

# **Inuit Knowledge of Caribou Habitat**

## **Background Report**

Submitted to: Baker Lake Hunters and Trappers Organization

September 10, 2015

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## **Executive Summary**

This report summarizes Kivalliq Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) of caribou water crossings and caribou calving grounds. It is based on information from previous reports, studies, consultations, and interviews that are publicly available. It focuses on Elders teachings about how water crossings and calving grounds should be used properly and treated respectfully. While information is provided from a variety of communities, the overall focus is on the Inuit groups who now reside in the community of Baker Lake.

### **Water Crossings**

There is a lot of information published about the IQ of water crossings. Before Kivalliq Inuit moved to communities, water crossings were some of the most important hunting and camping spots. Inuit would hunt caribou from qajaqs when they crossed rivers and lakes, or hunt caribou from land near the water crossings. Water crossings are still important hunting places today. There are a lot of archeological sites near water crossings.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit teaches that caribou are very sensitive to disturbance at water crossings. There are many traditional rules about how to properly use and respect water crossings. These include:

- Do not hunt, skin animals, cache meat, or camp on the side of the river where caribou enter the water
- Do not disturb the land on the side of the river caribou enter the water
- People and dogs should be very quiet near water crossings during migration season
- Camps should not be visible from water crossings

Inuit hunters have been very concerned about mining and exploration near water crossings since the 1970s. Residents of Baker Lake requested the Nunavut Planning Commission protect water crossings at meetings in 2013.

### **Calving Grounds**

There is much less information published about the IQ of calving grounds. Two reports from the Kitikmeot say that most Elders say you should not hunt caribou while they are calving, and that they do not camp in calving grounds. However, the reports also say that some people do hunt during calving. More research is needed on the IQ of calving grounds.

Inuit hunters have been very concerned about mining and exploration in calving grounds. All HTOs from the Kivalliq region have told the NPC or NIRB that they are opposed to mining and exploration in caribou calving grounds. Dene and Metis communities from Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and the Northwest Territories hunt from herds that calve in Nunavut. These communities are also opposed to mining and exploration in calving grounds.

## Part One – Caribou Water Crossings

### Water Crossings and Inuit Land Use

Anthropologists,<sup>1</sup> travellers,<sup>2</sup> ecologists,<sup>3</sup> and oral history and traditional knowledge researchers<sup>4</sup> have all written about the Kivalliq Inuit practice of hunting caribou, with qajaqs and spears, at water crossings. This practice is also documented in the Kitikmeot region.<sup>5</sup>

When the herds start coming across the river the men would be in their qayaqs waiting for the time to attack, sitting very still, and when the caribou notice that they are too close to the men and start turning back, the men in qayaqs move forward around the caribou to turn them back and try to get them together. The men would be around the caribou...and the men would start to spear the caribou and most of the time the men's faces would be splattered with caribou blood. (George Tataniq, in Webster, 2001: 22)

After the caribou start swimming, when they can't turn back and they can't get on land, and we know that they're in the middle of the lake or river, then we'd start chasing them. As the caribou would swim away, we'd chase them, keeping the front of the qajaq right close to the caribou, and then spear [them]. After I had killed a caribou I would put a large hook through its lip and paddle to the land, dragging my catch behind. If I killed two or three caribou and thought I could drag all of them to the land, I would hook the first one around the lip. For the second one I would make a loop with the same rope and tie it around the chin, and I would tie a rope around the third one's antlers, then drag them to the land. (Silas Putumiraqtuq, In Bennett and Rowley, 2004: 64)

I remember when my father use to hunt caribou with qajaq, when we were camping near the crossings, when we were camping at Tahirjuaq, Iqaluarpalik, and there was a time I can imagine seeing a place at Qinningaaraarjuk, where my father used to hunt caribou in his qajaq, still at the crossing. (Winnie Tayyak Ikinilik, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 13)

And the inuksuit, that were put up in the summer time, were going to be used for their hunting with qajaqs and wait for caribou. And the inuksuit that were put up were in an area that was not too close to the herd route, and when the caribou sees them, they turn to where the Inuit want them to go. (Paul Atutuvaa, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 11)

I also have killed a caribou in the water, chasing it a qajaq, I remember (Barak Qiayuq, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 16)

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<sup>1</sup> Birket-Smith, 1929: 70;255; Rasmussen, 1930: 39,40; Steenhoven, 1962; Harper, 1964: 13; Vallee, 1967: 34; Arima, 1975: 178-182; Clark, 1977; Burch, 1986: 121

<sup>2</sup> Hanbury, 1904; Leden, 1927; Mowatt, 1959: 35, 159-162

<sup>3</sup> Hummel & Ray, 2008

<sup>4</sup> Welland, 1976; Hoffman, 1976: 70; Stewart *et al.*, 1997; Mannik, 1998: 64, 164; Webster, 2001: 21; Bennett and Rowley, 2004: 64; Keith, 2004; Baker Lake HTO, 2004; Baker Lake HTO, 2004a; AREVA, 2012

<sup>5</sup> Jenness, 1992; Thorpe, 2001; Thorpe, 1998

While we were living at Ikiarniq, the caribou herd would appear from the southeast across from us. They are walking towards the north, some crossing the river. Iji'tuaq's husband used to hunt them with his qajaq, and spear caribou, and my grandmother would dry the meat. (Baker Lake Elder, in AREVA, 2012: 2-67)

Inuit also hunted near water crossings on the land and on islands.

When we know they are going to cross from the other side, we don't wait near the water, but we would be waiting on the higher ground and watch them. When they have crossed we would wait until they are farther inland, then we would start hunting them, especially for food. For this reason we would kill caribou to get food supply. (Silas Aitauq, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 9)

All these islands have names called Hatulirvik. Maybe because those islands are crossings, and by there Inuit get their food, so I thought they called it Hatulirvik. When caribou that are crossing are killed, the Inuit get happy, that's the thought I have. (Silas Aitauq, in Baker Lake HTO: 10)

According to some researchers, hunting caribou at water crossings was the "most important subsistence activity" for in-land Inuit.<sup>6</sup>

The major river systems of the northern Kivalliq region were the homelands of many Inuit that now live in Baker Lake. Some of the most populated places were along the Kazan River, Kunwak River, Dubawnt River, Thelon River, Back River, and Garry Lakes.<sup>7</sup> Some of the most important traditional camping sites on these rivers were located near water caribou crossings.<sup>8</sup>

We used to camp around the shores of the river, especially when the caribou started crossing. They'd start crossing near the falls. People camped where the crossing is, on the river banks. (Elizabeth Tunnuq, in Mannik, 1998: 238)

During the spring, we all camped at the crossing, sometimes at separate camps and sometimes all the people gathered to one camp. (George Tataniq, In Mannik, 1998: 226)

[My grandfather] always used to camp around the caribou crossings, and hunt caribou by chasing them in the water, with a qajaq, and especially when he didn't have rifles, so he would never leave Hanningajuq, and because he would have enough food for the winter just by hunting around the crossings. He would catch a lot of caribou too, when he was living at the crossings, so I guess he didn't leave the area. (Barak Qiayuq, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 15)

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<sup>6</sup> Keith, 2004: 40; see also: Harper, 1964; Burch, 1986; Arima, 1975

<sup>7</sup> Harp, 1961: 47; Welland, 1976: 92; Riewe, 1992; Stewart *et al*, 1997; Mannik, 1998; Webster, 2001; Hughson, 2010

<sup>8</sup> Vallee, 1967: 34; Welland, 1976: 92; Hoffman, 1976:70; Clark, 1977: 128; ITC, 1979: 10; Stewart *et al.*, 1997; Mannik, 1998; Stewart *et al*, 2000; Webster, 2001; Hughson, 2010: 91

I remember on the other side [at Illiviaq], the river on the south side, in the fall the herd would cross through this crossing. They could be very visible from here, the herd would be across the river and we would be camping here in the fall. (Simon Twyee, in Baker Lake HTO, 2004: 18)

People rarely go farther away from the river to inland or to the south side of Hanningajuq area. The caribou were rarely far, because there are crossings at Illiviaq, Amittuq, around the rivers. Our men didn't go too far from Hanningajuq. (Monica Adjuk, in Pelly, 2004: 20) In the spring and summer we were mostly in the same places, sometimes we were near the Thelon River. We would mostly try to be where the caribou will be crossing. We would be camping mostly around crossings in the spring when they are shedding and we could have enough meat to dry, and in the fall when the skins are good for clothing. Caribou have to cross at times through Beverly and around Schultz Lakes because part of all that is a river. (Baker Lake Elder, in AREVA, 2012: 2-15)

Sometimes we camped south of Schultz Lake at the mouth of the inlet, because it's a caribou crossing there. (Baker Lake Elder, in AREVA 2012: 2-18)

We camped where there were crossings. (Baker Lake Elder, in AREVA, 2012: 2-31)

We tried to camp at where the caribou crossed in spring and summer. We camped and lived there all the time because we knew where the caribou passed. We mostly spent our time at Quglungnili'naaq Lake when the caribou were crossing. We also returned there in the fall, to fish and cache meat for the winter. We only cached here, on the east side of Qikiqqtarjuaik Lake, but on Quglungnili'naaq Lake we hunted and cached meat all around the lake. (Baker Lake Elder, in AREVA, 2012: 2-53)

Inuit in the Kivalliq invariably camped at these crossings in spring, late summer, fall, and sometimes throughout the winter.<sup>9</sup> Archeological studies have found that the vast majority of archeological artefacts in the Kivalliq region are located near major caribou water crossings. Some of these sites are thousands of years old.<sup>10</sup>

The importance of caribou water crossings is expressed in many aspects of Inuit culture. Some traditional knowledge researchers have noted the prominence of Inuit place names that deal with caribou crossings: "Many of the place names in Harvaqtuurmiut territory refer to the actions and strategies of the caribou hunters, and the behaviours of caribou at the water crossings" (Keith, 2004: 47). Paula Hughson (2010) documented place names along the Thelon River system, many of which pertain to caribou crossings (91). Some anthropologists have recorded traditional Inuit *ajaja* songs about hunting caribou from kayaks at caribou water crossings (Steenhoven, 1962:28).

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<sup>9</sup> Hoffman, 1976: 71; Welland, 1976: 92; Stewart *et al.*, 1997; Mannik, 1998; Webster, 2001; Keith, 2004; Hughson, 2010

<sup>10</sup> Harp, 1961; ITC, 1979: 10; Stewart *et al.* 1997; Stewart *et al.*, 2000

## **The most important crossings historically**

The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study* notes the importance of the following caribou crossings for Inuit subsistence, prior to the movement into the settlement of Baker Lake.

### **THELON RIVER:**

- West end of Beverly Lake (Welland, 1976: 93)
- Between Aberdeen and Beverly Lakes (Welland, 1976: 93; Stewart *et al.*, 1997)
- Central arm of Aberdeen Lake (Welland, 1976: 93)
- Between Aberdeen and Schultz Lakes, including Qamanaarjuk Lake (Welland, 1976: 93)

### **KAZAN RIVER:**

- Kazan Falls (Welland, 1976: 93)
- East and West ends of Thirty Mile Lake (Welland, 1976: 93)
- North and West branches of Kaminuriak Lake (Welland, 1976: 93)
- Kunwak River areas between major lakes (Tebesjuaq, Mallery, Princess Mary) (Welland, 1976: 93)

### **GARRY LAKES AND BACK RIVER**

- Narrows in the Garry Lakes area (Welland, 1976: 93)

## **The most important crossings after moving to Baker Lake**

The *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study* mapped Inuit Land Use in the 1970s. It noted that hunting caribou in the fall at water crossings continued to be very important to the community of Baker Lake after Inuit moved to the settlement. Important crossing sites for hunting were identified along the Thelon and Kazan rivers, and at the Eastern end of Baker Lake. The crossings between Shultz and Aberdeen Lake were noted as being particularly important (Welland, 1976: 106).

The *Nunavut Atlas* recorded Inuit land use in the early 1990s. It noted that Inuit from Baker Lake continued to hunt and camp regularly at caribou crossings along the Thelon and Kazan river systems. However, the Atlas notes that Inuit now use the Garry Lakes area much less frequently (Riewe, 1992: 149)

The Aberdeen-Schultz-Baker lakes corridor is heavily used year-round by residents of Baker Lake. Seasonal camps are common, especially in summer. In summer and fall, the large numbers of migrating barren-ground caribou which pass through the area are hunted at crossing points on the Thelon River. (Riewe, 1992: 149)

The area along the Kazan River and east to Bissett and Parker Lakes receives year-round usage by residents of Baker Lake. Hunting is done by canoe along the Kazan River in late summer and fall as the migrating caribou move south and westwards. (Riewe, 1992: 173)

## **Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and Proper Treatment of Water Crossings**

Anthropologists, oral historians and traditional knowledge researchers have also recorded a wealth of information about Inuit knowledge of the proper use of caribou water crossings. Inuit Elders state that caribou are very sensitive to disturbance when they are migrating through water crossings.

Caribou tend to get most sensitive to noise, scent, and visually at crossings. (Baker Lake Elder, quoted in Webster, 2001: 29)

If a caribou is close to a crossing point even a seagull would make it run away. (Michael Amarook, in ITC, 1979: 9)

Due in part to this sensitivity, Inuit culture holds very strict rules about how water crossings should be treated.

Anthropologists noted that the side of the river where caribou enter the water was not to be used for hunting, skinning animals, or caching meat (Steenhoven, 1962). This has also been recorded from the words of many Elders from Baker Lake and elsewhere in the Kivalliq region.

Inuit used to try and not catch or hunt caribou on the other side of the river crossing from their camp so that if they have been killing and skinning caribou, the caribou might smell odour or see the difference of land and turn back, or go through a different route. (Aasivaaryuk, quoted in: Stewart *et al.*, 2004)

They don't cache their meat across the river from camp... The other side of the river... where the caribou roam... was kept clean. (Pirjuaq: quoted in Stewart *et al.*, 2000: 274)

[Inuit] don't cache their meat across the river from their camp and don't skin any dead animals on that side... [and] try to keep that area clean of anything that might be suspicious to caribou. (Pirjuaq, Quoted in: Stewart *et al.*, 2004: 198)

Meat Cached by a river turns caribou back. Hunters always watch for these things and they will keep the river clean where the caribou route is, just so the caribou will continue to use the same route. (Andy Mumgark, Arivat, In ITC, 1982: 44)

Yes, our ancestors always had rules to follow even though they were not written down on paper. They would not pollute the land. They were not supposed to skin caribou where the caribou routes were. (Andy Mumgark, Arivat, In ITC, 1982: 45)

Inuit were also taught not to disturb the land on the side of the river where caribou enter the water (Keith, 2000; Webster, 2001: 29).

We were not allowed to arouse, or stir any rocks or vegetation, or leave foot scent, and you do not leave evidence of anything there. Caribou would head back from the most trivial disturbance. (Baker Lake Elder, quoted in Webster, 2001)

When the time came for caribou to cross the river and when the caribou herd started to cross, people tried not to be where the caribou would go into the water, so they would find an area to hide on the other side of the river. (Pauli Arnaryuinaq, In Mannik, 1998: 191)

According to anthropologists and oral history researchers, Inuit were also not permitted to camp on the side of the river where caribou enter the water (Keith, 2000)

People generally avoided the north shore, and were careful not to disturb the ground on the side of the river from which the caribou came. (Stewart *et al.*, 2000: 274)

It is taboo to have their camp within one or two miles distance [from a water crossing] (Steenhoven, 1962: 27)

Some Elders taught that camps should not be visible from water crossings

The camp wouldn't be too far from the crossing, the tents would be pitched up slightly hidden from view of the crossing (Pauli Arnaryuinaq, in Mannik, 1998: 191)

According to archeologists, these traditional rules about not disturbing the side of the river where caribou enter the water is reflected in the archeological record. Stewart *et al* (2000) noted "a relative absence of features on the north side of the [Kazan] river, particularly those associated with camps." They conclude that the "overall distribution of material...appears to reflect past concerns that families who camped near the crossings might disturb caribou." (262)

Elders also taught that people and dogs should be very quiet and motionless at water crossings when caribou appear in the area.

When Inuit are camping at the crossing, they are very cautious of what they do. When they see caribou starting to appear from the distance, they try to be quiet and motionless, along with their dogs. They also keep the tent entrance closed...so that the caribou won't suspect there are people on the other side. Also because when caribou want to cross the river, they look around across the river to see if there's any movement of any sort or if there's any bad smell or odor of any sort. So camping around the crossing is hard work and you have to be cautious about everything. (Peter Aasivaaryuk, in Bennett and Rowley, 2004: 63)

...the dogs were trained to be quiet [at water crossings] (Pauli Arnaryuinaq, in Mannik, 1998: 191)

When I was growing up, my father told me it wasn't right to laugh out loud because it would disturb the caribou. (Barnabus Peryour, in ITC, 1979: 9)

Anthropologists have recorded that Pallirmiut and Harvaqtuurmiut had "injunctions against cracking of bone for marrow" near caribou crossings (Stewart *et al.* 2004: 203; See also: Arima, 1976: 220) These groups also had rules against "allowing bone to lie on the ground where it could be gnawed by dogs" near crossings (Stewart *et al.*, 2004: 203). Some anthropologists recorded that Inuit had rules again working on skins from sea animals near water crossings (Keith, 2000: 61)



## **Dene Use and Knowledge of Caribou Water Crossings**

Water crossings were also very important hunting and camping areas to the Dene of Lutsel K'e, within their traditional territory. The Lutsel K'e Dene also have strict rules about how caribou water crossings should be treated

People would not camp right at the crossing. Instead, they would set up tents, and later cabins, some distance away. The crossing itself was considered a sacred area by the Denesoline and as such was protected and carefully watched. Everyone would be careful not to show arrogance towards the area and would conscientiously offer prayers, tobacco, matches, or other small items at the crossing. (Parlee *et al.*, 2005).

### **Attempts to protect caribou water crossings**

There have been many requests to protect water crossings. In 1974, Inuit from Baker Lake sent a petitions to the Government of Canada, protesting exploration in important hunting areas at caribou crossings on the Kazan River, Thelon River, and Baker Lake (ITC, 1974). This was followed by a series of requests for a freeze on development until land claims could be settled, by both the community and ITC (ITC, 1977).

In 1978, the community of Baker Lake and ITC took the Federal Government to court, in an attempt to stop uranium exploration in important hunting areas and caribou habitat. Several Inuit testified at the hearings. Much of their testimony focused on concerns with impacts of exploration on water crossings. Barnabus Peryour told the court that caribou were no longer coming to usual crossings, that caribou are especially sensitive at water crossings, and that aircraft were frightening the caribou away (ITC, 1979: 6). Hugh Ungangai told the court that caribou were no longer arriving at the crossing at Kazan falls (ITC, 1979: 8). Michael Amorook told the court that caribou were no longer using the crossings that Inuit use to hunt, and that caribou are very sensitive at crossings (ITC, 1979: 9).

In 1995, a water crossing on the Kazan River system was designated a National Historic Site (NHS) by Parks Canada. It was selected because of its significance to the community of Baker Lake and the “cultural, spiritual, and economic life of the Inuit in the Keewatin Region.”<sup>11</sup> See Appendix A for a map showing the location of the historic site. Material produced by Parks Canada associated with the NHS spoke to the heritage value of water crossings for Baker Lake Inuit, as well as the rich traditional knowledge of proper use of these areas.

The heritage value of Fall Caribou Crossing National Historic Site of Canada lies in its witness to centuries of inland Inuit caribou hunt in a cultural landscape with particular natural geographic features, abundant evidence of human occupation associated with the caribou hunt, and animated by oral histories, cultural traditions and archaeological patterns related to long term inland Inuit use, maintenance and activity. For centuries, the fall caribou crossing on the Kazan River was essential to the inland Inuit, providing them with the necessities of daily life and the means to survive the long winter. Once in the water, the caribou were vulnerable to hunters in kayaks who caught and lanced as many as possible. The Inuit cherished and cared for the land at the crossing areas in accordance with traditional beliefs and practices to ensure that the caribou returned each year during their southward

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<sup>11</sup> Parks Canada, 1995; See also: Keith, 1997; Parks Canada, 1998; Webster, 2001

migration. To inland Inuit, the caribou was the essence of life. All parts were valuable for food, fuel, tools, clothing and shelter. (Parks Canada, 1995)

The Fall Caribou Crossing NHS commemorates the importance of the fall caribou hunt at water crossings to the survival of the Inuit of Baker Lake. Inuit groups who now live in Baker Lake depended heavily on caribou, and it was the fall caribou hunt that allowed them to cache enough meat to survive the winter. (Parks Canada, 1998: 31)

The Fall Caribou Crossing NHS is protected under the NPC's draft Nunavut Land Use Plan – developed is banned in the site's boundaries. However, other caribou crossings important to Inuit -- both historically and today -- do not have full protection of this sort. Many of these crossings have seasonal protection (exploration and mining activity is banned during migration season if caribou are in the area).

The NPC held public meetings for the development of a new land use plan in the Kivalliq Region in the fall of 2013. At a community mapping session, Inuit from Baker Lake requested to have a wide variety of areas protected from development. Some requested protection for the entirety of Garry Lakes and Back River (NPC: 2014: 21, 22, 25). Others requested protection more specifically for caribou crossings and associated camping areas: along the Kazan River, near its connection to Baker Lake; the stretch of the Thelon River, between Baker Lake and Shultz Lake; the area between Shultz and Aberdeen Lake, including Qamanarjuq Lake; crossings on the eastern end of Baker Lake, near the channels into Chesterfield Inlet (*ibid.*: 26). At a wrap-up meeting, residents requested the NPC protect and monitor caribou crossing areas (*ibid.*: 32).

## **Part Two – Caribou Calving Grounds**

Anthropologists, oral historians, and traditional knowledge researchers have documented minimal information about the Inuit knowledge of caribou calving grounds. Some studies have documented limited Inuit knowledge of the location of calving grounds (For example, Riewe, 1998). However, these studies have not sufficiently incorporated a temporal dimension into their mapping, and it is uncertain what time periods identified calving grounds were used. There is no documented information about Inuit land use in the Kivalliq region in caribou calving grounds. There is no documented information of what Inuit knowledge from the Kivalliq regions tells us about how these areas should be treated.

The work of Natasha Thorpe documented the knowledge of Kitikmeot Elders about caribou and caribou calving. Her oral history and traditional knowledge research documents that Kitikmeot Inuit “traditionally did not live at or near the calving grounds but rather set up camps along the migration routes.” (Thorpe *et al.*, 2001: 141). She notes that many of the Elders she interviewed had not seen the calving grounds before (146). The Elders she interviewed “generally respect the calving period as a sensitive time for caribou and so choose to remain distant” (146) and said that it was a “tradition to respect the calving period as a sacred time when caribou should be left alone.” (141) However, some Elders she interviewed indicated that they hunt caribou during the calving period (146). As a part of the research, an Elder-Youth camp was organized, with an Elders’ advisory committee to help plan it. When the Elders selected a time and location for the camp, respect for caribou calving grounds was considered.

The Hiukitak River site was chosen in part because it is distant from the current calving grounds: it would be disrespectful and disruptive to be too close to where the cows are calving because this is a sensitive time for the animals. (Thorpe, 1998:405)

### **Concerns with Mining and Exploration in Calving Grounds**

There is, however, a well-documented history of Inuit from the Kivalliq region expressing concern and trying to stop mining and exploration in caribou calving grounds.<sup>12</sup> When the Kiggavik uranium mine was first proposed in the late 1980s, it was opposed by the majority of residents of Baker Lake. In a local plebiscite, over 90% of the community voted “no” to Kiggavik. Residents voiced many different concerns with the proposal on the public record. A major concern was that approving Kiggavik would lead to mining in the Beverly caribou herd’s calving grounds. Urangesellschaft, the company proposing the Kiggavik mine, also owned mineral claims and operated an exploration camp near the herd’s calving grounds at Deep Rose Lake. Community members were concerned that Urangesellschaft would build a road and milling infrastructure at Kiggavik, and then use that base of operations to mine uranium deposits in the calving grounds of the Beverly caribou herd (MacPherson, 2003). The same concern was central to opposition to the Kiggavik mine when AREVA it was proposed by AREVA in 2008. The Kivalliq Wildlife Board and HTOs from Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay opposed the Kiggavik proposal, in part because they are concerned that it will lead to induced development in calving and post calving grounds (Baker Lake HTO, 2015; Bernauer, 2014).

HTOs from the Kivalliq Region wrote to the Nunavut Impact Review Board, opposing Anconia Resources’ proposal to explore for mineral in the Qamanirjuaq calving ground. Letters and resolutions of opposition were submitted by HTOs from Arviat, Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Whale Cove, and Rankin Inlet (Bernauer, 2014).

The NPC held public meetings for the development of a new land use plan in the Kivalliq Region in the fall of 2013. At the open house in Baker Lake, residents said they were upset with the approval of exploration in caribou calving grounds (NPC, 2014: 17). At the elected officials meeting in Baker Lake, representatives from the Baker Lake HTO and Hamlet Council requested that the NPC protect caribou calving grounds (NPC, 2014: 18). At the elected officials meeting in Chesterfield Inlet, representatives said they were “concerned about calving grounds being disturbed by mining companies” (NPC, 2014a: 18). At the community mapping session, residents requested the NPC protect caribou calving grounds (NPC, 2014a: 20)

HTOs from Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Arviat, and Repulse Bay have written to the NPC, requesting mining and exploration be banned in caribou calving grounds. The Kivalliq Wildlife Board has also written to the NPC, requesting mining and exploration be banned in caribou calving and post-calving grounds. Dene and Metis communities from the Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba have also written to the NPC, requesting mining and exploration be banned in calving and post-calving grounds. These groups include the Sayisi Dene First Nation, Northlands First Nation, Athabasca Denesuline Negotiating Team, Lutsel K’e Dene First Nation, the NWT Metis Nation, and the Fort Smith Metis Council (Bernauer, 2014).

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<sup>12</sup> Hummel and Ray, 2007; Bernauer, 2014

## **Appendix A – Fall Caribou Crossing National Historic Site of Canada**

Source: Parks Canada, 1998: 32

*Fall Caribou Crossing National Historic Site*



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