Tukitaaqtuq

explain to one another, reach understanding, receive explanation from the past

and

The Eskimo Identification Canada System

by

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ABSTRACT

The government of Canada initiated, implemented, and officially maintained the 'Eskimo Identification Canada' system from 1941-1971. With the exception of the Labrador Inuit, who formed the Labrador Treaty of 1765 in what is now called, NunatuKavat, all other Canadian Inuit peoples were issued a leather-like necklace with a numbered fibre-cloth disk. These stringed identifiers attempted to replace Inuit names, tradition, individuality, and indigenous distinctiveness.

This was the Canadian governments' attempt to exert a form of state surveillance and its official authority, over its own Inuit citizenry. The Eskimo Identification Canada system, E-number, or disk system eventually became entrenched within Inuit society, and in time it became a form of identification amongst the Inuit themselves.

What has never been examined by an Inuk researcher, or student is the long-lasting affect these numbered disks had upon the Inuit, and the continued impact into present-day, of this type of state-operated system. The Inuit voice has not been heard or examined. This research focuses exclusively on the disk system itself and brings forward the voices of four disk system survivors, giving voice to those who have been silenced for far too long.

PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Norma Dunning. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name: “Tukitaaqtuq (they reach understanding) and the Eskimo Identification Canada system,” PRO00039401, 05/07/2013. Parts of this study have been previously published in Etudes Inuit Studies, article name, Reflections of a Disk-Less Inuk. (M. Nagy, Ed.) Etudes Inuit Studies, 36(2), 209 - 226. doi:10.7202/1015985ar and can be found on pages 3, 6, 11, 17, 18 & 26.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Tutsiuti (Prayer) & Nalunaijainiq (Introduction)…….…...1

Chapter Two – Literature Review & Methodology……....8

Sunatuinnalirivuq – person speaks differently by equivocation……..……..10

Uqaqpilukpuq – speaks bitterly but gently……..……..12

Uqaliqtuqaqtuq – speaks quickly, hurrying…….....14

The Eskimo Identification System examined through Contemporary Song…….....17

Methodological Approach - Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit…….....20

Chapter Three – Kakoot…….....23

Chapter 4 - Tukitaaqtuq (they reach understanding, receive explanation from the past)…....36

Pigiaqpuq – he begins…….....37

Tasitaqpuq – begins to stretch, extend…….....40

Ilratsatuq – begins to fear…….....42

Saattuq – begins to face or put something in front of someone, accuses……..46

Pigialirqipaa – begins again……..49

Sangugiaqpaa – he begins to change……52

Quaqsituq – begins to freeze……53

Uirittuq – begins to have habit of doing something that pleases…….55

Chapter 5 - Uqagguutut (talk together) – Interviews……...……58

Isummaniq (can think, understand, has reached the age of reasoning)…….....74

Conclusion - Isumatsasiuqpuq – to reflect on something, to ponder……...…80

List of Illustrations

4.1 Keewatin District map 1926……..90

4.2 Keewatin District map 1929……..91

4.3 Keewatin District map 1939……..92

4.4 Eskimo Registration Districts 1939……...93

4.5 Eskimo Identification Canada system District map 1945……94
4.6 NWT Council meeting agenda 1941……95
4.7 NWT Council sessional notes 1941……..……96
4.8 NWT Council agenda March, 1941……..……97
4.9 NWT Council sessional notes 1941……..……98

Bibliography……....85

Appendices……...90

Tutsiuti (Prayer)

I am grateful and humbled to say, I am a southern, urban Inuk woman. Saying all of this may discredit me not only from some northern Inuk peoples but from all non-Inuit Canadians, who like most non-Inuit consider geographical location 'a must' in their perception of what a 'true Inuk' is.

I am grateful and humbled to say that I am a beneficiary of Nunavut and Whale Cove, NU is the place I have inherited as my home-supporting community.

I am grateful and humbled to say that I am not fluent in Inuktitut but it is a language that I study on my own time and have a very small understanding of.

I am grateful and humbled to say that it is the spirit of my anaana (mother) that drives my writing and my research. I am the daughter of a residential school survivor, and a woman who never was a disk-holder. To my mother, Theresa Marie Harris, nakurmat – thank you because of it.

It is her voice that writes this thesis.

Chapter 1

Nalunaijainiq (Introduction)

Growing up in the silence of indigenity is a confusing way to ripen. I always knew that I wasn't a white person but I didn't know exactly what I was. I only knew that I was different in some way but I couldn't put my finger on it. She didn't talk about it. When I was born my father had been transferred to Sept-Ills, QB. I didn't know the north in any form, unlike my two older brothers and two older sisters who were born there. I had no memory to fall back on, no birth certificate that said that I was a part of Nunavut in some hard copy form. I only knew that I wasn't like everyone else I went to school with or played tetherball with or rode my bike with for hours every day. I only knew that somewhere inside of my family was a secret.

Unlike my brothers and sisters I do not have the tan-coloured skin that makes someone know that you aren't white. I ended up being a whiter-color-of Inuit when compared to my siblings. I can pass in the white world without any problem and when I was a small girl I was told by my mother to tell people that I was French, because after all I had been born in Quebec.

But this secret, this secret was like a steady hum somewhere in the back shadows of my existence. I have one Auntie, a sister to my mother, who is 92 years old at the writing of this thesis and she would be the Auntie who would come to visit and release the secret into words by reminding my mother of their time together when they were little girls. She was the Auntie who would be told to hush-up, sshh'ed into stillness. She was the Auntie who made me realize in my late teens that I was Inuit. Even though she confirmed this for me, I still went on telling people that I was French. The truth was I didn't know what to do with this confirmation of Inukness. I wrote this poem, which is a small memory of that experience.

Polar Opposites

The green spongy couch sags at one end,
the end where the Inuit Auntie sits.

Her belly button rolls up and down on her knee caps like a big marble as
she chuckles beside my mom.

A mirror of one another, dark hair, slanted black eyes,
skin the colour of soft suntans.

Their heads tip to the same side when they laugh,
but they are different.

My mother is slim.
Her left hand pinches a home rolled
cigarette, waves of smoke paint small brush strokes of
nicotine stains against her V-shaped nails.

Auntie doesn't smoke, her hands are square, her fingernails short.
They are talking about what a nuisance grounds is.
Auntie says she wants to go there, to see that party
Mom is giggling and telling her it's the dump, the garbage dump.

Auntie's belly breaks into tsunami waves of laughter,
her marble dipping to the floor.
"I thought it was a place to go make noise," she spits out.
"I thought it was a place to go be a nuisance!"

They look the same at a glance but
Auntie bothers Mommy.

Auntie brings with her all the memories of the north that
are never spoken or shared.

She brings with her bad and sad times.
The 'convent'. Being orphans.

She is the one link to the real world of my Mother.
The world Mommy keeps hidden in
glasses of daily red wine.

They laugh like two old white bear women when they
are together, their eyes crinkle, their heads
sway in unison but inside they are
Polar opposites.

I didn't know where to put it - out on display or hidden? I didn't know if suddenly being Inuit was something that was up for discussion with anyone – my other siblings, my other cousins – any of them. It was like having a large, bulky piece of beautiful art placed into your hands and you don't know where to place it in your house and no matter where you put it, it just doesn't seem to be in the right spot. So you keep moving it, from the table to a bookcase and then back against a different coloured wall, and each time you pick it up it becomes more and

more familiar and the weight and bulk of it begins to fall away. You blend into it and feel the richness instead of the awkwardness of it all. The art enters your veins, it becomes who you are.

I didn't bring the Inuitness of myself to my mother. I didn't ask her why she never talked about her early life. I never asked her any direct questions and someone may ask me why I didn't. It's simple. It's the way I was raised. I was raised to learn by watching, to take from stories their truth and to never ask direct questions of my elders. I believe that in our spirits, in our blood, lies the memory of our ancestors, who went before us and stay beside us even still. There are some things that do not need to be questioned.

This is something that indigenous peoples know best, to accept something or a situation and to absorb it, without writing it down or putting into a database stored somewhere in Ottawa. This way of knowledge transfer, keeping it and transmitting it again and again, is just something that we do. Indigenous Traditional Knowledge is recorded or digitally filed within our blood. It is imprinted onto us from birth and as we train as indigenous peoples we learn to walk in two different ways and worlds. We learn, over time that paper matters.

I am Norma Dunning. I am a disk-less Inuk. I was born into a time when the Eskimo Identification Canada system was still in practice. I did not receive a disk. My Inuit mother never had a disc and my two older brothers and two older sisters who were born in Churchill, Manitoba in the E1 district of Northern Canada did not receive disks. We were all born within the years of 1941 to 1978 when the Government of Canada continued to issue disk numbers to replace the names of the Inuit. I was aware of, but had little knowledge of this system and it did not become a thing of significance to me until I applied for Nunavut Beneficiary status with my Mothers' and my own home community of Whale Cove, NU in 2001. My application was handled as a three-year process and there were pieces of paper and information missing that would have made this procedure much less time consuming.

The first being, the fact that my own anaana (Mother) was never issued a birth certificate. She was born into a world, where time was not marked by calendar dates. Time was marked by seasons and when the disks were being issued in her area, my mother was away at residential school. She and her two sisters spent eight long years, without the summer or Christmas break, at a residential school in Winnipeg. The RCMP did not come into the city to issue the disks out to children who were busy surviving a different form of a government imposed system. She and her sisters were missed.

According to government guidelines, she now is missing two important forms of information, first a birth certificate and secondly, a disk number. Her life was a life that did not fit the government laws of marking and measuring that she was Inuit. My mother never applied for or received Inuit Beneficiary status. Why would she? She knew who she was and did not require government issued proof. She lived her life in many ways as a paper-less Inuit Canadian citizen.

Because I couldn't provide my Mother's birth certificate, I was casually asked over the phone by a female Inuit government worker what my mother's disk number was. This question is nowhere on the Beneficiary status application form. It was a question asked as a way of connecting my blood to Nunavut. Disk numbers had become proof of Inuit ancestry. I had the name of my anaanatsiaq (grandmother) and if I could find her disk number then I would be able to secure my evidence of being Eskimo.

I began to look for her in the way that we look for something that is recently lost. The way we put our car keys down somewhere and then can't find them and to reassure ourselves we begin to trace our steps from where we stand now to where we were that moment the object was first realized as lost.

I had only her name. It was Angaviadniak. She was a Padlei Inuit woman. All of my ways of knowing, the ways that lay inside my blood were thrown aside as the search for her number became something of incredible importance, something that would matter on an application, something that made her 'real' to the governments of Canada and Nunavut. If I could find her number, than perhaps, I would be 'real' too.

And that is how it began. This searching and digging into old books and archival records. In time what developed was not the wanting to find a number but the wanting to understand how any one government could do this to a specific group of aboriginal peoples – the Inuit of Canada. How does anyone think that it is alright to place a necklace around a persons' neck and tell them that this is their identifier and that if you don't have it on your person at all times you will be denied access to food or medicine, social assistance, child welfare, housing, the care of the elderly – the same government benefits extended to all other Canadian citizens without a disk number. The importance of a disk number can be realized.

This thesis will explore the need for *Tukitaaqtuq*, an Inuktitut word meaning, "they explain to one another, reach understanding, receive explanation from the past" I have purposely chosen this Inuktitut word because I have found only two Canadian government sponsored documents, written by government paid writers about the Eskimo Identification system and one government document concerning Inuit policy in Canada that does not make mention of this system at all. The voice of the Inuit disk holders and Inuit non-holders, those most affected, the Inuit themselves is not expressed, published or documented anywhere in these publications.

Abraham Okpik once said, "A hungry stomach has no rules!" (Okpik, 2009, p. 51) and the bellies of Inuit peoples and their life experiences growl boldly for inclusion into the annals of not only the grand narrative of Canadian history but the grand narrative of Canadian aboriginal history. It is for this reason that few quotations from mainstream academic specialists such as Frank Tester, Peter Kulchyski, Valerie Alia and Shelagh Grant are intentionally not included in this thesis, as are few references made to the Indian Act or to writers who wrote exclusively on the marginalization of Indigenous peoples, this thesis is devoted to bringing forth the expressions of the Canadian Inuit who were and still are affected by the Eskimo Identification Canada system.

This thesis is written by a female Inuit researcher and gives voice to the Inuit peoples of Canada, a voice that may have been purposely silenced for fear of an indigenous truth being heard by mainstream Canada. This thesis is written in respect for and to the Inuit survivors of the disk system, and in respect for those Inuit who have moved ahead of us all onto other worlds, those who were digitized before the age of electronic numeric identification. Those whose very existences were dependent on a number stamped onto a fabricated disk and placed onto a string - a system that tried to replace humanity with columns of integers.

To the readers of this thesis, I assume that you are thinking, that one could argue at this point that everyone in Canada has a social insurance number. The SIN number was created in 1964 and was first used as an account number for the administration of the Canada Pension and Employment Insurance Plans. In 1967 the SIN number begins to be used for tax reporting purposes. A SIN number, in 1967 did not replace a human name in comparison to a disk number in 1941 and having a R-number designating that a person is a registered Canadian Indian meant that this person had land equity or a land claim in progress, and as an Indian you were never

expected to wear your R-card around your neck. The general population of Canada never had their names scrutinized, removed or replaced by numbers – the Inuit of Canada did.

Because of the times that we now live in, globally, as a social grouping of humans, the use of a number becomes an everyday experience. We live with PIN (Personal Identification Number) numbers, we access our various email accounts and login and out of information through the use of numbers. There is not a day in my life where I do not make use of a numeric code in some way. But we live in 2013, not 1941 and iPhones and iPads are normal communication devices. For the sake of this thesis, I ask that all who read it move their minds back to the time when we got up in the morning and had to ask ourselves, "What am I going to kill for supper tonight?" I ask that we remember that communication was far from instantaneous and I ask especially that the stories told by those who are interviewed in this thesis be remembered as a lived experience, not virtual and not for the sake of any kind of entertainment.

I ask as well that we respect and understand that the Inuit were branded and herded and tagged as a group of humans, unlike cattle or horses. Please remember that the importance of a disk became as important as breath itself, the disk number was not only a form of administration, it was also a way of enforcing and controlling an entire group of indigenous humans and with this digital necklace there comes firstly fear, which in truth, translates into pain.

In our day and age we have no fear of losing or forgetting our PIN numbers, each system is equipped for such an occurrence and we are able to recreate our numbers today, within seconds, and never once have to worry about not having access to money or information or social benefits extended to Canadian citizens by our governments.

I also ask one very important thing, please never think of the Inuit as peoples who lived far in the north of nowhere, or as peoples without intelligence and grace, or as uneducated or backwards in any. We have always been a peoples filled with the ability to survive. We always have been and remain people who are more than a disk number.

Please hear the voice inside this thesis and remember who speaks it.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Methodology

The Eskimo Identification Canada system falls into a number of designations. Locating information under the formal title created by the Government of Canada in 1941 does not mean that a search will be complete. The system falls into various headings, such as the E-number system, or the disk system and from the information available to the public is presented simply as a solution to the organization of Inuit names. An example of this type of presentation can be found in Pat Sandiford Grygier's 1994 book, "A Long Way From Home, The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit," She states;

> The disc system was introduced to make it easier for the white administration to identify the Inuit, to check relationships for family allowance entitlements, and so on. This was important because the Inuit did not have a system of family surnames and rarely spoke or wrote in English, while the white administrators rarely spoke Inuktitut. Consequently Inuit names were often recorded incorrectly. Every Inuit was given a number, which was imprinted on a plastic disc that was usually worn around the neck or on the arm, like an army "dog tag." …Thus the first inhabitants of Canada were again ahead of the rest of us – in being issued with identification numbers. Today, we all have social insurance numbers and usually need to carry them with us, though not perhaps, around our necks. The disc system was in force until the late 1960s when, responding to pressure from both within and outside the Inuit community, the government replaced the number identification system with surnames chosen by the Inuit themselves (Grygier, p. 49).

Grygier has, in seven sentences completed a summation of a colonial form of accounting placed onto humanity and as is consistently revealed in literature concerning the disk system, the Inuit are left as shadows in the background, without voice, and without visibility. This passage, simplifies, a system which officially ran from 1941 – 71, not 'the late 1960s', and is without the input of an Inuit disk-holder. In doing such it places doubt on the veracity of what Grygier is trying to convey – a singular view, made by a non-Inuit female, ending with the summation that Inuit who were numbered were ahead of their time and we, meaning all of Canadian society, became numbered humanity. From an Inuit point of view, this is seen as a form of justifying the inhumanity that the disk system truly represents.

Grygier, in the introduction of her book, also puts forth a challenge that is gladly taken up in this thesis:

> All histories are incomplete, because the writer must select from the myriad pieces of information available – and in making the selection, one's own personal bias and the tenor of the times inevitably play some part, even if unconsciously. Another writer might make a different selection or have a different perspective on the same material. I have set out the facts as objectively as I can and have tried to identify the main threads running through the pattern of events. For the rest, the records and the participants will tell their own tale. It is, at least, a beginning. Perhaps an Inuk historian will go on to complete – or correct – the picture (Ibid, p. xxiv).

I do not claim to be an official Inuk historian, but on behalf of my people, firstly, I accept the test put forward by Grygier and will present the other side of the disk system, the Inuit perspective, which has not, to date been placed into literature at any length.

The government of Canada is a clever machine. It is a force that prints words talking about the Eskimo Identification Canada system but never once is the voice of the Inuit present in any of the government-sponsored documents, written by government paid writers. These documents would also be the information mostly readily available to the general public. Therein lies one of the components of sadness within the system – the colonialist continues to control the content of what is published and read by mainstream Canada. Not once in these small publications, a form of admitting to a colonial construct, are the voices of the Inuit heard or published. This is the gap that this thesis will fill, the intentional verbal hole that the government of Canada has never put into print.

Three Canadian government-sponsored documents concerning Inuit policy were examined to review what type of information is on hand to the general public concerning the Eskimo Identification Canada system, this literature at best is limited. All three are accessible in print, with the most recent, *Canada's Relationship with Inuit – A History of Policy and Program Development* (2006) also being available on-line through the Aboriginal and Northern Development Canada, (AANDC) website.

Each document is written within a different time in Canada's own history and one has to wonder why the government continues to issue and re-issue this information. The following is an analysis of the contents of each document and the historic information and policy of the Canadian government as written by non-Inuit, government paid historic writers.

Sunatuinnalirivuq – person speaks differently by equivocation

A. Barry Roberts, is the writer of the first publication titled, *Eskimo Identification and Disc Numbers – a Brief History*, which was released in June of 1975. This 34 page text is, "Prepared for the Social Development Division, of the Department of the Indian and Northern Affairs" and is written four years after the disk system was officially disbanded. Roberts begins with telling the reader that the Inuit of Canada,

> …lived their lives in almost total isolation from the rest of the world. Indeed, apart from their occasional brushes with whalers and explorers, most did not enter into permanent contact with other societies until the Twentieth Century when the spread of trading posts and the establishment of RCMP posts across the Arctic brought once and for all the white man with his institutions, his bureaucracy and his passion for order (Roberts, 1975, p. 1).

This opening statement appears to set the tone for this text, with Roberts apparently scolding the government for the planning and installing of the Eskimo Identification Canada system, but the sentences thereafter present a very different picture. For example; "life went on without (and presumably without the need for) certain elements normally associated with more complex societies."(Ibid., p.1). The qualifying usage of the words, 'more complex societies' gives the reader a sense of simpleness, as though the Inuit were in need of 'the white man …and his passion for order"(Ibid., p.1). Roberts then launches into the singular, non-gendered names the Inuit were given, such as, "Ituk" (old man), Avingak (mouse), and Kopanuak (bird) – denoting the Inuit as a peoples who named their children based on their environment, as though naming was expected to be more convoluted and only a lower grouping of humanity would name their children after the items most common to their physical world. What is missing within pages one and two of this script is the Inuit voice and Inuit meaning used in naming practices. Abe Okpik, a respected Inuit elder, politician, and Member of the Order of Canada, recalls how he received his own name:

> When we name a child, the namesake lives on. The soul dies and the body is gone, but you have the name, and you have to raise the child as the person you knew. …there is a drum dancing song in the West that, before my namesake Auktalik died, he taught my father and three brothers to sing. They still use that. It's a kind of chant, to make people happy. We call it atuvalluk. It means leaving a song of love… (Okpik, 2005, p. 54).

What Roberts presents is the confusion of Inuit names for the missionaries, who were first sent into the north to sort out the people there, non-Inuit see confusion while Inuit hear

incantations of songs of love. Roberts indicates that as early as 1933 the government of Canada is looking for a method that would standardize at least the spelling of Inuit names and 'the Department (Department of the Interior NWT) should adopt some universal form of identification of the Eskimo population" (Ibid, p.3). Roberts quotes, it is would assumed, selectively, and with approval from the government of Canada in 1975. The historic exchanges referenced are between NWT government employees and sessional documents ranging from 1933 – 1968.

What Roberts' portrays is a condensed version of the written communications between government officials, and one is left wondering what is left out of this document. What portions of these historic letters, between those who contrived the system, were given approval to be printed by the state and by whom? Never once are the Inuit consulted for their view of the implementation of the system and never once are the Inuit asked for their opinion of the necklace identifiers.

Mini Aodla Freeman, is an Inuit elder, author, and one of the co-founders of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. I had the pleasure of interviewing Minnie in the winter of 2011. She had told me that the disks arrived into her childhood area of Cape Hope Island around 1947 – 1948. "The government didn't know what to do with last names so they gave numbers out," she tells me, "like a dog tag." (Dunning, 2012, p. 213). Mini does not seem angry about the system, she says practically and sympathetically that the Inuit didn't mind the tags because it was explained that the government couldn't understand their names and they had "to wear a leather string." Mini was E9-434, her brother was E9-436, her mom was E9-433, her father was E9-431 and her grandmother was E9-430. The Aodla family was grouped between E9-430-440. Of the disc system she says, "I think it helped the government to know who was family. It didn't help us – we just wore them for the government" (Ibid, p. 213). Mini told me that her community members would only wear the necklaces when they knew a boat was coming in. She added that the necklaces were not made of real leather; they irritated the neck so they were only worn on the days when a boat was arriving to harbor.

Roberts however, presents a document that is government quote-heavy, and in truth, Roberts writes very little of his own work aside from the introductory pages one and two. Roberts does through the use of these quotes allow the reader to have an understanding of the tone of the governmental thoughts and processes, and why this system was so very important to

the government of that time. This document also introduces the reader to what became known as 'Project Surname', the fallout government project which occurred after the disk system was dismantled, whereby Inuit were given last names and was later followed by 'Project Correction' (Alia, p. 115). Roberts provides the historic background to the Eskimo Identification Canada system and a generalized non-Inuit understanding of the processes behind it. For basic historic purposes this text does have value, in terms of what was happening on the government- side of the system.

Uqaqpilukpuq – speaks bitterly but gently

The next government-sponsored document is released on July 30, 1992 and titled*, A Historical Overview of Government-Inuit Relations, 1900 - 1980s* written by Richard J. Diubaldo. This document is released by the Department of History, Concordia University, Montreal, showing a revision on January 1, 1992. The cover page of this document has the following disclaimer printed on it, "The views expressed herein, as well as any omissions or errors of fact, are those of the author. This paper is issued for information purposes and to stimulate discussion." The second page of this document indicates that the information provided is for the, "Aboriginal Peoples – Government Relations History Project (1755 – present)" and that;

> This project was commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to provide the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples information concerning the course and content of federal government policies toward Indian, Métis and Inuit peoples. To accomplish this, several qualified academics were asked to prepare studies on the history of the relations between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian government from 1755 to present (Diubaldo, 1992, p.i).

This paper is in effect, a request made from the government of Canada to help them understand specific Canadian Aboriginal groups prior to the final Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) report presented to Parliament in November of 1996.

This paper makes not one reference to the Eskimo Identification Canada system. This is most amazing as the paper travels through early 1700's history into 1988 northern policy making in Canada's Arctic. Allowing a chosen academic historical writer to omit the disk system is not only a baffling and blatant oversight but also, most unsettling. This work would have been presented to the RCAP committee without the inclusion of a disk system, a system that became entrenched not only within Inuit society but also within the workings and minds of non-Inuit

administrators. Seventeen years after the publication of Roberts's work, the E-number system appears to have vanished. Diubaldo died on July 1, 2007 at the age of 67, the reason why the disk system was not included in his paper will not be known (Roth, 2007). In a report that was being used on a national scale the effects of the system are not heard, Inuk stories about the disk system are silenced, in what would be one of the most power-filled documents presented to the Government of Canada on behalf of Inuit Canadians. Stories like those of John Arnalukjuak and Rachel Uyarasuk:

John Arnalukjuak, in a 1997 interview, states, "We were told by the RCMP not to lose those discs so we were fearful that uh, if we ever lose them, because that, in those days, the RCMP were really bossy and you know, so we feared them. So we were told not to lose them." Rachel Uyarasuk did lose all of her family's discs:

> I was afraid to lose mine…We were told not to lose them…I didn't wear it around my neck. All my children's and mine…I tied them together. And I lost them! I was ever scared. Uyarasuk realized her family discs were lost while they were travelling from one camp to another. The family returned to their first camp and "even picked on the ice, looking for them. …I had to tell someone because we had lost them and I was very scared. I thought I was going to be arrested" (Tester, 1994, p. 211).

Although Diubaldo does completely bypass the disk system what he does provide is a critical rendering of the government attitude towards the Inuit. Under the sub-heading of Inuit Legal Status, Diubaldo states,

> To this day, Inuit are considered ordinary citizens of Canada, without any special legal status. In the mid-1980's, officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, when queried, could only say that "[t]here is no federal statute which provides for a defined 'legal' Inuit status. Inuit 'status' is a matter of combined community and self-identification based on cultural, ancestral or racial criteria and possibly territorial factors (Diubaldo,1985, p. 10).

In relation to the disk system, this statement can provide a peek into how the Canadian government had at one time viewed the Inuit as a task to be undertaken, not with bravado but with brevity. Another group of Canadian aboriginal peoples who were without Treaty, and were given a disk number in order to be handled in the most terse of manners, eliminating the use of Inuit names. Overall, "The Canadian government demonstrated its reluctance to tackle the social and legal problems in other than the old-style colonial approach, with its attendant yet subtle racism…concern for the welfare of the Inuit was always present but never paramount" (Ibid.,

p.11). Diubaldo through the approach of his paper did provide for RCAP the begrudging attitude that persisted with the Canadian government towards their own Inuit citizenry.

Uqaliqtuqaqtuq – speaks quickly, hurrying

The most recent publication by Sarah Bonesteel is released by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in June of 2006 and comes with the same disclaimer as listed in the Diubaldo RCAP report, "The views expressed in this report are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada"(June, 2006, introductory page). This 240 page book devotes 127 pages to the history of policy and program development between the Inuit and government of Canada, with 113 pages devoted to a bibliography, photo credits and end notes. Pages 37-39 are set aside for the Eskimo Identification Canada system in what is titled, "The E-Number Identification System", a text of less than 2000 words and seven paragraphs. This is most disappointing.

Bonesteel, like Roberts, begins with a brief explanation of the traditional Inuit naming system, bringing to light the struggle that non-Inuit missionaries, whalers, traders and Royal Canadian Mounted Police had in their basic dealings with the peoples on Inuit traditional land. The recordkeeping of Hudson's Bay Company employees and medical doctors and their confusion with Inuit names are brought into paragraph two. Paragraph three makes mention of fingerprinting in the 1930's of the Inuit, which was stopped because medical doctors felt that the Inuit made a correlation between fingerprinting and criminal activity. One has to wonder how the Inuit in 1930, made this association – it has been suggested that 17 Inuit were fingerprinted while seeking medical help and again, one has to wonder if Inuit were being fingerprinted by the RCMP when they were being charged with a crime.

Paragraph four describes a medical officer in Pangnirtung, in 1935, suggesting the issuance of dogtags, similar to those in use by Canadian army and navy members. What has to be kept in mind is that a dogtag number did not follow an enlisted and serving member of a Canadian military branch once they entered into civilian life. In 1941 the Eskimo Identification Canada system is born with the issuance of the disks which "were approximately the size of quarters and were made from pressed fibre with a hole punched in the top, allowing them to be worn on string around a neck or wrist" (Ibid, p. 37). Paragraph five highlights the difficulties in the issuance of the disks, with some Inuit refusing to wear them but does not tell us where this occurred, according to Roberts this group belonged to the Boothsia Peninsula area.

By 1945 there is a mass recall and reissuance of the disks as well as the breaking down of the Canadian Arctic into twelve land districts, W1-3 in the west and E1 – 9 in the east. Paragraph six makes mention of how, "…all Inuit interaction with the federal, and provincial or territorial governments required use of E-numbers" (Ibid, p. 39), but does not name the interactions with which the E-number was required, interactions that were based on the need to obtain food, medicine, child welfare, or care for the elderly. What this paragraph neglects to mention is the deliberate refusal of social services or any type of government-based aide to the Inuit if an E-number was not next to their name, and that these same government services were given to all other Canadians without a disk number, a gap that this research shall fill. Zebedee Nungak, Inuit politician, author and leader states in the year 2000:

> The disc number has a special significance in our lives, even with the abundance of identifications we carry today. Every Eskimo once committed his or her E-number to memory, a handy I.D. for all purposes. One of a mother's great duties was keeping track of all her family's E-numbers. Even in this age of e-mail-dot-com, I know many who still use their ujamik numbers as a PIN for charge cards, a house number, or a label for their belongings. Losing my disc in early childhood has never erased the number that was so much a part of my early life (Nungak, 2000, p. 37).

Paragraph seven sums up the system as being terminated because, over time the government came to the rationalization that, "…alphanumeric registration of Inuit as a primary means of identification…was uncommon for other cultural groups in Canada" (Ibid., p. 39). The fact that this system ran for a minimum, in some northern districts, of 34 years is not reinforced. Project Surname is brought to light through one sentence and the closing line of this most recent publication is: "Currently, Inuit are known by given names and surnames, and are registered through vital statistics records, as are people throughout the rest of Canada" (Bonesteel,2006, p. 39). The last eight words are the stinger in this summation, to a reader it implies that Inuit are now like all other Canadians and it is very much a paternalistic sentence. Inuit, like other cultures remain distinct.

This small, simplistic portrayal of the Eskimo Identification Canada system does have on pages 191 and 192 a total of ten endnotes. Endnote 248 states the following, "…they were not intended to be worn by Inuit once the unique identifying numbers stamped on the disks were memorized" (Ibid, p. 191). This endnote then references Roberts, who, portrays a much harsher reality and exchange between Major D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson on 19 April, 1945, words

that are not quoted in the rendering of the disk system by Bonesteel. Roberts recants this same scenario in the following manner in what he terms 'a somewhat testy reply' by McKeand:

> In my opinion there is no necessity whatsoever for replacing the present identification disc with a medal or token of any kind. As I have been pointing out for twenty years, once the Eskimo realizes that the white man wants him to memorize an identification number and use it in all trading and other transactions, the Eskimo will fall in line. There will be no need for the Eskimo to wear identification discs for a longer period than is required for him and his family and friends to memorize the number (Roberts, 1975, p. 23).

To have this government-paid writer present the disk system without the harsh reality expressed by the non-Inuit authority figures and manipulators of the Inuit peoples not only discredits this entire text but also disrespects and dishonors Inuit disk and non-disk holders.

It was hoped with each government-issued publication that the voice of the Inuit would at last be released in print – this did not happen. It was hoped that the Inuit felt and lived-meaning of a disk number, as a part of everyday business, whether at a doctors' office or in a classroom, would be expressed. It was not. It was hoped that how a disk number became a form of not only Inuit identity but authenticity would be put into print. It did not. Within these three government-sponsored publications the voice of the Inuit is not written, read or heard. The very fact that Inuit have always been more than a number and the effects of a numbered necklace as a form of validation of existence is life-lasting and inherent – a gap that this research fills.

Siut – repeat what others say

One has to question, why the government of Canada feels compelled to continue to issue these documents, what is it that the government is trying to write and rewrite, concerning the Inuit? What is the truth that is continually being glossed over with each publication? This continued composing, this production and reproduction of Inuit historic policy, this government sponsored information is written and rewritten first in 1975, then in 1985 and lastly in 2006.

Although, there are a smattering of scholarly papers referring to the disk system, however, and again, the experience of the Inuit, like the Inuit themselves, is only included marginally. For instance, Derek Smith (1993) examines only the primary Canadian government documents that led up to the enforcement of the disk system and has the advantage of time and hindsight in his paper. Smith, as opposed to Roberts, Diubaldos' and Bonesteels' government supported written publications, encompasses the effects of the disk system on the Canadian Inuit

decades later to a small degree. Smith, however, returns often to the point that non-Inuit authority figures in the Canadian Arctic never took the time to learn the language or customs and instead created and implemented a form of human shackling. This paper does present the government side of this almost silenced Canadian aboriginal history and allows a basic understanding of why the Canadian government felt compelled to impose the disk system.

Along with Smith are chapters in both, *Tammarniit* - Mistakes (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994) concerning Eastern Inuit relocation, and *Kiumajut* – Talking Back (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007) concentrating on game management and Inuit rights, that make mention of the disk system and provide small snippets into the Inuit reaction to the system, but again, neither are a deeply involved study into the disk system and neither, truly provide a full Inuit voice.

Nonetheless, to correctly get a sense of what initiated the disk system, a global camera has to span back to the events that were in play at the time the system was put into practice, this information is taken up in the contextual chapter of this thesis.

It is realized that Canadian Inuit history is recent and perhaps, now is the time to present a full picture of what the system did to the spirits of both disk holders and non-disk holders. Zebeedee Nungak writes, "Then the system choked and sputtered to a demise unworthy of a brilliant government idea. It was never officially retired, nor its end duly marked by an appropriate solemn ceremony presided over by Inuit" (Nungak, 2000, p.88). This statement reinforces the purpose of this thesis, to present both sides because no other literature has.

The Eskimo Identification System examined through Contemporary Song

Inuttituuqpuq – speaks, behaves like an Inuk

In 1999 and again in 2002, two Inuk female artists release songs about the system, speaking the truth of how most Inuit may have felt throughout the 37 year reign of a fabricated disk. Two song types, presented by two female Inuit artist are representative of the continued impact of the Eskimo disk system. The traditional song types and methods used by each artist, and released to the Canadian public, and are a statement of the lasting impressions of the disk system and a fine example of lasting Inuit tradition and a form of Inuit literature linking the system to the Inuit themselves. Susan Aglukark (Aglukark, 1999), and Lucie Idlout, (Idlout, 2002), through the use of traditional song methods, put forth *E186* and *E5-770 My Mother's*

Name and return to mainstream society the thoughts and feelings of themselves, their families and their communities concerning the disk system.

E186 is not an assigned number. It is a soft song of resistance, and it reflects the traditional type of Inuit song known as a pisiq. A pisiq "tells of things that happened in the past" (Owingayak, 2012) and are "sung with a drum" as the dominant instrument. Aglukark is singing of and to the heroes who survived a system that tried to remove names and cultural identity and in many ways tried to erase the faces of the Inuit.

Lucie Idlout sings about the disk system in an opposing and traditional Inuit form of song, an iviutit. Iviutit "were used to embarrass people, to make fun of them, to make fun of their weaknesses" (Laugrand & Aupilaarjuk, 1999, p.201). Iviutit were a traditional way of evening the score, a legal and binding method of maintaining peace and order within an Inuit group, a way of stopping physical revenge (ibid.). Through her song *E5-770 - My Mother's Name*, Idlout rightly leaves a stain of embarrassment for Canada, and throws into the face of the authorities a system that tried to replace humanity with digits.

In an e-mail Idlout replies that she wrote this song because she "hated the idea of her mother being referred to by anything other than her proper name" (Dunning, 2012, p. 216) and "wanted to expose the country (meaning Canada) because at the time the song was written Canada was rated as one of the top countries in the world to live in"(Ibid, p.216). In her words, Idlout thought this was, "a fucking joke considering how many treaties have been broken and how many aboriginal peoples live in poverty" (Ibid., p. 216). She concludes with, "I wrote it in the style I did to make people listen to a voice that is rarely heard or recognized, and issues are rarely spoken or acknowledged in a spoken form. Music makes people hear you" (Ibid, p. 216).

The last Inuit voice, speaking towards the disk system is Ann Meekitjuk Hanson, in her small article, "What's in a name?" Hanson-Meekitjuk states,

> We were given a small disc looped on a sturdy string, brown with black lettering. …And when I came back home I didn't want to be Miss E7-121. I was not alone in disliking the number system. By the late 1960's, Simonie Michael, our first elected Inuk member of the Northwest Territories legislative assembly, stated that he no longer wanted to be known by his E7-number (Hanson-Meekitjuk, 1999).

This small article states the lack of humanity that resided within an Inuit woman because of a necklace. Each of the Inuit voices that have spoken about the disk system did not have the

opportunity to influence or speak directly to mainstream Canada, each voice represents a marginalized person speaking within a marginalized context, no allowance is made for academia.

I am an Ihalmiut (people from beyond) or Ahiarmiut (the out-of-the way-dwellers) Inuit woman. In a non-Inuktitut narrative we are known as Caribou or Inland Inuit and would have fallen under the E1 district land region of the disk system. My peoples were relocated more than once and eventually were left in Whale Cove - this is how Whale Cove became my home-supporting community. This research finds its roots in my own application for Nunavut Beneficiary status in 2001. I am Norma Dunning. I was born in 1959, while the disk system was still in practice however; I remain a disk-less Inuk.

Methodological Approach

My research is framed through the methodological use of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit or IQ. It is an Indigenous Research Methodology situated between, "the self", and broader areas that requires me to always be mindful of others. According to Tester and Irniq, "IQ is about remembering; an ethical injunction that lies at the root of Inuit identity" (Tester, 2008, p.48). It is the way in which I was raised by my mother, and it is through this lens of Inuit understanding that I look out into the non-Inuit world and make sense of what, where and who I am. It is my isuma, my own spirit, and how I wrestle with the world around me. It is how I filter information first.

IQ has several elements, each of which are fluid but complete, and have always been used by Canadian Inuit throughout our lifetime; it is what our survival is based on. This is one of the methodologies to be used to bring equilibrium and understanding to the Eskimo Identification Canada system, with the eyes and the voice of the Inuit as well as the surrounding governmental forces of this time in Inuit history. *Tukitaaqtuq*, the title of this research is an Inuktitut word for, "they explain to one another, they reach understanding, receive explanation from the past" (Nunavut, 2000). This research will achieve *Tukitaaqtuq* and will be used as a forum for each side of the disk system, the issuers of the disks and those who wore them. I will be incorporating only four IQ concepts into my research:

1. *Pijitsirarniq* – the concept of serving – this research will serve as a form of giving back to my home-supporting community of Whale Cove NU and will lend voice to the Inuit of Canada concerning this much quieted portion of Inuit history. I will work knowing that I represent my home community, and remain attentive to our right to be heard in a respectful manner.

Linda Smith writes, "Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model...the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities" (Smith, 2012, p. 138). What I dig up and find through researching, and the stories that I will be told in the future from former disk holders, I am held accountable for and to. I am also held accountable to the enforcers of the system and to non-disk holders. To serve in the capacity of *pijitsirarniq* is not single sided.

2. *Aajiiqatigiingniq* – consensus/decision making – this research and thesis will bring together, the voices of the Inuit some from the Kivalliq region of Nunavut, my home area, through archival research, documents, and from the interviews that will be conducted. It will encompass

the Canadian Inuit community and will show the thoughts, feelings and lasting impressions of the disk system. In order to achieve *aajiiqatigiingniq*, what has to be carefully considered is what was happening within the rest of the Canadian Arctic and the exterior powers at work at a federal level.

3. *Piliriqatigiingniq* – working together for a common purpose – the common purpose presented through the research of the disk system is to gain a better, fuller, and unprejudiced understanding from both the Inuit and the non-Inuit during the three decades the disk system was enforced. Inuit peoples learned long ago that working together was a stronger approach in completing a task; this sense of *piliriqatigiingniq* remains strong today. This research will present a dialogue of two dichotomous groups who became entangled with one another through a necklace, and who were in a broad sense working together for a common purpose.

4. *Qanuqtuurungnarniq* – being resourceful to solve problems. Through the continued research and writing of this thesis the Inuit contextual meaning of the disk system can be put into place and hopefully brought into the light to the rest of the Canadian population. The concept of *qanuatuurungnarniq* requires that a problem, no matter what it is, be solved to completion. This means that a problem cannot be ignored or expected to resolve itself, it means that work is required and that both sides of a problematic issue be looked at and considered in ways that may seem unusual or out of scope. By examining all the forces at play during the lifetime of the disk system, a place of understanding can be built.

The disk system in many forms served to cement and literally symbolize the social relations between the Canadian government and its Inuit citizenry. It is from the standpoint of the four aforementioned IQ concepts that this research will first be examined. This does not mean that an indigenous researcher has the right or the desire to toss aside or neglect western sociological theory and the understanding that comes with it. I was raised in non-Inuit classrooms and it is a learning that I value greatly. It is this learning along with IQ that has carried me throughout my life and both of these forms of learning will be expressed throughout this thesis.

To fill this vast gap about the disk system, primary sources have been examined and four interviews conducted. The interviews are with former disk-holders, some from the Keewatin district, and the contextual chapter is focused on this area as well, my own original home territory. Archival research around the disk system has been conducted with the help of the

Northwest Territory Archives, Yellowknife, NT, and the Carrothers Fonds from the University of Calgary, AB, and historic maps of the Northwest Territories, with a focus on the Keewatin area of northern Manitoba from the Cameron Library, U of Alberta campus.

We Inuit, have always been more than a number, the effects of a numbered necklace as a form of validation of an Inuk's' existence are life-lasting and inherent, the objectives of this research is to present both sides of a government system in a way that is balanced, purposeful, and fair. The following chapter puts into perspective an understanding of the Inuit naming system and its effect on an Inuit man named 'Kakoot' through the use of both original prose and academic workings and acts as a back drop to the Eskimo Identification Canada system.

Chapter 3

Kakoot

"In order to obliterate a peoples, begin by obliterating their names."

(comment by Linda Smith, upon hearing my presentation of the disk system at a meeting in Pembina Hall, U of Alberta campus, October 9, 2013) (Smith, 2013)

'Kakoot' is a story I wrote while in a prose 300-level creative course at the U of Alberta. I had read of the real Kakoot, an Inuit man who made his living as a guide in the Keewatin area of northern Manitoba in a book titled, "Caribou Eskimos of the Upper Kazan River, Keewatin" by Francis Harper. This book is the re-telling of Harper's time in the area in 1947 and includes information about Kakoot, who was an Inuk with three wives, and who, unfortunately disappeared.

My story, "Kakoot" places him into present day in a traditional way.

The fluorescent lights buzzed over his head like a swarm of black flies. They were everywhere. He reached up to swat a clear path out of them when a voice spoke.

"Hey, hey now Mr. Tootoosis, just relax. Lay back down champ. There you go, just have a little nap." A needle pricked his arm and he faded to black. A blackness that only medication can give, a blackness that you can't fight your way out of.

He had been ordered here-to a "futuristic" nursing home. It was shuffling day at the home. This happened at the beginning of every month. The day when you were re-assigned if your number came up. The transfer was happening as he lay sprawled on the tiny stretcher.

Each area was called a "pod" and had been assigned a color. When you hit the yellow pod you were on your way out. He was on his way there now and he knew it.

It was a progressive place alright; it was a place where you were handled like a traffic light. The red pod first when you entered into the home, if they considered you functional. Functional meant that you could get yourself to and from the bathroom, functional meant you recognized your name when it was called. Red was where you wanted to stay for as long as possible.

Green meant that you were becoming dysfunctional. No longer the keeping of piss and shit to yourself, you started to share it with your inner thighs and your kneecaps. This was the first sign they looked for. No turning of your head when your name was called, staring straight forward was the only response. Green was the breaking point.

Green, the place where the rest of you began to fall apart. Piss, shit, spit and sperm, all bodily fluids were released without rhyme and definitely without reason. Your body was a tap of fluids being turned on and sprayed at random. The response from the staff was a hose, beating back your self-made liquids and splatting your skin until it began to peel. Green was the place where you wanted to stay for as long as possible.

Green led to yellow; yellow was the door with the neon sign over it. Exit. The last door, the last hurrah, the last breath. It was where you were taken to die. Where you were taken to piss and shit your way into the next world. The last earthly place, the last earthly level.

When power is unequal and people are colonized at one level or another, naming is manipulated from the outside. In the Canadian North, the most blatant example of this manipulation is the long history of interference of visitors with the ways the Inuit named themselves and their land. (Alia, 2007, p. ix)

It was here in this traffic light hell that he would leave behind all that he knew to be true and he didn't like it. He didn't like this home, this home of colors and rules and lights that buzzed into your face and eyes and ears. He didn't like the electric black flies that crowded over his nose, digging into his ears, living in his tears. He wanted only to get out of here. Go home. Die on his tundra. Buried under a pile of rocks. Not here. That's what he wanted and he was going to get it.

The Inuit believed that life was eternal. Death was only a transformation from one world to another. When you died you went to the other side. This transformation didn't happen instantly, but was believed to take more than a year. The soul had to crawl under an enormous skin carpet. This journey would free the body of juices. Arriving on the other side two worlds appeared. A world under water and earth, where the seal meat was plenty and a world in the sky rich on berries. Hell didn't exist. (Nielsen,Inuit Religion, Web)

"There now, Mr. Tootoosis, sit up now." He felt a man's grip on his lower back and heard the same female voice. "Good. That's the way a champ is, right Mr. Tootoosis? Here you

go, in your brand new room. Aren't the soft yellow walls lovely?" As his body slumped onto a high-backed chair he felt the thick belt wrap around his wasted waist.

The aged are treated with respect, and the word of the old men and women is final. The Eskimo say that they have lived a long time and understand things in general better. They also feel that in the aged is embodied the wisdom of their ancestors. (Steckley, 2008, p. 107)

"There now, Mr. Tootoosis, what a fun name, we'll just let you sit up and look around at your new home."

As the nurses' shoes squeaked their way from his room he looked into the eyes of a black man. A big, black man who leaned in close to his face and said, "Well done Skeemo, now you just stay put. No blabbing in that native tongue today – got it? We heard you're a screamer and we won't have any of that around here. It's quiet, always quiet, 24 – 7. No muktuk, mukluk, or what the fuck – got it Skeemo boy?" His huge, dark hands dug into Amos' shoulders, Amos knew purple fingerprints where beginning to form under his purple polka-a- dot hospital gown.

Who is to say that locking the elderly in nursing homes is more humane than allowing them to wonder off on the ice flow and freeze to death as Eskimo elders are sometimes permitted to do? Cultural behavior that may imply low status for the aged in one society may mean something entirely different in another (Holmes, 1995, p.11).

Skeemo- like he hadn't heard that over and over and over again. Names that no one ever got right. Saying your name right meant you were real, that you existed, and there would be none of that in this white house. One white institution after another, that's all his life had added up to.

Mission folks who told him God loved him, he already knew that. Mission folks who changed his name from Kakoot to Amos.

When a child is born it is the parents or in-laws who name the child. The spirit of a relative or best friend, who has just died will be born again in the new baby by their name, and we then call out that name when the mother is birthing. …My parents and in-laws told me that when a baby girl is born after a long labor the mother would take the umbilical cord between her fingers and put it into her mouth and suck in, and while the baby's spirit is alive she would

make the penis come back out to make the baby go from a girl to a boy again (Kilunik (Dogs Barking), 1990, p. 117).

A mother who let it happen but who only said that name when a mission person was present. Otherwise, she whispered "Kakoot" softly into his ears when waking him or when putting him to bed. Called it to him when he was outside and needed back indoors, sang it to him when she washed down his tiny body and at times yelled it to him when he was in danger. His mother, he had loved that woman more than any other woman in his lifetime.

People inherited their strength and their skill from their namesake. The namesake relationship enabled people to share in the qualities of their ancestors and thus to become successful human beings (Laugrand, 2010, p.127).

Women were divine creatures. Sent from the heavens to give you pleasure, warmth, and someone to eat a meal with. Someone to talk your day over with, someone to cuddle up to on those cold snow-filled nights when the wind howled longer and louder than any wolf. Women they made you happy, they broke your heart. They were the charms of all of your life's bracelets, they were only memories now. He had loved them all his days, he loved their sound, their swoosh, their smell. Women, there had been so many of them.

He glanced down at his shriveled penis and gave a short laugh to himself. Now he only ate his oats but never sowed them. He sighed and looked towards the narrow window injected into the soft yellow wall. It was snowing. A good snow. *Pukaangajug*.

The days of making snow houses with his family had slipped away so quickly. Simple days, days of building, hunting, and fishing. Days of laughter and happiness. Days of having only two concerns, food and warmth.

In the eighteenth century, Catholic missionaries in northern Quebec and the eastern Arctic converted and baptized Inuit, and assigned them biblical names. …Variants in names and use of multiple names by individuals did not seem to cause confusion among Inuit, yet whalers and traders and later members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), found it difficult to pronounce and spell Inuit names (Bonesteel, 2006, p. 37).

After the mission people, came the schools. The white schools that taught him how to write with a pencil and pen. Schools where he became "Amos Tootoosis" and later was given a number. W4-369. For many years he wore his leather tag around his neck. He stopped feeling that it was there. It had become a part of his skin, a part of his heart. W4-369 replaced "Amos Tootoosis," he was called by it in school, on his mail, and for a joke his family had painted it onto the front door of his house. Telling him that he would never go into the wrong house after a night out on the town.

Ujamit sounds like a nice, melodic Inuit word but it represents a system that the Government of Canada implemented for the 'tagging' of an entire group of Aboriginal people. Ujamit (necklaces) small individually numbered disks were expected to be worn by every Inuit at all times as a 'practical' means to validate Inuit status. This was the Eskimo disk list system, (Smith 1993) where each disk was stamped, "Eskimo Identification Canada" (Dunning, 2012, p. 209 – 210).

Today he was Amos Tootoosis, a tinier, weaker version of the hunter and lover he had once been. Today he was Amos Tootoosis, member of the yellow pod, stage left. Exit. He sighed again and jerked the tall-backed chair towards the window. Good snow, snow that was hardy and ready to be turned into a house, tea, broth, and a face wash. Good snow.

"Well, look at you Mr. Loose Tooth, you managed to get yourself over to the window. My you are a strong one!" spoke the squeaky-shoed nurse. They all did this, assumed that he couldn't understand one damn word that fell out of their mouths. They compensated by talking in louder than normal voices as if they were talking to a newborn or a puppy. They all got his name wrong too and he was long past correcting them.

Amos smiled. He had learned to years ago when dealing with the whites, always smile, always nod and as soon as they were gone, go back to who you really are. The white people would say that the northern heathen savages were ever so passive, accommodating, and child-like, the reality was that not one of them gave a good god damn. Kakoot, Amos Tootoosis, W4-369 had lived through it all but had decided he would never die here, not this way.

We have gone through a lot in a short time. Among those who have left their mark on us are whalers, Christian ministers, traders, police, teachers, scientists, and southern politicians. Some of these people had good intentions, and our ancestors welcomed them because tradition and belief ruled them with good manners, kindness, and curiosity. Inuit today inherited both the good and bad effects of these influences. (Hanson-Meekitjuk, 1999)

"Your lunch will be here shortly, and well, I guess you're OK for now. After nap time we are having a little social in the main fireplace area today – you'll be coming. See you later Mr. Too Much Moose – my what a name!" and she was gone. The sound of nylon against nylon as her round legs and squeaky shoes left the room.

Amos began to close his eyes. It was the best way to handle all white places. Close your eyes and remember. Remember the days of the hunt, the days of preparation for it, the days of watching over the land and waiting for the herds to come. The days of patience and planning, the happiest days of his life. He could smell the cold air, he could see the browns, yellows, and soft greens, he could hear the multitudes of birds that arrived each spring. When he closed his eyes he was young again, he was strong, but mostly he was free.

The modern state, "…requires the capacity to locate citizens uniquely and unambiguously. …it needs standardized information that will allow it to create aggregate statistics about property, income, health, demography, productivity, etc. …it must be collected in a form that makes it amenable to an overall statistical profile – a shorthand map of some social or economic condition relevant for state purposes (Scott C. James & Jeremy, 2002, p. 10)

The sound of a wet sloppy mop made Amos jerk his eyes open. He snapped his head over to one side and saw a janitor, in navy blue pants and a matching short sleeved shirt, a name tag with the word "Wade" written on it.

"Hey pal," said the janitor. "You're new. I'd shake your hand but I'm a janitor and touching a patient is considered cross-contamination of the worst kind. Well, what do you think of your new digs?"

This young guy spoke in a regular voice. Amos started to open his mouth to answer. Wade came closer to the window.

"Look at all that fuckin' snow, it is gonna be one big, fat bitch to try and get home tonight. Lucky you, you don't have to worry about driving in this shit."

Wade started back to the door, the mop dancing half number eights all over the floor.

"*Aniguititsijuq*" (help through difficulty)

"What?" Wade turned around and started back into the room. "You old timers, you're always saying shit that doesn't make sense. What can I do?"

Amos turned his dark eyes directly into Wade's. He spoke softly, slowly. "I need your help young man. I need you to help me get out of here. I don't want to die here."

"Listen, Mr. what's your name here? I'll check the door," Wade walked back to the door, looked at the white tag with the name Amos Tootoosis imprinted on it.

"OK, listen Mr. Shit I don't know how to say that name. Listen Mr. Amos, I can't do anything extra for people around here. They'll whip my ass, I'll lose my job, and then what'll happen? We all want outta here." Wade crouched, bending his knees low to the floor and looking Amos straight in the eyes.

Inuit names suffered butchery from the pens of Qallunaat who could never finesse the phonetics of the Inuktitut language. …In such cases, an individual's E-number was a basic confusion-saver. …Statistical specifics were not a particular preoccupation of Inuit. Slack inaccuracy in records was the norm, and Inuit were quite indifferent to such sloppiness. …Inuit responses to Qallunaat questions about such statistics were classic and legendary in their innocent honestly, "How old are you?" "I don't know." "When were you born?" "In the spring just as the geese were arriving." – or "In the fall two days after the first snowfall." One can just see the recorder putting down: "Age: 45, born 1902" by just taking another look at his subject. But then who needed accuracy? Would an Eskimo ever need a passport, or apply for employment insurance?" (Nungak, 2000, p. 34)

"How about this, do you want a cigarette?"

Amos chuckled. This white boy was not so bad.

"Yes." Amos answered even though he didn't smoke.

"OK, here's the deal. After lunch they come around and put all you guys into your beds for naptime and then after nap, because today is Friday they take you to the fireplace area where you each get to drink one glass of draught, it's shit alright. It's the cheapest, ugliest tasting crap that they bring in from *The Empress Hotel*. So how about this; before they come to get you up from the nap, I'll come back, get you into a chair, and we'll go off to my office for a smoke – alright?"

Amos nodded. His day now had a purpose. He had something to do besides remember. Amos looked at Wade letting the crow's feet of his eyes begin to take flight,

"That sounds good. Now, you said you're not allowed to touch people but allow me the honor of just one thing young man. Allow me a quick handshake. After all we appear to have a gentleman's agreement." Amos put his wrinkled, brown hand forward. Wade's mouth was hanging open in amazement as he put his strong, white hand forward. They shook hands and surprised each other with a small, extra squeeze as the shake began to end. They grinned at each other. Each had found a friend.

Most relied on the help and guidance of the Inuit. Perhaps the most famous of these was the American explorer Robert Peary, who relied heavily on the Polar Inuit of North West Greenland to make his attempts on the North Pole. Those that helped him received little or no recognition, some even died far from their homeland when brought back to America by Peary as museum curiosities (Rose, 2010).

Lunch had been the usual soft, mushy stuff. Stuff without flavor, stuff without texture. It went into your mouth and you didn't have to chew. Open, swallow, open, swallow, take another breath, open, swallow. Done. All the meals were like that here. There was never choice, there was never smell. It was food that lacked aroma and food that smacked of arrogance. As if you were deemed by age to no longer yearn for the taste of home. He missed his food, his food. His *tuktu*, his fish, his whale. He missed the feeling of a good chew, the gnawing and grinding of teeth against solid substance.

Even some dried fish would be better than this swill they called food. Fish that he used to catch in the spring and summer to feed to his dogs in the winter. His dog food would taste better than any of crud that arrived on a tray tucked under shiny steel domes. Eat that lunch, get it done and soon they'll tuck me away for a nap.

Amos Tootoosis was tired of many things but mainly he was tired of not being able to eat something that mattered.

"Well, Mr. Goose-Goose," said the nurse, returning with the big black man behind her.

"We're here to tuck you in for a snooze, how about that!"

Throughout the course of their history, in every stage of their development as a people, Inuit have always turned to their elders for direction and guidance. This has been particularly true when the people have faced crises or have entered into a period of significant change and adjustment. (Bell, 2003)

Good God thought Amos, she's worse than any teacher I ever had a school. Maybe being called by his disc number hadn't been so bad after all. Ah, she'd get that one wrong too. He looked up with the obligatory smile across his face. Just smile, just smile and know that this whitey and one black guy will leave. He felt the big square black hands scoop him out of his chair and smack him into this bed. He didn't moan, he didn't blink, he'd won bigger battles with bigger people in his lifetime. Just smile and know that will all end shortly.

"You're a nice quiet Skeemo, aren't you Amos?" said the black guy, square teeth close to Amos' eyes, a chuckle erupting from his dark throat.

Amos closed his eyelids, waiting for his memories to stop in for a visit. She would come again to see him, his mother. She usually stopped in at this time of day. They would talk about their times together when they were both so much younger and stronger and life had a northern ease to it.

Sleep began to wash over his body and he could hear them. The birds, millions of them, so many kinds, flooding the tundra floor all at once with their gooey shit and yelping louder then any of his dogs. The spring. The best time of year. Time to get ready for the hunt, time to prepare, take stock. He could hear the rhythm of his breath and feel the rise and fall of his chest. Sleep was his hinterland of escape.

> ***The Inuit believed in animism: all living and non-living things had a spirit. That included people, animals, inanimate objects, and forces of nature. When a spirit died, it continued living in a different world- the spirit world.*** (The Inuit, 2007)

"Kakoot, Kakoot, what are you doing here?"

It was Mama, he lifted only one eyelid and said to her, "Mama, *upirngasaq*." (melting of snows – start of spring)

"Kakoot, come home, *imminuuqpug*." (return home)

"I will Mama, very soon, very, very, soon. Ungaava." (to love very much, a kindly love)

"Pst, Mr. Amos, stop all that shit," came a low whisper. Amos opened his eyes to see Wade pulling a wheelchair behind him.

"Now, hop in and I'll show you to my office."

Amos flashed a sleepy grin. He pulled himself up and turned himself around in a full 360 plopping himself into the chair and looked up at Wade.

"Well, look at you, you show off. Spry old fucker aren't ya? Now just keep quiet, we got about 20 minutes before anyone comes around looking for you." Amos was whisked away down a gray lit hallway.

The office was the broom closet at the end of a skinny, cement tunnel. Wade pulled a cigarette out of a package and handed it to Amos. As Amos put it into his lips, Wade lit up a fatter cigarette of his own.

"Hey, hey," warned Amos.

"Want some weed Amos?" Wade asked between coughs.

"No, boy, I never did that stuff. Far as that goes, I don't smoke anything."

"But I thought, we shook hands on it – come on Mr. Amos, I might get my ass cracked in half over this."

"Wade, we had an agreement. A gentleman's agreement and we shook hands. I wanted out of that room and you gave me the chance to get out of there."

"You fuckin' Indians are all the same."

Amos raised his raw brown hand upward, palm facing Wade and said, "I'm not a fuckin' Indian, Wade. Never have been, never will be. But Whities get that wrong all the same."

Within the urban context, Inuit are frequently mistaken for First Nations. While the terms "Aboriginal people", "First Nation" and "Inuit" are often used interchangeably; Inuit are not part of the First Nations. Inuit are a distinct Aboriginal group. As early as 1932, ethnologist Diamond Jenness recognized that Inuit were, "a people distinct in physical appearance, in language and in customs from all the Indian tribes of America." (ON, 2000)

"What are you then? You look like an Indian."

"Inuit. Eskimo. Skeemo. Whatever word Whities are using these days."

"You all look the same to me," muttered Wade in disappointment.

"Ditto," replied Amos.

With that they both began to chuckle. The chuckle burst into laughter with Wade leaning against the taps of the large sink.

Wiping his eyes, Amos looked around the dank room and said, "So this is your office. A cleaning closet. It's the best office a white guy has ever taken me to."

More chuckles.

"Now, Wade I need your help. I've got to get myself outta here but I don't know how. Can you help?"

Wade took a long pull on the joint and shrugged.

"You know the routine around here, the coming and goings of things – all I need is a simple escape. All I need is to get out the door."

"How did you get in here anyhow – usually a family member puts you here. Ask them to get you out."

"The government put me here – it's my last stop. I got no family left – Wade, I'm about 84 years old and I have no idea where any of my children are anymore. I want to go home to die Wade. I just got to get a flight north to Churchill – that's all. I've got the money, I can get the ticket – I just need to get out that door."

…that the bones are the part of the body that contains the breath soul. Inuit have two kinds of soul: atiq, which are connected with the name and tarniq (breath soul), which shamans describe as a tiny bubble that contains a scaled-down model of the individual. According to Aupilaarjuk, "The tarniq does not have blood. It does not have blood. It keeps us alive. (Van Duesen, 2009, p.120).

"And what do I get outta deal?" asked Wade, the joint only a faint glow in the dim room.

"What do you want most, Wade?" Amos asked sincerely.

"I want outta here too Mr. Amos. I got no family either. We could both go north. I could become Nun-a-nut of the North. Hey, what if we both spring for it – a pair of cons leaving prison, we could Bonnie and Clyde our way north – how's that?"

"You're ripped Wade." Amos said, "When we're loaded we can do anything."

"No seriously," Wade continued. "Listen I'm on a day parole work-to-release program – we both spring ourselves outta here, we both win."

"Jailtime boy – what did you do to get it."

"Little bit of this and that, but if I gotta an old man for my cover. Nap on it. Give it some thought Gramps. I'll come talk to you before my shift ends."

"I don't know if you're being honest Wade, you said you had to drive home tonight."

"Part of the program, I'm such a five star mother fuckin' prisoner that I get to drive the van that picks up all the other work-to-release fuckers and spin us all home to the half-way house each night. I'll give you one hour to think on it. I gotta get you back to your room before that nurse figures out you're not there."

Amos was sitting in his bed looking at the clock when the nurse came through the door with her black companion.

"Now Mr. Too-Much-Moose, we're taking you down to the main area. We have a real treat for you today – we're having beers!" Again the black bear claws lifted him up from his bed,

again he was slammed into a chair, his head snapping back and falling forward, again the square white teeth were in his eyes telling him to shut his Skeemo mouth. Amos had made up his mind.

Ultimate cultural authority rested with the elders. Not only were the elders held in high regard, but they also represented a vast wealth of traditional – and vital – knowledge. (Qitsualik, 2009)

As he was being pulled in a long chain of wheelchairs Amos spied Wade in the dining area mopping the sun speckled floor. They caught each others' eyes, and Amos gave one brief nod to Wade. Wade gave one brief nod back. Again a gentleman's agreement had been sealed.

Along the hand-railed hallway the procession of wheelchair ridden seniors snaked their way towards the main receiving area. The black man was the lead dog. It was the most singular dog team ever assembled. Pulling their way along the railing with one hand and pushing the wheels of their chairs with the other. An informal death procession.

Wade came close to Amos. Amos stayed in line with the others, Wade bent low and said, "Pretend to die. Grab your chest and then I'll come grab you outta the line up – got it?" Amos again gave a slight nod.

Pull, push, pull, push, pull. "Aaaggghhh!" screamed Amos as he slumped into his chair, his hand upon his heart.

Wade looked towards the black man and shouted, "I got it!" but the black man came running anyway.

"That fuckin' skeemo!" he muttered.

"What's up? He dead?"

Wade said, "Don't sweat it man, I'll take care of it – you got all these other old fuckers to worry about. Here, I'll just take him back over to the nurse."

"Thanks, man – now, I owe you."

Wade pushed Amos back towards his room. They were about to enter when along came the nurse. "Now Mr. Loose Tooth – what's wrong with him?" Amos did not move. Eyes closed, hand to chest he breathed shallowly.

Although Inuit feared the misfortunes caused by the transgressions of rituals and taboos, they did not fear death as such. Once people died it was believed that they had lost their inua…the essential existing force. …Most Inuit groups in Canada and Greenland shared a belief in the continuous life of the soul in the afterworld; only the Caribou Inuit believed in reincarnation. (Neuhaus, 2011, p. 75-76)[1]

[1] Please note the author of this piece 'Kakoot' is Caribou Inuit

Wade told the nurse what had happened, she gasped and sputtered, “Let me call the ambulance for a morgue pick up.” Wade said that he would ride with the body down to the morgue and she thanked him.

“Ah, gee and he just got here. Poor Mr. Goose-Goose.” She petted Amos’ hair and left to call the morgue.

Once in the room Amos got dressed as fast as possible, Wade threw a blanket over Amos’ head, and still in the wheelchair, they left the home together embracing the snowy night. Wade opened the backdoor to the van marked “Property of Manitoba Corrections” and helped Amos inside. “Sit still man, don’t lose your shit now – we’re on our way.”

Amos Toostoosis walked onto his tundra. It was -40 with the wind howling in at 35 kilometers. He smiled as he felt the tip of his nose go completely numb.

He had made it. White boy Wade had got him home. As bits of snow whipped and bit into his face he removed his hand from his mitt and said, “*sanningajuliuqpaa*” (bless him) making the sign of the cross as he spoke the word.

In the distance he could see all three of his wives. Nobody had aged at all. He called their names into the flat, winter desert.“Pihtwa! Meeka! Saila!” He screamed each name above the wind. Loud. Hard. The women started to jump up and down. He was coming home to them.

He saw her. “Anaanaq!” Joy flooded his veins. He was her boy again. He was running towards the arms of the woman who had loved him best. His heart filled with happiness, his face smiled with young glee. Dizzy with love he felt his body fall forward, slamming onto the frozen ground.

“You dumb fucker! Don’t you die now! Goddamnit I’ve been chasing you for the last couple kilometers!” Wade bent low to scoop up Amos’ stilled body. The snow twirled and swirled around the pair.

As Wade carried the body of Amos Toostoosis, W4-369, back into Churchill, Kakoot was hugging his Mom and kissing the cheeks of his three wives.

Kakoot was home.

We’re people, not animals, but we feel sorry for ourselves because the people from the government give us disc numbers just like they do animals. It would be better if they make use of our names (McElroy, 2008, p. 154).

Chapter 4
Tukitaaqtuq (they reach understanding, receive explanation from the past[2])

> When you come into a community, the inhabitants welcome you and wish you a good visit. The community wishes you to have a good visit so that when you leave, you will leave with good memories and think fondly of the place and the people you visited. The mind is very powerful and plays a very important role in how we interact with each other and all our surroundings.
>
> …As guardians and as representatives of a region, we wish for those coming to the area to have good experiences and have good thoughts about the place. By our actions we wish to show our gratitude for the area, for the land, the game, etc. thereby ensuring that the land will continue to provide for our needs and that when we go to the area of those who visited, we will be treated in like manner. The feeling is positive, that of gratitude, respect and sharing.
>
> An elder welcomes the visitors by singing ancient songs that tell about awareness, hunting, the environment and respect. These songs confirm Inuit use and occupation of the land and waters uninterrupted for thousands of years. You see evidence of this occupation at every bay, fiord and inlet all across the Arctic carrying an Inuit name, passed down for generations (Peter, 2013, p. 44).

The Inuit welcomed 'visitors' onto their land and did not see these visitors as dangerous people, people who would be intrusive or harmful. The previous chapter of this thesis illustrated the naming system used by Inuit, a system based on tradition and handed down over and over again from one group to the next, a system that made sense to the Inuit, embodying all that was not only spiritual but practical. What will be examined in this chapter are the actions of the Canadian state from the years 1930-1971, the government, visitors and outsiders, who were welcomed onto Inuit lands, and how the states' own sense of contrived practicality is played out in Arctic history giving birth to and sustaining the Eskimo Identification Canada system for more than three decades.

[2] tukitaaqtuq- [inuktitut inuujingajut] translates to: reach understanding, receive explanation from the past, see: http://www.livingdictionary.com/main.jsp

Pigiaqpuq – he begins

There is one word that is a constant in the Canadian north, and it remains still into present day. It is the word 'sovereignty' and it is this word that continues to seek out a definition from both the Inuit and the non-Inuit. In simple terms – what does this word mean to non-Inuit and what does it mean to Inuit? The word 'sovereignty' currently defines itself as, "supreme power over a body politic" and is given the obsolete definition of, "supreme excellence or an example of," according to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2013). The Inuktitut language did not contain the word 'sovereignty' and only in recent times, since the establishment of the Nunavut Government, has a translation for the word been brought into Inuktitut existence, and is defined as, "*aulatsigunnarniq* …quite literally means, "the ability to make things move," in the context of being able to control something." (Kablutsiak, 2013, p. 4-5) In order to understand the application of this word in the context of Canadian Arctic history, an overview of how the state arrived at a tagging system has to be examined, and how Canadian government representatives had the 'ability to make things move' in this direction.

Canadian Inuit, overall, were accustomed to the non-Inuit or *qallunaat*, meaning "…humans who pamper or fuss with nature, of materialistic habit" (Freeman, 1978, p.87), arriving into and leaving the Arctic, a series of seasonal short-term stays by non-Inuit based on exploration and whaling. "As early as 1576, when the British mariner Martin Frobisher brought back to England three Inuit individuals whom his men had captured on south-eastern Baffin Island, many people thought them to "Tartars" -that is, Mongolian inhabitants of the Russian Empire. The Russian ambassador to London lodged a formal complaint with Queen Elizabeth I to the effect that three subjects of the Tsar had been illegally abducted by Frobisher" (Dorais,

2010, p.88).[3] This instance in history, according to Zebedee Nungak, is an example of how "Inuit sovereignty in the Arctic started being systematically undermined long before there was regular, sustained contact with civilization" (Nungak, 2013, p. 14-15).

It can be thought that as early as the 16th century the wrestling with 'sovereignty' and what it meant where the Canadian Arctic and its inhabitants were concerned, began by a kidnapping carried out by one of the British Queens' subjects igniting the threat of Russia as an interloper, a fact that is rooted and later exposed in Canadian military history, through the World Wars and Cold War, but, it is not until non-Inuit take up residency in the Arctic that Inuit traditional life is examined and questioned. "One of the biggest influences on Inuit traditional culture was the arrival of Missionaries. The Moravians were the first, establishing the Nain Mission Station in Labrador in 1771. Over a century later, Catholic and Anglican Missionaries spread Christianity through the Arctic" (Government of Nunavut, 2000).

While the mission people are setting up permanent homes, alongside of them are, "...the spread of trading posts and the establishment of RCMP posts across the Arctic" which, "brought once and for all the white man with his institutions, his bureaucracy and his passion for order" (Roberts, 1975, p.1). The Canadian Arctic prior to the 1900's is a place of global exploration and harvesting of natural wildlife, and is given a term coined by Diamond Jenness as, "government myopia" – shortsightedness of what and who, on the part of the Canadian government, is moving about and making a profit on lands deemed a part of Canada. In light of the loss of land in the Alaskan Boundary Dispute, the Canadian government dispatches the ship named the *Neptune* in 1903, "concurrent with the extension of police authority to Herschel Island

[3] For further information on the Inuit male, woman and child captured and returned to England where they each died shortly after arriving, please see, *Frobisher's Eskimos in England* by Neil Cheshire, Tony Waldron, Anne Quinn and David Quinn, *Archivaria*, 1980, Summer (10) 24 – 50.

in the western Arctic and Fort McPherson in the Mackenzie River valley, the *Neptune* Expedition headed north to enforce Canadian jurisdiction in the eastern Arctic" (Ross, 1976, p.90). The goal of this voyage is to assert Canadian authority especially in the Hudson Bay through the use of then, North-West Mounted Police, (later the RCMP) who will put into practice customs laws, taxation, and the prevention of killing endangered species, mainly the musk-ox, and who will introduce to the Inuit, King Edward VII as their king.

With the comings and goings of the whalers and the permanent daily contact of the missionaries, North-West Mounted Police, Superintendent J. D. Moodie gathers a group of twenty-five Inuit in the western Arctic, in an area some 500 miles away from Churchill, by sea, to tell them, "...there was a big chief over them all who had many tribes of different colours and how this big chief, King Edward wanted them all to do what was right and good..." This meeting is appropriately called, by Doctor Borden, the medical officer on board the *Neptune*, "the pow-wow at Govt. House" (Ross, 1976, p. 100). Moodie is displaying what was most common in the minds of the government officials, that all Aboriginal peoples were the same and that Inuit peoples carried out the same forms of ceremony as the prairie Indians of Canada. A blatant misconception, that would return to irk the government in later years. In celebration of this meeting, the Superintendent gave each Inuit adult male the gift of a pair of woolen underwear (Ibid, p. 100).

> The reaction of the Inuit to this meeting according to Borden was, "standing open-mouthed with varied expressions" during Moodie's speech. "Their amazement is not difficult to understand. They had experienced encounters with white explorers for a century and a half. For more than 40 years they had maintained close economic and social ties with American and Scottish whalemen. Their hunting equipment included whaleboats, harpoon guns, shoulder guns firing explosive projectiles, and repeating rifles. They wore American shirts, trousers, jackets, overalls, hats and sunglasses. Their women used sewing machines, and possessed ball gowns for dances. And here was underwear proferred like frankincense and myrrh, accompanied by a fairy tale about a Big Chief. They were speechless" (Ibid, p.100 - 101).

Tasitaqpuq – begins to stretch, extend

Aside from the treatment towards the Inuit as though they were northern Indians, it must be noted that Inuit peoples in Canada, other than the Inuit of Labrador, were never invited or negotiated into treaty-making of any form and it must also be made clear that the NWMP, through the voyage of the *Neptune*, were now placed into the north as the authority figures representing the 'Big Chief', and the Canadian state all at once. In 1903, the government of Canada had accomplished what it had wanted to do, it placed a British figurehead into the conscience of the Inuit and provided men in uniform as a constant reminder of the states' sovereign power.

World War I rages across the ocean from 1914-1918, and while the Canadian government is involved in sending over thousands of Canadian troops, they are at the same time enforcing the War Measures Power of the Crown, which effects all aboriginal Canadians. For the First Nations of the western Canadian provinces all dances and ceremonies are disallowed, this same ban reaches the Canadian Arctic by the late 1920's (Alberta, Treaty 8, p.24). However, a point of distinction is best spoken by Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, Inuit film-maker and producer of Unikkaat Studios Inc., located in Iqualuit, NU,

> "It has been said that Inuit underwent the most intense and rapid cultural changes of any *surviving* culture. While the First Nations and Métis (non-Inuit Native Americans) suffered as much or more than their arctic counterparts, their cultural changes took place over hundreds of years, whereas Canadian Inuit were colonized much later, and went "from the ice age to the space age" in one generation. As a society, we are still reeling from the transition" (Arnaquq-Baril, 2012).

A generation normally consists of 40 years, and what Arnaquq-Baril points out is that assimilation policies and forces were at work across Canada but in the Arctic the rapidity of forced cultural loss in the forms of language, drum dancing ceremonies, and facial tattooing by

women, as only small examples, were put through at an accelerated pace. The comparison of how the Indian Act affected one group of Indigenous Canadians or another, with the expectation of the same result, becomes an unfair form of blanketing of any one aboriginal group. It is on this basis that only the portions of the Indian Act that did have any bearing upon the Inuit are cited in this chapter, and these instances are few. Hegemony is never unilateral, nor is its effect singular, its outcomes however are wide and diverse and the effects of loss of culture are intergenerational.

Arnaquq-Baril has recently released her movie, *Tunniit: Retracing the Lines* in 2012 as a documentary that examines the extinction of facial tattooing by Inuit women. According to Arnaquq-Baril this tradition was out of practice by 1913, a century ago, but these same thoughts and observations are made by Kaj Birket-Smith in *The Caribou Eskimos: Material and Social Life and Their Cultural Position* in 1929,

> Men are never tattooed. …On the other hand, the women are richly tattooed on the face but never it seems, on the body, arms or legs except on rare occasions, a few lines on the wrists. Strangely enough, tattooing has survived the least among the Padlimiut, who in most other respects are the most primitive. Thus not one of the women at Eskimo Point and on Sentry Island were tattooed, and only inland does one meet with tattooed Padlimiut women (Smith-Birket, 1929, p. 228-29).

Traditional forms of expression by the Inuit, are by the early 1920's not only banned and falling out of practice, but also not being transferred to further generations.

Similarly, drum dances in the Canadian Arctic were a time of social gathering, and a time of spiritual reconnection, a time of giving back thanks to the land and what it had provided and would continue to provide. According to Dewar, "The spiritual function of the dance did not elude the early explorers and anthropologists…They recognized its spirituality, but vigorously opposed its practice since it did not conform to the teaching and rituals of the Church. Remarks

made by Euro-Americans reveal a belief that they held a monopoly not only on "real" religion but also on "real" dance" (Dewar, 1994, p. 22).

For David Serkoak, a 61 year-old, present-day drum dance instructor, and cultural leader from the Keewatin area of northern Manitoba, "One night when he was six or seven he says, a drum dance was happening in the family's tent. Suddenly, the police broke in, restrained his father, broke his drum and tossed it aside. The ancient tradition of drum dancing had become a sin." (Pfieff, 2012, p. 23). Serkoak is a Barrenlands Inuk, of Ahiamiut or Padlei descent, and an interviewee for this thesis. What his words demonstrate, is that in approximately 1957 in Canada, the presence of the RCMP within the north and the law that they were enforcing is again, removing from the Inuit traditional practices and the passing down of indigenous traditional knowledge, whereas Northwest Coastal aboriginal groups who were banned from potlatch ceremonies in 1884, had, had the ban lifted by 1951 (Gadacz, 2006). Assimilative practices in the north are still thriving while other aboriginal groups in Canada are reclaiming traditional practices.

Ilratsatuq – begins to fear

As reflected in previous Inuit history the state first began laying down the groundwork and later entrenchment of its sovereignty in the late 1920's, by having the Inuit use Biblical names for the sake of the religious sacrament of baptism and for the sake of the non-Inuit administrators who were in the north trying to sort out who the Inuit were. Inuit did take the Biblical names but chose to 'inuiticize' them by turning names like 'Adam' into 'Atami', 'Luke' into 'Lucasi' and 'Jessie' into 'Siasi' names as first perscribed by the mission people, while each Inuit still used , "...a second (Eskimo) one anyway. But to others just beginning to arrive in the Arctic – the traders, policemen and, doctors etc. who were stumped by the absence of surnames

and either unable or unwilling to learn the distinguishing name – the new method only compounded an already difficult problem" (Roberts, 1975, p. 2). In the north of Canada, after World War I, the Inuit by the early 1920's maintained sovereignty over the one thing that was theirs to keep – their name. Autonomy, however is not an item that will be held solely and separately by the Inuit.

In 1924, the Minister of the Interior, Charles Stewart, requested that an amendment to the 1876 Indian Act be accepted by Canadian parliament, requesting "...the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs shall have charge of Eskimo Affairs" (Tester, 1994, p.19) . This was the first time that the Inuit of Canada had ever been recognized into Canadian legislation. The bill passed, however unlike the Indians of Canada the Inuit were not recognized as wards of the state but as Canadian citizens and by 1928 authority over the Inuit was given to the Department of Indian Affairs of the Northwest Territories (NWT) Council. As Canadian citizens the Inuit were given the right to vote, however, "...from 1905 to 1951 there were no representative political institutions in the Northwest Territories. ...Technically, Inuit could vote in territorial elections, but as there were no seats in their areas, the right was purely formal" (Campbell, 2013, p. 38) and as far as participating in federal elections, "...polling stations were not established for all communities before the 1962 federal election" (Ibid.). Alternatively, Inuit are not wards of the state, and are given the power to participate in territorial and federal elections, one without a representative to vote for and one without a place to go and cast a ballot at. As demonstrated above, sovereignty, at times is literally very superficial.

In 1930, a repeal to this amendment is made but Inuit administration continued under the NWT Council in Ottawa and by the North West Mounted Police (Bonesteel, 2008, p. 6). From 1930 onward the Canadian state has the responsibility of providing relief to the Inuit and it is at

this point, from 1933 to 1939 that the names of the Inuit again, fall under the scrutiny of the NWT bureaucrats and members of the RCMP.

The main players, in a series of communications between government representatives and enforcers of the law are: H.H. Rowatt, Deputy Minister, Department of the Interior of the NWT who first receives a letter from the Chairman of the Dominion Lands Board requesting a standardization of spelling of all Inuit names on June 26, 1933. This idea is reinforced by a report written by Dr J.A. Bildfell who was working on the health conditions of the Inuit as part of the 1933 Eastern Arctic Expedition. Bildfell's contribution to the disk system is the fingerprinting of Inuit as a form of identification as the standardization of spelling seems impossible. Fingerprinting is brought into the north but by 1935 only 17 Inuit have been printed. Major D.L. McKeand, Department of the Interior, who becomes the major player in the implementation of the disk system, steps in on April 11, 1935 with a letter to J. Lorne Turner, Director of Lands, NWT and Yukon Branch, reinforcing the concept of Inuit names being difficult for administrators and mentioning the possibility of issuing numeric tags to all Inuit as was previously suggested by Dr A.G. McKinnon, a medical officer on Baffin Island. Dr McKinnon and Turner have two more letters of exchange concerning the look of the disk and how the numeric system would appear on each disk and whether or not the image of a crown or bison[4] should appear in the center of each disk. Major McKeand makes a formal request for disks on September 8, 1936 to Roy A. Gibson, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Lands

[4] The head of a bison was a part of the NWMP regimental badge beginning in 1876, NWMP later became the RCMP and the bison remains a part of the RCMP insignia. RCMP became heavily involved in the implementation and maintenance of the Eskimo Identification Canada system. Ref: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/fs-fd/badge-insigne-eng.htm

and Resources.[5] A four-year break then ensues, but the bureaucrats have already prepared and formulated the disk system and while their paperwork is being filed and made complete the surveyors of the land are hard at work creating health and registration districts.

Prior to the relocation of all Inuit in the 1950's, a time when Inuit were dubbed 'human flagpoles' (Smith-Campion, 2010), my original home territory was the Keewatin area of northern Manitoba. I obtained maps dated 1926 through to 1939, what I was searching for was the building up of RCMP and trading posts, with the emphasis on the Keewatin district. The first map (Appendix I, p. 88), dated 1926 was prepared by the Department of the Interior, and shows that in the Keewatin area only one RCMP post is established and located at Chesterfield Inlet, along with one post office, while there are six HBC trading posts, and three HBC outposts, scattered throughout the district. In 1929 (Appendix II, p. 89), again there is only one RCMP post at Chesterfield, and 13 trading posts. This signals the expansion of the fur trade and a heavier presence of non-aboriginal people in the area. By 1939, according to the map produced by the Department of Mines and Resources (Appendix III, p. 90), three RCMP posts have been established in the Keewatin area, one in Baker Lake, one in Eskimo Point and one in Chesterfield Inlet. According to Kirt Ejesiak, the Canadian goverment's official reason to multiplying RCMP posts was "...to save the Inuit from harm but the fact was that they had concerns related to sovereignty, which was never revealed to the Inuit" (Ejesiak, 2013, p. 67).

Because of the physical placement of RCMP posts, RCMP constables were therefore a part of the distribution of the disks as well as the administrators of the system itself in terms of maintaining disk lists and reporting that information back to Ottawa. They are the enforcers of

[5] Information is based on B.A. Roberts, "Eskimo Identification and Disc Numbers: A Brief History" chronological account of letters and reports filed in favour of the disk system, Government of Canada, Social Development Division, Department of Indian and Northern affairs, 1976, p. 2 - 9

the disk system. Also in 1939 (Appendix IV, p. 91), a map prepared by the Department of Mines and Resources designates Eskimo Registration Districts, E1 – E9 for Eastern Arctic Eskimos and W1 – W14 for Western Arctic Eskimos, in heavy, black bold lines (Appendix IV, p. 91). The map covers all of the NorthWest Territories, extends just below the Arctic Islands and covers the northern half of Quebec. The map is then changed (Appendix V, p. 92), in 1945 without districts W4 – 14 at the time of the systems' commencement and one has to ponder if the Canadian government came to the realization that the bulk of the Inuit population was north of Norman Wells and around Aklavik, and had they created a cartographic faux pas?

Saattuq – begins to face or put something in front of someone, accuses

The administrators are indeed, ready to launch the disk system, boundaries and borders have been drawn, disks have been manufactured and all is in readiness, at last Inuit names will no longer have to be dealt with and as a reinforcement the Supreme Court of Canada declares Inuit are indeed the responsibility of the Federal Government in the 1939 Supreme Court Case titled: Re: Eskimos (sub nom. RE TERM "INDIANS"). This is a case provoked by the province of Quebec, which forced the issue of who was to pick up the tab on the care of the Inuit – the Federal government or the province? In the view of the province of Quebec, Inuit fell under federal jurisdiction and should be budgeted as such, this question first hit the courts in 1935 and in 1937, after two years of preparation, there are displays of Inuit skulls, photographs and clothing filling a Supreme Court courtroom along with ethnographers, lawyers and Justices Duff, Cannon, Kerwin, Davis, Hudson, and Crocket (Canada, 1980).

As the debate over the definition of an Indian as opposed to the definition of an Eskimo heats up, Auguste Desilets, a lawyer, famously states that, "He was prepared to concede that 'Eskimos' differed from 'aborigines' in their clothing, food, fuel, winter dwellings, and hunting

practices. However, if one scrutinized the 'main characters of their life' Desilets insisted, it was clear that 'Eskimos' were exactly like Indians. Both groups exhibited stated Desilets, "the same dependence upon fish and game for subsistence, the same lack of any organization for agriculture and industrial production, the same absence for exchange of wealth by way of money, the same poverty, the same ignorance, the same unhygienic mode of existence" (Backhouse, 2007, p. 41). It is not until April of 1939 that the Supreme Court of Canada concludes that Inuit are the responsibility of the federal government and in that same year World War II begins on September 1st. Sovereignty of the Canadian Arctic has reached an international level and in 1941, along with the decennial census, the disk looped onto a leather-like piece of string, containing the words, "Eskimo Identification Canada" becomes a point for discussion with the NWT Council. This item is listed under item (7) (x) 7717 on the agenda (Appendix VI, p. 93). It falls into the area of "Arctic Matters" and is listed after "Scout Eric Liddell" and before, "Tourist traffic in the Arctic" and is given a total of six sentences in the minutes and involves a conversation around six non-Inuit men (Roberts, 1975, p. 12 – 15).

The chairman opens with the continued confusion surrounding the identification of "Eskimos and maintaining records of their hunting, education, hospitalization and relief because of the differences in spelling names" (Council, 1941) to which Dr McGill makes a point of referencing that "Indians were given a number and a check was kept of them at Treaty time but he realized this could not be done with Eskimos because there was no tribal system or Treaty payments" (Council notes, 1941, Appendix VII, p. 94). The Secretary then reports that field officers and missionaries were in agreement to the disc system and that Navel identification

discs[6] had been secured and were tabled for inspection by members of Council. The secretary indicates that discs, to be worn around the neck, retailed between $2.75 and $3.00 per thousand. Commissioner Wood remarked that 1941 "would be the most appropriate time to introduce the system because an issue could be made when the census was being taken"(Council, 1941, Appendix VII, p. 94). A short discussion on the appearance of the disks ensues with a suggestion of either the Canadian Coat of Arms or His Majesty's likeness preferred and all agree that the Department of State should be consulted. Dr McGill moves the motion, Commissioner Wood seconds "that the system of identification discs for Eskimos be approved. Carried" (Council, 1941, Appendix VII, p. 94). Legislative notes and evidence point to the fact that sovereignty can be less than a five minute process, short, and simple.

On the 14th of March, 1941, (Appendix VIII, p. 95) a little more than a month later, "Arctic Matters" sits as item 13 on the NWT Council agenda with article (v) showing as "Eskimo identification discs and in this session the disk system is given a total of three sentences. It is reported that the "likeness of the King or the Great Seal of Canada could not be used" however the Secretary of State saw no objection to the use of the Canadian-Coat-of-Arms to be distributed to all Eskimos in Canada"(Appendix IX, p. 96). Again, those in power take the sovereign step of making shortwork of Inuit names, without giving thought to the intergenerational effects of the loss of traditional naming systems and without any future thought as to how long the system will last and how many Prime Ministers' of Canada will endorse what will become a system that is engrained into Inuit life for more than thirty years, after all there is a World War to be dealt with.

[6] Canadian Naval identification discs date back to 1914 and were required to be worn by military personnel. On each disc was stamped the following information: service number, initials, surname, religion, blood group and RH factor and CDN FORCES CDN (or the name of the country the person represents while on the back were the words, '**Do Not Remove'**. See: http://www.cadethqcanada.com/history.php

Pigialirqipaa – begins again

Canada's north may not have taken on the strategic power that it did had it not been for World War II. The north becomes a place of possibilities, possibilities that require protection and in the defence of this northern border the state is placed into the position of knowing the landscape more fully. While the Inuit remain numbered spectres of the tundra, the state is working hard at guarding and securing a border that previously was a place of neutrality and impartiality.

In 1941, Prentice G. Downes, an American professor, is hired by the military as a cartographer. He is sent into the Keewatin region, more specifically to Nueltin Lake to map the lake and surrounding area, and releases his book *Sleeping Island* in 1942, containing maps of Nueltin. In 1944, Downes is criticized by Trevor Lloyd in a book review for what appeared to be unfinished sketches and a lack of accuracy. Downes replies,

> I was of course working for the air force and engineers on maps at the time. There was a real fear then (at least in the higher echelons) of a possible Nazi use of the Hudson Straits and Bay for an air strike against Chicago (this seems incredible, but in that crazy period of 1942 it was very real). Therefore, when I reproduced my maps I quite deliberately left off coordinates and some other data, assuming that if anyone really wanted to use them they would go to the proper sources (Downes, 1943, p. 301).

What this quote demonstrates is the position of power the north has been placed into and the paranoia that was racing through the country during World War II. When a professional is instructed to intentionally produce and publish inaccurate work, the sovereignty of the state becomes an item of controlled protection and a display of public inexactness.

During the course of the war years, the disk system is experiencing problems of its own, its own inexactness. Mid-way through 1941 it is noted by Major McKeand, that a report by the

"R.C.M.Police" of Pangnirtung Detachment indicated that, "...not one identification number is given. I would not suggest that these be returned to the R.C.M.Police for completion but I would like to have an opportunity of discussing the matter with Inspector Martin to ascertain if it would be possible to add the identification numbers without too much inconvenience" (Roberts, 1975, p. 16). McKeand notes that the disk number was to be used for "keeping track of (a) hunting (b) trapping (c) education (d) hospitalization and (e) misdemeanours, etc"(Ibid). It is interesting to note that '(e) misdemeanours' or " a crime of lesser seriousness, ...where the punishment might be a fine or prison for less one year" (Salhany, 2008), was not included in the original list of uses for the disc system in the February 11, 1941 NWT Council session. Sovereignty requires lists and more tasks to make lists about, sovereignty appears to become micro-management.

Other problems begin to pop up as the system struggles to entrench itself into Inuit life. Sgt. H.S. Covell of Aklavik reports that he is disk-less because the RCMP of the area took on the role of census takers although Dr D. Livingstone was supposed to. Livingstone only alloted 300 disks for the area and the census was completed without all Inuit receiving their discs, and as this is occuring, according to Inspector D.J. Martin, "It will be seen that none of the Eskimos in the Mackenzie Delta have discs. This fact, coupled with the report that certain Eskimos on Boothia Peninsula destroyed their discs after receiving them, more or less throws the whole system of Eskimo Identification out of line" (Roberts, 1975, p. 17). The system is off to a rough start and to restore it from perceived disorder, in 1943 all RCMP detachments are "instructed to submit, in triplicate to this office (Ottawa), a list of names of all Eskimos who have been issued with identification discs to date, showing the number of the discs against each name"(Ibid.). McKeand furthers his instructions by asking the lists be reworked from the 1941 census foreward to 1945 and lists of newborn baby's disc numbers are to added into all disc lists. "Also, all lists are to

show the marital status, age and occupation of each recipient and in the case of married women the number of children she has had" (Ibid., p. 18) Detachment officers are asked to make more copies in order to share this information with other detachments as, "…This would serve to keep a check on natives who move from one district to another"(Ibid., p. 18).

The sovereign, those in northern power are becoming laden with paperwork and the writing of information in triplicate form while exchanging disc list copies with one another, sovereignty can be a clerical burden. More help is requested in the maintaining of the paperwork but the response is that work needs to be organized, "...in such a manner as to carry it on with the existing staff of the Bureau of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs because we cannot secure any additional help under war conditions" (Ibid., p. 20). In 1944, a new set of instructions are sent out into the field indicating that the Department of Vital Statistics would now be handling the information and instructing that all disc information concerning new-born Inuit children should be handled expediently and that discs from those who had passed away should be attached to death certificates and returned to Ottawa. In 1945, with the onset of Family Allowance, it is realized that "To date no attempt has been made to enter on our Vital Statistics birth returns, completed prior to the 1941 census, the identification numbers which have since been issued to each Eskimo, nor has this been done on birith returns received since 1941, on which the identification number was omitted"(Ibid., p. 22).

In this instance, the system has been running for approximately four years but the information has not been recorded by the department who would be consulted for the distribution of Family Allowance, which for the Inuit was issued in store credits and not in cheque or cash form (Smith, 1993, p.45).

Sangugiaqpaa – he begins to change is

In 1945 all the discs that have been distributed, approximately 10,000 are recalled, new discs are struck and the system begins again. According to Smith, "The stringent control required for the distribution of Family Allowances brought into being an effctive registration program. The Arctic was divided into twelve districts West (W1, W2, W3) and East (E1 to E9). New discs were issued in blocks of numbers allocated to each district. The old disks recalled and replaced by new ones, small fibre discs free of design and stamped simply with a district designation and number, for example E3-1212" (Ibid., p.25). In 1945, sovereignty requires tedious patience in order to achieve precision as shown by the recall and redistribution of the disks.

At approximately the same time and in conjunction with the disk system, residential schools are busy assimilating Inuit children. According to Bonesteel, "By the end of the Second World War, there were four residential schools and nine day schools in the Northwest Territories (NWT) and northern Quebec as well as several residential and day schools in Labrador" (Bonesteel, 2008, p. 82). Education in the north had generally been provided in the form of mission schools and, "from the government's point of view, there seemed little reason to do more. Again, it was a question of keeping the native native. Why give Inuit children a white-oriented education when, for the foreseeable future, they would just be fur-trappers? Bureaucrats believed Inuit did not have the capacity to learn, that the, "mental capacity to assimilate academic training is limited" (Diubaldo referencing W.C. Methune p. 18). Surprisingly "criticism from the United States forces and civilians involved in the various defence projects" (Diubaldo, 1992, p. 19) in the Arctic is what compells and pushes the Canadian government to review the existing northern education practices as well as housing and continued death by starvation of the Inuit well into the 1950's (Tester,1994, p. 415). From the vantage point of

United States based citizens, it seems that the sovereignty of outsiders can sometimes take over and makes positive changes.These criticisms force the Canadian state to examine and report on, "the spotty and ineffectual education imparted by the missions, the acknowledged intelligence of the Inuit, and the growing pace of change in a region entering the Cold War era"(Ibid., p. 39).

Quaqsituq – begins to freeze

The mid-forties mark the beginning of the Cold War, a war that continues over the next 44 years in Canada.

> On a warm September night in 1945, one month after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Igor Sergeyevich Gouzenko, a Soviet cipher clerk left his embassy... He carried with him 109 documents detailing Soviet espionage activities in North America. ...With the revelation of the documents, he hoped to gain asylum in Canada for himself and his family. At first the clerk could get no one to believe him. ...But once the Department of External Affairs realized the significance of the information...the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West, leading to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the building of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line (Pigott, 2011, p. 80).

The north becomes a playground of military activity, and Terry Audla, Canadian Inuit national leader, reflects on this past as,

> Beginning in the middle of the last century, the Arctic has been at the very centre of the nuclear threat and deterrent calculations that defined the Cold War. Throughout the Cold War, the Arctic was the place where the bomber fleets from the USA and Soviet Union would stand ready to cross, where fighter jets patrolled air space, where nuclear submarines could hide under ice cover, and through which intercontinental missile would fly in the event of the unthinkable" (Audla, 2013, p.7).

Sovereignty is displayed in military might on the part of the state and "...the Canadian North, which had been protected by its isolation and bone-chilling climate, became the frontline in the defence of North America. With a combat range of 5,230 kilometres, it was history's first truly intercontinental bomber...the shortest distance between Siberia and the American heartland was through Canada. ...the Canadian North became the first line of defence...The sovereignty of northern Canada was no longer of airbases, but its airspace" (Rowley, 2011,p. 183). The

Canadian military ramps up its presence in the north and a series of tactic manoeuvres are played out, in 1946 Operation Muskox follows Operation Lemming, a 3,000 mile trip from Churchill, Manitoba to Grande Prairie, Alberta, with an estimated timeline of 80 days. Operation Nanook and Nunalivut[7] are examples of more present day northern military exercises (Pigott, 2011, p. 196, 262) and as all of this military movement and excess is occuring the Inuit are seen as peoples who are becoming too dependent on military bases and radio stations for subsistence, "...the relocations can be seen as acts of social reform in response to White concern about Inuit reliance on 'handouts'(relief and social benefits) and about what was as the growing tendency of Inuit to cluster around settlements. The planners described the relocations as "voluntary migrations" designed to reaffirm self-reliance..." (Marcus,1995, p.128). Shuffling of these tagged humans seems to be the only option, and populated borders demonstrates strategic sovereignty.

My peoples are the Padlei or Ahiarmiut Inuit and on April 2, 1956 on the front page of *Life Magazine* displayed an Inuit man and woman looking upon a baby in its Mothers' arms – a very creche-like photo, with the caption underneath, "Stone Age Survivors: Eskimo Family" (Ibid, p.191) this family are Ahiarmiut or Padlei Inuit, and the Inuit deemed to be the last people in Canada to be least influenced by non-Inuit. Ennadai Lake is original home territory and in May 1950 the state, "relocated forty-seven people by air to Nueltin Lake, 60 miles (100 km) to the south-east, where it was hoped they might work for a proposed commercial fishery scheme. The project failed and within a matter of months the Inuit found their way back home" (Ibid, p. 194), meaning these Inuit walked home. In 1955-56, the caribou did not follow the usual migratory pattern and the Inuit begin to starve and become a burden to the government radio

[7] The Arctic military exercises denoted as "Muskox, Lemming, Nanook and Nunalivut" were tests of not only military equipment but also military men and how they each could function in the extreme climate and landscape of the Canadian arctic, information on these exercises can be found in Peter Pigott's, "From Far and Wide" Dundurn Press, 2011, p. 181 – 236.

station that had been existing at Ennadai. The states intervenes again, because of these circumstances, "...that the status quo should come to an abrupt end, and that action should once again be taken to relocate the Ahiarmiut away from the vicinity of the radio station. ...this time they would have to moved further afield to prevent a replay of the earlier imbroglio at Nueltin Lake"(Ibid, p. 195). With much fanfare and a press release titled, "Eskimos Fly to New Hunting Grounds" a total of 59 Padlei Inuit and their six dogs are moved to Henik Lake, a place that the Inuit said they were given no choice to move to. They are the only people in the area, the nearest outpost is three days away and the Inuit thought, 'they had been sent away' and were being punished, "...within eight months, eight members of this small group were dead – dead from starvation, from desperation, from exposure, from neglect – from not having lived up to the popular, pictorially, informed stereotype"(Ibid, p. 196). After this failed relocation attempt, after the starvation deaths of eight Padlei Inuit, my peoples are flown into Whale Cove, NU in 1958. It is in this year that all relocation programs of the Canadian Inuit are stopped. David Serkoak, a participant in this study, is a living member of all the relocations coerced upon the Padlei Inuit.The Eastern Arctic Inuit had also experienced several relocations, along with the slaughtering of thousands of their dogteams. It was thought that without the dogteams the Inuit in the East would stay put (Shackleton & Redfern, 2007). Sadly, these relocation examples show that those with sovereign power can make poor and uninformed choices on behalf of others resulting in death.

Uirittuq – begins to have habit of doing something that pleases

In the midst of all of this upheaval, the Inuit remain a numerically marked group of peoples and it is not until 1966, the silver anniversary of the disk system, that the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories brings the issue to the Administrator of the Arctic asking, "It seems

to me that there is only one justification for assigning a number to people and actually putting it on a disc. That is, if an absolute requirement exists for identifying people and the alternatives would be an unacceptable level of confusion. It strikes me that we should discontinue the number system and the disc system as soon as possible" (Roberts, 1975, p.26). This suggestion is refused based on the Inuit in some settlements having adopted surnames already. In some areas, government officials, "...have run into the problem of a number of people from one settlement with the same chrisitan name and surname who are approximately the same age. When there are three Annie Kilauks living at Pangnirtung, N.W.T. the only positive means of identification is the identification number" (Ibid, 27). This form of resistance on the part of the Inuit is humour-filled and one has to wonder who truly is holding the sovereignty baton.

In 1968 the dissolution of the disk system reached the NWT Council Chamber however it is not until mid-1971 that the system begins to be replaced by Project Surname.[8] The quest for sovereign control of Inuit names is stilled and through it all, as Inuit, we survived and thrived and continue on into present day. As Mary Simon, former Inuit National leader stated during her interview with Anna Marie Tremonti, "We are a permanent population in the Arctic. We are not about to move. We've been there for a millennia. We will be there for another millennia. It is our home" (Simon, 2012). In saying this, Simon is reinforcing that Inuit are survivors and a force to be dealt with not only on a national but also an international level and as survivors we continue into present day.

[8] Project Surname was the program title placed onto the Inuit of Canada to adopt and use both a first and last name, as singular, genderless names were considered illegal. In 1978, Abe Okpik, Inuit political leader, elder and member of the Order of Canada, in his book titled, "We Call it Survival" (2005), retells of his time in the north whereby he flew from community to community collecting the chosen first and last names of each community member on behalf of the government of Canada.

The next chapter will focus on present day Inuit survivors of the Eskimo Identification Canada system and will bring into existence the lived experience of these peoples, who never allowed their *tarnik* – their human immortal souls, nor their drive to live and flourish, to be extinguished.

Chapter 5

Uqagguutut (talk together) – Interviews

I did not enter into this research in hopes of finding contributors who would react to the Eskimo Identification Canada system in anger, although some did. I did not enter into this research in hopes of hearing sighs of complacency, although there were sighs. I entered into this research in hopes of finding how Inuk peoples had lived alongside of an imposed colonial construct and how it affected them on a daily basis or if it affected their day-to-day existences at all.

The system has been removed for 43 years and in terms of time, historically, it remains very new. Each contributor, in the telling of their lives with the system opened up many avenues of other possible research by making mention of the northern tuberculosis epidemic, others of residential school, and others still speaking to the formation of kinship in the context of traditional Inuit adoption practices.

This chapter focuses on the four interviews of the Inuk participants. Each participant voluntarily answered the twelve questions indicated in the first chapter of this thesis. Each interview member took some time to track down and there were many wonderful surprises that arrived with each of them, making the hunt by me, and those who aided in the hunt, well worth the time. This chapter shares the reality of the lived history of these disk survivors, a history that the previous chapter spoke of is now brought into a lived light. Each surviving disk member featured in this chapter are not only those who abided by the disk system, they are also those who were layered with government intervention as a part of their daily existences. The previous chapter, *Tukitaaqtuq*, they reach understanding, receive explanation from the past, spelled out the mechanics of these policies, the way in which the nuts and bolts of the Eskimo Identification Canada system was put together, by several mechanisms and the sentinels who kept a steady guard over it. In this chapter the past becomes the present as the disk survivors speak with genuine and gentle candour.

I have been most blessed to have befriended each these strong Inuk peoples. I can never in words thank each of them enough for bringing to me their wonder-filled stories. Their lives speak of strength and courage

Participant: Allan Voisey, Whale Cove, NU
Interview Date: September 19, 2013

Allan Voisey is a volunteer participant in the true sense. On September 13, 2013, Northern News Services editor, Darrell Greer, ran a story titled, *Raising their Voices, Master's Student looking for ID tag experiences in Kivalliq*[9]. I had emailed asking for ad space to make a request for interviewees to come forward, Mr Greer answered my request by writing and printing a full, front page story in the *Kivalliq News*, the weekly newspaper distributed in the Whale Cove area. This was my first surprise. Five nights later Allan Voisey called my home. This was my second surprise.

My first conversation with Voisey involved our own establishment of kinship ties. His brother Lewis is a cousin to me, and this connection is made through the marriage of my Auntie Frances to Johnny Voisey. What I had never known was that Lewis had a brother, meeting Allan Voisey over the phone was my third surprise. Our first conversation was to situate our own relationship to one another, to talk over our cousins, and various people in Whale Cove, NU and Churchill, MB. We agreed to speak to one another the following evening, however bad weather hampered connecting to each other at the designated time. Approximately two hours later than we had decided upon, we were able to connect, and Voisey explained that he had to help Cousin Lewis with a boat as it was snowing and in his words, "grey, and foggy today" (Voisey, 2013).

Allan Voisey is a 51 year-old, life-long resident of Whale Cove, NU, born on December 17, 1963. When I ask Voisey if his birth certificate had his disk number, he tells me he has to get his wallet and "his magnifying glass." There is no disk number on his birth certificate but he tells me it was issued on March 12, 1964, over a year after his birth. This small fact may demonstrate the slowness of administration in the Arctic.

He is employed by the hamlet as the person who delivers fuel to the homes of Whale Cove residents, and laughs as he tells me he does this so he "doesn't have to hear their teeth

[9] This story can be found online at: http://www.nnsl.com/frames/newspapers/201309/sep16_13raise

rattling at night!" He is easy to speak with and filled with humour. Voisey said that he was introduced to his disk number, E1-856, at the age of eight, when his adopted anaana[10], Rosie Jessie Voisey took the necklace out of a kitchen cupboard and told him that this was his number, and that it was a part of Eskimo identification. Voisey still has the stringed-identifier. To his recollection he never had to make use of his number in any form and in his words, "It never bothered me anyway."

What becomes of interest in the interview is that Voisey makes mention of E2 people within the community.

> I've heard about a couple of people that they, E2 and numbers like that. They ask me too if I had one too and see when something is memorized...you don't forget that number. It didn't matter to me, but older people than me, I heard them tell about it and they said they were mad and they say they don't need that kinda number anyway...I don't know what they think about it. It didn't bother me.

Voisey makes a point of distinguishing E1 people from E2 people. The E2 area encompasses an area that is north and west of the E1 area in the Keewatin District and is completely inland as opposed to E1 people who have a more coastal geography. He also points out that those older than him express they were 'upset by it' whereas he is not. I had given Voisey the word choice of 'angry' or 'upset' and he chose the word 'upset' after a pause in thought. This is reflective of how Inuit people don't indulge or nurture anger in any form and can be considered a form of *Piiriqatigiingniq*, the working together for a common purpose. Most importantly he does say, "...you don't forget that number." He doesn't express why. He ends our interview questions with:

> In town here, some people can remember their disk number OK and talk about it. And all they can say is that they remember their disk number. Some people remember their disk number and it's just an identification number, and some people have E2 and I don't know about number two but they never talked about it to anyone. Hhmm some people got E2 and I don't know how many of them. Yep.

What is of interest is the silence that comes with the ownership of a number. The disk holders will tell each other their disk numbers and it becomes a point of reference in terms of geography which would relate back to ancestral connectivity but at the same time the community members can differentiate each other based on their E1 or E2 rating. If the districts and later the

[10] *Anaana* – is the word for Mother in Inuktitut

distribution of E-necklaces had never occurred, how would Inuit distinguish themselves from one another or would difference even be an issue or point of reference?

Allan Voisey was born eight years prior to the official disbandment of the disk system and his disk number would have, in theory, been active only during his first eight years of life. His mother Rosie however, makes a point of showing and having him memorize his disk number at the time the system was, according to the Canadian government, going to stop. Because his involvement with the disk is short-lived this may account to his saying, 'it didn't bother me' but it also shows the wisdom of a mother who had lived through and raised other children through the system and with caution ensures that her son has memorized his number and may be preventing him from any form of future government conflict, an indicator of how the Inuit circumvented their way around government intervention. Voisey's experienced Mom may not have been aware of or believed in the system being put out of use in 1971, and took the precautionary measure of having her very young boy commit his number to memory, explaining only to his elementary school aged mind that it was, in the words of Voisey, "Eskimo Identity."

Participant: David Serkoak
Interview response via email: October 14, 2013, Ottawa ON

I did not know David Serkoak, (Heritage, 2012) until Dr Keavy Martin brought him to me via an email exchange. I received an email from Dr Martin on August 12, 2013, she was in Labrador and had met Serkoak, who was there working with Inuit youth. He is a 62 year-old Inuk and cultural educator, who moved to Ottawa eight years ago (Pfeiff, 2012). Dr Martin told Mr. Serkoak about me and my research and in her words:

> I was telling him about you and your Pallirmiut connections. He got excited and wondered if you might be related, since he's also from inland people (Ahiarmiut?). He wanted to know your mom's maiden name, but I couldn't remember. I told him about your research, and he said that maybe he could help you... Anyways, he wanted you to get in touch with him. He's a really lovely and gentle person (Martin, 2013).

Serkoak left his email address with Dr Martin. I did not have to go out on this hunt and instead received a reward that became an electronic connection, by first demonstrating the kinship trail of Serkoak and of myself. On the initial email to Serkoak, I explain who I am and

what my mother's last name was and my grandmother's singular name was. I explain how I know Dr Keavy Martin and give a brief explanation of what my research area is.

Serkoak replies on the same day, telling me he knows most of the Voiseys in Kivalliq, he makes mention of Solomon and Lewis Voisey, the family members of Allan Voisey. He indicates that he grew up in Whale Cove from 1959 – 1969. He writes, "My late late uncle Noah Kaayak was a handy man for Henry Voisey in Padlei Hudson Bay Post in 50s. ...Yes I used to have a E-number it was E1-602 but lost the disc." On August 13th I email the list of twelve questions, along with the consent form and information letter. The waiting, as is common on, and with all hunts begins. I am aware that Serkoak is travelling throughout the summer. He had said in his email, "I am on the road quite a bit on drum dancing workshops." He is an Inuit elder who is in demand. I also know that his electronic accessibility will be sporadic at best. Most importantly though, I know that I can not prod an elder and that this time of waiting is to be respected.

It is not until October 14, two months after our first contact that I receive a reply back from Serkoak, the wait had been long but well worth it. He has written on the interview questions document that he replied on October 11, 2013, beginning at 6 a.m. and ending at 6:55 a.m. He has given thought to the twelve questions, with responses that are written briefly, and to the point. Within each answer are many layers of a life that has been lived with honesty and steadfastness.

Serkoak writes that he "was less than 10 years old" when he received his disk and is, "Not sure when government issued me my Eskimo disc number" but his guess is that it was in the 1950's. He says, "in the late 50's after the forced relocations we lived in Eskimo Point (Arivat), Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet." It must be noted that Serkoak makes use of the word, 'forced' and is a survivor of the Ahiarmuit Inuit, who were relocated by the Government of Canada several times during the 1950's. Laugrand, Oosten and Serkoak point out in *The Saddest Time of my Life: Relocating the Ahiamiut from Ennadi Lake to Arviat (1950 – 1958)* that others[11] have written on the relocations but not to the full extent of them. The Ahiamiut were relocated

[11] Ahiarmiut relocations are written by Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski in *Tammarniit* (1994), Alan Marcus in *Relocating Eden* (1995), and also by Williamson & Foster (1974) in *Eskimo Relocation in Canada*, however not all of the relocations that occurred to the Ahiarmiut Inuit are discussed in any of the above writings, each writing focuses on either one or two of the relocations.

not only from Nueltin and Henik Lakes but also "...to Arviat and from Arviat to Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet" (Laugrand, Oosten, & Serkoak, 2010, p. 115). He would have, as he states, been less than 10 years old when the constant moving began and grew up as a member of an Inuit group who were constantly being flown into, and dropped off from one northern community to the next.

He states that the disk number, "..was for government purposes I think that they gave us disc numbers for welfare, school, police and medical...I think they cannot pronounce our names because Inuit always used a one name system traditionally." Serkoak says he is, "not sure when I lost my disc number, I think it was in the 60's when we were living in Whale Cove and I never got it replaced and I never reported it." He, like many other disk-holders, would have memorized his E-number at a very young age and it is interesting to note that he did not report the loss of his physical disk necklace to the authorities. He was able to stop using his disk number, "...after the government changed our naming system again, this time to surname system like south of 60" and writes, "My father, my brother and I all have different names, I guess we choose our own Inuit names as surnames." He adds that he never had to make use of the disk number on tax forms or in place of his social insurance number.

His reply to how the disk number made him feel is the point of strong resistance expressed within this interview:

> The Gov't controlled us back then via RCMP, welfare agents and teachers we DO what we were told no questions asked. Back then, my disc number was nothing to me it was used by Qablunaaq[12] only. But, only years later it began to bother me how the Gov't treated us like their (bad) dogs.

Serkoak does not go into detail about this emotion of being "treated ...like their (bad) dogs," however his small, carefully chosen words leave the impression of how intrusive the system was for this Inuk. Serkoak, through the use of small, direct words imprints that he did not feel any sense of attachment towards his number, and that it was something that non-Inuit used, not himself. It appears that only after he matures does he give any thought to what the disk number represented and it is curious that he chooses to bracket the word (bad) in his response, bringing into play the distinction and dichotomy of what a (bad) or (good) dog would represent to non-Inuit.

[12] Qablunaaq would translate to white person or non-Inuit

Serkoak is an Inuk who was raised with, maintains, and teaches Inuit traditional ways of life. His response to the next two questions reflect the changing of times. When asked if he ever discussed disk numbers amongst his own community members and why he responds, “Many Inuit always have regional or by community differences even today by their dialects, community life styles etc. not so much by their disc numbers. Racial differences were alive back then just like today among Inuit.” He writes, to the last question concerning the greatest impact of the disk system on his community with,“It was the beginning of the change in Inuit naming system, not so much to older Inuit back then, today many younger generation has no clue about naming their children traditionally.” He includes that, “When I got married in early 1970’s, my official papers were still mixed up so I hired a lawyer to change everything to Serkoak.”

The above sentence, a summation of a life riddled with colonial disorder, demonstrates the use of a colonial construct, as it points to the constant government interference that Serkoak had lived with between the ages of one and well into his twenties, and he has learned the importance of clarification to government officials through the use of legal representatives. His young years were spent with the government flying himself and his family members from one community to the next, often left without food or the tools required to maintain or sustain life itself. Later he became a numbered Inuk, and with the breaking apart of the system he says, “I remember Abe Okpik came to Whale Cove in the 60s visiting every household recording new name system.”

Serkoak’s life beginnings is one of constant motion and change, and he continues to do the one thing that has kept him alive and well, he adheres to Inuit traditional knowledge. He has devoted his life to keeping and spreading this knowledge to others through drum dancing workshops, and education, work that encompasses the spirit of Inuit life. It is the one element that upholds and nourishes not only himself but all of those he comes into contact with. David Serkoak is a survivor in the truest sense of the word.

Participant: Martha Hatkaitok
Date: January 8, 2014 1:45 PM at Martha's home in Edmonton, AB

I met Martha in the Spring of 2013 while fulfilling hours with a Community Service Learning project through the University of Alberta. She was working as the receptionist at the Edmonton Inuit Cultural Society (EICS) and the first day we talked with one another, her hair was long and in a single braid down her back. She had on old, blue sweat pants, and a heavy sweater. She was beading what would become a doll and her work was beautiful and careful. We talked about whom we are and our relatives. She knew of my Voisey cousins in Whale Cove, NU. Martha had a quiet, happy voice and the best smile.

She told me her disk story that day but I didn't have ethics approval from the University of Alberta at that time. Once this was received in July of 2013 I tried finding Martha again. EICS was closed and I sent email out to president, Jackie Koe-Schnell. No response. I went down to EICS a couple of times but the door was always locked and one day spoke with a lady working at the Friendship Center – she told me that all the furniture from EICS had been removed. I emailed Jackie again – no response. My hunt for Martha became a full time pursuit.

I was able to find Agnes Mitchell on Facebook, she was an EICS board member. We became social media friends. Fearing Agnes would think I became her friend for other reasons I waited to ask about Martha. Another form of waiting during the hunt. I sent Agnes a message 60 days after becoming friends.

She replied that she and Martha had parted ways the week prior to Christmas 2013 and didn't exchange phone numbers but she gave me Jackie's number, something I already had. Again I sent out an email in early January – again no response. On the night of January 7th Martha called, saying that Jackie told her she better call me – I was thrilled. I arranged an interview for the following afternoon.

Before I left the house I put on my oldest sweat pants, an old sweater and the winter jacket that I keep promising myself I'll throw out but never do. I didn't want to look like the snobby, university Inuk, I wanted to look like everyone else. When I arrived at Martha's house, she was

in a nice dress, with a beaded necklace and had recently cut and styled her hair to a braid-less more updated version. A dab of makeup lay on her beautiful northern face and I felt like a bag lady next to her, 'she dressed for me,' I thought and smiled inside myself.

Martha finds the adjustment to city life ongoing – having only been in Edmonton from Baker Lake, NU for three years. She looks healthy, bright, and happy for company. She's full of fun. We laugh easy together, and she's sewing a parka the day I am there – she has gifted hands. I feel comfortable with her.

We go through the paperwork, she signs each copy. She's very open and honest in her thinking of the disk system. I'm grateful for her and what she tells me. Beneath all her words are many different levels of government policy and intervention and the fear that each government plan brought to her. These are the surprises within this interview, the strata of government policies that continually came into Martha's life.

Martha pauses as she tells me that she was either one or two years old when she received her disk. She says, as her memory returns and the pace of her words accelerates, "I'm pretty sure I was two years old because that was the time when I got picked up out on the land, and they took me to Baker Lake, and then to ah, Churchill, MB...for tuberculosis." In one short sentence Martha demonstrates two things, the issuing of a disk number and being removed from the land, her home, to be sent away because of the tuberculosis epidemic. In each instance, the concept of choice would have been removed and government intervention would have been installed.

Because of her age, I ask Martha how long she lived on the land. She tells me that it was not until 1969, when she was age twelve, that she and her family moved into a house. "We lived in igloos and tents," to which I remark that there are very few people alive today who can attest to this traditional form of housing. Martha replies, "The only problem was...we didn't know we had to pay for the house every month," and adds in a voice that comes out as a soft song, "We were used to being rent-free tenants with rent-free kitchens!" We both laugh at the way she has expressed this foreign concept, of once being a nomadic, non-monetary dependent group to becoming a sedentary family with rent to pay. It may appear that the dissolving of a traditional Inuk life is well in motion.

Martha tells me that she received her disk necklace in Baker Lake and her earliest memory of using her disk number was when the census people came to town. "They asked about our E2 numbers and not our names..." and says she doesn't recall using the, "...E-number in school but I

do remember using it for when they were putting us in hostels for residential school." In moments our conversation has turned from the accounting of a small girl with census takers and the use of her E-number, to the matter-of-fact use of that same number for residential school purposes. This turn in the conversation is jolting and the impact of government intervention into a young life is obvious.

Not only did Martha receive her disk in Baker Lake but she also attended residential school there. The conversation now turns briefly to residential school, Martha confirms residential school attendance and tells me that she would be, "...flown into Back River or wherever my parents were but there was a certain spot that my parents had to meet the plane to pick us up" for summer break. "Just when school was over we were sent home but I remember the pilot asking for our E-tag numbers ...every time we boarded the plane." There is a strange sense of oddity that comes with this revelation of a young life. The oddity lies in the way Martha's life has gone from one out on the land, to one that is confined to residential school and the living in a hostel. What is odder still is that Martha speaks of this time as though it were 'normal' and does not display any form of emotion. Government interference through a numbering system policy, and later an educational policy and a little girl's use of a disk identifier to get her home each summer, has become Martha's 'normal'.

Martha tells me that she didn't wear her disk number regularly, "No, I memorized mine," and says melodically once again, "E2-606." She says, "My parents kept it all the time because they were afraid we might lose it. Sometimes I would have it around my neck but I didn't like it." Martha goes on to say that her mother had replaced the government-issued string on the necklace with, "caribou sinew-braided." Martha's Mom had taken the time to remove the original string and replace it with not only something that she saw as stronger and more secure but with something that would also represent an Inuit component of daily living – caribou sinew. The braiding together of caribou sinew can be interpreted as both a form of compliance and as resistance to a government policy.

Martha had her disk with her until she moved to Gjoa Haven and reveals that someone threw it away. She did seek a replacement and, "I called down to Indian and Northern Affairs but they said they don't have those anymore...I remember trying to call them in '79." When it is mentioned that the government might be afraid to replace the disks, Martha replies, "No, we

don't hold a grudge that long," making reference to the Inuit way of not expressing anger outwardly or harboring it inwardly and showing her traditional upbringing.

Martha returns to her first encounter with a census taker,

> I remember the person who was doing the census because my parents were out on the land, he asked me for my age. I said, "I don't know," I was so young and he just guessed my age. ...there was a bunch of us from Back River, our ages were guessed. Like my cousins.

Martha is demonstrating her traditional concept of time, where birth dates and years were not marked off on a calendar, like my own mother, Martha is a paperless Inuk and laughter breaks out because it is mentioned that Martha could be much younger than age 57.

Martha indicates that she doesn't know if her disk number was ever used in place of her social insurance number but answers that her disk,

> ...it made me feel uncomfortable. I'm a person with a name. I'm not a person with a number. Like a military person or RCMP officer – it made me feel, uhm, what the heck I'm not from the military! ...After coming back from...after tuberculosis, I found this to be very strange – people using E-numbers instead of their names.

Martha had been away in a TB asylum for four years and returns home to discover that E-number usage had become common practice. She would have been approximately six years old.

Martha then recants the story of the RCMP officer who had taken her away to Churchill, MB on her journey to the TB sanatorium, and how this officer returned looking for her years later but she wasn't home at the time. "I walked into my granny's house and she goes, "There was a police officer here from way back and he was looking for you." Her grandmother offers no further details of this event and, "I didn't ask her that because we don't talk to our elders like that." It took Martha a few years to discover who the police officer was and she is touched by his interest in her. She reveals the adhering to the traditional practice of never asking an elder a question and if further information is not disclosed by the elder, one has to wait for the elder to speak it. Also, this story shows that within a life built around outside policy makers there were enforcers of government systems that did show compassion and interest in the people that they had to work with. This may be Martha's way of showing how she does not bear a grudge herself.

Martha does say that the disk number did make her think of herself and other Inuit differently:

> It was so...it felt so wrong to be called, "Hey, E2-606! And there was one time when I said, "Hey you know," I was just a kid and I said, "Hey I got a name too – like you!

> ...I got in trouble for that, I remember that, saying to some person doing the Saturday grocery thing for the hostel. ...they wanted to know how many kids were in the hostel and what number each one had.

In a very real sense E-numbers had become a form of financial budgeting for the residential school Martha attended in Baker Lake, and also a form of financial accountability by those who ran the school to the government of Canada. Martha goes onto express gratitude and remorse:

> I mean, the government helped us with food and stuff like that and we really appreciated that and our family allowance, stuff like that. The E-numbers were...I didn't like that very much it felt like the government owned us and ran our lives.

There is a sense of loss of the ownership of one's own life, something that Martha didn't like. Martha feels that, "Back then we were afraid of the white people, we did everything they asked us to do, we agreed to everything." She closes with a laugh and says, "I want the world to know about this mess!"

Martha is a strong Inuk woman, who has lived a life of constant change. She is sincere and frank in her responses to the questions of this interview. It was an experience of honour for me to sit in her kitchen, to laugh with her, and to hear the words of an Inuk woman who has survived not only the disk system but residential school and life within a tuberculosis sanatorium. Her early life was laden with government policy and intervention but she continues on with her own Inuk spirit of happiness and tradition. When she comments on 'wanting everyone to know about this mess' one has to wonder if her words are specific to the disk system or to be applied to the constant intrusion of her early life through various types of bureaucratic control. Martha Hatkaitok asked only one thing – to not have her disk number placed anywhere near her name in the writing of this interview, only and because, she's doesn't like that. Her one request is honoured here.

Participant: Zebedee Nungak, 204 Uriuq Kangirsuk QC
Date: February 7, 2014

I took a chance and looked up Zebedee Nungak's phone number on line. I was surprised it was sitting there in front of me on my screen. I could not find a contact email for him and had emailed other Inuk people I know of who work with him through the Avataq Cultural Institute[13] and had contacted them in my hunt for Mr. Nungak – I received no response. On January 29, 2014 I looked him up on Canada 411. It was important to me to interview the author of, *E9-1956*, published in 2000, one of the few publications by an Inuk writer on the Eskimo Identification Canada system. Zebedee Nungak is a cultural leader, spokesperson, politician, writer, and inspiration to many Inuit Canadians. He is an *Experimental Eskimo,*[14]one of several Inuit children removed from their home communities and placed into southern Canadian cities as requested by the Federal Government of Canada in the early 1960's. The purpose of this experiment was to prove whether or not Inuit children had the ability to learn beyond grades five or six. It must be noted that Mr. Nungak along with Peter Ittinaur, and Eric Tagoona have filed a lawsuit against the Canadian government for this experiment, and have yet to receive any form of compensation, as the Federal government of Canada has indicated that made payment has been made to residential school survivors and will not extend further compensation to survivors of the Experimental Eskimo project.[15] Contrary to some of his life experiences, Nungak is known for his humour. Among all the many occupations Nungak has had, he continues to focus on and promote the use of the Inuktitut language and Inuit education. Because of all his successes and boldness towards life, I am terrified to speak to him as his phone begins to ring.

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[13] For information on the Avataq Cultural Institute see: http://www.avataq.qc.ca/

[14] *Experimental Eskimos* was an experiment carried on by the Federal Government of Canada in the early 1960's. This experiment was designed to confirm or deny that Inuit children had the ability to learn beyond grade five. For information on this Canadian government devised plan see: https://www.itk.ca/historical-event/experimental-eskimo-zebedee-nungak-leaves-puvirnituq-nunavik

[15] This information can be found on the DVD, *The Experimental Eskimos* (White Pine Pictures, 2009) featuring a reunion between Nungak, Ittinaur and Tagoona and their struggles with life upon their return from the south.

Zebedee is fun. He makes me laugh about ten times in our first two minutes of conversation. I explain who I am briefly and ask if I could email him the interview questions prior to recording our phone interview. He kindly agrees while cautioning me that the disk system is not something he views with anger and gives me his personal email address. I am on cloud nine by the time we end our conversation. Zebedee grants me the interview on February 7, 2014. Again, I am nervous to speak to someone who has devoted his life to the future generations of Inuk peoples. I respect this man, whose hand I've never shaken. He is for me a true leader.

Nungak answers question one and two at once, telling me, "By the time I was baptized on January two, 1952, I must have been given (the disk number), the RCMP had passed through our camp and my baptism certificate which is issued on January two has me down as E9-1956." The E9 district represents the northern coastal area of Quebec, now named Nunavik. Nungak is the first Inuk that indicates that his disk number was used on any other identification document and shows a relationship between church and state on paper.

Because Nungak had made use of the word, 'camp' in his response, I ask him if he and his family were living out on the land at the time of his birth. He says, "...we were living at a certain location. In today's language it would be a camp because it's not an established full time community but the place where I was born is called Sapuutiligait." Not knowing the exact day that the RCMP issued his disk necklace, Nungak says he would have been about eight months old based on his birth certificate. The question asking how he made use of his disk number is framed around day-to-day living and the use of a disk number includes when attending school or visiting a doctor. Nungak chides me when he replies:

> There's no such thing as visiting a doctor...and there's no such thing as school until 1959 but by that time we were using our names and not just numbers, but in the place of visiting a doctor, I was sent to hospital for treatment of early stage tuberculosis in 1956 and that's when my actual disk was lost. I had it around my neck. We used to wear them around our necks all the time if we had reason to but I lost my number when I went to hospital in Moose Factory.

Nungak would have been four years old at the time the disk necklace is lost and is, as a very little boy at the time of his departure to Moose Factory. He did however have his number memorized. He states:

> Because Eskimo disk numbers were the only thing that were of identity purposes everyone knew their number so I've never forgotten that I was E9-1956 even

though the thing was lost in 1956 – that's how deeply ingrained it was.

Nungak had made it clear that the disk system was not something that angered him at the onset of this interview, and makes a point of saying that the disk numbers were for identity purposes while at the same time stating how the number had rooted itself into his memory at a very early age. Knowing your number, in this instance, makes your identity clear to the people around you and serves a very practical purpose. When I ask Nungak if he ever sought out a replacement he replies matter-of-factly:

> In 1956 there was no federal office, federal information was very sketchy to say the least and it was just the RCMP patrolling by boat or by dogteam in the winter. I don't think they had a lot of spare disks on hand to replace the ones that were lost.

When asked if his disk number was used on the filing of income tax, Nungak says, "No by the time we started paying taxes our names were in use. When I say our names were in use, my name, Zebedee Nungak is actually my given name and not my family name." Nungak indicates that he left home in 1963 prior the standardization of his family's surname. His family members had adopted his grandfather's name, which is 'Tulugak' in 1967. He was not a part of this change and in his words, "I've always carried my given name." Nungak explains that the adoption of surnames began in his community in the mid 1960's and, "Before that we were just hunters and fisherman and trappers."

Nungak is asked what did he think of the disk. His response:

> Back when I was growing up, we didn't have a lot of people complaining that it looked like a dog tag or a prisoner's number or talk. It was just a simple fact of life that all Eskimos had disk numbers and the government issued them. They (meaning Inuit) didn't have any hand in assigning them or designing them. It was strictly a federal practice to identify Inuit by that system but I don't recall anyone complaining about how these were used.

Nungak makes a point of not speaking of self in this instance, he instead thinks about his own community members and the fact that no one criticized the use of the system, he approaches the disk as a fact of life, a way of communicating to others but does make a point of saying that the Inuit had no input in any form, perhaps showing that since it was a federal practice, it made sense that Inuit were in no small way a part of the exercise.

Nungak says;

> ...I rather lament that they discontinued, the government simply let it piffle out without justifying why they did it in the first place and I'm still trying to track down a novelty store that can do an exact replica of my disk number. I'll get

> one of my children's disk numbers, like the actual thing, just have them do the crown on the one side and the number on the other side and I'd have it embossed in a gold frame or where it around my neck with a gold chain.

He laughs and has low giggles coming from his throat as he says this. Nungak treats the possible resurrection of his number with humour and a certain amount of glee. Describing the reviving of his disk as an event to be shared with his children, as if a party should be happening at the same time, and a disk should be hung in gold frame as a center piece memorial. There is a lovely irony at the thought of it all, but Nungak does bring forth an important detail – the fact that the government never formally announced the dissolution of a system that they never formally announced they were instituting.

He adds to our conversation by saying:

> I know that some Inuit will make a big speech about it, about how it looks like a dog tag and a prisoners number and that people shouldn't have to be identified this way but I look at it as a uniquely Inuit thing, a very Eskimo thing, only the Eskimos were ever issued this and I thought that was quite a status to have. ...it's a government invention but it's unique to Inuit and that's how I see it.

Nungak doesn't demonstrate anger or complacency and would have been born 11 years after the disk system was in use. He would have arrived after all the quirks of the system had been ironed out and was taught by the age of four what his disk number was by parents who had become accustomed to making use of their numbers. He treats the system as a part of everyday life and sees it as a simple fact of being.

In the words of Zebedee Nungak:

> I rather lament all these others, the social insurance number and the health number and beneficiary numbers and all these other piles of modern identification that are issued nowadays and overwhelm the disk number. I still have an admiration for it. I still think the government owes an explanation as to why they established it and ask us if we agree to having it discontinued.

Mr Nungak ends our interview on the Eskimo Identification Canada system by saying, "...it became an administrative convenience for those who were administering these things." The practicality of the system through the use of one, instead of several numbers, as well as a disk being a unique form of Inuit identity is how Nungak views the entire system, yet there is that one lingering issue – not having a government celebration or explanation to its installation or disappearance.

Isummaniq (can think, understand, has reached the age of reasoning)

I was very fortunate to have the input of living survivors of the Eskimo Identification Canada system, who so willingly came forward and spoke on what and how the system affected each of them. Each arrived with much government intervention in their lives, as federal policy and procedures are laid upon them before, during and after the E-number system is in place. The necklace identifier became only another form of policy and only another form of colonial control in their lives. I do not hear or see rage in their responses but I do see a loss of control over their existences and how each number shaped their own sense of self. They are brave Inuit.

To critically analyse what has occurred to each of the participants, the use of simple math puts into perspective their lived experiences. Each were born and begin a relationship with the system at a different point in the Eskimo Identification Canada system's life, a life that lasted a total of 31 years.

The number of years that each interviewee maintains an affiliation with the disk system varies, as does where they were each living as this liaison continued. The life of each participant intersects with the total life of the disk system at different points of the systems' life and at different locations within the Arctic. This does not lessen the impact on each life with the disk system but it does help to understand why each Inuk in this study answered the questions in the way that they did.

Each interviewee demonstrates the four methods of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit discussed in the methodology chapter, "IQ encompasses the entire realm of the of Inuit experience in the world…It is the experience and resulting knowledge/wisdom that prepares us for success in the future and establishes the possible survival of the Inuit" (Tagalik, 2010, p. 2). The four aspects of IQ expressed in the methodology chapter were used to demonstrate how I look upon the world and these same traditional ways of being are evident within each interviewee.

Firstly, never demonstrating anger, or *piliriqatigilingniq,* the concept of serving and living together in agreement and balance with one another. When Voisey states, "…it didn't bother me" more than once, it has to be considered how an expression of anger towards the disk system would contribute to the serving and living together as an Inuit person in relation to the world around him and to his own community of Whale Cove. Secondly, never taking ownership of anyone elses experience but your own. IQ instills in Inuit to speak only of our lived experience,

what we know individually and not to tell of what others may have said. This is how *aajiiqatigiingniq*, consensus or decision making was arrived at. Like Elder Saullu Nakasuk, Voisey and the other interviewees state, "Only what they know" (Nakasuk, 1999, p.2). Not one of the interviewees speaks beyond their own experience, they do not incorporate their own family or community members views into any of the interviews.

As is common also for Inuit, the words, "I don't know" are used as the beginning of a reply. Inuit do not consider ourselves to be experts in any one thing but a first-hand -lived experience. *Piliriqatigiingniq* and the working together for a common purpose is being demonstrated by each interviewee. Not one interviewee speaks in a manner that demonstrates complete knowledge on the disk system, instead each respond frequently with a humble, "I don't know" meaning that they are not a specialist or proficient in the area of a disk experience and also expressing that assuming knowledge in this area will not be, working together for a common purpose. Making ones' self stand out in any area of life, as an Inuk, does not better the purpose and harmony within the group. Each interviewee does demonstrate *qanuqtuurungnarniq* and were resourceful in solving problems that arose with their lived disk experience. For Allan Voisey, he had a mother who made sure he knew his disk number even though the disk system was vanishing at the time he was made aware of it. For Martha Hatkaitok, a mother who braided strings of caribou sinew to personalize and secure the fabric-like disk into place, resolving the problem of personalzing an impersonal form of identity and decreasing the possibility of loosing the number. David Serkoak, at the time of marriage comes to the realization that his own personal documents are filled with error concerning his own identity and he makes use of a lawyer to legitimize his name and identity to those he knows he will have formal, official interaction with. Zebedee Nungak, humourously pokes at the government to re-issue his number, solving perhaps for himself and all Inuit the lack of the Federal governments' ceremony at both the beginning and end of the disk system. IQ and the traditional knowledge of each interviewee becomes evident as each Inuk speaks and tells of their own lived experience.

In the case of Allan Voisey, he is asked by his mother if he knows what the disk is, when it is presented to him at age eight. Born in 1962 and seeing his disk one year prior to the official dissolution of the system, demonstrates why Voisey responded that he did not make use of his number. He knew he had a disk number but did not have to interact within his community or on a federal level with his number as his identifyer. His knowledge of the system first enters his life

as this scheme of government organization is about to dissolve. He goes on to say that there are E2 people within his community, indicating that he does recognize a difference between himself as an E1 person and other community members as E2 people. He also says that he isn't sure where they are from, showing a geographical difference, and says that the 'older people' remember the system more. When given the choice to make use of a descriptor of these other people, of either the word 'upset' or 'angry', Voisey chooses 'upset' and he also avoids going into detail about the people he is talking about.

Martha Hatkaitok had a 14 year relationship with her disk number. Like David, she uses examples of how the non-Inuit in her community made use of the system. Whether it was a pilot who asked for her E-tag number as she boarded a plane or a store clerk who needed the number to fulfill a grocery order for a group of residential school children in a hostel, Martha does not indicate using the number as an intricate part of her own isuma or spirit. It is as if Martha, like David, is one being and the number is another. Martha does tell of talking back to someone at one point and this expression of self is the only outburst she demonstrates in almost a decade and a half of time with her number. She also indicates, "I got in trouble for that" painting the picture of an Inuks' submission to the non-Inuit in her life. She doesn't go into detail if or what type of punishment followed. Martha's quiet summation of the disk system is simply, "I didn't like that."

David Serkoak answers each emailed question in plainly worded, short sentences. Each sentence would have been thought-out as he specifies taking 55 minutes to complete the 12 questions, two of which are answered with the single reply of, "No." As already stated David does not speak about how others felt about the system and reflects upon the disk as something that was not bothersome until he had matured and could give serious thought to it. It is only after the system has been out of practice that the concept of how wrong it was begins to bother him. On the emailed reply, David writes in brackets, "(bad) dogs" as a qualifier when speaking of the system and the RCMP, who were the administrators of the system, as those who would have thought in this manner. Serkoak is a survivor of all the relocations of the Padlei Inuit, and had many interferences into his life as a young boy. He would not have had time to put deep thought into a life that was constantly being moved from one northern point to another. He would not have been able to grasp all that was happening around him, the directives from the Canadian federal government, that shaped the man that he became.

Zebedee Nungak, like Serkoak officially had a 19 year connection with his disk number, E9-1956 but what has to be made clear is that Nungak was also an "Experimental Eskimo." In saying this, Zebedee would have left his community in 1963 at the age of 11 and was sent south to be educated and assimilated into southern culture. This experiment, a directive of the federal government, removed Zebedee from his community and the disk system would have been in the stages of dismantling upon his arrival back home. Zebedee would have been in the south and did not have to make use of his number in the same manner that David or Martha would have. He was removed, but he did know at an early age to have his number memorized and never to forgot it. Zebedee's humourous and satrical view of the system can be understood, as he was more of an observer of the system, than a participant of it.

Whether an observer or a full-time member of the disk system, there remains one very strong commonality for each Inuk participant – they each knew their number by heart before the age of ten years. They each knew, whether instructed by their mothers or by others that this number was of grave importance, by the age of ten years. They each knew that this number was their ticket to dealing with the non-Inuit administrators or agents in order for them to be recognized as Canadian citizens with access to social benefits, by the age of ten years. This number got them onto a plane, into treatment for tuberculosis, and into school. It was the number that allowed them to buy food, learn to read and write, receive medical treatment, and was the identifier that gave Inuit a voice when speaking with government officials.

The Carrothers fonds (Calgary, 2013) stored at the University of Calgary demonstrate the importance of a disk number in Whale Cove, NU when asking administrators for a change in living conditions experienced within the community in the year 1965. E1-83 writes:

> I think the Eskimos would be more happier if they have proper houses, and more cleaner homes, it would be easier for the Eskimos to keep their house clean if they have everything for the house, like tile floors etc.

E1-78 notes, "I always gets cold too, I don't have warm clothing, I only got old clothing and I get cold easily. …We do not like the white-people here in Whale Cove." Likewise, E1-23 writes, "Also we don't like the store manager here, he always price the things at the store very high and no body could aford to buy them and the seal-skins are very cheap." E1-527, however, states:

> I would like someone to be Area Administrator from the government, not from the Hudson Bay men, they always want to returned what we bought. But I'm not scared of them because they are not the Eskimos...

As well, E1-81 states his/her concerns but indicates he/she doesn't know the name of the government official who will read it:

> I wish to write a letter to whom concerns my letter, but I do not know who I am writing to, all I know is to the government, I don't even know what's the man's name I am going to write to…Worse thing part about D.N.A. house are, they don't even have water tanks, no toilets, no lights, and they are unpainted…The children gets sick easily when the house is dirty, when the water is not available its hard to keep the house clean. …if anyone wishes to answer my letter I'll be expecting a letter from the government.

Alakus is the only letter writer from the area that does not sign with her disk number, she writes:

> When the winter comes its always hard to keep the house warm. When the Eskimos ask for help from the D.N.A. for the fuel, sometimes our Area Administrator won't give any fuel. …in the middle of winter it is so cold when the house is not heated. …we are lack of fuel and food. …but there is food at the store, we can't buy some food from the store without having the money first.

The above examples show not only the extremely poor living conditions of the Inuit in the Canadian arctic, 24 years after the disk system is in place but also reveals how a plea for the comforts of daily living experienced by southern residents of Canada, are not valid unless a disk identifier is included with the signee of the request.[16] Writing this portion as a numerical list of appeals is intentional, as this is how these petitions for help would have been ingested by government representatives, numbers not names would have held more capability.

An audio/video files has been made of these interviews as a companion to the written thesis. This file awakens and fills the viewer with the recorded words of each interviewee and stresses the importance of the disk number whether in a written or spoken form. This file puts a face to each numbered interviewee, and shows the humane side of existence within the disk system and can be found on the University of Alberta's Intermedia Research Studio at: http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/irs/

[16] While Hugh Shewell's book, "Enough to Keep them Alive": Indian Welfare in Canada 1873 – 1965" (2004), is mainly applicable to Canada's First Nations, the QTC Final Report: "Achieving Saimaqatigilngniq" produced by Qikiqtani Truth Commission in 2010 and again in 2013 refers more specifically to the Canadian Inuit's experience with social intervention by the Government of Canada.

The Eskimo Identification Canada system did have an impact on the daily lives of the Inuit as seen through the interview analysis, and the letters that follow. This number became of crucial importance in the everyday lives of the Inuit, and each knew that number granted them access to what they required for daily survival. Clearly, these same Inuit rose above the limits of government generated identity, and continue on into today as fine examples of Inuk tradition. I thank each of them for their spirit, their humour, their truth, and especially their, *isumanaqtuq*, as they each "created such an impression that one thinks for a long time about him or her" (Nunavut, 2014).

Conclusion

Isumatsasiuqpuq – to reflect on something, to ponder

The voices of the Inuit have come forth in this research. The views of the Inuit have been heard. This research and the writing of it has given space and time and put onto paper the effects of the Eskimo Identification Canada system from an Inuit perspective, and has given a historical panoramic view of only a portion of Inuit history. The intent of this writing and research has been fulfilled.

The Eskimo Identification Canada system is an understated government policy. It is a policy that has been admitted to by government, through government-supported publications, but never vocalized; or included in the mainstream telling of Canadian history. The government and its administrators of the time had, within their own minds, developed a logical method in the establishing of a numeric system, replacing Inuit names, which enabled ease in the managing of Inuit Canadians. Their work became much less problematic, but what was not considered was the long-term effect of a number identifier, a name replacement, upon the Inuit themselves.

The system ran for over thirty years under Canadian government guidelines, and never once, over the course of three decades, were the Inuit asked for any form of input into the system. A numbered necklace became a fact of living an everyday Inuk existence. To the administrators, this number represented who, where, and what an Inuk Canadian was and most importantly, the social benefits apportioned to them. It was a universal way of processing Inuit paperwork and streamlining procedure. It was simple. It is silenced.

Non-Inuit such as Tester, Kulchynski and Alia, have each written to an extent about the disk system in conjunction with studies on hunting and fishing rights, in conjunction with some of the relocations experienced by Inuit, and in conjunction with the Inuit traditional naming system. What is presented within this thesis is the disk system itself, as the sole focus, researched and written by an Inuit student. What this means is that I arrive to the subject with an understanding of my peoples already in place and research the disk system only and it must be stated that the disk system had an effect on me. The topic of the Eskimo Identification Canada system was broached by very well respected academics and for their turning of the door knob to that subject I remain most grateful.

The two most important aspects of this thesis lie in the words of the Inuit who graciously interviewed on the topic of the Eskimo Identification Canada system and also, the Inuk researcher who was privileged to write their words down. It was most humbling to visit with each of them whether they were residents of my home-supporting community of Whale Cove, NU or in Kangirsuk, QC, and whether or not we were sitting in a kitchen or establishing kinship ties via electronic communication. Their stories, like their lives, speak of courage and determination and their humour is remarkable. Their continued existence, lived on in lives that were racked with repeated change and the captivity to colonial constructs, humbled me and I think of each of them with gratitude and deep respect. I am a privileged Inuk writer and researcher, to have been able to tell the lived stories of my own peoples with their words and their Inuit worldview.

The disk system is spoken of as an ordinary part of their lives, as we speak of number identifiers in present day, and it isn't until each participant matures that the system becomes a matter of contemplation, either with disdain, or complacency, or amusement. The year of the introduction of the disk into the life of each interviewee is remembered. To each interviewee the initiation of their assigned number is made without ceremony or any form of grandiose, it becomes a part of their daily existence without pomp and is instead, only circumstance.

The events leading up to the disk are firstly foretold within this work, with the crisscrossing of academic writing within prose, in the story of *Kakoot*. The purpose of this chapter is to emphasize the importance of Inuit names and the spirituality, physical embodiment, and meaning that encompass each Inuit name – a tradition that received interference from, primarily the non-Inuit missionaries, and later the administrators of the disk system. Presentation of fact can arrive in an alternate method and inform a reader through the use of prose. It is a way of learning about the peoples who were most affected by an unequal relationship, with a Mother State across the ocean, and how the rules of colonialism came into play in one man's fictional existence. *Kakoot* represents not only the constant meddling with a man's name but also with his life from birth to death. It also demonstrates the doggedness of an Inuit hunter.

The historical chapter places the writings of those who conjured up the system and their methodical plan onto a historical timeline. The use of original political Northwest Territory Council minutes, Eskimo Registration District maps, and the written exchanges of the men who would become the disk system administrators reveals the structural rigidity and foibles of putting

into motion a system that would live to be over thirty. When viewing the system as a point of reference, while the globe as a whole, is undergoing rapid change during those same three decades plus of time, brings a universal gaze onto a subject that may appear to be pebble-sized. As the world around the Canadian Arctic Inuit is transforming, the Inuit are also in a state of flux. The long-term effects of the disk system cannot be realized until decades later, this is where the voice of the Inuit, becomes of greatest importance. My peoples, the Inuit have never been given in an academic or public venue, the opportunity to voice a lived experience of the Eskimo Identification Canada system– this work allows all of us that chance.

It is with this chance, this good opportunity that I approached this work with my own indigenous research methodology, Inuit Quajimajatuqangit, it is not academically traditional but it is traditional nonetheless. This methodology is not exclusive to only Inuit peoples, it can be made use of by non-Inuit as well and perhaps, if it had, the disk system would not have existed at all.

As the research progressed on the disk system the demonstration of *pijitsirarniq*, the presenting of serving in fairness to both the sides of the disk system coin became dominant. Presenting what the Canadian government had to wrestle with, as well as the Inuit, in a fair light for both meant stepping back from self and self perceptions. Interviewing an Inuit subject is very different from writing down their words and the enormity of serving my own peoples weighted heavily upon me. Their truth is my truth and we both live with the finality of it.

Aajiiqatigiingngiq, consensus, shows how something is achieved with a view of what else was happening alongside the disk system. The historical chapter panned back, and brought into view what was dancing around the Canadian Arctic as the disk system hummed itself both into and out of existence. *Piliriqatigiingniq*, working together, within this research, both Inuit and non-Inuit were made sense of. It is like a mathematical equation was solved, in terms of how two polarizing groups came together through the form of numeric identification, and the results therein. This common purpose, of trying to sort out an issue of identity is shown through outcomes decades later. *Qanuqtuurungnarniq*, the resourceful methods of problem solving are shown in how the Inuit lived day-to-day within the system, this is not to say that the system was accepted but it was internalized, how that internalization is lived out is obvious within the interviews themselves.

I would hope that others would look to the work presented here in that same light – as a vantage point of much more to come. The Eskimo Identification Canada system is an example of not only a colonial construct but a stronger example of the continuance of Inuit life and beliefs. The interviewees each expressed, in their own words, how they have continued on with traditional knowledge and life, whether they are in Edmonton or Ottawa. When an entire group is faced with and living through rapid change and having to walk in more than two worlds from birth forward, a study into how Inuit Canadians traditional methods survived and continue to live into today would be of benefit.

Was the disk gendered in any form? Yes, to a degree it was as the mothers of some interviewees are the keepers of and introducers to the world of the disk system. This would take a much longer and more intense study with a greater number of Inuit to interview. How did Inuit men, who, like Inuit women make use of the disk not only for themselves but their children and grandchildren? Especially with evolving from a nomadic life to one of settlement life, both genders would have been more homebound than ever before and more reliant on government supplied social benefits. The tiny numbered disk was the gatekeeper to those benefits. With these questions in mind, I would hope that others would look to the work presented here as a vantage point of much more to come.

For me, this study received no external funding. There were costs that I had to incur financially that were well worth the investment, like the printing of maps, long distance phone calls, driving on snowy, cold days when the city streets are thick with ice, and the greatest investment, the taking of time away from family. If there had been more money available I would have loved to have travelled to meet each interviewee, to see their facial expressions as they answered the questions, to know how they moved their hands in conversation, to have taken photos of me standing beside them. These are the details I can't bring to this research, the outer mannerisms of self that make each of us uniquely who we are.

The Eskimo Identification Canada system is exclusive to Canadian Inuit and was a way to force Inuit to become inclusive, it is under-researched and spoken and I am happy with the information this research generated, only and because, as it has been written previously, the Inuit of Canada, were and are more than a number.

As for me, at the end of much research, I know I will continue to go on looking for her, my *anaanatsiaq*, my Angaviadniak. I don't know if I'll find her name tucked away on disk list

somewhere, but I do know that because of her my life changed to a focus of uncovering the unknown and some questions have been answered, she not only gave me something to think about but she gave me my own *anaana* and to both of these strong Inuk women I say, *ungavaa* because I am devoted to you and love you with a kindly love.

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Appendices

Appendix I

When the Keewatin District in 1926, is enhanced from a map produced by the Department of the Interior & Natural resources Intelligence Services, it shows only 1 RCMP Post at Chesterfield Inlet, 6 HBC Posts, and 3 HBC Outposts

Illustration 4.1

Appendix II

Keewatin District, 1929 shows 1 RCMP Post at Chesterfield Inlet and a total of 13 HBC Trading and Out Posts – the presence of non-Inuit in the area is increasing dramatically.

Map of NWT 1929, produced by the Department of the Interior, Natural Resources, Intelligence Services

The Keewatin District, 1929 enhanced from NWT 1929 map on left

Illustration 4.2

Appendix III

BY 1939, TWO YEARS PRIOR TO THE LAUNCHING OF THE ESKIMO IDENTIFICATION CANADA SYSTEM, THE KEEWATIN DISTRICT NOW HAS 3 RCMP POSTS LOCATED AT BAKER LAKE, CHESTERFIELD INLET AND ESKIMO POINT – WITHIN A DECADE STATE PRESENCE HAS TRIPLED

NWT AND YUKON, 1939 – DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND RESOURCES

KEEWATIN DISTRICT, 1939

Illustration 4.3

Appendix IV

ESKIMO REGISTRATION DISTRICTS ARE MAPPED IN 1939, TWO YEARS PRIOR TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ESKIMO IDENTIFICATION CANADA system

ESKIMO REGISTRATION DISTRICTS CREATED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF MINES & RESOURCES, 1939

CLOSE UP VIEW OF ESKIMO REGISTRATION DISTRICTS 1939

Illustration 4.4

Appendix V

BIRTH OF THE ESKIMO IDENTIFICATION CANADA SYSTEM BY DISTRICT MAP, 1945 – NOTE DISTRICTS W4 – W14 ARE MISSING WHEN COMPARED TO THE 1939 ESKIMO REGISTRATION MAP.

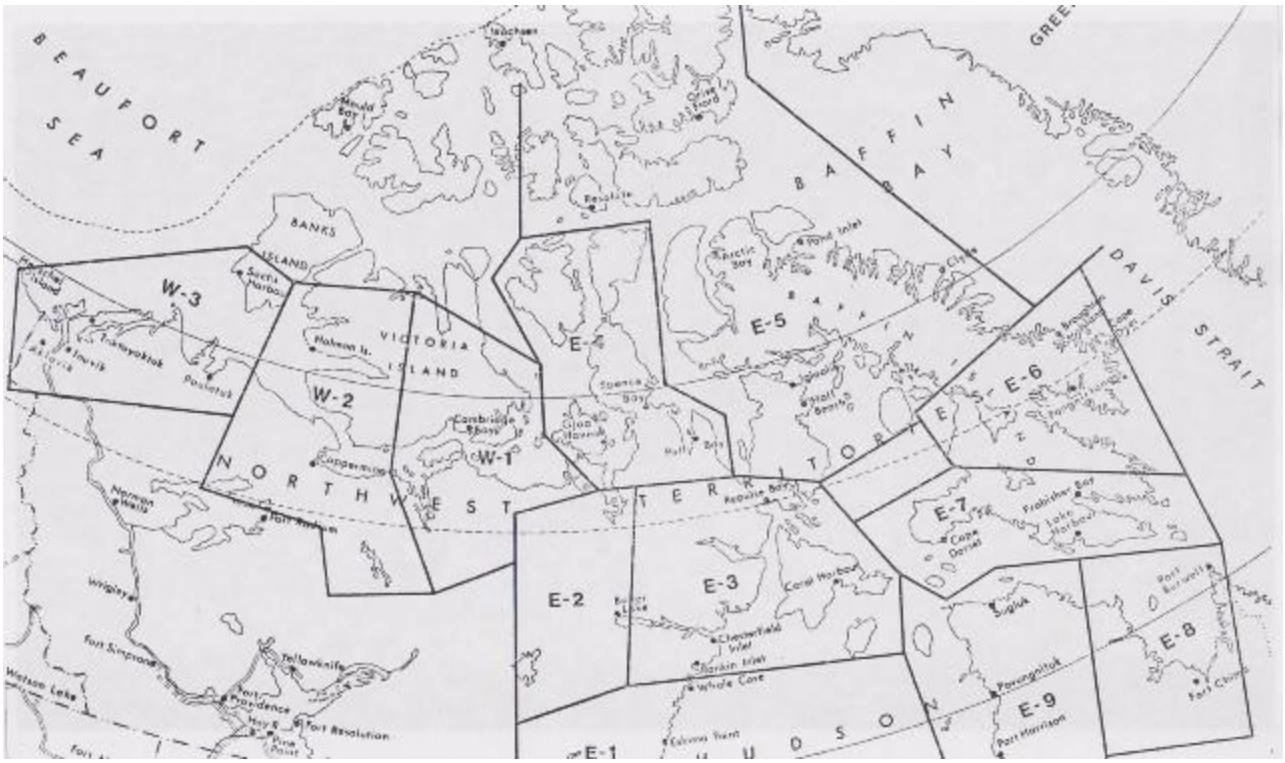


Illustration 4.5

Appendix VI

Agenda One Hundred and Twenty-second Session of the Northwest Territories Council

Tuesday, 11th February, 1941 11:30 a.m.

UNDER ITEM

7. Arctic Matters

(x) Eskimo Identification discs 7717

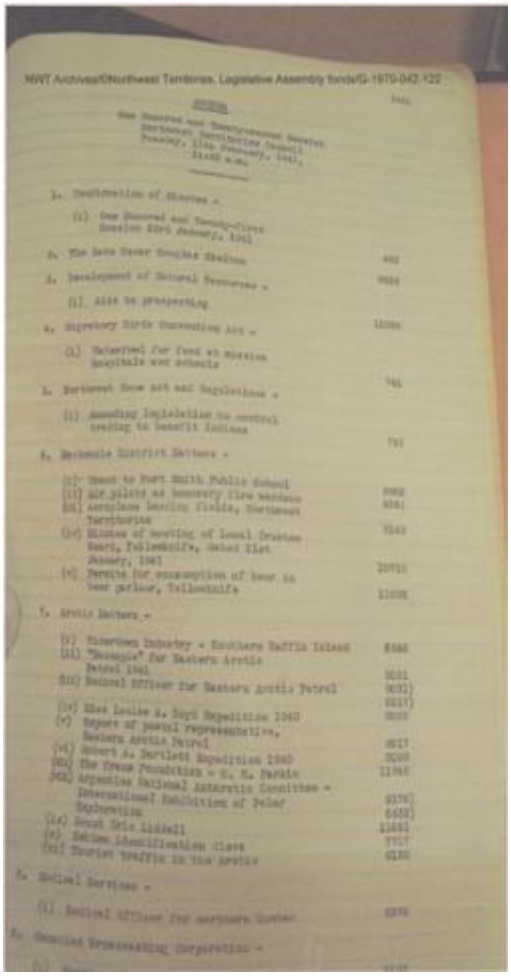
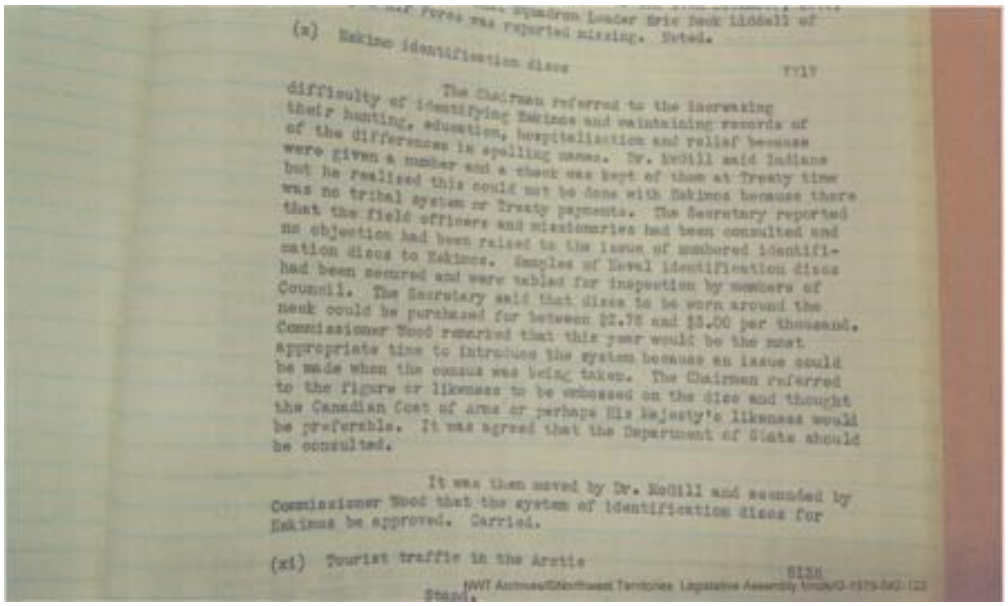


Illustration 4.6

Appendix VII

WITHIN SEVEN SENTENCES THE ESKIMO IDENTIFICATION DISCS ISSUE PERTAINING TO COSTS AND APPEARANCE IS SOLVED.



(x) Eskimo identification discs

The Chairman referred to the increasing difficulty of identifying Eskimos and maintaining records of their hunting, education, hospitalization and relief because of the differences in spelling names. Dr. McGill said Indians were given a number and a check was kept of them at Treaty time but he realized this could not be done with Eskimos because there was no tribal system or Treaty payments. The Secretary reported that the field officers and missionaries had been consulted and no objection had been raised to the issue of numbered identification discs to Eskimos. Samples of lapel identification discs had been secured and were tabled for inspection by members of Council. The Secretary said that discs to be worn around the neck could be purchased for between $2.70 and $3.00 per thousand. Commissioner Wood remarked that this year would be the most appropriate time to introduce the system because an issue could be made when the census was being taken. The Chairman referred to the figure or likeness to be embossed on the disc and thought the Canadian Coat of Arms or perhaps His Majesty's likeness would be preferable. It was agreed that the Department of State should be consulted.

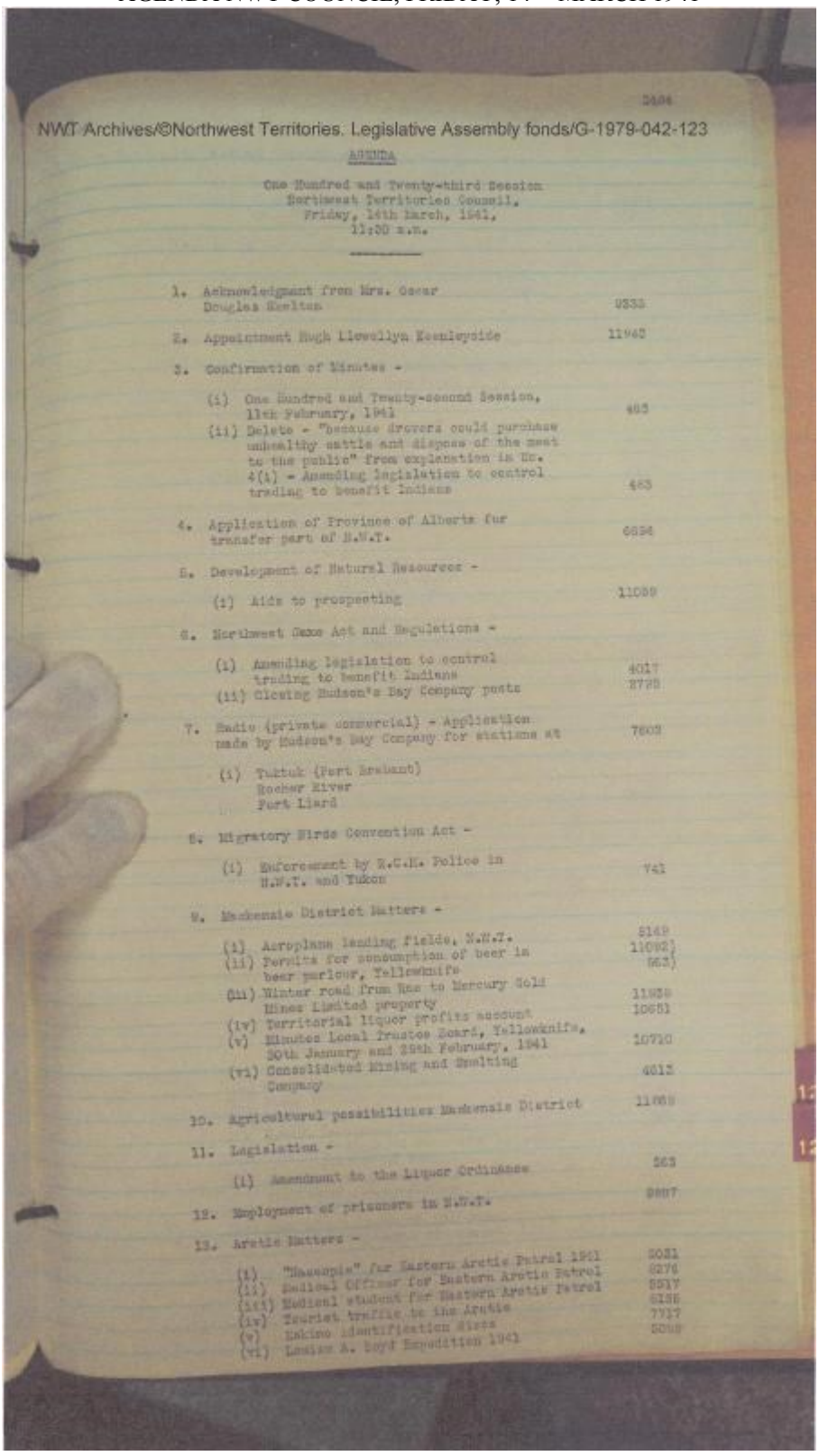
It was then moved by Dr. McGill and seconded by Commissioner Wood that the system of identification discs for Eskimos be approved. Carried.

(xi) Tourist traffic in the Arctic

Illustration 4.7

Appendix VIII

AGENDA NWT COUNCIL, FRIDAY, 14TH MARCH 1941



2484

AGENDA

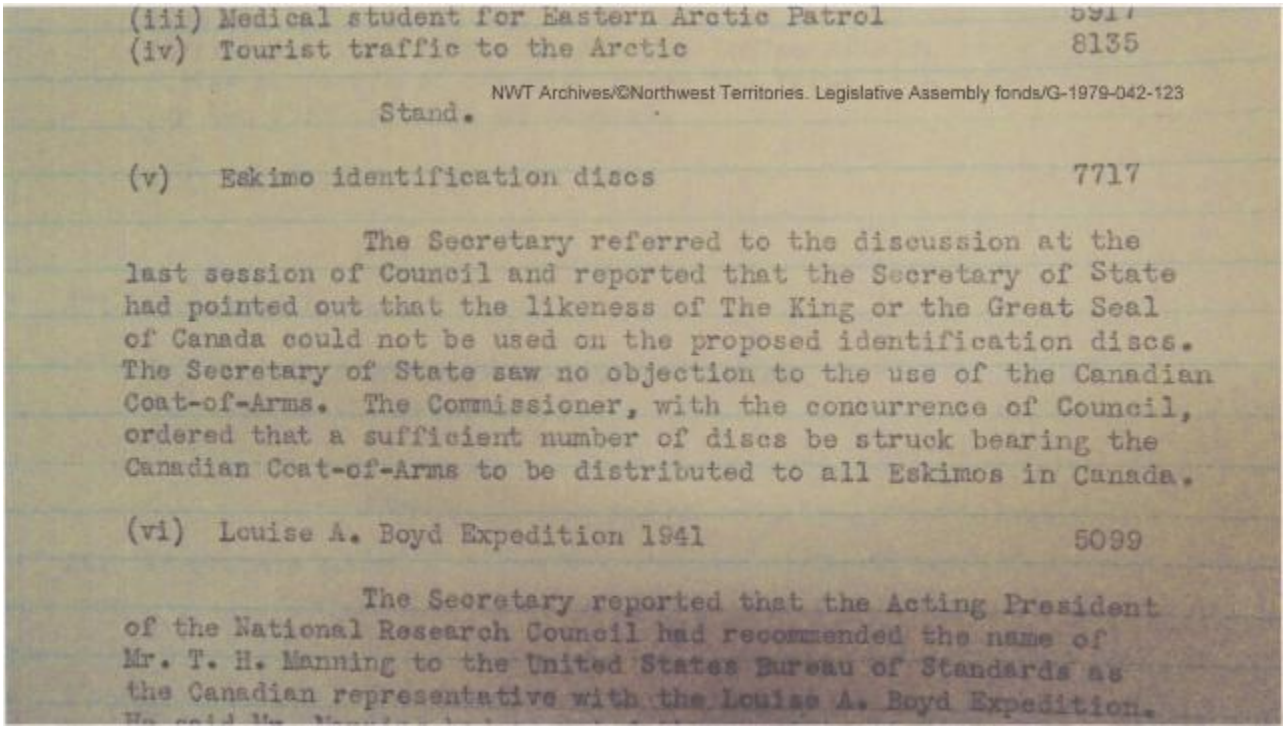
One Hundred and Twenty-third Session
Northwest Territories Council,
Friday, 14th March, 1941,
11:00 a.m.

1. Acknowledgment from Mrs. Oscar Douglas Hanlon — 9333
2. Appointment Hugh Llewellyn Keenleyside — 11962
3. Confirmation of Minutes -
   (i) One Hundred and Twenty-second Session, 11th February, 1941 — 485
   (ii) Delete - "because drovers could purchase unhealthy cattle and dispose of the meat to the public" from explanation in No. 4(i) - Amending legislation to control trading to benefit Indians — 483
4. Application of Province of Alberta for transfer part of N.W.T. — 6834
5. Development of Natural Resources -
   (i) Aids to prospecting — 11089
6. Northwest Game Act and Regulations -
   (i) Amending legislation to control trading to benefit Indians — 4017
   (ii) Closing Hudson's Bay Company posts — 8728
7. Radio (private commercial) - Application made by Hudson's Bay Company for stations at — 7603
   (i) Tuktuk (Port Brabant)
   Rocher River
   Fort Liard
8. Migratory Birds Convention Act -
   (i) Enforcement by R.C.M. Police in N.W.T. and Yukon — 741
9. Mackenzie District Matters -
   (i) Aeroplane landing fields, N.W.T. — 5149
   (ii) Permits for consumption of beer in beer parlour, Yellowknife — 11092, 963
   (iii) Winter road from Rae to Mercury Gold Mines Limited property — 11938
   (iv) Territorial liquor profits account — 10651
   (v) Minutes Local Trustee Board, Yellowknife, 30th January and 28th February, 1941 — 10710
   (vi) Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company — 4015
10. Agricultural possibilities Mackenzie District — 11089
11. Legislation -
   (i) Amendment to the Liquor Ordinance — 363
12. Employment of prisoners in N.W.T. — 9807
13. Arctic Matters -
   (i) "Nascopie" for Eastern Arctic Patrol 1941 — 5031
   (ii) Medical Officer for Eastern Arctic Patrol — 6276
   (iii) Medical student for Eastern Arctic Patrol — 5917
   (iv) Tourist traffic to the Arctic — 6136
   (v) Eskimo identification discs — 7717
   (vi) Lesley A. Lloyd Expedition 1941 — 5049

Illustration 4.8

Appendix IX

WITHIN 31 DAYS OF THE PREVIOUS 1941 SESSION THE NWT LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, WITHIN TWO SENTENCES, SEALS THE FATE OF ESKIMO IDENTITY FOR OVER THE NEXT THREE DECADES.



(iii) Medical student for Eastern Arctic Patrol 5917
(iv) Tourist traffic to the Arctic 8135

Stand.

(v) Eskimo identification discs 7717

The Secretary referred to the discussion at the last session of Council and reported that the Secretary of State had pointed out that the likeness of The King or the Great Seal of Canada could not be used on the proposed identification discs. The Secretary of State saw no objection to the use of the Canadian Coat-of-Arms. The Commissioner, with the concurrence of Council, ordered that a sufficient number of discs be struck bearing the Canadian Coat-of-Arms to be distributed to all Eskimos in Canada.

(vi) Louise A. Boyd Expedition 1941 5099

The Secretary reported that the Acting President of the National Research Council had recommended the name of Mr. T. H. Manning to the United States Bureau of Standards as the Canadian representative with the Louise A. Boyd Expedition.

Illustration 4.9