cannot represent a complete "ethnographic" study. In order to describe in detail the season cycles and social groups of a particular land use area, an entire different methodology is required. The life history segment of the land use and occupancy interviews, should be able to provide a broad, regional overview, which can then be followed up by more specific and detailed ethnographic studies of the social relations and seasonal cycles that underlie land use and provide, along with environmental/ecological knowledge, one of the dynamic forces that underlies land use patterns.

Species and Seasons: The interview including the map and supporting documentation on seasonal land use by species, is based on the same set of questions for both time periods. The interview should follow a reasonably specific and consistent set of guidelines for each species. Although the hunter may wish to choose the order of species and perhaps the seasonal order as well, the most important criteria is to keep a consistent set of coding for each of the hunter lines. This coding is established by a predetermined reference system as described in Table 1. The 21 primary species to be considered in the interview are also identified in this table.

No two hunters will have the same approach to the interview process, and the responsibility of the interviewer is to be as flexible as possible in order to maximize the hunter's contribution yet to be as consistent as possible in the way in which notes are taken, lines coded, etc. One of the primary differences that will be noticeable in the interviews, is that some hunters prefer to define their land use area in very general terms, and thus with larger, more sweeping lines, whereas other prefer to be much more specific noting particularly places and points. These differences are perfectly acceptable and it must always be remembered that no one interview will stand alone, and that the patterns in terms of both general areas and more specific places will emerge through a composite of maps.

A second area that tends to create confusion in the minds of hunters is the use of seasonal designations. Although the Inuit recognize many stages of a single season, the need for some generalization means that the lines or points used to define the land use for a particular species, should represent for four primary seasons of winter, spring, summer and fall. Here, as throughout the entire interview, the field notes can be used to explain or provide additional facts and details about the timing or about the other details related to the descriptions of land use patterns that the hunter feels to be relevant and which fall outside of the map itself.

Occupancy Interviews

The occupancy interview is basically part of the land use and life history interviews except that it attempts to define hunters attitude or feelings towards areas, places, biological resources and cultural resources. Some of the primary units of information that can form part of an occupancy interview are listed in Table 2.

Ecological Interviews

The ecological interview is always carried out with a group of hunters who will discuss a particular type of environmental condition (sea ice, snow cover, open water, river systems, etc.), the ecology of a particular species or species group (ringed seal, marine mammals, etc.) or the mix of environment and ecology for a particular place (Richmond Gulf, etc.).

The participants in the group discussions are selected because of their experience with the topic under discussion and the selection should be made by the Inuit. The "key" people in relationship to particular topics are usually reasonably easy to identify.

The group should not be too large, usually 3 to 6 participants. General ecological mapping requires a 1:250,000 scale map, but when very detailed areas or processes are being discussed, 1:50,000 scale maps should be used. A sample of the symbols needed to specify ecological and environmental descriptions is illustrated in Table 3. This interview, like land use requires two people. Because the object is to get the group talking and responding to each other, which means the interviewers have to follow the dynamic of the group discussion. It is of particular importance for the interviewers to follow how information is being mapped, making sure the lines, places and other descriptions are clearly identified and that the notes express and expand the topic being mapped. Although it is important for a "group discussion" to take place between the hunters, this can sometimes move faster or in different directions from the mapping and the note taking process. Therefore, the interviewers sometimes have to slow down, review or even redirect the mapping and discussion to make sure the map and notes are correct and everything is clear.

The group interviews almost always require at least two sessions, and it is important for the interviewers to review the results of each session and spend time clarifying information. The material used are the same as in the land use interviews, but the need for particularly large tables or floor space is more obvious because of the larger scale maps and the greater number of participants.

This interview enables Inuit to develop an ecological information base entirely from the expertise of respected hunters. The hunter's knowledge reflect a powerful relationship between the land and animals and is central to the idea of occupancy. The objective is for the hunters to identify and develop their own facts, concepts and interpretations. This is knowledge that is entirely theirs and interviewers must be careful not to "lead" the interview by referring to the facts, concepts or interpretations derived from "southern" science.

Hunters who have been selected for the ecological, environmental, cultural and other special purpose interviews are hired as experts and paid at an appropriate per hour rate. These experts must be very carefully selected and the group must reflect a "good balance" for covering the topic and they must all be able to work and discuss comfortably together. The Inuit expertise is hired because of their specific knowledge about a particular species or topic, or because of their more general knowledge about a particular area or place.

Examples of the information required in the ecological knowledge interview is listed below. A listing of the entire range of potential questions has been drawn up for both the ecological and environnemental interviews.

Migration
- Early arrivals (months)
- Later arrivals (months)
- Old/young male/female

Movement
- Months
- Patterns of movement
- Movement up river - how far?
- Movement into bays
- Movement from - coast to inland/offshore to coast

Grouping
- Months
- Males/females/young
- High/low tide
- How long in the area?
- Local movement in area?
- How large/small groups?
- Changes in group composition between seasons?

Basking
- Months
- Land
- Ice-what kind of ice : moving off of floe-edge, new (thin) ice, old (thick) ice.

Moulting
- Months
- Male
- Female
- Physical change - colour change
- Age dependent

Feeding
- Months
- On what?
- Schedule - day/night
- Seasonal variability

Denning
- Seasonal occupation
- Different kinds: Fox - holes sandy areas
- Polar bear - cliffs, snow drift.

Mating
- Season
- Places

Species life cycle
- Changes that define life cycle including physical changes and behaviours
- Places important to life cycle activities

Interrelationship Between Species
- Different species are seen close to one another or together in the same region: e.g. whales or seals will be feeding when Arctic terns are seen flying overhead.
- One species behaviour forewarns another species presence or behaviour: e.g. when the geese arrive the fish are out of the sea and in the rivers.
- Species doing the same thing at the same time: e.g. young are born and with their mothers at the same time as other species.

Shift/Changes in Patterns of Behaviour/Habitat
- Year to year variability
- Habitat preferences
- Changes in habitat use
- In the past were there other habitat sites important to a species which is longer seen there now? If so, do you know why they moved or changed location?
- Are there new places the species now use? Where?
- Are they still using their old place?
- Changes is grous size?
- Composition of groups?
- Changes in behaviour?

Critical Areas - Sensitive Areas
- Critical to the survival of a species
- Culturally critical - related to a hunter's perceptions
- Conservation or development management of Inuit territory.

Selected Land Use and Occupancy Interviews Related to the Utilization of Labrador by the Inuit of Nunavik

Interview	[redacted]	HUNTER #040
Topic	HISTORICAL LAND USE (Tasiujaq/Kuujjuaq)	Birth: 28/10
Date	May 23, 1985	
Interviewer	D.M, L. R	
Map	# 13-040-02	

LIFE HISTORY

When they were children, my parents lived far down Leaf Bay, Tasiujaq. My father moved to Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo). He used to go hunting up the Koksoak River. There were hardly any caribou around Kangiqsualujjuaq (or old George River Post). My parents moved to Koroc before I was born. My father used to go by boat, or by dogteam to do his shopping at the company.
There used to be French persons at Leaf Bay. Before my father got married he worked for the Révillon Frères (possibly the French people mentioned) in Leaf Bay/Leaf River.

Pt.1 In October, my father went by Peterhead to Cap Kernertut. I was born on October 3, 1928.

Pt.2 I grew up in Koroc. I was able to hunt ptarmigan with my .22. There were hardly any animals in this area. They moved through Koroc River valley to Nachvak Fiord.
Here our family lived all year round, I "grew up to be a man" in this area. I was not married yet. I did my hunting north of the Nachvak Fiord.
I hunted for seals in the area around Koroc (around pt.2).
I fished around Koroc Lake for char (pt.8) in winter.

Pt.3 I lived for 20 years at the end of Alluviaq Fiord (pt.3). I was still single during this time.

Pt.4 A summer camp. I was doing my shopping by walking to the Company at George River. I did some caribou hunting while I was walking. I also went to Hebron for shopping (pt.7).
I used to stay at Ramah also (pt.5).
I was going inland for caribou hunting in this area. Inland to the Ugjuktok Fiord.
The best area for seal hunting is, as marked, east of Kangalaksiorvik Fiord. I hunted there all year round, when I was over 20 years old.
In those days, when my father was still alive, we were hunting in the area as marked on the east coast.
The hunters saw planes once in a while, though they were usually not going over where the hunters were.

Pt.8 The hunters would take the Peterhead around to Killiniq, and down to trade at George River Post. There was also a HBC at Killiniq. In those days, I was very small and I had to hold on to someone all the time. I saw the RCMP for the first time at Killiniq. White men managed the company. I used to be scared of them, even though I wanted candy from them. In those days it was hard to get caribou; instead we would get fish. I remember being hungry all the time, during the summer and winter time. In those days we were starving, even as we went hunting. Our summer and our winter hunting was done by walking. The routes marked are inland walking routes. When my father was still alive, I was following him. My father showed me the best areas for hunting. There were rough and easy areas. Good and bad weather.
In those days in Labrador, I was still single. When I went back to Old Chimo, I got married to a woman that I have been travelling with. I was married in 1957. My first born was Minnie, she was born in 1959 at pt.8, Koroc.

Pt.9 I moved to George River in 1959, when the Co-op started (pt.9).

Pt.10 There were still dogteams in those days. When the Co-op started up, I also moved to pt.10, south of Ryan's Bay.
Last time for dogteam was in the early days of the dogteam.

Pt.11 This place is used for recent hunting. Two years ago, when I went hunting around pt.3, I wanted to see what the area was like from the old days where I used to hunt with my father, when I was single. When I returned, I was very tired. I say to myself that I was getting old.
We used to go by dogteam to get caribou, from the coast inland near Ford Lake in March.
The caribou were coming north in March, I hunted them as marked. In those days there were only a few caribou

during the year. In the springtime we would go back to pt.5.
In the bays and inlets along the east coast, there were seals (both types) in the spring and summer. The best areas were around Seven Islands Bay, Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (for seal). My father used to tell me: "when I've passed on, hunt on the Labrador coast (near pt.3)." This was the best time/place (follow the Alluviaq/West Wind River Valley).
My relatives now live near Hebron. My father's brother is in Nain.

Pt.12 All year living area and crossing the inland to Labrador following Koroc River.

Pt.13 Port Burwell (Killiniq).
When hunting, we were going back and forth in these areas. The places we had stayed before, we didn't bother to go back. In the fall we travelled to several places. My father was a "head man". Etok was a nikcname, not the family's real surname.
The Labrador coast "was our hunting ground". When I was growing up there were no whites in the area. Now the "Newfoundland government want to take our land away".

DUCKS Eiders fly through the Alluviaq Fiord pass in the fall.

BELUGA WHALE In those days there were only a few, but I got one or two in the Nachvak Fiord. Beluga were taken in the summer

WALRUS In winter there were lots of walrus in Seven Islands Bay, but I didn't hunt them. In summer there were many people in Nachvak. We used to harpoon walrus when they come in. They were taken from land, not too far from land.
There is a story about getting bowhead whales. Before I was born there used to be these larger types of whales around. In those days, the hunter would go on the top on the whale, and cut the back of the whale. The back would break as the whale started to go down into the water. Only if the whale was facing inland would they cut its back. When they cut the whales' back it would go to the edge of the land. The whale's back would be open and start bleeding as it was moving. Soon it would not move. It would die in a few minutes as its' blood ran out. The hunter would go from the kayak to the back of the whale. He would go back to his kayak when the whale started to shake. There were no guns in those days. Another man would take his place until the whale began to shake. I don't know if these hunters are still alive or not. I have only heard the stories about what was done before my time.
In those days Germans and Inuit used to be together. They would save whale oil in sealskins, using it for light, to cook with. The whole animal was used for meat. The people were very satisfied after hunting and eating whale. They would keep the meat for 1 or 2 months. Baleen was saved as well.

POLAR BEAR My father hunted bears in Seven Islands Bay (Akpatok Island and beyond). He would go to Northwest Territories to get bear. Bear were found in the inlets and bays, all up and down the coast, even in the ocean. They are the best divers, they can be underwater the same as seal. When a Polar bear get a seal, the bear would carry the seal inland on his back. I have found seal bones high up in the mountains, carried all the way to these highlands by Polar bear.
When the bears got fat, they were going to the Northwest Territories, to the north and the open waters. They were staying in the good sealing areas until they got fat, sometimes all year. The Polar bear was usually moving all year round. I shot a Polar bear in Weymouth Inlet, in the springtime.

Interview	[redacted] HUNTER #040
Topic	CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL LAND USE Birth: 28/10
Date	May 29, 1985
Interviewer	D. M, L. R
Map	# 13-040-02

EIDER DUCK

There are hardly any ducks around Nachvak Fiord, because the Nachvak Fiord has very high, steep cliffs which are impossible to nest on. There are only ducks once in a while. Ducks are usually moving north, in flocks. The cliffs were very steep. I know that there were eggs farther up the coast, though I didn't necessarily pick them. He never picked duck-down in those days.
Ducks were found, as marked, around Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (the best area) and farther north.

GEESE

There were hardly any geese around pt.4, but I did hunt them around there (Nachvak Fiord).
I shot my first goose arount pt.5, Ramah Bay. Generally there were a few geese, and as a result, I didn't see too many eggs either. Before the Co-op really started I moved from pt.9 to Seven Islands Bay. There were hardly any geese before 1959. I travelled along the Koroc River Valley to Seven Islands Bay. Since that time, many geese are found along the Labrador coast.
In those days, I didn't ever see sheets of paper like the one I am writing on. The Inuit children were writing in the sand instead. Sometimes I found soapstone around Kangalaksiorvik Fiord (across Alluviaq river) which could be used as slate or lead. These stones would be carried like pencils.
Also, there were no matches in those days. They used white stone like a flint, and tinder from dried mosses to make a fire. Soapstone was also used for sharpening knives.

FISH

I caught salmon in Komaktorvik Fiord. There were not too many salmon to be found in those days, in that area. When there were fish, they were caught with the kakivik or with rope from the company, woven into nets. Perhaps the salmon in the Komaktorvik Fiord was the only one in the whole province.
Lake trout - I never tried to find out about Lake trout in the lakes.
Brook trout - Brook trout were caught along the Koroc River. For catching them, I used a soapstone sinker, a small black hook from the company and sinew from the caribou to make the line. It was quite hard to fashion this equipment together.

PTARMIGAN

Ptarmigan were found around Koroc. Also around the mouths of rivers, as marked, the West Wind river, Komaktorvik River, Palmer and Koroc River. Ptarmigan are found where there are bushes and small branches. Bullets were very valuable and I didn't take more than 10 bullets for hunting. I was trying to get fox even when I was hunting ptarmigan, because fox fur was valuable. If I had no bullets I used rocks to hit them instead. My parents would not let me use a gun if I didn't bring back any animals after a hunting trip. My parents were strict in the sense that they didn't like bullets wasted. Because I was short of real ammunition, I learned to use other sorts of things, like rocks, to get animals.
I lived at pt.12 (on the Koroc River as marked) where I learned to use bow and arrow, taught by my father. The bow was made from wood, the rope from braided caribou muscle, the arrow head (and arrow) was made out of bone, sharpened to a point.

FOX

Fox are found in the same places ptarmigan are found, near the bushes along the West Wind River mouth, the Komaktorvik River, the Palmer and Koroc rivers.

WOLF

I have heard of wolf being near Ramah and Saglek Fiords but I have not seen any there.
I don't have time to do a map for the present day, but most of the places I went by dogteam are the places that I use by ski-doo nowadays.

Interview	[redacted]	HUNTER #044
Topic	HISTORICAL LAND USE	Birth: 15/04
Date	1981	
Interviewer		
Map	# 13-040-01	

LIFE HISTORY	I was born in Tasiujaq and I lived there as a boy. When my mother died, the family moved to George River.
Pt.1	We travelled to George River by Peterhead and we lived at pt.1 until I was older.
Pt.2	I used to spend my fall and winter at pt.2 (Nachvak Pt.3 Fiord). I would walk from pt.1 up to Koroc River to Nachuak. Pt.3 was the Hudson Bay Company and I used to buy things for my family there - cigarettes, bullets, tea, etc. I used to travel without a tent, I would hide under rocks if it rained.
Pt.4	I would sometimes head over to Labrador from pt.3 and I would walk there with my family - pt.4 (Ramah Bay). When the family traded with the Bay we would stay at pts.2 and 4. I hunted seals when we were in Labrador. Once I brought candles home for my children, but they did not want them, they wanted meat. Most of my relatives died in Labrador, so my family and I moved to the Koroc area. Once the family moved from pts.2 and 4, we went back to pt.1 (I am not sure exactly when). In the old days, we used to travel by dogteam since we did not have skidoos. On stormy days, when even I was lost myself, the dogs would be able to find the tents. I lived at pt.1 for a long time, trading at pt.3 and sometimes Chimo. I would get there by either dogteam or Peterhead. Other hunters and myself used to go to Beacon Island and Hubbard Point by Peterhead for seal hunting. Sometimes we would be able to just fill the Peterhead full of seals and were able to prepare meat for the dogs in the winter. Sometimes we would travel over to Hebron (pt.5) in the winter to trade fox. At Hebron we were offered a better price for fox and food. We would hunt seal since the Bay sold entire seals. I would sometimes stay for 2-3 days. After the arrival of the Co-op in George River I moved to the community. But I still went caribou hunting by dogteam to Labrador.
Pt.6	Port Burwell in the summer and winter.

HISTORICAL LAND USE (before the time of skidoo)

RINGED/BEARDED SEAL	I hunted seals by dogteam, Peterhead and kayak.
WALRUS	I have only killed one, but I have seen them in Labrador. I killed mine on Akpatok Island in the summer (by Peterhead).
BELUGA WHALE	In Mucalic and Koroc rivers, narwals in the Koroc River, also blue dolphin (ardluisiak), white beaked dolphin (pamiulgrtuk) - sometimes in Québec, but usually in Labrador.
POLAR BEAR	I have killed approximately 20 of them. Once I killed a bear with only one bullet. When I ran out of bullets, I buried my gun and cached it. Whenever I killed a polar bear, I tied a rope to its mouth and put the bear into the river where the water was deep. Then I pulled it back up and it would be black with leaches and other things from the water. The women would then clean the skin and the dogs would bring it to Nachuak. I have killed 5 bears at Alluviaq. A few years ago, I killed one bear near Payne Bay.
ARCTIC CHAR	I fished for char in the summer and winter, some places only in the winter. At Short Lake, sometimes I spear fishes. (At Leaf Bay I never fished for any char).
LAKE TROUT	In the lakes around the Koroc River. I got lake trout at Leaf Bay also. There are no lake trout in Labrador.
BROOK TROUT	Koroc River. There are no brook trout in Labrador.
FOX	I hunted on the Koroc, east of Pt. Elson, Aachivak, Ramah, Alluviaq, Kangalaksiorvik.

WOLF	I didn't hunt wolves usually. I killed 2 wolves once when they were near my tent. I was afraid so I shot them. (We used to put wolf fur on our pack when we were riding the kayak).
CANADA GEESE	I found them at the Koroc mouth, Mucalic, Alluviaq, Pt. Elson, Kangalaksiorvik in the spring and in the summer.
MURRE	All year round, in the winter in Labrador and in the summer in Ungava.
EIDER DUCK	All year round, over the water and in fiords in Labrador. In the summer, eggs can be collected in Ungava, especially where people don't go very often. Now there are not so many eggs at the Koroc River anymore. Merganser - pairgulik Pintail (some around).
PTARMIGAN	Alluviaq, Nachuak and other fiords. Also around the Koroc River, in the spring and winter.
CARIBOU	Along the Koroc River, Alluviaq.
HARE	Alluviaq, Koroc River in the spring and winter.

Interview	[redacted]	HUNTER #044
Topic	CURRENT LAND USE	Birth: 15/04
Date	1981	
Interviewer		
Map	# 13-040-02	

CURRENT LAND USE (after skidoos)

	Because I am getting older, my hands are getting weaker, I don't hunt like I used to. I don't go to Labrador to hunt anymore.
RINGED SEAL	All along the coast, once in a while to the Koroc River in the winter. I head up north in the summer.
BEARDED SEAL	Same as ringed seal.
WALRUS	I don't hunt them anymore.
BELUGA WHALE	In the Koroc River, in the summer only.
POLAR BEAR	I do not hunt them anymore.
ARCTIC CHAR	I go fishing as soon as the ice moves away, by George River, up the coast in the summer, Tasikudluk in the winter.
LAKE TROUT	I do not travel too far for lake trout. In the spring, I like to go with people if they are going out by skidoo. I don't go by myself anymore, I will not go far.
BROOK TROUT	In the spring at Koroc River.
FOX	I hunt fox nearby, in the winter only (this year I did not go out).
WOLF	I did not hunt them.
CARIBOU	Only nearby in the summer and winter. I will only kill one once in a while. I don't go hunting when I am not hungry, and I will not travel far for caribou.

HARE	I will shoot one if I see one.
CANADA GEESE	In May around the Koroc River.
MURRE	A bit of murre hunting, in the summer by boat.
EIDER DUCK	In the summer on the islands and sometimes I will also collect eggs.
PTARMIGAN	I hunt ptarmigan nearby, there are a lot of them in the spring and winter.

Interview	[redacted]	HUNTER #050
Topic	HISTORICAL LAND USE	Birth: Unknown
Date	May 31, 1985	
Interviewer	D. M, L. R.	
Map	# 13-050-02	

Pt.1	I was born across from Nain.
Pt.2	I grew up in Nain and started to hunt there.
Pt.3	This is a summer camp.
Pt.4,5	These are summer camps. I travelled a lot by dogteam to an area not on the base map being used. The area being around Hopedale (possibly, I don't know for sure).
Pt.6	This is an old spring camp, on the south side of Voisey Bay.
Pt.7	Spring camp, southwest of Nain.
Pt.8	This spot on the north side of Ugjuktuk Fiord was a fall camp, reached by Peterhead.
Pt.9	Summer camp - East end of Okak Bay in the south side.
Pt.10	This is a fall caribou camp.

SEAL	Seal were hunted as far north as the Saglek Fiord in the fall, both Ringed and Bearded seal. Spring and summer seal hunting was done in the same areas. Though seal are found all along the coast, I will show you on the map the most important areas for hunting. Seal hunting in the fall and winter is done in a broad area around Nain. The lines represent inlets and bays inland from the actual lines drawn.
BELUGA WHALE	I hunted whale east of Nain in the summertime, also south from pt.5 in the summertime (south of Port Manvers). In September, I hunted whale right around Hebron.
POLAR BEAR	In summer, I hunted Polar bear around pt.4, east of Dog Island. In late winter, early spring I have hunted them around Nain (east of pt.2).
SALMON	Salmon were always netted in late summer, till the month of November. After November, salmon go south

	direction to cool, not cold waters. Around Hopedale, salmon "go up" and are netted. In summer, salmon were taken around Okak Bay and around the Okak Islands. Also, in late summer around Satosoak Island and Voisey Bay.
ARCTIC CHAR	Char are in saltwater in the summer and in lakes in the wintertime. In the summer: Okak Bay, Voisey Bay and west of Kikkertavak Island. In the winter: Tasialuak Lake and Laura Lake. In the springtime, they were taken in Tasisuak Lake.
LAKE TROUT	Lake trout were not really fished, only in Tasialuak Lake in the springtime, the lake trout were very large in this lake.
COD	Cod were trolled far in the summer around Sandy and Dog Islands.
CARIBOU	Pt.10 is a caribou camp, around Kingurutik Lake. In the winter, three large areas inland were reached by dogteam routes as marked. Also, in winter, caribou were hunted along the coast from Port Manvers (north) to Tasialuk Lake (south). In the summer, caribou were hunted around Voisey Bay (pt.6). In the spring they were hunted west and east of Nain (pt.2).
FOX	Fox were trapped in two areas in the winter, around pt.5 (Port Manvers) and north of Voisey Bay.
WOLF	In the winter, wolf were hunted along the inland dogteam routes, as marked. In the summer, they were hunted on the shores of Nain Bay.
EIDER DUCK	Eider were found all the way from Nain to Saglek Fiord, though they were mostly hunted in late spring and summer around Dog Island and Nukasusutok Island. Only very young eggs were collected.
GEESE	Geese were hunted in both the fall and spring, around Paul Island, northeast of Dog Island and all along the coast from Nain to Tasialuk Lake.
MUSKRAT	Muskrat were never hunted or trapped.
HARE	Hare were hunted in the summer and winter southeast of Okak Bay, also around Salmon and Webb.

Interview	[redacted]	HUNTER #061
Topic	HISTORICAL LAND USE	Birth: 1914
Date	May 13, 1985	
Interviewer	D. M. and L. R	
Map	# 13-061-02	

LIFE HISTORY

Pt.1 I was born up the Koksoak River in this general area (1914). I don't remember too much about that time except that I was hungry.

Pt.2 (Near Alluviaq Fiord). This is where I grew up, where my father and mother died. I got married in Killiniq. (I am the only member of my family that still alive).

Pt.3 I travelled in winter to pt.3, spent a summer and winter there (Komok Torvik Fiord).

Pt.4 In May, when the ice was cracking, I moved to Hebron. It was a three day journey. I used a small map that described the land from Chimo to the Labrador coast to get there. I was told to move from Hebron to Nain.

Around Nain, I hunted caribou and trapped fox. I also fished with a boat with a motor and "lots of people followed me up the coast because I knew where to go".

In July/August I fished for Arctic char. There were lots of fish. Codfish and whitefish in the summer. I got red char in the Saglek Fiord. I fished by net, with big boats that bought the fish back to Nain. We used fish traps with one opening only, and placed them where we knew there were lots of fish.

Near the islands, there were codfish. I caught codfish for a company down south. We took the blubber out, and put the fish in salt to preserve them.

If it was good travelling - no ice - then I could travel from Nain to Hebron in one day, otherwise it would take longer and we would fish along the way.

There were Americans near Cape Uivak in the 1940s. There were also big antennas there (near F 11). These Americans came fishing with me. There was also a company at Ramah Bay, the Germans were the first to make their cabins there. Also, the German people were at Killiniq before, and also at Hebron where they built a church and some other buildings.

Around the islands there are "all kinds of seals going all kinds of places" - Ranger seal, but not too much Ringed seal. As well, Ranger seal were found in the Button islands. Across the Gray strait, I rowed this boat across during low tide.

No walrus, though maybe around Seven Islands Bay and Watchman Island.

NEAR Pt.3 I fished there in the winter.

Note: In 1960, I went from Kangiqsualujjuaq to Nain in one week by skidoo. My route is marked on the map, from George River to the coast along the Koroc Basin.

Near Nain, I hunted for caribou and trapped fox in the winter.

In springtime, I travelled by skidoo. There are more caribou near Nain, there are high hills and rivers nearby.

Some inuit people were killed near Nain, they couldn't see a cliff in the snow and fell off it and died.

Pt.5 Caribou hunting in winter, travelling by dogteam. There are less caribou than before.

Pt.6 Winter camping Napotuk, lots of trees there.

Seal hunting is done in spring, fall and winter near Hebron Bay.

Walrus are also found off the coast.

When I was hunting caribou with a rifle with my son, some caribou chased him.

BIRDS Didn't bother with eggs. All along the coast there were birds.

DUCKS Near pt.2, though not this year, usually there are many in spring and fall migrating.

GEESE Not usually noticed. There are many male in Nachvak Fiord. Near Nain, they fly from one island to another Spring goose hunt takes place near Nain Bay.

There used to be Quallunaat inuit at Nutak, 200-300 people but there was starvation and disease a long time ago, before World War II, maybe in the 1920s.

I used to work at Nutak, I wrote down the supplies on their way from Nain to Killiniq.

He got bake apple berries on kikker Tarjote island (Okpik berries).
The meeting place on this map was where the Hebronmiut, and Kangiqsualujjuaqmiut met for the first time. They were both hunting caribou and trapping fox.
I hunted caribou around pt.2. When I hunted in the summer, the carcasses were carried on peoples backs. These summer skins were used for anoraks because they weren't too heavy. From pt.2 I travelled up to trade at Killiniq.
There used to be 3 ships plying the coast, the Nabkapi, the Ungava and another smaller ship - possibly a schooner - running the coast. There was a fish freezer near Nain, people at St. Johns were in charge of the Nain freezers and the company operated there (at Nain).

Interview	[redacted] HUNTER #061
Topic	CONTINUATION - HISTORICAL LAND USE MAP
Date	MAY 24, 1985
Interviewer	D. M, L. R.
Map	# 13-061-02

Fishing for 2 summers I caught fish at pt.2, I took the fish to Killiniq. Cecil Ford got the fish and sent them south. (Cecil Ford has been mentioned as the manager of the company at Hebron). I tried to get Killiniq in time so my fish could be loaded. I was working for the sea-lift, carrying boxes of fish on my back over the moving ice. Jacko Kaujasiak was the best worker. He was the strongest man.
There were lots of fish to be caught around Killiniq. Lots of char, not so many salmon, but many codfish. I used to tie 4 kayaks together into a raft and took them across to the Killiniq Islands. I used to ferry my dogs across on this raft.

FISHING

Fishing for char was done in winter, in the lakes and rivers. As marked, north of the Alluviaq Fiord. Char were often as big as salmon. The Alluviaq River was fished all winter - often times there were so many fish that their combined movement would stir the waters and stop them from freezing (mostly red char). As I was growing up, I fished to the east coast of Ungava Bay. I also fished in Bell Inlet for codfish all year round. I jigged there, I did not use nets.
In those days, I was trying to survive by fishing. I saw caribou only once in a while.

POLAR BEAR

I know there used to be polar bear around Seven Islands Bay but I didn't really go after them. I never saw a polar bear inland, only a few caribou. I got two polar bear close to Point Le Droit.
Now I will tell you a story about a war that occured, in the old days, between the Inuit on the Button Islands. I don't know why they were fighting, it might have been over hunting lands. The Inuit were "mean" in those days. Meaner than today. On the North Button Islands

there lived an old father, a mother and their two sons, who were always scared that they would be attacked. Once, the two sons went out hunting and two men from the southeast island tried to kill them. They shot arrows at them, but the two sons caught the arrows in their hands and broke them. I think the family may have been Tunnit, men before the Inuit, who were very big and very tough.

So now there was a spirit of dead men. Hunting seal on the islands with his long rifle. There is also a gravesite near pt.2 - same as Tunnit graves, covered in stones.

I used to sell fish and fur to the HBC. I was making kamiks out of seal skin and trade them for bullets. I used to hunt most along the east coast of Ungava Bay for the Company, there were seals in the inlets. Along the east coast (the Atlantic). There were char and codfish, especially around Noodleook Fiord.

Home was near pt.2 around this time. I was taking my Peterhead (in summertime) up the Ungava coast to the Atlantic side. Along that coast there were the best sealing areas. In the springtime I travelled by dogteam to the east coast as marked, along the West Wind River. I jigged for codfish in the inlets on that side, particularly around Ryan's Bay.

When I used to trade with the HBC it cost me $1.50 for 20 bullets. Prices for fox pelts were as follows :

$20. Red fox
$100. White fox
$200. Black fox
$300. Silver fox

Old prices

Fox were trapped as marked near pt.2 - one of the best areas for fox in the winter, because there are many small branches and many lemmings. Traps were set on the way to Killiniq, they were checked on the journey (both coastal and inland - north). Winter fur was best as it earned the most money. The HBC men were in Killiniq more often in winter, they stayed there to get the good furs.

BELUGA WHALE

I got one around the Alluviaq Fiord in the springtime. Whale were seen once in a while near Nain. They used to be seen around the west side of the Killiniq Islands from the kayaks. There used to be many when I was younger, there aren't that many now.

SEAL

Are taken near pt.2 (see historical land use map for details).
Ringed, Ranger, Harp and Bearded seal are found near the Button Islands.
Seal are hunted all year round.

FISH

Brook trout move down to salt water. I fish for them in the winter only (see historical land use for details). I am not too sure about fishing in the fall.

WOLF(Amarook).

A long time ago there weren't any wolf, now there may be some but I don't hunt them. In the days of the dogteam, I didn't travel in the high hills. I only used the flat lands, and not the mountainous area.

CARIBOU

Were hunted near Seven Island Bay. Good hunting lands for Tuktu were S.E. of pt.2 for summer (esp. August) and winter hunting. The fur is best in autumn when it is very short.

DUCKS

Down/eggs/birds themselves are taken as indicated in the historical land use map.

GEESE

Were taken mostly around Alluviaq Fiord to Weymouth Fiord. There were less then than there are now.

PTARMIGAN

When I ran out of ammunition sometimes I used rocks to get a ptarmigan. In those days I was using a muzzle loader to take the birds.

HARE

There are no snowshoe hare near the islands because they are above the treeline. Arctic hare are found all the way to Killiniq, though less in number during the summertime.

Interview	[redacted] HUNTER #061
Topic	CONTINUATION HISTORICAL LAND USE MAP
Date	1981
Interviewer	
Map	# 13-061-02

HISTORICAL LAND USE

I was born near pt.1 (not far from George River). I used to trade at the Hudson Bay Company in Port Burwell. I grew up around the area (pt.1). After the Port Burwell post closed we began to trade at George River. I lived at Komaktorvik for 3 years (1949-51). I travelled from Keglo Bay overland by a winding route to the point where the dots go on the map.
Bobby May was the leader in George River and was then replaced by Jim Ford, so I did not want to come back to George River. I went hunting and then over to Hebron in order to get food.
In 1951, I left for Hebron (there was a Bay in Hebron) by dogteam. I made it just in time before the ice went. Then I went by boat to Nain. There was no one left in Hebron, everyone had left. I stayed in Nain for 21 years. Then I came to George River by Peterhead. When I came to live here at George River everyone was using skidoos.

RINGED SEAL	Near pt.1
RANGER SEAL	Marked on map as "AR"
HARP SEAL	Marked on map as "AH"
BEARDED SEAL	Areas of hunted indicated on map.

Note: George River never used to have animals. The people of George River and Koroc were going to pt.1 looking for animals. They nearly starved. Even the people from Fort Chimo would come for seal hunting.
At Killiniq, there were ranger seal, harp seal, bearded seal, ringed seal. The Button Islands had ranger and harp seals, which were only hunted in July.

WALRUS	I have never killed one. I would harpoon the walrus, but somebody else always killed it. Walrus are seen between Keglo Bay and Killiniq.
BELUGA WHALE	In early June and July, beluga are hunted at Keglo Bay by kayak. Once I killed 3 beluga. There are not very many whales in Labrador and I have never killed any there. They are plentiful in Killiniq, but I never got any.
POLAR BEAR	They are found in Keglo Bay in January. Once when I was hunting caribou up in the mountains in January, I saw a Polar bear. In Nain I wasn't supposed to kill them, but I once got one there. It was chasing me, so I killed it. The RCMP nearly put me in jail, they did not believe in self defence.
ARCTIC CHAR	Nachvak has "red char", also found near Keglo Bay.
LAKE/BROOK TROUT	Only in the George River area.
FOX	Around Keglo Bay, Nain and Hebron.
WOLF	I killed 2 in July in Labrador (near Hebron). I never see wolves in winter, even though they are about.
CARIBOU	A long time ago, there were few caribou around and I was only able to kill a few in those days. I was travelling on the Labrador coast by Peterhead and I used to see a lot of caribou, but I wasn't hungry and therefore I didn't hunt them.
HARE	Near Keglo Bay in the fall, Hebron in the winter. I used to hunt hare for dog food. The fur is not sold to the Bay. Instead it was used for hats - placed on forehead in order to see further. I used white fur on my head in order to fool seals. If the seal saw black it would sometimes dive.
CANADA GEESE	Keglo Bay in the spring.
SNOW GEESE	Pass in the fall, near Killiniq.

MURRE	I killed 7 in Nain.
EIDER	Keglo Bay in the winter. I look for eggs on the islands in the spring. There are also eggs in Nain and in Labrador in July. There are no eiders in Killiniq, only murre. Once there was a radio wire and the murre and eider would hit it and die - this was during the war. There were 2 Inuit from Nain and one from Hebron who went to war.
PTARMIGAN	I never used to hunt ptarmigan. They can be found in Killiniq and Labrador. In Killiniq, there would be lots of them. As a boy, I hunted ptarmigan in Keglo Bay in the spring and winter.
Pt.9	Summer camp - East end of Okak Bay in the south side.
Pt.10	This is a fall caribou camp.
SEAL	Seal were hunted as far north as the Saglek Fiord in the fall, both Ringed and Bearded seal. Spring and summer seal hunting was done in the same areas. Though seal are found all along the coast, I will show you on the map the most important areas for hunting. Seal hunting in the fall and winter is done in a broad area around Nain. The lines represent inlets and bays inland from the actual lines drawn.
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POLAR BEAR	In summer, I hunted Polar bear around pt.4, east of Dog Island. In late winter, early spring I have hunted them around Nain (east of pt.2).
SALMON	Salmon were always netted in late summer, till the month of November. After November, salmon go south direction to cool, not cold waters. Around Hopedale, salmon "go up" and are netted. In summer, salmon were taken around Okak Bay and around the Okak Islands. Also, in late summer around Satosoak Island and Voisey Bay.
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COD	Cod were trolled far in the summer around Sandy and Dog Islands.
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WOLF	In the winter, wolf were hunted along the inland dogteam routes, as marked. In the summer, they were hunted on the shores of Nain Bay.
EIDER DUCK	Eider were found all the way from Nain to Saglek Fiord, though they were mostly hunted in late spring and summer around Dog Island and Nukasusutok Island. Only very young eggs were collected.
GEESE	Geese were hunted in both the fall and spring, around Paul Island, northeast of Dog Island and all along the coast from Nain to Tasialuk Lake.
MUSKRAT	Muskrat were never hunted or trapped.
HARE	Hare were hunted in the summer and winter southeast of Okak Bay, also around Salmon and Webb Bay.

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