INUVIALUIT SETTLEMENT REGION
TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE REPORT

Submitted to:
Mackenzie Project Environmental Group
Calgary, Alberta

Submitted by:

Inuuvik Community Corporation
Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Corporation
Akłarvik Community Corporation

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Foreword

This project was undertaken by the Mackenzie Gas Project as part of its obligations to gather and document the traditional knowledge of the different Indigenous groups located along the proposed pipeline route to extract natural gas from the Mackenzie Delta to the southern markets.

The Inuvik Community Corporation has entered into an agreement to coordinate the gathering and documentation of traditional knowledge for the project portion within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region.

Traditional knowledge is a cumulative body of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by the peoples over a long period of time. This encompasses spiritual relationships, historical and present relationships with the natural environment, and the use of natural resources. It is generally expressed in oral form, and passed on from generation to generation by story telling and practical teaching.

Although this process is not practiced as it has been in the past, traditional knowledge is still passed on in varying degrees within family units and community organizations. Traditional knowledge is a crucial form of the Inuvialuit culture, and is one way of preserving and promoting our identity to our future generations.

This project has attempted to gather and document the traditional knowledge of the Inuvialuit that have or continue to utilize the area being considered for development. Interviews have been conducted by tape and video in order to develop a historical resource that included Inuvialuit youth and elders, and provide an archival resource for future reference and comparison.

Although this will not be able to include the entire history of the Inuvialuit throughout this area, our hope is that it will encompass an accurate and practical documentation of our history and relationship to the land and environment.

Duane R. Smith
Chair, Inuvik Community Corporation

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible through funding from Imperial Oil and their partners, the Aboriginal Pipeline Group, Conoco-Phillips, Shell Canada and Exxon-Mobil; thank you.

We are thankful for the traditional knowledge and modern knowledge shared by the gatherers and hunters, without which this report would have been difficult to write. We would especially like to recognize the elders that passed away during this project, and who provided us with the opportunity to interview them: Edgar Kotokak, Noah Felix, Norman Felix and Annie Noksana from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, and Hugh Rogers, Gilbert Kasook and Ned Kayotuk of Inuuvik. Their knowledge will be appreciated by future generations.

We are grateful to the Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik Community Corporations, the Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik Elders Committee and to the Hunters and Trappers Committees of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik from whom the MGP/ISR Working Group was established.

We give credit to the Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA) for the maps and the database.

Our appreciation extends to MPEG (Mackenzie Project Environmental Group) and their continued involvement throughout the project. Consisting of AMEC Earth & Environmental, Kavik-AXYS, IMG Golder and TERA Environmental Consultants, they were retained by the Mackenzie Gas Project to do the Environmental Impact Study using scientific knowledge along with traditional knowledge.

Recognition goes to the Siglitun translators Helen Gruben, Frank Umauk and Jean Gruben from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, and to Lena Ruben of Inuuvik, who assisted in the Siglitun translations for Tuktuuyaqtuuq. We give credit to the Uummarmiutun translator Judy Selamio from Akłarvik, who did the interviews in Uummarmiutun as well as doing the transcriptions.

Thanks to Robert Kuptana whose Inuvialuktun fluency made it possible to interview in Inuvialuktun and translate the tapes from Uummarmiutun to English.

Thanks to all the transcribers from Akłarvik, Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Inuuvik, all groups worked tirelessly for several months to complete transcriptions.

Special thanks to Inuuvik Community Corporation who overlooked the day-to-day functions through their Corporate Manager.

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1.0 Introduction

This report was prepared by the Inuuvik Community Corporation, the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Corporation and the Akłarvik Community Corporation under contract to Imperial Oil. The report was written to serve as part of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for the proposed Mackenzie Valley Project, to ensure Inuvialuit knowledge and voices are not overlooked. It addresses traditional Inuvialuit knowledge, land use, burial and spiritual sites, historical and cultural sites, trails, wildlife, birds, fish, vegetation, hydrology, weather, and climate change. It also documents a number of issues and concerns about the proposed Mackenzie Gas Project.

The expectations of the participants are that the traditional knowledge documented in this report will indicate to the Mackenzie Gas Project the importance of the environment to the Inuvialuit. It is also expected that the Mackenzie Gas Project will consider the information presented in this report in project planning, that issues and concerns raised within the report will be addressed, and that activities will be conducted with few or no disturbances to the environment and land use.

Some of the traditional knowledge contained in this report has been passed on between generations for centuries through a variety of means, including: legends, stories, songs, dances and experience. This knowledge is still relevant today, as the traditions of the Inuvialuit are still practiced. Inuvialuit continue to hunt, trap, fish and rely on the resources that have sustained them for centuries. Reliance on the land has led to a detailed knowledge system covering a variety of disciplines. For example, camps traditionally included doctors, midwives, geologists, biologists, historians, naturalists, herbalists, storytellers, genealogists, and those with knowledge of Inuvialuit spirituality, traditional games, songs and dances. This report cannot cover all the aspects of Inuvialuit traditional knowledge, and instead focuses on biophysical and environmental phenomena.

The use of traditional knowledge throughout the environmental assessment process is crucial to ensure the impact assessment process is fair to resource users. Traditional knowledge holders have a greater understanding of the ways in which development activities impact the physical and social environment than those who do not use the land for sustenance. Participants in this study welcomed the opportunity to participate in the EIA, although many are wary because of previous development.

> Well, they will not listen because they [are] so powerful … they should take care of the land. If they could listen to us, we have been talking for long time (AK232).

There is a new opportunity to make sure the Inuvialuit voice is heard in future developments on their traditional lands. The traditional knowledge contained in this report can make a difference if it is respected and valued by those responsible for the development and the approvals process.

2.0 Study Personnel

This section discusses the roles of the key personnel involved in this study. They include the Working Group, the Regional Coordinator and Community Coordinators.

2.1 Traditional Knowledge Working Group

A Working Group, composed of representatives from the Community Corporations, Hunters and Trappers Committees, and Elders Committees from each of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik, was established to develop a framework, determine content, establish a schedule and provide overall guidance for the study. More specifically, the Working Group was involved in determining the study area boundaries, recommending methods for community participation, identifying holders of traditional knowledge and ensuring that appropriate traditional knowledge was collected and documented during the course of this study. Numerous Working Group meetings occurred, including in April 2003, October 2003, April 2004, December 2004, July 2005 and June 2006.

Members of the Working Group are identified in Table 1.

Table 1: Members of the Working Group

Agency	Name	Role/Biography
Inuuvik Elders Committee	Maniratchiaq Alex Kaglik	Member Maniratchiaq is my Inuvialuktun name, when I was one we left Cambridge Bay with the *Saint Rock*, the RCMP ocean boat. My granddad was a Special Constable. My mother's name is Mary and my father is Scott Alexander. My granddad Louie Kaglik was most influential in my life. He taught me all about bush life survival. My advice to the young Inuvialuit is to listen to your elders and parents while you are still young; that is where all the knowledge is.
Inuuvik Community Corporation	Arnaruniaq Gayle Gruben	Chairperson Arnaruniaq was the name given to me.

Agency	Name	Role/Biography
Inuuvik Hunters and Trappers Committee	Amarana Ronnie Gruben	Member I was raised by my grandparents Charlie and Persis Gruben. My grandfather taught me how to travel, how to hunt and fish. My grandmother taught me my values, who I am and represent, and what I stand for. Personally I endorse this for the Inuvialuit, so that issues and concerns are reported for historical value. This report should be used to design a successful pipeline.
Akłarvik Elders Committee	Qipqiin Donald Aviugana	Member Qipqiin was given to Donald by his parents, named after Danny Sidney's father. His parents had the most impact in his life; he grew up in the bush and Akłarvik. His father was a reindeer herder in the 1940s. He attended residential school in 1946. He says, "this [study] is important, that the oil companies do not hurt the environment, that is what I'm scared of."
Akłarvik Community Corporation	Inukikłaq Knute Hansen	Vice-chair, year term ended My Inuvialuit name is Inukikłaq after Harry Inukikłaq, my grandfather Garrett Nutik's brother. My mother Kathleen and father Hans Hansen were very influential in my life. I am doing this for future generations.
Akłarvik Hunters and Trappers Committee	Alivirun Danny C. Gordon	Member I was named Alivirun after a relative in Alaska who drowned. My parents are Thea and Charlie Gordon, my father was a really wise man and influenced me most when I was growing up. To the young people, I say "get an education, but always remember where you came from and learn your traditions".
Tuktuuyaqtuuq Elders Committee	Mangilaaluk William Nasogaluak	Member, year term ended My parents named me after Mangilaaluk. The most influential people in my life were my parents. I am doing this because our traditions should not be forgotten, I would like to see our traditions and history put in writing.
Tuktuuyaqtuuq Elders Committee	Pali Jean Gruben	Member, second year Pali was the name of my father's mother, thus my father called me "amang" meaning my mother.

Agency	Name	Role/Biography
Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Corporation	Stattaq Fred Wolki	Member Stataq is my Inuvialuit name after my uncle Fred Wolki. My father influenced me most in my life and was my teacher, since I was small he showed me what life was about. I would like to dedicate this to the Inuvialuit of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, to the younger generation to learn what we are doing.
Tuktuuyaqtuuq Hunters and Trappers Committee	Aiviq David Nasogaluak	Member Aiviq is the name given to David by Aiviq's wife. She said David would be a great hunter. His parents influenced him most in his life, taught him how to survive and how to treat other people with respect. He would like to see future generations keep with Inuvialuktun and dedicates this traditional knowledge to the next generation.

Peter Clarkson, Michael Fabijan and Chris O'Neil from MPEG, and Bruce Vincent of the Mackenzie Gas Project were also present at Working Group meetings in the role of advisors.

To facilitate Working Group meetings and address administrative matters, the Working Group appointed a Chair and Vice Chair. The Working Group also formed a sub-committee and granted it authority to make decisions that needed to be made in a timely matter, in absence of the entire Working Group. The sub-committee was composed of the Chair, Vice Chair, Traditional Knowledge Study Coordinator and a representative of MPEG. Sub-committee meetings occurred frequently, when required.

2.2 Traditional Knowledge Regional Coordinator

The Working Group hired a Regional Coordinator to coordinate and undertake study tasks. These tasks included developing a work plan and budget to address the objectives of the study, hiring community coordinators to help carry out the study and supervising their activities, collecting relevant information through literature reviews and interviewing holders of traditional knowledge, verifying the accuracy of the information, and report writing.

It was important to the Working Group that the coordinator be a beneficiary of the Inuvialuit Land Claim, with the ability to write and speak Inuvialuktun, and with a knowledge and understanding of the people, their values and traditions.

Irriaƒuk, Tuuqłaq, Nirliq, Rose Marie Kirby was hired as the Traditional Knowledge Regional Coordinator in January 2004, and a study office was established in Inuuvik.

2.3 Traditional Knowledge Community Coordinators

The Working Group thought that interviewees would be most comfortable being interviewed by members of their own communities, who were familiar with the people and the resources they used. Therefore, Community Coordinators were hired in each of Akłarvik, Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Inuuvik. The Community Coordinators were responsible for interviewing members of their communities to collect and document relevant traditional knowledge.

In order to help ensure that appropriate and consistent study methods were used by all researchers, a training session was held with the Community Coordinators. During this session, the coordinators reviewed processes for interviewing, mapping and data management. It was agreed that the interviewers would take to each interview a package of materials and equipment that included:

- consent forms
- information about the Mackenzie Gas Project
- pictures of animals, birds and fish
- an interview questionnaire
- a map; pencils
- 60- or 90-minute cassette tapes
- a tape recorder; and a digital camera.

The Regional Coordinator led this training session. MPEG also attended and provided some advice.

The Community Coordinators who participated in this study are identified in Table 2.

Table 2: Community Coordinators

Name	Community
Makharaaluk Robert Kuptana	Inuuvik
Illasiak Lori-Anne Elanik	Akłarvik
Kunalaq Roberta Archie	Akłarvik
Bessie Hagen	Tuktuuyaqtuuq
Nauyaq Rita Green	Tuktuuyaqtuuq (became ill)
Qumakpaaluk Charles Pokiak	Tuktuuyaqtuuq

3.0 Study Methods

This section addresses the methods used to complete this study. Topics addressed included the study area, and data collection and verification methods.

3.1 Study Area

The Working Group selected a broad study area because the Mackenzie Gas Project is a large project and there is potential for effects to be far reaching. The study area was defined by the Working Group as a polygon, with the north side formed by the Yukon and Northwest Territories coasts, the east side extending from just east of Tuktuuyaqtuuq and through Husky Lakes, the Inuvialuit/Gwich'in border serving as the southern boundary, and the western boundary extending to west of Akłarvik (see Figure 1).

The study area encompasses the northern portion of the Mackenzie Delta the communities of Inuuvik (Inuvik), Akłarvik (Aklavik) and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (Tuktoyaktuk); the north slope of the Yukon to Herschel Island, and the large lakes to the east of the delta such as Sitidgi Lake and Husky Lakes. The study area also extends out to sea north of the shore. The treeline skirts the southern portion of the study area, separating the largely spruce-dominated northern boreal taiga forests from the tundra characterizing the areas above the treeline.

There are several key features within the study area. These include the Kendal Island Bird Sanctuary, as specified by the Canadian Wildlife Service and several conservation zones identified by the Fisheries Joint Management Committee.

During interviews conducted with knowledge holders, efforts were made to focus on the study area. However, some interviewees discussed features or events outside of the study area. When this occurred the information was recorded, and it may be documented in this report. Furthermore, it should be noted that while Inuuvik, Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq are the only communities involved in this study as they will be the Inuvialuit communities most directly impacted by the proposed pipeline and related development, Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour), Ulukhaqtuuq (Holman Island) and Paulatuuq (Paulatuk) may also experience socio-economic impacts. [1]

[1] **Tuktuuyaqtuuq** is written in the modern orthography that accurately represents the sounds of the word, although it is commonly spelled Tuktoyaktuk. The same goes for **Ikaahuk** (Sachs Harbour), **Ulukhaqtuuq** (Holman Island) and **Paulatuuq** (Paulatuk), as well as for **Inuuvik** (Inuvik).

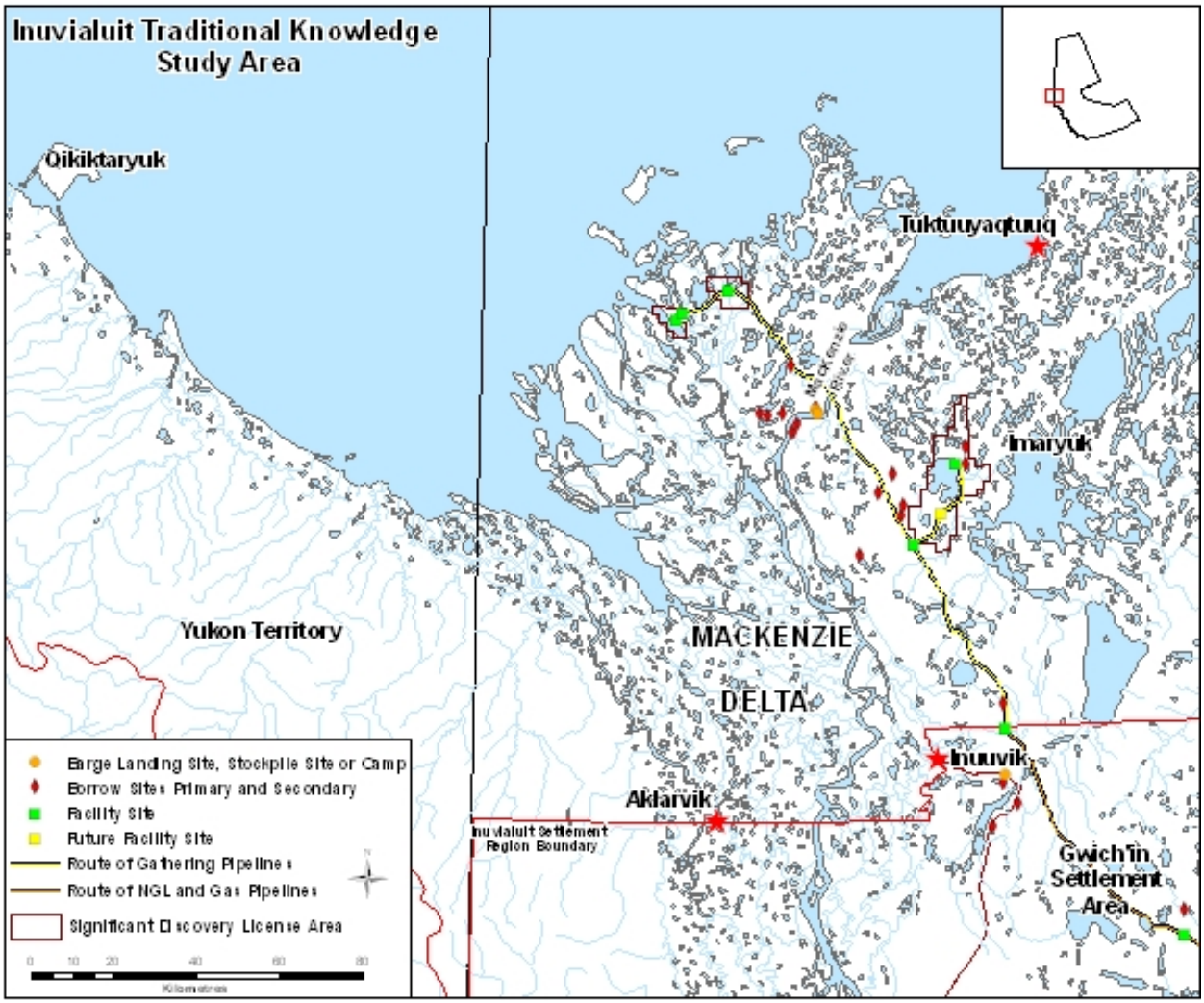

Figure 1: Study Area Map

3.2 Collection of Traditional Knowledge

The Working Group and traditional knowledge study coordinator determined the topics that would be addressed in this report, based on guidance from the MPEG (see Appendix A). This study addresses such topics as traditional land use, burial and spiritual sites, historical and cultural sites, trails, wildlife, birds, fish, vegetation, hydrology, and weather and climate change. This report also documents a number of issues and concerns about the proposed Mackenzie Gas Project.

The information contained in this report was collected largely by interviewing knowledgeable elders and harvesters.

3.2.1 Literature Review

A number of books, articles, transcripts and other sources were reviewed and form part of the knowledge base used to write this report. The bibliography contains a list of sources referenced in writing this report.

3.2.2.1 Inuvialuit Harvest Study Data and Limitations

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study[2] was relied upon extensively to provide quantitative information about harvest amounts discussed in later sections of this report. The information presented on harvest amounts is intended to give rough indications of the typical seasons and levels of Inuvialuit harvests for some types of mammals, waterfowl and fish over the 10-year study period. The Harvest Study did not include any berry or plant harvests, marine invertebrates, nor community or commercial hunts in its totals. In addition, some resources were only recorded incidentally, or recorded differently in different years, and some were not broken down by species, but grouped into families (e.g., herring/cisco; some seals, geese and foxes; all types of caribou).

The information used in this report most often is the average monthly harvest and/or the total annual harvest for a species. These totals are estimated from the reported harvests using a projection formula based on the hunter response rate.[3]

The response rates for the Inuvialuit Harvest Study were generally high throughout the course of the study (over 87% for the ISR as a whole over the 10-year period). However, there were some years with low response rates, particularly in Tuktuuyaqtuuq; the data from these years will be less reliable. The reader is cautioned that the numbers are presented here with no margin of error.

As with most harvest studies, it should be recognized that the estimates from the Inuvialuit Harvest Study are likely conservative representations of actual harvests. If this arose as a particular concern for any species during the verification sessions, it was noted in the written text accompanying the Harvest Study results.

3.2.2 Interviews

One hundred and thirty-eight Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik were interviewed during course of this study. The knowledge they provided forms the bulk of this report. Participants have been identified in this report by codes in

[2] Joint Secretariat (2003).

parentheses after their comments: "AK" identifying those from Akłarvik, "INU" from Inuuvik and "T" from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, followed by their participant number.

Members of the Working Group, with support from the Hunters and Trappers Committees, Elders Committees and Community Corporations in each of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik, identified the individuals that should be interviewed. Efforts were made to ensure that the interviewees represented a variety of age groups and experiences. Interviewees were paid for participating in the interviews.

The interviews were conducted by the Community Coordinators. Generally, one-on-one interviews were conducted. However, couples were occasionally interviewed together. On these occasions, the interviewers were instructed to let the woman speak as much as her spouse.

Most interviews were done at the participants' homes, with a small number of people interviewed at offices. Interviews lasted as long as participants felt necessary, normally two to four hours.

When appropriate, interviews took place in Inuvialuktun. The people being interviewed selected the language in which they would like to be interviewed. Two dialects are used when Inuvialuktun place names and words are included in this report: Siglit and Uummarmiut. The Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Paulatuuq are Siglit-speaking, while the Inuvialuit from the Delta are largely Uummarmiut-speaking. However, because of recent and historic migrations and seasonal travel, it is possible to find Siglit speakers in Inuuvik, Akłarvik, Ikaahuk and Ulukhaqtuuq. Siglit is the original dialect of the people from Kitigaaryuit. Uummarmiut comes from Inupiat, the Inuit dialect of northern Alaskan Inuit. The Inupiat came with the whalers or over land and settled mainly in the Delta, although like Siglit speakers today, Uummarmiutun speakers are found in all Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) communities. For species names, both dialects are generally included, with the Siglitun version followed by an 'S' and the Uummarmiutun name followed by a 'U.'

During the interviews, the interviewors tailored the questions they asked to fit the knowledge of the individual being interviewed. For example, if a hunter particularly knowledgeable about polar bear hunting and ocean ice was interviewed, that might be the focus of the interview. Whereas an interview with another individual may have focused on fishing and fish if that was the area of expertise. Due to the nature of land

[3] Ibid.

use in the area, many interviewees are experts in a variety of subjects, and efforts were made to cover the topics they were knowledgeable about.

A significant part of the interviewing process involved mapping. Key events and features, such as harvesting sites, cultural sites and wildlife habitat were identified and marked on the maps. Poster-sized maps, supplied by the Inuvialuit Land Administration and showing the entire study area, were used during the interviews, and features and events were marked on the maps using coloured markers.

Once the interview was complete, the maps were sent to the Inuvialuit Land Administration (ILA), where the events and features they contained were entered into a Geographic Information System (GIS). The maps contained in this report are based on a compilation of the maps created during the interviews.

When permission was obtained from the interviewee, the interviews were tape recorded. Upon completion of the interviews, the tapes were transcribed to facilitate incorporation of the information into this report.

Overall, the interviews encompassed much laughter, reminiscing and sharing of knowledge, place names and stories.

3.2.2.1 Traditional Knowledge Givers

Both older and younger members of the Inuvialuit communities were interviewed as part of the traditional knowledge study. The traditional knowledge experiences of those people interviewed range from the days when the only means of transportation was by walking, by *umiat* (skin boats) in the summer or with dog teams in the winter, to the younger generations which can travel the world on the Internet.

Those that were interviewed are recognized below by community.

Tuktuuyaqtuumin – From Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Tuktuuyaqtuurmiut quyanangayait tamarmik ikayurapsi. Innaluit maqaiqtuat ukiumi puigulaitkivut isumagitlu qimagiyaini. (We thank the people of Tuktuuyaqtuuq who assisted us. To the elders that passed away during the study, we will not forget the thoughts and words you have left behind.)

Fifty Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq were interviewed for this study; of these three have passed away since being interviewed.

Ayauniq Persis Gruben	Elder
Ayuung Chris Felix	Harvester
Imaqquk Adam Emaghok Tuuqpak Annie Emaghok	Elders
Stattaq Fred Wolki	Elder
Qumiaq Jimmy Komiak	Elder
Anaqtuuq Ernest Cockney	Harvester
Ipiqsina Bill Cockney	Elder
Stattaq Fred Gruben	Elder
Abraham Klenkenberg	Harvester
Nuilumaaluk Buddy Gruben	Harvester
Qilirniq Sam Pingo Nauyaq Rita Green	Harvesters
Billy Jacobson	Elder
Qupaaq Annie Noksana 	Elder (passed away 2005)
Kikłuana Edgar Kotokak 	Elder
Uranguaq Frank Umaok	Elder
Kaaniq Robert B. Gruben	Elder
Angagaq John Noksana Panik Mabel Noksana	Harvesters
Niulran Eddie Dillon	Harvester
Mimurana Churchill Wolki Inukuk Dorothy Wolki	Harvesters
Qaqiman Sandy Adams	Elder
Uqsuasiaq Roy Kimiksana	Harvester
Johnny Panaktalak	Harvester
Uiguliaq Gary Raddi	Harvester
Qimiqsana Elvis Raddi	Harvester
Tunu Alice Felix	Elder
Kunnalik Mabel Chicksi	Elder
Nivikana Sarah Mangilana	Harvester
Kunangnaaluk Noah Felix Arnirasak Agnes Felix	Elders (Noah passed away 2005)

	
Asaqpana Pat Gruben	Harvester
Talutaq Gordon Agnaviak	Elder
Ulaqpan George Pokiak	Elder
Saputaituq Norman Felix 	Elder (passed away 2005)
Qaqiman Sandy Wolki	Elder
Igutchak Lenny Emaghok	Harvester
Nuilumaaluk Billy Emaghok	Harvester
Piquk James Pokiak	Harvester
Inuałuuyaq Emmanuel Adam	Harvester
Aniqiin Henry Nasogaluak	Harvester
Tuff̌aq David Noksana	Elder
Taulana Andy Kimiksana	Elder
Misaniq Angus Cockney	Elder
Akkauyaq Willie Carpenter	Elder
Iqalugaaluk Joseph Felix Jr.	Elder
Aiviq David Nasogaluak	Elder
Qummaqpaaluk Charles Pokiak	Harvester
Joe Nasogaluak	Harvester
Pukiq Randall Pokiak	Harvester

Akłarvingmin – From Akłarvik

Akłarvingmiut quyanangayat tamaffi ikayuraffi. Innaluit maqaiqtuat ukiumi puigulaitkivut ihumagitlu qimagiyaini. (We thank the people of Akłarvik who assisted us. To the elders that passed away during the study, we will not forget the thoughts and words you have left behind.)

Thirty-eight Inuvialuit from Akłarvik were interviewed.

Sugr̂an Jacob Archie	Elder
Alivirun Danny Gordon Kanuyuq Annie C. Gordon	Elders
Napiuŕaaq Moses Kayutok	Elder
Avingaqpak Ricky Joe	Harvester
Aaquluk George Selamio	Harvester
Billy Arey	Elder
Qatigaarr̂uk Richard Tardiff	Harvester
Igluruatchiaq Arnold Archie	Elder
Jimmy Omilgoitok	Harvester
Tukli Louie Paul	Elder
Uranguaq Glen Gordon	Harvester
George Edwards	Elder
Uqiliat Archie Elanik	Harvester
Iituaryuk Danny A Gordon Annie B. Gordon	Elders
Qarrun Sheba Selamio	Elder
Palaqtaq Sarah Meyook	Elder
Ikayuaqtun Nellie Arey	Elder
Pauyun Barbara Allen	Elder
Iqiutaq Alice Husky	Elder
Ikr̂ik Winnie Elanik	Elder
Kunaana Jean Storr	Elder
Nanmak Rosie Archie	Elder
Tuqu Judy Selamio	Harvester
Ahaaliq Pamela Meyook	Harvester
Aggiaq Carol Arey	Harvester
Aripaaluk Elizabeth Aviugana	Elder
Qipqiin Donald Aviugana	Elder
Larry Sittichinli Jr.	Harvester
Danny Boy Gordon Jr.	Harvester
Qaliraq Richard Papik	Harvester
Tunuluk Anna Illasiak	Elder
Niksialuk Albert Oliver	Elder
Ida Inglangasak	Elder
Qayuutaq Lee-John Meyook	Harvester
Miiyuk Jonas Meyook	Harvester
Kudnaluaq Wilson Maligana	Elder

Inuuvingmin – From Inuuvik

Inuuvingmiut quyanangayat tamaffi ikayuraffi. Innaluit maqaiqtuat ukiumi puigulaitkivut ihumagitlu qimagiyaini. (We thank the people of Inuuvik who assisted us. To the elders

that passed away during the study, we will not forget the thoughts and words you have left behind.)

Fifty Inuvialuit from Inuuvik were interviewed, three of whom have since passed away.

Niulran Usi Rosie Albert	Elder
Qisuun Colin Allen Niiq Rita Allen	Elders
Chitchuk Richard Dick	Harvester
Saglu Roy Ipana	Harvester
Aripaaluk Elijah Allen Paniuyaq Mabel Allen	Elders
Qiḟuk William Day	Harvester
Kukik Victor Allen	Elder
Qinuran Lillian Lipscomb	Harvester
Iguraatchiaq Hugh Rogers 	Elder (passed away 2005)
Iguana Lucy Inglangasak	Elder
Mamayauq Jessie Colton	Elder
Niuqsik Emma Dick	Elder
Iigauḟaq Edward Elanik	Elder
Panigavluk Lillian Elias	Elder
Piqalu Walter Elias Anaḟuaq Maureen Elias	Elders
Kivigaq George Gordon	Elder
Asaqpauḟaq Jimmy Gordon	Elder
Ned Kayotok	Elder (passed away)
Nigaaluk Edward Lennie Aalak Jeannie Lennie	Elders
Auktalik Sam Lennie Unaliin Margaret Lennie	Elders
Qirnak Esther McLeod	Elder
Napiuḟaq Danny Sidney	Elder
Isauran Joe Teddy Iguana Mary Teddy	Elders
Tutuk Gordon Oscar	Harvester
Niumatuna Shane Goeson	Harvester
Kanguaq Tony Klenkenberg	Harvester

Kiasuk Abel Tingmiak	Harvester
Kukik Doug Esagok	Harvester
Kuviraun Miles Dillon	Harvester
Nusangin Buck Dick	Harvester
Niuluk James Rogers	Harvester
Maniilaq John Holman	Harvester
Amarana Ronnie Gruben	Harvester
Alguin Hank Rogers Sr.	Harvester
George Harrison	Harvester
Mangilaaluk Johnny Allen Arnagullak Mary Allen	Elders
Tiktaaliq Richard Binder Suvatchiaq Olive Binder	Harvesters
Annaqtuuq Sandy Stefansson	Elder
Qaliałuk Gilbert Kasook 	Elder (passed away 2005)
Mangilaaluk Leonard Harry	Elder
Laibik Laughingwell Shingatok	Elder
Stattaq Freddy Rogers	Harvester

3.2.3 Verification Sessions

Once preliminary drafts of the written report and maps were ready, verification sessions were held in each of the three communities that took part in the traditional knowledge interviews. A representative selection of both interviewees and Working Group members were invited to take part in three- or four-day workshops to review the information that had been gathered. During the workshops, each participant was given a copy of the draft report, and the draft study maps were posted on the walls of the room. The report was read out loud to the participants, and each relevant topic was reviewed and discussed as to its completeness, accuracy and reliability. Any further information, comments, suggestions or changes were noted and later added to the report. Mapping suggestions and revisions were made directly on the draft maps supplied by ILA, and then sent back to the GIS technician for final revision.

The verification sessions were held in the communities on the following dates:

- Akłarvik – April 3-6, 2006, Moose Kerr School
- Inuuvik – May 12-15, 2006, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
- Tuktuuyaqtuuq – April 18-20, 2006, Tuktuuyaqtuuq Youth Centre and Community Corporation

As the sessions occurred over several days in each community, not all participants were able to attend the full sessions. There were an average of four workshop participants in Akłarvik, seven in Inuuvik and eight in Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Participants in the verification sessions were paid for their time and participation.

The participants were pleased with the draft report that resulted from the traditional knowledge interviews—any suggestions for change were relatively minor. The draft maps came under heavier criticism, however, with most individuals finding the scale inappropriate for the intent of the mapping (i.e., too small to locate specific camps, harvest areas or river channels). There were many adjustments made to the areas originally mapped, as it was often felt important harvesting or resource areas had not been documented during the initial interviews.

4.0 Community Concerns

Table 3 presents a summary of the issues and concerns regarding the proposed development that were identified during the interviews and verification sessions. The information is broken down by topic, as while there are differences between the concerns of the three communities—related to proximity to the development, resource use, related issues, etc.—overall, there were more concerns held in common. These concerns are reiterated in the relevant sections, and also summarized along with suggestions for mitigation at the end of the report. Specific issues concerning burial sites (and recommendations to teach industry personnel to learn from elders where the locations of sites are, and how to recognize possible sites, respect the sites and properly report the sites) have not been included here, but are listed in the burials section of the report.

Table 3: Concerns and Recommendations

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	General	
General Impacts to Lands and Resources	• "… for the Delta people it's going to affect … whatever they hunt" (T027). • "The pipeline … no matter what they do they're going to leave a mess one way or another ... sure it grows back but it leaves marks ..." (INU123). • "That's our main area for fish; maybe the geese will not come back either" (INU111). • "White people got a bank, farm. Us Eskimos we don't have farms; we don't have banks. Our land is the only bank we got" (T037). • "Whales, fish and even caribou will be affected by development" (T028). • "Which species are important to protect? All animals" (AK234, T047). • "All animals are important to me" (AK240). • "Geese they fly when they hear helicopters ... it's hard to hunt when they keep flying away" (T003). • "These are not farm animals, not tame … [with] geese, caribou you have to be still, something with noise [startles them]" (T017).	• "Just keep the land safe and respect the land" (AK239). • "What is important is to protect? Our land, where the animals are; protect where we hunt" (AK231). • "Look at lots of stuff, that's how our ecosystem works" (INU111). • "They going to watch us? Help us? Protect our land … if anything happens, how they going to fix it?" (INU137). • "Protect everything; if we lose everything we have nothing" (AK239). • "I think all species would be important to protect; we need them for the future generations" (AK203). • "All animals are important to protect" (AK208, AK201-223). • "Just as long as they listen to our rules … it's fair for me they should ask what month to start working, what time is for hunting season" (AK231). • "To protect polar bears, whales because they're also in the water;

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	• "... planes, choppers ... so loud ... affects mainly the geese ..." (T031). • "Making winter roads and also drilling out on the land, the land changes" (AK203). • "Seismic lines open up more rivers and creeks, this could cause animals to move to a different area" (AK203). • "Probably the development will cause all animals to move away" (T017). • "A lot of times [oil companies] tell us they leave no garbage. It's not the garbage that we are worried about the damage ... and too much cutting willows" (T017). • "Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, that's most important for us too, no seismic, no nothing … " (T017).	watch all wildlife here … " (T001). • "We need to know all things that happen" (AK208). • "Protect the wildlife, as long as they maintain the pipeline. Use monitors from start to the end" (INU114). • "I think of other countries having pipeline on their land ... it's good to find out things like that, see how they change" (INU139). • "Animals [caribou, wolves, bears, foxes] could use a corridor from Parson's Lake to Storm Hills" (IN100). • "Create refuges where Inuvialuit hunt most and keep other hunters out" (IN109).
Pipeline Construction		
Height	• "At Zed Lake where they will build the pipeline above ground, in the winter the snow will make the pipeline not tall enough" (INU102). • "Worried about the height of above ground pipeline in winter because of the amount of snow" (T029, T015, T065). • "We would run out of gas trying to find a place to cross [the pipeline]" (T041). • "At Parsons, caribou will have to learn how to duck down!" (T041). • "Look at me I'm over 6 feet; stand on a skidoo, just above 7 feet. Concerned about 7 feet for height of pipeline" (T056).	• "The 2.2 m should be higher because of the amount of snow that falls every year" (INU109). • "Only 8 feet [high]? They should make it a little higher, because [of] the snow packs ... should be higher" (INU123). • "The over ground pipeline in the summer it will be okay, but I don't think in the winter because of the winds and snow" (T033). • "Maybe build [pipeline] underground if it is possible (Parsons Lake)" (T031). • "Consult with knowledgeable hunters about where caribou might cross and where the pipeline will need to be higher, e.g., Map #660 and 701" (T015).
Routing	• "Our biggest concern … is that the study area is real critical habitat ... well used ..." (INU115). • "The pipeline is going through hunters trails—Noel Lake, across to Jimmy Lake—that's our trail; it's been there for as long as I've lived in	• "You know it bothers me to see the pipeline going through here … why don't they bring it over here and follow that big Ikhil and join it up here? It's not that crooked" (INU145). • "Would like to see the pipeline follow the river" (INU104).

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	Inuuvik" (INU110). • "It's still close for me at Parsons Lake ... there's lots of game there ... caribou, wolves, foxes ... all the animals [are] going to leave from there" (T064). • "[My concern is] that it goes right through all the main caribou hunting areas … it goes right through everybody's. All the caribou is going to [come] close to Inuuvik because the pipeline is cutting it right off" (INU104). • "I'm not sure if I really agree with any route through there at all, you know … and yet if it came closer to us over here that might be even worse" (INU126).	• "Along the hills here ... would be nice if they could follow the Mackenzie River in the foothills" (INU152, INU146). • "We ask them if they could consider diverting the pipeline to the west and follow the Ikhil route to Inuuvik … it would make people happy" (INU115). • "They should never build it here. {Should be] right by the edge of the river … because there's no animals right through here. Lots of them could tell anybody that, but … we told them that and … still they don't listen" (INU102). • "Would rather have the Ikhil route—from Parsons cut across to Ikhil, follow that corridor. The reason is that their pipeline route is the main grazing land for caribou. I would like to see the routing changed" (INU110). • "What's good about it, it is not close to Imaryuk" (T064).
Road-building and Access	• "The plowed ridges [made by industry in the winter] were so high we had to shovel our way out or we would have no more gas, that was last year" (T018). • "The land is very sensitive. The big equipment will scar the land" (INU126). • "Underground impacts: when they do blasting, especially close to the river or close to the lakes, animals that burrow (muskrats, mink, etc.) may be affected" (AKL215).	• "The trails made [by] the oil companies are difficult to climb when you have a load—good thing we had a shovel—should make a path left and right of trails" (T041). • "Don't make trails [unnecessarily]" (AK201-223). • "We need a permanent road to Inuuvik" (T017). • "Restore areas, like gravel pits, with soil and reseed them" (INU118).
Accidents, Spills, Pollution	• "How do they know the underground [portions] wouldn't bust" (T027)? • "Yeah that's my greatest concern where say you had a break … down the line where you know it's a good place for animals or good fishing spots … that would be my concern ... what's the life span of the pipelines?	• "… where there's lots of work going on we are going to have to make our people, our regional governments and everybody else involved with the assessment of what's happening with the pipeline … Leave the land the way we found it" (INU109). • "Really need to monitor each facility

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	Metal erodes sometime or other" (INU152). • "I guess the main concerns would be if they are going to go underground like that, under the rivers and stuff like that, there's going to be some shifting some place, and there might be a rupture … that would be my biggest worry" (INU111). • "If [the oil companies] have an accident, accidents do happen sometimes, the animals will [no longer be good to eat]" (T037). • "That's a big concern to us because we are worried that someday when they are hauling fuel and stuff they might have a tanker spill or something there [Caribou Hills to Parsons Lake] and it might just wreck the place. That's why we always worried about using it as an access … but they still use it and that is still a worry in our minds" (INU115).	and site, especially at Parsons Lake area" (T065).
Other	• "When doing seismic they are supposed to follow each other on the land, we see tracks all over" (INU109).	• "We don't need to do three [oil fields] ... do two and leave Parsons Lake for later" (INU105).
Caribou	• "Main concern is the caribou ... because it's right in our area where we hunt caribou ... you know the Inuuvik gas line and caribou ... changed their migration route" (INU125). • "I'm chasing caribou and that chopper flew over me and my caribou all ran away. That really ticked me off. So my concern is when that pipeline and facilities go up, where is our caribou going to go" (INU105)? • "This is caribou migration season … if we start building roads and towers caribou's going to turn different direction" (INU105). • "Caribou are further back because of the noise" (INU123). • "Worry about caribou when they come through in fall time and for the geese too. There will be lots of	• "In the spring time, keep the chopper activities down for the geese ... [and] after freeze up in the fall while we hunt caribou, especially around Parson's Lake, October and November" (T028). • "Choppers should fly at a certain height so they don't scare the animals away" (INU105, T045). • "Recommend 100 feet away from the shore [for the pipeline] all the way around, that's avoiding the caribou completely. The pipeline should tie right into Ikhil ... right at the foothills" (INU105). • "Closely monitor for caribou feeding before they go back east" (T065). • "That if they have activities in the spring, they do not fly in the migration route of the traditional

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	activities when they start to put the pipeline through" (INU101). • "The pipeline ... going to have a big impact especially on the caribou herd" (T056). • "May not have any caribou 5-7 years from now because of the activities" (T029). • "My main concern is these two wells [at Parson's Lake]. The caribou generally stay in this area. They got to wait 'til this ice get thick to cross. So stay there for a good month or two, then they move once this is frozen. So if they stay there while these two plants are open, they're going to get contaminated ... If they left this the way with putting all these facilities and plants there and that's a lot of noise and the caribou is not going to go that way no more; going to have to find another route" (INU105). • "Am I still going to be able to go down to my summer camp … and hunt woodland caribou or are they going to be chased back this way and there ain't going to be no more" (INU126)?	hunting grounds" (T067). • "I don't agree with … that pipeline if it is surface all the way that ... caribou passage ... every so many miles they should [go] underground" (T017). • "From Parson's Lake to Storm Hills that's where I do all my caribou hunting and stuff; animals could use a corridor here—the caribou, wolves, bears, foxes, stuff like that" (INU100). • "The pipeline should go through Campbell Creek, follow that existing road, that way they don't have to make another one. Only way we could do is just bury it. They should just leave this, like in the United States save it for last, don't touch it until we run out" (INU105). • "Take hunters out on the land and they'll show you where the crossings need to be" (T048). • "Protect caribou travel areas, e.g., Richardson Mountains to Shingle Point" (AK237).
Marine/Aquatic Environment	• "Biggest concern: the safety of our water" (INU126). • "The river [is] our main life source" (INU123). • "That's a major river system for us. Lord knows what's going to happen; we may never get our whales back, we may never get our fish back too, our geese, and that area would be totally no good to use no more, ah. It always comes back to the wildlife and our land that we use to hunt. If any development buggers up or do anything like that … we won't have that land any more" (INU111). • "There's quite a bit of hunters angry that their creeks got all jammed up and that wasn't taken care of"	• "Watch especially the water, lakes, creeks, river and the ocean itself, they provide for our livelihood" (T015). • "I'm worried about that pipeline under river ... permafrost under a river. I know they did studies on top of hills; nobody ever go that far down under a river" (INU123). • "The farther away from the river for me the better, in case it bust or something" (INU224). • "Keep the big fishing boats out of Shingle Point ... they'll clean us out of fish" (AK204). • "I don't want them to block off the creek … lots of whitefish go by there … they could put culverts in the creeks" (INU142).

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	(INU105). • "Where the creeks are blocked, they [Oil Companies] should go back and clear the creek blockage, any creeks, lakes, streams ... clean it up" (T017). • "The proposed pipeline at Parsons Lake [is where] the migration of fish for spawning takes place. Don't block the creeks; the fish have to have fast creeks to travel to spawn. The creeks go from Husky Lakes to Parsons Lake" (T048). • "I see a few lakes damaged by seismic work ... it caused a lake to open and dry out ... animals disappear when there is no water" (AK204). • "Our water, what about our water? We got the best water in the world; we got to think of it too" (INU146). • "... those lakes they will pass through or by are really good fishing lakes; might affect fish spawning areas" (INU111). • "That's the one that worries me the most: our fish. If that thing breaks underneath, it's going to go all the way down here and that's going to affect our whaling, everything. Everything in this whale bay right here" (INU124). • "Areas of concern: Gary and Kendall Islands" (INU126).	• "I told them you guys could bring it in the spring time when it's high water and take it out next year when it's high water" (INU123). • "Don't do to much dredging at Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay and all the way down. Follow the middle channel because the middle channel is deep. I think that would be the best route rather than do a whole bunch of dredging. It might be a longer route but could be an easier way too" (INU118). • "In beluga zone ... they should come in Kendall Island side, in late spring when the water is high, in the ocean side and go in during a west wind" (INU115). • "Put more beacon lights along the coast, Tent Island, King Point, Kay Point, and Herschel Island" (AK239). • "The coastline, where we go whaling, that's the only place they shouldn't be drilling in the ocean … where they go camping and whaling" (AK233) • "Oil companies need to consult with Inuvialuit about ocean ice for drilling and pipeline development in the Beaufort Sea" (T040).
Dredging	• "There will be dredging, and it will have quite a big impact" (INU108). • "The only way I see [the barge] come in is by Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay … too much shallow spots, this whole area ... shallow spots change every year ... like the sand bars" (INU152). • "[Map number 232] The barge to be brought is coming through our 1A Zone, Beluga Management Zone, where we harvest our belugas, dredging, how much of an impact will it have on 1A Zone? " (INU110). • "You know if there is dredging,	• "They can't do any dredging anyway, we told them that, at that meeting [at the Complex in 2004] you can't dredge ... now people are telling me they're going to dredge, what the hell we have meeting for if they're going to dredge" (INU123)? • "As long as they don't do much dredging at Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay" (INU118). • "One thing I don't want to see that dredging happening around here; that's the main channel that we use all the time. And if that barge does

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	belugas will not come back … it's their feeding grounds" (INU111). • "We'd sweep nets for herring and get hundreds of herring; after the dredge there was not that many, then the whales went to Husky Lakes to feed" (INU110).	come in however they're going to bring it in, they always say they're going to dredge it to bring it in, and we're asking to truck it in or maybe barge in and build it there. That way you don't have to disturb nothing … but we're totally against the barge and dredging; we're asking them to put it on land, their base on land that is already disturbed" (INU111). • "Where they are putting the barge is just a little channel, shallow, my own thinking is no production should be going out there until around the middle of August, because they're so close to our whaling camps" (INU108). • "It's shallow where they want to put [the barge] ... do it after whaling season" (INU114).
Social Impacts		
Alcohol and Drug Abuse	• "Development has changed the health of a person, now they don't have respect for people, when they get paid they don't care how they spend it they go crazy for liquor and that and they don't respect you" (AK231). • "Trying to enjoy family life out on the land, next thing you see people drinking, coming around drunk and it's disturbing" (T031). • "A lot of stuff is going to come from the south, drugs and all. There's going to a lot of social problems for sure; I don't think we are ready for it. We have to be ready or go down with it … our people are going to die off" (INU111). • "The more money shows up, the more drugs and alcohol there will be" (INU124). • "Wage … oil companies ... there is a lot of boot-legging" (AK240).	• "Should have mandatory drug and alcohol classes in high school" (INU123, INU124). • "You know we're not set up for it … our own alcohol problems here in town … people need a place to go; the program is not there. That's what I think anyway … you know, a lot of stuff like that has to be in place before we get this pipeline on the go" (INU111).
Traditional Livelihood	• "[Because we hunt for] subsistence, I'll be very concerned if [the animals]	• "Would like to see older kids learn on the land survival" (T027).

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	went away for awhile, we'll have a hard time feeding the families" (INU101). • "Oh, it's okay to destroy our land because of money? It seems they always put the things in our hunting zones" (INU146). • "The pipeline is going [through our] hunting area" (INU126). • "We don't want … [it to] effect the hunting area too much" (INU118). • "Hunting grounds are important" (AK207 -229). • "Traditional land use, if you wreck the land and the animals you can't replace them" (T029). • "I worry about traditional life because that is what I've been doing all these years but we can't make a living for us anymore" (INU139). • "Concern on air traffic ... I'm chasing caribou and the choppers flies over me and my caribou all ran away ... that really ticked me off. That day there were more *Kablunaat* [white people] than Inuvialuit around close to Peter Lake, hunting caribou" (INU105). • "I'm not against development, but I want to be able hunt 20 years down the road ... we depend on fish, birds, whales every year" (INU115).	• "Compensate [Inuvialuit] for going through there, five miles around their camps" (INU105). • "Where they build the pipeline, do not want the [land] to be spoiled by where they're putting the pipeline" (INU126). • "Our muskrats, whaling, fishing and caribou hunting [are] important to protect" (AK204). • "The older negotiators told us don't worry about the money ... make sure your land and your wildlife is looked after, that's what sustained us, that's what keep us going ... I mean, it's important words to remember" (T057). • "I do not want them to do any work at Husky Lake; that's the last place that hasn't been touched" (T027). • "Would like to see a barrier around everyone's camp" (INU115). • "Recommend they fly a certain height" (INU105). • "What I would like to see is compensation, not only to the individual, but to the whole community" (T056).
The EA Process and Past Development	• "You know we're just a small little guy; they wouldn't listen" (INU123). • "I think my parents should have been compensated by Gulf Oil for what they still have to endure today" (T006). • "[The oil industry] will not listen because they're so powerful … since the '70's, nothing happened; I have been hearing words since long ago" (AK232). • "We know what we are talking about, but then where we always lose ground is, they put scientists in there and the scientists don't know any more than we do. We're the ones that know and	• "When they were putting that line in, they were saying, 'We're doing this for your children.' They should [have] said, 'We're doing this for the oil companies.' That's about the size of it" (INU146). • "I think [they're] not being educated properly [industry]" (T006). • "We grew up watching these oil and gas industries coming in twice, boom, take all their money and leave, just leave us with nothing. So this third boom they're not going to do that; they're going to have to stay and build houses and shelters and

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	see the permafrost, how the ocean works" (INU146). • "I see the effects because I'm out all the time, I see animals act differently" (T056). • "The only ones who will benefit have big businesses" (T056). • "One year they were practice blasting at Parson's Lake ... the jackfish were coming upside down. They had to be shut down ... dynamite under water" (INU125). • "The materials used at Parsons Lake, the vegetation is dead" (INU110). • "We get drinking water from a lake; we used to get water from the river, but maybe one of [the barges leaked] ... we used to drink river water, but we got real belly ache" (INU132). • "Nodwells chew up the land" (T065). • "Big cut line near Tapqaq caused the caribou to change their migration route; they won't cross the part where the ground is torn up" (T015). • "Previous explosives … land was not returned to its original state like they said they would" (T065). • "People say past seismic work damaged lakes, e.g., caused one to break open and dry out" (AK204). • "Don't forget that is just one part eh? What about all the gas they find in the high arctic" (INU146)? • "That book [IFA] is ... they never mention that book at all" (INU146).	help, instead of just take the money and run" (INU105). • "We have to have strong leaders. We are the ones they are supposed to see first and say, 'Well, how about if we go through here?' you know ..." (INU146).
Public Education, Training, and Employment	• "4% for me is not good enough, you're talking about our livelihood here and my kids, you know, their future" (INU123). • "Main concern about the pipeline, train all young people now … instead of getting people from down south to work" (INU123). • "The students are not learning anything about these projects in school yet they will be our leaders in the	• "Create more jobs, young people are learning a trade" (INU123). • "Training ... I want young people to get jobs. It's okay with me if they make pipeline, as long as it makes good jobs. Nice if that pipeline goes through, would not have too many people walk the street … open up for these young guys" (INU117). • "Training ... I want young people to get jobs. I would like to see a whole

Category	Concerns	Recommendations
	future" (T018). • "Our opinions are not being taken very seriously, our concerns. They say lots of opportunities ... where" (T056)?	bunch ... like more local get training" (INU118). • "[There needs to be] more education for the people about this (planned activity)" (T029). • "Keep people more informed, also inform the students on progress" (AK203).

5.0 Community Profiles

Inuvialuit from the west are called Ualinirmiut by Inuvialuit from the east and Inuvialuit from the west call Inuvialuit from the east Kivaninmiut. Ualiniq are Inuvialuit from the west and Kivaliniq are Inuit from the east (Kivalirmiut).

5.1 Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Tuktuuyaqtuurmiut – People of Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Figure 2: Aerial Photograph Showing Present-Day Tuktuuyaqtuuq

> I'm going to tell you a story of our life in 1940 … where shall we go? … Maybe we should go west toward the Delta or somewhere around Tuktuuyaqtuuq where they have a store now, and there is lots of fish and wood to burn … There is a lot of fish, and fish is good for the children at Tuktuuyaqtuuq …[4]

Tuktuuyaqtuuq is located at Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay on the Arctic Ocean. Although it was briefly called Port Brabant after a Mr. Brabant who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, it is now officially known by the Inuvialuktun name of Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Tuktuuyaqtuuq is 177 km by ice road north of Inuuvik, although for much of the year it is accessible only by air or boat. The estimated 2002 population of Tuktuuyaqtuuq was 949,[5] the majority of which were Siglit-speaking Inuvialuit.

> How did Tuktuuyaqtuuq get its name? People say before they had tents the people were gathering down at the Point. There was a woman there at the gathering that was ready to have a baby. From across the land a person brought three caribous across. He chased them to Island, they crossed to the Point. You must of seen all those rocks at the Point? Just when the guy climbed up and out of the water with the caribou, the woman who was going to have a baby wanted to look outside at the scene where the man was with the caribou and trying to hurry … the animals out of the water. The people in the tent with the women kept telling her not to try to look outside. But she looked outside by a peep hole. She looked through and when she did, all the caribou turned to rocks (T003).

[4] Joe Nasogaluak (March 1940) in Hart and Amos (2004:24).
[5] GNWT Bureau of Statistics (2004).

In the early part of the twentieth century, several large epidemics plagued the North, causing a serious decline in the Inuvialuit population. Subsequent to the population loss and reinforced by changing social conditions, many Inuvialuit moved from Kitigaaryuit to Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Tapqaq (Shingle Point), Nuvuraq, Qikiqtaryuk, Qikuliurvik (Stanton) and other places. This was because Inuvialuit have always left an area where many people died, as the place needs time to heal and the people needed to heal. By the 1930s, after enduring hardships along the coasts and the closing of the Hudson's Bay Company posts in Herschel Island, Midland Point, Baillie Islands, Letty Harbour and Peirce Point, many families left outlying trapping and hunting grounds and moved to Tuktuuyaqtuuq, where a Hudson's Bay Company was operating.

The first log cabin in Tuktuuyaqtuuq was built by Mangilaaluk, Chief of the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Inuvialuit. Mangilaaluk was approached by the government agency to sign a document making a reserve for the Inuvialuit. He refused to sign, but talked of alternatives for Inuvialuit. Later, construction began on the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The school opened in 1947, and the Hudson's Bay Post in 1950. The Tuktuuyaqtuuq DEWLine station was constructed in the 1950s.

While the settlement was growing in the 1940s and 1950s, further shifts in the Inuvialuit population occurred. For example, the Qikuliurvik (Anderson River) settlement closed during the 1950s. The Inuvialuit living there at that time were asked by the missionaries to move to Tuktuuyaqtuuq, where they had a Hudson's Bay store. The Roman Catholic RC mission had a small store at Qikuliurvik that Inuvialuit depended on for their main dry goods. The mission store closed, forcing the Inuvialuit to move from an land of abundant caribou, moose, fish, birds, sea mammals and fur animals to trade in Tuktuuyaqtuuq where it was difficult to get caribou, but there was a lot of fish and wood.

Caribou were historically abundant around Imaryuk and Tuktuuyaqtuuq but disappeared after the big epidemic of 1920, as stated in the book *I, Nuligak*.[6] Sixty years or more passed before the caribou returned to Imaryuk and Tuktuuyaqtuuq. In the years before caribou returned, men had to go hunting a great distance away in the Richardson Mountains, travelling by dog team. It was the shortage of caribou during these years that prompted the federal government to bring reindeer herds from Europe to the area. However, Tuktuuyaqtuuq was not known for an abundance of land

[6] Metayer (1975).

animals: trappers also had to travel far for their furs, and many went east to Anderson River.

The 1970s and 1980s brought offshore exploration to the Beaufort Sea, and with it came huge changes for the people of Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The work force for the rigs came from all the communities of the ISR. After the decline of fur trade and the closing of the DEWLine stations, the exploration was a welcome income supplement to wages earned doing odd jobs, or having no employment. These were booming years, but with the new employment income came many overwhelming social problems. The late 1980s saw the decline of offshore drilling, and related devastating unemployment rates, and drug and alcohol problems in the communities.

After the opportunities related to oil and gas development dried up in the late 1980s, the Inuvialuit of Tuktuuyaqtuuq tried different approaches to create employment and economic opportunities in their community, including big game hunting and tourism. However, neither tourism nor big game hunting employ many Inuvialuit in the growing community. Many residents of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, as well as Akłarvik and Inuuvik, obtain traditional foods to subsidize their store-bought foods.

Tuktuuyaqtuuq today has a school from Kindergarten to Grade 12 with 18 educators on staff. The largest employers in Tuktuuyaqtuuq are the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), the Northern Store, Stanton Distributors, Grubens (transportation and oilfield services, among others), the Hamlet and the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Corporation. Many Inuvialuit are unemployed and will welcome the opportunities that will arise from oil and gas development.

Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Ikaahuk, Ulukhaqtuuq and Paulatuuq[7] are represented by one seat in the GNWT Legislative Assembly.

[7] **Tuktuuyaqtuuq** is written in the modern orthography that accurately represents the sounds of the word, although it is commonly spelled Tuktoyaktuk. The same goes for **Ikaahuk** (Sachs Harbour), **Ulukhaqtuuq** (Holman Island) and **Paulatuuq** (Paulatuk), as well as for **Inuuvik** (Inuvik).

5.2 Akłarvik

Akłarvingmiut – People of Akłarvik

Figure 3: Aerial View of the Community of Akłarvik during Summer

Akłarvik is located 55 km west of Inuuvik and 113 km south the Beaufort Sea, in the Mackenzie Delta. It is the oldest modern town in the Beaufort Delta Region.

During the early 1900s, the Inuvialuit generally lived along the coast. However, in the early part of the twentieth century, the whaling industry slowed considerably and prices plunged. Subsequently, whaling ships no longer wintered at Herschel Island, instead scouring further east in search of whales. It was the end of an economy that had largely made whaling ship captains and owners rich. The Inuvialuit and Gwich'in had provided fish, caribou, dogs, sleds and wood, and had met many other needs of the whalers. Many Inupiat came from Alaska and worked on the whaling ships, arriving on the whaling ships or by land following the caribou. Some Inupiat travelled by Herschel Island and up the Babbage River, although it is shorter to walk to Akłarvik from Old Crow.[8] These Inupiat became Uummarmiut from the Delta.

Enoch Pokiak and his family were the first to settle along Pokiak Channel, across from what is now Akłarvik. Many Inuvialuit moved to Pokiak Channel and it became a small village. Eventually Kenneth Stewart from Igluqpak (Fort McPherson, now a Gwich'in community) built the Hudson's Bay Company store across the river. This became the location of the modern Akłarvik townsite. Established close to the rolling foothills of the Richardson Mountains, Akłarvik became a large town by the standards of the early 1920s. Inuvialuit found living in the Delta meant that they were close to the trading post at Fort McPherson but also close to their harvesting areas along the coast. Before Akłarvik was a trading centre, the Inuvialuit from the Delta travelled to Igluqpak to purchase their winter supplies and trade, or to get married at the church. Akłarvik has a unique history—it is the first time the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit co-existed. Historically, the two groups were known for raiding and fighting with each other.

[8] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

The fur trading economy followed whaling; trapping provided a good income for many Inuvialuit. Inuvialuit trappers could purchase schooners and southern foods for the year, and enjoy some luxuries with the increased income from excellent fur prices. The schooners were purchased at Herschel Island and were made in Vancouver or San Francisco. They were brought in by whaling ships or the Hudson's Bay boats. The schooners were very expensive to buy—costing around $1500 in the 1920s and 1930s when 45 gallons of gas was $16—but many Inuvialuit trappers were able to purchase them due to the good fur prices and their hard work.

Inuvialuit developed excellent skills and adapted easily to trapping with the schooners. For example, if there was not enough wind, sometimes dog teams would pull them along the coast. The schooners needed three to four feet of water, as they were 30- to 40-footers, with one or two masts. Their size could limit travel through the Delta somewhat, particularly in the fall.[9]

Trading posts at Herschel Island and Shingle Point closed in the early twentieth century, and Akłarvik became the center of all activities in the region. The Roman Catholic and Anglican mission schools and hospitals were built, independent businesses set up shops, and this became "the town" to visit and live in. Once the Roman Catholic school opened, Inuvialuit students were brought to Akłarvik by *Our Lady of Lourdes,* a Roman Catholic mission boat that was safe for ocean travel (it can be seen today at Tuktuuyaqtuuq). Inuvialuit students came from as far as Kuugayuk (Pelly Bay), Uqsuqtuuq (Gjoa Haven), Taluryuaq (Spence Bay), Iqaluktutiaq (Cambridge Bay), Qurluqtuq (Coppermine), Ulukhaqtuuq, Paulatuuq, Ikaahuk, Qikuliurvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The students from the Dene communities also came with a barge owned by the Roman Catholic mission called *Immaculata* from Fort Franklin, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Fort Good Hope and Arctic Red River. The Inuvialuit students from the Anglican mission school were brought in by the Hudson's Bay boat from the east and those around the Delta were brought in by the Anglican mission schooner, *The Messenger*.

The residential schools run by the churches are a major source of the social health problems that plague the Inuvialuit today. There was a total disregard for Inuvialuit culture and speaking the Inuvialuktun language was discouraged, as was the practise of Inuvialuit traditions and customs. This caused the alienation of families. Growing up was very difficult in the residential school setting. As one elder says:

[9] Ibid.

> … if you finished four years, they let you go even if you learned or not; they let them go from school. In those days everyone hardly knew how to speak in English, so if you learned how, they'd let you go. It's just like the main reason you went to school for was to learn English, that was it.[10]

Students would generally arrive speaking no English at all, and were expected to quickly learn English to the detriment of their own language. A resident of Akłarvik remembers being hit on the head when she spoke in Inuvialuktun in the classroom. In addition to losing the capacity to speak Inuvialuktun and much of their culture, elders in Akłarvik feel as though the schooling did not prepare them for their lives; one elder remembers being teased after leaving school because she could not even read a recipe. Many Inuvialuit found it difficult, after even a few years in school, to remember or learn Inuvialuit traditions, values, customs and language.[11]

Many students returned home for the summer months, although if the trip home was not possible, the students would stay at the school all year. One Akłarvik elder mentioned that when he was attending school in 1946-49, there were six or seven students that stayed over the summer as they could not return home. Communication with family members left at home was severely restricted—after the radio station was established students were allowed to speak to their families over the radio at Christmas, but only a handful of Inuvialuit owned a radio.[12]

The armed forces were an important presence in Akłarvik during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, by the late 1940s, there was a wireless station operated by the army. Additionally, by the 1950s, there was a navy base in Akłarvik with about 300 people stationed there, joining the army base at Kitigaaryuit.

There have been various animals and agricultural endeavours in Akłarvik in the past. At one point, there were several cows and a Shetland pony. Oddly, the pony was known for enjoying a meal of loche! There have also been chicken farms in the area, and several mink farming operations.[13] At one point a small dairy operated there.

Although spring break-up in the Delta generally causes some flooding, higher than normal flood water for three consecutive years in the middle of the twentieth century caused the government to consider relocating the people of Akłarvik to a less flood-prone location. In the early 1950s, a new location temporarily called "East Three" was

[10] David Qaniaq Roland (91-27 A5-7) in Nagy (1994:43).
[11] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

temporarily created, which eventually became Inuuvik. Construction at East Three (a planned community) and the DEWLine started at the same time. DEWLine sites, and their distinct geodesic dome buildings, were constructed approximately 80 km apart across the Northwest Territories, Alaska and Nunavut (which was at that point still a part of the Northwest Territories). They were constructed in response to security concerns during the cold war. Inuvialuit found jobs at Inuuvik and the DEWLine sites. With many Akłarvik residents relocating to Inuuvik and the DEWLine sites, the government expected that Akłarvik would become a dead town. They overlooked that the Inuvialuit of Akłarvik had developed deep roots there—the town has remained vital and enjoys a healthy population of Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and other residents.

In 1991, the community enjoyed their first bowhead whale hunt since 1926. Akłarvik Inuvialuit invited Inupiat from Alaska (with whom they have linguistic and family ties through the migration during the whaling era) to come and teach and assist them in the hunt. Everyone enjoyed the experience, in particular the sharing and celebration after the hunt.

For modern Akłarvik Inuvialuit, the land and natural resources such as caribou, muskrats and various plants are still important, although not to the degree that they were to generations before. For many people, those employed during the week in particular, the land is used during breaks and week-ends. Modern use of the Delta for traditional activities is facilitated by the fact that modern transportation—boats with kickers (outboard motors) and skidoos—allow for faster travel than in the past. It is no longer necessary to travel miles on foot or by dog team. Even though use of the land has decreased in the last few decades, the majority of the food that goes on the table for many Inuvialuit is traditional.

The hamlet of Akłarvik is a modern, thriving community. The population of Akłarvik in 2002 was estimated at 689.[14] The school currently goes to Grade 12. The school employs residents, as do the many other services: a gas station, the GNWT offices, the hamlet office, the Akłarvik Community Corporation and several other stores. However, many Akłarvik residents are unemployed and would welcome future employment.

Akłarvik, Fort McPherson and Tsiigehtchic share one member in the GNWT Legislative Assembly.

[14] GNWT Bureau of Statistics (2004).

5.3 Inuuvik

Inuuvingmiut – People of Inuuvik

Figure 4: Modern Community of Inuuvik on the East Branch of the Mackenzie River

Inuuvik is a modern community of about 3500 located on the eastern edge of the Mackenzie Delta.[15] It is south of Tuktuuyaqtuuq and east of Akłarvik. Inuuvik is connected to the south by a gravel highway which is open most of the year, ensuring a lower cost of living compared to the other communities.

Inuuvik was constructed as a planned community in the early 1950s in response to the federal government's concerns about Akłarvik flooding. After surveying several different locations, one designated "East Three" was chosen for the new town. Because there were names such as Akłarvik (place where someone harvested a grizzly bear) and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (place where the caribou crosses) named after animals, the people recommended such names as *nanuq* (polar bear), *kivgaluk* (muskrat), or *kigiaq* (beaver) for East Three. From the story elders tell and at the recommendation of Harry Inukikłaq and other elders, they came up with the name "Inuuvik", meaning "place where people live." By 1958, the name was made official.

Inuuvik is known for some unusual aspects of the town architecture—such as having utilidors (water and sewage services placed above ground in corridors). When first constructed, the town created a lot of interest from countries of the same climate. It was (and is) a colourful community—military and government workers were housed in standard duplexes painted every colour of the rainbow. Early on, these homes were outfitted with all the conveniences of running water, flush toilets, bathtubs, washers and dryers. In contrast, the west end of the community was developed for the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in and consisted of what are known as 512s—buildings that are 16 by 32 feet in dimension, one story tall, with no running water and no plumbing (requiring the use of "honey buckets"), no washers, no dryers and no bathtubs. The lots allocated to the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in who owned dog teams were larger so the dogs could be tied a little further away from the house.

[15] 2002 estimate was 3,504. GNWT Bureau of Statistics (2004).

Reindeer Station was built before Inuuvik and functioned as a small community and home to many herders and their families. There was a school, a Hudson's Bay Store and a church. Students left for Inuuvik for higher education. Families relocated to Inuuvik from Reindeer Station as herding became a hard job in comparison to wage jobs, and slowly the community became just a summer camp.

Figure 5: Colourful Housing Typical of Inuuvik's East End

The move from Akłarvik brought the military (Navy), government, residential schools and their staff, as well as the hospital and their staff to the new town. By 1956-1957, the population of Inuuvik was approximately 250 people, including Inuvialuit, Gwich'in and non-natives. School was held in a 512 building with two teachers.

In Inuuvik's early years, and unlike times before, Inuvialuit were taking on wage employment in large numbers, particularly with the construction of Inuuvik and the DEWLine sites. However, Inuvialuit still depended on the land extensively, for Inuvialuit wages were not comparable to others' wages. In addition, the need to provide for large, extended Inuvialuit families meant that many still hunted, gathered and fished throughout the year. Although wage labour was becoming increasingly important, trapping continued to be a way to earn an income.

Inuuvik has seen many changes over the past 50 years, relating to the boom-and-bust cycle of oil and gas development. For example, many stores and services have come and gone: the L.F. Semmler Trading Store (which always gave Inuvialuit credit to buy fish, rats and rabbits), Rec Hall, theatre, Anglican and Roman Catholic hostels, old fire hall, the military and their canteen, Super A store, the hospital, and board walks. Today there is no military presence and no residential schools; things have changed drastically since the 1950s.

The Dempster Highway opened officially in the late 1970s as a transportation corridor from the southern markets to Inuuvik. This highway, along with the construction of ice roads (originally constructed for the oil and gas industry) between Inuuvik, Akłarvik, and Tuktuuyaqtuuq, impacted the growth of Inuuvik. When the military left Inuuvik, it took almost 300 people—a large economic and social impact on the other members of

the community. The end of each"boom" also caused a quick population decline for the town.

The town of Inuuvik today is an administrative and government centre to the Beaufort Delta Region; it holds many of the conveniences that a smaller community may not have—bigger and less expensive stores, more businesses and job opportunities, a hospital, a college, and a library. It is also the centre for federal and territorial government departments in the region. Many residents are employed by the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in, or the federal, territorial or municipal government offices.

Inuuvik has two representatives in the GNWT Legislative Assembly.

6.0 Traditional Knowledge and Land Use

6.1 Traditional Knowledge

6.1.1 What is Traditional Knowledge to the Inuvialuit?

Inuvialuit traditional knowledge is the knowledge gained by Inuvialuit individuals through traditional learning patterns (stories/songs), and through living on and using the land. This study explored the interviewees' knowledge of plants, animals, birds, fish, the climate, hydrology and anticipated impacts of the pipeline. Inuvialuit are still hunting, fishing and gathering throughout the year, using knowledge that was passed to them as young people from their parents or other relatives. Observing, listening, testing, determining and experiencing all play considerable roles in retaining traditional knowledge.

Figure 6: Teens Learning Traditional Skills during a Beluga Hunt on the Arctic Coast

Inuvialuit continue to depend on the land for food and the peace of mind that being on the land provides. In the past, much of what the land had to offer, Inuvialuit made use of; they have had to be resourceful to survive. This resourcefulness has enabled Inuvialuit to adapt to modern ways yet continue to use and transfer traditional knowledge gathered over the years through activities and through communication.

> traditional knowledge always gets into play when you are out on the land, especially when I'm hunting or travelling (T022).

> We still do all these things, we are quite involved with all seasons, we do the same things over and over (AK201).

Traditions, values, knowledge and beliefs play huge roles in the lives of Inuvialuit. As three interview participants stated:

> My brother has the experience from my father, so he is given the leadership role … when travelling the oldest give advice and we follow, they have more experience (AK237).

> [Traditional values] I know I like it because the elders taught us the right way … (T004).

> … like we were not allowed … to take wife out [whaling], when I asked why? I was told if I die, the wife can raise the children, if we both die who's gonna take care of your kids? (INU105).

Oral history and traditional knowledge, although vital and living, extend far into the past. For example, there is an Inuvialuktun word for the now-extinct woolly mammoth. There are also words for other creatures that do not live today, such as a giant beaver.[16]

6.1.2 Knowledge of Inuvialuktun

> We talked nothing but Inuvialuktun (INU150).

Knowledge of Inuvialuktun is very important to both physical and cultural survival. Through the language, Inuvialuit can communicate a wealth of information within the cultural and environmental context. Exercising traditional knowledge has kept Inuvialuit alive in what may be seen as a harsh environment. For example, knowledge of various snows and ice and its conditions may save a life. This is reflected in the many Inuvialuktun words for describing snow and ice (see Table 4).

Table 4: Examples of Inuvialuktun Words used to Describe Snow and Ice[17]

Snow Term	Meaning
Apun	Various kinds of snow
Aniu	Packed snow to melt for water
Apiqaun (S) *apilraun* (U)	First snow layer in fall that stays
Apiraq	Has been drifted with snow
Apusiqqaun	First fall of snow
Apusiqtuaq	Snow that is packed along something
Aqiuyaq	Small fresh snowdrift
Masak	Mushy, waterlogged snow
Mauyaa	Deep soft snow
Tiluktaun	Wet snow that sticks to clothes
Minguliruqtuaq	Wet snow blowing
Natiruvik	Snow drifting along a surface
Piangnaq	Snow conditions that are good for sled travel

[16] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[17] This table is the Siglitun words and is provided as an example only. Uumarmiutun translations are not provided.

Snow Term	Meaning
Piqtuluk	Blowing snow
Pukak	Sugar snow, the size of sugar, best to melt for water
Qaniaraq	Light, fresh snow falling
Qanikłuk	Wet snow falling
Qiqsuqaq	Glazed snow at thaw time
Aniuvak	Snowbank
Milgun	Snowblock
Upsaryuk	Overhang part of a snowdrift
Piqtuluktuq	Is snowstorming
And many more…	
Ice or Ocean Term	**Meaning**
Sikuliaq	Young ice
Illauyiniq	Candle ice (ice melts and breaks like candles), dangerous
Ivviut	Rough ice
Kusugaq	Ice stalagmite
Misaliraq	Slushy and sticky top of salt water ice
Quasaq	Glare ice
Quna	Slush ice in fall
Siku	Ice
Sikuaq	Thin ice on water
Ilaggait	Ice chunks after chiselling
Immaksiaq	Ice to melt for water
Qururniq	Icicle
Quppaq	Ice crack
Qagaaqtuaq	Whitecaps on ocean
Qurlungniq	Pressure ice
Iniqtiniq	Ready to walk on, come from ocean (ice)

Many Inuvialuit words are not documented and many more are already lost—for example, some of the words in the table above are not commonly used anymore. There are generations that will not know the different snows and ices, because they do not need to learn them to survive, or use them in every day living. In the past, the knowledge of different snow and ice conditions was of utmost importance. If the word existed in Inuvialuktun, there was a practical use for it. The language is critical in communicating such detailed and landscape-specific information.

In every society, people are proud of their culture and their language. The Inuvialuit are no different and their connection to the environment remains particularly strong. Inuvialuit must regain Inuvialuktun, as much traditional knowledge stems from the language and depends upon its continued use.

One Akłarvik resident remembers speaking exclusively Inuvialuktun until the age of 13. She feels that no one speaks the language anymore, making it difficult to practise and retain vocabulary. "It's really hard to even talk it anymore. It twists my tongue!" She mentioned that the school system has been trying to bring in the schools for the last 10 years, but she feels like this is not the most effective way of teaching and learning Inuvialuktun. "The only way to bring it back is on the land." She tries to speak with her daughter and fluent elders in the community.[18]

More Inuvialuktun terms can be found in Appendix B.

6.1.3 Legends and Stories

There are two types of stories the elders or storytellers can tell. The storyteller always starts with either, "I will tell *unipkaaq*, a legend …" or "I will tell you what happened to …" (*quliaq*, a story).

- *Unipkaat* – legends
- *Quliat* – stories

Telling stories is a way of life for the Inuvialuit; it teaches culture, history, morals, traditional knowledge and even games. Although the stories of the Inuvialuit are too numerous and complex to document here, some examples are provided—in particular those shared by the interviewees. Here are four short historical accounts. One is from so long ago that the story is now a legend, and another is something that happened quite recently.

6.1.2.1 Story of Survival Long Ago

> Long ago they really know how to make a living. They didn't have containers like we do now, nothing handy long ago. They make bags called *avataqpak* out of seals, also the beluga whale stomachs are blown up, remove everything and use it to store *uqsuq*. They also blew up the whale throat and cleaned it and then dried it and put away. They didn't have stoves long ago, no fridges. They filled the (dried) throat with snow, then the women would pack it while they were traveling, when it melts, then they stopped for a drink of water. When they empty it, they would add more snow. When they are going to bed they fill them up with snow and sleep with them, then they have water in the morning (T037).

6.1.2.2 Legend of Inuktuyuit as Recorded by Father Lemeur, 1984

As Father Lemeur collected stories from the elders during the 1960s, 70s and 80s in Tuktuuyaqtuuq, he was told about the Inuktuyuit, which means "eating flesh"—the closest anyone could translate Inuktuyuit was "cannibals", thus Lemeur translated this word to cannibal. Inuvialuit maintain these people were not cannibals as in the English sense of the word, but spoke loudly of their respect for animals, getting only what they could eat and eating what they killed. They were said to be a very respectful and giving group of Inuvialuit who only wanted to live in peace.

This story deals with hostilities between Imaryungmiut (Husky Lakes Inuvialuit) and Kitigaaryungmiut (Inuvialuit from Kitigaaryuit); in this narrative Kitigaaryungmiut were the aggressors, being in the habit of raiding the Imaryungmiut in order to steal caribou hides. The Imaryungmiut would back away during the raids; for that reason they were known as the "gentle" or "shy people". During one such raid, however, a young man resisted, killing the attacker with an arrow. This upset the other Imaryungmiut, not because they feared reprisal, but because it was their philosophy that people killed only what was needed for food. Accordingly, the young man was made to eat a piece of the person whom he had shot. This brought shame to the people, who thereafter were known as "the people who eat human flesh", Inuktuyuit. The final part to this legend is that the Inuktuyuit eventually left the area because of their shame.

In 1992 at the Inuit Circumpolar Conference held in Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq, a Greenlander elder spoke of the happiness he felt about coming home to the area where his people came from, he said they are the people of Imaryuit, the Inuit the Siglit called Inuktuyuit.[19]

6.1.2.3 Story from an Elder of Inuuvik

One time there was an Inuvialuit woman who was not a prominent woman within her group. Although she wanted to marry *umialik* (headman of the tribe), she could not due to social rules. In her grief, she ran away and climbed a mountain and put a belt around it so that nobody could get to her. The top of the mountain had a lake, where she would go to wash clothes and other things. With the water from the lake, she wet the belt—with the belt wet, it was impossible for anyone to climb past it as no one could hold on.

[18] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[19] As told to Rose Kirby by Emmanual Felix, elder from Tuktuuyaqtuuq.

> She wanted that man but she could not have him because she was not a prominent woman … So when she, what she was told that she can't have him, she just went up to that mountain and she died there (INU126).

There is a mountain along the Yukon coast that has a black line through it, from the woman's belt.

6.1.2.4 Traditional Games from an Elder at Akłarvik

The following are some examples of games traditionally played by the Inuvialuit of Kitigaaryuit:

- *Iglukisaaq*, juggling with two or three rocks, somebody used to sing for the jugglers; the one who juggled the longest was the winner
- *Akimuq,* high kick
- *Mañaa-Mañaa*, a ball game where whoever was touched with the ball is out—this game was good exercise for children that involved a lot of running around
- *Napaatchak,* a game with a wooden handle and a sharpened nail
- *Ayahaaq,* a string game in which you make different animals, such as rabbits, grizzlies and their young, polar bears, ptarmigan, and other objects (AK216). String games were only allowed in the winter, because in the summer there were too many chores that needed to be done

Inuvialuit elders remember other games as well: *napaatchak* (a dart game), games called "Jack and Jill" and hide-and-go-seek, as well as a game where you would try to make someone laugh, called *mak*.[20]

6.2 Traditional Land Use

> Anyways, I would like to say that I know in many … [ways] I inherit what my grandfather and my father have given me. A place to live in, a place to own, something I have a right to, when I am here, or even consider I would like to give something for the future generations of my children so they will have something to talk about and something to live by and something to live on, and they also should have the right to inherit this country.[21]

Inuvialuit have occupied the Western Arctic for thousands of years. Locations for harvesting can vary, depending on the resources harvested and the season. These

[20] Akłarvik and Inuuvik verification session (April/May 2006).
[21] Peter Thrasher in Berger (1975).

patterns have changed very little over time. Knowledge was passed on as to when and where to harvest, whether it was for whales, fish, caribou, seals or birds.

> I pretty well go by seasons you know, winter and fall for caribou hunting, in the fall fur, caribou and herring fishing, spring time for jiggling, geese and the odd caribou, summer time whale and fishing (AK028).

> In those days our ancestors didn't live by a clock, perhaps only by the big one, the reliable sun, *siqiniq*. Beasts of the land, fowl of the air, all the fish and whale and seal and all of life as regulated in a cycle …[22]

Long ago, the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in respected and used the Delta as their hunting grounds—the Inuvialuit living along the coast, at Kuukpak and Kitigaaryuit, and the Gwich'in living along the Peel and Mackenzie Rivers. With Inupiat moving to the Western Arctic, the Delta became a hunting ground for everyone and was occupied by all throughout the seasons. Inuvialuit have always shared areas for hunting, fishing, harvesting, whaling and geese hunting, so many of the concerns of the different Inuvialuit communities overlap.

> … all the mammals that we ever got from the ocean, the food, there's nothing wasted, not even the intestine, not even the heart … like the bag from the heart is used for a bag, you know. And then for seal … my mom would just take the carcass out of the inside of the seal … leaving the blubber and the seal depending what she's going to store—if she's going to store something that she doesn't want to get rancid during the winter, or she want it fermented a little bit, well she'd store it in those things. Like she'll ferment young seal meat … she'll do these big seals like … different kinds of seals that she got. She use them for storage … and then with the same thing, she'll take a young seal or a young female, she'll take the carcass and the blubber out and then she'll blow it like a balloon … she'll dry it a little bit … before she does that, she soaks them in ocean water. She tie them to the shore and she'll let them sit in the ocean, so that the salt water can clean it and there'll be no taste, no smell or no taste to it because of the sand and everything. Everyday she'll go out there and shake off the sand and everything. You know how the wave from the ocean just buries everything right? She puts it out there and she leaves it for about a week. And then she'll take it out, washes it out in fresh water, soaks it in fresh water for a while and then she'll let the inside dry a little bit, just enough to dry so … it's not moist, it's not wet. And she'll turn it back inside out with the fur on the outside and then she'll dry that and then just only around the mouth of the … [seal], head part, the neck part will be open. And then she'll fill that, we use that for storing berries—nakal

[22] Felix Nuyaviaq (ISDP n.d., 1-14-03) in Hart and Amos (2004:19).

berries or cranberries or … different types of berries or even for different types of plants that we eat—you know, for the winter (INU126).

Figure 7: Typical Delta Landscape

Seasonal land use remains of the utmost importance for the Inuvialuit. For example: geese hunting and fishing in spring and fall; caribou hunting throughout the year; whaling and fishing in the summer; fishing and sealing in the fall and winter; polar bear hunting in the winter; gathering berries, roots, and medicinal plants in the summer and fall; and grizzly hunting in spring.

Well, I was born in 1951 and ever since then, I grew up out in the bush. Our camp was Siuligliuŕaq, on the Leland Channel … and we always lived out in the bush camp. My father did all the hunting and fishing in the winter time. All year round, we stayed … trap in the fall time, winter time, spring time trap for muskrats … after the ice is gone, we shot muskrats and fished some more (AK215).

Figure 8: Inuvialuit Youth Learning Traditional Skills at a Summer Camp

Elders wish for the younger generation to become skilled about traditional land use; it is important to the elders for young Inuvialuit to obtain knowledge while the elders are still around. Young Inuvialuit attend summer camps which promote the learning of traditions, for example, netting fish. As the elder talks to the young, they observe and listen. When they return to camp the students help bring the fish to the table and start the process of cleaning, gutting and making dry fish.

The most important is to teach the children of traditional land use (AK208).

Traditional knowledge, traditional skills and traditional foods are used daily by the interviewees and their families, and by many Inuvialuit families in the study area.

> Myself, I got three freezers, I usually fill one or two with straight caribou. I cut them up in April and it's usually good 'til August and I usually put 60 plucked geese away ready to cook and 25 unplucked, and all the fish I get from Husky Lake I usually fillet them, put them in a package so they don't get freezer burn (T056).

6.2.1 Camps

There are camps throughout the Delta, Imaryuk, along the coast, creeks, lakes and river systems; there are camps for spring, summer and fall, where families go for time out on the land. These are not recreational camps, but camps where hunting, fishing and gathering take place. Unlike the camps built around Airport Lake that are used to leave the hectic lifestyle of the big town for weekends, the camps of the Inuvialuit are used to assist in providing subsistence for families and extended families. There are also camps for big game hunters on the ice; these camps may be located in approximately the same area year to year or changes to the locations of the open leads may cause the location of the camps to change. Camps may consist of tent frames for canvas tents or cabins. Cabins are used if the stay will be longer or if bad weather will be a factor. Camp lifestyle is considered healthy—when at camp, a person will not sit down until they are going to sleep, staying active all day. Also, the heat from the stove is healing for arthritis and lowers blood pressure.

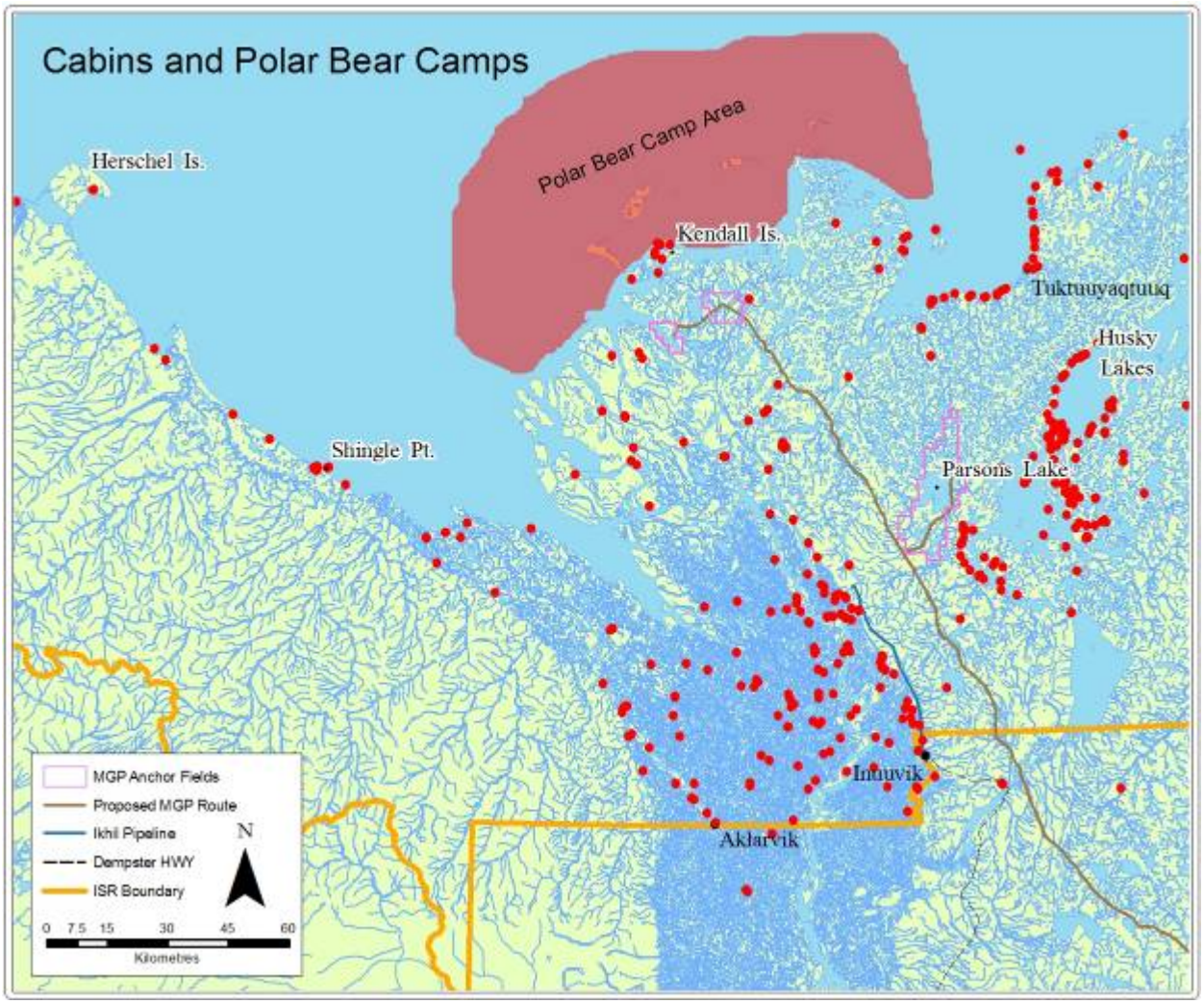

Figure 9: Camps

6.3 Traditional Place Names

> Every type of land has a name and history.[23]

Inuvialuit named every area they used, whether it was a place they passed by, one they occasionally stayed at for lengths of time or one they frequented for shorter stays. They named landmarks such as lakes, rivers, streams, hills, pingos, sandspits, sand hills, islands, caribou trails, mud flats, the ocean, the shallow, or sandy beaches.

> … every creek we take there's names for it, all the way down the coast line into Alaska (AK224).

[23] GNWT Department of Education, Culture and Employment (1996:95).

People named places based on, for example, the name of animals they got there, the name of the berries they picked, or the name of a person or people who stayed there or did something there. Some names simply described the spot. Some places share names, for example, Qikiqtarʃuk (Herschel Island) is a large island, and other islands as huge as Qikiqtarʃuk might be called by the same name—such as Qikiqtaq (Hendrickson Island). Names may also change over time. During anthropologist Stefansson's trips gathering knowledge, he spoke with Inuvialuit elder Jimmy Mimurana (Roxy) about traditional place names. Mimurana had said there were old towns of Kuukpak and Kingnirit, which became Kitigaaryuit and Saniraq. The Inuvialuit from Saniraq hunted in Anderson River and the Kitigaarymuit hunted in Richards Island.[24]

Place names indicate several important things. They tell of locations used for gathering in every season—locations where the whole family enjoys the ways of their ancestors. While some traditional place names have been lost, many places still have traditional names—these names contain information about the resources available in that area. Stories and songs are also created on the land, the same way that stories and songs were created by our ancestors using their experiences. While traveling to various places with knowledgeable Inuvialuit elders, many stories can be told about the place names, such as how a name originated.

A comprehensive list of place names in the ISR is provided in Appendix C.

6.3.1 Tuktuuyaqtuuq

> That's from the caribou herd that was here, historically … the one you call the Bluenose herd now used to … calve … in Caribou Hills and around Parson's Lake between Husky Lake and the river, Mackenzie River, up in the high hills or close to a large body of water. You know, where there's a breeze and cooler—either edge of lakes or high hills—they used to come and spend their calving in the area there, that's why you call it Caribou Hills … [T]hat herd used to be forced to go through Tuktuuyaqtuuq and pushed in the water … for people to harvest the herd … they're the ones that were forced to go through the coastline right to Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Tuktuuyaqtuuq, in our language, means a place where you go poke the caribou, where you go poke them, you chase them in the water and you go out there with kayak and you poke them … [O]ur people, you know, had hunting communities and Tuktuuyaqtuuq was one hunting community that their job was to basically harvest as much caribou as needed for other Inuvialuit that were whaling or fishing (T019).

[24] Stefansson (1919:171).

To the Inuvialuit of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Imaryuk to the south of Tuktuuyaqtuuq is of paramount significance to their social and mental well-being. In times past, the Inuvialuit headed to the great Imaryuk, according to Nuligak.[25]

Today is as the days of old, and the Inuvialuit have a built-in sense of time based on years of tradition. Take for example the arrival of spring; Inuvialuit become restless so they head out to Imaryuk. Many hunters and gatherers interviewed use Imaryuk and the traditional trails leading to it. Geese hunting, camping and fishing are good medicine for what ails Inuvialuit during spring. Many Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq still camp or have camps in traditional sites, and therefore are still passing the traditional place names to the next generation. Other place names recall historical events, like this story about Sauniqtuuq:

> From what I hear from the elders they say that the Indians and the Inuvialuit used to have war there, fighting, killing each other and there's so many bones, human bones, that's why they call it Sauniqtuuq—place where it's lot of bones, human bones (T024).

Tuktuuyaqtuuq was a hunting and gathering place long before the coming of the Europeans. Although it is a modern town today, hunting and gathering still play an important role in the community, much the same as they did hundreds of years ago. Tuktuuyaqtuuq is the heart from which the Inuvialuit travel, and although their trails become invisible when the ice melts, they will be created again in the next season when the gatherers once again make trails on ice. For example the **Imaryuk Trail—**the elders call it **Pavungamun—**is a trail made in ancient times; its location has been passed on from generation to generation.

Iqalusaaq Lake and Iqalusaaq Trail, this lake and trail were used for many years for fishing. The trail also heads towards Imaryuk.

Imaryuk is a place with many stories and traditions. It is also known as Husky Lakes or Eskimo Lakes. Inuvialuit from Kitigaaryuit and Tuktuuyaqtuuq have used this area for hundreds of years for hunting caribou and fishing. Therefore, the historical sites and other remains found in many areas are from Inuktuyuit or the battle between the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit. The Inuvialuit who had originally lived in Imaryuk were called the Imaryungmiut, a tribe that has become extinct yet still lives through the oral history of the Inuvialuit. Greenlanders claim they came from this tribe then left the area hundreds of years ago.

[25] Metayer (1975).

Diamond Lake and Diamond Lake Trail are well known, and are passed to the next generation.

Kiklavak Bay and Hendrickson Island are used for whaling, fishing, grizzly bear hunting and berry gathering. Many burial sites and old houses, including sod house sites, are found in these areas, mostly along the coast.

Tununiq, also known as Bar C, was a DEWLine station during the Cold War. This area is the subject of stories about the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in that are many years old. From here, people usually headed to the Shallow Bay area for fall hunting of geese or grizzly bear, or to Inuuvik or Tuktuuyaqtuuq.

Ibyuk, two pingos at Tuktuuyaqtuuq are called Ibyuuk.

Anaguvik (also known as Anaguvik Pingo), many families spend their late spring geese hunting in this area.

Naparutalik is a geese hunting camping spot southwest of Tuktuuyaqtuuq.

Qarturviayuk or Niumatuna (Lucas Point) was named for "Old Man Lucas" who originally chose to raise his family at this place because he realized it was a good spot for fishing, hunting and berry picking.

Qikiqtaq (Hendrickson Island) is the most important area for Inuvialuit beluga whale hunting and preparation, burials, and other historical sites.

Polar bear and seal hunters hunted from **Uallіryuaq, Ukiivik, Igluliryuaq, Kamigik, Avallialuk in the west to Toker Point and Mumikparvik or to Nuvuraq,** and out to open water. During the fall, the areas from Tuktuuyaqtuuq to Tapqaq and Toker Point are used for hunting seals.

Geese migrate all along the coast, including locations such as **Kitigaaryuit, Nalruriaq, Anaguvik, Naparutalik, Qiniqsiq, Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Tuutchiaq, Tapqaq, Imnat, Kaliptat, Paraaluk, Toker Point and Qugyuktuuq** both in the spring and fall.

Some places also mentioned in the interviews were **Amasuryuaq, Diamond Point, Ikinilik, Face Point, Tootsie Bay, Sauniqtuuq, Noahs Island, Old Man Lake, 500 Lake, Bonnieville Point, Stanley Point, Ration Bay, Stanley Cabin, Zed Lake, Zeemans, Hans Bay, Hans Creek, Itqilik Lake, First Place** and many more.

The Inuvialuit caribou hunting area is huge because caribou migrate from east to west and one of their final grazing areas is **Parsons Lake**. From here, they leave on their migration in the spring towards the Paulatuuq area.

Some of the traditional places names are mapped in Figure 10 and listed below in Table 5, places where hunters and gatherers traveled, hunted and gathered in areas such as **Nalruriaq**. This area has been frequented during the summer for whale hunting, Anaguvik for geese hunting, and on and on. Thanks to David Aiviq Nasogaluak, Fred Stataq Wolki, Jean Pali Gruben and Alec Maniraatchiaq Kaglik for the traditional knowledge place names for Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The numbers in the table refer to the numbers on the place name map. Table 6 provides traditional place names given by elders that are not shown in Figure 10.

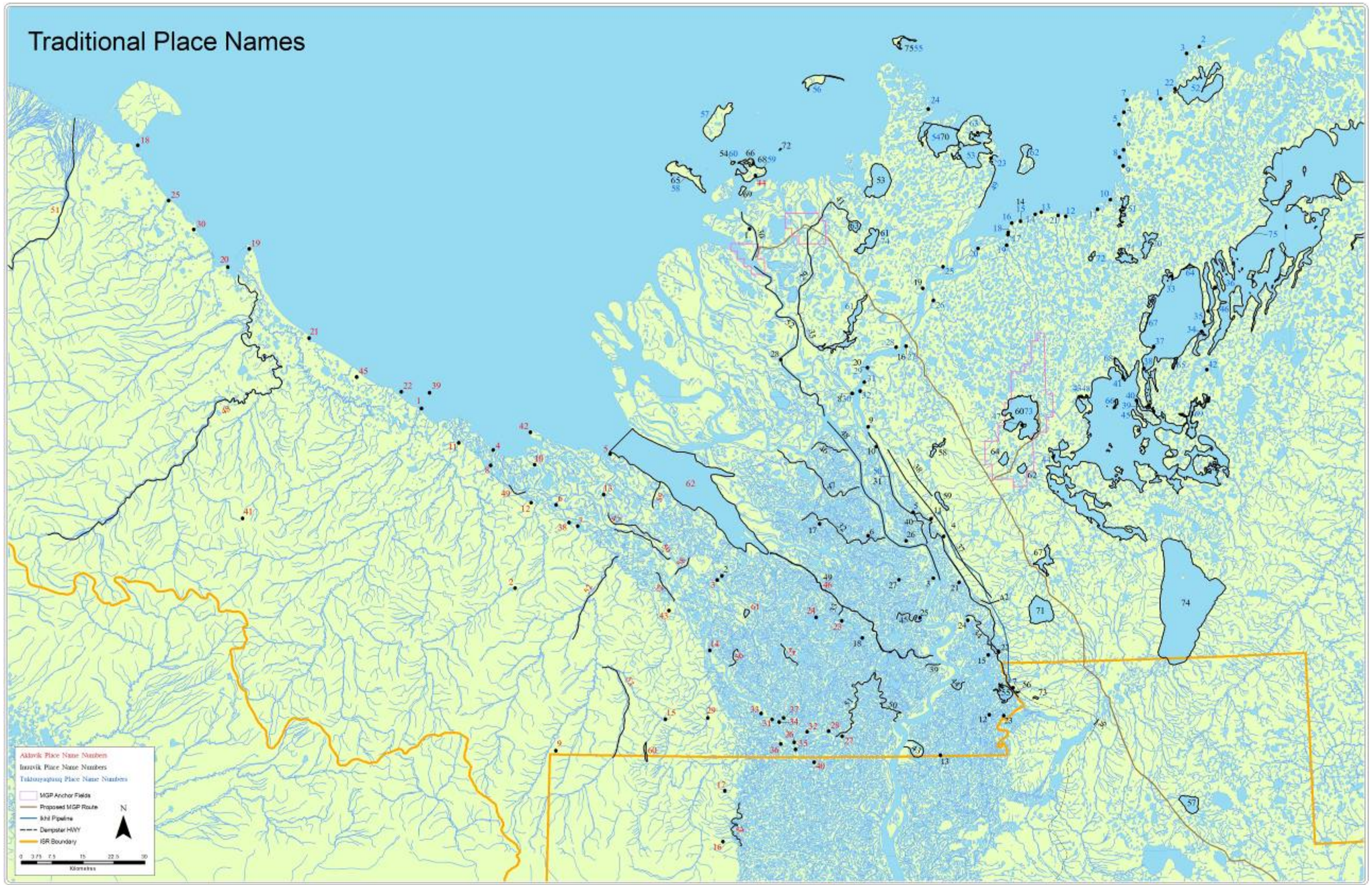

Figure 10: Traditional Place Names near Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik

Table 5: Traditional Place Names in the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Area

Term	Meaning
1. Paaraluk	Refers to going into the little creek.
2. Igluk	Two houses at Warren Point.
3. Mumikparvik	A place approximately five miles from Igluk where big dances are held. Also known as Warren Creek.
4. Nunasuaq	Moss to built a house up from Kaliptat. Also known as Toker Point.
5. Kaliptat	Place where fish become stranded in the grass and people gather them.
6. Imnat	Long bluff.
7. Tapqaluryuaq	Hard time fishing.
8. Tapqaq	Long sand spit, also known as Shingle Point.
9. Tuutchiaq	A spot where everyone heads, a marker low water.
10. Ibyuk	Pingos with broken tops and grass grow in them, located near Tuktuuyaqtuuq.
11. Kangi	Refers to a dead end.
12. Ilatqusiaq	When people travel near here, they always go behind this spot.
13. Naparutalik	There is always poles for markers, a place where a stick stands up and is known as a marker.
14. Kaguyaq	Pingo, a mirage makes it appear to lift up.
15. Ikinaaluk	Something got burned in this place.
16. Nalruriaq	Also known as East Whitefish Station. There are many tent frames here, both at the mouth and inside the bay; Inuuvik people use it for fishing and whaling; Tuktuuyaqtuuq people use Whitefish Creek area in May for goose hunting.
17. Siuraryuat	Sand hills near Kitigaaryuit.
18. Kitigaaryuit	Small bluff, also known as Kitigazuit.
19. Papigaaq	Grave sites. Name refers to a bird tail, near Kitigaaryuit Creek.
20. Itqilik Camp	Indian camp.
21. Kitigaryuit	Big high hills at Army Camp.
22. Kangianik Creek	Bottom of the bay at Tuktuuyaqtuuq.
23. Maqqaq	People shoot lots in this place.
24. Qugyuktuuq	A bay known to always have swans.
25. Aimatqutat	A bay.
26. Kiklavak/Kidluit Bay	Kiklavak is a bay, and Kidluit are the hills located near the shores of Kiklavak Bay.
27. Ivitquna	Named after the great-great grandfather of Jim Raddi.
28. Mason Bay/Wallace Bay	Local Inuvialuit called this bay after Wallace's father Niumatuna.
29. Avallialuk	Also known as Outside Island and Pullen Island.
30. Kamigik	Hooper Island.
31. Uallıryuaq	Pelly Island, islands to the west of Tuktuuyaqtuuq.
32. Igluliryuaq	Garry Island.
33. Ukiivik	Kendall Island.
34. Baby Island	No Inuvialuktun name.

Term	Meaning
35. Aktuguni area	Lousy Point area.
36. Igluyuaraaluit	Pete's Creek, a man named Pete had a house here at one point.
37. Singiryuaq	Holmes Creek, Big Point. Refers to a long lake.
38. Nalluq	Swimming Point, a place where caribou are known to swim across while migrating.
39. Qarturviayuk	Lucas Point, known as a good place for sweep-netting herring.
40. Tununiq	When you pass on any fork and look back you always see the island.
41. Yaya Lake	Named after Yaya who was a reindeer herder.
42. Qaqulaaq	The name refers to somebody eating biscuits here.
43. Naniriaq	Name refers to a wooden deadfall trap.
44. Qikiqtaq	Hendrickson Island, name refers to the large size of the island.
45. Qun'ngit Auyaviat	Hedwin Island.
46. Kuutchiaq	A channel that never freezes over, name refers to putting bones in a line to scare whales so they do not get stuck in Imaryuk.
47. Sauniqtuuq	A place where there are lots of bones, including those from whales, human, caribou and fish.
48. Umiuyaq	Name indicates that the island resembles an *umiaq* (whaling boat).
49. Pituqialuk	Name refers to putting *usuq* on the bottom of your *maklak* (skin boots) if going to Imaryuk for the first time.
50. Tootsie Bay	No Inuvialuktun name.
51. Amasuryuaq	Possibly refers to someone picking lots of *masu* (an edible plant).
52. Qikuryuaq	A place where clay can be found, name refers to the large quantity of clay.
53. Ikinilik	Name refers to burning.
54. Nuvugutayuk	The Point.
55. Mausaryuaq	Name refers to roots.
56. Kunangnaaluk	Noahs Island.
57. Anguniatchuq Point	Diamond Point
58. Maniitualuit	Refers to rough hills.
59. Anguniatchuq Bay	Diamond Bay
60. Ipiutaq	Narrow piece of land between two joined lakes.
61. Zeemans	Named after an old trapper.
62. 500 Lake	Name refers to the fact that someone once got 500 rats from this lake.
63. Zed Creek	
64. Hans Creek	Hans Hanson trapped here.
65. Suqunuq	Is on the Imaryuk trail.
66. Tiktaaliqtuuq	Place where loche are caught beside Iqalusaaq, name refers to loche.
67. Iqalusaaq	Lake with herring.
68. Imaqpialuk	Jiggling place between Kuutchiaq and Sauniqtuuq.
69. Parsons Lake	Named after Jack Parsons who was the head of Reindeer Station
70. Qimmim Niaqua	Dog Head
71. Annaktuuq Lake	Also known as Denis Lake, Named after Denis Annaktuuq who lived, trapped, fished and hunted this area.

Term	Meaning
72. Imaryuk	Also known as Husky or Eskimo Lakes.
73. Kugaaluk	A large river.
74. Kiglaarun	Also known as East Branch of the Mackenzie River.
75. Nigaudjvik	Name refers to "the place where we got our son-in-law." Also known as Rufus Lake.
76. Nuvuk	Delhousie Point.

Table 6: Traditional Place Names Given by Elders in the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Area (not on the map)

Term	Meaning
Aglisurtuq Pingo	A pingo that grew fast across from Swimming Point. 15 or so years ago, it was not possible to see Aglisurtuq Pingo, although now it really shows.
Amiituq	Narrow and long lake.
Anaguvik Pingo	Place where someone used a club for fish or other.
Aniyaaq	Going out (of a bay or inlet).
Aumasivik	Place you can get coal to burn, also known as Dry Lake Bay
Aviutuuq Lake	Named after a person, Aviutuuq.
Avvaq	Avvaq means half of something.
Imnaqpaluk	Big bluff.
Inuksivik	The name refers to a person having met somebody there long ago.
Iqalusaaq Pingu	A pingo near Iqalusaaq.
Kupluuyaq Point	At Imaryuk, where the land points like a thumb.
Kuugaryuk	Big Creek
Paaqtaq	Name refers to meeting someone. Also known as NT Creek.
Pirniq	Name describes something as wood, also known as Wood Bay.
Pitulik	Name refers to tying something up.
Qaqsauqtuun	Place where red throated loons are found.
Qimiaryuat	Big hills towards Atkinson Point.
Qiniqsiq	Name refers to a place to look around.
Sanirun	Name implies logs put in cross ways. Place name is in the Delhousie area.
Sigyaaluk	Name of a person found on grave north of Tuktuuyaqtuuq.
Situniq	Place where there is banks to slide down.
Tuuriatchiaq Lake	Also known as Jonah Lake. Named after a person also named Tuuriatchiaq.
Uqsuasiaq Bay	Also known as Old Johnson Bay.

6.3.2 Akłarvik

For the people of Akłarvik, Tapqaq is the connection to their original home of Alaska. This is where they share their *arviq* (bowhead whale) hunts, the traditional games and

drum dances. When the Inupiat first moved from Alaska to the Delta, many lived for some time at Old Crow. Some were born there and lived with the Gwich'in for several years before they settled in the Delta and coastal areas.

There are several versions of how Akłarvik got its name. The majority of interviewees thought that someone got a bear there and called it Akłarvik, meaning place where a grizzly was taken. The original site of the town was across the river, where Inuvialuit were living on Pokiak Channel. When the Hudson's Bay Company arrived, they built across the river on the present town site.

Akłarvik was known as the community that the Inuvialuit headed towards each holiday season. Dog team races during the spring and winter, and Canada Day activities were some of the events that brought families into Akłarvik.

Figure 11: Shingle Point

Shingle Point becomes a village in the summer with people from different communities camping there. This was a small community before Akłarvik was established and still today many Inuvialuit go there for gatherings. Like Imaryuk to the Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Shingle Point is a special location to the Inuvialuit of Akłarvik. This brings a peace of mind and spirit, and rejuvenates individuals for the year until the next season.

As in other Inuvialuit communities and places, traditional place names conjure memories of stories told by elders. Qikiqtarr̂uk alone has a history that all Inuvialuit know, because many are descendants from Inuvialuit and whalers who arrived on the big whaling ships. Inuvialuit were not far from Qikiatarr̂uk to trade furs for supplies for the coming year with the whaling ships. Some of the names that were used by the Inuvialuit before the 1800s and until now are listed below in Table 7 and mapped in Figure 10. Thanks to Donald Aviugana and Danny C. Gordon for providing the Akłarvik traditional place names.

Table 7: Traditional Place Names in the Akłarvik Area

Term	Meaning
1. Aqpañuatchiaq	Called "Running River", located where fresh water runs down from the mountains.
2. Arviq Irriq	"Bowhead whale mountain" also called Mount Gilbert. This mountain is shaped like a bowhead whale.
3. Alatkasik	This place name refers to coming around the corner, looking ahead and around for something; the place was named after a bushcamp. The word has roots in from Alaska.
4. Niaqunnaq	West Whitefish; originally Inuvialuit hunted belugas from here, although now it is too shallow. This is a very old name that refers to a head.
5. Tatiñgaq	Means "sand hill crane." This land mark has two distinct humps.
6. Paliihimaq Iglua	Name means "Police Lake," as when the RCMP used to patrol from Qikiqtarñuk to Akłarvik, this was their mid point where they would camp overnight. There was a cabin on the lake for this purpose.
7. Aluaqsarvik	This is a place where natural coal can be found. Nels Vadum had a coal mine here; he sold coal to the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, the root word *aluaq* means coal, *sarvik* refers to the place to get.
8. Siiraq Naṙvaq	Means "coney lake."
9. Iqaluk Alluaq	Means "fish hole." Arctic char spawn in this location.
10. Tingmiaryuit Tangmaat	Often also called "Birds Camp" due to a scientific study of birds that was conducted at this location.
11. Itiguryaq	Blow River is called Itiguryaq, which probably refers to blowing sand in the summer and blowing snow in the winter.
12. Napuiyaq Channel	One of the main channels to the coast, L.F. Semmler had a mink farm and a Trading Post on this Channel.
13. Anderson River	Probably named after Anderson from the Stefansson and Anderson Expedition.
14. Babbage River	A char spawning area.
15. Barge Lake	Thus named because a barge was stranded there years ago.
16. Qutaitchuñaq	The river comes right down the mountain at this place. It is also a caribou hunting area.
17. Ningaqsik Channel	Named after Old Man Bennet, who lived there.
18. Igluliaryaq	Beaver House.
19. Tuttuvakpak Kuuk	Means "Big Moose River".
20. Qayaq Naṙvaq	Canoe Lake, miles inland from Akłarvik.
21. Avvaq Naṙvaq	Divide Lake.
22. Taałak Irriq	Means "Black Mountain".
23. Kavikhaq Irriq	Means "Red Mountain".
24. Qaṙgialuk	Ptarmigan Bay.
25. Nuvugaq	Kay Point in the Yukon.
26. Niaqulik Point	Head Point, named after Archie Head Point.
27. Kingaq	"King Point".

Term	Meaning
28. Tapqaq	Shingle Point – important area where many Akłarvik residents have houses for summertime whaling activities. Once was a trading post as well, and had an Anglican school.
29. Siuligliuŕaq	"Place where jackfish are caught."
30. Nilirvik	A place that smells like fart.
31. Saarŕuaq	Named after old man Roland Saaryuaq.
32. Akłarvik Channel	Means "grizzly bear channel."
33. Schooner Channel	When schooners were bought by the Inuvialuit, they would pass by here to and from the coast.
34. Talutauŕaq Channel	"Taylor Channel" Taylor was one of Pukik's brothers, they all eventually moved to Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Known as a good jiggling place.
35. Kuugaqyuk	First channel.
36. Firth River	A carbon date from an archaeological site indicates that the area around Firth River was in use at least years ago. There is a big rock that sticks out of nowhere, at least feet. It can be seen from miles and is a good animal lookout (AK).
37. Ikpisurŕuk	Known as Stokes Point or Bar B, a DEWLine site.
38. Qaluk Point	Fish Point.
39. Qaluk Kuuk	Fish River.
40. 500 Lake	This name refers to the muskrats that an individual harvested in one day.
41. Cache Creek	Also known as Almstrom Creek.
42. Siniguuyarvik	Means "place for camping".
43. Paqhiivik	Martha Dick's place.
44. Niutquluk	Across from Itqiliqqauŕaq.
45. Husky River	No Inuvialuktun name.
46. Imarŕuk	Also known as Husky Lakes.
47. Itqiliqqauŕaq	Means "place where the Indians were." Jacob Archie's camp; also known as Six Miles.
48. Itirurniuŕaq	Stinky Creek.
49. Jamison Channel	Area where Mr. Jamison trapped.
50. Jim Canes Cabin	Area where Mr. Canes trapped.
51. Qaunnaq Kuuk	Also spelled Koanak River (old orthography), place of Sheba Selamio and family.
52. Picnic Lake	No Inuvialuktun name.
53. Aluutaq Naŕvaq	Spoon Lake, named because the lake is long and narrow.
54. Pukiak (Pokiak) Channel	The Pukik family settled here. This settlement existed before Akłarvik was established. There was a store just across the channel from Akłarvik run by Stan MacKay, and Burt Boxer had a general store across Hudson's Bay Channel in the same area.
55. Tuttuvaum Nurra Kuuk	Little Moose River.
56. Tittaaliq Channel	Loche Channel.
57. Nauyaq Island	Means "Seagull" Island.
58. Sleepy Mountain	The mountain is so high that you get sleepy when you climb it.

Term	Meaning
59. Tupiq Qikiqtaq	Tent Island.
60. Uyararvialuk Irriq	"Real rock mountain."
61. Ukiivik	Kendall Island, means "place to spend summer"; also spelled Okivik (old orthography).
62. Tan'ngum Nunavinga	Whiteman Hill.
63. Paliihimam Iglua	Means "Police House/Cabin." It is a place where RCMP would camp while patrolling from Akłarvik to Shingle Point and Herschel Island.

Table 8: Traditional Place Names given by Elders in the Akłarvik Area (not on the map)

Term	Meaning
Iritchiak	A large hill (about 150 feet high), around which you can see for miles. The fish spawn nearby and people go there to fish, right inland from Herschel Island on the Firth River.
Knute Lang	Used to be a trading post.

6.3.3 Inuuvik

Inuuvik is a young community in comparison to Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Part of the history of what was initially known as East Three is that it was built on a trapper's registered trapping area. In the 1950s, the government registered every trapping area. The size depended upon the size of the family.

Today, a majority of gatherers and hunters have wage jobs and hunt for their families only on weekends. Many of the traditional named places are outside the boundaries established for each settlement, because historically the Inuvialuit lived along the coast and in the Delta. Many lived dispersed throughout the region before settling in Inuuvik. Inuvialuit have moved from every settlement to Inuuvik, so people from Tuktuuyaqtuuq still hunt in Husky Lakes and places in-between, those from Akłarvik still go to the Delta and coast, and residents of Inuuvik hunt in both areas. Hunters and gatherers still use familiar territories that they learned from their parents.

The Inuvialuit people of Inuuvik are largely from Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq; they see both Tapqaq and Imaryuk as traditional places and some go to each area to connect with life as an Inuvialuk. Inuuvik participants indicated that people from Inuuvik used live in the Imaryuk area and come back to the Delta for trapping.[26] Some traditional place names in the Inuuvik area are listed below in Table 9 and mapped in Figure 10.

[26] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

Thanks to Colin Allen Sr., Emma Dick and Lucy Inglangasak for assisting in naming traditional place areas for Inuuvik.

Table 9: Traditional Place Names in the Inuuvik Area

Term	Meaning
1. Inukikłaq Bay	The area where Harry Inukikłaq made his living.
2. Inukikłaq Channel	This channel was also named for Inukikłaq.
3. Abel River	Where Abel went and got lost "breaking trail."
4. Anarvik	An island that has eroded away, and is no longer there.
5. Kiklaarun	East Branch of the Mackenzie River close to the foothills. There are also many other places with this name as it refers to a safe way to travel—sheltered, where it is possible to travel by boat even there is a wind.
6. Qun'ngilaat	Reindeer Station, was established before Inuuvik. Inuvialuit used to travel to Reindeer Station for Christmas.
7. Akulliq	Old Tuma's place, means "on the other side; next one over." A gathering place.
8. Alatkasik	Old Harry Inukikłaq lived here. Name derives from "alatkarung," which means "to check/to look in to check everything is okay."
9. Andrew Creek	A creek named after Andrew MacInnes, as he used to jiggle for fish there.
10. Avallialuk	Pullen Island.
11. Axel River	Same as Axel Creek
12. Axel Creek	Place where Jimmy Jones had a trading post
13. Inuuvik	Place where people live
14. Auṛvik	Means place where there are butterfies, also called Baby Island.
15. Tununiq	Place where three forks of the river are, which ever fork you take, as you turn to look you always see a small island.
16. Tuunrait	Two trees that are called *tunrait* (spirits). It is said that to bring you luck with hunting, fishing, whaling, etc., you leave an offering, such as cigarettes, needles or any other item.
17. Napaaqitqautit	The end of the trees, the tree line.
18. Baislaryuk	Big Jim Channel
19. Naṛvakpaaluk	Big lake that one can see across the river from Inuuvik.
20. Qutailaruuyaq	Blueberry Hills, "this is where they picked berries long ago;" many Inuvialuit still pick berries there today. There are numerous berry-picking locations with this name.
21. Bombardier Channel	Alex Stefansson drove his bombardier in this channel, thus the name
22. Boot Lake	A lake shaped like a boot, it used to have muskrats and beavers.
23. Taupaaluk	Close to Camp Farewell. "Bum Hill"—the shape of the hill resembles a person's bottom. People have gathered here to pick berries for many years.
24. Campbell Creek	White fish run each spring and it is close to Inuuvik the proposed pipeline is close to the lakes where the fish migrate. Campbell Lake is

Term	Meaning
	a huge lake that houses the fish
25. Qayariivik	Joe Adam's place.
26. Aimatqutik	Old Man Oliver's camp, he moved his camp from Aimatqutak to Ukiivik by dog team in two trips in the spring time. Aimatqutak is south of Inuuvuk and Ukiivik is at the Arctic Ocean.
27. Iłiqpait	Sandy Hills, these hills are sand thus the name Sandy Hills.
28. Tuttuum Naɬvaa	North Caribou Lake.
29. Kitlim Nunavia	Charlie Hills—named after an Inuit reindeer herder whose name was Charlie Kitli. His son Peter Rufus also became a herder.
30. Qavvik Naɬvaa	Wolverine Lake, someone probably got a wolverine here. There are numerous "Wolverine Lakes."
31. Qarlik Naɬvaa	Peter Lake, named after Peter Qarlik, a reindeer herder.
32. Parsons Lake	Named after Jack Parsons, who was the Reindeer Station Manager for the herders.
33. Cliff Moores	Named after a trapper who made his life in the Delta.
34. Nuligaq Channel	Nuligaq made his life in his later years in the Delta, he wrote about Inuvialuit and how they lived long ago in the book *I, Nuligak* (Metayer (1975).
35. Anaqtuuq Channel	Anaqtuuq made a living along the coast, he is the grandfather of Lucy Inglangasak and Frank Cockney's father-in-law.
36. Anaqtuuq Lake	Fishing lake used by Anaqtuuq. Also known as Denis Lake.
37. Anaqtuuq Lagoon	Named after Anaqtuuq.
38. Douglas Channel	No Inuvialuktun name.
39. Kiklaarun	Safe travelling route.
40. East Hans Lake	Named after Hans Hanson who trapped in both East and West Hans Lakes.
41. West Hans Lake	Named after Hans Hanson, see *East Hans Lake*.
42. Nalruriaq	East Whitefish Station close to the mouth of Kuukpak, where Inuvialuit have been hunting whales for years.
43. Igluligyaq	"Place of a big house", Garry Island.
44. Kalikauɬatkut	Gully's family place.
45. Hingirñuaq	Holmes Creek.
46. Horseshoe Bend	An oxbow lake on the main channel of the Mackenzie Delta, in the shape of a horseshoe.
47. Iqakupik Harbour	Arctic char harbour.
48. Nasuk Naɬvak	Jimmy Lake, named after Jimmy Nasuk who was a reindeer herder. He later moved back to Iqaluktuchiaq (Cambridge Bay).
49. Annariik	John Dillon's River.
50. Ukiivik	Kendall Island, means "where you spend the summer."
51. Kipnik	Where the Allens have their camp.
52. Akkauɬaq	No English name.
53. Sikñgaq	Named after Peterson, who was one of the early trappers.
54. Louie River	Louie River was named after an early trapper.

Term	Meaning
55. Lousy Point	No Inuvialuktun name.
56. Qakturviayuk/Niumatuna Point	"Place where one sweeps with net for herring," also known as Lucas Point
57. Maniliqpik	Egg Island, place where waterfowl lay their eggs.
58. Maĥkaqpaaluk River	Big Marcus River; he was an Inuvialuk and probably lived, fished and hunted along this river. His adopted daughter was Iituk Mable Kalinek.
59. Mason Bay	No Inuvialuktun name.
60. Kuukpak	Mackenzie River, means "Big River."
61. Niuqiugauĥaq Creek	Means "Little Teapot Creek"
62. Napuuyaq Channel	A channel off Kuukpak, which flows to Shallow Bay.
63. Ikusik	"Elbow," a channel leaves Kiklaarun. Also known as Bombardier Channel.
64. Ikaakĥak Naĥvak	Noel Lake, this is where Noel Ikaakĥak hunted and trapped, father to Jeannie Lennie and Ivy Ikaakĥak.
65. Onion Lake	A lake where wild onions can be harvested.
66. Joe Gully's	No Inuvialuktun name.
67. Nayatuuruyat	Ray Island.
68. Qasunik	Ray Channel, named after Jack Raymond who resided there as a trapper.
69. Qun'ngiq Naĥvak	Reindeer Lake, the herders brought the herd here.
70. Schooner Channel	In the 1900s to 1940s, many Inuvialuit owned schooners. These larger boats meant that traveling was easier, and more people could be transported.
71. Sitidgi Lake	The traditional story is that Inuvialuit were not allowed to go to Sitidgi Lake because animals there were big and could kill people.
72. Haviuĥaq	Means "like a jackknife." Also known as Sweeney's Place.
73. Qasuun	Colin and Rita Allen's place.
74. Amarurvik	Emma Dick's place.
75. Second Alatkasik	Victor Allen's cabin.
76.Ataagiaq	Also known as the Middle Channel. Means "going down," and usually refers to whaling, when one is going down to the coast to go whaling.

7.0 *Iluvirviit, Uqpiriyatlu* (S) *Iluvirviit, Ukpiriakr̃atlu* (U) – Burial and Spiritual Sites

Due to the long history of the Inuvialuit people in this region, many sites are considered significant. They may be geographic reminders of an important event, long-used hunting or gathering sites, or places where the dead have been buried. Burial sites are significant to the Inuvialuit and have always been treated in a sacred manner. Interviewees were always told to respect the dead and their burial sites, and never to take any tools or other things from the graveside; touching or disturbing a gravesite would slow the process of the person in the after-life. Traditional beliefs are that touching items from graves can cause bad weather or cause the person who touched them to become ill. Taking items from graves and keeping them would provoke the deceased to cause harm to that person.[27]

> If someone takes belongings from a traditional burial area, the weather will turn violent.[28]

> … our elders talk about burial sites—they're sacred because … when a person die, when they bury him, they bury him with all his belongings—all his harpoons and paddles, tent poles, and everything the family has they put 'em all in there. Never give them away when they die; they put 'em all in the graves and were not even … for us we're not supposed to take. Touch nothing from the graves. And all the graves you go to around Kitti[gaayuit], you see lots of their belongings [the dead from long ago] and lots of these people are respected people, like … a lot of them are chiefs and people that our elders look up to, like where they learn from … like people learning from elders right now and how tradition … would get lost if we don't have leaders like that, you know (T011).

Inuvialuit elders tell us that burial sites tend to be located on knolls or banks, or along rivers. Inuvialuit were buried wherever they died, as the burden of hauling a dead body was too great for a nomadic lifestyle. Many interviewees in Tuktuuyaqtuuq stated that because Inuvialuit who lived in the area were fishing people, many burial sites are found along the lakes and places where Inuvialuit fished. Graves are often located in an area with a lot of wood, which could be used for construction of the burial sites. Logs usually cover the deceased, as well as their belongings, such as their tools, sleds or paddles to assist them on their next journey in the after-life. Whenever possible, the logs covering the graves were big enough that bears, wolves or foxes could not get into the grave. When there were no logs, the deceased were wrapped and laid on the ground.

[27] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Figure 12: Inuvialuit Grave Site Out on the Land

> Long ago when relatives of the people died, they put them by the shore. They didn't put them way inland because they want to watch the people as they went by in the summer time. So they always wanted to be buried by the sea shore (T037).

There are burial sites still known to elders at Papigaaq Point grave site at Kitigaaryuit, Lucas Point, Blueberry Hill and Holmes Creek. For example, an Inuvialuit man identified, "My great, grandfather and my grandfathers' burial site is at Blueberry Hill" (INU140). Many know these locations, but not everyone knows who is buried there. Interviewees from Tuktuuyaqtuuq indicated that there are similar spiritual sites at Kitigaaryuit. Tuktuuyaqtuuq elders indicated that some particularly tall individuals are buried across from Lousy Point and at Aktuguni.[29]

According to Inuvialuit elders, many of the burial sites in the Mackenzie Delta have been disturbed. Wolves and bears cause some of the disturbances, but some are the work of people, indicated by the way the logs are moved aside, and in some cases by the removal of artifacts. It is also difficult to identify some graves due to the vegetation covering the burial site. Due to the traditionally nomadic lifestyle of the Inuvialuit, the gravesites tend to be spread over the landscape and not located in one particular area.

> … lots of places … all over in the Delta I think. There's a grave here and there, but nobody really mark it … Today all our elders are gone so they don't say, "Well, we had someone died buried there." They don't say that. We do have a lot of unmarked graves. Just the one at Shingle Point is up on the hill. People know that it's a grave there. It's pretty hard to tell. There must have been lots of people buried there all over. Yeah, all over … they were always on the move long ago (AK205).

There are two general types of remains at archaeological sites: architectural or other non-movable features and objects that can be removed. Inuvialuit burial sites contain both. Some burial sites were mentioned in the interviews and are included here in Table

[28] GNWT Department of Education, Culture and Employment (1996:109).
[29] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

10, along with ways in which the burial sites have been impacted and suggested improvements, monitoring, mitigation and observation of the sites.

Table 10: Burial Sites Identified during Traditional Knowledge Interviews

Location	Impact	Suggested Mitigation
Tuktuuyaqtuuq		
• Lucas Point, Singiryuaq-Holmes Creek, Kuukpak, Nalruriaq – East Whitefish, Kiklavait – Richardson Island, Swimming Point, Toker Point, Kitigaaryuit, Kuuguuryuaq (first Reindeer Station found close to Kitigaaryuit) and along the coast to Tuktuuyaqtuuq and on to coast east of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Imaryuk – Husky Lakes, Sauniqtuuq, all over Imaryuk and the lakes between Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Imaryuk, Nunasuaq Qiniqsik, Naparutalik, Qugyuktuuq, East Whitefish Station and Toker Point, Hendrickson Island, Kiklavak, Army Camp, Nalluq, along the coast from Qikiqtaryuk to Toker Point and beyond Lucas Point, Aktuguni – Lousy Point. • Shaman are buried at Herschel Island. • There are burials on Baillie Islands that are being destroyed as the bluffs erode and 'fall off.'	• Vegetation is growing over many of the sites. • Many are falling into Kuukpak (Mackenzie River). • Many sites close to shore and therefore artifacts are disappearing. • Close to winter roads and boat routes. • One burial site located at an interviewee's home was bull-dozed, and her mother's and sister's graves were flattened. • Burials are not excavated very deep in the winter time and might be impacted more easily by even shallow ground-disturbing activities.	• The burial sites can be seen around lakes, the ocean and rivers, as one interviewee stated, "we are fishing people so you will find many burial sites along lakes". • Burial sites must be located and marked to ensure future development will not desecrate the sites. • Ensure elders assist in locating and monitoring the sites. • Burial sites must be visited before and after the pipeline building is complete. If artifacts are found, draw the artifacts in each of the sites and mark the location. • All burial sites are important, and compensation has to occur if sites are desecrated. There has to be more than a fence to compensate the family, this is where she wants to be buried. Compensation should be offered to the affected family.
Akłarvik		
Running River, Blow River, Fish Hole, Kinnaq, Tikiraq, Kendall Island, Shingle Point, Ptarmigan Bay, West Whitefish, and all along the coast, Six Miles and Roland's Bay. All graves on the North Slope are on top of the	• Many are eroding. • Many graves have been looted for artifacts, for example the graves at Kitigaaryuit and Shingle Point used to have old sleds and other artifacts.	• Traditionally, the deceased were left with tools such as sleds, paddles, *qayaq* and combs. Not all burial sites are easy to find, and many are not marked. The histories of some graves are still known

Location	Impact	Suggested Mitigation
hill—Shingle Point, Ptarmigan Bay (about 11 of them), Kingak, Napoyuk and across from Herschel Island.	• Some are eroding into the ocean, or are difficult to see because they have been covered with vegetation or are sinking • Some graves have been impacted by landslides	by our elders. Burial sites should be marked with the assistance of the elders. • Sites must be checked again after the construction of the pipeline • Graves should be left alone for nature to take its course, but should be marked. Elders should go out with youth to mark the graves. • Funding should be sought to put fences around the graves. • Wildlife monitors should be trained in grave identification in a workshop given by elders.
Inuuvik		
Kitigaaryuit, Holmes Creek, Blueberry Hill, Kendall Island, Shingle Point, Swimming Point, Tununiq, Farewell, Sanmiqhaq, Karigaluuk, and along the rivers, creeks, lakes and the coast wherever Inuvialuit camped. The long history of occupation of Yaya Lakes indicates a high likelihood of finding burials. Shaman buried at Kendall Island and Herschel Island.	• Many are falling into Kuukpak (Mackenzie River) • Many of the ones found at the ocean are eroding into the ocean. • Some artifacts have been looted, because of accessibility by humans and animals. Many of the artifacts at the better-known gravesites are already gone. • People used to leave golden plates, knives and marbles, all of which are missing.	• It can be especially difficult to find burial sites when they are among willows. The sites may be covered with moss or grass. They can be found where logs are piled. • Burial sites must be located and marked with the help of elders who carry this knowledge to ensure they are respected. • Compensation has to occur if sites are desecrated. • A cultural monitor should be present during construction and should have appropriate training in the identification of burials.

The movement of Inupiat from Alaska to Canada took several years in the 1930s as it entailed a long trip over the mountains. These Inuvialuit stayed at Old Crow for some time. An Inuuvik participant said that the Uummarmiut left Old Crow early in the spring and arrived at the coast in the late fall, travelling with pack dogs. The campsite is still visible in Old Crow.[30] One interviewee from Akłarvik remembers that one of her

[30] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

brothers is buried in Old Crow. To remember a burial from so long ago and so far away is one indication of how important burial sites are to Inuvialuit. The sacredness of these sites is not diminished by time. Unfortunately, some sites have already been profoundly disturbed, such as burial sites at Lucas Point. Burial sites and cemeteries are mapped in Figure 13.

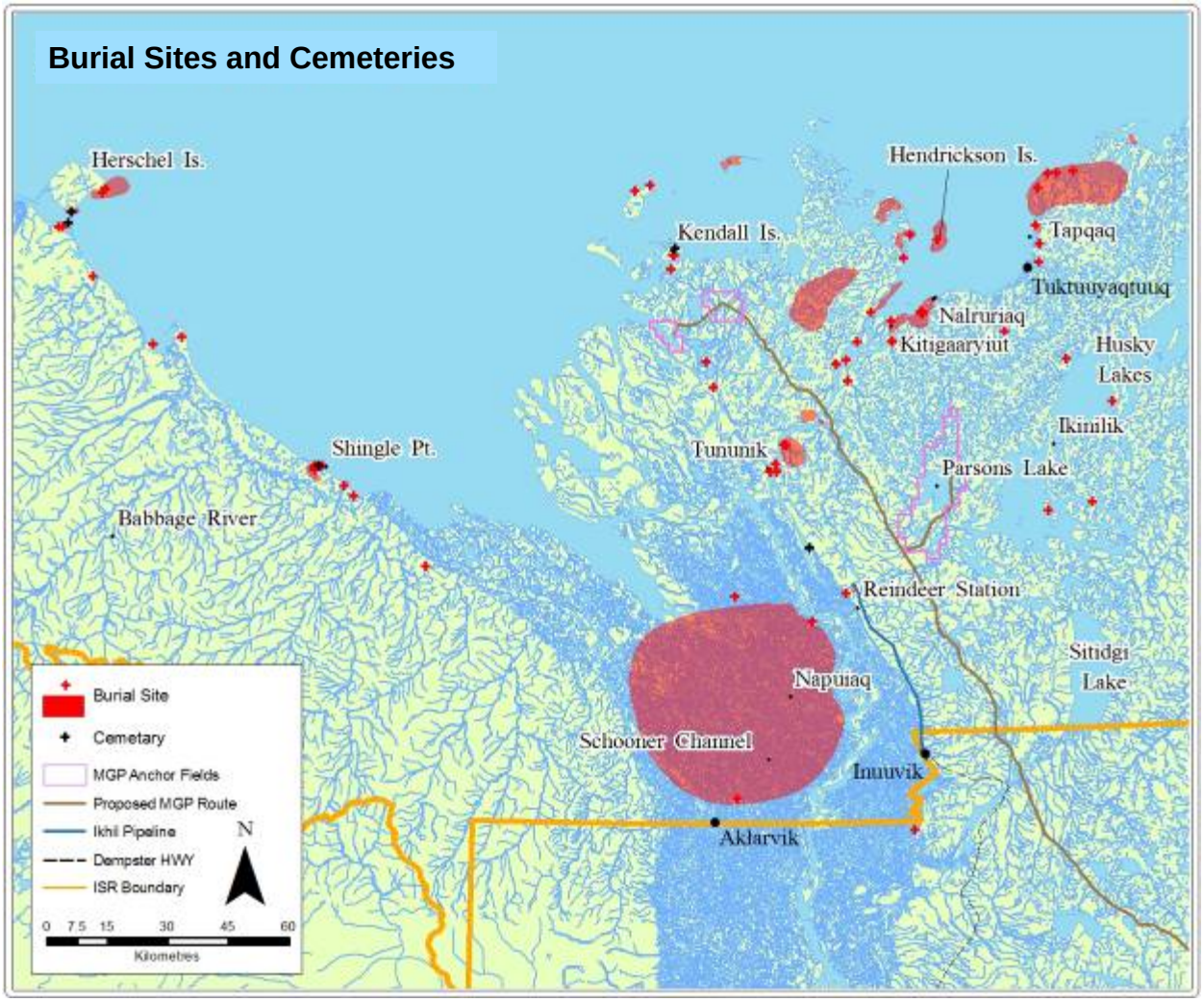

Figure 13: Burial Sites and Cemeteries

> That time we heard about the big houses they were going to put up, I really was upset about it … I told them not to go around that part of the land because my mom is buried there, "You people can find another place to build around the land. I really don't want my mom's grave to be touched and because that is where I grew up". The place I grew up in was a good place to find a lot of food, caribous and all. My mom and sister are buried side by side … I tried hard not to make people go there, not to bother the land, but they never listen. They even put 2 by 4s and plywood up there, also they were going to build a frame tent, but

the 2 by 4s and plywood's were not around to be seen. They brought gravel up there for my mom's grave and they made a road up there. We even had a meeting with the oil companies—I think the companies didn't want people to know about the meetings—they had them with me at my house. Even the people in Inuuvik know all about it. They know we put cross up there for my mom's grave. We don't even know where they are buried anymore, my mom and the little girl. They have nothing to do with us anymore. In their minds they handled it. In my mind when I go see the grave, I used to ask for help—when they were going to drill on the land, my parents' land. When I got married we always go there; we hunted, fished, berry picking and in the fall time we go there to hunt ptarmigan. I still travel back and forth yet from Tuk to Lucas Point. Lucas Point [is] my home, I grew up on it, did everything there for hunting, I still never let go of it. My home! People can't count how many times I travel back and forth. Right to my heart I ask for help. The people that work, the government, the Inuvialuit that work, the land surveyors, they understand me when I ask for help. Why they just put me aside? That's my land that I love. I ask my children, when I go I want to put me there in a grave. I never stop going there yet. I still never give it up. You know the companies and the Inuvialuit just follow the Whiteman. They make money out of it (T035).

8.0 Historical and Cultural Sites

Important heritage sites have been included in Inuvialuit oral history for generations. Social and cultural gatherings have taken place in these special places throughout the years and in all seasons. These sites include places where important activities and events took place. The oldest of the known sites is Kitigaaryuit. In a large sod house there, the traditional *Kaidjvikvik* was a gathering held during the dark days when the sun did not rise. Drum dancing, feasting, animal puppet shows, story telling, races, games of strength and accuracy, and many more activities happened during these festivals. This type of festival has since been replaced with the Christmas season. It is thought that Inuvialuit came here from all over the region. A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said this is the only place he heard of where Inuvialuit would gather and hold ceremonies, and that it was the biggest sacred site where a lot of death occurred because of the big epidemic (T011).

Ceremonies happened after successful hunts, giving thanks for safety and a harvest that meant food for the coming winter. Ceremonial sites continue to be of importance to contemporary Inuvialuit for gathering and hunting—especially the *arviq* (bowhead whale) hunt and related ceremonies. Important sites such as Kitigaaryuit, Kuukpak, Qikiqtaryuk and Tapqaq are also still used seasonally by the Inuvialuit. Workshop participants mentioned a large willow structure, which was covered in bleached white caribou hides (the caribou hides need to be processed in the spring to bleach them white). These tents were large enough to hold many people and were used when groups gathered for meetings or cultural events such as dances. There were smaller versions of these tents used when camping out on the land. The tents were completely portable. Neither the larger version nor the smaller tent left a trace once removed. Praying for a hunter's safety, Rat Sunday, a feast for a whale harvest, or a feast for a child's first catch are all ceremonial occasions in Inuvialuit culture. However, a ceremony need not be festive—giving meat to family members or elders is considered special and cultural. Wherever people gather together, they play games and dance. During holiday times such as Christmas and New Years, feasts might have games and dancing as well.[31]

[31] Aklavik verification sessions (April 2006).

Figure 14: Old Sites of Housing At or Near Herschel Island

One interviewee stated that everywhere the Inuvialuit lived, hunted, trapped or camped is a historical place, whether old or new. Inuvialuit value these sites as a connection to their parents and grandparents. Although to an outsider it may appear as a piece of land with very little on it, with the arrival of summer places such as Tapqaq—a sand spit that was used seasonally for geese and seal hunting—are full of activity with Inuvialuit doing what their ancestors have done for centuries. One participant from Inuuvik remembered that in the past, when a hunt was complete the chiefs decide to hold a gathering, for example, across from Bar C, or at another gathering location.[32] Old cabins are found at numerous locations, such as Holmes Creek, near Swimming Point, near Big Lake and Reindeer Station. One participant specified that sites where people gathered are cultural sites, but short-term hunting or gathering camps were only used for a few nights and are not the same.[33]

> Yes there is lots; there is lots of sod houses, like along the coast down that way. There's one in Shingle Point but I can't remember where … there was a big tray and two ulus, two fish bones … I should have grabbed that ulu—made out of rock with bone handle (AK218).

There are several summertime festivities that involve the community of Akłarvik. There is a Sports Day, Parks Day on July 16th, and Inuvialuktun day at Shingle Point, as well as Shingle Point Games right after Parks Day. Parks Canada puts everything together, with a cookout, and offers prizes. About half of the community goes to Shingle Point for these festivities; there are about 40 houses there.[34] Knute Lang Camp, where cultural programs were offered, was shut down after 1990-1991. A new school camp was constructed about five years ago along the ice road to Inuuvik.

Historical and cultural sites found in the ISR are diagrammed in Figure 15.

[32] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[33] Ibid.
[34] Akłarvik verification sessions (Apr 2006).

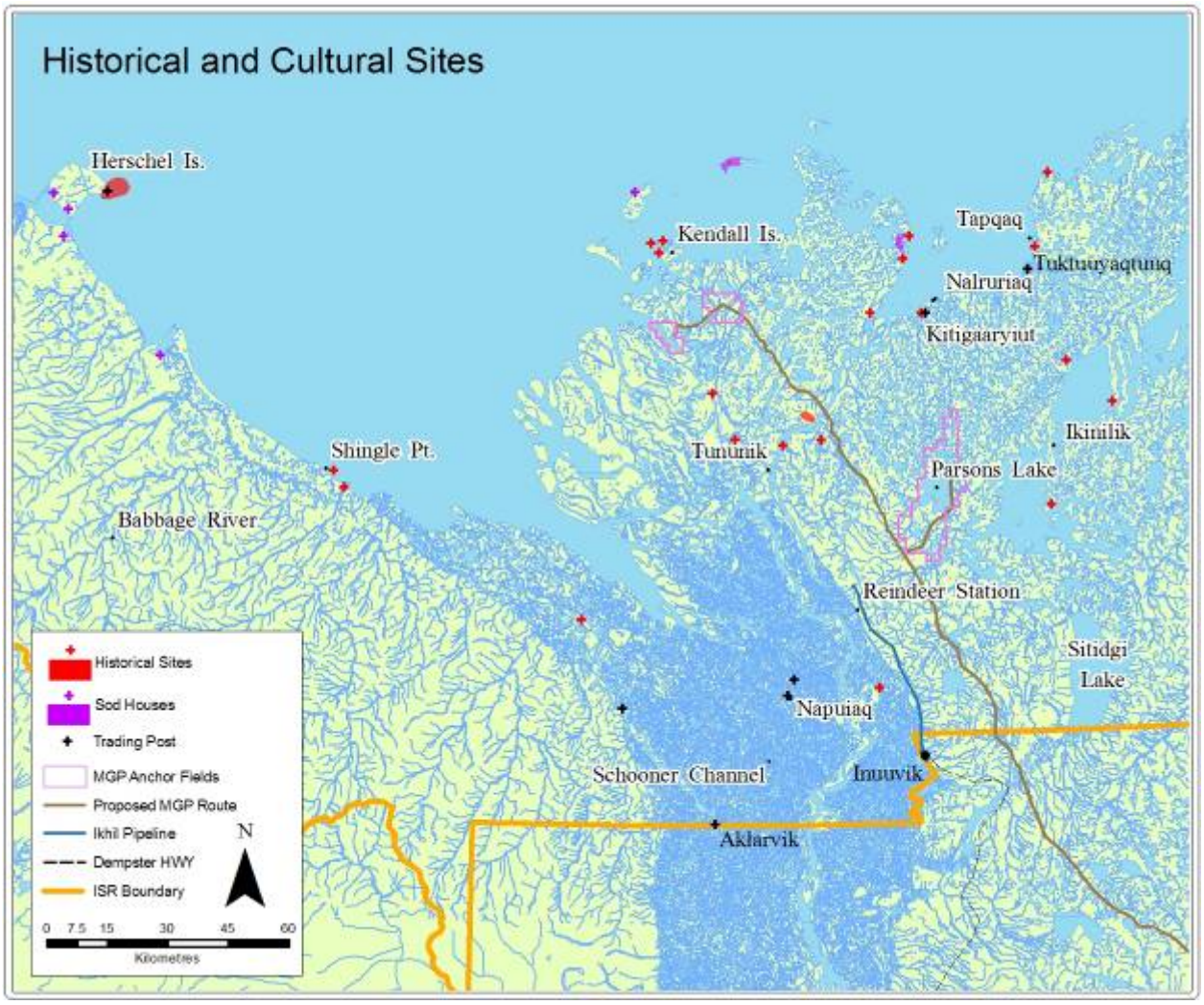

Figure 15: Historical and Cultural Sites

8.1.1 Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Cultural sites for the people of Tuktuuyaqtuuq are generally located along the coast. Sites may exist as tangible physical remains or they may exist in oral historical accounts. At Kitigaaryuit, important cultural remains of the Siglit Inuvialuit include *Qadjgiq*, the large building used for the festival activities mentioned above. It was also a place for men where they gathered in the summer to fix their tools, *qainat* and eat. Women would take the meals there for the men. Because many lived in isolation from the large Siglit Inuvialuit group—separating into small groups for much of the year—this gathering place figured significantly in cultural activities and lived on in the stories told about this site.

On Qikiqtaryuk (Herschel Island) the Inuvialuit were called Tuyurmiat. This group was extinct by the end of the whaling era; there is no Tuyurmiat today as a tribe, but there are still Inuvialuit who are descendants from members of that tribe. Kitigaaryuit, Kuukpak, Imaryuk, Holmes Creek, East Whitefish Station, Tununiq, Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Indian Camp, Siuraryuaq and Hendrickson Island are some of the historical sites mentioned by Tuktuuyaqtuuq interviewees.

Figure 16: Sod House Built on Side of Hill

> There were fewer people [at Tuktuuyaqtuuq] than at Kitigaaryuit and Nuvuraq and Baillie Islands. There were fewer people at Tuktuuyaqtuuq because it was just a fishing spot in the summertime. Those that didn't hunt beluga whales would fish there and make dry fish too, long ago.[35]

Kuukpak, found on Richardson Island, is a Siglit Inuvialuit village across from Kitigaaryuit; both are historical sites. Kuukpak is located close to the mouth of the Mackenzie River. People who lived at Kuukpak were known as Kuukpangmiut, and they were a branch of Siglit from Kitigaaryungmiut. Archaeological remains at Kuukpak are presently eroding from the riverbanks. These remains include sleds and *umiaq* found eroding on the sandy beach, and other artifacts such as harpoon heads, fishhooks, combs and other items. The site also contains ground caches or storage facilities and house depressions.

> I think this place Kitigaaryuit was chosen, good hunting, whaling area. This was the main stay, that is why they gathered up in Kitigaaryuit, and fishing (T067).

The first European contact with the Siglit was in 1825 with Captain John Franklin at the east side of Richards Island, which would place him directly at the site of Kitigaaryuit. Artifacts, housing sites, graves and other remains have been found at this site. Other graves have been found on nearby ridges. The Anglican mission was constructed at Kitigaaryuit in 1911, and the Hudson's Bay Post was built there in 1912 then closed in 1934. The old reindeer corral close to Kitigaaryuit was also important to the lives of the Inuvialuit. The Royal Canadian Air Force LORAN Station was built in the 1940s at

[35] Felix Nuyaviaq (N-1992-007:0263A, Part 2) in Hart and Amos (2004:120).

Kuuguuryuaq. This is significant because some Inuvialuit joined the armed forces and were impacted by their experience.

8.1.2 Akłarvik

Figure 17: Shingle Point – An Important Site for Many Inuvialuit

The important cultural sites often referred to in the oral histories of Akłarvik residents are Qikiqtarr̂uk and Tapqaq. Physical cultural remains include the Anglican Mission School at Shingle Point and whaling debris at West Whitefish.

Cultural events such as Arctic games, drum dances, singing and gathering take place yearly at Shingle Point. The area is also an important place to hunt bowhead whales.

As previously mentioned, Akłarvik has the longest history of modern towns in the Beaufort Delta Region and it was the first place that Inuvialuit and Gwich'in peacefully co-existed. As a result, there are many sites near Akłarvik that the Inuvialuit have long relied on for resources. There are four sod houses at Phillips Bay, which are thought to be about 100 years old.[36] Nunaluk has five known sod houses and Niaqulik has four sod houses.[37] Some sod houses are still visible after 200 or 300 years. The presence of a sod house indicates that there is wood, water, shelter and hunting grounds nearby. Those four elements are important to determining camp location and are always present near sod houses. The sod houses at Herschel Island have been excavated by archaeologists.[38] There was a sod house at Stanton, near the mouth of the Anderson River, which was occupied by Old Man Johnson. Ten sod houses can be seen at Clarence Lagoon.

> Well basically all the places that I've mentioned so far and marked on the map are historical sites, because each place that we travel along there's been those people that have lived there before us—like Running River, Shingle Point, King Point, Whiteman Hill, in between King Point and Shingle, Stokes Point, Kay Point, Herschel Island, Clarence Lagoon, Nunaluk—all those are historical sites … oh I forgot to mention this side too—like Niagunnaq, Birds Camp, Tent

[36] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[37] Ibid.

> Island—those are all historical sites. Yeah, there's camps and cabins by there (AK224).

> Historical sites? Ahm … the only things historical for me are the burial grounds—Nitquluk, Herschel Island, Shingle Point, and that … ahh Firth River, that Iritchiak I think, or whatever they call it around there. [There] is that old camp where things there that were carbon-dated, like 8000 years old. Inuvialuit used to live around there, and there's just that one big rock right in the middle of nowhere—it's at least 20 feet, sticking up out the ground, size of a house like this, and you climb up there you could see for miles all over. That's where they used to watch for animals, could see ahaanliit over there, tutu (AK215).

Figure 18: Blanket Toss at Shingle Point

Tapqaq is historically significant for all Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq Inuvialuit. This is where many Anglican students from Akłarvik, Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Nunavut went to school. To the Inuvialuit of Akłarvik, Shingle Point has special significance; Inuvialuit still make use of it every summer and had two successful bowhead hunts there recently.

> We still use the old whaling camps from long ago (AK234).

In the interviews, Akłarvingmiut also mentioned Ptarmigan Bay, Whaling Station, Herschel Island, Trading Posts, Ipans, Niagunnaq, Birds Camp, Coal Mine, Barge Lake, Running River and Beaver House; these places are used by someone every year. Before Akłarvik was settled, people would gather in Napuyuk around Christmas for games and dog sled races. Such historical sites are spoken of by hunters, elders, storytellers and historians, regarding the land, places, foods and history that surround these environments.

Akłarvik has a Parks and Inuvialuktun Days celebration in mid-July, about four miles from Akłarvik. Children are taught about trapping and other traditional activities, and

[38] Ibid.

are immersed in their culture. In late July, Ocean Days at Shingle Point is another festival that kids and adults alike enjoy.

8.1.3 Inuuvik

Cultural sites for Inuuvik overlap with those already identified for Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Akłarvik. In addition, other sites such as Reindeer Station, and the more modern site of Inuuvik are used for gatherings like the traditional Inuvialuit Northern Games, arts festivals and other cultural activities, and these are increasing in cultural significance today.[39]

Historical sites for Inuuvik overlap those of Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq because Inuuvingmiut are originally from these two communities. The biggest historical sites are places such as Kitigaaryuit—stories are still told about this location. Ukiivik (Kendall Island) is an historical site for the Inuvialuit of Inuuvik; every year they travel to Ukiivik and Nalruriaq for beluga whaling. Reindeer Station was once a booming place for the reindeer herders and their families. It is now considered an historic site, and there are few visible remains left—several houses and an ice house. There are numerous sites of cultural or archaeological importance that are not identified here; for example, an Inuuvik participant recalled seeing artifacts eroding from the bank at the confluence of Uniaq and Bombadier channels. Other places listed by Inuuvik participants as cultural sites are Shingle Point, Herschel Island, King Point, West Whitefish, Bar C, Naniriaq (across from Bar C), Yaya and Tununuk. Naniriaq is considered an historical site because people would gather there in August from many different places, including East Whitefish Station, Kendall Island and Baby Island. They would all come to Naniriaq to celebrate, visit and tell stories.[40]

8.2 Sites of Archaeological Interest

Relatively little archaeological research has been conducted over the vast Inuvialut ISR. Archaeologists as well as hunters and gatherers attest to the importance of conducting archaeological and historical research; there are likely many more sites of interest in the ISR that have yet to be rediscovered.

> … later during the evening when went for a walk I noticed up in the land there was couple of drift wood sod [houses] here must have been … [elders] must

[39] Arnold (1983).
[40] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

know about it … they must have been an old, old camp or something [at Parsons Lake] (T006).

Figure 19: Log Cabin

In a recent assessment of the archaeological potential of the areas affected by the pipeline development, Richards Island and Parsons Lake were classified as areas with the greatest probability of discovery of prehistoric finds. In addition, they are characterized by both upland and lowland tundra—favourable habitat for barren-land caribou. These areas contain gravel deposits, sand ridges, hills, terraces, coastal areas, sheltered bays and spits, all of which are known to have a greater potential for archaeological sites. They also encompass river and creek outlets, which are ideal for fishing, whaling and sealing. Inland lakes with relatively good drainage in these areas were probably used for winter fishing and caribou hunting, and have muskrat pushups and beaver houses as well. There are numerous areas for spring hunting in the region. Parsons Lake, particularly the inlet and outlet area, is good for fishing camps, and there are abundant lake terraces, suitable for summer and winter camps and for hunting caribou in summer as well.[41]

Tununiq Point of Richards Island is known to have caribou crossings and associated archaeological sites. The Yaya Lakes and Trapp Hills areas have trout fishing lakes and hills favoured by caribou in summer. Denis Lake and Denis Lagoon are good fishing, bird breeding and moulting areas. Willow, Crooked and Nesbitt lakes have good fishing, and are close to caribou ranges and the seacoast for whaling. The coastal areas are known for whaling, sealing and fishing, and have many known archaeological sites. Kendall Island (Ukiivik) is a good location for whaling and sealing, and is known as an area for waterfowl breeding, moulting and staging. There are also known archaeological sites on Kendall Island. Any area that has good access to resources can have an archaeological site.

Overall, areas in the ISR which have accessible and desirable resources have usually been consistently used by the Inuvialuit, and are likely to reveal archaeological findings and more in-depth information about the ways of the Inuvialuit.

[41] Golder Associates Ltd. (1997).

9.0 *Apquti* (S) *Tumichiat* (U) – Trails

- *Apqun* (S) – a trail, a road
- *Apqutik* (S) – two trails that are used
- *Apqutit* (S) – many trails that are used
- *Tumitchiaq* (U) – trail
- *Tumitchiak* (U) – two trails
- *Tumitchiat* (U) – three or more trails

- *Ataaq* (S) – going downstream
- *Atariaq* (U) – going downstream
- *Tagraaq* (S) – upstream
- *Tagñaaq* (U) – upstream
- *Taunani* (S, U) – down to the ocean

- *Ayak* (S) – going to whaling camp
- *Ayaaqiñut* (U) – going down to whaling camp with canoe

- *Iglauvik* (S,U) – migration route old time
- *Iglarviat* (S) – trail traveled all the time old time
- *Iglauyaaq* (U) – trail traveled all the time

Because Inuvialuit traveled constantly in search of game and followed the seasons, they covered every area along the coast, whether by land, ice or water, and in the winter, fall, summer and spring. If recorded on a map, traditional trails would cover the map to a point where it would not look like a map. Historically, for example, Inuvialuit would travel so far west into Alaska that they would reach areas where the travellers could not comprehend the local language. Trails are so important that the language of trails is extremely complex. There are many words describing and naming trails in the Inuvialuktun dialects—these words describe the direction, season and purpose of travel in single words. For example, there is an Inuvialuktun word describing the trails to the coast for whaling purposes.

One of the Inuvialuit interviewed said that long ago, trails were traveled using dog teams, and that the methods used today are much faster. However, travelling by dogs

has distinct advantages. For example, one Inuuvik participant remembered being tied into a sled with very trustworthy dogs pulling the sled to the desired location.[42]

> Arctic Red River was the only place with a store. They went along the shore to get there; dogs pulled the boats with the children in them (T037).

> Right from Husky Lakes they went to Kitigaaryuit by boats and pack dogs; that was a trail by there (T037).

Dog trails tend to follow routes without steep banks, and tend to go over lower portages. Today, skidoos can take these trails.[43]

Today, a person can travel by many trails. In this largely unroaded landscape, trails remain crucial, and even though they might be on frozen lakes, creeks, rivers, bays, ocean, land, ice or water they are still trails. Knowledge of their routes and locations continues to be passed down to the younger generations. An elder may ask his son, "What trail did you take to Shallow Bay?" (in other words, what was his boat route) and as his son speaks the father can mentally follow his trail to the coast. Generally, trails are not mapped on paper, but shown to the next generation while out on the land or passed on through oral history.

> … the trail is never straight, but it's straight in my mind (INU144).

Trails, like landscape features, were named by the Inuvialuit who used them. Today, some of those traditional names remain, but some are lost. A workshop participant indicated that skidoo use has lessened the reliance on traditional trails, as skidoos can travel almost anywhere. However, travelling by boat in the fall time still requires knowledge of trails due to the lower water levels in the Delta.[44]

Figure 20 shows the traditional trails found the ISR.

[42] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Akłarvik verification sessions (Apr 2006).

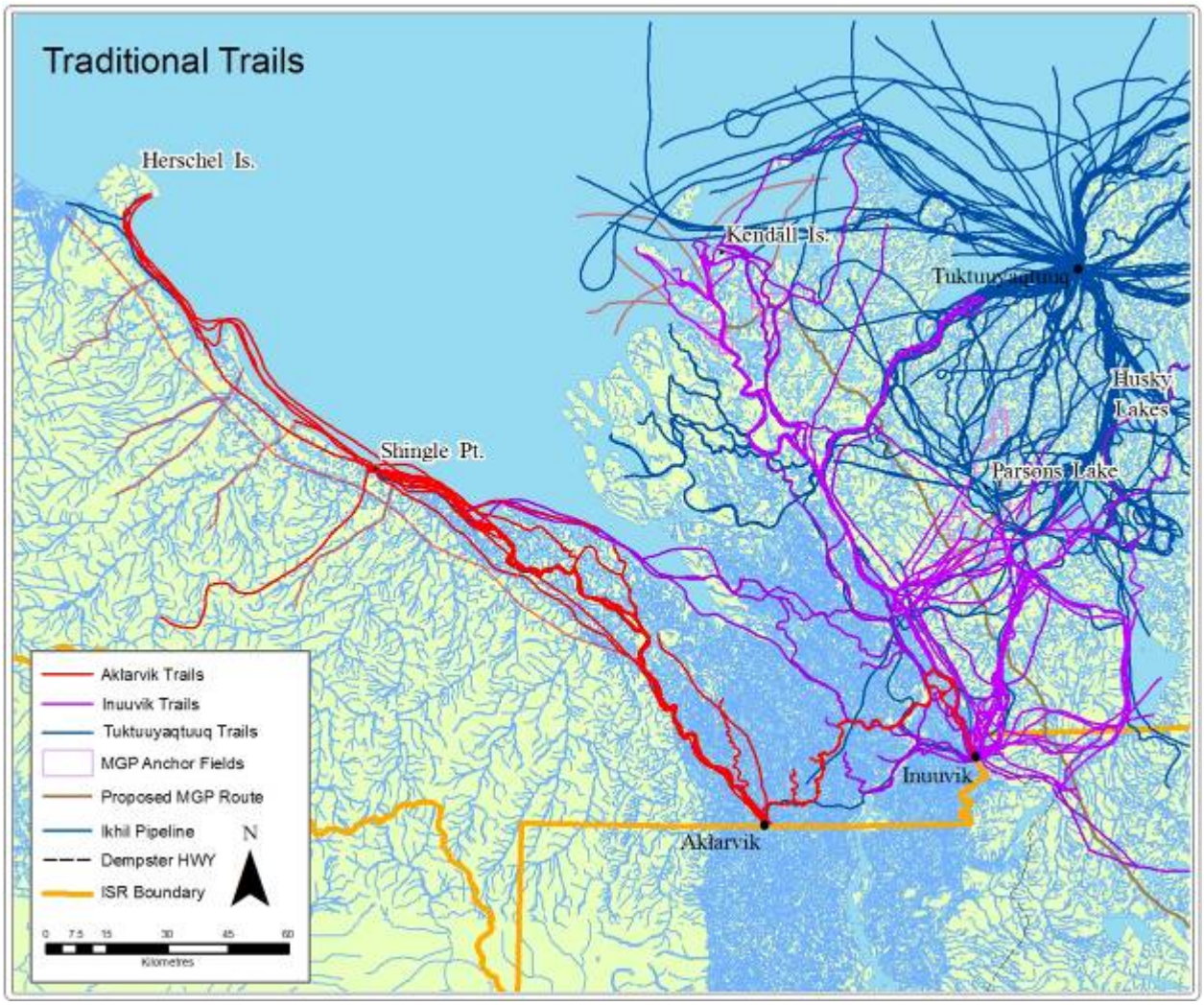

Figure 20: Traditional Trails

9.1 Tuktuuyaqtuuq

- *Qavunganmun* is a trail that goes east towards Baillie Islands
- *Pavungamun* is a trail that goes to Imaryuk or upriver
- *Taunungamun* is a trail that goes to the trails to the coast

- Trails that go to Imaryuk are called *Imaryuriat*
- Trails that go to Kuugaaluk River are called *Kuugatchiat*
- Trail that go to Itqilik Lake are called *Itqiliriat*

These traditional trails are very old. These trails were traveled on foot or by dog teams for many, many years and were known to be the safest routes for travel.

As the years went by, Inuvialuit travel methods changed and dog teams were replaced by skidoos. Skidoos allowed Inuvialuit to make faster trips out to the land and back home. Nonetheless, trails known to the Inuvialuit have been in use for years. These days, summer travel includes by boat to whale hunts, camps, hunting and fishing areas, and other communities; and by truck to Tsiigehtchic, Fort McPherson and the Dempster Highway. Traveling during the early and mid-fall includes by boat to hunting areas, other communities; and berry-picking areas; by four-wheelers to hunting and fishing areas; and in the late fall, by skidoo or vehicle to fishing and hunting areas. During the winter, travel is done by skidoo to hunting and fishing sites; skidoo and vehicle to other communities; or in the coastal communities by dog team for big game hunts. Travel in the spring is generally by skidoo or vehicle. Imaryuk, a location popular for hunting and fishing, and spring camps are accessible by skidoo, while other communities are accessible by vehicles. Skidoos are also used for visiting between spring camps—it is important for the Inuvialuit to maintain continual contact with others.

As examples of trail use and impacts of the proposed pipeline, one interviewee uses a trail that goes by Army Camp by the Mackenzie River, and up towards Wolverine Lake and back to Akłaqtuuq Pingo, where he crosses the proposed pipeline route from Tuktuuyaqtuuq to Parsons Lake to hunt caribou (T019). Another interviewee's trail goes along the Imaryuk trail to Qikuryuaq and Diamond Point. The trail goes to the north part of Zed Lake, crosses Parsons Lake and down the Mackenzie River by Pete's Creek. It then returns to Tuktuuyaqtuuq. This trail crosses the proposed pipeline route (T006). Another interviewee's caribou hunting trails take him through the valleys to Parsons Lake by Pete's Creek, crossing the pipeline route (T017). One hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said there are several trails to get to Parsons Lake: a trail through the valleys, from Itqilik (Indian) Camp to Parsons Lake, or from Pete's Creek to Parsons Lake. Parsons Lake is a caribou hunting and fishing area (T017).

Tuktuuyaqtuuq elders are concerned that traditional trails to the east of the study area will be impacted by the eventual, but related, development in that area. Traditional trails need to be appropriately protected when development occurs.[45]

9.2 Akłarvik

Since Akłarvik was established, trails were well known in the winter and in the summer. RCMP patrolled by dog team from Qikiqtarr̂uk (Herschel Island) to Akłarvik, with a stop at Police Cabin or vice versa. Trails from Old Crow to Herschel Island and

from Akłarvik to the coast were carried on each year as far east as Pierce Point. Trails were shared with others so their trips would be faster or safe.

Traveling from Akłarvik to other destinations took knowledge, especially traveling on the river or along the coast, as conditions differ. The trails map has several imprecise towards the coast and over to the mountains for hunting caribou, grizzlies or other animals. Some follow rivers such as Running River, and some follow an overland route, such as at Shingle Point, King Point and other places. These may not necessarily be established 'trails' but are routes that are often used. The main routes are where named locations are. When traveling up the coast, people will stop along the way if they see caribou. In the winter, this may have meant that trail location would depend on weather condition as people sought higher areas to scope game.[46]

> Long ago we go along the river with sail, and ocean with human, and dogs on land. Long ago … [we would] walk all the way, my mother packed [a child] from Crow Flats (around Old Crow) to Shingle Point … my brother … was small, walk all day, stop at night and rest … other people that were with them walked … (AK233).

When Inuvialuit say "down below" they are usually referring to going to Shingle Point, Running River or anywhere along the coast. Trails for whaling are by the West Channel or the Middle Channel to the coast. Skidoo trails lead from Akłarvik to the coast for hunting polar bears. The Peel River goes down to the coast and is navigable as well, except in the fall. In the spring after the ice goes, it is possible to travel anywhere in the delta. Akłarvik Inuvialuit follow the ice out to hunt caribou in the spring. [47]

9.3 Inuuvik

Inuuvik hunters and gatherers travel the trails that are the easiest to get to their destinations. Today trails from Inuuvik to various fishing and hunting areas go by Campbell Creek to Sitidgi Lake, to Imaryuk, or from Campbell Creek, Sitidgi, South Storm Hills, Jimmy Lake, Parsons Lake, by North Storm Hills and down by Caribou Hills along the river back to Inuuvik.

> Usually these are the main hunting trails, I just go by the seismic lines in winter—down by Shallow Bay in the fall by boat; from Inuuvik to Campbell Creek to Sitidgi to Husky Lakes; Noel Lake to Inuuvik (INU101).

[45] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[46] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[47] Ibid.

Figure 21: Seismic Line in Summer

Some trails to caribou hunting sites cross the proposed pipeline route. Places where people hunt that might be affected by the pipeline are at Jimmy Lake, North Caribou Lake, Sitidgi Lake, Imaryuk, East and West Hans Lake, and Parsons Lake. To travel to spring hunts and trout fishing at Imaryuk, travelers will cross the proposed pipeline; it is uncertain how many hunters and gatherers use this area during a season. The trails from Campbell Creek to Sitidgi, and Imaryuk and Parsons Lake will cross the proposed pipeline. All hunters that go to Imaryuk, Jimmy Lake, East and West Hans Lakes, and Parsons Lake and come down by Caribou Hills will have to pass over the proposed pipeline. Many of the Imaryuk trails are for travelling in the winter.

Inuuvik whalers take trails to Hendrickson Island and Tuktuuyaqtuuq. They also go to Herschel Island, Kendall Island and Shingle Point.[48]

In the past, there were fewer trails, and people stayed on established trails to prevent damage to the land. The main trails had names which referenced the destinations. Some of the trails were worn so deeply into the ground that people needed to fill sections of the trail so that they could still be easily used.[49]

[48] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[49] Ibid.

10.0 Inuvialuit Resource Use

10.1 *Anguniaqtuat, Iqalliyuat, Naniriartuat, Pukuktuat/Katitiqsiyuat Ukiaksamingnik* (S) *Anguniaqtuat, Iqalliqiñuat, Naniriartuat, Pukuktua Ukiihakĥamingnik* (U) – Hunting, Fishing, Trapping and Plant Harvesting

Knowledgeable elders are the most important resource that Inuvialuit had in the past or have today. They are experts in the patterns and behaviours of animals, fish, birds and plants; they have years of experience reading weather and travel conditions. Elders knew how to make animals such as caribou and rabbits multiply, by working with their natural predators and understanding their population cycles. One Inuuvik participant remembers that at 12 years of age, she 'graduated from her grandparents—that is, she had learned to trap and hunt, and other important survival skills.[50] Inuvialuit developed skilfulness in hunting, fishing, trapping and snaring the animals they depended on, as well as an adeptness in living in the Arctic environment. For example, they used baleen fishnets, caribou fish nets, bow and arrows, and spears for fishing, whaling, and caribou hunting; dug-out traps for wolverines and wolves; nets and bolas for birds; spears and dogs for polar bear and seal hunting; hooks for fishing; and deadfalls for trapping. Inuvialuit were innovative in using the materials nature had to offer, such as intestines of seals and whales for windows; from caribou they used the skins for clothing, sinew for thread and skins for bedding; bear skins made door coverings and wind pants; fish skin was used for containers and more. They also developed a thorough knowledge of the plants in their environment for food, medicine and technology. The Inuvialuit often worked together to ensure survival. For example, communal ice houses were excavated and taken care of by numerous people and shared.[51]

For a period of about 50 years, approximately 1900–1950, the Inuvialuit were going through great changes, from bow and arrows and harpoons to guns; from *iglut* (snow houses) and sod houses to canvas tents; from the old beliefs that guided Inuvialuit to Roman Catholic and Anglican doctrine. For example, Inuuvik participants indicated that no one should work on Sundays—regardless of how much the resources were needed.[52] There were shifts from trading with some groups to trading with fur traders or the Hudson's Bay Company, and from being completely nomadic to settling in

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

communities where facilities and services were established to maintain a new way of life.

Hunting grounds are one factor in the location of hunting camps. For example, Nuligak indicated Kitigaaryuit avoided building their homes in the Delta, for it was the hunting grounds for the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit. When the hunting season was over in the Delta, they went back to their homes. Metayer (1975).

Throughout all these changes, the Inuvialuit continued to carry out traditional land use activities—geese hunting in the spring; harvesting fish and whales in the summer; fishing, harvesting berries and roots, and preparing winter fish in the fall; and hunting caribou before and after the rutting season in the fall. In addition, many Inuvialuit were now trapping to take part in the cash economy.

> Now in those days when people fished they made sure they had enough to last though the winter, or when they hunted for meat, any kind of meat, they made sure they stored it all away, as much as they could store. For in those days they thought that once the trapping season started, they would not have time to fish and hunt.[53]

According to many interviewees, trapping is still an important economic activity for the Inuvialuit. Some point out that they were taught by their older siblings, uncles or father. They trap for skins to sell, for their own use and for a side activity. In the past, to trap for subsistence, the Inuvialuit had to travel a long way. Trappers from Inuuvik, Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq went to Anderson River for fur trapping, often readying their camps for the winter season during late summer. They would bring winter supplies by plane and travel later by dog team to their winter trapping camps. While fewer people trap now, skidoos have enabled trappers to move across the landscape with greater ease.

Whale hunting and caribou hunting are other activities that still figure very importantly in Inuvialuit lifestyle, culture and economy. There is a communal approach to the whale hunt as well as some methods of caribou hunting. This is an effective way to deal with large animals and large amounts of meat that needs to be preserved, as well as bringing together groups of people to share in a traditional activity.

Fishing in all three communities is essential as it continues to sustain the Inuvialuit during the long winters when game is scarce. Fishing is done by netting or jiggling.

[53] Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #1) in Hart and Amos (2004:22).

Various types of fish are caught, and many traditional fishing locations are still in use today.

Gathering is the source for supplementing meats and fish for the diet of the Inuvialuit. Berries, roots and edible plants are gathered to add healthfulness and flavour to fish and meat dishes. The best-known dish is *akutuq*, which is made with caribou fat and meat. Sometimes, berries and leaves are added, including a plant called *akutuqpak*, which is a long leaf harvested for this purpose. Plants were also used for medicinal purposes, including treating colds, insect bites and many other ailments. A list of the plants found in the ISR and their traditional names is provided in Appendix D.

10.1.1 Concerns and Recommendations

Many people rely heavily on and enjoy traditional activities. They rely on traditional activities for food, and for a connection to the land and their culture. They are very concerned that the pipeline may impact their ability to continue using their traditional lands for the activities that sustain them physically and mentally, and there is a concern that the land may not be the same after the pipeline has been built.

> That's a major river system for us. Lord knows what's going to happen; we may never get our whales back, we may never get our fish back too, our geese, and that area would be totally no good to use no more, ah. It always comes back to the wildlife and our land that we use to hunt. If any development buggers up or do anything like that … we won't have that land any more (INU111).

> The older negotiators told us don't worry about the money … make sure your land and your wildlife is looked after, that's what sustained us, that's what keep us going … I mean, it's important words to remember (T057).

People have concerns about their ability to hunt the animals, which impacts their use of camps and enjoyment of the land. They are worried that the pipeline will disrupt their families and traditional teaching methods.

> I think all species would be important to protect; we need them for the future generations (AK203).

> I worry about traditional life because that is what I've been doing all these years but we can't make a living for us anymore (INU139).

> Traditional land use, if you wreck the land and the animals you can't replace them (T029).

> Would like to see older kids learn on the land survival (T027).
>
> Where they build the pipeline, do not want the [land] to be spoiled by where they're putting the pipeline (INU126).
>
> Our muskrats, whaling, fishing and caribou hunting [are] important to protect (AK204).

Camps are so important that participants felt that they need to be avoided, and compensation should occur if camps are disturbed.

> Am I still going to be able to go down to my summer camp … and hunt woodland caribou or are they going to be chased back this way and there ain't going to be no more (INU126)?
>
> Compensate [Inuvialuit] for going through there, five miles around their camps (INU105).
>
> Would like to see a barrier around every one's camp (INU115).

However, specific compensation for disturbing camps does not address the larger issues that will arise, according to participants.

> What I would like to see is compensation, not only to the individual, but to the whole community (T056).
>
> Create refuges where Inuvialuit hunt most and keep other hunters out (INU109).

In particular, hunting and fishing are of vital importance to the Inuvialuit.

> The pipeline is going [through our] hunting area (INU126).
>
> We don't want … [it to] effect the hunting area too much (INUl18).
>
> Hunting grounds are important (AK207 -229).

To ensure that hunting is impacted as little as possible, pipeline construction and upkeep should not disturb the patterns of the animals or the Inuvialuit that depend on them.

> That if they have activities in the spring, they do not fly in the migration route or the traditional hunting grounds (T067).
>
> Concern on air traffic … I'm chasing caribou and the choppers flies over me and my caribou all ran away … that really ticked me off. That day there were more Kablunaat [white people] than Inuvialuit around close to Peter Lake, hunting caribou (INU105).
>
> Recommend they fly a certain height (INU105).

Participants fear that there will be grave social changes directly linked to the pipeline. They have seen similar problems arise in the past.

> Development has changed the health of a person, now they don't have respect for people, when they get paid they don't care how they spend it they go crazy for liquor and that and they don't respect you (AK231).
>
> Trying to enjoy family life out on the land, next thing you see people drinking, coming around drunk and it's disturbing (T031).
>
> A lot of stuff are going to come from the south, drugs and all. There's going to [be] a lot of social problems for sure; I don't think we are ready for it. We have to be ready or go down with it … our people are going to die off (INU111).
>
> The more money shows up, the more drugs and alcohol there will be (INU124).
>
> Wage … oil companies … there is a lot of boot-legging (AK240).

Several participants suggested that drug and alcohol classes are part of the regular school year (INU123, INU124). Another indicated that a treatment centre is needed in Inuuvik.

> You know we're not set up for it … our own alcohol problems here in town … people need a place to go; the program is not there. That's what I think anyway … you know, a lot of stuff like that has to be in place before we get this pipeline on the go (INU111).

11.0 *Inuvialuit Inuuniarutait Niryugaluit* (S) *Inuvialuit Inuuniarutingit* (U) – What the Inuvialuit Used for Survival

When a society depends wholly on the resources in its surrounding environment, its people become very knowledgeable about the animals, the land and the workings of the ecosystems. The Inuvialuit know the importance to their survival of depending on the land, and recognize how it has supported their livelihood for many, many years. Over those years, they developed intimate relationships with the animals they most value, understandings of predator-prey relationships and knowledge of how to increase animals' productivity. In doing so, the Inuvialuit people have been an integral part of keeping those systems in balance.

Living on the coast was difficult for the Inuvialuit; the winters were harsh, and the lack of animals to hunt and the weather were the biggest challenges. Despite the weather, the Inuvialuit not only survived but thrived. Their knowledge and use of resources is derived through generations upon generations of experience and observation.

> Inuit learned to read the land, the sky, and the sea for guidance and direction.[54]

With formal and residential schooling came a break in the transmittance and continuity of traditional land use and traditional knowledge; the Inuvialuit were not taught respect for elders, the land and traditions, and their language. This has put the younger Inuvialuit in the awkward position of not knowing the role they must play as Inuvialuit. Some feel that it was the introduction to both systems of formal education and land claims that began to divorce younger generations from traditional systems of respect. Nonetheless, the importance of protecting the land and its resources is a message still conveyed from the elders to the youth today. Each community's Conservation Plan (Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Inuuvik and Akłarvik) makes the following statement:

> All uses of the land in the Planning area, including renewable and non-renewable resource development, must recognize conservation of the renewable resource base as the foremost priority. This applies to all land by the community and by other interests.[55]

[54] GNWT Department of Education, Culture and Employment (1996:95).
[55] Communities of Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik et al. (2000).

Today's Inuvialuit still value the resources found in their environment, particularly fish, whales, birds, seals, polar bears, caribou and edible plants because these have sustained the Inuvialuit through difficult times. Among the most valued are fish and whales, because when the caribou left the area this is what the Inuvialuit depended on. Such varied resources ensured that the Inuvialuit survived season to season. Animals were considered a priority and were afforded protection by the elders that worked on the land claims, incorporating the recommendations of other elders in the communities.

Resource needs and uses are slightly different in each community. Each has different specific hunting areas and reliance on particular species that naturally result from the different environments.

> We stayed in the Delta here because … all year round we could set snares. We get lots of rabbits, something to eat. We make water hole in creek where we could hook and we catch fish.[56]

These days, Inuuvik has more Inuvialuit that depend on employment and therefore has more weekend hunters than the other two communities. Most can afford gas to go out on the land to harvest. Nonetheless, the places all Inuvialuit harvest are similar—they are places where their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers harvested. Some of the interviewees said that if there were no land animals to assist in their survival, they could always depend on the fish they got from the rivers, creeks and lakes. Others are thankful for rabbits and ptarmigan during the cold winter until spring arrives.

Over the years, harvesting for many animals has not significantly changed, although harvesting timing may vary.

> Has the harvesting changed? There's no answer to that, I think wildlife goes on cycles … traveling habits change, so we don't see caribou sometimes this year; fish there's lots one year and nothing the next year … wildlife change their habits from year to year (AK201).

As ever, hunting patterns and success are dependent on population fluctuations and animal movements. Fish and birds change their migration routes, and this is observed by many hunters.

> Migrations have changed; the caribou, fish, ocean currents and weather have changed (AK224).

[56] Fred Inglangasak in Nagy (1994:86).

The following section details Inuvialuit traditional knowledge about numerous species and their habitats, as well as Inuvialuit use of that species. Not every type of plant, fish and animal found in the study area could be documented here; we have focussed instead on those resources used most often, or that are for some reason particularly important to the Inuvialuit. A list of the birds, fish, animals and plants commonly found in the ISR and their Inuvialuktun names is provided in Appendix D.

11.1 Marine Mammals

11.1.1 *Qilalukkat* (S,U) – Beluga Whales

- *Qilalugaq* (S,U) – a beluga
- *Qilalukkak* (S,U) – two belugas
- *Qilalukkat* (S,U) – three or more belugas

Knowledge of whales and whaling comes from Inuvialuit ancestors and through personal experience. Observations of belugas in the study area are largely restricted to the months of June through September when the whales come close to shore to have their young.

11.1.2.1 Knowledge of *Qilalukkat*

Figure 22: Beluga Whales

Habitat

One of the areas to which belugas migrate is the Beaufort Sea, where they have their young in the shallows of the Qangmalit (Kagmallit) and Kitigaaryuit Bay estuaries. The warm, shallow waters there make it difficult for predators to get the young calves. The calving season is in June.

The belugas come first to the Western Arctic; they usually seem to come around Herschel Island from Alaska.[57] The females go straight to one of the bays to give birth—places like Kitigaaryuit Bay, Garry Island, Shallow Bay and the mouth of the Horton

River—the males continue on to places like Banks Island**.** Belugas usually "bunch up" to have their young (T003). According to a harvester from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, belugas start moving away from their calving areas at the end of August; "first part of July to the end of August … they start moving away from that area" (T012).

It's possible that their return westward migration takes place closer to the shore, as people have seen them from the land. One participant once saw as many as 30 belugas moving this way.[58] Some beluga migration routes were mapped during the verification sessions, however these routes are only approximations as each year movement is dependent on ice formation and open leads (see Figure 24).[59]

Belugas can be found in the East and West Branches of the Mackenzie River Delta and Shallow Bay for the better part of July. The water in the estuary is warmer and the belugas use it to moult their skins. Inuvialuit reported that the whales also give birth and feed in the estuary.[60] Another interviewee said you can see whales feeding around Baby Island (INU140).

More than one participant mentioned a beluga rubbing beach at Mason Bay; it is reported that the whales can be observed rubbing themselves, cleaning their skin, on the rocks on the beach there.[61]

Sometimes belugas have been seen at Husky Lakes; it is thought that they follow the fish into the area. One hunter from Inuuvik indicated that both whales and seals are sometimes at Husky Lakes. He thought the belugas are probably following the herring (INU100). One young hunter stated, "A bunch of whales were stranded in two separate instances, stuck in the lake when the ice froze in Husky Lakes" (INU101). Although he does not hunt whales, he has seen belugas stranded in Imaryuk in early winter. Occasionally, belugas have been seen as far upriver as Akłarvik; it is thought these whales were confused by high tides and storm activity.[62]

A number of hunters report that belugas respond negatively to boat activity.

> Whale activity seems to be less, because of boat activities at the mouth of the river, they tend to go out right away into the deep water (T048).

[57] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Byers and Roberts (1994:2).
[61] Akłarvik verification session (April 2006).
[62] Ibid.

> If there are much activities the whales go way out and beluga hunters don't go way out to hunt (AK204).

> Sometimes I just wait at the islands for whales. Too much activity—there was some activity with boats this year. NTCL—and the whales would go out so we have to wait; a lot of them were saying it really affected the hunts. I think, quarter of the people that live on whale, didn't get whale this year [2005] (T029).

Population and Health

As the Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik Conservation Plans indicate, the size of the beluga population is not known, although there are thought to be sustainable numbers at present. One hunter thinks that the beluga population seems to be increasing because a lot of people are out whaling (AK212); another thought that the number of belugas might be going down over the years.[63] There exists in each community a Beluga Management Plan and bylaws that Inuvialuit and others have to abide by.

In general, Inuvialuit hunters report that the belugas appear healthy and well. One exception, in contrast to the condition of the belugas in the past summers, was that a small number of hunters felt that by the end of July 2005, the whales might only have had one inch of fat, when usually there is three to six inches. This would make it impossible to make *uqsuq*—the oil in which the *maktak*, meat and dry fish are placed for preservation.

11.1.2.2 Use of *Qilalukkat*

> In the first week in July we usually get ready to go down whaling camp at Garry Island. We go down and hunt whales for two, three weeks and get three whales to last for the winter. Traditionally we hunt whales at Pelly Island and Baby Island and Kendall Island (INU106).

Harvest Season

Inuvialuit would traditionally spend their summers on the coast and return to their winter camps in the fall.

[63] Ibid.

> … dad take us down to Ukiivik in mid-July for whaling … sometimes in August they all started back up (meaning to their winter camps) … Then they would bring their food to their winter camps and take them out of the boat.[64]

Beluga whales are hunted during the months of July and August. A well-known elder said:

> … the younger whales are ones that come first … we would go to Nalruriaq to go beluga whale hunting. In July, we hunted beluga whales and return to Tuktuuyaqtuuq in August to go fishing.[65]

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study documented reported beluga harvests in Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq between 1988 and 1997. The records confirm that most whale harvesting is done in July, but may start in June and continue as late as October. The graph in Figure 23 depicts the mean monthly beluga harvests for each of the three communities over the 10-year period.

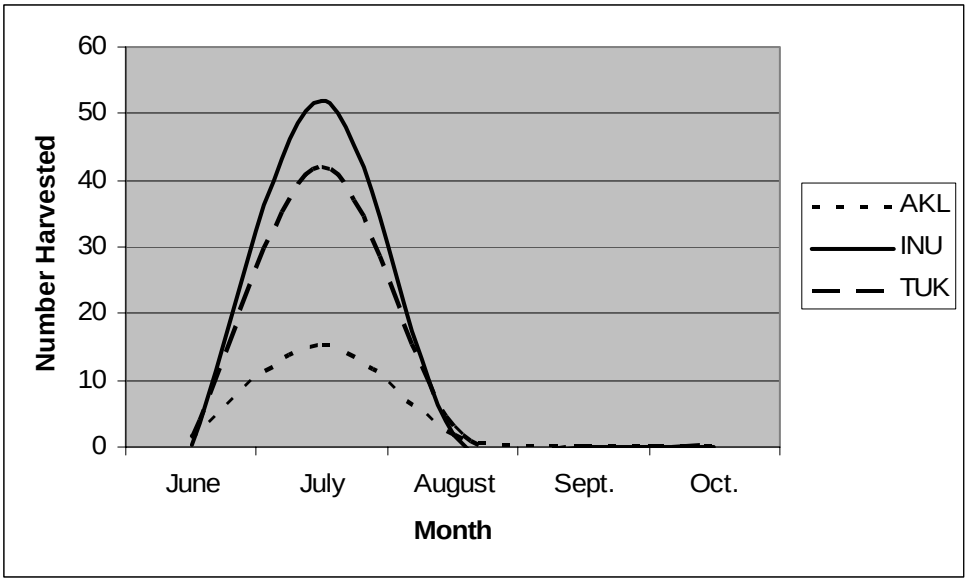

Figure 23: Mean Monthly Beluga Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Some of the old whaling sites are no longer used today and others are still used.

> Ukiivik used to be a traditional whale hunting area and still is today (T037).

[64] Rhoda Allen (91-15A-2-3) in Nagy (1994:62).
[65] Felix Nuyaviaq (N-1992-253:0265) in Hart and Amos (2004:30, 23).

Elders passed down oral traditions of whaling locations such as Siuraryuaq, the sand hill lookout for spotting whales when they come into Kitigaaryuit Bay. When whales were seen, the Inuvialuit would quietly pass the message to the hunters, who would get into their *qainat/qayat* and guide the belugas closer to the shallows. Sites such as this are no longer needed to spot whales; the hunters now use binoculars.

Archaeologists can find telling stories from the remains of traditional whaling sites. Two such sites are Sauniqtuuq and Bonnieville Point.

> … old village sites indicate that Inuvialuit long ago relied on *qilalugaq* [beluga] … both for food and materials.[66]

Two areas that were the subject of an archaeological survey are Kitigaaryuit and Kuukpak, "the masses of beluga bone found at ancient sites along the river attests to the importance of the whales to the Kitigaaryungmiut and Kuukpangmiut who lived there."[67]

While there are some very well-known areas, where whaling activities have been carried out for hundreds of years, there have also been some changes. In the past, whales had to be killed in shallow waters, to avoid losing any sinking carcasses. Accordingly, whales would be herded into suitable areas. These days, harvesters can use fast, high-powered boats to go out to deeper areas to harvest whales if there are none close to shore.[68] The areas used most often by the Inuuvingmuit, Tuktuuyaqtuurmiut and Akłarvingmiut are mentioned below and shown in Figure 24.

Akłarvik

Inuvialuit from Akłarvik most often harvest whales at Shallow Bay, Shingle Point, Birds Camp, Running River and Blow River in July each summer. Kendall Island, Garry Island, Pelly Island, Baby Island, Running River, Niaqunnaq and Birds Camp are other areas of beluga hunting. Inuvialuit may spend a whole month whaling and making dry fish.

[66] Arnold 1983, 1985, 1986, no date: 25.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

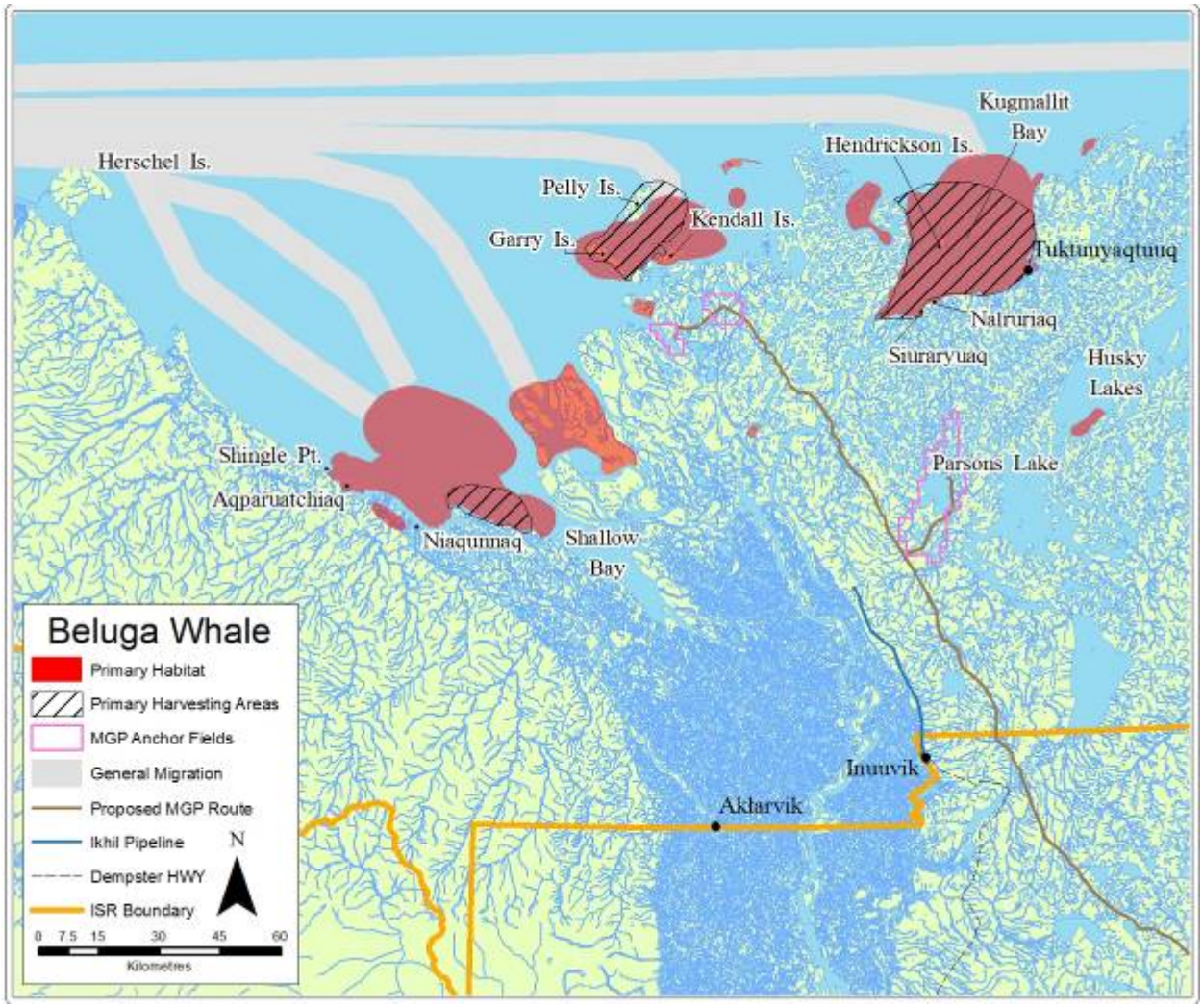

Figure 24: Beluga Harvesting Areas and Migration Routes

Inuuvik

There is a large group of Inuuvik hunters who harvest at Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay and Kitigaaryuit Bay around Hendrickson Island. Some Inuuvik Inuvialuit go whaling around East and West Whitefish Station, Shallow Bay, Shingle Point, Herschel Island and Indian Camp, but most of the hunts occur south of Pelly Island, west of Garry Island, south of Kendall Island, and east of Rea Island and Baby Island.

Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunt whales at Hendrickson Island, Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, Kitigaaryuit Bay or out towards Kaliptat. The maps from the interviews point to the extensive use of the area around Hendrickson Island for

obtaining *qilalukkat*. Hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq use the same sites as those from Inuuvik, making Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay a well-used area for harvesting belugas. Some harvesters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq may also hunt whales at Hooper Island, Pelly Island and Richards Island. Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters have been hunting in those areas for many generations. They have always depended on belugas to meet many of their needs, especially for food during the winters.

Harvest Practices

Whale hunting is an activity that requires many skilled people; it requires a whole camp to work together and prepare the catch for sharing. Four or five whales, sometimes more, were traditionally caught and shared. The hunt involved everyone from elders to children; everyone was expected to perform the duties given to them.

> … when they went down to the ocean the women became quiet. Even the dogs, they tried not to let them make any noise at all. That's the way they used to spend their summer when the whale hunters went to sea.[69]

Traditionally women were not allowed on whale hunts, the women's role was to be the head of what was happening at camp and preparations for harvest. During the hunt, women were to ensure that children and dogs were quiet. After the hunt, both men and women butchered the whale, hung the *maktak*, cooked the *maktak* and cut the meat for dry meat. Children would carry wood and *maktak*, and carry out other useful activities about the camp. The elders would help in advising or directing activities, and helping the young.

On his 1914 expedition, Stefansson[70] asked Roxy (Mimurana) about whaling customs. Mimurana's reply was that when a boat steerer killed a whale, he would wear the beak and claws of a crow for some time and would receive a new tattoo, two lines from the edge of his mouth to the end of his ear lobe. He would also have a drum dance to celebrate his catch.

Celebrations were also held at the end of the seasonal hunts. In celebrating a good hunt, Frank Cockney remembered:

> Now if there was no more hunt to make, my granny would tell him [his grandfather], "You make a good catch, but I want you to get one or two young whales, [grey] ones. These will not be for storing away. We will have a feast with

[69] Mami Mamayauq (73B) in in Hart and Amos (2004).
[70] Stefansson (1919).

> these, showing our thanks for the catch we have received. We will have a feast until they are all gone."[71]

Whalers with large boats came to the Western Arctic and after the turn of the twentieth century, hunters started to own whaling boats.

> Later the whale boats were brought in for whaling. They would go to Kitigaaryuit and Nalruriaq [East White Fish Station]. They would go out sailing, and when we're at the schools of whales, they'd put down their sails and wait for the whales to come to them. Whales are very curious animals. If you waited quietly you'd be surprised at how much the whales played around the boat.[72]

Traditional conservation methods were observed by generally not hunting the cows and calves: "… elders say not to kill the first whales that come, they're the leaders" (INU120). There were also rules about when to start the harvest. The Inuvialuit knew that all animals, like people, had an individual who breaks trail or is the leader. Belugas are no different, said an interviewee, they have a leader who will come first and then others will follow. This is why elders warn not to kill the first whales that come, or the whales will change their migration route. One participant reported that the cows and calves tend come first while the bulls come later and are the ones targeted for hunting.

> Whaling is better in July because of bulls coming in. Females and young ones go back and big bulls always come behind (INU119).

Today, the whale harvest begins with waiting for favourable weather and preparing all needs for the hunt, including harpoons, guns, hooks and floats. In harvesting a whale, the first thing that is done is to search with binoculars for whales. When belugas are sighted, two to three men go out and try to go where the belugas will come up for air so they can harpoon them and then shoot them. The harpoon has a float that will ensure the beluga will not sink.

Many Inuvialuit now have fast boats, which enable them to hunt very quickly. They can also prepare the *maktak* quickly, and bring their prepared *maktak*, dry meat and dry fish to town and put it in their freezers. Long ago, the Inuvialuit hunted using *qainnat* (kayaks). When whales were sighted, men would go out in *qainnat*. A hunter was required to have a *qainnaq*, a harpoon with *avataqpak* (float or seal bag) and a disc plate

[71] Frank Cockney (N-1992-253:1-44-02) in Hart and Amos (2004:32).
[72] Felix Nuyaviaq (ISDP n.d.: #2) in Hart and Amos (2004).

attached. Today Inuvialuit do not require the use of *atungaksaq* for boots or *uqsuq* for *quliit*, but the *maktak*, *uqsuq* and dry meat are still made and used.

Inuvialuit tradition dictates that no person should hunt alone for safety reasons. Safety guidelines also describe the equipment each boat should carry. Hunters do not like to hunt in deep waters because they might lose the belugas in the depths. One interviewee talks about a different technique that is used to get belugas. Instead of hunting them from boats, he sets a net at Kaliptat and gets his whale: "I set net, about 10 inch [mesh size], for whales at Kaliptat" (T021).

Whales are sensitive to sounds, those from the whalers or from development-related activities. "And when whales hear noises, they always sink out, that's why we try to keep quiet, we never make any noise until after we get our kill."[73] When whaling, there were a lot of strict rules about keeping quiet—no playing baseball, no throwing rocks in the water—as the amount of noise from the camp would affect how close the belugas would come.[74] Respect was also given to the whales in other ways, such as not bragging about the hunt:

> One elder said that if you brag about what you get, like how fast you get it, the harpoon will come out, no matter how deep you put it, because they have strong medicine. Power, huh? And that's what happened to … one guy was bragging, "Gee easy to get whale—just one shot." They were telling him not to talk like that and when they went to check the buoy that whale was gone and they had a hard time to get the next one. They really had to talk to mother earth or to the whales … but that's a true story, that one. They really had a tough time to get the second whale.[75]

Amount Harvested

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study reports that between 1988 and 1997, the mean number of people harvesting belugas in Akłarvik was 15, in Inuuvik 22 and in Tuktuuyaqtuuq 30. The mean number of belugas harvested annually in each community was 19 in Akłarvik, 54 in Inuuvik and 47 in Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Figure 25 shows the estimated annual beluga harvests for 1988 to 1997.

[73] Frank Thrasher in Berger (1975).
[74] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[75] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

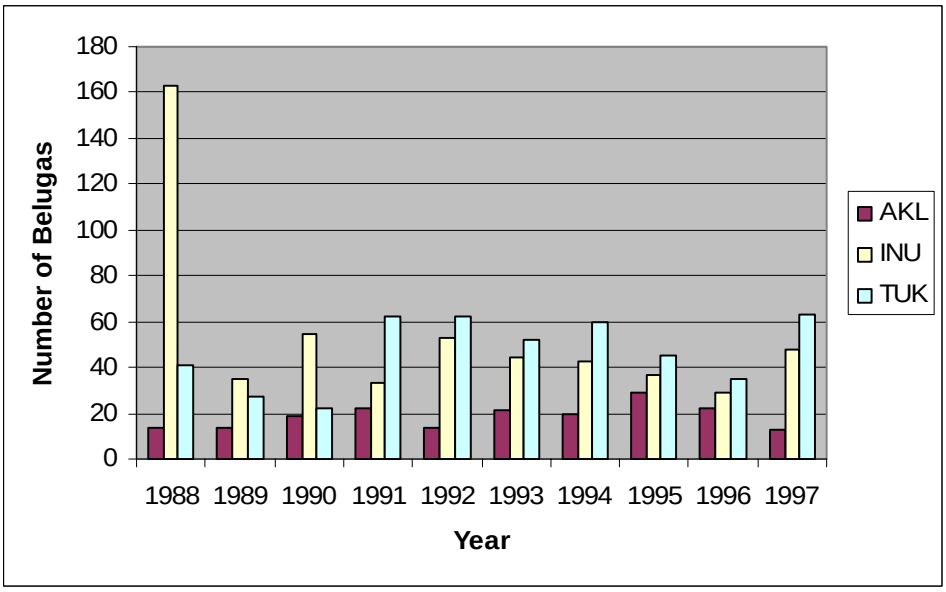

Figure 25: Total Estimated Annual Beluga Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq

As with many types of harvesting, some years are poor for hunting beluga and others are very good. Weather can play a large role in the harvest, as can sea ice conditions, migration patterns and disturbances.

> It all depends on how the season starts. Sometimes if it's late spring and you're not on the whaling camp, sometimes you might miss the whales while traveling. It all depends by ice. You can't just say, "Well, I'm going down there right after break-up," because you don't know if the ocean still have ice and then you missed that! You go down there, little kind of late, and the ice had already moved. Then the whales travel almost right behind the ice. Well, the whales are changing too … like at Shingle Point we know when whales come in, but still ice in this bay here and there's no ice around here. Kendall Island, people getting there and even Tuk they were getting whales. Yeah, they're getting the whales before us because [of] the ice conditions. Three years now I never got a whale. That's the change of the ice coming this way, yeah, and the whales go that way, so we're kind of too late (AK205).

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Some aspects of the beluga harvest have changed over the past few generations. For example, some traditional methods of preserving the carcass are no longer practiced. Inuvialuit used to preserve whale carcasses by digging two to four feet under the ground until the permafrost was reached. The pit was then lined with wood and the whale put inside to keep cool.

> So long ago we didn't have any freezers and stored the fish underground in the icehouse. Yeah, that time the icehouse helped us good then, they used them for whatever they needed then. My dad told us one time they put in the pit, whale tail and the head. And they fill it with water for the summer. And in the fall they wipe it down again for the next summer (T052).

Beluga was traditionally used for both food and clothing. The *maktak* (the four outer parts of the beluga from the outside in) is the skin, the white part, the part that is like gristle and the fat. This is prepared raw, fermented or cooked, and dry meat and dry fish are stored in the fermented oil. Traditionally the third layer (gristle) of the beluga was prepared for *atungaq*—the bottom of *maklaks* (waterproof boots). It could also be pounded flat, stretched and dried, and then made into ropes.[76] Kuukpangmiut and Kitigaaryungmiut depended on *qilalukkat* for many important materials required in their day-to-day living, such as *maktak* for eating, *uqsuq* (whale oil) for flavouring and for *qulliit* (lamps), the use of a layer of skin (*atungaksaq*) for the soles of *maklaks* and meat for dry meat.

July is still a busy month for Inuvialuit in the ISR. An elder from Tuktuuyaqtuuq shared his first kill with the community during the summer of 2005. The second whale harvested is prepared for the coming winter, and is cooked or left raw, made into aged *maktak* or made into *uqsuq*. This follows an age-old tradition. In the olden days a set of unwritten rules was well established; with the first killing they usually saved all the hides for general use, for *umiat* (seal skin covers), *iqaqłiit* (waterproof soles) or *maktak* because:

> The younger whales are the ones that come in first. Later in the season the old and mature ones come which are cut up and put away in the *qingniq* ice pit. That's how they were, our forefathers.[77]

Some hunters prize the young, grey whales as they say that the meat is more tender.[78] Trade continues to be an important yearly event to look forward to for the Inuvialuit. Some workshop participants mentioned either hunting for or sharing their *maktak* with family and friends as far away as Sachs Harbour, Holman Island, Coppermine, Cambridge Bay and Yellowknife, saying trade and sharing are easier now that there are freezers on the barge.[79] They trade *maktak* for char, meat and dry fish with people in other communities, including their Gwich'in neighbours.

[76] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[77] Felix Nuyaviaq (ISDP n.d.: Part 1, 1-14-01) in Hart and Amos (2004).
[78] Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (May/April 2006).
[79] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

A traditional belief is that an individual is not allowed to sew caribou or moose hide when a whale hunt is happening or during whaling season. The hope is that by refraining from these activities, you will not offend the spirit of the animal you are hunting. It is believed the animal gives itself to the hunter.

Concerns and Recommendations

Many people still rely on and enjoy whaling activities and, as a result are very concerned that the proposed pipeline may negatively affect the whales.

> I'm not against development, but I want to be able hunt 20 years down the road … we depend on fish, birds, whales every year (INU115).

> The coastline, where we go whaling, that's the only place they shouldn't be drilling in the ocean … where they go camping and whaling (AK233).

Special areas of concern mentioned in regards to whales are: Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, Garry Island, Kendall Island, Kitigaaryuit and East Whitefish Station. However, people also recognize that any accident or spill, whether in the ocean or further upriver, will ultimately affect the ocean and the whales. For that reason, they would like assurance that any industrial activities near water will be carefully monitored.

One of the biggest concerns amongst all three Inuvialuit communities in the study area is the possibility of dredging in marine and aquatic environments, especially the bays and small channels.

> The barge to be brought [in] is coming through our 1A Zone, Beluga Management Zone, where we harvest our belugas. Dredging … how much of an impact will it have on lA Zone (INU110)?

> You know if there is dredging, belugas will not come back … it's their feeding grounds (INU111).

> We'd sweep nets for herring and get hundreds of herring; after the dredge there was not that many, then the whales went to Husky Lakes to feed (INU110).

There was general consensus that no dredging should be allowed at all.

> They can't do any dredging anyway, we told them that, at that meeting [at the Complex in 2004] you can't dredge … now people are telling me they're going to dredge, what the hell we have meeting for if they're going to dredge (INU123)?

> One thing, I don't want to see that dredging happening around here; that's the main channel that we use all the time. And if that barge does come in however they're going to bring it in, they always say they're going to dredge it to bring it in, and we're asking to truck it in or maybe barge in and build it there. That way you don't have to disturb nothing … but we're totally against the barge and dredging; we're asking them to put it on land—their base on land that is already disturbed (INU111).

Some participants suggested alternate routes and/or times for barging activities to avoid conflict with the whaling season.

> In [the] beluga zone … they should come in Kendall Island side, in late spring when the water is high, in the ocean side and go in during a west wind (INUl15).

> Where they are putting the barge is just a little channel, shallow, my own thinking is no production should be going out there until around the middle of August, because they're so close to our whaling camps (INU108).

> [It's] shallow where they want to put (the barge) … do it after whaling season (INU114).

> If they want to bring the barge in they have to know that July people are always traveling, whaling on the coast.[80]

> We just want to let the oil industry know where there's lots of people and traffic in the summer for hunting.[81]

One final suggestion for the safety of all traffic was to put more beacon lights along the coast; Tent Island, King Point, Kay Point and Herschel Island were locations mentioned (AK239).

[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

11.1.2 *Arviit* (S) *Arvirit* (U) – Bowhead Whales

- *Arviq* (S) – a bowhead whale
- *Arviik* (S) – two bowhead whales
- *Arviit* (S) – three or more bowhead whales

> They took a long time to come home, it was getting dark. When they finally came home, they were shouting with joy and whistling … I asked Taiyugak, "How come they are making so much noise? " "I think they got an animal they had never seen for a long time" … And what they got there was *maktak* in the whale boat … Then they said it was black *maktak* … they let everyone have a good meal; it was so nice *arviq*.[82]

11.1.2.1 Knowledge of *Arviit*

Figure 26: Bowhead Whale

Before the coming of the whaling era in the late 1800s, *arviit* were plentiful; at the end of the whaling, *arviit* were difficult to get, whalers went east to look for whales. *Arviit* are huge and need deep waters in which to swim and get their food.

Not many people interviewed had information on bowhead whales, as *arviit* are found only in deep waters. One harvester reported seeing bowhead whales in Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay (T020); another said that long ago, people would use Roland Bay (Stokes Point) for hunting bowheads (AK202). A harvester traveling along the coast to Kay Point tells of bowhead whale bones that can be seen in the area (AK225). One harvester reported seeing approximately 80 bowhead whales near Kay Point once.[83] Sometimes bowhead whales can be found offshore by King Point in the Yukon, Shingle Point, Tuktuuyaqtuuq Peninsula, Warren Point, Cape Delhousie, Baillie Islands, Russell Inlet and Cape Bathurst.[84] Atkinson Point and the Horton River were mentioned as two places where there are a lot of bowhead bones.[85] It was also stated that, "There are always whales out in Herschel Island; they just swim back and forth."[86]

[82] Sarah Meyook in Freeman et al. (1992:20).
[83] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[84] Community of Tuktoyaktuk et al. (2000:113).
[85] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[86] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

There was one observation that the distribution of bowhead whales may have changed over time, due to human activity or disturbance:

> One of the things that I noticed … about … the bowhead at Shingle Point, and … say … Kay Point, in-between there used to be a fair amount of bowhead whale in that area and after these seismic programs from Tuk in the summertime, I noticed there isn't any bowhead in the area there (AK236).

The Inuuvik Conservation Plan indicates that bowheads calve every three to five years. There were no comments regarding the size of the bowhead whale population during the interviews.

11.1.2.2 Use of *Arviit*

> My husband has never been to school to learn to read and write. But he has hunted all the animals over the years. He is a man! Now he has hunted the bowhead: he's a real man![87]

Figure 27: Harvesting a Bowhead Whale at Shingle Point

Arviit were the reason why whalers originally came to the Western Arctic during the whaling era. The ancestors of some Inuvialuit of Inuuvik were bowhead hunters. Although the bowheads were difficult to obtain, there were hunts at Cape Bathurst and King Point that have the deep waters that baleen whales inhabit. Inuvialuit from all three communities may travel down to Shingle Point for the bowhead hunt—the only place where the bowhead can now be obtained. An experienced bowhead hunter from Akłarvik related that, "bowheads, you can smell them when they blow at Shingle Point" (AK221).

The Inuvialuit of Akłarvik organized a bowhead hunt, and by 1991 they were able to achieve their goal of harvesting one bowhead. This bowhead hunt brought Inupiat from Alaska to assist in the hunt and to teach Inuvialuit the use of modern equipment.

[87] Annie B. Gordon in Freeman et al. (1992:40).

Another harvest of a single bowhead was done in 1996. A more detailed written account of the Inuvialuit relationship with bowhead whales can be found in Freeman et all.[88]

Harvest Season

> People of Nuvugaq hunted bowhead whales in the summer time with skin boats. They harpooned them and they had an *illiviaq* [drag plate] for hunting bowheads …[89]

The season for hunting *arviit* is the end of July and in August.

Harvest Locations

Qikiqtarʃuk, Tapqaq, Nuvugaq, Avvaq (deep water), Herschel Island, near Kay Point, Cape Point and Roland's Bay are locations where *arviit* may be hunted. Some areas where bowhead whales have been seen are mapped in Figure 28.

Harvest Practices

> Near Qikiqtaryuk (Herschel Island) at Umiuyaq, they hunt bowheads, the Tuyurmiat [the Inuvialuit of Qikiqtaryuk]. Without guns they would hunt the bowhead just with harpoons. They used an *avataqpak* [seal skin float] or an *illiviaq* drag plate.[90]

The size of the *arviq* requires the whole camp to assist in the hunting, dragging, cutting, cooking and hanging of the *maktak*. The whale was traditionally harpooned from an *umiaq* (skin boat), then the head put on a wooden float, or drag plate, to slow the whale down and keep the head up.[91] Only after all the preparations of the *arviq* carcass are complete do they celebrate the event:

> … they would travel home while singing songs and chanting.[92]

[88] Freeman et al. (1992).
[89] Felix Nuyaviaq (N1992-007:0268) in Hart and Amos (2004:49).
[90] Ibid.
[91] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[92] Felix Nuyaviaq (N1992-007:0268) in Hart and Amos (2004:49).

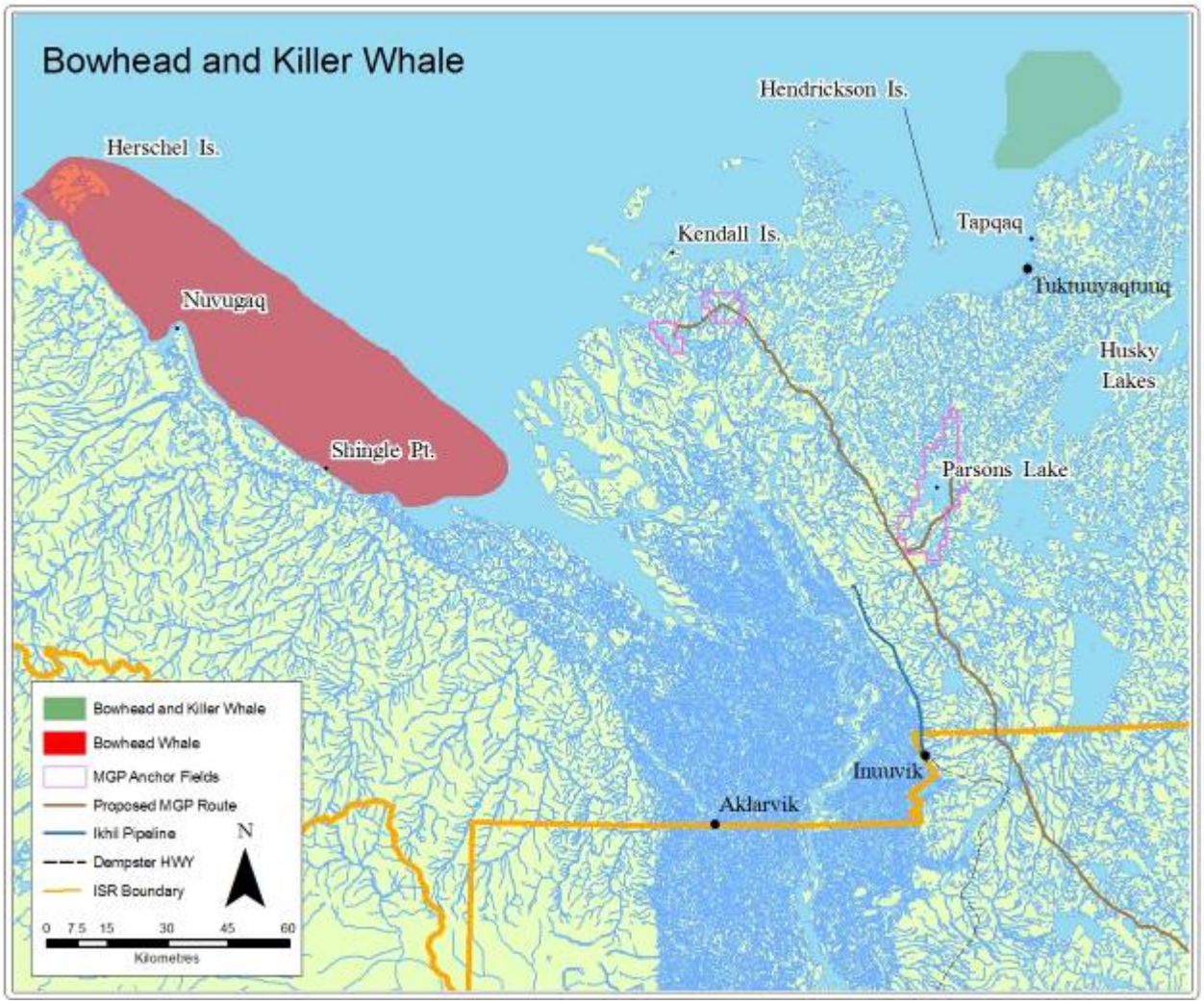

Figure 28: Bowhead and Killer Whale Locations

Apparently the songs assisted Inuvialuit whalers to bring their harvest to land; they made the towing easier. Inuvialuit were thankful that everyone would have *maktak* and meat for the whole winter. Alaskan harvesting techniques were re-taught to the Inuvialuit prior to the catch of 1991.

Amount Harvested

Bowheads were near extinction after the late 1800s when whales were in great demand by overseas markets—namely baleen for corsets, and oils for perfumes and lamps. Since the late 1800s, the Inuvialuit had not harvested the bowhead until the first hunt in 1991 and the second hunt in 1996. One animal was harvested each hunt.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

> We always share here with our neighbours even if we only have a small amount … [Inuvialuit] all want the bowhead *maktak* and meat. We share food with those who don't have it. So the Akłarvik people will hunt it for all the Inuvialuit. We share food with those who don't have it … we have bowhead real close by the shore at Shingle Point and King Point; they are around in the summer. So we will distribute the meat to any of the communities that want it. We always share our food.[93]

One of the important traditional uses of the bowhead was baleen for making fish nets; baleen fish nets would outlast other fish nets made from caribou skins. The whales were also used for *maktak* and for the meat, and oils for *qulliq*. The bones of this animal are so large that they were used as frames for winter and summer houses. One interviewee mentioned finding old tools that were made out of bowhead bones (INU111). Products from the bowhead whale were also valuable trade commodities with neighbouring nations.

> Those [people] that were hunting the bowhead whales, when they finished, they went inland to trade with the ones that had caribou—the ones that had skins. The people that had the bowhead whales … went to buy from the people that had caribou, those who had skins, for their warmth if it got cold …[94]

Today, a carving made from *arviq* bone can sell for a good sum.

Concerns and Recommendations

No specific concerns regarding bowheads were identified during the interviews or verification sessions, however any concerns related to the ocean environment and listed for belugas (e.g., spills and accidents, increased traffic and noise) could also impact the bowhead whales. As mentioned previously, one participant raised a concern that he observes fewer bowheads between Shingle Point and Kay Point since seismic activity was undertaken in the area (AK236).

11.1.3 *Arlut* (S,U) – Killer Whales

- *Arlu* (S,U) – a killer whale
- *Arluuk* (S,U) – two killer whales
- *Arlut* (S,U) – three or more killer whales

[93] Dorothy Arey in Freeman et al. (1992:60).
[94] Mami Mamayauq (73B) in Hart and Amos (2004:50).

Few participants had observations or knowledge of killer whales, as they tend to only be seen once in awhile. It was mentioned in the verification sessions that people generally fear and avoid killer whales; they never hunt them.[95] Nonetheless, *arlut* have been reported in the Western Arctic for many years. This was documented by Nuligaq[96] in the early 1900s. They have been seen in deep water off Hendrickson Island and at Atkinson Point. A couple of participants said that killer whales are always heading to Alaska from Atkinson Point, but way offshore.[97] One interviewee mentioned that they can be found around Herschel Island (AK224). More than one harvester interviewed in this study reported seeing killer whales hunting belugas. One was seen near Garry Island in 2004 (INU123); another was at Atkinson Point, where the participant saw four killer whales attacking a beluga: "They were just tearing it—one big white one—they just tore it up, like that."[98] One observation of killer whales reported during the interviews and verification sessions is mapped in Figure 28.

One of the elders from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said that Inuvialuit believe that all animals have another animal as their counterpart, for example *arlut* and *amaqqut* (wolves) are like each other—one from the sea and one from the land.

11.1.4 Natchiit (S,U) – Ringed Seals

- *Natchiq* (S,U) – a ringed seal
- *Natchiik* (S,U) – two ringed seals
- *Natchiit* (S,U) – three or more ringed seals

> Long ago they say that Kitigaaryuit people would go to Nuvugaq [Atkinson Point] to look for seals to make balloons [*avataqpak*] and seal skin boots. Sometimes in summer they would use row boats to go to Nuvuraq to hunt seal after they made dry meat, dry fish, and *maktak* at Kitigaaryuit …[99]

[95] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[96] Metayer (1975).
[97] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[98] Ibid.
[99] Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:-130) in Hart and Amos (2004:99).

11.1.2.1 Knowledge of *Natchiit*

Figure 29: Ringed Seal

Ringed seals make a cavity for resting and birthing on top of the frozen ice, under the deep snow. They make their birth lairs in land-fast ice by scraping out snow or using a natural cavity. Pups are born in March and early April. A number of lairs maybe found in the same area.[100] They may have several breathing holes in the area.

Habitat

Sighting of seals in Imaryuk/Husky Lakes is not uncommon, as an interviewee from Inuuvik indicated (INU115). He said that he used to see *ugyuit* (bearded seals) and *natchiit* (ringed seals) at his camp at Husky Lakes. Another hunter sighted seal and whales in the fall time at Imaryuk (INU101). An Akłarvik participant said that one time he went from Kay Point by boat very slowly and counted up to 200 ringed seals in that area; "It's amazing when you can see that many seals. Seven coming up at one time, then another seven."[101]

Ringed seals are also seen at the entrance to Ptarmigan Bay, Herschel Island, Shingle Point, Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, Kuugaluk Bay and occasionally in the Delta. People said that wherever there is salt water you can find seals; there aren't many, but they are all over. They stay around all year, but two miles out from Shingle Point they have air holes and that's where they winter.[102] One participant said that at Ptarmigan Bay he went fishing and when he came back a week later, the seals were all gone: "They do that. I think they're following the fish migrations. They do it every year."[103]

Seals enjoy basking in the sun. One hunter mentioned hunting basking seals during the springtime, at Toker Point, just outside of Warren Point.

[100] Martel (1984) in Hart and Amos (2004:85).
[101] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

Population and Health

A number of interviewees indicated that they think there are fewer ringed seals now than in the past. One Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunter stated, "For the past years, seals are really low in numbers" (T067). Another harvester from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said that ringed seals are in good shape. Some scars and holes seen on herring at Shingle Point by harvesters are probably the result of seals (T016). Seals follow herring to feed (T012).

11.1.2.2 Use of *Natchiit*

The *avataqpak* is a seal bag made by removing all meat and fat of the seal by the head. When all the meat and fat is removed, the skin is turned inside out and cleaned. They are dried a little and all holes are sewn shut except for the neck; this is where they inflate the seal to make a float for whaling. These bags were also filled with winter supplies of foods; the things that went into the *avataqpak* included *uqsuq*, the seal fat cut into strips, dry fish, seal dry meat and edible plants. The bag would then go into the dugout freezer and be taken out for special occasions throughout the winter. The Inuvialuit also used seal bones for games, seal skins to make balls and other objects for northern games.

Harvest Season

Seal hunting mostly occurs in the fall time, from mid-August to September, when the pups start to get fat. Some harvesters said it's easier to harvest seals in the late summer and fall as they will float at that time of year. If you shoot one in June or July they don't have enough fat, they're too skinny and will sink.[104]

Hunters may also harvest in the spring when the seals are out basking in the sun. One harvester spoke of hunting seals at Baillie Islands, where there might be 50 to 60 seals in one bunch, in May when they start to mate.[105] A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq indicated that it is good to get a seal when you are hunting polar bear. The polar bear will watch the seal to take it away.

The graph in Figure 30 shows ringed seal harvests recorded for the Inuvialuit Harvest Study by Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters between 1988 and 1997. The harvest amounts were summarized by mean monthly totals to show the ringed seal harvesting season graphically.

[104] Ibid.
[105] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

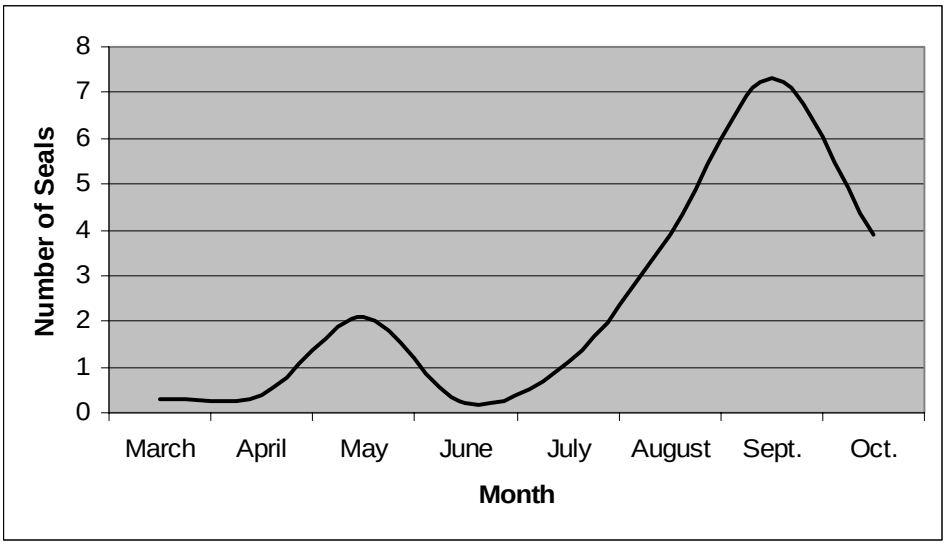

Figure 30: Mean Monthly Ringed Seal Harvests for Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters go sealing to Tapqaq, Kaliptat, Nunasuaq, Toker Point, Seagull Island and Warren Point. Seals are also hunted in Tuktuuyaqtuuq Harbour, north of Pullen Island, north of Hendrickson Island and Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, and south to Kitigaaryuit Bay, east towards Kaliptat, north to Qugyuktuuq Bay and further north. Hunters generally go to the flow edge where they can obtain seals. One Inuuvik hunter indicated that he hunts seals close to Herschel Island.

The Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Conservation Plan indicates that the fall seal harvest runs along the southeast shore of Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay, both north and south of Tuktuuyaqtuuq. In the winter they are harvested out on the sea ice, as are polar bears. Figure 31 shows some areas where ringed seals may be harvested.

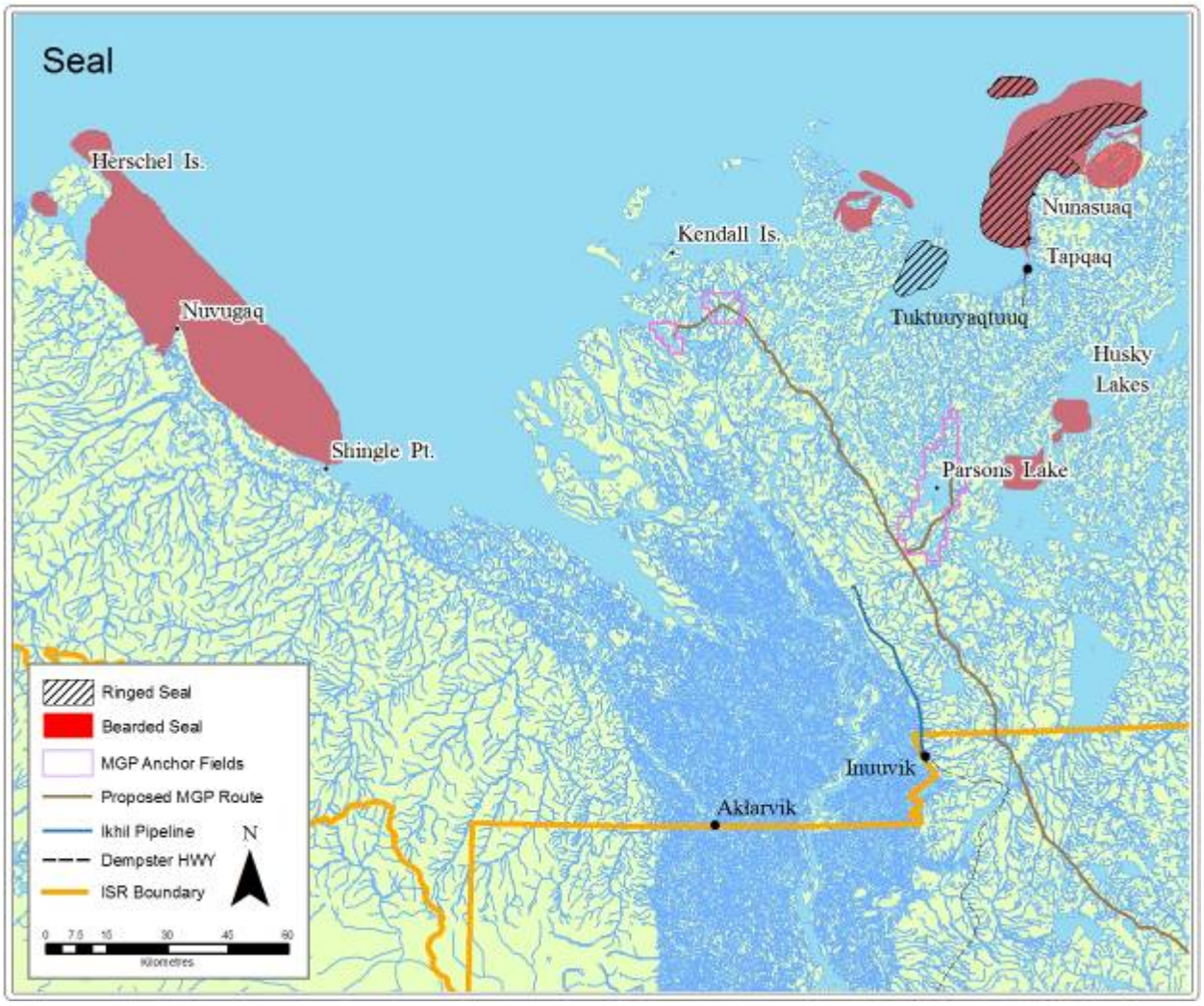

Figure 31: Ringed and Bearded Seal Harvesting Areas

Harvest Practices

Seal harvesting techniques vary during different seasons. During the winter, men would go out to the flow edge to hunt seals or use their dogs to find a breathing hole. The spring hunt is done while the seal is basking in the sun. The hunter crawls to the seal, hidden behind a white cloth stretched out on sticks. The seal raises his head every few minutes and looks around, at which time the hunter must stop his movements. When the seal puts his head back down for a quick nap, the hunter moves forward, until he is close enough to get the seal. A harvester from Tuktuuyaqtuuq made his seal net by measuring his head. One hunter stated that when hunting seals for dogs you don't have to haul the seal back to camp, it can be buried under the sand and covered with wood. He said, "The seal is for both myself and my dogs when we get there" (T019). If there is an open lead and they get a seal, Inuvialuit use a *manaq* (seal hook) to bring the seal in. One Inuuvik hunter and her parents would harvest seals in the

northern Yukon in the springtime when seals come out to bask in the sun. They would use the seal skin for *avataqpak* (bag), which they would use for storing berries (INU126).

Everyone traditionally shared the harvest.

> … In those days when we brought home the seal meat it was equally divided among families, so you can tell why it didn't last very long.[106]

Amount Harvested

Few Inuvialuit consume seal today, but those who do enjoy it as a special treat; the elders like the young seals in particular. In the past, seal was a mainstay of the diet during the winter months for the Inuvialuit along the coast. The coastal communities tended to obtain more seals than the Inuvialuit from the Delta, but there are few harvesters that get many seals anymore for eating. One seal harvester from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said, "[I do] not hunt seals that often since I left Sachs Harbour, sometimes I hunt for elders …" (T017).

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study records indicate that there were 10 ringed seals harvested by Akłarvik harvesters from 1988 to 1997, 4 in Inuuvik and 194 in Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Tuktuuyaqtuuq has a 10-year mean harvest of 19 ringed seals and 8 harvesters.

There were also 47 unspecified seals harvested in Tuktuuyaqtuuq in 1990, and 3 in Akłarvik over the 10-year period. Some of these might have been ringed seals.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Long ago, seal hunting was a necessity to obtain the many every day items that came from the ringed seal. In fact, the seals were so essential to survival that two months of the year were named after stages of seal growth—*Avvuniviayuq* (January) when dwarf seals produce their young, and *Avvunivik* (February) when the real ringed seals are born Some of the most important seal products were the oils for the *qulliq* (seal oil lamp), dip for food, meat for eating, and skins for waterproof boots, parkas, wind pants and mitts. Seal balloons (floats) for the whale hunts, storage containers were made from the seal skin, and the bones used to make games.

Seal meat was eaten regularly, and the flippers were considered a delicacy. *Uqsuraaq* is a strip of fat; when the oil is rendered from the strip it becomes a reddish delicacy, which is eaten with meats and fish, dried, frozen or cooked. *Kam'ngit* (waterproof boots) and

[106] Joe Nasogaluak in Hart and Amos (2004:86).

qaqłiit (wind pants) were made from scraped and softened seal skin, as were other types of clothing. In areas where there were no caribou, seal skin may have been used to make tents. One participant mentioned that her father used to boil seal fat until it turned to a black tar, mix sand in if there was some available, and put it on the dogs' feet for boots.[107] Seal meat may also be used for dog food.[108]

Today the Inuvialuit get seals for the Northern Games seal-skinning contests. Contestants compete for the fastest, cleanest time to skin and flush the seal. The carcass is used for cooking for all to enjoy. Skins are also still used to make *maklaks*, parkas, mitts and wall hangings or fine tapestries, and bones for games.

11.1.5 *Ugyuit* (S) *Ugñuit* or *Ugñuitch* (U) – Bearded Seals

- *Ugyuk* (S) *Ugñuk* (U) – a bearded seal
- *Ugyuuk* (S) *Ugñuuk* (U) – two bearded seals
- *Ugyuit* (S) *Ugñuit* (U) – three or more bearded seals

11.1.2.1 Knowledge of *Ugyuit*

Ugyuit have different names at different stages of growth and size:

- the largest is called *qalgiq*
- *aukpiliarniq* is a middle-aged one with a reddish neck
- *qinrutalirniq* has a black neck
- *paulualik* has long white hair and is rather small in size, but has lost its baby fur
- *iniqtiniq* is full-grown

Bearded seals are not numerous, but were prized by hunters for their large size, their skins, and the large amount of meat and oil (*uqsuq)* from the *ugyuk*.

Habitat

The habitat of the bearded seals is all along the coastline and around Tuktuuyaqtuuq, but more may appear in places like Liverpool Bay east of Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Most participants said they can be found in the same general areas as ringed seals. They feed from the bottom of the ocean, prefer shallow waters and spend a lot of time alone.[109] Bearded seals are said to make a noise like a ghost when feeding on the ocean bottom.

[107] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[108] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[109] Hart and Amos (2004:87).

They sometimes overwinter in large lakes, and have been seen at Coney Lake, Husky Lakes, Nicholson, Bar C and Blow River.[110]

Bearded seals are not often seen, however one harvester recalled:

> Five years ago the Delta was invaded by them. There were lots around Akłarvik; every time you go boating you see 2-3 of them. Every time you go whaling, you see 10—never seen it before. Inuuvik was seeing them, Arctic Red saw some, and Fort McPherson. They don't know why they came into the Delta; they think they were following a school of fish, but why weren't they mixed with [ringed] seals? Why wouldn't the seals come in with them? … It was abundant. Big ones, too, some of them.[111]

Population and Health

Bearded seals are not as abundant as ringed seals. They give birth in April or May and have only a single pup.

11.1.2.2 Use of *Ugyuit*

At one time, the Inuvialuit hunted lots of bearded seals; they are always found basking on floating ice. One elder said:

> People were always lively when they go out hunting in North Star Harbour; bearded seals always come around. You know when there's ice flow there is always one or two bearded seals float on the ice. We used to hunt lots of bearded seals. My parents used to always make bearded seal oil, they have so much blubber. We bury the barrel of oil in the sand. It sure used to be good; we make oil during fall time (T004).

Harvest Season

Bearded seals are often harvested in the spring while they are basking in the sun or during early summer as they lay on floating ice. Bearded seal harvests reported in the Inuvialuit Harvest Study over the last 10 years took place mostly during the month of August, but seals maybe harvested anytime between May and October.

[110] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[111] Ibid.

Harvest Locations

All along the coast, *ugyuit* and seals are found at their breathing holes; their locations depend on fish and other sea foods. Some hunters reported that they harvest them while hunting whales, polar bears or other types of seals.

> Yah, them bearded seals [are] mainly towards ah the Seal Bay area when they go … polar bear hunting, eh—keep those for the dog feed and otherwise and that I don't bother to get them fall time or too big and bulky to ah bring back home for us in a boat, eh. Winter time when I go polar bear hunting we get them any chance we get eh (T031).

One *ugyuk* was harvested at Lucas Channel about 20 years ago, while the hunter was out looking to hunt moose in September:

> He was right in the shallow water and he was uh, good 500 pounds I guess he weigh … (INU152).

Another hunter mentioned shooting one *ugyuk* right in Tuktuuyaqtuuq Harbour (T002). Some harvest areas for bearded seal are shown in Figure 31.

Harvest Practices

Bearded seals weigh too much for one person to handle. A similar method to hunting other seals is used to harvest bearded seals.

> Seals are easy to frighten, but *ugyuit* are hard to frighten and you can easily sneak up to them, quietly paddling closer to them …[112]

Seal nets are also used for harvesting. For seal nets, the Inuvialuit know to measure the size of a human head for the size of the net.

Amount Harvested

Historical *ugyuk* harvest amounts are not known and these days it is not used very often as meat. Between 1988 and 1997, the Inuvialuit Harvest Study recorded a total of 16 bearded seal harvests in the study area: 1 in Akłarvik in August 1993, 1 in Inuuvik in August 1997 and 14 in Tuktuuyaqtuuq by 7 harvesters, during the months of May through October (13 harvested in 1993 and 1 in 1994).

[112] Tom Kimiksana in Hart and Amos (2004:99).

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

The bearded seal was valued for its large hide from which Inuvialuit made *qainnat* (kayaks) and *umiat* (skin boats). Other important uses were for dry meat, making ropes and clothing, using the oil for lamps and *uqsuq* dip, and making windows with the intestines: "… there was one window on top made from bearded seal intestines."[113] Bearded seal is said to be very tasty; it makes very good blubber and tastes different than ringed seal. Inuvialuit use the oil as a dip for meat or fish, people also use whale blubber now for this dip.[114]

There was also mention of bearded sealskin being used to make waterproof soles for boots or shoes (T037), as well as for rope used with dog teams or in traditional burials:

> Traditionally they wrap them up with caribou skins and tied them with *ugyuk*—*ugyuk* rope—both from the land and sea … you know, ah products (T019).

One harvester mentioned using *ugyuk* for bait or dog food (T031). *Ugyuk* skin was the best for making waterproof *makłak,* especially for making *atungat* (the soles of boots). The *natchiq* was used for the upper portion of the *makłak*.

11.1.6 *Nannut* (S) *Nannuit* (U) – Polar Bears

- *Nanuq* (S,U) – a polar bear
- *Nannuk* (S,U) – two polar bears
- *Nannut* (S) *Nannuit* (U) – three or more polar bears

11.1.2.1 Knowledge of *Nannut*

It is an Inuvialuit belief that when you speak about animals they can hear you. As Joe Nasogaluak recounted:

> … Angusinauq got his gun ready and went outside. They were attacking the dogs. They had already gotten one. By this time it was getting daylight towards morning. Angusinauq killed all three bears. Five bears had come during the night because Nauyavak had wanted polar bear to come … Animals can hear when spoken of, even the polar bears.[115]

[113] Joe Nasogaluak in Hart and Amos (2004:90).
[114] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[115] Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0184B, 187B) in Hart and Amos (2004:81).

Figure 32: Polar Bears

Many stories are told about polar bears; some are myth and some factual. For example, the following story demonstrates one woman's respect for the animal:

> ... I'm always scared of bears because they are dangerous. Yet men would hunt them with their bear dogs. In those days the hides weren't worth anything, except to be used for mattresses or for pants and mitts …[116]

Stories and legends of *nannut* are numerous, giving the *nanuq* the respect it deserves as a formidable foe. In the *nanuq* world, the *nanuq* tells a story of humans—*ulrunakipiaq,* the beings that walk on two legs instead of four, as he walks, he appears unsteady, ready to fall over.[117]

Some people say there are actually two different types of polar bears. There's a bear that you get once in awhile that has a longer neck; it's high and pure white, but looks like a weasel and runs fast like a weasel—*tiriaranaq*—bears and ermines are similar. *Pualrisiktualuit* is the polar bear that has paws as huge as a shovel, "that other type, they've got another name too—*nannuktauguktualuit*—not scared of anybody too, those."[118]

Habitat

Polar bears den on Ellis Island and Richards Island, and along the coast up to Herschel Island. There have also been dens spotted at Running River, Hooper Island, Pelly Island and Garry Island. Dens are usually found under snow banks: "They just dig a little bit and wait for them to get covered up."[119] Female polar bears den from October or November to March. One Inuuvik hunter said that there are "lots of dens in these areas—females come in the fall, October, November, after freeze up and look for a place to have their young" (INU110). Usually polar bears have one or two cubs.

[116] Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Part 3) in Hart and Amos (2004:77).
[117] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

David Nasogaluak[120] indicated that polar bears migrate when they start to mate.

> The breeding season starts in March; [the bears] don't sleep at all. That's when the males start going … start looking for females … all over [in the winter the males don't come to the shore]. That's why you see them more in the spring; they are moving around more and easier to see when the days get longer in March.[121]

> It's not only the female bears that use dens; when the males get too fat sometimes they go the hole and rest for awhile and wait until they lose some weight before they come out again. They don't sleep like grizzlies, though; they're always up. When the male bear is hibernating, if there's too much disturbance he will just break right through the snow. When they get disturbed they get mad and stand up.[122]

In Tuktuuyaqtuuq, polar bears are sometimes seen and killed in the community, usually when it is a poor year for seals and the bear is starving.

People say that polar bears can turn really fast to one direction because they have a dominant paw—a stronger side and a weaker side—just like people may be right- or left-handed. If you know which is a polar bear's dominant side, you have a chance to get away by running in a direction that forces it to turn to its non-dominant side.

Population and Health

None of the hunters interviewed knew the population of the polar bears, but one hunter said, "If there is a lot of seals there will be a lot of polar bears" (T053). The Tuktuuyaqtuuq Conservation Plan estimated that there were more than 2,000 bears in the region.

Although the health of polar bears was not discussed extensively by the interviewees, one hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said:

> Ten years ago I shot a big bear in February … it was ever fat [four to five inches of fat]. This year I shot one fairly good size bear and this one was skinny—three-quarters of an inch [of fat] (T056).

[120] Nasogaluak (2006, pers. comm.).
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.

One polar bear hunter mentioned that most of the polar bears aren't in good health right now (i.e., in 2006) because the rough ice has covered up the seal breathing holes, meaning the bears have to dig through three feet of ice to get the seals now.[123]

11.1.2.2 Use of *Nannut*

> 1927 it was that year that I really started to hunt … it makes your blood go and your heart beat fast, and all of a sudden you have a polar bear …[124]

Polar bears were once an important part of the diet that sustained the Inuvialuit during the long winters. The use of polar bear meat continued until not too many years ago. Today polar bears are hunted only for revenue-generating big game hunts; few Inuvialuit still enjoy the meat of the polar bear.

Harvest Season

Polar bear hunts take place in the wintertime when the furs are in prime condition and the animals are generally healthy. Important factors a polar bear hunter must know include the patterns and dangers of young ice and open leads—this is where ocean water is open and seals can easily be found, so polar bears will follow the leads or open water to hunt. The Tuktuuyaqtuuq Conservation Plan indicates hunting can only happen from December 1st to May 31st.

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study recorded polar bear harvests from 1988 to 1997. The totals are shown by season in Figure 33.

[123] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[124] Joe Nasogaluak in Hart and Amos (2004:66).

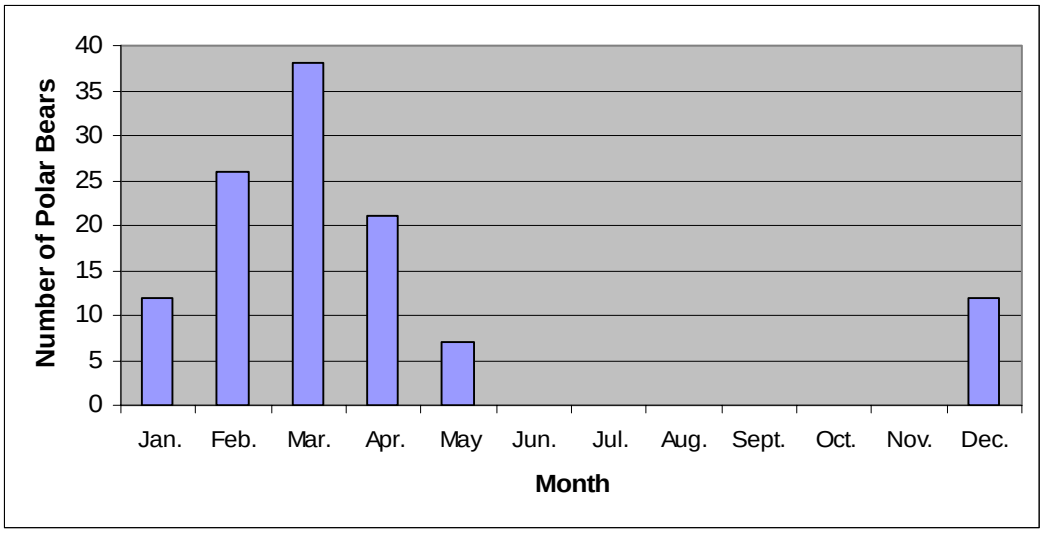

Figure 33: Total Estimated Monthly Polar Bear Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Tuktuuyaqtuuq has a large area for polar bear hunting, and hunters travel as far west to Herschel Island, Shallow Bay, north of Garry Island and Pelly Island, north of Atkinson, and north of Pullen Island to hunt polar bears. Hunters also hunt northeast of Tuktuuyaqtuuq to the north of Warren Point. Hunters from Inuuvik also hunt on the sea ice; interviewees indicated hunting areas north and west of Tuktuuyaqtuuq at Baillie Islands. Other places mentioned for hunting polar bears were Richards Island, straight up from Shingle Point, and anywhere between Baillie and Herschel Islands; these areas are mapped in Figure 34. There is also a lot of polar bear hunting activity that takes place east of the study area which is not included on the map.

Harvest Practices

Hunters may come from all three study area communities in the ISR, but most big game hunters are along the coast. One interviewee from Akłarvik said, "I'm the one leading the skidoos, going for grizzly bears, polar bears … I'm the one that's breaking trail to … Yukon North Slope … to the coast because I know the way" (AK236). The father of this individual hunted polar bears on the coast and passed this knowledge on to his son.

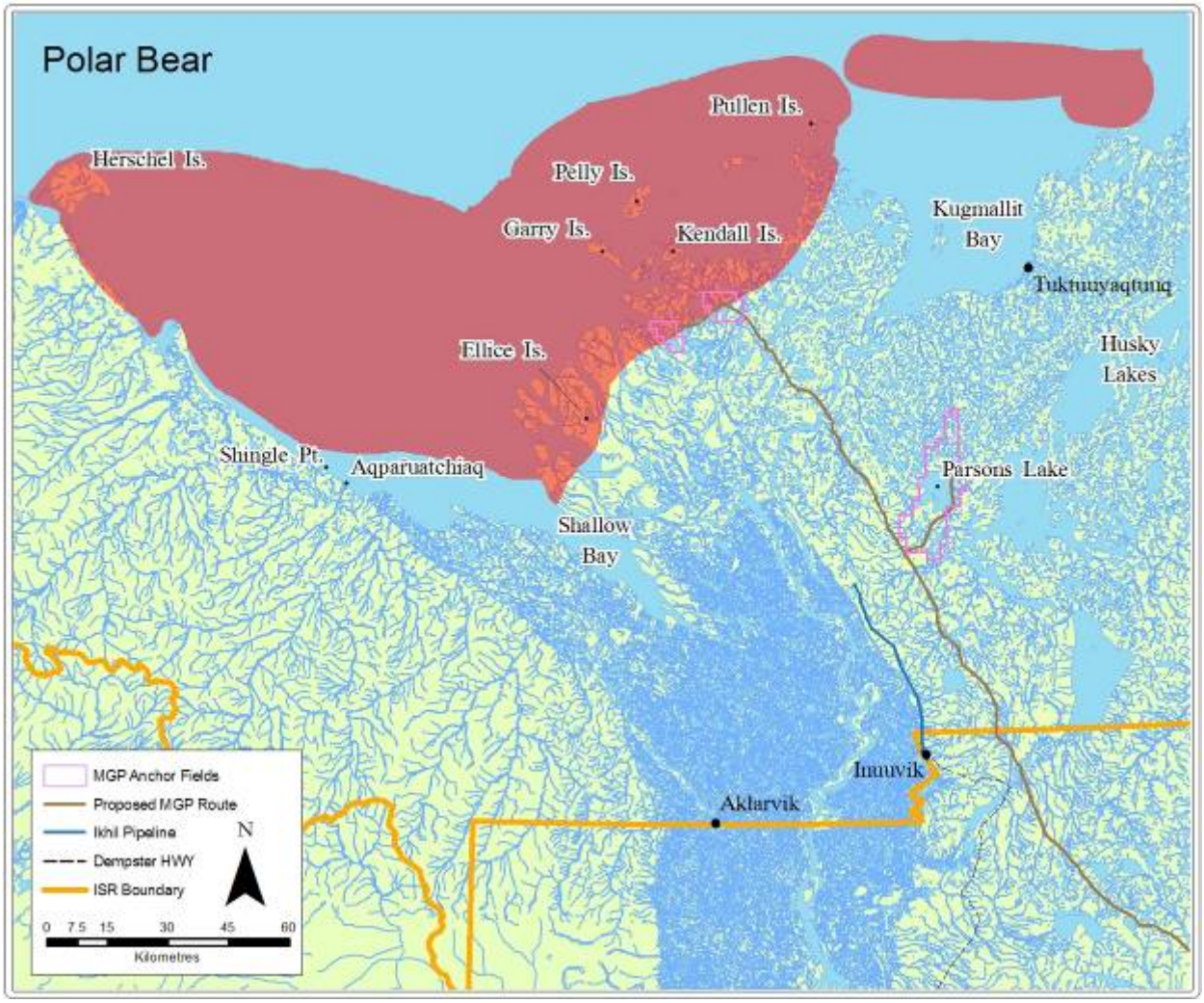

Figure 34: Polar Bear Harvesting Areas

Polar bear harvesting takes place at open leads and pressure ridges, as this is where the polar bear hunting trails lead (T017); "polar bears follow leads and pressure ridges" (T013). There are many risks in harvesting this species; young ice, open leads and open water can all posed dangers to a hunter (T014). As Aiviq (David Nasogaluak), a hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq indicated, you have to know the ways of the currents. There are risks in just being in the sea ice environment; one hunter cautioned that when you go polar bear hunting, you camp at safest ice—the main ice or grounded ice (T048).

Amount Harvested

We were not given information from the hunters on the amount of polar bears harvested. The Inuvialuit Harvest Study indicated that hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq took the greatest numbers of polar bears of the three communities; the 10-year mean polar bear harvest in Tuktuuyaqtuuq was 10 bears per year and the mean number of

harvesters was 6. From 1988 to 1997, Akłarvik hunters harvested an estimated total of 18 polar bears, Inuuvik hunters harvested 3 bears and Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters harvested an estimated total of 102 polar bears. The largest amount taken in a year by a community was 21, by Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters in 1992.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Polar bear hunting is not as significant as in the past, when they were used by the Inuvialuit for both their meat and fur. These days, Inuvialuit get tags for big game hunts and it is an income hunters can count on. There is some trading with other tags, such as caribou or muskox tags. One elder remembered that they used to use polar bear fur as fishhook bait, as it looks like a jellyfish when it moves in the water.[125]

Concerns and Recommendations

During the verification sessions, some participants mentioned that they are concerned about the change in ice conditions caused by global warming and its impact on polar bears. People are concerned that the bears are suffering and there won't be enough for hunting; soon there won't be any bears.[126]

Some of the hunters also raised concerns about the roads made by the oil companies west of Richardson Island. The ridges made by ploughing an ice road make it difficult to climb over with a load on the sled and the hunters had to travel further to find a place to climb. Many of those interviewed mentioned that this is an extra, unaccounted-for expense in gas.

> [I go] polar bear hunting [on a] trail towards Hooper Island, the road that is cleared; industry leaves a huge bank that is impassable most times. It is hard with pulling two sleds to climb, good thing we had a shovel, we shovelled the bank down. It would be good if they [industry] could make a path on left and right side, plough the banks down (T041).

11.1.7 Other Marine Mammals

There was a single *aiviq* (walrus) harvested in Tuktuuyaqtuuq in 1990, and one at Kaliptat, which was reported to be very skinny. One harvester also reported shooting four at Banks Island; however, they mostly stay on ice floes and are generally seen more

[125] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[126] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

in the Eastern Arctic, around Sachs Harbour and Holman, although the bulls may migrate through the area from Alaska.[127]

Harbour seals are seen in the study area once in awhile. Twenty years ago a female sea lion was shot about 80 miles north of Akłarvik in the river. Forty years ago, two people shot one of two porpoises seen near Akłarvik.[128]

Small groups of narwhals have been seen at Hendrickson Island, Warren Point and Banks Island. Narwhal *maktak* can also be eaten. One participant reported once seeing a narwhal bone in a beluga's forehead, on the first day of October one year.[129]

11.2 Big Game

11.2.1 *Akłat* (S,U) – Grizzly Bears

- *Akłaq* (S,U) – a grizzly bear
- *Akłak* (S,U) – two grizzly bears
- *Akłat* (S,U) – three or more grizzly bears

> … I don't know how to say in a spiritual way, but, in a way, the wolverine and the grizzly bear they look … like brothers, you see a wolverine running, it's just like watching a grizzly bear running, if you see a grizzly bear running from miles away it's like seeing a wolverine running, they both run the same … (AK237).

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Akłat*

Grizzlies are smart, they can hear you talking about them.[130]

Habitat

Grizzly bears can be found all over the ISR, especially all along the mountains and in the Delta. In fact, Akłarvik is named after a grizzly; the name translates as "a place where someone got a grizzly".

[127] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[128] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[129] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[130] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

Figure 35: Grizzly Bear with Cubs

During the interviews, Inuuvik hunters mentioned that there are many grizzlies in the Jimmy Lake area and at Storm Hills (INU101). Inuuvik hunters also harvest grizzlies from Richardson Island in the fall and around Aqpaƒuatchiaq (Running River) (INU144, INU126).

Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters know of many locations to find grizzly bears. Grizzlies are found where there are many fish, for example around Parsons Lake (T064). They are seen from North Point to Kiglavak Bay. Several hunters have seen them on Richardson Island, from Lousy Point to Burns Creek and to Ellis Island (T030, T019, T031). Grizzlies are also seen near Holmes Creek and towards Pete's Creek in the fall, as this is where they go and feed upon the fish resources of the area. Wolves share the area during this time (T019, T015). Grizzlies are seen, along with caribou, wolves and foxes, from Qikuryuaq to Hans Bay. They are also found southeast of Hans Lake to Parsons Lake, and south of Iqalusaaq (T011, T014).

Inuvialuit hunters are aware of den locations and the seasons in which grizzlies emerge from the dens with their young. Several Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters indicated that grizzly bears den in the big hill close to Parsons Lake. The bears and their cubs emerge when the water starts running or when the mosquitoes emerge in the springtime (T053, T025). An Inuuvik hunter remembered being on the north end of Swan Creek (Richards Island) with his father; they noted 30 bear dens in this location. There are many bears around this area in the summertime (INU105).

Other denning areas were also noted for 10 miles inland from Shingle Point, Fish Hole, Sleepy Mountain, Strokes Point and Richards Island.[131] An Inuuvik hunter indicated that a large area from west of Sitidgi Lake northwest to the coast of Beluga Bay is a good area for finding bear dens. In addition, there are many grizzly bear dens around Camp Farewell (INU110). However, people also said that there are dens all over; they could be anywhere on the map.

Grizzly bears will have one or two young (AK213). If caribou are plentiful, there will be many bears. Grizzlies help keep the river otter population down. They also eat mice;

[131] Akłarvik and Inuuvik verification sessions (April/May 2006).

sometimes the stomach is just a bag full of mice when you open it up.[132] It is said that they go up the Richardson Mountains in the west to hunt, as well as go out on the ice hunting pup seals.[133] Grizzlies are also known to migrate up to Richards Island to get the nesting geese and reindeer there.

Population and Health

An increase in numbers of grizzlies and a reduction in the usual amount of their food was noted by many of those interviewed during this study. One hunter mentioned that grizzlies can be observed along certain creeks, eating all the fish (INU144). Hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Inuuvik and Akłarvik all noted this (T003, INU152). Grizzlies are so common in the Delta, one hunter indicated that they are frequently breaking into camps (INU152). Another thought was that while the black bear population was increasing in the Delta, there were more grizzlies on Richards Island (INU115).

Some of the hunters attribute the increase in grizzly numbers to the return of the caribou to the Tuktuuyaqtuuq area: "There are more brown bears because there are more caribou" (T007). There are also some hunters that feel the grizzlies are becoming more aggressive and dangerous:

> … they are not scared any more of humans … bears are hungry and the roots they feed on are drying up because the land is drying up (AK225).

> Brown bears [grizzlies] are starting to get dangerous, so many of them around (T113).

Aqpaƒuatchiaq (Running River) has many bears, probably because there are lots of fish at the river (INU126).

11.2.2.2 Use of *Akłat*

The traditional use of grizzlies was for the meat and their skins, which were used as mattresses. The Inuvialuit do not harvest grizzlies for food any more, instead tags are given to hunters for big game hunts.

Harvest Season

> Well, whenever there's a free tag during … April, late April or early May … if there's tags open I'll go (T053).

[132] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[133] Ibid.

◆ *Ukiaksamilu*, *Upinraksamilu, Akłariartuat* – Spring and Fall Hunting for Grizzly

Fall grizzly hunting was mentioned on Richardson Island, particularly at Swimming Point (INU144, T044). In the winter and spring, they are hunted from the ice road or by trails on skidoo, in the spring, "by Kiglavak Bay, north part of Summer Island" (T056). Grizzlies are also hunted east of Hans Lake and around Zed Lake to Aglisuktuq Pingo in the springtime (T020). During the spring when they have their young, grizzly bears are considered to be "pretty bad" or dangerous. They will hunt ravenously and cache carcasses for consumption at a later time.[134] In the summer and fall, they are hunted by boat, "below Skip Point across the Mackenzie" (T167) and "from North Point south part of Kuukpak by summer" (T056). There are many grizzlies on Richards Island in the summer (T030).

Figure 36 shows grizzly harvests reported by Akłarvik hunters; the Inuvialuit Harvest Study numbers confirm that the majority of harvesting occurs in the spring.

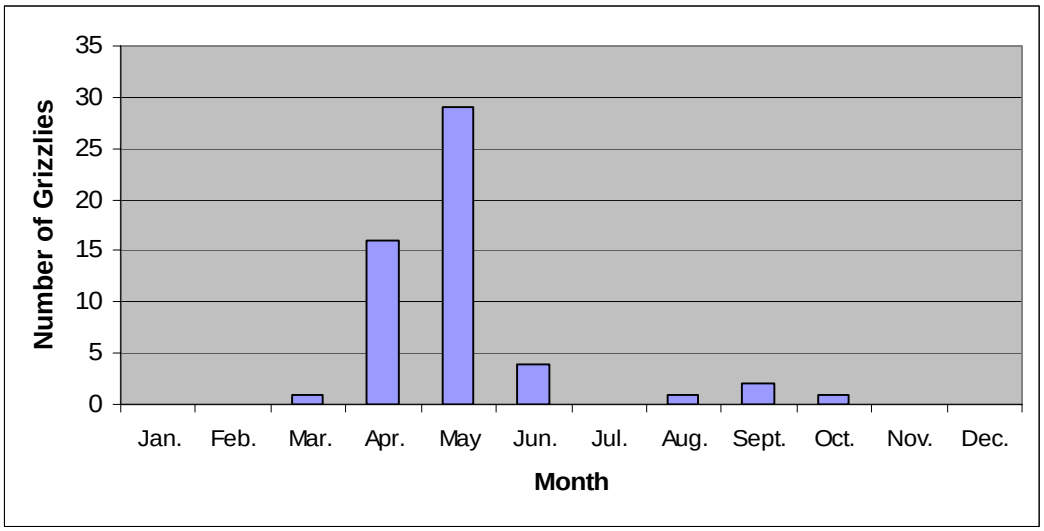

Figure 36: Total Estimated Monthly Grizzly Bear Harvests for Akłarvik (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

> I still harvest grizzly bear and polar bear. Grizzly bear … is in the whole ISR (T020).

Grizzlies are hunted from Qikuryuaq to Hans Bay. They are also hunted southeast of Hans Lake to Parsons Lake and south of Iqalusaaq (T011, T014). One Tuktuuyaqtuuq

[134] Rufus (1991:57).

hunter mentioned hunting grizzly bears in the Yaya Lakes area (T028). Another harvester mentioned that his father would hunt grizzly bears around Zed Lake (T031). These bears are also hunted near Bonnieville Point by Whale Point to the edge of Sitidgi Creek (T018). Other hunters mentioned hunting locations south of West Point, Dennis Lagoon and near Tuktuuyaqtuuq (T018, T005).

> Once I get to Shingle Point, I go way back, 40 miles inland … you could go as far back as you want. It's all hunting grounds, grizzly bear, and Herschel Island has hunting grounds, too. Somebody got a bear there, springtime, just coming out of hibernation. They're difficult to get in the Delta.[135]

The map in Figure 37 shows the main harvesting areas, although grizzlies occur throughout the Delta.

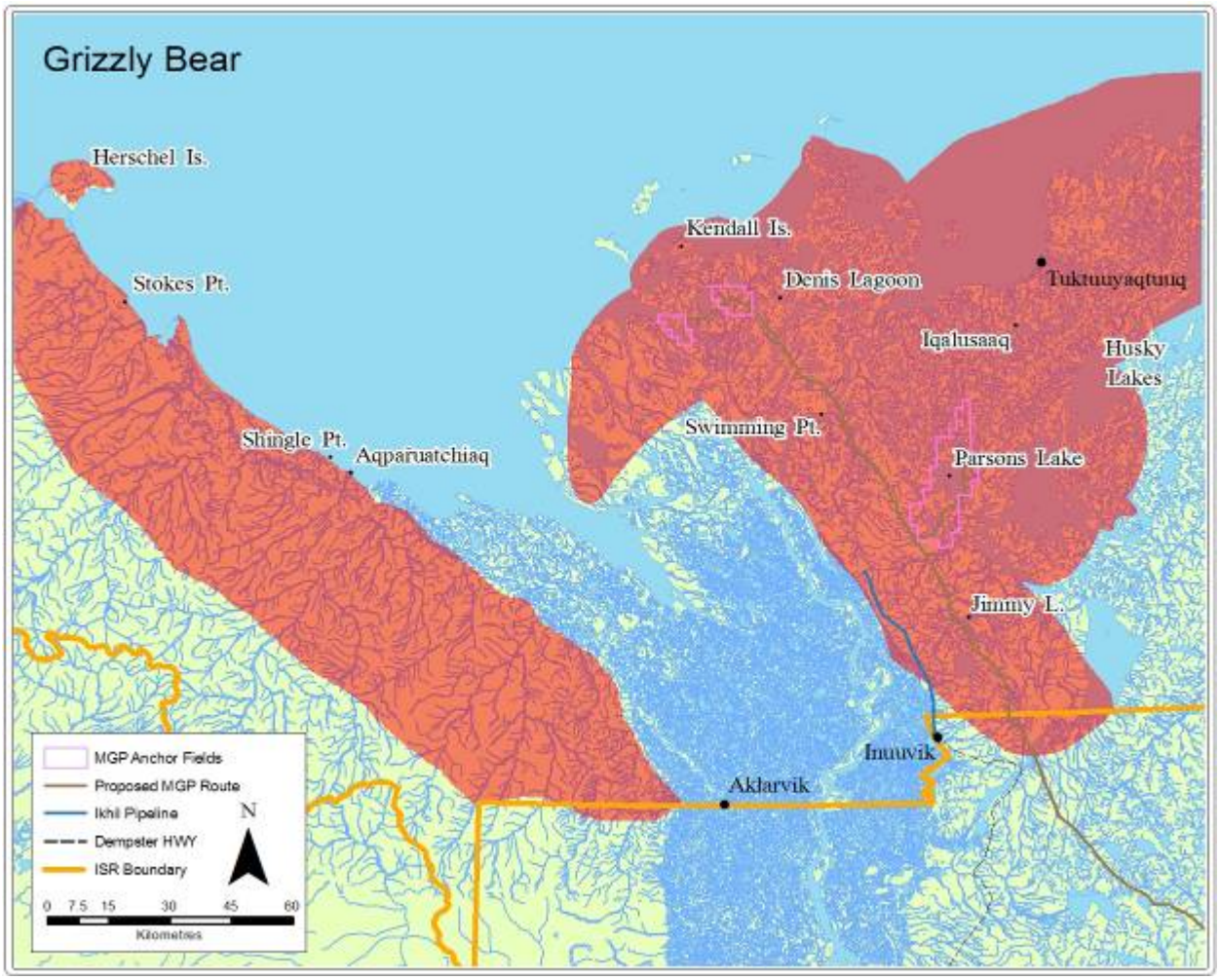

Figure 37: Grizzly Bear Harvesting Areas

[135] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Harvest Practices

Hunting bears is regulated by a quota system in the grizzly bear co-management areas. Tags are required to hunt grizzlies; for example, the Inuuvik region receives six grizzly hunting tags per year. One hunter mentioned that they hunt grizzlies because the bears have dens near their camps (INU133). Inuvialuit use the ice roads and trails to hunt grizzlies—using skidoos—and they hunt them in summer, fall, winter and spring. Some trails are especially for hunting grizzlies: "My trail is my old trap line trail to hunt grizzlies" (T006). Some hunters will hunt grizzlies at the same time as wolves and wolverines: "Wolves and wolverine too, while we look for grizzly, right from Holmes Creek to Parsons Lake" (T019). Grizzlies are also sometimes hunted by boat, at the same time as hunting seals or picking berries (T053).

Grizzly bear season opens in the fall. In the Akłarvik and Inuuvik zones, grizzly bear harvesting season is year-round. In the Tuktuuyaqtuuq zone, the season opens September 15th and ends May 31st. The seasons are different for sport hunting.

One hunter from Inuuvik mentioned that in the winter, they utilized dogs to help get the grizzly out of its den, and grizzlies were hunted for their meat when there were fewer moose or caribou (INU132). Another Inuuvik hunter remembers using dog teams to hunt for grizzlies with his family as a child (INU110).

> As soon as we see bear tracks we would follow them, even in deep snow. Sometimes we don't catch up to the grizzly bears but [a] lot of times we do catch up to them. [Old time hunters] would follow them using snowshoes and [a] dog team (INU132).

One Akłarvik hunter said he was about to be attacked by a grizzly and had to shoot it (AK206). Another hunter from Inuuvik cautioned that these days there are many grizzlies, especially during spring. If one is seen, he recommends escaping by fleeing on skidoo: "when they are mad they go with their front paws and jump up" (INU146).

Amount Harvested

There was no discussion about the number of grizzlies harvested during the interviews done for this study. However, the harvesters warn that the species is in danger, probably due to the cycle of *siksik* (ground squirrel), which have been poor the past number of years.

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study reported an estimated total grizzly harvest of 54 for Akłarvik, 7 for Inuuvik and 14 for Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The highest number of grizzlies harvested in one year was 25—in Akłarvik. There is an average of one to four grizzly harvesters in each community.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

> I learned how to prepare traditional foods from my dad; he used to get grizzly bears with dogs, used to make lard out of the fat and make good butter out of it (AK206).

> Brown bears, black and grizzly bears—the ones eating willows—you could smell them [cooking]. The ones that eat berries, boy they're good meat and I've hunted all these (T036).

One hunter mentioned that grizzlies are only hunted for sale nowadays; others mentioned that in the past they were hunted for food (AK239).

> The hides used to be used for mattresses because of their warmth.[136] Bear fat is reputed to be good for people with allergies; you must render the fat from the female breast.[137]

> Grizzly bears are known to be sensitive to traffic and never seen close to ice roads. There is some concern that scientific research and other activities, including development, that make use of helicopters, are negatively affecting bears and Inuvialuit hunters' ability to hunt bears. For example, one hunter encountered researchers in April 2004 and noted that there was a lot of helicopter traffic. He said that the helicopters scare the bears out of their normal range (INU100).

> The thing about the pipeline is that it runs right through the heart of the Inuuvik Grizzly Bear Management Area. If they go through with the pipeline, we won't be able to harvest grizzlies anymore because they'll move out of the area.[138]

> Bear dens should be avoided by the pipeline—when they are constructing the pipeline they should skirt bear dens if they are discovered, it doesn't matter the cost.[139]

[136] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Animals (caribou, wolves, bears, foxes) could use a corridor from Parsons Lake to Storm Hills (INU100).

11.2.2 *Akłaraaluit* (S) *Iggarlit* (U) – Black Bears

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Akłaraaluit*

The hunters interviewed did not mention black bears nearly as often as grizzly and polar bears. However, a common theme when they were discussed was that their numbers have increased. There are known to be black bears near Inuuvik and throughout the Delta, with many observations at Arvoknar Channel (INU115, T048), Shallow Bay and Husky Lakes (T031). Inuvialuit hunters that frequent Husky Lakes said that black bears did not used to be in the area, and are concerned that this change might be due to global warming. Some interviewees mentioned black bears as a nuisance, breaking into cabins. Black bears tend to den in the Delta; they all hibernate.

11.2.2.2 Use of *Akłaraaluit*

Some people say that black bears used to be hunted more for eating, as they are tastier than grizzlies. If they are small, or have been eating berries and plants, they are especially good eating. Long ago they used to get them and use the fur for making clothing or mattresses. There are stories that burning bear skin can change the weather, and the oil is said to cure rashes.[140] Black bear fur can also be used for making mitts and for parka trim; some say the fur looks better than grizzly. These days the pelt is not worth much. Grizzly pelts may be worth $1,500 to $2,000 each; that's why people hunt them. Black bear fur value is very limited. [141]

According to the Inuvialuit Harvest Study, between 1988 and 1997 there were no black bear harvests reported in Tuktuuyaqtuuq, 6 in Inuuvik and 12 in Akłarvik.

11.2.3 *Tuktut* (S) *Tuttut* (U) – Caribou

- *Tuktu* (S) *tuttu* (U) – a caribou
- *Tuktuk* (S) *tuttuk* (U) – two caribou
- *Tuktut* (S) *tuttut* (U) – three or more caribou

[140] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[141] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Tuktut*

Figure 38: Caribou

Inuvialuit do not refer to caribou with just one word, instead there are several words that used to identify the different stages of growth and other characteristics of the animal:

- *tuktu* (S), *tuttu* (U) refers to all caribou
- *pangniq* (S, U) is a bull
- *angusalluq* (S), *anguhalluq* (U) is a young bull
- *arnasalluq* (S) *arnahalluq* (U) is a young female before she calves for the first time
- *kulavak* is a female that has already calved
- *iblauq* is a caribou foetus
- *nurraq* (S) *nuñaaq* (U) is a new born
- *nukatugaq* (S) *nukatuagaq* (U) is a one year-old male

The existence of different names points to the importance of caribou, as well as the detailed biological knowledge that is and has been a vital aid to the survival of the Inuvialuit. Different types of caribou were better for different uses: a foetus' skin can be used for a baby diapers and clothing, while the fur from a two-month-old caribou is good for young children's clothing. Some hunters indicated that the meat from a fat, dry cow is particularly nice. *Tuktu*, which refers to all caribou, is the root word of the name Tuktuuyaqtuuq.

Habitat

Caribou do not stay in one place; they are always moving and grazing wherever food can be found. During the hot summers, caribou can be seen along the coast; they are usually escaping mosquitoes.

Caribou can be found from the hills of Akłarvik to the lowlands of the Delta, in the Caribou Hills and on the tundra. They mostly eat lichen in the winter, often called caribou food or white moss by locals. During the summer they eat lichen, grasses and the leaves of shrubs. When lichen is destroyed in forest fires, it takes many years to grow back to a level where caribou will eat it again. This can affect where caribou may go to feed. They do not live in one area but migrate seasonally—often taking different

routes—to give the land a chance to replenish itself. Caribou will also seek out salt to lick; some hunters noted that they will go to Husky Lakes or the coast to do this.

There are two different types of caribou in the study area: barren-land or barren-ground and woodland caribou. Of the barren-ground caribou, the Cape Bathhurst, Bluenose West and Porcupine herds migrate in and out of the study area. Porcupine caribou are also called mountain caribou. Woodland caribou may be found around Sitidgi Lake, Parsons Lake, Miner River, Kugaaluk, and occasionally down to the coast and in the Delta. The Bathhurst herd is found east of Paulatuuq, the Bluenose herd migrate through Paulatuuq, and Peary caribou are found around North Star Harbour. Some caribou herds have cross-bred with reindeer.

Porcupine Caribou

Figure 39: Porcupine Caribou

Porcupine caribou are mostly harvested by hunters from Akłarvik. They usually pass near Akłarvik during their migration in March, April and May on their way to their calving grounds. Calves are born along the coast, mostly during the first week of June. An Akłarvik hunter said caribou calving also occurs down at North Slope (AK221). They stay north for the summer, then migrate south to overwinter at Ogilvie River, south of Eagle Plains.[142]

Many participants noted that Porcupine caribou migration routes have changed, especially over the last five years; the caribou have been moving inland towards Old Crow. In the 1980s, they used to migrate very close to Akłarvik. They also used to be in one big herd, but are now observed to be splitting up during their migration.[143]

Bluenose Caribou

The Bluenose herd migrates to Tuktut Nurait/Tuktuk Nogait Park (meaning "the calves of the caribou") in the spring to give birth. Caribou will calf in cooler areas along the

[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

coast to try to escape insects. They generally have one calf. The Bluenose herd used to calf in the Caribou Hills, which is why the hills have that name. This area provided a breezy location away from insects. One Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunter said, "Well, the caribous go [calving] north of Tuk, they go quite a ways, maybe around Delhousie areas there" (T025). Bluenose *c*aribou have their calves in late May and early June.

Many hunters discussed the migration of the caribou during their interviews. Caribou do not follow the same migration route every year.

> [In the 1960s] they turn towards Tuk here, in the '80s they were plentiful, all over; now it's totally different again … (T015).

> There are more caribou nowadays, still they come and go—one year nothing, next [year] they come back. Cycles or something, so many years at a time and [then they] come back again (T001).

Generally, the Bluenose come from the east in the fall or in November and December, and remain in the area around Tuktuuyaqtuuq until the following year. They migrate toward Jonah Lake, Urquhart Lake and Old Man Lake, and on towards Miner River (T065). Their route takes them through the Anderson River and Smoke River areas, and to Parsons Lake and Husky Lakes. One hunter also said they migrate from Pete's Creek to Parsons Lake. At this time, the caribou may be "poor" or in rough shape. Caribou begin to migrate back east towards Paulatuuq in March of each year. The main herd leaves, although some stragglers stay over the summer months. These stragglers are hunted in the summer. One hunter thought that caribou were leaving earlier every year.

For many years, caribou did not migrate near Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Some elders noted during the interviews that when they were growing up, there were hardly any caribou. They started to return to the area in the 1970s. Before this, people had to travel hundreds of miles to get caribou. When they returned, the caribou were first spotted at Anderson River and Kaglik Lake.

Population and Health

Generally, people perceive the caribou population to be healthy, although some hunters think caribou numbers are decreasing again since the 1980s. One hunter indicated that groups of caribou are much smaller than they used to be: "… biggest bunch you see of caribou is about 50 to 60, not like the huge herd that came first" (T056). The time of year, location along their yearly migration and temperature can affect the health of caribou. For example, interviewees from Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq reported that the cooler

climate of summer 2004 was beneficial to the caribou; they were healthier than they are during hot, buggy summers when the caribou are skinny and unhealthy from being run around by the insects. Many hunters stated that cows are healthiest in November and December, while bulls are the healthiest in August and September before rutting season.

A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq expressed concern that caribou were healthier 15 years ago and that their behaviour has changed in recent years.

> … I was 15 to 16 years old when I first used to start going out with my father. Back then, them caribou used to be in a way lot better shape than what they are nowadays, eh? On top of that they were a lot tamer and nowadays they really changed because I'd say maybe because of the amount of hunters going out after them now … when I first used to start going out with my father it used to be a lot more approachable and a lot healthier shape I'd say, but nowadays they sure change. They're wilder and the majority of them caribou are not as fat or healthier … [as] back then (T031).

This hunter also thinks that caribou are less healthy in their joints than they were when he was younger. The difference in their health and behaviour may be attributed in part to the use of skidoos by the younger generation—they can approach the caribou much faster now. Another hunter agreed that caribou joints have more puss; they seem to have swelling in their joints. Sometimes the puss is seen in the lungs as well. Animals that have visible diseases are not usually harvested.

The liver is a good indicator of an animals' health. "Their liver, they get short but [with] white spots, they say you're not supposed to have liver with white spots on them" (T045). In addition, the Inuvialuit use the lungs to determine how healthy an animal is (AK213). Within the last 10 or 15 years, white spots have appeared on caribou lungs and livers (T015). Other conditions have also been recorded, "… another time I found [a] bunch of this color green on their stomachs … just like that spongy stuff" (T027), and are usually reported to a Renewable Resource Officer.

Many caribou have warble fly larvae in their skin, which are sometimes known as "skin bulldogs". These parasites do not affect the quality of the meat. Often these skin parasites affect the caribou in the spring (AK209). Other internal parasites also affect caribou in the spring (AK213).

Some of the elders agree that caribou aren't as healthy as they used to be.

> For 20 summers, me and my wife always fly to Husky Lake, from the middle of August sometimes or in September, sometimes we stay there for [a] month, sometimes less. We used to get caribou and they're good caribou when they first come in. For the last four summers … we haven't gone for three to four years now … Two years before we couldn't fly anymore, we were there when the caribous were kind of scarce, hard to get. We were traveling around by boat. We finally see one caribou, so I got it. Right on the beach, I skin it, cut it up, and it had just a little bit of fat on it, so I was going to take it, put some in my boat already and I opened it up and one whole side was just puss, yellow puss. I got kind of scared and didn't want to eat it—it was in the blood, ah? I left it, even though I wanted to eat meat. I didn't eat meat for two weeks. I took the skin and just left the meat.[144]

Some of those interviewed felt that there were declines in both the Porcupine and Bluenose caribou herds. Some of the reasons suggested were sickness; increased predation by bears, eagles and wolves; increased mortality during river crossings; and deep snow slowing movement to the calving grounds and calves being lost along the way. The Porcupine herd may also be affected by the increasing number of muskox in their range; it is said that the caribou are startled by muskox, which may appear to be a bear in the distance.

11.2.2.2 Use of *Tuktut*

One of the main staples for the Inuvialuit is caribou meat. The Inuvialuit most often hunt barren-ground caribou from the large herds such as the Bluenose and the Porcupine, but some people also hunt woodland caribou. Sometimes, if there are no caribou near a community, people will travel to other communities' areas to hunt.

Harvest Season

> Ah they're in good shape … when you hunt dry cows, they're in good shape early fall, yeah, even wintertime, maybe January or February (T021).

Caribou are better to hunt in some seasons than others. Young male caribou are generally considered to be "good meat". The fall is best for furs and meat, and is a good time to hunt bulls before rutting season. Dry cows are fat and healthy in August. Caribou are usually harvested in the fall before snowfall by boat; in the winter they are harvested with skidoos. Many hunters stated that fall and winter are better seasons to hunt caribou, as they are fat, healthy and have good meat, especially if it was a cool summer.

[144] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

The Porcupine caribou start rutting in October; the big bulls are considered inedible by mid-October. The two- and three-year-old bulls don't mate until they're older so they don't get smelly. By December, the smell is gone but the bulls are skinny from their exertions and need time to recover.[145]

The Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Conservation Plan shows a spring harvest of caribou in a large area south of and including Tuktuuyaqtuuq south to Sitidgi Lake. Summertime caribou harvesting, however, is along the coast of Qangmalit (Kagmallit) Bay from Tuktuuyaqtuuq to Pullen Island. The winter hunting area is a large area around and south of Tuktuuyaqtuuq.

The graph in Figure 40 shows the mean monthly caribou harvests reported by the three communities of the study area to the Inuvialuit Harvest Study over a 10-year period. The graph indicates that while caribou may be taken during any month of the year, the months of November and December tend to show the highest harvest numbers. The results do not distinguish between the different types of caribou.

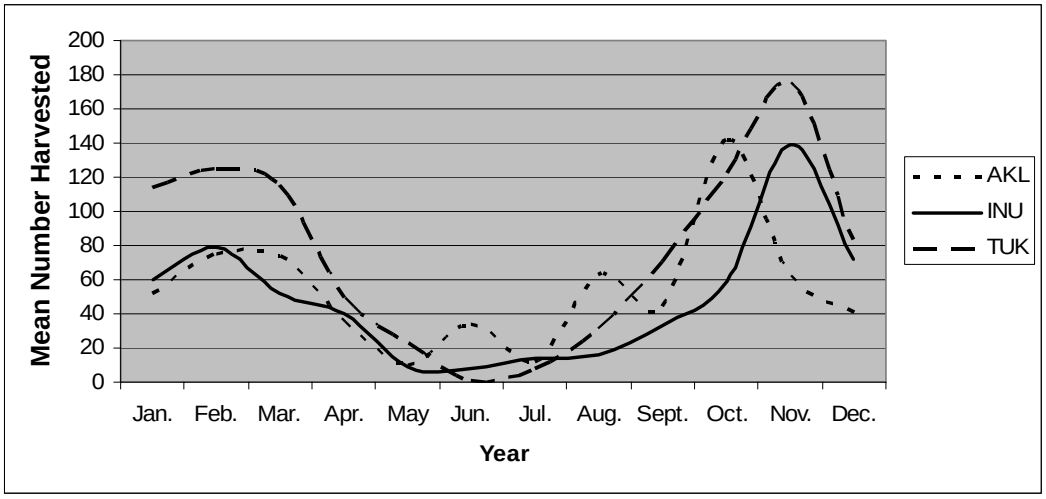

Figure 40: Mean Monthly Caribou Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Barren-ground caribou have extensive ranges and hunters will harvest them wherever they may find them. As mentioned above, caribou will be in different places during different seasons. Knowledge of these movements ensures a hunter's success. For example, one interviewee mentioned that when he hunts west of Parsons Lake, he

[145] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

knows that the caribou will be "hanging around" there from the early part of November until December before moving east (T065). Another mentioned that he hunts wherever the caribou migrate through, "in November when there's quite a bit of snow, even in December …" (T015). Wherever the Inuvialuit camp and if the opportunity of harvesting caribou arose they would get the caribou, if they were not too far away. Packing the carcass had to be considered, as well as the distance for walking. These days, Inuuvik hunters can use the Dempster Highway and ice roads to expand their hunting areas, bringing their kill home by truck.

Hunters will seek caribou in locations where it is likely that they will be found based upon the herd's movements, the quality of feed, and the hunter's knowledge of the usual movements of caribou at that time of year. For example, one hunter mentioned that they go to Parsons Lake, "… that['s] where the caribou usually go early, sometimes in [the] early part of November, this is where I do my hunting in the early fall" (T035).

Hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq generally indicated that they hunt for caribou in an area northwest of Husky Lakes to the Mackenzie Delta. In addition, the Richardson Mountains, particularly north towards the coast, are used for caribou. Some hunters go to the east of Husky Lakes to hunt, while some use the northwest portion of the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Peninsula. One hunter traveled as far south as Sitidgi Lake in the winter and North Caribou Lakes. Some caribou harvesting areas are shown in Figure 41.

Many hunters from Inuuvik use the area around and to the southwest and west of Parsons Lake to hunt for caribou. The hunters also find caribou on the west side of the Richardson Mountains, and over much of the study area, east of the East Branch of the Mackenzie River, including the Husky Lakes and Sitidgi Lake area and south to North Caribou Lake. Some hunt caribou in the Delta. Hunters from Akłarvik mainly use the east portion of the Richardson Mountains when they are hunting for caribou, up to and including Qikiqtarʃuk (Herschel Island). Many hunters noted that they hunt for caribou around Parsons Lake and Shingle Point (see Figure 41).

Harvest Practices

> … [an] activity like hunting caribou we always go together, hunt together, skin together (AK201).

When caribou were harvested at a camp during the summer and there was no means of returning to town; packing the caribou carcass was the only way to bring it home. Usually, the caribou is skinned, gutted and cut into parts. In the past, it was packed to

camp by men, women and children and because there were no freezers, most of the meat was immediately made into dry meat, and the rest then put in a cool spot until used or shared with others.

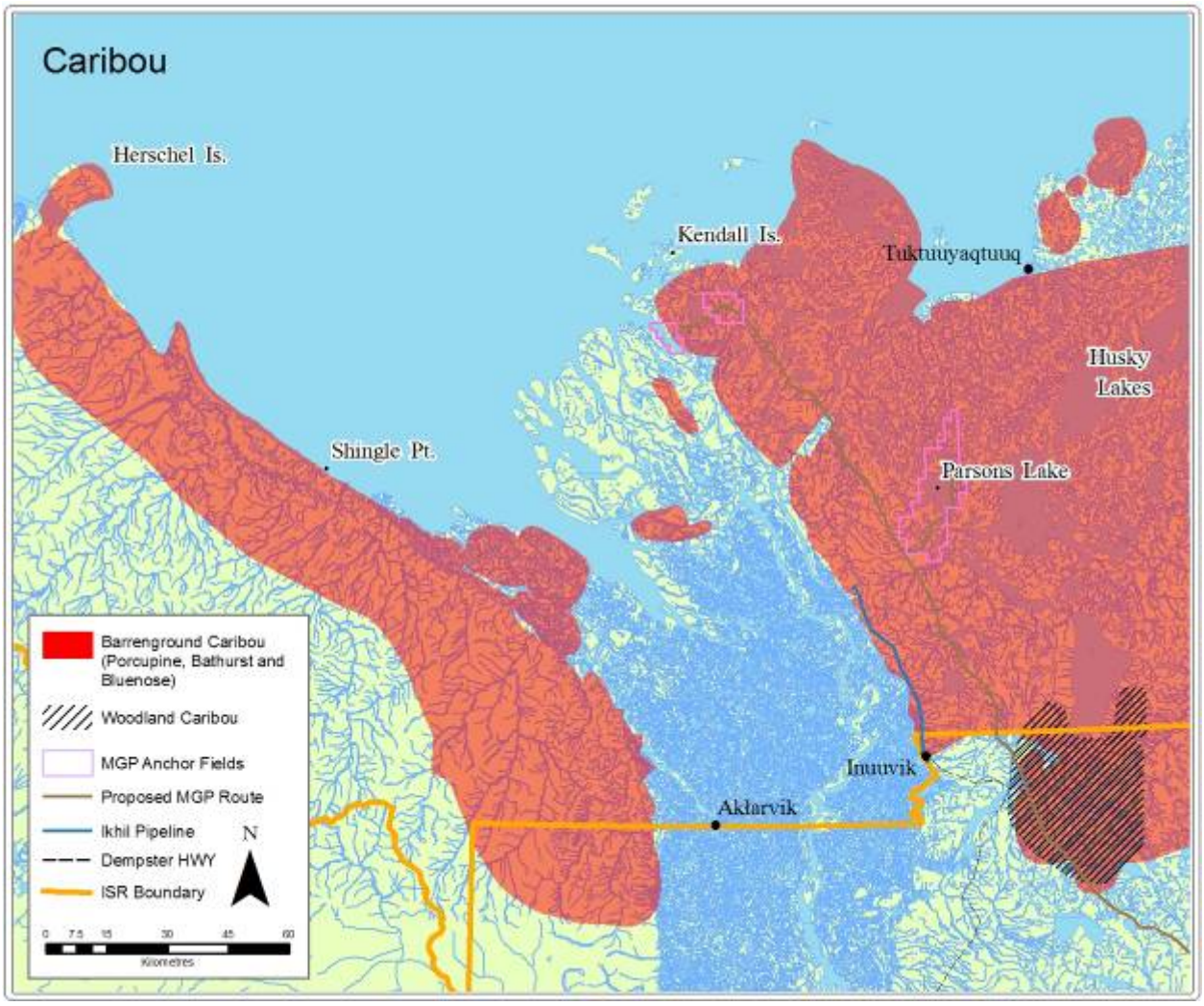

Figure 41: Caribou Harvesting Areas

Often, hunting entails traveling for many miles to harvest caribou. This is particularly the case when the caribou were not coming close to Tuktuuyaqtuuq. Historically, one method of hunting the Bluenose herd was with organized hunts from Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The caribou would be forced into the water and the caribou would be speared from *qainnat* (kayaks).

Traditionally, caribou hunting required groups of people working together. Everyone would help to get the caribou into an area where they could kill many caribou. This type of hunting was effective, as people had to prepare for a long winter, when game is

difficult to get. Skinning, drying skins, butchering the meat, drying the sinew for thread, making dry meat, drying the skin of caribou legs for *makłak*, skinning the head and cleaning edible innards of caribou would all be done by the group working together. Although this could be done by a single hunter, it is also done quickly by a group or family/families.

There are many important points to being a successful caribou hunter. Some examples of hunting knowledge follow.

- Chasing the caribou will make the meat taste funny (tough as leather) (T012).
- Watch for crows (ravens) in the sky, often they will circle the caribou and you can tell if there are any nearby (T027).
- Don't hunt for caribou when it's clear, it's best to go when it is snowing. When it's snowing you can sneak up and slaughter the animals more effectively—this is what the old timers say (T036).
- When it gets windy, you hunt caribou (AK232).
- Caribou go down to the coast or Imaryuk for salts (INU110).

One hunter mentioned that they used to go on top of hills to scout for caribou, with binoculars. If the caribou are not being pestered by air traffic, they tend to hang around in one area. Some feel that caribou hunting has increased recently:

> I'd say caribou [hunting] is … [increasing] because all these younger generations too … [are] starting to go out, and more skidoos are coming out now, so young ones are really starting to go out now I guess, compared to when we were young (T045).

This is in part due to having access to snow machines. Long ago, the father took a long time to hunt with a dog team and when he returned, the dogs needed a rest from the long trip. Today when the father returns, the children can get gas the next day and go out to hunt. Skidoos, however, may influence caribou behaviour. Caribou, unlike reindeer—which bunch up together when they see a skidoo or human—will scatter everywhere (INU152). An Akłarvik hunter told the interviewer a traditional hunting rule: "Don't kill the first caribou, you wait for the main herd … when we bother the first ones the caribou go by way up, I've seen it a few times" (AK204). Many harvesters still practise this tradition.

Amount Harvested

People can often take more than one caribou when hunting: "We took lots of caribou in the valley" (AK232). Usually harvesters relate to us in their interviews that they do not overharvest, they take what they can eat or give away to the elderly and those without spouses.

The only caribou harvest estimates available come from the Inuvialuit Harvest Study, which attempted to record all caribou harvested in Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq from 1988 to 1997. It includes numerous herds, and both barren-ground as well as woodland caribou. The total estimated harvests from the study are thought to be conservative as the study does not record animals that may be wounded; it misses what are referred to as "super harvesters" or "super households"—individuals or families that harvest much more than the average harvester; and does not include any commercial, research or community hunts in its totals. Table 11 includes the total estimated caribou harvests and 10-year means taken from the study.

Table 11: Total Estimated Caribou Harvests

Location	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	Mean
Akłarvik	1222	545	983	740	557	470	384	729	336	463	643
Inuuvik	1589	635	602	490	663	392	470	272	398	275	579
Tuktuuyaqtuuq	1003	586	732	1325	1358	890	955	691	883	730	915

These totals are also presented graphically in Figure 42. The totals seem to indicate fairly steady caribou harvest amounts over this 10-year period.

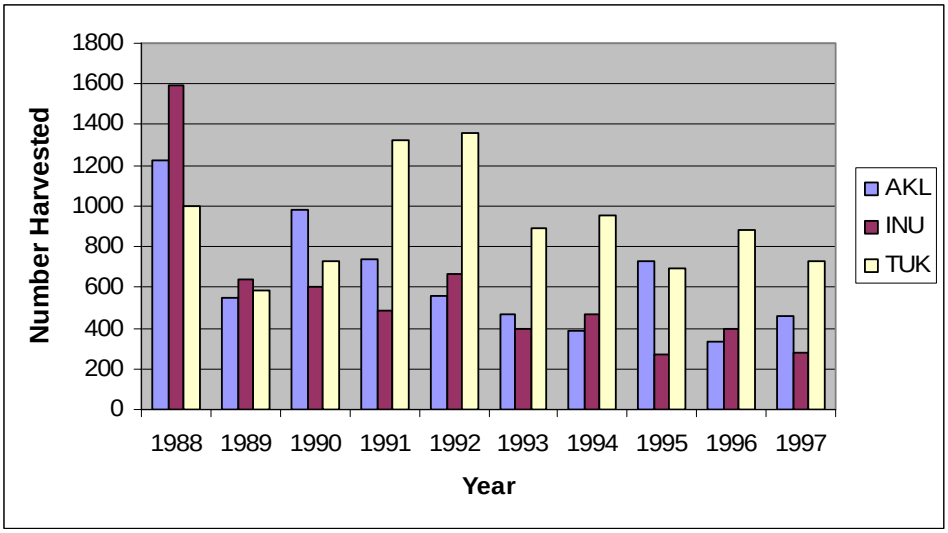

Figure 42: Total Estimated Annual Caribou Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study also recorded the number of harvesters taking caribou in each community. In Akłarvik, the number of harvesters ranged from 37 to 95, with a mean harvester population of 65. In Inuuvik, there were between 37 and 81 harvesters any particular year, with a mean of 58. The mean number of caribou harvesters in Tuktuuyaqtuuq was 72, and ranged from 53 to 90 over the course of the study. The means are graphed and included in Figure 43.

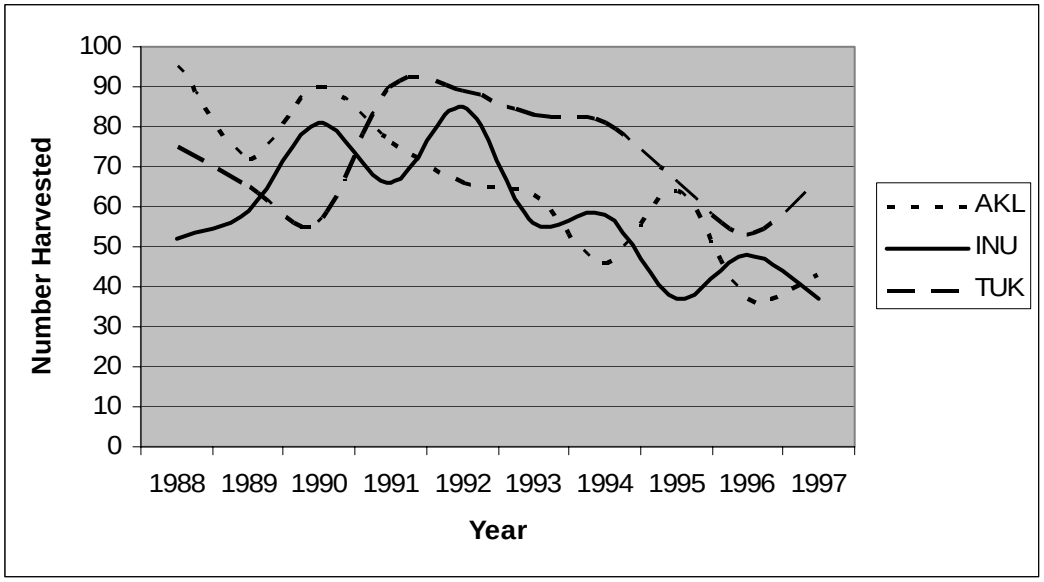

Figure 43: Caribou Harvesters in Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq

While the graph in Figure 43 may indicate a slight downward trend in the number of caribou harvesters, it is important to note that caribou harvests are directly dependent on many other factors, such as weather, employment trends, caribou population size and migration patterns. These other factors need to be taken into account before a trend can be accurately determined.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

> When they saw the stars and when it got a little darker, they say about now the caribou skins are good for clothing … At one time, my dad took me up there to get some caribou for clothing. He said it was for winter use. Long ago they say the light ones are good and their fur is good for hunting. They are easier to use when moving around.[146]

[146] Kathleen Hansen (90-19B:7) in Nagy (1994:72).

Caribou are crucial to the Inuvialuit diet; many interviewees mentioned that they "can't go without it" as one of the Inuvialuit mainstays, along with *maktak* and fish. The meat has been an important part of the diet for as long as anyone can remember, and remains a main dietary staple even today. Many Inuvialuit live in lower-income situations and in communities where imported meat is expensive. Today, imported meat from southern ranches and farms is purchased to vary and supplement the local diet. Locally harvested, caribou is felt to be a healthier choice than beef, pork, chicken and lamb. Some of those interviewed mentioned that when store foods are consumed, they are hungry in an hour and have to eat again. One hunter from Inuuvik believes that eating caribou and *maktak* before going hunting is the wisest advice for a hunter.

Caribou is traded with other communities for *maktak* and fish, such as Arctic char. This type of trading has been going on for years. Skins are dried and still used by hunters, and unlike bulky, heavy mattresses, a caribou skin is naturally the size of a person, light and warm. The best skins for clothing are harvested in the early fall and the best for mattresses are in winter, when the caribou have their winter fur.

The original *atigi* (parka) for men and women were designed from caribou skins; the dark part of the caribou skin for the body and the white part of the caribou skin from the stomach is for the white and dark designs. The coat is trimmed with wolverine around the hood and bottom of the parka, with pieces of wolverine stomach fur cut in strips for decoration**.** The white fur is wolf, which many people call sunburst.

Some of the other uses of caribou are for thread or sinew, and tools such as needles made from the bones. In Tuktuuyaqtuuq, the elders mentioned making *kiviq* or homemade sausage from caribou, and *qayuq* is the blood kept in a bag. Some elders also enjoy eating the caribou foetus, especially when it is still in the womb, and a pregnant cow will be brought back intact for them. Every part of the caribou was traditionally used; some elders even remember that people would eat the warble fly larvae—you pull the skin off, the stuff inside is called honey milk. They warm it up by rubbing it in their hands first and then eat it.[147] Long ago, the caribou fat was chewed and candles made out of it. You could also render caribou fat by boiling it, letting it cool and scraping it off the top. This turns to tallow; you mix it with meat and stir it; it's like whipped cream.

Some say that as recently as the 1970s, Inuvialuit people were much more dependent on caribou, and it was still common to see people dressed in caribou skin outfits. Others

[147] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

say that the dependence on caribou has increased these days, as there is less use of other resources such as muskrats.[148] It is also said that the younger generations no longer know how to eat the delicacies that people used to, so they don't know what to bring home or how to bring it home. "It's because our young people have so much to eat. Long ago, we didn't have much to eat, so we treasured everything that came from an animal."[149]

Reindeer, brought in by a federal government program in the 1930s, are very similar to caribou. Today some of the reindeer herd has mixed in with the Bluenose herd and this past year one was killed as far away as Paulatuuq.

Concerns and Recommendations

Due in no small part to the importance of caribou in the Inuvialuit diet, many people have concerns about the effects of development on caribou populations. Migration routes will be impacted by development, and helicopters and planes can impact caribou by causing them to run and become thin, making them less healthy and making the meat tough to eat. From October to December, caribou are often around or migrating past Parsons Lake. More than one hunter expressed a concern that development at that location will probably affect the caribou:

> There's going to be big activity here, ah? Every year we go there and that … herd is always in this Parsons area. So my concern is when that pipeline and facilities go up, where is our caribou going to go (INU105)?

> My main concern is these two wells [at Parsons Lake]. The caribou generally stay in this area. They got to wait 'til this ice get thick to cross. So stay there for a good month or two, then they move once this is frozen. So if they stay there while these two plants are open, they're going to get contaminated … If they left this the way with putting all these facilities and plants there and that's a lot of noise and the caribou is not going to go that way no more; going to have to find another route (INU105).

> Right now there's a lot of caribou in that area (T006).

Hunters are concerned about how the caribou will cross the pipeline if it is above ground for any sections: More studies need to be conducted about how caribou and other animals will cross under or over the pipeline, how much snow falls in the area,

[148] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[149] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

and how the snowfall will impact the animals' migrations and movements. Many people are concerned about the pipeline being above ground north of Parsons, and in-between East and West Hans Lake.

> Most of the people have trails [in that area]. If you see a wolverine, wolf, whatever, you're going to go after it. The harvesters and elders are worried that if there's a lot of snowfall, neither people nor caribou will be able to get under a pipeline that's only 2.2 m.[150]
>
> At Parsons, caribou will have to learn how to duck down (T041)!
>
> Look at me I'm over six feet; stand on a skidoo, just above seven feet. [I'm] concerned about seven feet for height of pipeline (T056).
>
> The over ground pipeline in the summer it will be okay, but I don't think in the winter because of the winds and snow (T033).
>
> The 2.2 m should be higher because of the amount of snow that falls every year (INU109).
>
> Only eight feet [high]? They should make it a little higher, because [of] the snow packs … should be higher (INU123).
>
> Maybe build (pipeline) underground if it is possible (around Parsons Lake) (T031).

One suggestion to deal with this problem is for the oil companies to consult with knowledgeable hunters about where caribou might cross and where the pipeline will need to be higher. Another idea was to build a temporary pipeline at the proposed height to see how much snow may build up.

There is also the possibility that with the construction of roads and other linear disturbances, the caribou's path may "turn", making it more difficult to hunt them. "That big cutline near Tapqaq caused the caribou to change their migration route; they won't cross the part where the ground is torn up" (T015). Barren-ground caribou herds follow particular behaviour patterns. Sam Arey, speaking at the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger Inquiry) in 1975, was worried about the pipeline that was proposed at that point and how it might impact migration patterns.

[150] Ibid.

> That pipeline that the people are talking about, I say that it should not go behind Akłarvik. From the time I could remember, the caribou came through there in the fall time and the springtime. Along the coastline they travel further inland. It has always been my observation, when there is a large herd of caribou travelling, if the first few, who are the leaders, turn in some direction, the others will follow, the herd. Ever since I was told by the elders of my time, don't try to make noise or frighten the first herd leaders of the herd, because they are the ones very easy to scare away and very easy to turn. It has always been noticed by the people if you disturb the first leaders of the herd, the caribou, no matter how large a herd it is, they will, if the leaders of the herd turn any direction, all of the caribou that is coming behind will always follow, no matter what direction the leaders turn.[151]

Caribou are known to have excellent hearing, and they will bolt if they hear unusual or threatening sounds, even if the source of the sound is miles away.

> The pipeline is going to come here and maybe the people are thinking about it, but the caribou don't know nothing about it, the caribou have never heard anything like that before. They hear the water running in the springtime and they hear the water running in the fall time, and then sometimes a lot of rain in this country. I know myself if caribou are five miles away and there is no wind, dead calm, you can't go near them just on account of the noise. If you happen to step on fresh snow and they are five miles away, laying down on the ground, then they hear you and they are gone. You can't shoot them. And we have got to wait for three days to catch up to them, that is going to happen to the pipeline.[152]

Elijah (Ookpik) Allen was also worried that the pipeline proposed in the 1970s would itself be loud and would cut off caribou from certain feeding grounds. Many of these concerns are based on past experiences with development.

> When we had the oil exploration in the '70s and '80s we had to go far for caribou. I used to have to go 80 miles towards Kugaaluk and Jonah Lake area. Now with the gas prices too, they're worried about going back and forth. They're worried about the noise of the choppers and that, at certain times of the year—even for geese. But with the caribou, when there wasn't too much noise, they finally come back—last 15 or 20 years they finally come back because there's less activity.[153]

Because the barren-ground caribou populations may already be in decline, hunters want to make sure the caribou are protected in the future.

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[151] Sam Arey in Berger (1975).
[152] Elijah Ookpik in Berger (1975).
[153] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

> Main concern is the caribou … because it's right in our area where we hunt caribou … you know the Inuuvik gas line and caribou … [it] changed their migration route (INU125).

> I'm chasing caribou and that chopper flew over me and my caribou all ran away. That really ticked me off. So my concern is when that pipeline and facilities go up, where is our caribou going to go (INU105)?

> This is caribou migration season … if we start building roads and towers caribou's going turn different direction (INU105).

> Caribou are further back because of the noise (INU123).

> I worry about caribou when they come through in fall time and for the geese too. There will be lots of activities when they start to put the pipeline through (INU101).

> The pipeline ... going to have a big impact especially on the caribou herd (T056).

> May not have any caribou five to seven years from now because of the activities (T029).

It was suggested that hunters should be the ones to monitor the wildlife everywhere. In addition, industrial activity needs to incorporate these concerns and the needs of the caribou in the following ways.

> In the spring time, keep the chopper activities down for the geese … [and] after freeze up in the fall while we hunt caribou, especially around Parsons Lake, October and November (T028).

> Choppers should fly at a certain height so they don't scare the animals away (INU105, T045).

> Recommend 100 feet away from the shore (for the pipeline) all the way around, that's avoiding the caribou completely. The pipeline should tie right into Ikhil … right at the foothills (INU105).

> Closely monitor for caribou feeding before they go back east (T065).

> That if they have activities in the spring, they do not fly in the migration route of the traditional hunting grounds (T067).

I don't agree with … that pipeline if it is surface all the way that … caribou passage … every so many miles they should [go] underground (T017).

From Parsons Lake to Storm Hills that's where I do all my caribou hunting and stuff; animals could use a corridor here—the caribou, wolves, bears, foxes, stuff like that (INU100).

The pipeline should go through Campbell Creek, follow that existing road, that way they don't have to make another one. Only way we could do is just bury it. They should just leave this, like in the United States save it for last, don't touch it until we run out (INU105).

Take hunters out on the land and they'll show you where the crossings need to be (T048).

Protect caribou travel areas, for example the Richardson Mountains to Shingle Point (AK237).

Should protect the caribou area all along the coast also. We go as far as the Alaska border for caribou.[154]

Just as long as they listen to our rules … it's fair for me they should ask what month to start working, what time is for hunting season (AK231).

Probably the development will cause all animals to move away (T017).

Our biggest concern … is that the study area is real critical habitat … well used … (INUl15).

The pipeline is going is through hunters trails—Noel Lake, across to Jimmy Lake—that's our trail; it's been there for as long as I've lived in Inuuvik (INUll0).

[My concern is] that it goes right through all the main caribou hunting areas … it goes right through everybody's. All the caribou is going to [come] close to Inuuvik because the pipeline is cutting it right off (INU104).

You know it bothers me to see the pipeline to going through here … why don't they bring it over here and follow that big Ikhil and join it up here? It's not that crooked (INU145).

[154] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Would like to see the pipeline follow the river (INU104).

Along the hills here … would be nice if they could follow the Mackenzie River in the foothills (INU152, INU146).

That's a big concern to us because we are worried that someday when they are hauling fuel and stuff they might have a tanker spill or something there [Caribou Hills to Parsons Lake] and it might just wreck the place. That's why we always worried about using it as an access … but they still use it and that is still a worry in our minds (INU115).

Yeah that's my greatest concern where say you had a break … down the line where you know it's a good place for animals or good fishing spots … that would be my concern … what's the life span of the pipelines? Metal erodes sometime or other (INU152).

Really need to monitor each facility and site, especially at Parsons Lake area (T065).

11.2.4 *Tuktuvait* (S) *Tuttuvat* (U) – Moose

- *Tuktuvak* (S) *tuttuvak* (U) – a moose
- *Tuktuvaak* (S) *tuttuvaak* (U) – two moose
- *Tuktuvait* (S) *tuttuvat* (U) – three or more moose

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Tuktuvait*

Figure 44: Moose

A hunter said that moose appear to have multiplied since the caribou returned to the west.

Habitat

Some of the interviewees noticed that moose eat the same foods as caribou, such as caribou lichen, leaves, bushes and grasses under lakes. A Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunter said he has noticed when he hunts at Pete's

Creek that there are no moose in areas where there are no willows; therefore, moose live mostly in the Delta and stay where there are bushes or in the valleys.

Moose rear their young in the valley along the coastline (AK224). Moose have one or two young and hunters try to obtain a bull moose before it starts rutting in October.

Some of the places mentioned for moose were Army Camp, across from Bar C and Lucas Point, and near Swimming Point. One was even seen in Tuktuuyaqtuuq recently. Some hunters mentioned that the wildfires in the Sahtu area drove the moose down into the Inuuvik areas.[155]

Population and Health

There is little known about the exact population size of moose in the ISR, but many harvesters feel that there may be an increase in the numbers of moose they are seeing. One hunter from Akłarvik said, "… hardly any caribou, but lots of moose all over" (AK218). It is rare to see many moose and yet a hunter said that he counted 19 in one day: "I usually get moose, there's lot of moose in that area there. And I used … to seek moose out, most I ever seen must have been about 19 … around Bar C area. [E]very year when I go in that area there, there's always moose" (T025).

Moose are said to be in good health.

11.2.2.2 Use of *Tuktuvait*

Moose meat is not as popular as caribou meat with most Inuvialuit. While there are many around, few people hunt moose. Some say this is because there didn't use to be as many moose, and so people weren't raised on them or used to harvesting them. Others mentioned that now people live in town, there are few places suitable for preparing the meat.[156]

Harvest Season

One harvester said that moose are better during certain times of the year; in the fall time, their hair changes and they are in good shape. He said that he never hunted them much after the caribou returned (T017). Another said they are strong-tasting in the fall and spring, so summer and mid-winter are the best times to get them.[157]

[155] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[156] Inuuvik verification session (May 2006).
[157] Ibid.

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study 10-year report shows that moose may be harvested incidentally during any month of the year, however most moose hunting is done during the fall months, either before or after the rut (September and November). According to the Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Conservation Plan, moose are hunted in the springtime in a large area south of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, north of and including Sitidgi Lake.

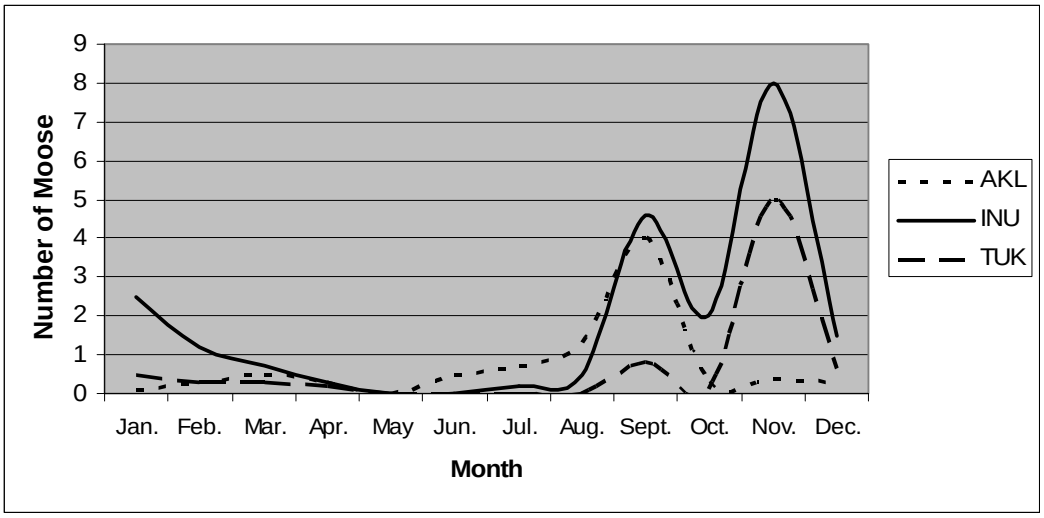

Figure 45: Mean Monthly Moose Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Moose are fairly widespread throughout the Delta and as a result may be harvested in many different locations. A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq got a moose at Holmes Creek (T017). Other hunters go to the Yaya Lakes area, Holmes Creek, off the Mackenzie and Little Moose River in Shallow Bay. "I've shot moose at Hans Creek, Dennis Creek and Devils Creek" (T019). One Akłarvik harvester hunts inland north of Running River for moose. A harvester from Inuuvik used to hunt in the northern Yukon for moose. Some moose harvesting areas are mapped in Figure 46.

Harvest Practices

Moose is one of the animals that is difficult to hunt when the weather is calm, as they have the ability to hear very well. An elder stated the best time to hunt moose is to sneak up on them when the weather is foggy, misty, blowing and you are approaching against the wind, for they have great ability to hear. Most Inuvialuit hunters try and avoid shooting them if they have a calf with them. Instead, it is better to target the

young bulls; they are good when they are one to two years old and their meat is tender.[158]

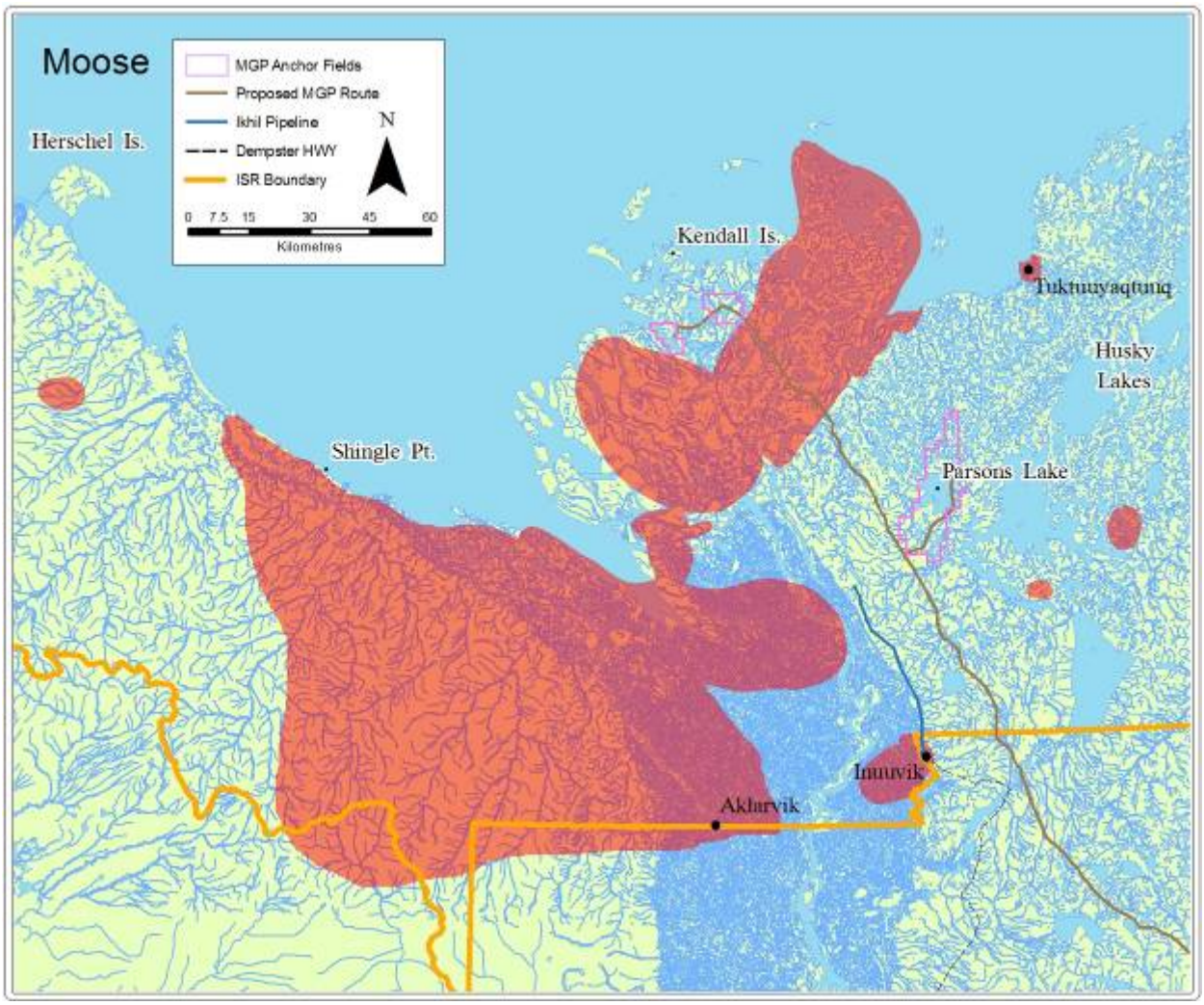

Figure 46: Moose Harvesting Areas

Amount Harvested

Some hunters told the interviewers that they do not hunt moose since the caribou came back, although they might get one to share with people who enjoy moose meat.

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study shows fairly consistent numbers for moose harvesting, with the highest numbers taken by Inuuvik hunters. Table 12 presents summary information from the study.

[158] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Table 12: Estimated Moose Harvests and Mean Numbers of Harvesters

Location	Total Moose Harvested, 1988-1997 (No.)	10-Year Harvest Mean (No.)	Mean Harvesters (No.)
Akłarvik	90	9	8
Inuuvik	146	15	8
Tuktuuyaqtuuq	36	4	2

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

A moose hunt brings in meat when the caribou do not come around. When this happens, then moose are hunted by all communities.

> I get one per year. Moose is a good eating animal; if you get one it's worth five caribou. But some people don't eat moose meat.[159]

> When you got nothing to eat, that's a big animal, you could have it for months and months. Steady eating if you get moose.[160]

Moose hides are valuable because they are used to make the bottoms of *makłak,* and moccasins and jackets. Historically, they were also used to make gun cases, *saigu* (tepees), moccasins, bags, skin boats and toboggan wraps. While tanning a moose hide is a lot of work and can take about two weeks, their hide is very tough; it never tears. It was also mentioned during the verification sessions that the antlers could be used for a serving dish, the hair for handicrafts, the hide for a sled, the ears for mitts, and the sinew is very good for many purposes.

11.2.5 *Imnait* (S,U) – Dall Sheep

- *Imnaiq* (S,U) – a mountain sheep
- *Imnaik* (S,U) – two mountain sheep
- *Imnait* (S,U) – three or more mountain sheep

[159] Ibid.
[160] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Imnait*

Habitat

The habitat of the Dall sheep is the Richardson Mountains to the west and south of Akłarvik, mostly outside of the study area. Their limited range is the reason why usually only community members from Akłarvik harvest them.

> Mostly the sheep would be in the high mountains—less snow—and [in] the spring time they would be heading down to the valley where there would be all the green grass. That's where they find the food, up in the high hills, but in the summer time where we are staying in the coast line because [of] the fresh tundra. Down the coastline it's all low ground so they [move down] more than on hills so it would be easy for them (AK237).

One interviewee observed that sheep might eat the same type of food as caribou, namely lichen. They are preyed on by wolves; once in awhile a lynx will take a lamb. It was noted that the rutting season for sheep starts later than moose or caribou—in November—and that they have their young in June.

Population and Health

There were no definitive comments on either the health or the population of Dall sheep during the interviews. People in the Akłarvik verification sessions indicated that they think the population is doing alright as no one is hunting them. "I never hunt sheep. If I have four caribou and half a moose in my deep freeze, why should I hunt sheep? They're an endangered species."[161]

11.2.2.2 Use of *Imnait*

Black Mountain is the main place for hunting sheep.

> But they'd go up and hunt sheep**.** That is why they called it Irritchiaq [new mountain] all of a sudden, people had a place to go climb and see if any sheep was close by (INU126).

As mentioned above, the only community that regularly hunts for *imnait* (mountain sheep) is Akłarvik, due to its proximity to the Richardson Mountains. However, some individuals living in other communities that used to live in the northern Yukon have knowledge of mountain sheep. Many elders fondly remember eating *imnait*, and recall how good it tasted. It is still a highly valued meat today.

[161] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Archie Headpoint, born in 1896, told the Berger Inquiry that:

> … my father always made a living off the land wherever he went. As I grew up I started travelling with my father in the wintertime. We started making the travel to further areas to hunt, and all I had for my blanket was a sheepskin.[162]

Harvest Season

> When we … do our fall hunting for moose … then we'd go up to the mountain and get our sheep in here … and then we go right to it and from there we go down, down the foothills, down to our … spring hut (INU126).

The Inuvialuit Harvest Study shows that small numbers of Dall sheep are harvested during the fall, winter and spring. The harvests are fairly equally spread out between September and April.

Harvest Locations

All sheep hunting occurs west and south of the study area, 50 to 60 miles inland from the coast. The areas mentioned for hunting sheep were Black Mountain, Red Mountain and Sheep Creek. One participant said that 30 years ago, two sheep were shot in Fish River, but they were way out of their range.[163]

Harvest Practices

People mostly use skidoos to hunt sheep, as the areas they inhabit are difficult to get to any other way. Sheep are hunted on the cliff sides, "because … you can't hunt them down … you got to hunt them upwards, ah … because they're too smart, you'll never keep up to them if you hunt them down" (INU126).

Amount Harvested

There were no sheep harvests recorded for Inuuvik or Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunters by the Inuvialuit Harvest Study. Akłarvik hunters reported a total harvest of 15 sheep from 1988 to 1997; the 10-year mean for sheep harvests is two.

[162] Archie Headpoint in Berger (1975).
[163] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

As mentioned, meat from the Dall sheep is still a highly prized food. However, because of their distant range and low numbers, few people hunt them. There is still one hunter that gets them for their horns. These were traditionally used for making tools such as fishhooks and *ulu* handles, as you can boil and actually shape the horn. People also use it for carving.[164]

11.2.6 *Umingmait* (S,U) – Muskox

- *Umingmak* – a muskox
- *Umingmaak* – two muskox
- *Umingmait* – three or more muskox

Umingmait, as the elders say, would tend to take over the grazing areas from caribou and moose. The Inuvialuit are concerned that this is going to occur in the northern Yukon. Some interviewees feel that muskox is not a species native to the study area.

> I think [muskox] just eat anything, they could maybe mix it with lichen and grass willows, but then again muskox is an implanted animal, like we never ever had muskox in our hills before, quite a few years back in … Alaska, some white people around there transplanted some muskox (AK215).

One participant thinks that muskox drove caribou off Sachs Island in the 1970s and 1980s, when the caribou are known to have returned to the Tuktuuyaqtuuq area. The muskox had eaten all the caribou food (T060).

[164] Ibid.

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Umingmait*

Figure 47: Muskox

Habitat

Muskox live around the North Slope, and near the Malcolm, Firth and Babbage Rivers. They are said to be increasing all along the coastal areas.[165] Muskox and caribou eat the same foods. One interviewee indicated that muskox live in herds, like reindeer. They said that both reindeer and muskox can be detected by the smell of the herd—a large group of animals has a foul smell to it (INU152). "You could smell them from a mile away; it scares off the caribou."[166] It is also said that muskox frighten caribou off as they can look like a grizzly in the distance.

Population and Health

Interviewees were concerned that muskox and caribou are competing for food, and the muskox are increasing in population and taking over areas from caribou. "1989 when I worked at Firth River … fly along and you counted 33 [muskox] a couple of years ago there is 200 … so now they are multiplying and chasing caribou away" (AK215).

Muskoxen tend to have more internal parasites than other species, according to a hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq: "Muskox are usually pretty loaded … in the lungs … Don't notice it too much in the caribou, not like muskox" (T030). Nonetheless, muskoxen have been observed to multiply over the past several years.

Muskoxen calve on their annual migration route to the barren grounds in mid-April and into early May. They have a single calf (AK230). One interviewee noted, "You can't shoot muskox after June 15, because they have young ones already, or June 10 anyways. June 15 is cut off date for muskox because they have young already inside" (AK230).

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

11.2.2.2 Use of *Umingmait*

Umingmait are not used by the three communities involved in this study, but harvesting is done on a large scale at Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour); the *qiviuq* (soft hair) is kept and the meat is sold commercially.

Harvest Season

Harvesting takes place in the spring or in the early fall before the muskox start rutting. Of the muskox harvests reported to the Inuvialuit Harvest Study between 1988 and 1997, 13 animals were taken in April and 1 in September.

Harvest Locations

Some muskox harvesting areas from the interviews and verification sessions are mapped in Figure 48.

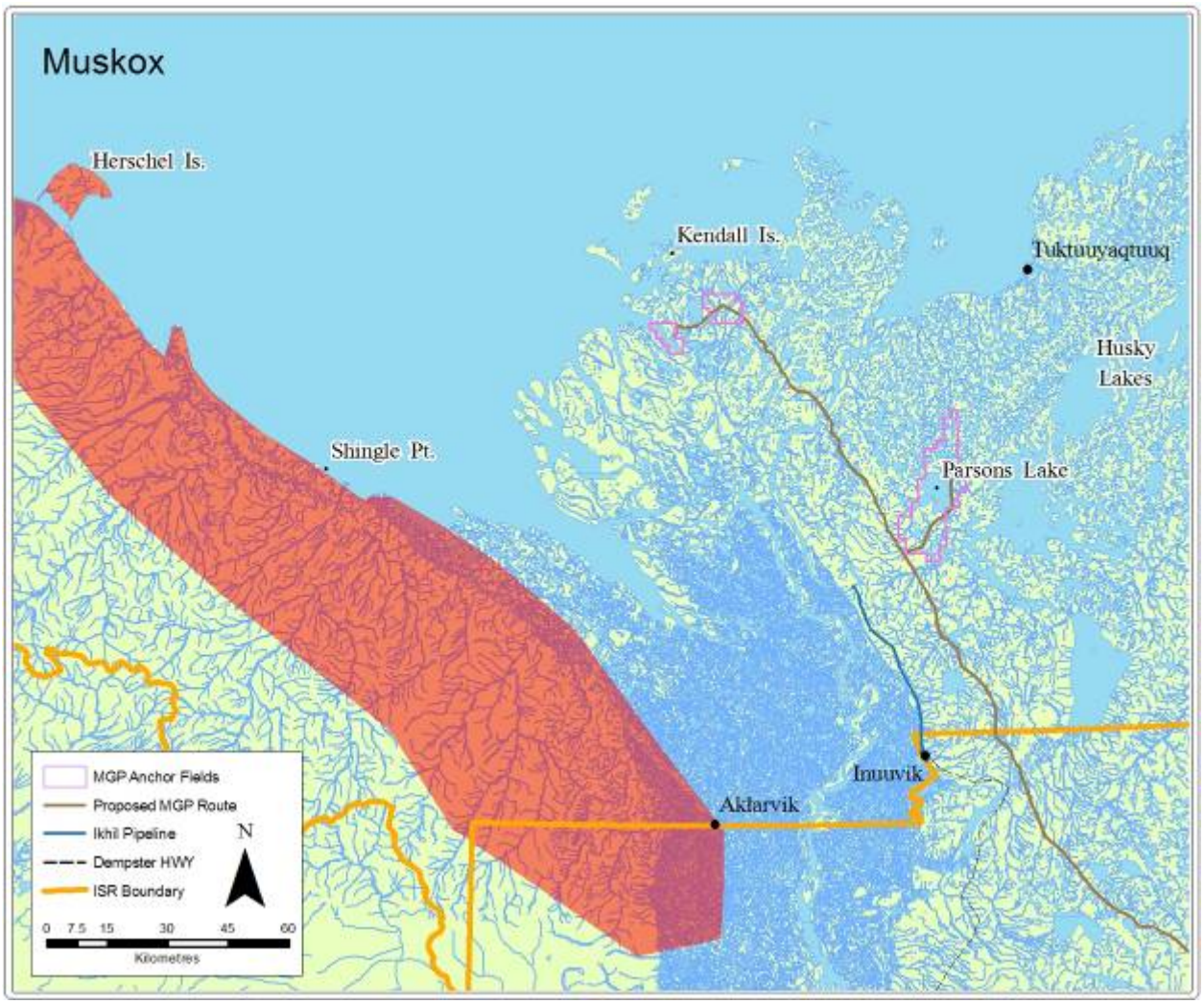

Figure 48: Muskox Harvesting Areas

Harvesting Practices

Adult muskox circle around their young when they feel threatened. A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq spotted a muskox on a lake one time and tried to catch up to it. He said even though the muskox was only walking, and the hunter was running, he could not catch up to the muskox—not even close (T002).

Amount Harvested

Inuvialuit do not tend to harvest *umingmak* in the study area, although some hunters go to Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour) to assist in harvesting.

For the duration of the Inuvialuit Harvest Study (1988 to 1997), no muskox harvests were reported by Akłarvik hunters, Inuuvik hunters harvested five muskox and hunters in Tuktuuyaqtuuq reported a total of nine muskox harvests.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Umingmait have excellent wool, called *qiviut*, which they shed every spring and summer. *Qiviut* collection at Sachs Harbour is quite well known; the wool made from the *qiviut* is knit into scarves and sweaters, and sold. The wool can be found on willows or on the ground. *Umingmait* are easy to domesticate and other countries have done so. The meat is not as lean as the caribou; some Inuvialuit feel that muskox make good dry meat because of the fat in the meat.

Muskox skins, like those of caribou, are now "mainly sleeping skin nowadays" (T030). People also sport hunt muskox, for the skin and the head.

11.2.7 *Qun'ngit* (S,U) – Reindeer

- *Qun'ngiq* (S,U) – a reindeer
- *Qun'ngik* (S,U) – two reindeer
- *Qun'ngit* (S,U) – three or more reindeer

> … my granddad says … some years the caribou will not come from the east or west and then the reindeer will be a blessing (INU152).

Reindeer were introduced into Canada from northern Europe as part of a federal government program to allay hunger and attempt to shift northern people to

agricultural activities. The Government of Canada asked Mangilaaluk, a well-known Chief of Tuktuuyaqtuuq, if the government could bring the herd of reindeer to Canada's north so Inuvialuit could have meat. This was during the time when the caribou herds could not be found in the Tuktuuyaqtuuq area. Reindeer herds were introduced into Newfoundland, Quebec, around Fort Smith and on southern Baffin Island between 1908 and 1923. None of these herds survived. The final herd to arrive was the herd destined for the Mackenzie Valley, which studies had shown to contain good grazing lands. This herd arrived in Canada in 1929 and was to have arrived in the Delta two years later. In actuality, the herd and herders took five years on a difficult journey to arrive. Since then, reindeer and reindeer herding have become a part of Inuvialuit history.[167]

Some Saami from Europe and Inupiat from Alaska arrived in the Delta with the herd. Some returned to their homes; those who stayed married and remained in Canada. Some Inuvialuit from Iqaluktuuchiaq, Qikuliurvik, Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Qurluqtuq, and even some Gwich'in, became herders.

Reindeer are similar to caribou and the Inuvialuit who were in charge of the herds learned how to deal with the predators, such as wolves and wolverines, that could impact reindeer herds. They were able to do this by transferring their knowledge of caribou to reindeer. These herders used a Saami method of close or intensive herding, where the herd was not allowed to roam freely; they stayed with the herd at all times.

The herders walked the herds in the summer and skied alongside the herd during the winter. Herders would help each other out: "they helped from all over. From Reindeer Station and from the surrounding herds, they pitch in to help."[168]

The meat from the reindeer was sold to the Roman Catholic Church, Anglican schools and hospitals for winter use. The meat was also provided as welfare and sold to the Inuvialuit who could afford to purchase it.[169] At this time, if an Inuvialuit killed a reindeer without permission, he would be charged and jailed. "My brother killed a reindeer and he went to jail, *Tatdjuq*, even if you were starving you can't kill" (INU150).

Inuvialuit reindeer herders now living in Tuktuuyaqtuuq include Edgar Kotokak, Jimmy Komiak, Adam Emaghok, Joseph Avik, Donald Pingo, David Nasogaluak, Henry Nasogaluak and Sam Pingo.

[167] Hart and Amos (2001).
[168] Joseph Avik (Tape 6) in Hart et al. (2001:41).
[169] Ibid.

Some place names relating to reindeer herding and grazing:

- Kuururyuaq – Old Army Camp
- Kiglavak (Kidluit) Bay at Richards Island
- Tuktuuyaqtuuq
- Imnaluit (Toker Point)
- Igluk (Warren Point)
- Nuvugaq (Atkinson Point)
- Bonnieville Point
- Qun'ngilaat (Reindeer Station)

Reindeer Station was a herders' base camp, with multiple houses, a Hudson's Bay Company store and a school (INU138). In 1952, the reindeer grazing reserve lands totalled over 46,000 km^2.

Many Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq worked with the reindeer herds, including Lucas, Pingo (Pingu), Kotokak (Qutuqaaq), Komiak (Qumiaq), Panaktalok (Panaqtalaq), Emaghok (Imaqquk), Rufus, Kaglik (Qalik), Pokiak (Pukiq), Mangilana, Oksoasiak (Uqsuasiaq), Havgun, Ovayuak (Uvvayuaq) and Avik, who worked all over at Army Camp. Inuvialuit from Tuktuuyaqtuuq remember stories their fathers told them about reindeer herding and where their fathers worked at this endeavour, such as at Yaya Lake, Wolf Creek and Lousy Point. There was a summer camp with corrals at Kiglavak Bay and herding camps at Paraaluk, Hans Creek and the west end of Husky Lakes. Winter herding camps were located at 500 Lake and at Ipiutaq (T007).

Herding reindeer was a gruelling task. One Inuuvik Inuvialuk remembers:

> I lasted one day herding the end of September, [it's] really hard to look after the herd at Naparutalik. I had nothing for 24 hours; finally someone came to replace me, finally I could have tea. Then I told them I don't think I'm going to look after reindeer, I finish (INU150)!

The Inuvialuit of Inuuvik involved in herding were Kayotuk, Gordon, Sidney, Teddy, Oscar, Kikoak, Allen, Kailek, Keevik, Pulk, Pagnana, Apsimik, Illasiak, Roland and Binder to mention a few. Many Inuuvik residents are descendants of herders, and can remember living at Reindeer Station and that their fathers were away a lot.

The herders brought the reindeer to Inuuvik in the 1960s and held the herd at Big or Shell Lake and offered rides for $.25 to $.50. All the children sat on a large, flat sled and rode around the main herd that was brought to Shell Lake. This happened during the carnival now called the Muskrat Jamboree.

Many Inuvialuit from Akłarvik are descendants of reindeer herders: Omilgoitok, Allen, Kayotok, Papik, Illasiak and Maligana. At one time, herding was the largest employer of Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic. The Anglican mission would take the older boys from the residence and bring them down to Kiglavak Bay for the reindeer roundup, castrating the males so they would stay fat through the winter and marking the ones that would be harvested during the winter.[170]

11.2.2.1 Knowledge of *Qun'ngit*

Figure 49: Reindeer

This animal was introduced to the region during the time that caribou were scarce. *Qun'ngit* are smaller, with shorter legs than caribou. When one eats caribou all the time, one can taste the difference in eating the meat.

Habitat

There are a lot of reindeer around Oldman Lake, and on Richards Island, which is a reindeer grazing reserve: "Oldman Lake, ah, Oldman, because the whole island is full of *qun'ngiq* …" (INU131). The whole of Kiglavak Bay, Kitigaaryuit and Imaryuk (Husky Lakes) were used by the herders for reindeer habitat, so the reindeer go back there regularly, especially during the hot summers to get away from bugs. Generally, they stay up inland during the winter, and then move down the coast during the summers, where there are fewer bugs. A few people mentioned that they are seeing reindeer in different places than they used to.

Population and Health

The reindeer give birth one month earlier than the caribou; they have their young in the spring and this makes them targets for predators. Inuvialuit herders and elders recognize differences in behaviour between wild caribou and domesticated reindeer,

[170] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

"… reindeer, once they see a skidoo or human, they bunch up together, [while a] bunch of caribou would scatter everywhere" (INU152).

A major issue for reindeer is predation, which was mentioned many times by the Inuvialuit.

> That's where the reindeer are … they're all up around North Point, West Point, over this area … see a lot of wolves around there and you know there's a lot of wolves around there and they're just following the herd … even the wolverine there, there's got to be wolverine around there picking off the odd reindeer now and then (INU152).

Reindeer have shorter legs and are a different color than caribou; caribou have lighter-coloured backs and bellies. Caribou antlers are a different shape and placed closer together on their heads than reindeer.[171] If a caribou mingled among the reindeer, herders would kill it immediately as it would make the reindeer stray.

11.2.2.2 Use of *Qun'ngit*

Uses of *qun'ngit* are similar to those of caribou: parkas, mitts, *makłak* and *qadjaaq* (mattresses).

Harvest Season

The cycle of moving the reindeer from one grazing area to another was approximately three months. In the spring, they were moved to their calving grounds, in the summer they were brought along the coast so the mosquitoes were less bothersome to the reindeer, and in fall, they were moved to good grazing areas. In the winter, the reindeer were allowed to roam around and seek good grazing grounds. Herding in September and November is the hardest: "… worst part of the month" (INU148).

Harvest Locations

People in Akłarvik don't generally harvest reindeer, however two were shot down in Fish River once and two at Coal Mine, as they go astray once in awhile and people get them near Akłarvik.[172] Some reindeer herding areas are shown in the map in Figure 50.

[171] Jimmy Komiak (Tape 9) in Hart and Amos (2001:65).
[172] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

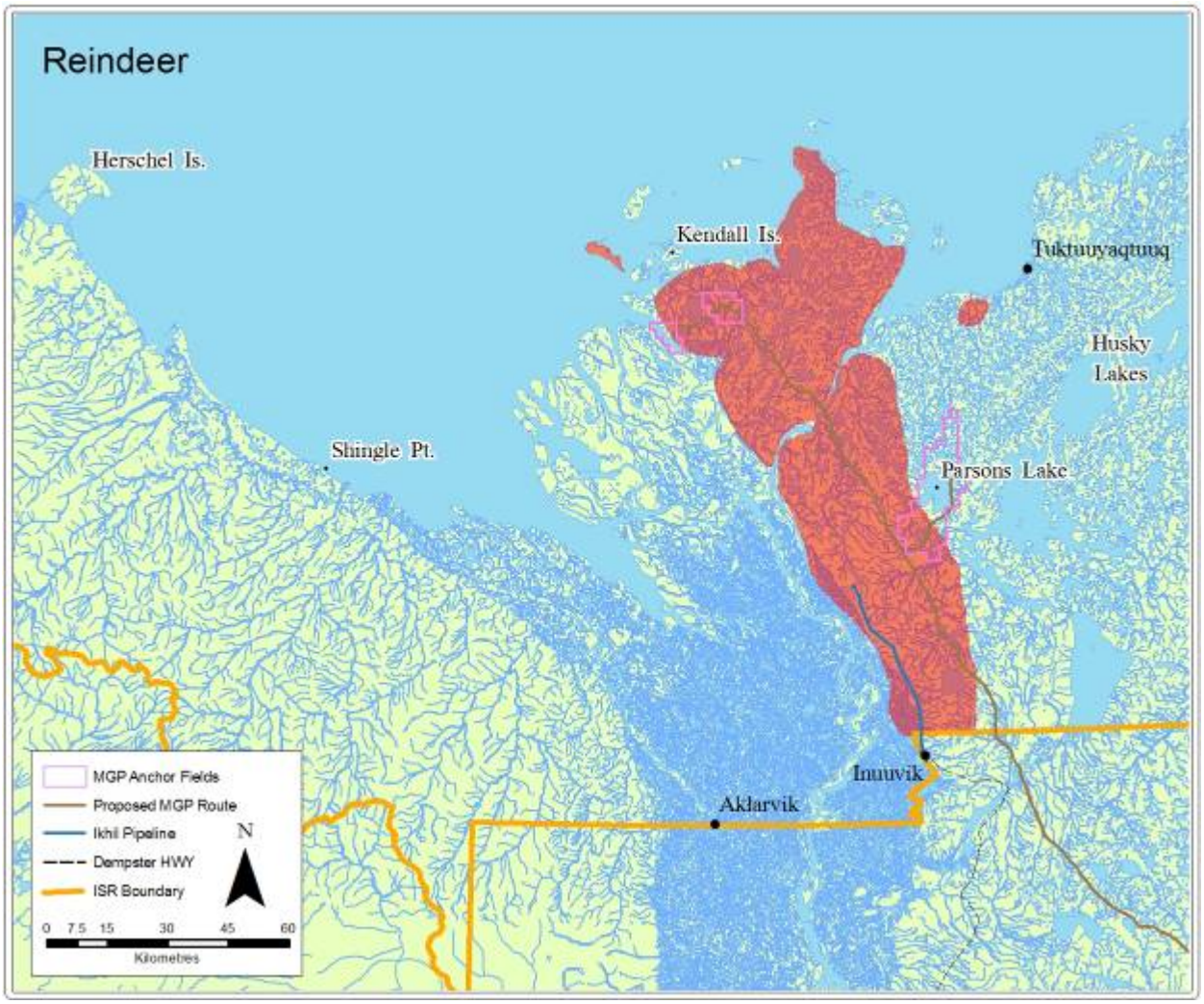

Figure 50: Reindeer Herding Areas

Harvesting Practices

Harvesting reindeer was a much easier job than hunting caribou; the herders gathered the herd in a place very much as a cowboy herds cows. Herders would castrate the ones they wanted to harvest in the wintertime.

Amount Harvested

Unknown. Reindeer harvests were not recorded by the Inuvialuit Harvest Study, nor were they discussed during the interviews or verification sessions conducted as part of this study.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Inuvialuit still buy reindeer after harvest and men still go out to do the job required at harvesting season. Before the caribou returned to the Western Arctic, the reindeer hides and sinews were used for blankets, mattresses and clothing. It is said that reindeer make better sleeping skins and parkas, and the skin on the legs is thicker than caribou and can last longer, but they are harder to skin.[173]

Concerns and Recommendations

Since the return of the caribou in the 1960s and 1970s, reindeer and caribou have intermixed. This is a concern for some Inuvialuit. They have gotten reindeer as far as Paulatuuq and Qurluqtuq (Coppermine).

11.3 Furbearers and Small Mammals

11.3.1 *Amaqqut* (S,U) – Wolves

Figure 51: Parkas with Wolf Fur Trim

- *Amaruq* (S,U) – a wolf
- *Amaqquk* (S,U) – two wolves
- *Amaqqut* (S,U) – three or more wolves

Amaruq is used in making men's hunting parkas because of the warmth it provides. The light fur around the hood of a woman's sunburst parka is also made from *amaruq*; this is mostly for decoration now. However, in early years it would provide shelter from winds as the sunburst was long and was used as a wind block.

[173] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

11.3.2.1 Knowledge of *Amaqqut*

Figure 52: Wolves

Habitat

Wolves are always around caribou and reindeer herds. They follow the reindeer or caribou to their feeding grounds; when the caribou leave, the wolves go with them. Wolves usually follow the wintering range of the Bluenose herd. One hunter hunts wolves in a large area from Lousy Point to Kiglavak Bay, past West Point to Dennis Lake and Wolf Lake. One hunter mentioned that the streams and creeks around Parsons Lake are "their fishing holes" (T064).

When there are no caribou, the wolves will go into the Delta and hunt moose. Hunters say that wolves are moving into the Delta more in the last eight years; they're changing habitats. They used to be up in the hills, but are moving down because there are so many moose in the Delta.[174] "Right now there's no caribou so the wolves are attacking moose. The other day I seen a pack of 26 kill two moose."[175] When there is deep snow they catch the moose more easily.

Wolves and bears have their dens around Parsons Lake, in the mountains and near creeks. There used to be a den at Blow River; the wolves used it for a long time, but abandoned it for the last 10 years or so.[176] Wolves have their young in a den in spring or late spring. A wolf may have two to nine pups.

Population and Health

With controls such as bounties, the wolf population had declined, but the Inuvialuit know the wolves have an important role worth protecting—they follow the herds, pick on the sickly caribou and keep the environment clean. A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunts timber wolves and mixed wolves.

In the days when there were no caribou around, the wolves would follow the reindeer herd as it moved to various grazing areas. Ned Kayotuk, a former reindeer herder, said

[174] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

of wolves: "Too many wolves at that time … if you left the reindeer for four hours, you'd lose about five."[177] William Apsimik, another reindeer herder, added:

> They're bad anyway, those wolves … wolves have hours. Right from midnight until about 2:00 in the morning, they would go for their food … and then from between 4:00 and 5:00 until 6:00 in the morning.[178]

Wolves were known to kill reindeer "… just for the fun of it."[179] "… long ago towards Iqalusaaq not far from the pingos, we saw wolf tracks—12 wolves in one bunch—dangerous when they are 12 like that" (T002).

11.3.2.2 Use of *Amaqqut*

Harvest Season

Many hunters hunt for whatever animal is there to get that day. For example, they do not just go for wolves today and wolverines next week, they are more opportunistic and happy to get something. Wolves are in their prime for harvesting in the winter. In the early fall they are still too thin after summer, and in the spring the colors on their fur have faded, they have their young and are shedding. One hunter said that males are really good in the springtime, with a nice light grey pelt.[180]

The records from the Inuvialuit Harvest Study show that while wolves may be harvested anytime between September and May, most harvesting occurs from November to March. Monthly wolf harvests for the three communities are shown graphically in Figure 53.

[177] Ned Kayotuk (1992, Tape 55) in Hart and Amos (2004:55).
[178] William Apsimik (1992, Tape 55) in Hart and Amos (2004:55).
[179] Peter Rufus (1991, Tape 20) in Hart and Amos (2004:56).
[180] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

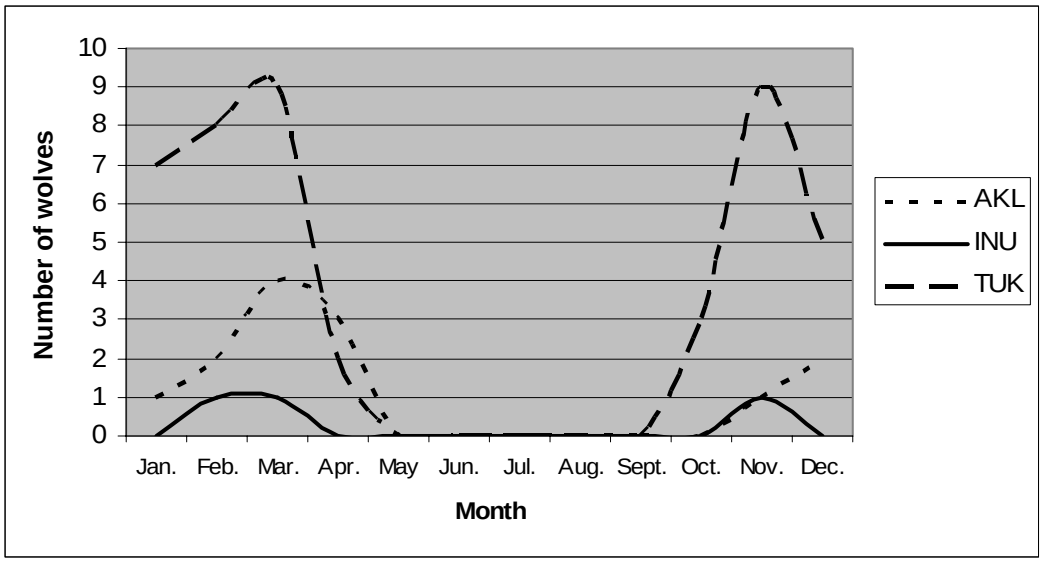

Figure 53: Mean Monthly Wolf Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq and Inuuvik hunt wolves at Richards Island. One hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said that he goes by Kitigaaryuit, down to the northwest side of Parsons Lake for caribou, wolves and wolverines (T056). He also says his hunting trail passes between Zed Lake and Parsons Lake, and that he will use this trail to hunt for caribou, wolves, coloured foxes and wolverines.

Some hunters from Tuktuuyaqtuuq go by Husky Lake trail down by Hans Bay, through Parsons Lake and to the Mackenzie River back to Tuktuuyaqtuuq when looking for wolves. Other hunters from Inuuvik go across the Middle Channel, to south of Portage Point and east towards 500 Lakes, north of Zed Lake to west of Charlie Hills. A hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq goes to Husky Lakes and on to Miner River for wolf hunting (T011). There are caribou, grizzly bears, foxes and wolves from Qikuryuaq to around Hans Bay, and to Parsons Lake and west to above Swimming Point. Generally, interviewees indicated they hunt for wolves in the same areas that they use for wolverines and grizzlies, but that they can be hunted anywhere in the ISR, as they are found around their prey: "Where there is caribou, there's wolves."[181] Figure 54 shows some wolf harvesting areas identified during the interviews and verification sessions.

[181] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

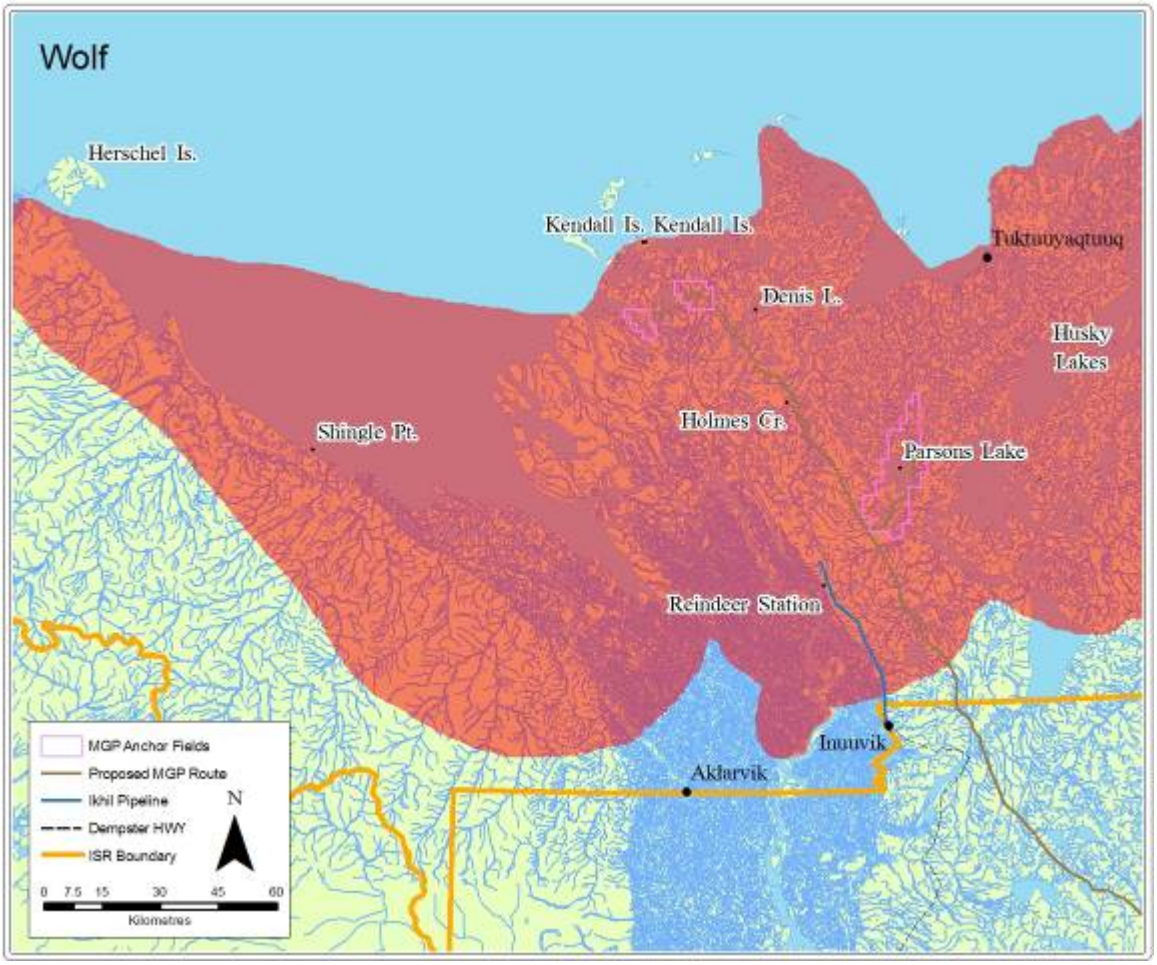

Figure 54: Wolf Harvesting Areas

Harvesting Practices

One interviewee said that to hunt wolves, you either need to be lucky or find them when they are too full from feeding that they can't run.

> They are very hard to trap, very smart. They know the trap—they'll smell it—sometimes they'll even take the trap and turn it upside down. I don't know who taught them that.[182]

A Tuktuuyaqtuuq hunter said, "… wolves follow caribou, so we might get lucky to see a track of wolves" (T005). Many hunters who hunt wolverines and wolves also hunt for different species, such as grizzly bears. For example, a hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq goes to hunt grizzlies, but hunts wolverines at the same time, from Holmes Creek to Parsons Lake (T019).

[182] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

It is said that if you shoot the leader of the wolf pack, the animals will stay around that area all winter looking for the leader to come back.

Amount Harvested

The amount of wolves harvested by hunters was not recorded during the interviews done for this study, only the fact that wolves and wolverines may be hunted at the same time as caribou. Wolf harvest numbers reported to the Inuvialuit Harvest Study are shown in Figure 55.

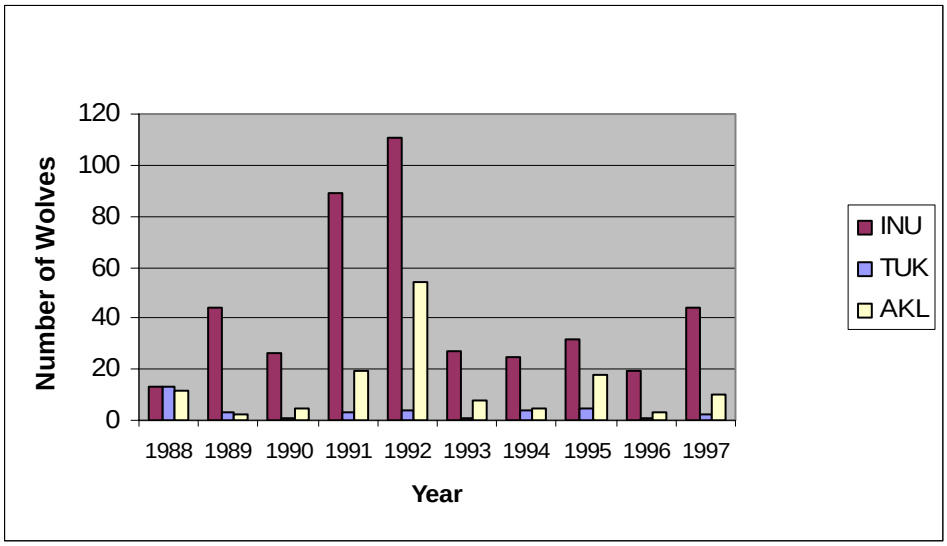

Figure 55: Total Estimated Annual Wolf Harvests for Tuktuuyaqtuuq, Akłarvik and Inuuvik

There were people in the Inuuvik verification sessions that felt these numbers looked too low, as during the years of the Inuvialuit Harvest Study, wolf pelts were in high demand. It was mentioned that harvesters do not like to tell others how many they harvest, how much they trap or how much money they make; this can lead to low harvest estimates.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Wolves are hunted or trapped mostly when the pelt can fetch a good price. Wolf fur is used locally on regular and dancing parkas, mitts and *makłaks*. A piece of wolf fur used to be kept in the pocket for good luck (*anaruaq*—good luck charm). This fur comes from the neck where it's black and white. A piece of the foot could be used for the same purpose.

Concerns and Recommendations

People stressed throughout the interviews that it is important to protect all animals. "Which species are important to protect? All animals" (AK234, T047, AK208, AK201/223, AK240). "What is important is to protect? Our land, where the animals are; protect where we hunt" (AK231). Because wolves are closely tied to caribou, they will suffer many related impacts—both direct and indirect—if caribou are affected by the proposed development.

One area of particular concern to many participants is Parsons Lake.

> It's still close for me at Parsons Lake … there's lots of game there … caribou, wolves, foxes … all the animals [are] going to leave from there (T064).

> Sometimes when you travel from Inuuvik by plane in the fall you see wolves chasing caribou in the lake, Parsons Lake, where there is going to be a lot of industrial activity. They have to keep that in mind.[183]

> [My concern is] that it goes right through all the main caribou hunting areas … it goes right through everybody's. All the caribou is going to [come] close to Inuuvik because the pipeline is cutting it right off (INU104).

> I'm not sure if I really agree with any route through there at all, you know … and yet if it came closer to us over here that might be even worse (INU126).

It was suggested that the pipeline be moved to follow the existing Ikhil route to avoid this productive area.

> We ask them if they could consider diverting the pipeline to the west and follow the Ikhil route to Inuuvik … it would make people happy (INU115).

> They should never build it here. [Should be] right by the edge of the river … because there's no animals right through here. Lots of them could tell anybody that, but … we told them that and … still they don't listen (INU102).

> Would rather have the Ikhil route—from Parsons cut across to Ikhil, follow that corridor. The reason is that their pipeline route is the main grazing land for caribou. I would like to see the routing changed (INU110).

[183] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).

If such a route diversion is not possible, people suggest creating migration corridors for the big game species.

> Wolves will be in same areas as caribou; they need corridors like other big game.[184]
>
> From Parsons Lake to Storm Hills, that's where I do all my caribou hunting and stuff; animals could use a corridor here—the caribou, wolves, bears, foxes, stuff like that (INU100).
>
> Take hunters out on the land and they'll show you where the crossings need to be (T048).
>
> The pipeline should go through Campbell Creek, follow that existing road, that way they don't have to make another one. Only way we could do [it] is just bury it. They should just leave this, like in the United States save it for last, don't touch it until we run out (INU105).

11.3.2 *Qavviit* (S,U) – Wolverines

- *Qavvik* (S,U) – a wolverine
- *Qavviik* (S,U) – two wolverines
- *Qavviit* (S,U) – three or more wolverines

11.3.2.1 Knowledge of *Qavviit*

Figure 56: Wolverine

As previously mentioned, the traditional Inuvialuit belief is that *qavvik* is considered a counterpart to a grizzly bear. Q*avviatchiaq* (marten) derives its name from *qavvik*—they are very similar in color.

Habitat

Few of the interviewees discussed the habitat of *qavviit;* one said Parsons Lake was prime country. Some of the places mentioned by interviewees were Husky Lakes, North Storm Hills, Yaya Lakes, Tununiq and Parsons Lake. However, wolverines

[184] Ibid.

may be found in many locations, as they can travel long distances in a day. The Tuktuuyaqtuuq Community Conservation Plan indicates that known wolverine habitat is the Husky Lakes and Finger Arms areas.[185]

> They have dens in the snow banks and that's where they escape. I've lost three that way; get close and then go down into their hole. They're pretty smart too … when you're chasing them they go up into the rocky mountains so you can't catch them.[186]

They have their young under a pile of bushes or under logs, where other animals can't get at them. They will also go up in the hills into the rocks to have their young.[187]

One harvester mentioned that wolverines have learned to hunt reindeer:

> But I figure them reindeer, they made it a easy mark for the wolves because you know instead of running away and scattering they all just bunch up and think there's safety in numbers but the wolverine, they know better than that eh, bunch 'em up and you know, gee they could go and pick the fattest one out of them … They take their time to follow the herd around and make them nervous … crafty little animals those wolverine (INU152).

Population and Health

None of those interviewed during this study commented on the health or population of the wolverine, nor is the population size reported in any of the community conservation plans. However, several hunters indicated that wolverines, as well as some other furbearers, are getting harder to find. Wolverines may give birth to up to two young in June or July.

[185] Community of Tuktoyaktuk et al. (2000:106).
[186] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).
[187] Ibid.

11.3.2.2 Use of *Qavviit*

Figure 57: Parka and *Makłak* with Wolverine Trim

Qavviit are still hunted and trapped as the fur continues to fetch a good price on the commercial market and is known locally to make the best trim for parkas, as it repels moisture. *Qavvik* is also used for decoration on the costumes of drum dancers. Stories of the strength of *qavvik* are told by elders and enough to make one hopeful that they never face one!

Wolverine is used around the hood, decoration around the bottom of the parka and around the *maklak*.

Harvest Season

Hunters from Akłarvik reported that they hunt wolverines in the fall and winter. One hunter said that at the end of November the fur gets a little bit thicker for wolverines, and it takes on a pleasing colour, making it desirable (T011). One hunter from Akłarvik mentioned that he traps for lynx and wolverines in the fall; another said that he traps wolverines in the winter for the sale of their fur (AK240, AK239).

Figure 58 shows results from the Inuvialuit Harvest Study for wolverine harvests. In this graph, monthly harvest totals across all years were summed for the duration of the study to demonstrate when most wolverine harvests take place.

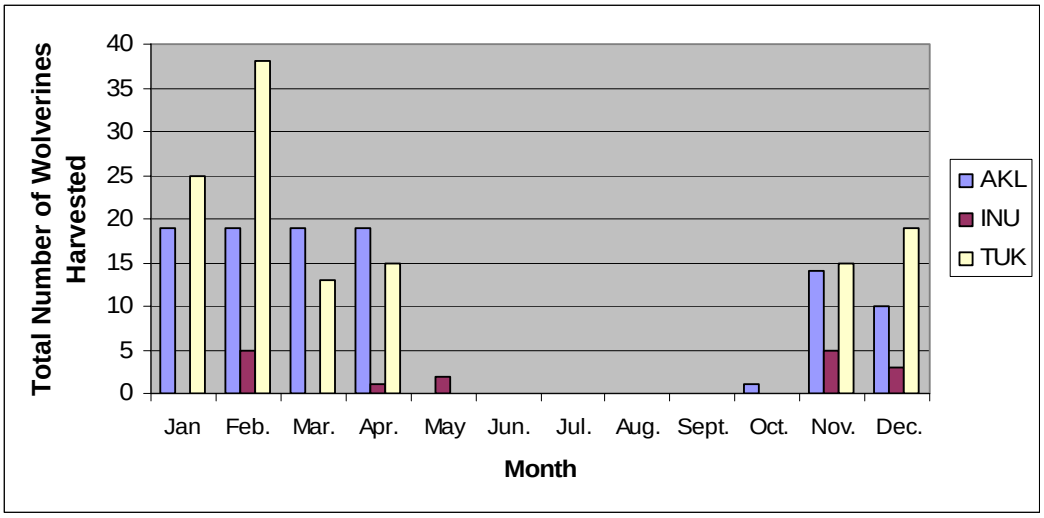

Figure 58: Total Estimated Mean Monthly Wolverine Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

One hunter from Tuktuuyaqtuuq said he hunts for wolverine and coloured fox in an area from Lousy Point to Kiglavak Bay past West Point, by Dennis Lake and Wolf Lake. Another Tuktuuyaqtuuq harvester hunts for wolves, wolverines, and coloured and white foxes at the same time he hunts for caribou, between Zed Lake and Parsons Lake (T056). One interviewee runs a trap line for wolverine up to Miner River; another mentioned hunting wolverines at Richardson Island in the past. East Hans Lake, Hunters Island, Husky Lakes and Anderson River were also mentioned as places wolverines had been taken, however due to their very large home ranges, wolverines may be found almost anywhere.

> Because you're tracking them and you're hunting them so they take you all over the place. So grizzly bear, wolverines and wolves they're basically the same, the whole same, and sometimes we go right into the Storm Hills chasing the wolves and wolverine while we're tracking. So anywhere within [the] Tuk HTC area where, you know, like in that whole area there's used … (T019).

Inuuvik trappers indicated that they trap wolverines in the Delta along the left shore of the East Branch of the Mackenzie River, and trappers from Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq use the areas between Sitidgi and Husky Lakes.

Figure 59 shows some areas that harvesters may use to hunt or trap wolverines. It should be noted, however, that most workshop participants said wolverines are all over

the study area. Like bears, they travel great distances and may be found anywhere in the Delta, the coast or the mountains.

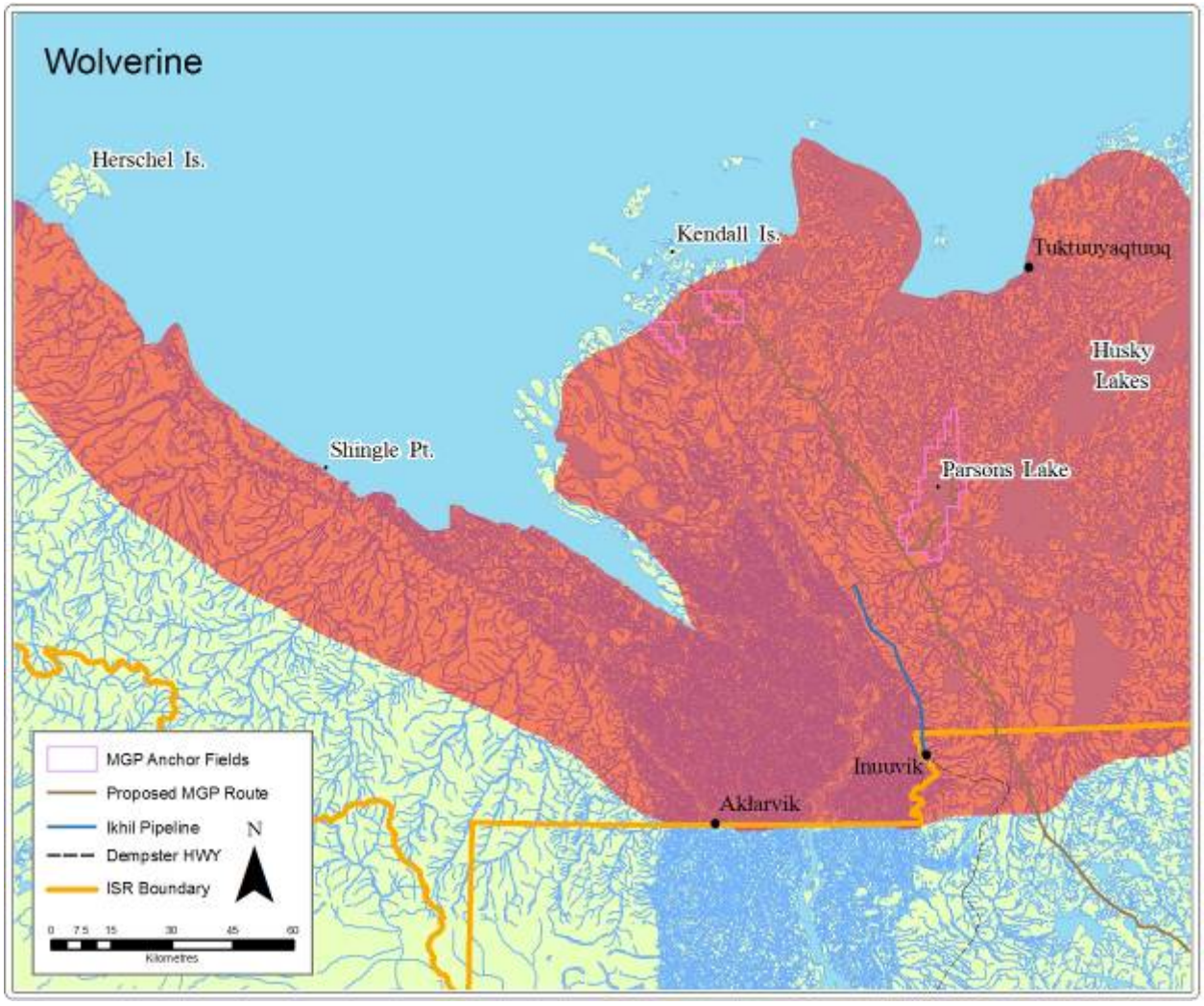

Figure 59: Wolverine Harvesting Areas

Harvest Practices

Wolverines are traditionally caught using a wood-lined dugout trap. An interviewee from Inuuvik stated that she would help her father make a wooden dugout for trapping wolverine; the trap was roughly 15 feet in diameter, built into a tall triangle shape, with walls sloping in (narrow at the top and wide at the bottom). The logs are then covered with water, making it difficult for the animal to climb out the icy walls. This type of trap is called *katarun* (a drop trap) or *kataun* (deadfall trap) (INU126).

While wolverines may be targeted through trapping, they are also hunted opportunistically when encountered on caribou hunts or other trips out on the land.

> … [wolverines] really move around when they're hunting. We used to wish for a blow (wind), because the ptarmigan won't move when it's blowing (the wolverine won't have to go so far to hunt). [We] once dug out a wolverine in a snow bank and there was over 100 ptarmigan in there, cached in the snow. They just kept poking him with a willow stick, make him go out, run out on the lake.[188]

Amount Harvested

Harvest amounts were not discussed during this study, however the Inuvialuit Harvest Study recorded wolverine harvests in the three communities from 1988 to 1997. The 10-year means for each community were: Akłarvik 10, Inuuvik 2 and Tuktuuyaqtuuq 13. There is an average of five people harvesting wolverines each year in both Akłarvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq, and one harvester in Inuuvik. Verification session participants mentioned that people don't tend to report where they get wolverines, because they are very highly valued locally for fur trimming.

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Qavvik is highly valued and used traditionally for the fur trim on women's, men's and children's parkas. "Wolverine is the most sought-after animal, after caribou, for their fur."[189] It is a status symbol as well as a material important for coping with the Arctic environment.

> If you use any other type of fur on your parka, you look poor—it's a status thing.[190]

> Pretty important, that fur, for people. If you don't have it, you freeze your face. You have to have that protection for your face when you're travelling.[191]

To prepare wolverine hide, first the wolverines are skinned and the furs are fleshed and dried. Then they are covered with a mixture, folded in half with the fur on the outside, rolled, then put in a damp place for a day or two. One or two days later, the skins are scraped. A type of red rock called ochre is crushed to dye the skin part of the wolverine fur. A lot of people still home-tan or process fur themselves. It is said that home-tanned fur lasts longer and is of a higher quality than factory-tanned fur.

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[188] Tuktuuyaqtuuq verification sessions (April 2006).
[189] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).
[190] Ibid.
[191] Akłarvik verification sessions (April 2006).

Some hunters sell the fur, although most keep it for their own use. The belly part of the wolverine is used to decorate traditional drum dance parkas as the pieces of fur that hang down from the parkas. Some people also use wolverine to make mitts.

Concerns and Recommendations

A number of hunters mentioned that it is now harder to find furbearers like wolverines, and that this may be due to industrial activity.

> Every year I always go hunting polar bears and wolves and wolverines, but we find out that we are going further and further for the animals; we find ourselves further and further hunting furbearers such as wolves, wolverines, and polar bears (AK237).

> [I] used to go in Richardson Island quite a bit … used to be good for wolverine, ah! But now there's so much [oil and gas] activity there that I think that they're kind of a shy animal. You don't hardly see anymore; we used to go there quite often (T006).

> Around this area [south of Kiglavak Bay] I used to get lot a wolverine, not anymore now, too much activity going on … (T011).

11.3.3 *Piqtursirat* (S) *Niutuiyit* (U) – Lynx

- *Niutuiyiq* (U) *Piqtursiraq* (S) – a lynx
- *Niutuiyik* (U) *Piqtursirak* (S) – two lynx
- *Niutuiyit* (U) *Piqtursrat* (S) – three or more lynx

11.3.2.1 Knowledge of *Niutuiyit*

Habitat

Lynx live in areas where there are rivers, such as the Mackenzie Delta and the river valleys of its tributaries. They were described by more than one participant as being "all over", but are especially plentiful in the Inuuvik area.

Lynx tend to stick to where there are trees and rabbits; they are almost always found in areas with willows. Their main diet is rabbits, but they may also get ptarmigans and muskrats. At times, they have been known to migrate into the ISR from Alaska.

Figure 60: Lynx

> … people used to see them coming down. [When] there was no rabbits, the old-timers used to tell us that they'd migrate from Alaska, you could see them coming along the coast.[192]

Lynx will also scavenge traps, eating mink and rabbits out of snares.

> There were a couple of lynx that killed reindeer around Inuksivik. There were three at that time. That's when they killed two reindeer; they buried them in the snow. They were adult reindeer …[193]

Population and Health

Many of those interviewed mention that the lynx population typically cycles; the number of lynx rises when rabbits are in abundance. Some said that in 2004 and 2005 there had been a very low rabbit population, with a correspondingly low lynx population. Another trapper had this opinion:

> … it's been a good sign this winter for lynx. I seen a lot of good signs for lynx this winter, so far anyway. I mean if they're checking my snares for me that tells me something good. You know, lots out there. [They check the rabbit snares] and they leave the frozen ones, you know they're smart animal. They don't want to eat something that's frozen, they'd much rather eat something that's nice, warm and soft so they're taking out the fresh ones (INU152).

Lynx have their young June through August, but will keep their young with them for a long time.

> Lynx young ones travel with their parents for a long time; when you get a mother, you can get the whole family. If you get the mother in a trap, you can get all the young ones because they'll hang around.[194]

[192] Ibid.
[193] Joseph Avik (Tape 9) in Hart and Amos (2001:57).
[194] Inuuvik verification sessions (May 2006).

11.3.2.2 Use of *Niutuiyit*

The Inuvialuit mostly trap lynx for the sale of their fur. As a result, use can vary with fur prices, gas prices and market demand. Generally, fewer people are trapping furbearers like lynx these days.

Harvest Season

Lynx are harvested by trapping during late fall and winter. The thickest furs—those that fetch the highest price—are obtained during the peak of winter. Figure 61 shows seasonal harvests from the Inuvialuit Harvest Study. The highest numbers of lynx harvests are recorded between November and February.

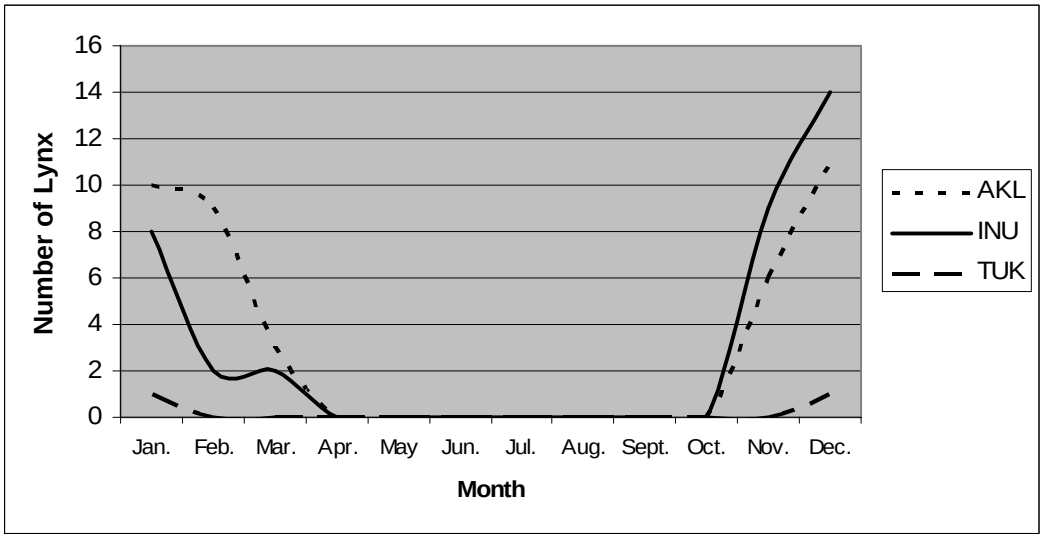

Figure 61: Mean Monthly Lynx Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq (1988-1997)

Harvest Locations

Lynx may be harvested in many different locations—along the coast, around Husky Lakes, up in the hills—the whole Delta is a prime hunting area for lynx. Figure 62 shows some harvesting areas identified for lynx.

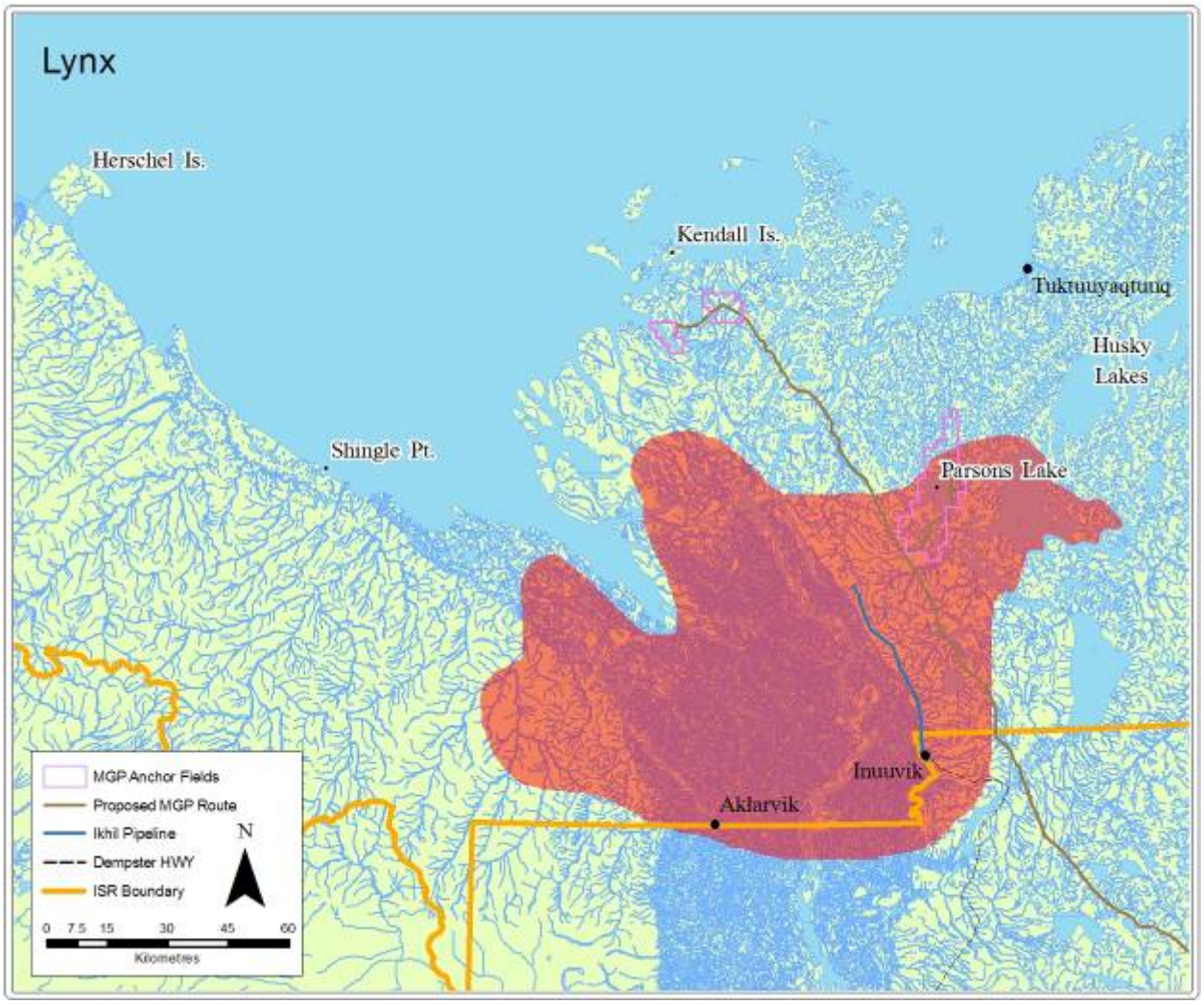

Figure 62: Lynx Harvesting Areas

Harvest Practices

Lynx are usually trapped in the same areas and at the same time as marten and mink. Lynx may be shot as well as snared.

Amount Harvested

While there may not be as many people trapping lynx today as long ago, the Inuvialuit Harvest Study shows that an average of five people still harvest lynx in Akłarvik each year, along with six in Inuuvik and one in Tuktuuyaqtuuq. The highest number of lynx harvests recorded in one year was 101—in Inuuvik in 1992. The total estimated annual lynx harvests for each community are shown in Figure 63.

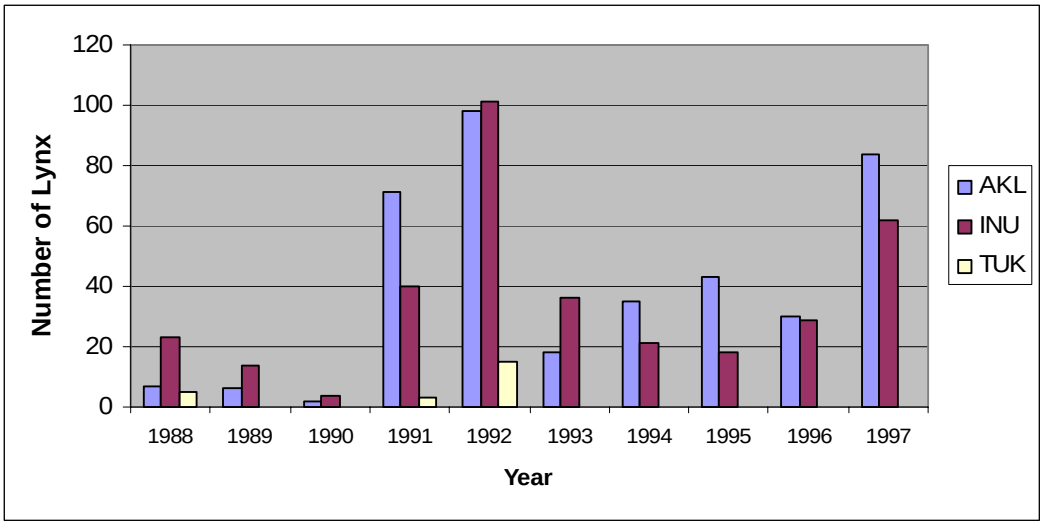

Figure 63: Total Estimated Annual Lynx Harvests for Akłarvik, Inuuvik and Tuktuuyaqtuuq

Importance for Food, Sale, Clothing and Crafts

Lynx are an important animal for the Inuvialuit because they have fur that can be sold for a good price, but they may be harvested for both their fur and meat. Their fur can be used to make mitts and to trim parkas. Two interviewees mentioned that you can eat lynx when they are fat.

> It's really good when roasted with bacon. It's white meat.[195]

> [Lynx] tastes like rabbit because they eat straight rabbits.[196]

11.3.4 *Kivgaluit* (S,U) – Muskrats

- *Kivgaluk* (S,U) – a muskrat
- *Kivgaluuk* (S,U) – two muskrats
- *Kivgaluit* (S,U) – three or more muskrats

> We used to [give] thanksgiving after ratting; it was called Rat Sunday (AK213).

Many harvesters in Tuktuuyaqtuuq do not currently hunt *kivgaluit*; an elder told us he quit getting muskrats because they are "finished" now, their population is very low compared to what it used to be. He used to go towards Imaryuk to hunt muskrats. He felt that the muskrats came from the Delta and relocated in those lakes. He wants the

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.