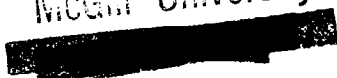





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REPORT OF THE
FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL TEAM OF OFFICIALS
DIRECTED TO VISIT
THE COMMUNITIES OF NOUVEAU QUEBEC
FEBRUARY - MARCH, 1970

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I REPORT OF THE FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL TEAM OF OFFICIALS DIRECTED TO VISIT THE COMMUNITIES OF NOUVEAU QUEBEC

1. Background
2. Composition of the Federal-Provincial Team
3. Terms of Reference
4. Itinerary and Schedule
5. Mechanism of Meetings
6. Staff Meetings
7. Official Record
8. Observations
9. Conclusion

PART II OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF COUNCIL AND GENERAL MEETINGS NOUVEAU QUEBEC, FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1970

PART III APPENDICES

1. Ministers' Letter
2. Demarcation of " The Land " by Inoucdjouac Eskimo Council

PART I

R E P O R T

OF THE

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL TEAM OF OFFICIALS

DIRECTED TO VISIT

THE COMMUNITIES OF NOUVEAU QUEBEC

FEBRUARY - MARCH, 1970

SUBMITTED BY :

F.J. NEVILLE

AND

B. ROBITAILLE

REPORT OF FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL TEAM

I. Background

On December 3, 1969, the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the Honourable Paul Allard, then Quebec Minister of Natural Resources, met and agreed that officials from the two governments would visit communities of Nouveau Quebec to discuss proposals submitted to the Eskimos during the summer of 1969. These proposals were in the working documents prepared by the federal-provincial committees on the administration of Eskimo affairs in Nouveau Quebec. A joint letter (Appendix I) from Mr. Chrétien and Mr. Allard was sent to the Eskimo council of each settlement in Nouveau Quebec to tell them of the coming visit.

2. Composition of the Federal-Provincial Team

The federal provincial team was composed of:

Mr. F.J. Neville	Assistant Director, Community Affairs Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development	<u>Federal</u> <u>Representative</u>
Mr. B. Robitaille	Director, Socio-Economic Services, New Quebec Branch, Quebec Department of Natural Resources	<u>Quebec</u> <u>Representative</u>

Supporting the two officials and by request of both governments were:

Archdeacon J.C.M. Clarke	Anglican Church of Canada, Fort Chimo, Quebec	<u>Interpreter</u>
Rev. Father R. Lechat	Roman Catholic Mission Fort Chimo, Quebec	<u>Interpreter</u>
and		
Mr. Jean-Jacques Simard	Office of the New Quebec Branch Quebec Department of Natural Resources	<u>Recorder</u>

3. Terms of Reference

The term of reference of the federal-provincial team were:

- i) to clarify for the Eskimo population the meaning of the proposals for the extension of services to Eskimos in Quebec by the Government of Quebec of behalf of the federal government(and including the guarantees attached to those proposals) contained in the documents which were translated and placed in the hands of the Eskimos in 1969;
- ii) to listen to and to record suggestions offered by the Eskimos by way of changes to the original or amended service proposals and, where possible, to incorporate those suggestions into the documents;
- iii) to explain to and to seek the views of the Eskimos on the proposals, now under study, to integrate the existing dual (federal-provincial) systems of administration in Nouveau Quebec under one federal-provincial administration, as a transitional measure, pending the full extension of services by the Government of Quebec

It was further understood that the procedure to be followed in the consultations would be left to the judgement of the officials according to circumstances. The time to be spent in each settlement by the team would have to be long enough for the Eskimo population to express their views and to seek information on such important matters.

4. Itinerary and Schedule

Poste-de-la-Baleine (Gt.Whale River)	February 17 to 22
Inoucdjouac (Port Harrison)	February 22 to 25
Povungnituk	February 25 to 27
Saglouc (Sugluk)	February 27 to 1
Ivujuvik	March 1 to 3
Wakeham (Maricourt)	March 3 to 4
Koartak	March 4 to 5
Payne (Bellin)	March 5 to 7
Fort Chimo	March 7 to 9
Port-Nouveau-Québec	March 9 to 13
Fort Chimo	March 13 to 16
Tasiujaq (Leaf Bay)	March 16 to
Fort Chimo	March 16 to 20

5. Mechanism of Meetings

The procedure followed by the federal-provincial team was to meet first with the Community Council upon arrival in each community to discuss with them the purpose of the visit; to enquire if the joint letter sent by the two Ministers on this subject had been received and its content communicated to the Eskimo population at large; and to decide on the locale and schedule of the public meetings to be held. Councils were also invited to appoint a chairman and to nominate a local interpreter to work with the two official interpreters. In all, thirteen meetings were held with Community Councils during the tour.

The team then met with the community at large. These were regarded as being " public meetings " in that everyone was free to attend and to participate.

The public meetings began with opening comments by the representative of each government to provide background and to elicit a free expression of views from the audience. Most meetings were attended by a majority of the adult population of each settlement. In the larger communities special arrangements were made to permit employed Eskimos time-off to attend some or all of the discussions and the meetings were scheduled to minimize the disruption of essential services.

The team counted as a " public meeting " any continuous and uninterrupted period of public discussion of this kind. By this definition a total of forty-two public meetings were held, each ranging in duration from two to five hours.

The two official interpreters alternated in the translation of all interventions during meetings. A third interpreter,

appointed by the community, was added at Great Whale River to interpret in the Cree language.

6. Staff meetings

The team seized the opportunity in all settlements to meet with personnel of both government administrations. The purpose of the meetings with staff was both to discuss the matters described in the Minister's letter and, where feasible, to hear and handle matters of an administrative nature.

7. Official Record

An official record of the proceedings of all public meetings and meetings with community councils was maintained by the team's recorder and is attached. The record is not a verbatim account but rather a summarized version of what was said and done in the meetings. In recording, however, an effort was made to reproduce as accurately as possible comments by individuals, having regard at the same time for the different idiomatic expressions of the four languages involved.

In each settlement members of the Eskimo community also took notes. Tape recordings were made by members of the community in all settlements except one. At Fort Chimo a reporter from the Toronto newspaper, "The Globe and Mail," on assignment from the Quebec office of his firm, attended most of the meetings held in that community.

8. Observations

The official record attached to this report is regarded by the writers, and indeed by the Eskimo and Indian residents of Nouveau Quebec, as being the most reliable and eloquent account of what transpired during this rather remarkable exercise in human communication. The record, therefore, is

the report. However, the writers believe it may also be helpful and within their terms of reference to make observations on the highlights of the discussions that took place. Again the official record is used for this purpose.

i) Problems of Communication

" Some of us do not even know what is a provincial government."

- Lucassie,
Ivujivik.
March 1, 1970

Anyone with even a superficial knowledge of Eskimo culture can scarcely fail to recognize the tremendous problems which Eskimos as a group face in their efforts to comprehend and respond to the challenges of the modern world. Nowhere is this more poignantly evident than in the current necessity on their part to understand the complex workings of Canadian governmental systems which play such a great part in their lives.

Concepts such as "agreement in principle," "guarantees" and "misinterpretation" which are so commonplace in the parlance of government business are abstractions quite foreign to traditional Eskimo thought and language. Given this state of affairs it is no wonder that government officials and interpreters found themselves constantly grappling with problems of communication of a most fundamental order.

The interpreters who worked with the team, and their assistants along the way, were continuously challenged

by the need to find simple, yet precise ways of transliterating the complex terminology in which much of our modern language and speech is couched. This they did however with professional skill, seemingly indefatigable patience and admirable objectivity. But even then, much was undoubtedly lost in translation.

For the same reason that one individual can never know completely another, much of what governments do, say and how they act cannot easily be understood at this point in time by many Eskimos of Nouveau Quebec. The main difficulty is not so much lack of attempt to communicate but rather, lack of effective methods of communication. This problem is not new or unique to Canada nor is it restricted to Eskimo-government relations. It is in fact quite a common problem throughout the world today, but it has its own distinctive flavour and texture as it applies to Eskimo affairs.

ii) Understanding of the Purpose of the Tour

" You are like the boy who carries caribou meat to his father"

- Stanley Ananack,
Port-Nouveau-Quebec
(George River)
March, 1970.

The members of the federal-provincial team were seen primarily as " bearers "-in this case, of information and thoughts, from their government bosses in the south to the Eskimo people and vice versa. On this basis the purpose of the tour, and particularly the role of the two government officials, was well understood.

Each of the communities had its own ideas of what subjects were important to discuss and what order these were to be taken in. Most often, their choices did not coincide with those suggested in the Ministers' letter. As a consequence, the federal-provincial team frequently found themselves listening to matters and concerns of a purely local nature, as well as to other broader issues quite outside the team's frame of reference. This was anticipated, however, and a conscientious effort was made to allow communities to determine their own priorities for discussion and to report their concerns as faithfully as possible in the official record.

In spite of the necessity which the team felt to follow the Eskimo and Indian population into uncharted biways of discussion, however, it was still able to focus attention on the main subjects prescribed for consideration in its terms of reference and to get from the population a reasonably clear indication of its views on these matters.

iii) Proposals for the Extension of Services by Quebec

" We won't settle anything unless we can decide what government we want to be governed by ".

- Joe Kumarluk,
Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)
February, 1970.

Of the many different opinions expressed by Eskimos and Indians on this subject, the one quoted above would seem to be the most representative. In general terms, Eskimos and Indians tended to focus on the principle of the involvement of Quebec in the extension of services to

Eskimos and to veer away altogether from discussion of the modalities of such an arrangement. On this basis, discussions were often for the purpose of clarifying for themselves and for the team why or whether one government should be rejected and the other chosen, and by implication, why the proposals put forward by both governments should be set aside at least for the time being.

iv) Reasons for Maintaining Current Arrangements

"What we find wrong is that the two governments have agreed together on this without consulting the Eskimos."

- Stanley Ananack,
Port-Nouveau-Quebec
(George River)
March, 1970.

High on the list of reasons given for not wanting to make any significant administrative changes at this time was that of lack of consultation between governments, Eskimos and Indians in the initial consideration of the basic principles involved. Many Eskimos and Indians simply take the position that since they were not consulted in the first place, they will not be party now to any such arrangement.

This conviction applies not only to the subject now under discussion but to events long past. In all but one of the communities visited, the population expressed the view that down through history, governments have not consulted them in the decisions made on matters affecting their well-being. Others would go further to add that where they were consulted the Eskimo-Indian point of view was not taken seriously. Mentioned by the Eskimos, as examples in point, were the

granting to the Hudson's Bay company in 1670, by the Government of Great Britain of the area known as Rupert's land; the reclamation of this land by the same government in 1859 and the ceding of it in the following year to the Dominion of Canada; the Boundaries Extension Act, Quebec, 1912, through which the area known as Ungava became part of the province of Quebec. The consensus reached between the Government of Canada and the Government of Quebec in 1964, on the principle of the desirability of having the latter extend its services to Eskimo residents of the province was cited as a more recent example. Following along this line, there was a tendency to reject the service proposals prepared by the two governments in 1969 on the grounds that the ideas expressed therein had not first been cleared with them. The team found it difficult to communicate the distinction between " proposal " and " firm decision ", in this whole matter.

As another aspect of the same core issue, the main reason given for wishing to retain the federal government in its role of provider of direct services in Nouveau Quebec was because that government was the first to work among them. They believe they know its strengths and limitations.

By contrast, the rejection of further provincial involvement, while wide-ranging, tended at the same time to apply only to certain services and in certain selected situations. At no time, for example, did the population concerned reject the current system of provincial social welfare benefits and

allowances. Indeed, in some areas of government activity, such as in the development of co-operatives, the involvement of the Government of Quebec and the sizeable financial contribution which that government makes annually to Eskimo communities in this connection were lauded by the Eskimos and by the one Indian group encountered as well. It seems fair to say, on the other hand, that there was a rather generalized rejection of provincial involvement in respect of education services. Most Eskimos expressed a preference for the education system currently offered by the federal government although it would appear that some participants at least seemed to say " federal " when in fact they meant " English ".

"If Quebec takes more authority in the teaching of the young ones, the parents will not be able to go into the schools. I say that because I heard that. I heard that from a clergyman when I was a child."

- Paulussie Napartuk,
Povungnituk
February, 1970.

The Eskimo-Indian point of view on the matter of education services seemed to be rooted in religious, economic and political ideologies, on a somewhat interrelated basis. Expressed in syllogistic terms, most of the Eskimo people seemed to be saying that they are all (or almost all) of the Anglican faith - a matter of great importance to them; they wish to remain within Canada and in a direct relationship with the federal government, the first government to assist them. They believe that to be French-speaking is essentially to be Roman Catholic; and to be close to the Government of Quebec is eventually to become French-speaking, perhaps Roman Catholic and to be cut off

from other Eskimos and from the rest of Canada generally. The team attempted to provide factual data in the discussions on education but it seems doubtful that the convictions of the many were altered by such an exchange.

v) Joint Administration

" Right now, we don't understand very well the thoughts of the government. These documents are asking us to have only one administration and one schooling system. they say it is too heavy. This is right; there should be only one government and this should be Ottawa."

- Lucassie Amamaktuak
Povungnituk
February, 1970

The general idea of a joint federal-provincial administration of Eskimo affairs in New Quebec to increase efficiency and to reduce costs and confusion was put forward by the team for comment and discussion. In general terms, the idea drew no great emotional reaction one way or the other. Most of the Eskimos seemed to support any reasonable measures along these lines that would result in an improvement in the quality of services and that would increase opportunities for the management of their own affairs. But clearly, most of those who expressed themselves on this matter did not want the joint administration to extend to the education systems. However proposals for integrating the efforts of both governments in the fields of municipal services and welfare were discussed and received general approbation in most communities.

vi) Quality of Services

"We have colds all the time which spread from mouth to mouth. So we would like to have more houses and larger houses as in other places we hear about. "

-David Ookpik
Koartak
March, 1970

The division of responsibility between the two governments for the provision of services to Eskimos and Indians in Nouveau Quebec and the attendant uncertainties over the question of when the Quebec Government would assume the major responsibility for the delivery of services does not seem to have resulted in an improvement in the quality of services in general. In fact the opposite appears to be true. Both governments are working within very restricted financial limits which do not reflect need, including that of rising social expectations. Without question, the need for shelter is greatest, followed by health services, more job opportunities and improved educational facilities, in about that order.

vii) Land and Self-Determination

" Now it is very important that these Eskimos and Indians should have this land for their own. The Eskimos are realizing more and more what they didn't have before; they think that they ought to be the ones who run their own land. But we understand very well it's only that, that we will be able to do. The land question is the foundation on which we will be able to talk about something else. "

- Alex Niviassie,
Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Gt. Whale River)
February, 1970.

The federal-provincial team received no mandate to discuss the question of the rights of Eskimos and Indians to lands in Nouveau Quebec and it went to some pains to explain this. The Eskimos and Indians, however, were not under the same restrictions and in some communities they placed possession and management of " the land " above all other consideration. The directive which the team received to report back matters considered to be of significance to Eskimos and Indians , therefore, is the rationale which the team applies in presuming to comment on this very important issue.

Anyone who takes time to read the record will scarcely fail to miss the interconnectedness between possession of that physical thing called " land " and the more fundamental, non-physical phenomenon of self-determination. In fact both are so interrelated in the minds of Eskimos and Indians that one cannot be understood properly apart from the other.

" This land here is our land. We have been walking on it for a long time. "

- Charlie Tooktoo,
Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Gt. Whale River)
February, 1970.

All who expressed views tended to regard as axiomatic the question of who owns " the land ". Their position is clear and unequivocal. They own " the land " because they have always occupied it.

There were some local variations on the matter of the precise geographic delineations of " the land " involved. The attached map, (Appendix 2) however, marked for the team by the people of Inoudjouac, (Port Harrison) is fairly representative of Eskimo-Indian views on this point.

In the majority of communities visited, the team heard a kind of generalized criticism of " southerners " for their failure to listen to, understand and act upon the views, wishes and aspirations of Eskimo and Indian people. Nowhere was this more piercingly phrased than in the larger communities where contact has been longest and most frequent:

" It seems that when the white man comes in to the Eskimo land, all he feels is the cold. "

- Silasee Cookie,
Poste-de-la-Baleine,
(Gt. Whale River)
February, 1970.

Their feelings on this matter were often directly linked to the issue of possession of the land and to the right to determine their own future. Some see this as possible within the context of the current political structures in this country; others feel it will require new political structures. In spite of the different points of views expressed in respect of how this growth in self-determination can become a reality, however, they were unanimous in their desire to achieve it, by every reasonable means.

9.

Conclusion

" The only way we can fix something better is for the white and the Eskimo to get inside each others thoughts. So in the next year there should be more meetings like this."

- Paulussie Napartuk,
Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Gt. Whale River)
February, 1970.

It is nearly impossible to transmit literally the dynamic atmosphere generated by this rather unique experience in human communication. The meetings bubbled with human sentiment- with anger, fear and frustration, laced with good-humoured, genteel comment and with whatever sentiment it is that expresses the deep and seemingly intercultural conviction that out of dialogue and discussion comes improved mutual understanding, and in turn, out of that, better ways of thinking and acting.

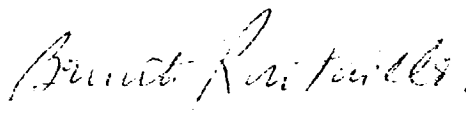
The writers believe that what was said and how things were said in the meetings, to be intelligible, have to be seen in a kind of " mixed-culture " perspective. Some Eskimos and Indians have so completely adapted themselves to the life and ways of southern Canadians as to be almost indistinguishable from the members of that group. But this is not the case with most of the Eskimos and Indians encountered. They are still more " traditional " than " southern " in outlook and ways of doing things. For members of this group, the public meeting has come to have special significance in cultural terms, in recent years. It seems to have replaced the traditional and now almost extinct drum dance as a social mechanism to be used not only to

exchange information and views and as a way of "socializing", but of equal importance as a safety valve for pent-up aggression, frustration, and other human emotions.

The writers believe, therefore, that despite outward appearances, the meetings were of immense value. In this sense they can be said to be both the medium and the message. It is to be hoped that they will be used extensively in the future by both governments, to advance the new dialogue that has begun.


F.J. Neville

Ottawa and Quebec
July 6, 1970


B. Robitaille

• PART II

OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF

COUNCIL AND GENERAL

MEETINGS

NOUVEAU QUEBEC

FEBRUARY - MARCH 1970

- 1 -
Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)

B Mess
Quebec Building
February 19, 1970
14:00 hours

Preliminary Meeting with Indian Council

- Neville: Says that we are happy to meet with the council but that he doesn't know what they would like to talk about. He suggests they could discuss about the Indian Association; what would they like to discuss?
- Robitaille: Identifies Neville and himself and says who is representing which government.
- Interpreter: There has been a great lack of communication in the past. We would like to know what is going on between the two governments.
- Neville: The two governments have agreed that there should be a better collaboration between them.
- Robitaille: There have been meetings taking place between the Indian Association, the provincial and the federal government to discuss means of establishing a better collaboration. We are working to make bad collaboration a thing of the past.
- Neville: Discussions were taking place between Chrétien and the Indians in regard to the treaties, land problems and other recommendations made by the association. Neville himself as a federal civil servant, can't very well talk about the federal Indian Policy since the Indians of Quebec Association said that they didn't want to talk about it for the time being. He says though, that he is willing to discuss current problems.
- Noah
Sheshamush: It was in Quebec during the meeting where the Indian Policy was discussed. He confirms that the Indians preferred to settle the land question before they discuss the policy as such.
- Neville: Agrees.
- Noah
Sheshamush: All kinds of programs have been proposed by the federal government but never realised. The visit of Chrétien last summer allows one to think that this Indian Policy could very well never materialize either. The government shouldn't let people believe in things that do not become true. Housing is the biggest problem here.
- Neville: Would like to insist again that we won't talk about the Indian Policy, but only of current affairs.
- Robitaille: We want a better collaboration. We know the problems of the Great Whale Indians. The two governments want to try to work toward the settlement of these problems - of the current, day-to-day problems, while in the meantime, discussions of principles at a higher level can be carried on.
The people of federal Arctic Quebec administration will be moving into Quebec - to Boulanger's offices. So we can hope for a closer relationship toward settlement of current problems.
- Neville: Would like to come back on the land question. We will not be able to settle the matter of land, but we (Robitaille and I) will work together to settle the question of land as a factor in the implementation of government's housing program. I was here ten years ago and I am surprised to see today how little progress we have made during these ten years, especially in housing. Robitaille and I hope to work together to find a way to solve that problem. We are not in a position to promise anything, except that we will work on that problem.
- Robitaille: We will also try to ameliorate the unemployment problem. With imagination, we hope that we will find solutions. (He gives the Wemindji Sawmill example.)

Neville: The Indians should participate, find ways of participating. Committees could be set up in the communities for instance.

Noah
Mamiamskum: We will talk about education. Those who had the chance to get an education can manage to understand the government. We don't. But as far as housing is concerned, one can't say it is a success for the federal government.

Neville: Agrees. In the future, I hope better collaboration between federal and provincial governments, particularly in connection with the need to give title to land upon which the houses are to be built, will help in settling these problems.

Noah
Mamiamskum: Once, the Indians were not paying taxes as they didn't have money. Now, some of us work and pay taxes, and we expect service from the government.

Noah
Sheshamush: Agrees with Mamiamskum. He would like to make recommendations. When a white man comes up here, he cares first about getting a house. And if needed, a house will be built for him. How is it that the same concern is not applied to the Indian? The Indians were here first. They should get houses first. The same thing goes for jobs. The people of Great Whale should get the jobs available instead of having these jobs given to people brought up from the south. He personally has been working for Quebec since approximately eight years. When provincial representatives came, they promised to give jobs to the people and train those who didn't have the competence to work. This was not done.

Robitaille: Agrees. We will work on that and get to know the situation better. But one can say there has been progress in this instance. There are more local employees than there were when the military was here.

Neville: Are you thinking about any specific jobs?

Noah
Sheshamush: I will tell you. There is a job of supply and inventory keeping. There is also the fire hall. The man working there now (Bedard) didn't know anything about the job when he first came and he got the job anyway. Now he drives around in a truck most of the time. He doesn't even teach the Indians working for him. This man picks up a good salary that should go to a local person.

Robitaille: How did Bedard get his training?

Noah
Sheshamush: He was trained for two weeks by the fellow who was there before him. That other guy was fired, I was told, because he didn't talk French. That is not very good.

Robitaille: Some Marconi people just didn't get the confidence of the Quebec government because they were incompetent. Some people might have said that it was due to the question of French. But the reason was probably otherwise. Thanks for bringing the case up though. We will study the question. We can't very well fire a man just like that. But be assured that we will try to give Indians and Eskimos all the jobs they can occupy.

Neville: Does Sheshamush know other positions that could be given to local people, especially in the federal government?

Noah
Sheshamush: Nothing specific right now. But it would be good if more guys were getting training. The federal government should hire Indians and Eskimos in equal numbers. Also, bigger schools should be built.

- Interpreter: What he means is that a residential school should be built. A resolution was sent to Indian Affairs to this effect. They said no. The reasons were: not enough pupils and not enough money.
- Neville: Do you believe that was the reason?
- Noah
Sheshamush: No.
- Neville: Well, I don't know. I will check into it. Are there any Indians going to the Trade School?
- Interpreter: Local education depends on DNA. Outside education is under IAB jurisdiction.
- Neville: What I mean is: are there any Indians at the local Quebec Trade School and are they happy there?
- Noah
Sheshamush: Yes. It's all right. They live at their parents' home. Your government never listens to the Council. And they do not because the white men do not understand the conditions of life we people live in. As long as they are comfortable, they don't care.
- Neville: Agrees. My government has built homes all over the country. Again, I will not make promises other than the promise to study the question and try to solve the problem.
- Noah
Sheshamush: There seems to be no problem building houses for Eskimos. But in the case of the Indians, there is one. I don't understand. In the case of the Indians there is this talk about ownership of land.
- Robitaille: The collaboration may perhaps solve this problem. At Fort George 20 houses will be built.
- Neville: Now that the two governments work together, we will try to find the solution to this problem of ownership of land.
- Interpreter: Could it be possible to care more for human beings than for the white man's laws?
- Neville: For Robitaille and myself, this is indeed the approach needed. Let us say that we will try to solve the problem, but it can't be done in a couple of years. How many houses are needed?
- Interpreter: 38.
- Neville: I thought it was around twenty.
- Interpreter: Some people are overcrowded in tents. This 38 would be the number of families needing a house.
- Neville: Well, we won't be able to build 38 houses in two years. But we can hope to do it in several years. With your trust, we will.
- Noah
Sheshamush: Our trust has always been available. But we can't wait for another ten years.
- Neville: I understand. We will get at it.
- Thomas George: I would like to say what I have to say. I have heard what was said and have seen what was done. Many people came up here and there were many talks. In 1965, the province made promises that never materialized. They talked about houses. Nothing was done. That is why the people can't trust the men who come here to visit.

Some people have moved across the river, where there are trees, to protect themselves from the wind. The people who are out trapping now will come back and no house will be there for them. No job will be available for them to earn money to raise their children. And this happens, notwithstanding promises. We ask Indian Affairs for houses; they say no, because the province doesn't want to give the land on which the houses are to be built. This is another reason why few people will have confidence in the words of emissaries. So when emissaries come and make promises, we don't believe anything.

That is what I have seen with my own eyes. If people who make promises can prove that they can fulfill them, we will believe them.

Neville: The only promise we make is to try. We ask, once again, for a chance.

Thomas George: That is what we will tell the people. And the people will remember your promise. Many years ago, there was a French company here. They were beaten by the H.B.C. Some people were depending on that French company for jobs and supplies and the company dropped them. We fear that this may happen again.

Robitaille: The Revillon Freres was that company. It closed its factories for business reasons. They had factories in Russia. It has quit the north but it is still a big company in the world. Moreover, while it was a company, it was not the Quebec government. The Quebec government is operating out of Quebec city not France. It has no intention of leaving Nouveau Quebec, like the Revillon Freres did.

Noah
Mamiamskum: I don't know too well if Revillon was supported by Quebec. Sometimes, I have thought that if we offered our support to the Quebec Government, the housing problem could be solved more easily.

There follows a general discussion tending to show that companies have nothing to do with governments.

Noah
Mamiamskum: The Indians know that their problems won't be solved immediately. For instance, we were expecting you guys a month ago and today, again, we had to wait for you.

Robitaille: There was a misunderstanding on the place and time, it seems.

Noah
Sheshamush: You don't stay long enough. That is why you can't grasp the problems.

Neville: We have eleven communities to visit. But we plan to come back often during this year.

Robitaille: Of course our job is done in the south. But we can manage to keep the communication channels open.

Interpreter: When we say something, it may get lost anywhere in the chain of bureaucracy. So that your superiors do not get the real picture. On the other hand, your local employees tell us that they don't know what is going on at upper levels. It is a vicious circle.

Robitaille: Agrees.

Interpreter: Another thing is that we lack personnel at the band office. We would also need a building. I was supposed to act as a liaison specialist, but there is no communication.

- 5 -

Neville: I have a note of it.

Robitaille: We would like to meet with you again, and also meet with the village people, if you want to come with us.

Noah
Mamiamskum: Could it be possible to have a meeting tonight?

Neville: No, it is a long way from here tonight. Tonight we must meet with the Eskimos. But if we meet with your people, we will not talk about the Indian Policy, but of current affairs.

Noah
Mamiamskum: The people here are conscious of the fish and game regulations problem. In the south, they are strictly enforced and Indians can't hunt. We don't want to fear for the future of our children.

Robitaille: There was a meeting between the Indians, the federal and the provincial governments. It has been agreed that Indians who hunt for a living ought to keep that right. Amendments will be made to existing laws to guarantee these rights. People then shouldn't worry about that. The Quebec Government has then shown that it wants to protect the right of the Indians to hunt and fish.

Noah
Mamiamskum: I am satisfied. It is because I care for my people that I asked the question.

Noah
Sheshamush: We wrote to you to tell you that Tony Doyon knows well how to work with us. While he was standing in for Mr. Landry for a short period we appreciated his ways. We asked that he be confirmed in this job. What happened to that request?

Robitaille: We received the letter and discussed it with Mr. Landry. Mr. Doyon has been confirmed as general foreman. Before, it was not clear. Now it will be.

Noah
Sheshamush: Why is it that the Indians get a lesser pay than the white men? They have to contend with the same high cost of living because of the great distance to the southern market.

Robitaille: There is no reason why, qualifications being equal, the Indians should not be paid as much as the white men. As for the high cost of living, we will try to find a solution. That is another thing on which we will work.

Neville: We should stop now because we have a council meeting with the Eskimos later.

Noah
Sheshamush: One more thing. The Indian and Eskimo councils are used to discussing things together. I am sorry that this cannot be done in the case of these meetings.

Neville: We thought that you would prefer to meet separately. There is also the language question.

A general discussion follows where it is indicated that the Indians would prefer to meet with the Eskimos. So it is agreed that the general meeting will include the Indians.

Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)

Federal Agent's Office
February 19, 1970
17:00 hours

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

- Neville: We want to tell you what we are here for. And this is: (1) to answer questions about the service proposals and affirm guarantees attached to the rights of the people; (2) to take suggestions; (3) to consult on the ways to ensure a good federal-provincial collaboration.
- Joe Kumarluk: Agrees with the proposition. There were discussions between the two governments. Now is the time to get the Eskimos' ideas.
- Robitaille: Did you hear about the 1964 agreement?
- Joe Kumarluk: Yes, but we never had the occasion to comment on them. Each time, people were in too much of a hurry to catch their plane.
- Silassie
Cookie: Yes, Now we hope to settle the matter. These agreements were made on the assumption that the Eskimos would say yes. Now, the people think that they can speak their mind.
- Joe Kumarluk: Everybody in his own country does what he wants to do. The white men do what they want in their own country.
- Silassie
Cookie: We want to take our own country into our own hands.
- Joe Kumarluk: The white man came as if he was the boss. The Québec people do not have to come here and tell us what they want us to do.
- Neville: I will interrupt here. The Indians want to assist at the meeting tonight to participate with you in the discussions. What do you think of it?
- Joe Kumarluk: We live in the same country. They can come; it is normal. While you people are here we might as well take the time to get a good understanding all together.
- Neville: We would like you to assist during the meeting. If a question comes up twice, for instance.
- Silassie
Cookie: For me, if a question comes up twice, it is because it was not understood well.
- Paulussie
Napartuk: There will be a lot of people, but most of them will be there just to listen.
- Neville: Would Napartuk agree to act as chairman?
- Paulussie
Napartuk: Yes.
- Joe Kumarluk: There will be many different questions. All we have to do is to take the time needed.
- Interpreter: They ask for consideration of the fact that dialects are different between Ungava Bay people and Hudson Bay people. The Eskimos insist that they will take the time to explain their views well.
- Robitaille: What if white men ask questions at the meeting?
- Joe Kumarluk: Fine, as long as the question is translated.

Paulussie

Napartuk:

There are here many people working with the Eskimos. They should be allowed to ask questions since they live in the same country. But the main part should be left to the Eskimos.

Neville:

We wouldn't like the white men to dominate the meetings.

Joe Kumarluk:

The white man is here for the Eskimo. The white man must listen. We must also listen to the white man, but now is the time for the Eskimo to talk.

Robitaille:

Our mandate commands us to talk and listen to the Eskimo before all.

Joe Kumarluk:

If a white man has an interesting question to bring up, we wouldn't want to stop him from asking it.

Robitaille:

Then it will be up to the Eskimos to decide if and when a white man talks too much. Our report will be on what the Eskimos think.

Silassie

Cookie:

Would you say that the Eskimos have not well considered the problems in the past?

Robitaille:

No. But we want to give more information.

Abilie

Napartuk:

It is not surprising that we don't understand anything. The government people always go through the community very fast. It is good that we take the time now to understand each other. Most of the time, the Eskimos have been following the white man's footsteps like a blind man.

Joe Kumarluk:

We don't have to expect the solutions to come from the whiteman all the time. We must take our land in our own hands.

Robitaille:

Explains the secretary's duties. (Discussion)

Joe Kumarluk:

The minutes could be translated in Eskimo.

Robitaille:

The Eskimo delegate could sign the minutes.

Joe Kumarluk:

Often the white representatives do not say exactly what they have heard in the north.

Robitaille:

These minutes won't be changed even if what's in it is not nice.

Silassie

Cookie:

The delegate will sign only if he agrees that the minutes represent what was said. Sometimes translation deforms.

Robitaille:

That is the reason for the need of the delegate's signature.

Paulussie

Napartuk:

We all live in the same country. We might as well take the time to understand each other well. We are all Canadians. The people living here, Indian, Eskimo or white, must make sure they understand each other well. The interpreter must make an effort to ensure good mutual understanding between the parties.

In 1967 we heard say that Canada was 100 years old. But we have known the government only since 1964. So in three years the government aged 100 years. Now the government knows that we exist - we know that the government exists. There is a confrontation.

Neville:

Should we explain to the people the purpose of our presence here?

Silassie

Cookie:

Yes.

Robitaille:

Was the meaning of the Eskimo letter sent by the Ministers well explained to the people?

Joe Kumarluk: No. It is a government thing, and we have not reached an agreement as to what we should think of it.

Robitaille: It should be read to the people then.

Joe Kumarluk: All the Eskimos know of the existence of that letter but they haven't yet formulated an answer.

Paulussie

Napartuk: This letter was written by the governments without the advice of the Eskimos. Now we will answer to it.

Neville: The intent of this letter was to explain the point of view of the two ministers. We wanted it to be read.

Joe Kumarluk: We agree that the letter should be read to the people. We will read the letter to the people.

Discussion among the members of the council proving that they would rather read the letter themselves to the people. The hour of the meeting will be 20:00 but Neville and Robitaille will come at 20:30.

Robitaille: We would like the interpreter to be present.

Silassie

Cookie: The secretary too.

General Meeting

(Messrs. Robitaille and Neville absent during reading of Minister's letter to Eskimos, but interpreters were present)

Joe Kumarluk: We didn't have the time to read the letter. Now we will do so before the government representatives come.

Abelie: Reads the letter to the assembly.

Joe Kumarluk: Tell us if you understood or not. If you need explanations, ask. Also, give your advice on propositions contained in the letter. When the two representatives come, ask questions, but try not to ask twice the same question.

David Masty: (Sums up the situation for the Cree speaking people). There will come two government people and it is important that you understand well what they say. Often government people come, say something and go, and nobody remembers what was said. Now is the time to pay attention to what is said and to keep it in mind. The council met with them and we said they should also meet with you. Don't be afraid to talk your mind out and ask questions.

Robitaille and Neville come.

Paulussie Napartuk: Explains the problem of the difference in dialect and asks the people who have questions to walk up close.

Neville: Introduces himself and Robitaille.
We both have worked in the north but can't talk or understand your language perfectly. Lechat and Clark will interpret for you and us. Several weeks ago both our ministers sent a letter to the people of northern Quebec. We understand that the councillors read the letter to you this evening. We are here at the request of our Ministers to explain to you what are the new arrangements we would like to make to provide services for the people of northern Quebec. We also want your idea on how these arrangements could be improved upon. Last summer the two governments sent you in Eskimo documents stating how many of the services now given to you by the federal government could be given to you by the province. You were asked for suggestions on how to improve upon the recommendations made in these documents. About the same time last year, the government asked you to choose delegates to represent you in these discussions. Your spokesman, Silassie Cookie, made many trips down south for this purpose. Mr. Chretien, when he visited this community last August, could see that there were things in this document you couldn't really understand. When your spokesman came south he said the same thing. Mr. Chretien and Mr. Allard felt that more explanation was needed. We are here to answer your questions. We want to hear your views.

Silassie Cookie: I will tell you how the Eskimos would like to see things done. We are grateful to see that people were sent to bring information. We understand that this is not very good to have two governments running things. Now in 1970, we should have one government. We would like the people to help us to see to it that it is the Ottawa government which serves us. Not that there is dislike for the Quebec Government, but we doubt their ability to help us in the same way. This Eskimo land, because there is now work, should be looked after and nothing much is being done now. This land of ours for a long time has not been making progress while the Eskimo country outside Quebec has been making progress. That is why we want the Ottawa government. Students who have been following their course for a long time will have to change their course. The Eskimos are increasing steadily; those who need help are getting more and more numerous. Sickness doesn't stop. Now, we understand what the Quebec government wants to do. The big boss works in the back room and won't say frankly what they mean. And we don't find that very good. He decides something without the advice of the Eskimos. They want us

to do things we do not want to do. The Eskimo has to do his own thing in his own way in his own land. This is not the land of the white man. The Eskimo has to be the boss in his own land. And also the Indians. You white people have your own bosses in your own land and we are boss in our own land. What we want the government to do is to do things our way. The Eskimos are not just pawns to whom everything is told what to do. We do not really understand each other we will fight with words until we do what we want. If the Eskimo do not understand it is like he hits his head against a wall. There is no basis for what the government wants to do to the Eskimo. Now, we would like to have a real basis, not made by the white man but by the Eskimo. That is why we want to have a real understanding before the white men go away.

First of all, I think we have to own our land and after we can build a house on our own land. The Eskimo land should not be run by the white man but by the Eskimo. As long as the basis for building our house is not solid, we will fight for it with the government. And we don't want only the white man to come and tell us what to do. When we hold our own land we will be able to fix it the way we want it. The Eskimos and Indians are not to be treated like dogs by the government. It is the way now. They are asked to do things they don't want to do. These white men are not thinking about the Eskimo they are thinking about money. And we think the Eskimos are able to fix a lot of things by themselves if you give them a chance to do so. It looks like the Eskimo land was not born yet. It is not on its way to life yet. So I want to know from you if I am making mistakes in saying these things. It seems that when the white man comes in the Eskimo lands, all he feels is the cold. As soon as he gets in, he wants to be the top man. We know and you know that the white man feels like a boss in our land. We should like to have a better understanding. I am finished, everybody who wants to talk can do it now. We will take a break for now.

Abille: What is taken down in the minutes will be read by our representative.

Joe Kumarluk: I would like to say something and I hope it won't be too much off the track. We Eskimo and Indian should be on our own land and should not be run by the white man. We do not understand everything yet but want to keep trying even if it takes five years or more. If we just said yes without complete understanding, we would find later that it is not a good thing. It has been like the white man was our father. Now is the time to do things on our own. At that time, when our grandfathers were there, they were few, now we are numerous and should take control of our own land. Until we understand more fully we will be happy with the federal government being in charge. On their own land, Eskimos and Indians ought to be the ones who decide on the work. I am not saying that the Quebec government is bad, all I am saying is that it lacks experience and that the federal should be the one who administers us. Although I work for the government I am not caring for my government job. The Indians and Eskimos should be taking charge. This is what I want to say. Opportunities must be made for us so that we can take over the running of things. This is our land and I think it's wrong that some stranger comes and tells me do this or that. The white men who come should not be the bosses. The Eskimos should be. For those white men who want to come and help us, it is fine. Like the white man does his own thing in his own land, the Eskimo should do the same in his land. That is what I want to say. Others who want to talk can go ahead.

**Noah
Sneshamush:**

I would like to talk. Many things I don't understand. First, the land. There is one thing, I do understand. The Indians and the Eskimos were the first to settle in this land. Then the white men came one by one. Who is to say that this land is not owned by the Indian? This land, does it belong to the white, the Indian or the Eskimo? The Creator did not say this people will own that land. The responsibility of the government is to help whites, Eskimos and Indians. The same goes for the land. Everybody has the right to

do on it. I understand what the two governments propose. But if we consent to this, the Quebec government will want to take complete control of both Indian and Eskimo. If we agree, we will regret it later. If me and you do consent, they will consent to give us free help, but in ten years, this will gradually disappear and the Quebec government will make slaves out of us. As a group we can be strong if we can understand. We should try to understand; in effect, in a sense, we would consent to be taken in control by the government. For our children, we should try to understand what we will be agreeing about. How can we Indians and Eskimos consent to be taken in control by one government. For our children, we should try to understand what we will be agreeing about. How can we Indians and Eskimos consent to the wish of the Quebec Government without understanding fully. Without being told the whole truth. In the past, Indians and Eskimos starved. Why didn't the Quebec government come to save the Indians and Eskimos? And now, Indians and Eskimos have been helped by another government. But now, the Quebec Government has the wish to take over the Indians and Eskimos. Why? Because of money. This is all I have to say at the moment. I know a lot of people who want to talk and know the ways of the Indians and Eskimos, and want to express their point of view.

Paulussie
Napartuk:

We would like better that the government people do not talk tonight but think over what we said and come back tomorrow to talk. I will talk a bit myself now. We are happy that Indians and Eskimos have a chance to understand the same thing. In the past, we didn't have many chances to say what we think. So we are glad that now we have that chance. In the past, we did not understand each other and our land was run by the white man. But now we understand more and more. In '64 we heard the Quebec Government wanted to take interest in running things but now we hear more. We heard that the government was 100 years old in 1964. We have known it only a few years on our part. Around 1964, there was a meeting in Chimo and we met Mr. Levesque and learned that our land was under Quebec's jurisdiction since 1713 approximately. We heard about that only in 1964. For a long time we have been here. Now the government comes and wants to run the land, and they came unannounced. Now I will stop to give a chance to others.

Noah
Mamiamskum:

At our meeting this afternoon with Mr. Neville and Mr. Robitaille they said they wanted separate meetings with the Eskimos and the Indians. But I suggested that we have the meeting together. As a group we can share our understanding. The question we asked them they said they could not answer right away. The same should go with what they asked us. We should think about it and then say if we consent or not. As far as the land goes, the Indian and Eskimos were here before. They shouldn't be treated like animals and shoved around. Those of you who act as messengers for the white man, we want what we say presented to our seniors as we say it. Do not say that we consent. We don't. Don't change it. I am in agreement with what the Eskimo councillors said about the land. The Quebec Government should create jobs, this would help the people. Jobs are what is needed here. We don't want to follow the example of Huron Villages; when the Quebec Government wanted to take over that land, they promised all kind of things. But now these people need a license to go hunting. We don't want a license, we want to be free to hunt. These people do not speak their own language. How would the white man feel if he had to go live in a place where he had to learn another language. That is all I have to say. Free for all.

Paulussie
Napartuk:

We will meet again at the same time.

Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)

General Meeting

Recreation Hall
February 20, 1970
19:30 hours

Paulussie
Napartuk:

Last night Indians and Eskimos talked their mind out. Tonight we will listen to what the government people have to say. It is 19:30 so let us start.

Robitaille:

Last night Mr. Neville spoke for his government. Tonight I will talk for the Quebec Government. I will not talk very long, but I will say a few things because my Minister, Mr. Allard, has asked me to explain his point of view to the Great Whale people. I am happy to be here with Neville because now both governments are here together. I hope that this way a better understanding will be reached between Indians, Eskimos and both governments.

The main thing I want to explain is why the Quebec Government is concerned with northern Quebec. There is one general concern first, because northern Quebec is part of the Quebec Government.

Canada is composed of provinces. One of them is Quebec. This map on the wall shows Quebec. To understand why northern Quebec is in Quebec I would like to go back in time.

Before 1670, there were Indians and Eskimos living in what is called northern Quebec. In 1670 England granted the H.B.C. the permission to have trading posts around Hudson Bay generally, including northern Quebec. After 1670, H.B.C. opened stores in James Bay and in northern Quebec, including Great Whale and Chimo. In 1870 the H.B.C. sold to the government of England the territory around Hudson Bay. The English Government passed this territory over to the Canadian Government. At that time, northern Quebec was not yet part of Quebec. It was run by the Ottawa government. In 1895 the northern territory was called the Northwest Territories. They divided it in part and one of these was Ungava, this is what is now called northern Quebec.

Silassie

Cookie:

This old thing is not important. What we have to do is talk about the takeover plans so that the Eskimo can ask questions.

Neville:

What Robitaille has to say is important.

Robitaille:

In 1912, the federal government extended the territories of Ontario, Manitoba and Quebec. After 1912 and until the last war, there were few people from both governments in this part of the country because communications were not very good. After the last war the federal government started services in northern Quebec, especially in 1953. After 1950, Quebec people were coming north for minerals and water research. In 1962, the Quebec Government people knew a bit about the north, so they thought they should administer these people like other provincial governments did. This is done by other governments: Newfoundland, Ontario, Manitoba are taking care of their northern people. The government of Quebec and the Ottawa government met in 1964 to discuss this situation. At that time, the federal government wrote that Quebec should eventually assume administration of services under federal jurisdiction then from 1964 to 1969 Quebec opened services in the north: administration, health, welfare, education, help to co-ops. During the same period, the federal maintained its services in northern Quebec.

In March 1969, the federal government asked if the Quebec Government would administer its services in northern Quebec. In April '69, Eskimos were invited to meet with the federal and provincial governments to discuss this. Some reports were prepared on this question by federal and provincial delegates and were sent to the Eskimo representatives. On December 3, 1969, Chretien and Allard met to discuss this. Mr. Chretien decided that the two governments should work as one in northern Quebec. The two Ministers then sent a letter to the Eskimos in January 1970. (He shows it.)

It was received in northern Quebec at the beginning of February. So that Mr. Neville and myself are here, to discuss the content of that letter. That is all that I have to say.

Neville: We see that many among you have not read the letter and we would like to go over it with you. There are some extra copies here, and we would like to pass them around. We would like the interpreters to read it paragraph by paragraph and to explain everything that you might not understand.

Noah

Sheshamush: How is it that the Quebec Government didn't make a copy in Indian. They knew that there are Indians interested in reading that letter in northern Quebec.

Neville: It was agreed between Mr. Chretien and the Indian Association that the extension of provincial services would be discussed together. That is the reason.

The interpreter reads the first paragraph of the letter and the second and the third and the fourth. And the whole thing it seems. No. He stops at bottom of page two.

Silassie

Cookie: It is pretty useless to read it to the Eskimos. This letter was sent to us and signed by both Ministers without consultation.

Neville: We are here to hear your views on this letter and we would like to have it read.

The interpreter gets at it again and finishes the lecture of the letter.

Neville: You can see that this letter talks mostly about how both governments should work together. In the year to come we hope that the two governments will be able to work more closely together than they have in the past.

Robitaille: I add that we feel the same way and hope that the Indians and Eskimos will also work together and with the representatives of both governments.

Neville: My government will send me to Quebec to work more closely with Mr. Robitaille. There are so many things to be done as you have told us so often. We hope to achieve something in the months to come by working together.

Robitaille: The federal and provincial governments employees working together in Quebec is good. It would be good also if federal and provincial employees in the north also work together more closely.

Joe

Kumarluk: Mr. Robitaille and Mr. Neville have a lot to say about the government proposals. I would like to ask questions to them for which I expect answers. You know what I spoke about at last night's meeting. Concerning that letter, it is too long to read. The letter was signed by the two governments without consulting with us. Better talk about first things first.

Neville: The letter talks about facts. The government didn't have to consult me or anybody to talk about facts. What do you mean by not consulting?

Robitaille: You had a delegate at the meetings and we discussed it with him. Besides the letter says that the consultation has not stopped. That is why we are here.

Joe

Kumarluk: I gave an address yesterday at the meeting. I am still not satisfied. The question stands as to who should have command in this land. The Indian and Eskimo should take over control of their own land. Our first and main concern here is land. When we control the land we can decide what to do with it.

Robitaille: The question of land is for us white men, a difficult one to deal with.

Joe

Kumarluk: We face different decisions here in our settlements. In the past we didn't know who had the right to give services.

Robitaille: It is hard because the southern people see on the map a territory. It is called the Province of Quebec.

Joe

Kumarluk: I am not here to subdivide the northern country. I say that Indians and Eskimos have the right to decide in their land as to what government should serve them.

Robitaille: The Indians of Quebec have sent a report to the Prime Minister, Mr. Bertrand, about the land and this report is being studied.

Joe

Kumarluk: It does not matter what the Prime Minister does about the land. He should first concern himself with what the Indians and Eskimos in the land want to do.

Robitaille: It is not the Prime Minister who asked for it, but the Indians who presented the report.

Joe

Kumarluk: First of all, I would like to know if the Minister will give the Indians and Eskimos the right to own the land.

Robitaille: I don't know. Mr. Bertrand and his advisors are studying the report. The answer has not come out yet.

Joe

Kumarluk: I realize Mr. Robitaille doesn't have all the answers about land. The Minister should concern himself with consulting the people, Indians and Eskimos, about who should have the right to each part of land.

Robitaille: Again I must say that it is the Indian and not the Eskimo who presented the report. The Eskimo didn't. It is a difficult question and it must be studied.

Joe

Kumarluk: It is true that the Eskimo didn't prepare a letter to the Prime Minister of Quebec about that. But they will in the near future. At the beginning of my talk I didn't ask Messrs. Robitaille and Neville to answer all my questions. But I would like to read this letter that I have that I consider very important:

"If and when we get a hold of our land, here is what we would like to do with it. We will present our ideas to the government we want to be governed by. The government we want to be government should know what services we need to be provided by this government. The Eskimo should not be separated from the rest of the world. And our future government, when we have got hold of our land, should provide services before I can provide myself with these services, on my own. I am sorry that it takes long for me to express my views but sometimes people act like they don't understand. I will now take care that I am understood. Once we get the land, in due course, we will learn to run the land, and we won't need a government. We will run the land,

as the people, the way we want. As Indians and Eskimos increase, they will make a strong voice in their land. In due course we will understand the system of Canadian politics; besides our land is part of the country known as Canada. Those people who are fortunate enough to administrate their own land should see. Why isn't it possible for the Indians and Eskimos to run their own land? The government we don't want, we will fight with, we will struggle with words. I am not saying what I just said meaning that we are all good, but that the northern people we should change run the way they ought to be run. I repeat what I said last night: I don't want to be governed by the Quebec Government. If we have it our way we will have nothing to do with the Quebec Government. The government say they have plans but that is not true. They are deceiving the people; they are here to play their own personal game. We won't settle anything unless we can decide what government we want to be governed by. What I say is what I believe. I will not change. You have your own beliefs and will know what to answer to my proposals. That is all I have to say for now even though there are other things I would like to discuss. I am grateful to have had a chance to express my views to government officials who listened instead of being in a hurry to catch the plane.

Silassie

Cookie:

Getting back on this letter I would like to make a few comments on it. Anybody who wants to contradict me can do so.

To my mind the most important thing is the government. We should reach some decisions and perhaps vote on it. Back in 1964 there was this government meeting and ever since we have had difficulties understanding. As far as translating the letter, there is no language barrier. No matter the language, it can be translated. There is a mention of money in the letter. We Indians and Eskimos are not as concerned with money as the white man seems to be. The two governments went ahead without consulting with the Eskimos and Indians - that I consider prejudice, making proposals without consulting. It is like we were treated like dogs. I did go to a meeting but the proposals were already written: they were in the office already.

Robitaille:

The agreements of '64 included a proposal of consultation. Now this consultation has started and it will continue.

Silassie

Cookie:

It is true that the Quebec Government consults the Indians and Eskimos but they do not seem to heed advice.

Robitaille:

Both governments agreed to consult. Not only the Quebec Government. That is why we both are here together now.

Neville:

We did consult. The delegates did ask for a few changes in these proposals. I mentioned this to show how understanding can be reached between white men and Eskimos. Just because something has been written does not mean that a decision has already been made on it: often it is just a thought that is written down so that it can be discussed.

Noah

Sheshamush:

We have had this meeting for 3 hours. We should equalize action to have the Indians offer their point of view. It is not only the councillors who should talk but everybody in the audience who should discuss.

Silassie

Cookie:

I made my address with the intent that comments come from the audience.

Neville:

Noah has a good idea. Robitaille and myself do not understand if the ideas expressed by the people up here are the ideas of the people in the audience.

Napartuk:

From my previous experience in meetings, weeks wouldn't be enough to discuss all that we would like to discuss.

Robitaille:

Agrees. But explains that he will have to leave and visit other settlements and he proposes that we decide on a course of action for the next two days so that not too much time is lost.

Noah

Sheshamush: I don't like to ask Mr. Robitaille to have a meeting tomorrow at nine for an indefinite period of time where interested people could assist. Since we do not know when these two gentlemen will go, might as well make the best out of it.

Robitaille: Agrees. Says that they won't leave before Sunday.

Paulussie

Napartuk: It takes longer now because everything has to be translated in two languages. In the other settlements it will be shorter.

Noah

Sheshamush: I'll get right to the point. I don't want to be run by the government of Quebec. From my previous experience with the federal government, I know what kind of services it can provide. But I have no guarantee that Quebec can provide the same.

Noah

Mamiamskum: In the past when there was a meeting with government officials, the people used to bring their ideas to the Council. These two gentlemen came up here to talk with the people. They should go and visit the families. Mainly those who are living in tents.

Neville: We will be glad to do that late tomorrow afternoon, if we finish our meeting soon enough.

David Masty: We young people try to explain our views in the aim that through better communication we will get better understanding. In a federal election all people considered as Canadians have a right to vote. This right should be extended to the first natives of Canada so that they can tell the government what they want it to do. Furthermore now that people pay taxes they have that much more right to get their voice heard. The right to vote gives a person full recognition as citizens of Canada: in our case the right of citizenship in our own country. In the provincial election we don't vote, so we are not recognized as citizens: are not represented. However, we are taxed when we work. That is taxation without representation. If the provincial government doesn't recognize the Indians and Eskimos as full citizens, and that in their own country, how does the Quebec Government expect the people to trust them then? In 1964 a meeting was held in Great Whale. The province proposed to give services to the community: housing sewage, electricity etc. The purpose of this meeting was to make sure that the purpose of these proposals were well understood. They affirmed that there was going to be no change without consultation. I would like to point out that no great amelioration has taken place since this meeting. There are no roads, so the garbage collection cannot be made. The fire truck can't get where there is no road. There are only two houses that have electricity. I am not telling this so that you feel sorry: the Indians do not need pity, they need help. If the Quebec Government can't live up to their promises of the past, how can they expect us to believe them this time. This is part of what I could say but time is lacking. I am thankful for this opportunity to express my point of view.

Robitaille: Regarding the right to vote, a law was passed last year granting this right to the Indians. The secretary of the IAQ said that the Indians would not vote.

A discussion follows in regard to the next day's meetings.

Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)

Recreation Hall
February 21, 1970
Morning

General Meeting

Neville: How would you like to conduct this meeting?

Silassie

Cookie: I Don't think we should talk about education now before the people who have children are here. Maybe after we have talked about the way we want our land to be. It would be better to talk about all the services. What is important is to understand the way we want to run our land. Maybe this afternoon we can talk about the services. What we want to do is talk about the land matter. We might have to go down to Quebec to fix that thing. As a delegate I am told to do this or that; there is no purpose in a delegate then. We would like to understand better the way the two governments want to work together.

Robitaille: Silassie was a delegate last year; last July we sent papers to the North about what the two governments might do in the future. Those reports sent to Silassie are not definite, they are, again, proposals. The two governments want the opinion of the Eskimos about those proposals.

Silassie

Cookie: We have seen them when I was in Montreal. These documents were figured out between the two governments alone. As the governments are bosses they act as such. The Eskimos are not boss and they don't want to have anything to do with these documents before noon.

Robitaille: These documents were made up by the governments, right. They were sent up here to get the comments of the Eskimos. This is why we are here.

Silassie

Cookie: The way I can see these proposals, they will not bring progress but rather regression for the Indian and Eskimo people.

Robitaille: I would like to know why it would be bad for the people and the government to discuss these proposals.

Silassie

Cookie: Well, right now there are twenty people working; perhaps with the Quebec Government only a couple would work.

Robitaille: If I said that this won't happen, Silassie wouldn't believe me. So we should discuss the documents with Mr. Neville, all together.

Silassie

Cookie: The documents are always very important, but the people do not seem to be important.

Neville: I think it important to discuss the documents since they answer many of Silassie's concerns.

Silassie

Cookie: I don't understand very well because these documents say what the governments want to do. But we should talk about what the Eskimos want.

Robitaille: Yes, but if we do not use the documents, it will be harder. We do want to get the people's point of view but we think using the document as a basis would be useful and we would have less chances to forget what was said.

Silassie

Cookie: (Addresses the audience) You people have said often that you don't want the Government of Quebec. If you don't speak your mind out, maybe you will lose. You should say what you think about the government of Quebec.

Noah

Sheshamush: The people should present their views on what Silassie said; not these documents that were made up by the government. I would like to say

a few things about what Silassie said. In my opinion, I think that the Indians and Eskimos should have their own government. The chief and councilors should represent them. Matters of concern should originate from the councils.

Robitaille: Mr. Neville and myself feel that it is okay to do without the documents. But we will have to look in the text sometimes, because there are facts in the text that we do not always remember.

Noah

Sheshamush: We will decide what we have to do. We don't have to submit ourselves to proposals of the government. If we don't want to be under Quebec's control, we don't have to submit, we are our own government. As far as I am concerned, I want more employment from the Quebec government. Besides social assistance comes from the taxes paid by the people here, we don't get it free.

Robitaille: Yes, but social assistance also comes from the taxes paid by the people of the South. A lot of tax money from the South is used as social assistance.

Noah

Sheshamush: The Indians and Eskimos pay taxes and they get very little back in services.

Robitaille: I would like to ask the people how much money they think they paid in taxes.

Silassie

Cookie: We don't want to talk about money now.

Robitaille: Okay, but this money question was not brought up by the government representatives. It is Noah who asked the question. We have figures about money.

Neville: These figures are in the documents that we wanted to discuss.

Noah

Sheshamush: I am sorry to have talked about money, but it appears to me that we need money for our children.

Silassie

Cookie: Yes, money is important. But owning the land is more important for our children too. After we own the land, we will talk about money.

Noah

Sheshamush: I know that the land question is important but there are things that are as important to me. The Indian condition as far as housing is concerned.

Silassie

Cookie: What comes first is not to build a house but to own the land on which to build.

Neville: Mr. Robitaille and myself can't answer your request for the land today. If you want to put your proposals together that's fine, but we won't be able to answer them now.

Paulussie

Napartuk: We all understand that there is a government in Canada. I understand that there is a government in Canada to discuss the land question. We didn't understand when we were told that Canada was divided in 7 districts before we knew about it. Now there are 10 districts. That is what we have to discuss here. The government is 100 years old. But it is no wonder that we don't understand its functioning perfectly since we have known it only for four years. Then again about the taxes, the people who understand this do not refuse to pay taxes since it all comes back to help the sick and the children. This document that was sent to us should be discussed. There are things in it that we don't understand and we have to discuss them to say what we think about it. So in years to come we must have more understanding about these things so that we can take a stand on them. And now too, as more people are coming

to the meeting. The church people and government people say we ought not to lose our customs and this we understand very well. We understand that the Eskimo can keep his culture only if he runs his own land. The same goes for the Indians as well.

Last year in January, I was with the Indians in the South and we asked the Indians how they were going to do things. Those people only spoke in English. They must have known the white man's way; none of them I heard speak his own language. They are more than ten thousand. We understand how they lost their culture: we don't want the same thing to happen to us, we want to be the rulers in our own country. I was also talking to somebody who has been going across the Arctic to Inuvik and they used English, except when they were in the land. So I understand that if we go ahead and do what the government wants us to do we will disappear as a culture. To stop this we must have control in our own land. Because the people who come here are only representatives and some questions they can't answer. So it would be better if the Eskimos transmitted their views at higher levels.

We are grateful that we are reminded by the churches and by the government that we should not lose our customs. And this we will do so as not to do something we don't want to do. Before we met with representatives of each village in Fort Chimo, we didn't understand very well what to think. I believe it would be better if a representative from each community would meet in their land to discuss the land question. The white man should not think we are stupid, we are learning more and more of his ways. Before we existed as a people and we shouldn't be a joke for the white man. The only way we can fix something better is for the white and the Eskimo to get inside each others thoughts. So in the next year there should be more meetings like this. It is true that Quebec land is very big. It seems to me that if we had a local government on our land, not depending directly on the Quebec Government, it would be better. If we had this local government we would still follow the laws of Canada as a whole so there wouldn't be any split. The Eskimos, like other people, would still have to get help, to get old age pension and such.

Noah
Mamiamskum:

I am in agreement with Paulussie Napartuk and would like to comment on it. The two gentlemen were sent here by the Ministers and we understand that they can't answer our questions about land. Perhaps we should have the opportunity to approach directly the government people. It is a fact that the Indian and Eskimo were here first. So, some of us were not here when the territories were transferred and I understand that arrangements were made in regard to our land. What is taking place has been told to us by missionaries and others. Now that there is political talk, we can talk, because we understand what is taking place.

I would like to confirm what Paulussie said. In 1956, I met Indians and even the old women couldn't talk their own language. So they must have lost their culture a long time ago. If we are not strong this is what will happen to all of us and our children will probably be old when this happens. It was pointed out before that people didn't want the Quebec Government, so I won't insist on that; this is what I think too.

Some people working for the province asked me to bring a question up. There was a kindergarten started up by the province and it stopped because the chief didn't want to let the children go to that school. This was not the opinion of the parents and they asked Noah to tell that to Robitaille.

Robitaille: We planned in Quebec to open a first grade school but a resolution was sent by the band council saying that they didn't want us to open a first grade school. So we didn't.

Noah
Sheshamush:

The resolution you are talking about, I didn't sign it, as a councillor, but I have a copy of it.

Noah
Mamiamskum:

Some government resolutions are amended when needed. So there is no reason why this resolution should not be repealed.

Noah

Sheshamush: Last summer in Great Whale, some Eskimo girls arrived here to be prepared to be trained as teachers for Quebec schools. Why wasn't the same thing done for Indians?

Robitaille: It is because of this resolution. The Quebec Government thought that the Indians didn't want the government to teach the children in their own language.

Noah

Sheshamush: This subject about pre-schoolers has taken too much time already. The matter to discuss here is the land question and the proposal by the Quebec Government to assist Eskimo and Indian people.

Robitaille: Regarding the land we talked about it last night. We may talk more about it if you want. As for the proposals, they are not Quebec proposals, but both Quebec and federal proposals.

Noah

Sheshamush: As I understand from Mr. Robitaille, the proposals are not made alone by the Quebec Government but the federal agrees with them. Why should we be governed by Quebec when we want to be governed by the Ottawa government? At the moment we are totally disregarded by the government we are governed by. There should be equal consideration. At the moment, we are being walked on by the government.

Neville:

Yes, it is true that the federal and provincial governments agreed in 1964 that the government of Quebec should extend services to Eskimos that it already extended to other citizens in the province provided that certain guarantees were given to the Eskimo. You were sent the guarantees; one of those guarantees was that you would be consulted. So I don't understand when people say that they are walked upon. This is why we are here. This is what this is all about. We have not done anything.

Noah

Sheshamush: I will try to explain to Mr. Neville what I mean by being stepped on by the government. First of all, the Indian and the Eskimo don't get enough services. Then, when a white man wants to put a house up, he does. He doesn't ask the Indian and Eskimo. As the records have it, this land belongs to the Indian and Eskimo. When an Indian and Eskimo wants to build its house or tent, he will go to the proper authority to ask for the lease, for the permission, because this land is supposed to belong to the white man. The white man should go to the Indian and Eskimo when he wants to build a house. In regard to hunting and fishing, it seems that the white man fishes where he wants. He doesn't ask permission and uses Indian guides. I have also heard that in Fort George and Great Whale white men catch fish which is wasted while the people here need it for survival. These, Mr. Robitaille and Mr. Neville, are the reasons why I said that the government and the white man stepped on us.

Charlie

Tooktoo: I am living here with the help and without the help of the whiteman. It seems that for a time the two governments have been fighting together. The army people were here at a time when the people were short of food. We are receiving help from the government and if you want to keep on receiving help this is right. I have been visiting with Indians and Eskimos and discussing with them. Only the chiefs have been talking, the people should also talk. Some councillors have not visited us before they expressed their views publically. It might be a good thing if we helped the two governments to work as one. It would be a good thing if you women talked too. The government was not the first to come and help; it was the last. The talks about the past are right. But we can't talk about Quebec because Quebec was not here. The land here is our land. We have been walking on it for a long time. If we are really in the land of Quebec, we will expect a lot from Quebec, maybe twice more than what we have now. The Eskimos are right when they say this is their land. Since the government of Ottawa has been looking after the people of this land for a long time, they should be the one who keeps on looking after us. I have been working for

eight months for the Quebec Government. At the end of eight months, I was laid off. The reason why I was laid off is because I requested a vacation of one week. This is what is going to happen if we are under provincial control. I have to support my wife and children and I am a little guy. The Quebec Government has made an example of me. This is what they will do if they take control. You should stand up and talk and support your chief and councillors. That is all that I have to say.

Interpreter: I would like to comment on the question of Charlie's firing. Charlie was laid off because he stole liquor. But white people steal tools and they are not fired. You will find tools that were stolen from the garage in toolboxes of the whites.

Paulussie

Napartuk:

The meeting adjourns. It will resume at one o'clock.

Poste-de-la-Baleine
(Great Whale River)

Recreation Hall
February 21, 1970
Afternoon

General Meeting

- Joe Kumarluk: We would like to know if Mr. Robitaille would like to comment on last night's meeting.
- Robitaille: On what was said last night I have no comment for now. But I would like to comment on what Charlie Tooktoo said this morning.
- Joe Kumarluk: For the time being, we will listen and we will talk later.
- Robitaille: As for Charlie Tooktoo, the Quebec Government has employees and doesn't pay them when they are on holidays.
- Joe Kumarluk: I think that we should settle the Tooktoo matter on a local level. There are more important matters to discuss.
- Robitaille: Charlie Tooktoo was free to bring that matter up, so should the government representative be free to answer. But we should wait for Charlie to be here.

A misunderstanding in translation is discussed

Joe Kumarluk: I was supposed not to talk much but there I am talking. I just wanted my people to understand that everybody should have his say, not only us up here: so they should say what they have in their mind on the preference for such or such government or anything they want to bring up.

Alec

Niviassie: While we are gathered together, there are some things I would like to say. Each land has its own path and its own government. I would like to say my thoughts about that. The Indian and Eskimo in their own land should have their own government. The Eskimos are beginning to understand maps. In 1867, the Quebec province was at the south of us. Only since 1912 has the Eskimo land been taken by Quebec people. Now it is very important that these Eskimos and Indians should have this land for their own. The Eskimos are realizing more and more what they didn't have before; they think that they ought to be the ones who run their own land. But we understand very well it's only that that we will be able to do. The land question is the foundation on which we will be able to talk about something else.

Neville: Mr. Robitaille and I can't say very much about the land, but we understand very well what you mean by taking control of it. But no matter how much you want to take control of that land you can't possibly take control of it next week or next month. I say this because I know it is hard to take control of your land; but I have talked to people here who are also concerned about problems that you have to face every day - housing, jobs and the like. I mention these things because I see that things are very much like they were many years ago in this place. You know I am from the federal government and I am proud of this government, but I had to listen when Noah Mamiamskum told me that we hadn't made much progress in certain areas, as for example housing for Indian people. It is evident that my department can't accomplish everything alone; we need the help of the Quebec Government; we need you and I hope that we can work together. I understand your feelings about the Quebec Government, but we must think about the months to come and together do things that will change your life. Noah Sheshamush told me what he meant when he said, "Governments step on us"; we agree that both our governments did that. We learned from you and we want to work together with you in the next months to help you do what you want to do. We want to know what you have to say about education, about economic development; and I am convinced that there are people in this room that feel this way too.

Robitaille: I agree and would like to say something more. Both our governments understand better now that the Eskimos of Quebec want to run their own

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affairs. A few years ago both governments helped Eskimos and Indians to start co-operatives so that they would administer their own affairs. But this was only the beginning. I am sure that both governments want in the near future to help the Eskimos to administer their own affairs as soon as they are ready.

We believe that this is the best way to control the country, when Indians and Eskimos get the knowledge to administer their own affairs, instead of white men. Only a few years have passed since both governments started to help co-operatives and now the people run their own co-operatives. So if Indians, Eskimos and both governments work at it, it will be possible for the people to take control of their own affairs. This is what both governments wish now.

I would like to ask Mr. Neville if he agrees or not.

Neville:

Yes, I agree. I don't always say nice things but I look at Paulussie sitting down there and these other men; we believe they are brilliant men and we want to do everything possible to help you achieve what you want to do.

Joseph
Onaaluk:

This is a year when we have to really understand. We want to understand how the population of Canada is made up. The map will have to be the thing by which we go. The name should be written on the Eskimo and Indian land on the 1970 map. Only if it is like this can we be friends with each other. Now we are just getting to know what will be better later on. Our forefathers got along fine even though they were just Eskimo, so the land should now be called by its name. If it is like that, the white man, the Indian and the Eskimo will be friends. But if this is not done, we fear that we cannot make any progress. It started in 1879 that the Eskimos were first told about the whites. Therefore, this date, 1912, has nothing to do with the Indians and Eskimos. So, all of us may have to begin anew now. If the Eskimos have their own land, they can have their own taxes and administrate them. Even though it is Eskimo land the whites have come and administered it. Because the Eskimo doesn't have his own land, whatever the administrators say cannot be believed because the Eskimos don't feel this is their own land. As for the administrator, he is called, "the one who helps the Eskimo", but it is just a name; it doesn't mean anything. I am going to say more on what I have read in this letter here (Keith Crow). It says that the Quebec Government wants to be part of Canada but be more independent. Also that some people want to separate from the rest of Canada. If Quebec wishes to have a special status, then the Eskimo land will switch back to the Northwest Territories. But if our land is run by the whites we won't get anywhere.

Robitaille:

Regarding what we just heard, it is true that there are a few people who do want to separate, but the same situation exists in British Columbia where some people would like to join the United States. But this is not what the Quebec Government thinks at the present time.

Thomas
George:

I didn't go to school so I don't know very much. I want to bring to your attention one law, and this law is not an earthly law. How can things improve if what we care about is the earthly material things. The law of heaven has been in existence and I believe this law. In the Bible there was this announcement that some men would come who would be bright. Don't listen to the earthly officials. Live by the Bible; it will not deceive you. What was predicted in the Bible will come true. But the earthly officials do not talk with one voice; they try to outtalk each other. As time goes on, we will be confronted with difficulties, but if we abide by the Bible, we will stand up to these difficulties. From what we read in the Bible what will be, will be. The earthly officials should do the same; what they say should be fulfilled. Our responsibility is to help each other; the earthly officials should help; they should hold their promises, then will they be believed by the people.

Paulussie
Napatuk:

I am in total agreement with what Thomas George said, but we should first try to settle the matter of this meeting. Thomas, if you have anything

to say that the government, go ahead. Even if it is good to remind us about the Bible.

Thomas
Georze:

We should listen to these two officials here because they know more than we do about politics. From what I can understand the two governments want to work together to help the people of the North. Working as a group would be a good deal to the people concerned. We have said that this is our land, but the officials say that the land matter is complicated. I know this to be a fact. As a result, our discussions are getting complicated because we want to have our land as we think of our children. They can take the land that they need and we, as original occupants, should have our land. In the land that the white man takes he can run his own affairs. In our land, we will run things our way. I think my speech is too unpleasant, so I will stop.

Paulussie
Napartuk:

In any country, there are bad and good people. The same goes for governments; there are some bad and some good people in the federal and provincial government. We should not make a habit of saying to people that they are bad. And we should not tell the provincial government that they are bad. I mentioned that I was in Montreal. Well, I mentioned in the newspapers so that everybody would learn it, that we wanted to own our land. The officials of both governments do not seem to understand really what we mean by owning our land. If we talk about other things than our land, this would be bad because the officials here can only take so much in their head. So I think that we should discuss the land matter. From our discussion, the representatives have said that we should work together, the two governments, the Eskimos and the Indians.

I am saying this because we have to get somewhere with this meeting.

Charlie
Muglucto:

I would like to say a few things. There are a lot of Indians and Eskimos living in Quebec. Therefore, their land matter is important. When it comes to land discussion, it is like they are trying to kill us. The land matter should be clear in favour of Indians and Eskimos. We want assistance from the provincial government but it doesn't mean that they have to control us. Somethings are going wrong with the Quebec Government and that is why there is a lot of discussions. The children are growing and the transfer of education is a serious matter. I don't think the education of our children should be passed over to another government. The education system as it stands is just fine. The Quebec representative comes and tells us things that are not interesting therefore we don't want the Quebec Government.

We look at the map, there is a lot of territory; a large part of it should be given to us. We don't want people to run our affairs in our back. At the same time, we are seeking ways to ameliorate our conditions. I could talk more but since a lot of people want to talk, I will cut short.

Noan
Marianskum:

I invite people to come and talk but not to mention the question of Revillon.

Robitaille:

We can't decide anything about the land question, but Mr. Neville and myself have to report to our Ministers and we would like to know what the Indians and Eskimos meant by "land".

Joe Kumarluk:

The territory above Rupert-Kidlinck is where we live. We would like to own that land and run without interference from the white man, that land. In a short period of time we want to control that territory. The Quebec territory is too big for the white man. In the territory we want to have full control. In the territory we are talking about we would like to manage our own affairs and to choose who will help us to manage our own affairs.

The Quebec representative has asked my opinion and I have given it. Now Charlie should talk.

Charlie

Muglucto:

I will state my opinion even if I don't understand everything although I am starting to understand. We have heard that there are proposed changes. We also heard that we should work together - Indians and Eskimos. We can see changes from the past. It seems that within a day there was a transfer from one government to another. The federal should keep their assistance as they promised. We should be able to see the changes around us. To state an example, I have been trapping for thirty years and even that is changing. The Indians and Eskimos are better off now because there is not much to hunt. I used to get supplies in China even if I lived in Great Whale. This shows the territory I covered to make a living. As far as I am concerned, Indians are better off in employment and we should discuss that reasonably instead of the way we have been discussing in the past. We love our children. The people are like the children of the federal government and the federal shouldn't discontinue its services if it loves us. The Indian people who made their living with hunting and trapping and they were supported by the federal. The federal should continue and reject the proposals that the Indians be passed over to the provincial. Two times there were wars and the freedom of this country was challenged. But the federal is still standing and that is why we don't want the federal to go. Since the federal was the first to come to help the Indian, they want, as long as they live, that the federal be the main government to govern them. It should be understood that the conditions of the Indians are not good. Measures should be taken to alleviate these problems. Further, programs should be made up so that poor people can be working. There are Indians and Eskimos who are not doing anything and this is not because they are lazy but because they have no means of earning a living. This should be solved. In the future, if any other proposals are made in regard to transfer, I will take the same stand. The federal government, as a father, has not succeeded very well and as a father it will seek means of ameliorating the situation. Then it will have good effect on the people. The government should prove that he can help his children, like a father. That is all I have to say because the representatives of the government are important.

Silassie

Cookie:

We should find out how many people want the federal or the provincial to govern them.

Joe Kumarluk:

We will now hear what this old man has to say. And we will pay attention to what he has to say since he has experience.

Sam Masty:

In my early years I heard that changes would come. I don't know how old these government people are but I am over 73 and before I was 20 I heard that changes would come. What I'll say I didn't write on a piece of paper but I have it in my head. I was told that officials would come and talk about land. This is, it seems, what is happening. This prediction was told to me by a person from another country - the first missionary told me this. It was then told to me that when this would come, the people should be strong and support the first government. Therefore, I take the stand of the people who want the federal to stay. It was told to me by an Indian working in the church and by Reverend Walton that we must not yield and also stand by our church. I will stop soon. But I would like to stress that Indians and Eskimos should not let anybody tell them what to do. Although the hunting is not good anymore, I depend on other Indians and Eskimos to provide me with food. I would like to say a few things about the Quebec Government. In my early years, the Quebec Government wanted to give me a house but I said no. Then I went to buy oil and even if I wanted to pay they wouldn't let me have it. That is just to show you. If I tried to get something across to the white people, they wouldn't understand as they wouldn't understand my way of life. And since I didn't go to school, I do not understand the white man. In our council, the chief and our councillors are on a term. Same goes for the federal government. And even if we refuse to be governed by the provincial, it is not because we don't love them. We do.

I was chief at one time. The only person I have seen then was the H.B.C. manager. I didn't see any federal or provincial people and during my dealings with the H.B.C. manager there are not many times as was his point.

I am not the only one who has brains so let the others talk. I don't wish the government who was my father for so many years to be replaced by another government.

Poste-de-la-Balconie
(Great Whale River)

Recreation Hall
February 21, 1970
19:30 hours

General Meeting

Joe Kumariuk: We are going to stop at 10. Mr. Robitaille is going to speak first.

Robitaille: I have been here for a few days now and I have heard many things against the Government of Quebec. I respect what the people think when they think it themselves. I have heard many things this afternoon that impress me. I respect that very much.

Mr. Neville told you this morning he was proud to be a representative of Ottawa. I am proud to be representative of Quebec Government. Now, I wish to say that the Quebec government intends to maintain its services in Nouveau Quebec because the people who live in the North - Indians, Eskimos and whites - live in the territory that is what the government thinks is the Quebec territory.

People in southern Quebec, 6,000,000 of them, are represented by a government and they want their government to maintain its services to the northern Quebec population. I wanted to say this after hearing many people talk, because Mr. Neville from the federal and myself from Quebec are here to discuss with you ways of working together to provide services. I am not very old, I am 40, but I have never seen people refuse help when help is offered. We offer help and that is why both our governments are here to discuss. We are here to tell you that both governments want to offer help to the Eskimos and the Indians. For the first time, both governments offer to the Eskimos to help them gain control of their own affairs.

The Indians and Eskimos present here, I am convinced, will accept in good faith this offer and get started towards running their own affairs in the North. I will ask Mr. Neville if he agrees.

Neville: Yes, the federal government agrees and this is what we have said while we were having these discussions these days.

Silassie
Cookie:

I want to try answering that some of the things that have been told to us I didn't believe - some I don't believe yet: (1) The two governments in their administration will work together only for five years. When the five years are up, the Quebec Government won't get any more help from Ottawa. (2) The reason Quebec is interested is because of the wealth that is contained in the land. (3) If the Quebec Government does not get help from Ottawa, they will not have enough to help the Eskimos. If the Quebec Government has to help the Eskimos, he will need more and more. Since 1964 when Quebec and Ottawa made this agreement, we have heard that the Eskimos are despised by the Quebec people. We also heard that the Quebec people who come as administrators are sent by Ottawa: they do not come on their own. Is this true? This is what I would like to know.

Neville: I will comment on what Silassie Cookie said. Some of the things, not all, but many, are opinions, not facts. As regards item (1), I don't know what that means; where did he hear that? As regards item (2), I know to be a fact that the people of Quebec are here in this community and offer jobs to the people. It has nothing to do with the natural resources. As regards item (3), what does he mean by this? I mention this to show how misunderstanding can crop up among us. I think that we should discuss these things. I have one more thing to say. The Quebec Government pays family allowances and the Ottawa government does too. The Quebec Government provides Widows' Allowances. How many widows turned back their cheques? I ask this so that you will open your mind and consider these things.

Noah
Sheshamush:

I would like to answer Mr. Neville. We all know that people get Family Allowance, Widows' Allowances and other allowances. But we also know that people pay taxes. So the Quebec Government doesn't give you these things free. Mr. Neville asked: "How many people turn back the family allowance from the province." I ask, "How many times do you listen to us when you make proposals, since we are paying tax?" That is all I have to say.

Neville: I have already admitted that the answer to your question was "not often

enough." That goes for my government as for the Government of Quebec.

Robitaille: I would like to bring some figures. Noah said that taxes paid are paid for allowances. I will give you figures. I don't know how much was paid in taxes but Quebec spent \$112,719 for social assistance, \$2,492 for family allowance, \$17,550 for medical services and \$1,040 for other services.

Joe Kumarluk: I feel we should not get mixed up in these figures but talk instead about the land.

Robitaille: We sent these figures to Silassie Cookie last summer but now it seems that the people do not know them. So I have to tell them to the people.

Joe Jumarluk: We have seen these figures and we understood that they were coming up for discussion at this meeting. This help is given to all Canadians. We can find out about the other things later. I would like our thoughts to be understood. What we would like to hear first from the government is what is it going to do about the question of land. I know you can't answer that now but we would like you to bring our question to Quebec and to the federal. We don't want to be told by the Quebec Government or Ottawa Government, "you have to do that or that," we want to be heard first. It will take a long time if the government ask themselves questions alone. The Eskimos and Indians should be asked first. We heard that both governments want to make changes in April 1, 1970. They should not make the changes but wait for the Eskimos and Indians to talk. We should have time to think about it.

Neville: We can answer that question right now. There will not be any change on April 1st, except that the two governments are planning to work together closer. That is the change.

Joe Kumarluk: If they want to make that small change without consulting, there will be a lack of comprehension between us and the two governments.

Robitaille: I will say that it is precisely why, to solve this lack of comprehension, that the two governments have agreed to work together. After his visit here, Mr. Christian met with Mr. Allard and they both agreed, for the good of their work, that both their governments should work together.

Joe Kumarluk: We would like to talk about that so that we know what the two governments intend to do, now that they decided that. That is fine: we will have a good understanding only if we listen to what the Indians and Eskimos have to say about it. Otherwise, we will continue to meet a wall of incomprehension. The two governments will have to meet with Indians and Eskimos delegates to discuss these things. We won't say yes or no unless we have a chance to discuss and understand these things. Even if it takes five years, we need a better understanding between the three of us, Indian, Eskimo and government. I would like to know if the people hold the same opinion I hold. Now is the time for the people to say if they agree with what I said.

The people all agree

Noah
Sheshamush: It isn't fair for the Eskimos to do all the talking. The Indians should talk too.

Joe Kumarluk: The meeting is open to everyone, Indian and Eskimo. Anybody is free.

Thomassie

Audlak: Mr. Robitaille told us that in the year of 1670 this land was inhabited only by Indians and Eskimos. At this time the people of this land had to heed the advice of their own elders. Then, we only have to say who we want and our advice is followed and I say this because the

Indians and the Eskimos agree with their leaders. In this place, we don't have any dentist or oculist. People need schools and employment. That is what we need.

Joe Kumarluk: I will say again that we must talk mainly about important matters first. Things like dentists and jobs will come later. Each will talk. And after those who want to talk can.

Noah

Sheshamush: Mr. Neville stated that the the two governments proposed to work together. I would like to ask a question on this. So these two think that if these two governments work together, eventually one government will do all the administration. This is what will happen. I would like to make you understand. At first, it will seem that the Quebec Government has small responsibility, but then later it will assume full responsibility. This is the intention of the governments and this is why the people are reluctant to agree. It is also due to the fact that the Indian and Eskimo do not understand much about the Quebec Government. But they cannot do without the government and it still is their right to decide which government they want to provide help. I am just stating why the people are hesitant. An Indian understands another Indian. The same goes for the Eskimo, but with the whites, sometimes they lie to each other. The white man doesn't easily feel sorry for another man. We people do and will give things free to somebody in need; but the white man always needs to be paid for his favours. I am sorry to have had to make that speech unpleasant.

A fast and inciting appeal is made by Paulussie to the people to come and really say something.

Charlie

Muglucto: I will only speak a little. In 1950, there was no government here and food was scarce. I ask why our land is a subject for discussion now while it was not in 1950. We want our land to be well organized and not thrown into the white man's hands. The white man shouldn't come here and put themselves up against that, making themselves despicable. That's all.

Noah

Sheshamush: The Indians should come and talk. Each speaker should have five minutes.

Noah

Mamiamskum: A brief was presented by the Indian Association to both governments. This was not done by the Eskimos or the whites but by the Indians. On his visit last year, Chief Max Gros-Louis said he was going to help us get our land and I believe what Gros-Louis said. He didn't say that the Indians and Eskimos could not have their land. As for the provincial, it (the brief) will only say that the Indian people didn't want to come under the jurisdiction of the provincial government and I agree.

Josie

Tookalok: I am not against any government, federal or provincial. If the Government of Quebec takes the whole administration we are afraid that people will have problems finding jobs because they won't talk French. I am myself working for Quebec and there is no problem for the time being but we fear that as more and more French people come, it will be harder to get jobs without talking French.

Robitaille:

I think it important that I answer that. Most of the people working for the Quebec Government can talk English. They talk French first because they are French but they also talk English. I am French. My grandmother was an Indian from Pointe-Bleue and I talk English. Furthermore, since Quebec took over the base (at Great Whale River)

there hasn't been a decrease of employment even if the whites there are French. Actually, it is quite the contrary. Before the Quebec Government took over there were 7 Indians working at the base; now I am told that there are 25 Eskimos and 17 Indians working at the base, even if most of them do not talk French. I think that this trend will continue if Quebec assumes full control.

Joe Tookalok: I will say that it is true that we don't talk French and do not have trouble understanding the white people we are working with. Sometimes we are sorry that we can't talk French and do not understand them. We have nothing against working with the French as long as they can talk English. But we don't want our tools to be stolen by white people coming from the south.

Paulussie
Napartuk: Do the white people want to have more meetings tomorrow or shall we finish now.

Neville: I think that we should stop now. There are still things to discuss. Mr. Robitaille and I will come back at a later date to pick up the discussion where we left it.

Robitaille: We will be going around the North, then both of us will go back to our homes, Quebec and Ottawa and report to our Ministers what was said by the people. We have been happy to hear what the people had to say.

Paulussie
Napartuk: It is fine for these men to go to report to their ministers but it is not sufficient. The Indian and Eskimo should get together and write to the Ministers themselves.

He closes with a brief summary of what is Canada, and what it should become, in the eyes of the people.

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

- Neville: We thought we would meet with you before the main meetings. When we go into the communities, we want to meet with the Council before we meet the people. Did you get a copy of the letter which states why we are here?
- Robitaille: Do the people know about this letter?
- Lozarussie: I was away when it came in so I do not know.
- 2: I didn't see it before.
Some people saw it, some didn't.
- Robitaille: We are here because of this letter so we think that the people should know about the letter before the meetings.
- Neville: We will have copies distributed. In Great Whale we found out many people didn't know about it. We think it's a good idea to have the people read it.
- Lozarussie: Tomorrow we can have a general meeting before you come where the letter will be discussed.

Was this made when the Eskimos were present?
- 5: We don't like that too much. The government papers are always made without the Eskimos being present. Maybe we can talk more about it.
- Neville: Okay. We can discuss that at the meetings. But these are ideas of the government. The Eskimos do not have to be there when the government thinks about something. We are here to ask you what you think about it.
- Robitaille: It is said in the letter that the two ministers have asked us to come here. The purpose of our being here is to discuss what is expressed in the letter, so that we can report to our Ministers.
- Lozarussie: A lot of these documents come and we do not have a chance to express our point of view. Will you listen to what we have to say now about all these documents of just the letter?
- Neville: Yes, we are willing to discuss the letter and the other documents and any other thing you want to bring up. But we found out, for instance, in Great Whale, that the people were preoccupied with the land question. We could not give answers on that subject as it is being discussed presently between the Indians and the Government. But we will listen to these things too and report to the Minister.
- Lozarussie: Fine, but I can't talk about the land now because we would have to have a meeting first to know what the people think about it.
- Robitaille: We would like to excuse ourselves because we heard the people were expecting us two weeks ago. We had to attend a meeting of the federal teachers. What would be your program for the meetings? What time?
- Lozarussie: The people will meet first and then we could have a meeting with you at one o'clock.
- Neville: Where?
- Lozarussie: At the Quebec school. Part of it is used as school but there is a room not used. It is big.
- Neville and Robitaille: Okay.

Lozarussic: The people feel that two days wouldn't be too much, if the emissaries are on in a rush.

Neville and Robitaille: Okay. We will stay.

Lozarussic: I will be the chairman.

Neville: How long does it take to go to Povungnituk?

S: 45 to 60 minutes by air.

Neville: If we could leave Tuesday late in the afternoon in time to reach Povungnituk before nightfall will that give you enough time?

Lozarussic: Yes. We will see tomorrow how it goes.

Robitaille: In Great Whale the first day we didn't have meetings because we were waiting for the interpreter and also waiting for Eskimos visiting P.O.V. Another thing, what about the white people in the audience? It is up to the Eskimos to decide if these people should talk. The main purpose of our being here though is to listen to the Eskimos.

Jacob: If they come just to listen, it is fine.

Neville: We agree. We would like them to be there but would rather see them listen than do a lot of talking.

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Inouedjouac
(Port Harrison)

General Meeting

Ecole du Quebec
February 23, 1970
15:00 hours

- Neville:** Mr. Neville is my name. I work for the federal government. I understood this man telling you in Eskimo that I work for the federal in Ottawa, and my friend works in Quebec for the provincial government. Several weeks ago, my Minister and his sent a letter to tell you that we were going to come here to talk on their behalf about many things. Many of the things we are to talk about with you are mentioned in that letter and in other documents that you received last year. My friend wants to say a few words from his government.
- Robitaille:** Mr. Allard, my Minister, has asked me to pass his greetings to the people of Inouedjouac. I am happy to be here. I was here first in 1956 on the C.D. Howe. I was then a federal employee. I came back in 1963 and I studied the land on a trip with Johnny Inukpak. That is why I am happy to be here.
- Neville:** This is my first visit here although I have lived in many Eskimo communities around the North. I want to go back to what the government people have been talking about and what you have been talking about in the last several years. In 1964, the two governments reached a consensus that, providing certain conditions were fulfilled, the provincial government should give the same services to the Eskimos which they are providing to their other residents. The conditions under which Quebec was to administer these services were four, as described in a document dated April 25, 1969. Both governments have stated this in the documents that were given to the spokesmen you elected to talk for you. One of these conditions was that, even if Quebec was to provide services, the federal government would still be interested and would provide money to make sure that services would be provided. Another was that the rights of the Eskimos to their religion, language and in particular the language of instruction in the school, culture and cultural relations with other Eskimos would be protected. Another was that the Government of Quebec would guarantee the rights that the Eskimos may have as a result of the Quebec Boundaries Extension Act of 1912. This last part is a bit hard to understand but we will talk more about it. Another was that services provided by Quebec would be as good as those provided up to now by the federal government. Another condition was that the Eskimos were going to be consulted on how these things were going to be carried out.
- Robitaille:** What Mr. Neville said, the Quebec Government agrees and I want to state it now. The services of which we talk about are the same that are provided by other provinces in other parts of the country, like it is done in Newfoundland. That is why the Quebec Government opened services in 1964. Since 1964, the Ottawa and Quebec governments have met to discuss these things. In March 1969, the federal government asked the Quebec Government to discuss these things with the Eskimos. Since March 1969, there have been a few meetings between the two governments and Eskimos in the South. Our Ministers, Mr. Allard and Mr. Chretien, have written this letter a few weeks ago to tell you that we were going to come to discuss these things. One of the main things said in the letter was that both governments would work together for and with the Eskimos. The two governments have already started as you can see, but after April 1, 1970, the people who work for both governments in the North will be asked to work together.
- Neville:** In that letter, our Ministers asked you and we ask you now to tell us what you would like us to do.
- Robitaille:** We are here to hear what the Eskimos have to say. After going around the North we will go back South and report to our Ministers.
- Neville:** We have nothing more to say now. We want to sit and listen to what you have to say.

Lozarussie: They are grateful that you have spoken. We are going to try to give you some answers to this letter and we have a lot to say.

Jacob
Oweetaltuk: What I would like to say about the first paragraph is that these things have been agreed upon by both governments without us knowing about it. We have a feeling that it was done behind our back.

Lozarussie
Epoos: We have a feeling that both governments seem to talk as if that land was only the land of the government. They should say instead that this land is Eskimo land.

Robitaille: I understand and Neville does too. In 1964, the two governments met without the Eskimos being part of the discussions. But when they met in 1964, they didn't say that the federal government was going to go out of the North but only that in other parts of Canada, the provinces were giving services to their people and both governments consider this territory to be part of the Province of Quebec. So Quebec is here and the federal government is too. Since then however, there has been consultation with the Eskimos and we are here for this purpose I would like to ask Mr. Neville if he agrees.

Neville: Yes.

Johnny
Inukpuk: It seems that the government of Quebec acts as though it is only Quebec's territory. They do not seem to think that it is the land of the Eskimo.

Robitaille: Both governments consider this territory to be part of the Quebec territory. This land was ceded to Quebec in 1912.

Johnny
Inukpuk: Yes. I understand as I was alive when it happened, but as the Eskimos were not consulted we feel it bad. Did Quebec pay for that land?

Robitaille: No, but in 1912, the provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba were extended. The land was ceded by the federal government.

Johnny
Inukpuk: Just the same, the Ottawa people did it without bothering what the Eskimo thought about it.

Neville: Yes, but the federal government did it on condition that the provinces were going to listen to the claims of the Indians. As we mentioned to your council last night, this land question was brought up in Great Whale. We cannot give you an answer about that, but we can report your views to our governments.

Johnny
Inukpuk: I understand that you can't fix it right here.

Jacob
Oweetaltuk: Both governments seem to make arrangements among themselves to fix their aims without bothering about the Eskimos. The Eskimos here and also other places want to see their views considered and they want to talk without shyness.

Robitaille: This is why we are here.

Johnny
Oweetaltuk: We did so in the past but we were never listened to. It is no good for the Eskimos. The government is the only one who has decision-making powers.

Robitaille: What you said is true. But now, since both governments want to work together now, this is new and we can hope that in the future we will pay great attention to what the Eskimos have to say. We will not take decisions all alone but will really listen to the Eskimos.

Simeonie

Oweetaltuk: I am afraid that if Quebec is looking after the whole thing, it will not be a good. And that progress will be slower for the children.

Neville: One thing said in the documents is that the federal government will still be interested and provide money to the Quebec government.

Robitaille: I would like to add that I have worked for the federal and now I work for the provincial government and I think that if the Eskimos want to run their own affairs, they have a good chance to do it with the province giving services.

Neville: I agree with that.

Jacob

Oweetaltuk: The two governments may fix things to suit themselves. If they carry on the same way we will not be happy.

Robitaille: I do not like to talk a lot but we are here for that. I will give one instance where the governments have been helping: the co-operatives. The co-operatives are less and less controlled by the white men and the governments have helped that to happen. Another case - the Chimo hospital is now run by white men and Eskimos and the government would like to to be run entirely by the Eskimos. If the Eskimos want to run it, they can.

Jacob

Oweetaltuk: We have heard things here in '64, '65, '66, '67, '68, '69 and '70 and we didn't like that. We don't mean to say that we do not need the help of governments, but we want things to change.

Neville: We are happy to hear that point of view. We heard it in Great Whale. We will pass your ideas on to our governments.

Lozarussie

Epoos: They want to feel that this is their land (shows the Great Whale kind of map). Now there is no difference between the south and the north. It is a joke to talk about Eskimo land under these circumstances.

Robitaille: As this is considered by both governments to be Quebec land, I will talk; but drawing a line on the map is not sufficient. The people have to run their own affairs, and both governments want now to help the Eskimos to take control of their own affairs.

Lozarussie

Epoos: It is a very strong feeling among us that the difference is shown on the map, between the north and the south. We would like this to be done in 1971.

Robitaille: Would you explain what you mean about that?

Lozarussie

Epoos: We want it to be shown that the government means it when it says that this is the Eskimo country. This will be better than words or things written.

Robitaille: I want to say again that Mr. Neville and myself feel that if the Eskimo really run their own affairs, that will be good. If all there is, is a line, it doesn't mean anything. It will be good only when people run their own affairs.

Jacob

Oweetaltuk: We fear that since Quebec considers this land as part of Quebec, they will want to run it, even in the Eskimo country.

Robitaille: When the co-op Eskimos visited Premier Bertrand, the prime minister of Quebec himself said to these Eskimos: "We want you to be masters in your own land", and this was told by the boss of Quebec.

Lozarussie

Epoos: We can't very well say where the line should be put because we would have to check with the Indians as to where is their country and where

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is... And this, of course, may not come until 1975 or later.

Neville: Mr. Robitaille knows more about land since he is from Quebec. But I would like to talk more about it. For instance, if you were living in Manitoba, like in Churchill and felt that you had a right to own part of the land you would have to take your case to the Manitoba courts. The same thing would apply if you lived in Labrador. You would have to discuss with the Newfoundland Government, who is under-standable. So there would be nothing unusual in your dealing with the Quebec Government. We will listen to your ideas and bring back your ideas to our government.

Robitaille: Does this line represent the idea of the Inoucdjouac people?

Lozarussie
Epoo: Well, it is an approximate. Some people might think it should go higher. We don't care if the whole land is Quebec, but we want to see some kind of demarcation. We could adjourn now and have another meeting tomorrow or pine.

Simeonie
Oweetaltuk: I want to say something more. About the 1912 agreement, our fore-fathers never heard about it. We didn't know we were part of Quebec. We hadn't even seen a white man. We didn't even know that there was a government. But we knew about H.B.C. and since Quebec was not the first to be here, the Eskimos were a bit reluctant towards this government. The first one who came to help was the big government. We had this feeling toward Quebec. I was with Lozarussie in Quebec and I met Mr. Robitaille there. I was supposed to get some money for our visit there. We were there four days.

Robitaille: Was it because he hadn't been paid?

Simeonie
Oweetaltuk: Yes, when we go away like that, our family have to live.

Robitaille: He was supposed to get \$15.00 a day.

Lozarussie
Epoo: We didn't get paid.

Robitaille: Didn't they get cash?

Lozarussie
Epoo: Yes, two times: \$5.00 and \$10.00. Total \$15.00.

Robitaille: I will check about that and see that they are paid.

Simeonie
Oweetaltuk: It seems that Quebec doesn't have as much money as the big government. (He laughs.)

Robitaille: No, this is not the correct explanation. It is probably due to negligence of some employee. I will phone about it and try to settle it tomorrow, and if you have not been paid, Mr. Huot will pay you.

Lozarussie
Epoo: We will now talk about paragraph 2. We feel that what is said there may not work out. We think that it would be better if we choose our delegates ourselves and not have them picked out by somebody else.

Robitaille: What do you mean by that.

Lozarussie
Epoo: The country was divided without our knowledge. Now delegates that were elected cannot talk for us. We do not know them. We don't know. (Gerard Laprise)

Robitaille: The way it is now, when an election takes place, men from the south run as deputies because there are more people in the south.

- Jacob
- Oweetaltuk: That doesn't make much sense that we are supposed to be represented by somebody we have never seen. It would be better if we had a representative that we knew.
- Neville: I will make a report to my government.
- Robitaille: What happens in the case of past elections is that the candidates concentrated their efforts where there was more people and also they couldn't afford to travel all the way up here.
- Lozarussie
- Epoo: We feel that our representative should be a man from our country.
- Robitaille: I agree. If it was possible, an Eskimo or Indian representative should be a member of the provincial assembly.
- Lozarussie: We say all this and ask that you carry our views to the governments. We don't want it to be lost.
- Robitaille: No. That is why Mr. Simard here is taking note of everything said. I want to speak about number 2, where it is said that Eskimos could participate better in the economic life of the province. I wish to talk about mineral resources which are now under the control of the province of Quebec and are plenty. They are not exploited much at the present time but if the provincial government cannot co-ordinate the development of mineral resources and of the Eskimo communities, it will not be good. But if the province can administrate at the same time minerals and Eskimos affairs, the people will get more economic advantages. The Quebec Government thinks that since these resources are in a land first occupied by the Eskimos, they should be getting money and jobs from the mineral development.
- Lozarussie
- Epoo: Yes, you are right. But the Eskimos will have their word to say when that happens. We should work together, Quebec and Eskimos, on the development of these resources. If this land is considered as our land, then the government should not work on that alone.
- Robitaille: I agree with you.
- Simeonie
- Oweetaltuk: If the people had more jobs, they would feel really helped by the government. If the white men only get jobs, then the Eskimos are not helped.
- Robitaille: Yes, and we are thinking about it. Let us take Great Whale. In 1964, National Defense abandoned the base and Quebec took over. When National Defence left, there were 7 Eskimos or Indians working at the base. But Quebec thought that as many jobs that could be occupied by local people should be. In '65 there were 7 local people working at Great Whale. Now there are 25 Eskimos and 17 Indians. And both governments want this to be done everywhere it is possible.
- Neville: At a meeting at Great Whale, Mr. Robitaille and I agreed to look at all jobs done in the community that could be taken by local Eskimos and Indians. We want to do this in every community.
- Simeonie
- Oweetaltuk: I will say something. It is fine that we get jobs but we fear that we will have problems understanding the French people.
- Robitaille: Yes, that is a problem but our people are making an effort to learn the Eskimo language and most of them talk English as well as French. We would also think it good if the people here could help the government people who want to talk Eskimo.
- Lozarussie
- Epoo: This mineral question would be another reason to have this line on the map, so that it is well understood that the Eskimos have their say in it.

Inoucdjouac
(Port Harrison)

Quebec Hall
February 24, 1970
9:30 hours

General Meeting

Lazarussie

Ippuk: We will see number 4 (paragraph 4). Could you give more explanations about what is said in number 4?

Neville:

It starts by saying you already know the guarantees given to you by the two governments. These guarantees were given to Lazarussie and Sam and Sam told you down south on April 25, 1969. I will talk about the next sentences. The two ministers say that you already have a written statement of these guarantees. They said that the two governments agree to respect your religious preference, your language and cultural heritage. The two governments are aware that the Eskimos are Anglican and that they wanted to remain Anglican. By saying that they respected these matters. They meant that they would not interfere in these areas. They were also saying that they were aware that some of you talked English, some French, and all of you speak Eskimo. They meant that they realized you had your own language and that they were anxious to see you use it as you wish. They recognize that you belong to a larger Eskimo population and that you want to be free to keep your ties with that larger Eskimo population. That paragraph also recalls that the two governments realize that if you are to receive services in different fields from the Government of Quebec that those services should be at least as good as those provided up to now by the federal government. And that paragraph also states that your views would be sought on all these matters. I just want to add that when you look at this letter, you have to realize that this is the way the white man puts his thoughts down. First, he talks about the past and then about the now. He says, "Remember these things we were talking about" and then he refers to them in writing; and then when he is finished recalling these things and is pretty sure that you know what the subject of discussion is, then he talks about how things are now. That is why the letter from the ministers goes back to talk about what was discussed in the past before it talks about the present of the future. That is usually the way the white man thinks and writes. It is important to know that. You should know, too, that the guarantees written down in the April 25 letter were agreed by both governments.

Robitaille:

I will just add that these are not only promises but that they are much stronger than that. They are official statements.

Eskimo:

When we are running a dog team, the dog is not the boss. The same goes here; we don't want to be like the dogs and see decisions taken on which we have to follow. That document was signed without our consent. This bothers us.

Robitaille:

To seek the view of the people, the government had to write something down. In the Northwest Territories, the transfer was done without consultation and the same in Newfoundland; but in Quebec you have the opportunity to express your views.

Eskimo:

Just the same, they shouldn't write letters without our consent.

Neville:

We understand your point of view, but you have to understand ours. This letter just means that the government has thoughts and it writes them down and then says: what do you think about it. But you seem to say that the government should consult you before it has thoughts. I don't see that.

Lazarussie

Epooc: What is said in the letters is fine, but we want to say our views about these things.

Robitaille:

This is the first time in Canada that the Eskimos are consulted like that and the governments really want to listen.

Jacob
Owestaltuk: We know that the Eskimos have met with the government but when our views are expressed they should be incorporated in these papers. If the governments write something and the Eskimos write something on their side and their views do not meet, they will hurt each other.

Robitaille: The governments state that the consultation group is to seek the views of the people and that these views be incorporated in a new document to be signed by all concerned. I agree with you when you say that to limit the number of signs would not be sufficient.

Lazarussie
Epoo: It would be much better if we were asked before we are told. You have to do this.

Robitaille: I have to repeat that the ministers had to write to the Eskimos to tell them that they were going to consult them. When the Eskimos write to the ministers do they ask the minister first to have the permission to write to them. The ministers have the right to write to the Eskimos.

Neville: It is important to understand what we mean by consultation. It is like your council here, which is like a local government. The council can have thoughts and then consult their people to say "do you agree with us."

Eskimo: Just the same it is hard to understand why this letter was signed by the two ministers and not by the Eskimos.

Robitaille: The views of the Eskimos cannot be incorporated before they are sought. Before any final transfer agreement is drafted the Eskimos must first be consulted; they have to say how they would like this and nothing definite will be done without consultation with the Eskimos.

Lazarussie
Epoo: But what happens to the letters written by the Eskimo? We never hear about them.

Neville: You do not get replies to your letters?

Lazarussie
Epoo: No. It doesn't get any results. It is like we wrote to nobody.

Neville: I will have to see but when I was in Ottawa the letters used to be translated and answered.

Lazarussie
Epoo: There was this little man who works for the federal government. When we were at the meetings, we asked him about the letters and he said he didn't know where they were.

Robitaille: This is what happens when there are too many white men working on these matters. It is another reason why the governments have sent Mr. Neville and myself here to listen. And we will keep on working together in the future so that there will be less chance of losing letters.

Jacob
Owestaltuk: When we write letters, sometimes they come back without a reply as if the governments do not care.

Robitaille: You should do like you did for the maps that you gave us. You should keep a copy of the letters you write for your files.

Neville: In the future, you could write to me personally when there are matters to discuss with the federal government. I will leave my address and Mr. Robitaille will leave his, for what concerns Quebec.

Lazarussie
Epoo: We only asked in Ottawa about these letters, but we didn't ask in Quebec. They didn't get these letters there.

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Robitaille: In Quebec we have a file for letters sent to us by the Eskimos.

Neville: I will have to go back and check in Ottawa.

Lazarussie

Epoo: Each year, the Eskimos learn more ways to run their own affairs, control their own money. We do not want to be a cause of a split with the other Eskimos of northern Quebec and we follow the views of the others. We want the government to help us to walk on our own feet. This is what we feel.

Jacob

Oweeltaltuk: We want to have a coherent position, all the Eskimos of the northern Quebec; and this is why we like to meet with the others.

Robitaille: We have visited only two settlements but we can say that we heard the same things in Great Whale as in Inoucdjouac.

Lazarussie

Epoo: We want to act as a people and bring ourselves up as a people with the help of the government.

Jacob

Oweeltaltuk: We know that this business of consultation is not going to be easy. And that is why we will have to meet with others. If we pick our own delegates and if the delegates really know what the people think, it will be good and this will be the way to work together with the governments. We have to meet with others and if they agree with this proceeding, it will be good. Otherwise, if everyone talked on its side, we might perhaps suffer a confrontation with other Eskimos.

Robitaille: Both governments agree that it should go this way.

Jacob

Oweeltaltuk: It will take some time before we reach a consensus but this is the way we do.

Neville: We agree and understand that. So these consultations will be carried on in the future.

Lazarussie

Epoo: (To the people.) We are finished. Anybody who wants to express his views now can. Say what you think about the line on the map and other things. Try not to change it. No, on second thought, if you want to change it, go ahead.

Isaac Smiler: I would like to say a few things about paragraph four. The religion guarantee is very important, not only for us but for the future of our children.

Robitaille: It is important. Everybody can tell you that in Quebec there are different religions. The government does not interfere with this. It is the business of the church. There are many Anglicans in Quebec and the government has always respected their faith.

Johnny Inukpa: The Quebec Government says that it is not going to change the religion of the people but this is hardly believable.

Robitaille: Could you explain why?

Johnny Inukpa: When the Government of Quebec takes over, they will want the people to adopt all its views.

Robitaille: There are people in the Quebec Government who are not French speaking. Some are English speaking. Some are Anglican; some are Presbyterian; some are Catholic and there are some who do not have any religion. The government thinks it has a job to do which has nothing to do with religion.

Lazarussie

Epoo: It is like us here: some go to church, some don't; it is up to everyone. Do you understand?

Johnny Inukpa: Yes. Since it was in the letter, we have been happy to express our views on it.

Lazarussie

Epoo: Now I know well what is in the letter but now is the time for the people to talk.

Neville: If there are no more comments, we would like to talk about the immediate years to come.

Isaac: I would like to talk about the money question. Where it is said that the standards will be kept the same.

Neville: Now part of the money comes from the federal and part from the provincial. This same arrangement will go on. Both governments want to make sure that the services are at least as good. But we do not only want the services to be kept as good. We want the services to improve in the years to come.

Robitaille: In the year to come, both governments will keep their own staffs, money and programs. The new thing is that instead of having people each working on their own side we want to work together in the settlements, in northern Quebec and also we want more Eskimos participating in government affairs. Why? Because if the Eskimos are really going to take control of their own affairs in northern Quebec, while remaining members of the Quebec population, they will have to have more say in government decisions.

Isaac: I want to say something else. It is a topic of conversation among ourselves that if Quebec takes control, the amount of money will drop and this worries us.

Neville: Well here we have to go back to the guarantees sent to you. It is not only the provincial government which says the services will be as good, but the federal government also says that it will see to it. Both governments guarantee that the level of services will not go down. Do you understand?

Lazarussie

Epoo: Yes, we do. But real understanding will come as we see how this works.

Neville: Okay. Mr. Robitaille and myself and the staff of both governments are looking forward to working together and working with the Eskimo people. My government is sending me to Quebec. I will still be a member of the Ottawa government, but I will work in Mr. Robitaille's office so that we will have good collaboration.

Isaac: This is what we wanted to understand, now we really understand.

Neville: We have been happy to be here and we look forward to working with you in the years to come.

Robitaille: I agree. I think we understand each other better than before. It is a long trip for us. We want to stay long enough in each community; but we have wives down south; perhaps the government will allow us to bring them with us the next time. I want to say again that we have been happy to be here to talk with you.

Jacob

Oweeltaltuk: We are glad that you came and we had a chance to talk with you. We feel it is important that what we said here must go on to the government.

Lazarussie

Epoo: We cannot arrive at a full conclusion as long as we are not considered to be a country and as something to take account of.

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Johnny Inukpa: If the Quebec Government takes over the schools, we feel it would be very wrong if Quebec took away the English language in the schools.

Robitaille: When the provincial government runs things with the Eskimos it will be up to the Eskimos to decide what they want. There is a law in Quebec that gives the parents the right to choose the language of their children. And that goes for the English language too. And it will also be possible to get courses in Eskimo and on Eskimo culture. In the past, to some, the people will have to discuss the subject of education. At the necessary time will be taken to allow understanding of the situation.

Lazarussie

Epoo: Things will have to stay as they are as long as the land question is not settled; as long as we are considered to be on the white man's land. We don't know what government will stay. These things will have to be discussed.

Neville:

This is a good attitude. But there are things to be done everyday, and for us it is not the question of which government is to leave or stay. Both governments are here and both will stay here during the immediate future. We are looking forward to working together, both governments and the Eskimos, toward the end that the Eskimos assume more and more control of their affairs.

Lazarussie

Epoo: (To the people) You must realize now that there is no danger and that these people were here to discuss. They have lots to do in Povungnituk and they will go.

Preliminary Meeting with Council Meeting

- Neville: When I, Robitaille and I come in a community we speak first to the council to explain why we are here and generally to ask them how they would like to hold the meetings. Did they get the letter sent out by the Ministers?
- Davideapik: Yes.
- Neville: And has that letter been seen by the people?
- Davideapik: We had meetings where the letter was read. It was also passed around.
- Neville: In the meetings we want to talk about this letter and other documents about services.
- Robitaille: These letters were handed to
- Neville: We are not here to convince anybody but to explain, listen and bring the people's concerns to our bosses. Mr. Robitaille and I will be working together in Quebec and we will be coming back during the next year. We want our two governments to work closely together and we want to get the Eskimo involved in the decisions about the things to be done. Tell us your thoughts about the things you want to be seen done in the general meetings.
- Davideapik: We heard that you were coming and were anxious to meet you. We have prepared and have many things to say.
- Robitaille: We have been sent by our Ministers as it is told in the letter. (Introduces himself and Neville.) We would like to apologize for being late but we had to delay our trip due to a teachers' meeting in Montreal. We have had meetings in Inouedjouac and Great Whale and we listened and took notes. We would like to do the same thing here. We tried to come yesterday but we had to turn back due to weather. When do you think we could have a general meeting?
- Davideapik: We have been waiting for you so we could have a meeting as soon as you have eaten.
- Neville: Will it be a problem for those who work?
- Davideapik: No. We were waiting for you and have been told the workers would get time for the meetings.
- Neville: 2 o'clock?
- Davideapik: Yes. Are you leaving tomorrow?
- Neville: No, we are in no hurry; we could perhaps leave the day after tomorrow.
- Davideapik: Fine.
- Neville: We have talked about some things in other communities and it would not be necessary to go over these things at length.
- Robitaille: There will be other meetings, but we are in no hurry, we will stay as long as needed.
- Neville: We do not have anything more to say.
- Davideapik: If we start at two, we will quit at five, and start again at seven, and stop at ten.
- Robitaille: All right; where?
- Davideapik: At the Mission Hall. That is the only place where there is room for everybody.
- Other: What about tomorrow morning? Nine o'clock?

Povungnituk
General Meeting

Mission Hall
February 25, 1970
14:00 hours

- Neville: Good day, my name is Neville and I work for the federal government.
- Robitaille: My name is Robitaille, and I work for the Quebec Government.
- Neville: We have come to talk with you and to listen to your thoughts about the proposals on behalf of the governments made to you about the extension of services by the Government of Quebec. You already know about these proposals since they were written in the documents sent last year to your delegate Elizassie. The two governments have done a lot of talking about these things between themselves and with the Eskimo delegates. Most of the talking has taken place in Quebec and Montreal. Mr. Robitaille and I are here to hear your views about these things. We are here also to talk about the things to be done in the months ahead. The two governments think that they have not worked closely enough in the past. They think that by working together they will be able to help better the Eskimos in doing things they want to do together. We may talk also about other things you might like to talk about. We will visit all the other settlements and will listen to what you have to say and when that is done, we will go back and report to our respective bosses. We have learned things already from our discussions with the Eskimos and we know we will learn more as we go in to other communities.
- Robitaille: I will speak briefly. First, I would like to say that my Minister, Mr. Allard, has asked me to extend his greetings to the people of Povungnituk. As you know, the Quebec Government extended its services to the Eskimo population, starting in 1962. The Quebec Government started these services because the other provinces provide services that, until this time, the federal was providing to you. But in the rest of the country, these same services are provided by the provincial government. Since 1962, the two governments have maintained services in communities of Nouveau Quebec. Until now, they were working separately in the communities. Now they both have met and informed the Eskimo population starting in April '69 that they wanted both governments and the Eskimo population to work more closely together. The two governments know that the Eskimos want to manage their own affairs and they want them to help them to do that now. It started in the early 1960's through the co-ops. The governments realize that the co-ops were a step forward in self-management for the Eskimos and they want this to be carried on in other fields. They now want to work together at helping the Eskimos to achieve that. That is why we are here to say that and to listen to your thoughts.
- Neville: We don't have anything more to say now, so we are waiting to listen to your thoughts.
- Davideapik: Is it well understood? (Crowd agrees.) So I will talk. Since about six years, we have been listening to the governments, but from now on, 1970, we want to listen less and talk more. Since 6 years we understood well that it is not handy to have two governments. It will be easier for us to go in a straight line with only one government. We don't want a government to bring too many changes, so, since we have been with the federal for many years we want to stick with it and keep the same path. And since we are now getting used to walking on our own feet, we feel that the federal can help us to achieve that. Since these documents were written without the advice of the Eskimos we do not approve them. Many want to talk so it is up to them.
- Inukpa
Kumarluk: I will talk about our views on these documents. We don't believe too much in these documents since we do not know too much about those who signed it. Without the advice of the Eskimos, we don't give them much value. That is all I want to say for now, but I might have more to say later.
- Peter Naujark: I haven't always been a spokesman but I will talk anyway. We do not despise anybody on earth. But we have a feeling that we are treated like animals which is why we have come to some opposition to you. We

have a good understanding of these documents but since they were made without our advice, we do not think much of them.

Markuassie

Makimak:

I have been taken on as a spokesman and I will try to say things the right way. The Eskimos have been trampled underneath. The only way for the Eskimos and the governments to get along well is for that government far away from us to consult us. These other people living on the land (i.e. land-based Eskimos) and we who live in the community have not been understanding each other although we do not despise anybody. This place is supposed to be part of Quebec even though our elders were not consulted about it. The people who have been taken outside by the governments should come back and explain to their people before any decision is taken down there. As it is well known in the white society, you have to go to the top level of government if you want to see something done. This is what we want to do. Since the Eskimos have never been able to do this, we feel that we were not treated right.

Peter

Anauktak:

I am going to speak a bit now, and I may make a few mistakes. I want to follow what has been decided by our own leaders. It is as if the white man takes decisions about the Eskimo and the Eskimo doesn't know what is decided. For us, this will seem really our land if we are taken into the decisions taken about us and our land.

Thomassie

Kumak:

I am an old councillor. I want to make you understand what the others have said. The only thing that we would consider proper would be if we were sitting with the whites when decisions about our land are taken. We don't know the white man's land and we don't know the white man's ways. Our land is very cold; it is different from the white man's land, and because of differences, we want to sit with the white man when decisions are taken about our land.

Elijah:

I am also a councillor of long standing. Although I can't speak very well, I will talk a bit. This is our land; we have been talking among ourselves all over this land about having our own government, about managing our affairs. We have not been consulted and we are treated like dogs and this is the reason for opposition. We do not understand the white man's way but we know that in his land he stands on his own feet.

Moosessie

Ettu:

I have always listened to the council as if it was today. The Eskimos are saying among themselves never mind the opposition between Quebec and Ottawa, we have to care for our own land. We don't even fear death to achieve our means.

Mathewssie:

I am not a member of the council but I am a member of the co-op board of directors. We can say a lot about our aims; so you will hear about things that do not seem to make any sense to you. You may think it doesn't make sense at the moment but we want to talk about our objectives. This is the land of our birth and the foundation for our life. We want it to stay our land. We want to get up on our own feet in our own land, even if it is cold, even if there is no wood, even if there is nothing, we want to build our future on it.

Elijahssie:

I am not going to say much since I am a new member of the council but I will say a few things. It is not on purpose that we may arrive at a confrontation but even if it is sometimes unpleasant you will have to listen to it. We had a few meetings with the government but they didn't seem to understand very well. So we will try to give a reply to these documents that I brought back from Quebec City. Those documents have been made without a real consultation and this is why we now have some opposition. It is not on purpose that we have confrontation because you didn't seem to understand when we told you that we were opposed. So we will talk about it now. Now you will realize that the Eskimos are looking ahead of themselves. The people perhaps seemed

to be wandering around like animals but you will see that now we really think ahead of ourselves like you. Do not blame me for what I will say because this is the idea of the people. And in the past, we talked to the government people but they didn't seem to understand. So we will now talk until you understand.

I work at the co-op. The co-op I am working for is standing on its feet now and we realize that the Eskimos now have to stand on their feet too. I do not make any difference between the French or the English. I will say what I have in my head since it is the best way to be understood. I like to be friend with all the white men on our land. But some of the whites here do not seem to be willing to be friends with us. And we should be only with one government. If I am following the idea of the others, it is because some people here do not seem to like us, so I now stick with the others. We have a lot to say and we may talk again tomorrow or later and I can say that we will be in opposition with you, no doubt about it. I am finished now but that is not the end of what you will have to hear.

Davideapik: Since I have been elected chief, I will talk now. We think that Eskimos and whites should be on the same level and that some shouldn't be over the others. It has not been going that way and now Povungnituk is split into pieces. This is what we and some whites think. You might have heard in the past that Povungnituk is split and it is so because some do not want to listen to what I have to say.

Harry: I have worked for D.N.A. and because I am working for them, I am generally happy. But my work and my thoughts do not go together. In the past we have just been told "come on!" by white men and we don't want this to keep on. This is the reason why I think one government would be better. To have only one government will follow the Eskimo thoughts. We come into opposition with people who come from the south and do not want to listen to our thoughts. We will tell you what we think of having two governments and two schools.

Mathewssie: I want to talk about the two governments and two schools. We had for a while administrators and teachers from the federal government before we had anybody from Quebec. Though we had the people from the federal government for a good while, we had nothing to say against them and we have the Quebec school and there is nothing wrong about them. We were very happy when they first came. We want to know if it is the idea of the Quebec Government to send the teachers that are here. Now that we have seen for a certain period of time what is happening in the provincial schools, we understand what the future will be like and the same goes for the provincial teachers. Those that are from Quebec, the French Quebecers, are coming more than the English Canadians. When they first came they seemed to be very friendly with the Eskimos. The Quebec teaching staff meet together to discuss what is wrong with the Eskimos without Eskimos being part of the discussion. We don't think this is very good that some people decide about the people of this land alone on their side. We do not find it very good for the Quebecers to find something wrong about other people without even meeting with us. And now, although we try very hard to make friends with the Quebec staff among us, they do not respond and even though they are here they do not seem to be here. They were not like that before but they have been made like that by one man.

Peter Naujark: Though we are the one speaking, we do not speak for ourselves but we express what the others think. You are here to listen, so we will not hide anything from you. It is alright with us who comes here - Quebec people or other Canadians. Although we are not part of the discussion in which these people determine what is wrong for us, we know it is happening. And this is bad for our children. When the Ottawa staff were here alone, there was no problem and the same was true when the Quebec people first came. And this has been done by one man only. There are two people who met here together to discuss what was wrong with the Eskimos without the Eskimos knowing about it. I will change the subject now.

Neville: We would like to know the names of these two people.

Noah: It is Father Steinsmann. He had meetings with somebody else.

- Robitaille: He was saying that there were teaching staff of the Quebec Government at these meetings, but now we understand it was Steinmann. Was there anybody from the Quebec teaching staff?
- Peter Naujark: We will stop this discussion now and go to more general matters.
- Robitaille: All right, but when the Eskimos mention people and do not mention names, we have trouble understanding.
- Peter Naujark: We have so many things to say that sometimes we go off the track.
- Joe
Tarinuliik: I am the old man of Povungnituk so I will speak. I will talk about what the Povungnitumiut are thinking. We do not want to be moved to another outfit than the faith we were brought into. All of us are not always right, but we feel we have to do things the Eskimo way. As the provincial government will be taking over all the schools, we can't be anything but Anglicans; and if the old government and the old schools are replaced, we don't even know what our children will be taught. Even though we didn't get any schooling we grew up and lived here. The children will not stop going to school if the old schools stay here. These old schools were the ones we were happy with.
- Paulussie
Khanaluk: Although I am not a spokesman I will talk, The Eskimo way of life is not to be lost, the way the children are taught in the provincial schools. If the Eskimo life is not to be lost, I am satisfied with the provincial school. Although I do not know too much, I will say what I have to say. I am not very useful in our land and I want to understand why I am considered as not useful. There are people who want the federal government and some who want the provincial. I am not afraid to see the provincial take over since I do not know what will happen. It is not very good when one man is happy the way it goes and another one is not. People should not be made afraid by what the others think. I do think the federal and provincial governments are working separately but that they are trying to work together. This I understand from the documents and from what has been told to us by the delegates. I don't mind if I make a mistake if we say we want to keep our culture. It is useful for the Eskimos to be taught in their own language, no matter what government does it. I am not against or with any government. Since I do not have a house or electricity, I am not led by interest. Maybe my words will not please some in the assembly but I don't care if some don't like me. I will try to answer what was said by Paulussie Khanaluk. The documents say it is very expensive to operate two kind of schools and two administrations and they also say that this is not very good to have this double system. Maybe it would be better if there was only one administration and one school principal. This is the same way I think. We agree with that. If the children who have been taught in one school have to move in another school, what they learned in one ear will come out at the other and having two systems is not good. If we talked about general matters, it would be better than talking about personal matters.
- Robitaille: It is not us but the Eskimo who talked about personal matters. We are talking about this document. The children who are taught in English will not be moved.
- Eskimo: This is the way we are thinking. Do you understand what I said (to the people) ? Those who want the English school raise their hands. (A great majority does)
- Neville: Mr. Robitaille and I were listening and we have seen the hands. But we have to say that an English school doesn't necessarily mean a federal school. There are many English speaking students following the English system in the Province of Quebec.
- Robitaille: I have seen many hands raised in this hall, but I am wondering if the Eskimos here think about the importance of having their children taught in their language at least in the first grades. The Eskimos here and the Eskimos of Inouedjouac and Great Whale have been telling us they want to control their own affairs but if the language is not taught

in the schools, do you think you will remain Eskimos and different from the white man. I have seen many hands raised but I think that this is a question too important to decide in a little time. If the Eskimos want to remain Eskimos, they have to think about their language not only at home but in the schools too. What we hear here is different from what is said in Alaska and the Northwest Territories. The people there are now asking to be taught in Eskimo.

Neville: I think this is very important and I will ask, with Mr. Robitaille, that you take plenty of time before you decide to throw away your language.

Thomassie
Kumak: It is not going to work between the Quebec teachers and those of us who want to be friend with them if they keep on acting this way. If they want to say what is wrong with us, we will discuss it and fix it. We are here together and should work together to build the community. If they won't tell me what is wrong with us, I can't do anything.

Robitaille: I will talk to the teachers about that, but as long as the Eskimos don't control their schools, it won't be good. We are training teachers in Great Whale for this purpose. So then, the Eskimos will control their own schools.

Thomassie
Kumak: Even if some people do not want to hear me, I will not take my children away from school. It doesn't matter to me which government is here, but if it keeps on going like it is now, it won't suit me.

Danielle
Kumak: I am foolish, but I will say something anyway. We, the true people here, want our ideas to be brought to the ears of the top people. I went to the first school; it was the first here and this is the one I want. The federal day school starts at nine in the morning and when they get home at night, they are taught by their parents about the Eskimo way. I do not want the federal school stopped. We don't want the decision about this made without the Eskimos being consulted about it.

Davideapik: We will stop now and will come back at 7 o'clock.

Neville: Mr. Robitaille and I have listened. Will we be able to comment on these matters tonight?

Crowd: Yes.

Povungnituk
General Meeting

R.C. Mission Hall
February 25, 1970
19:00 hours

Robitaille: The Eskimos have told us we could comment on what was said this afternoon. I would like to talk about land. I would like to go back in time to explain what the white man thinks about Nouveau Quebec. Before 1670 in what is now northern Quebec there were only Indians and Eskimos living on that land: no white men. In 1670, the British Government granted to the H.B.C. the right to trade in this territory. I will show (like this) the H.B.C. territory on the Canada map. The H.B.C. opened stores at the bottom of James Bay and then around Richmond Gulf, Great Whale and Chimo. In 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company sold the land to the English Government and this government gave it to Canada. In 1912, the Government of Canada enlarged northward the territories of three provinces, Ontario, Manitoba, Quebec. Before 1912, these provinces were only the southern part, but the Government of Canada enlarged the land areas. (Shows on the map) This is, in 1970, what the Government of Canada and the Government of Quebec think about the land. I said that so that the people would understand why the federal government wants Quebec to extend its services in northern Quebec. It is because the governments consider it as part of Quebec Province. This is what I had to say.

Neville: I would like to add something to what Mr. Robitaille said - that the governments feel this territory belongs to Quebec - and I would like to talk about provincial government's duties. When this country was put up, some powers were given to the federal government and some to provincial governments. The provincial governments were given responsibility for health and education, to give a few examples. That is why the provincial governments are now responsible for education programs and pass the laws in regard to education, health, social welfare, and other things. And even if the federal government gives services (as it is now here) in the fields of health, or education, they do it following the laws of the province. You know that some Eskimos are studying in federal schools in Manitoba, in Churchill. Well, the education there has to follow the Manitoba programs. As soon as the province of Manitoba is able to give these services itself to these Eskimos, the federal will want it to do so. This is the way it is all across Canada; it is the case in Manitoba; it is the case here in Quebec. The province of Quebec has the duty to provide education services. I gave this example to make you understand that the same situation you find here, you will find in other provinces as well. The provinces are interested in all these fields of endeavour and in all the people in their territory. All across Canada the Indians are less and less taught by our department, because the provincial systems are better. I say this to help you with your thoughts.

Davideapik: This is the first time we understand about this land business. Before there were times when people starved and many things happened that we were afraid of. We cannot run the lives of the people of Quebec and we feel the Quebec Government should not run our lives. Without us knowing about it, the school system of the province was set up and when the school personnel came, it was like this.

I don't like that. You say the northern part of the province is our land and we are the ones who have walked on it, and they are teaching our children things we do not want them to be taught. We do not despise anybody, but we don't want to be turned off from our goal.

**Inukpuk
Kumaluk:**

I want to talk to both of you (Neville and Robitaille). I want to talk about this map too. We are not going to lose our own way of life. Each province has its own government on its own land; our land can be one just the same. The Eskimos have eyes and ears like the white man and the Eskimo has to stand up in his own land by himself. The Eskimo has to run his own land without being run by governments. We don't despise either Quebec or Ottawa; but the Eskimo has to get on his own feet on his own because he lives in his own land and not in Quebec.

We can't be governed by the whites. We don't want any pushing. The white people want to change things in our land without even telling us about these changes. The government very often acts as though the people didn't have any thoughts in their heads, because they do not come to the Eskimo. I want to remind you that Quebec and Ottawa should not forget that the Eskimo wants to run his own land; that it cannot be separated. The provinces are all divided into their own territory; here, also, it could be done. The things we were waiting for have finally happened in 1970.

We are considered to have heads empty of thoughts by both governments but we will not give this land to the white man because it is our land. The governments seem to think that the Eskimos are not thinking about the future because they have never sought our ideas. Now the education is supposed to be the most important thing; it can be fixed later on. The important thing is that our land be not run by any white man. Please get this straight; even though we don't think now about the land resources, they can be fixed later. The question of land has to be fixed first before we go on to other things.

Neville: I want to say that the federal government is interested in the land question but I do not know much about. I will ask Mr. Robitaille to talk.

Robitaille: Since I am a representative of the Quebec Government where this territory is situated, I feel it my duty to talk. As we said this afternoon, both governments understand that the Eskimo want to run their own affairs. We also understand that they need the help of governments to do that. People can draw a line but it doesn't mean anything if they don't control their own affairs. What they have to do is to take control of their own affairs. So that we understand each other, I would like to give an example. Around 1960, the Eskimos wanted to have a co-op but they didn't have much money. So both governments decided to help the Eskimos to have their co-ops. The first years, the Eskimos were not running their co-op, the white men were; but they gradually learned co-op business and now they do run their co-ops. But without the help of governments, the Eskimos would not run their co-ops. I know that for the Quebec Government, since 1963, we have loaned or granted more than \$600,000 to the co-ops, and the government has also helped the co-ops like the building of this school here. So if the Eskimo had not received help from the governments, perhaps there would be no co-op. So this is just an example. But both governments want the Eskimos to assume control of their own affairs like they did for the co-ops, in other fields.

Mathewassie: Yes, we have heard about the help we got in our co-ops; we have also heard about the company owning the land. Our ancestors were alive when the Hudson's Bay Company came and had the land here. Since the Hudson's Bay Company came we have been used to paying taxes through the stores and we still do. Since we started paying taxes we haven't talked about the money given to the government. Mr. Robitaille talks about what the government is giving, but not about the taxes received. It is no wonder the white man talks about land since he thinks about the riches. It is no wonder, since it is a good land.

Peter Naura: Both governments take decisions but the Eskimos want to run their own land. This is why we are in opposition. We hear about riches but it is important to know what will be done with them, when we are not there, for our children.

**Paulussie
Sivouac:**

I am happy to see these white men who came to see us, even if we are not much ourselves. I am glad that you brought up this land question; we didn't stand much in the eyes of the white man before. I am glad to have these discussions since by ourselves we are alone. I have seen the white man in his land and I know how he runs things. I understand it cost a lot for the white man to come and see us. I am glad that those people came to explain what they wanted to do. I am amazed by the white man's behaviour; it is a good move that he has come to us. I am grateful to the other people who have been talking too. There has been a lot of talk about the people who want to run their own land but I don't understand very well where they want to go and how

this can be done without the government.. Since you have been helping the co-ops, I would like to have a talk with you about co-ops later.

Harry:

I will talk to the people, then I will talk to you. We, the Eskimos, do not have to wait for the will of the others; we have to stand on our own feet. This is what the people say. Since it is like that we are not going to wait for what we want to happen by itself. And the government people among us, I would like to hear why they are coming to us. We don't want to go away. We don't like to see the government come and tell us, "We have been giving you this or that." I am ready to hear your reply about that.

Elijahssie:

I want to have my word about these things. We now understand that we cannot do without governments and that having one government we could go faster than we have been going before with the two governments. It would be better if the governments could explain its thoughts clearly and also if the people explained themselves better. We will make progress if the people let the governments explain what their plans are.

Neville:

In answer to what Elijahssie asked I will say this: that we would like the two governments to work closely together in this community in years to come with the Eskimo people. We have listened to you and we are confident that you will achieve your means especially if the two governments together help you. For instance, we would like to know what the people of this community see as needs in the field of education for their children and adults. I understand what Harry means when he says go away and leave us alone. Canadians all across the country feel the same way very often about governments. But we can't live without governments. We need government for welfare, education, co-op development; that is the way we live today; we can't do without government. It is the same all over the world. To come back to the point, we would like that both governments work closely together to help the Eskimos.

Robitaille:

I agree with that.

Thomassiapik:

I am going to talk about what Paulussie said even though I am in opposition with what he said. I have been thinking about the past. We can't do without governments; if we don't have government, I don't suppose we could even get an airplane. If there was no whites at all we wouldn't go anywhere. We who call ourself Eskimo cannot do anything by ourselves. I can't see how we can do without government, since we don't have anything. I will talk about what was said at the beginning of this meeting. I said before that we wanted to stand on our own feet and we can do this with the help of Ottawa. We don't want to change from that and have our children's education changed. We are the real Eskimo; we didn't get schooling, but we don't want our children to be taught in any other system than English. In the past, the government was helping a lot and we would like this help to be less heavy in the future. We people do not always agree and I am trying to get at something. If they keep the teaching in English it is fine, but if they change, we feel it would be better to take the children out of school. We are not trying to throw out any government but we have to understand the government.

Robitaille:

In the province of Quebec, there are laws concerning education. In the province of Quebec, the parents can choose if they want their children to be taught in English or in French. If the parents choose their children to be educated in an English school, it is fine; the laws agree with that and the children are taught in English. They go to an English school, but they are taught French as a subject. What is done in the federal school up north follows the program taught in the province of Quebec and in the Quebec schools they learn English as a subject. Here, in northern Quebec, there are English schools, federal and Quebec schools where Eskimo and French is taught. The teaching in the Quebec school is done in French because the federal school provides English teaching. Those provincial schools are special schools in the province of Quebec. In the provincial school, teaching is done in Eskimo because the Quebec Government got requests from some Eskimos asking for teaching in Eskimo. This was asked because it was thought by these people that the Eskimos would otherwise lose their

language and their identity. If this is going to be changed, the people should consider seriously the question of the Eskimo language. But if they want to change that, it is possible according to the laws of Quebec. It is possible to have English schools where French is taught as a subject; it is possible to have teaching in French with English as a subject; and it is also possible to have children taught in Eskimo during the first grade and then to choose French or English for other grades. This is the choice the Eskimos have in Nouveau Quebec. Education is important and the Eskimos should take a lot of time before they fix their minds on this matter.

Neville: To the best of my knowledge, no other provincial governments offer such a choice. It often seems to us that the Eskimo did not know about these choices. We want to be certain that the people understood and to tell us, yes, we understood what was said about education. I have heard several people here tonight say that they don't want the education system changed and it seemed that some Eskimos thought that only the federal government could teach in English. Now you know that the laws of Quebec allow Quebec teachers to teach in English and that it has already been done in many places. We want to be sure that you understand these things.

Thomassie: At the beginning, the Quebec teachers were providing transportation for the children and we received papers from them saying they were going to do that. I don't know if the white teacher is really teaching or if he only uses the aides, and my children wait for the transportation to be made by the teacher. Apparently sometimes, nobody comes. They wait until they have to walk by themselves and the teacher only comes later on. I would like to know if he was told to do so or if he sleeps too long and counts on the Eskimo aide to do the teaching. The white teachers are often late and the helpers are not. Since the children are very small, it may be too much walking for them to go to school. This is discouraging.

Robitaille: I don't know the exact situation. I know that teachers are supposed to be there when school starts and that Eskimo aides often pick up the kindergarten kids. I will talk with Lemieux. Thomassie also said that there were no meetings with the provincial teachers. Lemieux said he would like to meet.

Moses Kumak: Since we are meeting with the government we have been changing perhaps too often the subject of discussion. I almost forgot what I had to say. If the federal teachers can carry on their teaching, we feel they should be kept on the job. We have read these documents and they say it is very expensive, the way it is done now. If the federal government could train some Eskimos to be teachers, it would not be so expensive. We have been told many things by the government people, and I am going to reply. They were talking about the co-ops and the Quebec government man mentioned the help they had been providing the co-ops. This is discouraging for us to be reminded about help like that. We were helped by the federal government with houses, schools and welfare and they never talked about it. I am amazed that Quebec brags about this help. It helped less than the federal government. So because of that, I prefer the federal government. We parents are in charge of our children; if they start school at six we think this is early enough until they reach the age of sixteen. If they ought to be taught Eskimo they should be taught at seventeen. If the teachers start learning Eskimo and the people help them, this would be good.

Robitaille: Regarding what I said about money, there should be no misunderstanding. I gave the co-op example because this is the only field where the Eskimos have taken control of their own affairs. We know that so far the federal has spent much more money in this settlement. I didn't give these figures to boast about Quebec but to give an example of big amounts of money provided by Quebec for the co-op. The federal government has done the same but I don't know the figures.

Kumak (?) I will say something more. First, I will talk to the people. We will have to think not only of the present but also of the future and we have

to say what we mean. Some of the things you (Kobitaille and Neville) said I don't reply. First you said you wanted to know what the Eskimo thought. It has been done indeed but when you reply, you only talk about your own rules, as if you didn't understand. Therefore, if there could be some representative from here to go outside and talk with government people, it would be good. This letter was stating what you wanted to do but it seems that it has been changed. First you talk about the burden of having two educational systems. We want to see what that system to be the Ottawa system. For us, it is as though the Quebec Government has not started yet. It seems to us that if Ottawa stops, it will be different. When the federal people came, the services were set up some way, but as Quebec gets more involved we can see that things are changing. When the federal was running things, it was okay. So perhaps some Quebec people here are not doing what their bosses want them to do. Even the nursing service is changing even if they have not been told to make any changes. So we people here are starting already to have factions among ourselves, and later on, these people who do not do what their bosses tell them to do, they might keep on doing this.

Kakangautuk: Someone talked about stopping the school while we were trying to arrive at a decision. We have been having schooling and our own ways seem to be getting lost; and now, when the children come home, we ask them to do something, they answer in English and we don't understand and we get angry. It was not like that before and now the children we have sent to school talk to us in a language we don't understand. These children don't even think of hunting at all. So if we have schooling it seems to me it should be the one given by Ottawa. It seems that, for others, Ottawa ought to be elected and not Quebec and before the Quebec people came we seemed to be getting along very well without big meetings. The Quebec representative talked about money to help us and there are also family allowances from the province which do not come every month.

Alasak: We should not be judging each other. We won't arrive at a true understanding until the governments allow us to choose what government we want. If there is only one government, this is the only way to go straight. It will be a lot better if we have only one government and are not looking for the mistakes the other one makes. This is why we should take this opportunity to make our choice clear. These people are here to listen and we have to tell them what we want.

**Paulussie
Paussau:** That Quebec province we have been talking about seems to be a big land. We have discussed the question of co-ops, land, Quebec government and Ottawa government. We should arrive at a true understanding before we talk about something else. Quebec is a big land and there are only a few white men in this part of the country. When I was very young, at that time there was only the Hudson's Bay Company. Then the Mounties came in Harrison and the people in need - the blind and the sick - were looked after by the Hudson's Bay Company and policemen. The policeman visited Povungnituk, Ivuyivik and Sugluk and the needy people, widows and blind were getting assistance through this policeman. I know that before that many people were starving. Sometimes there was little foxes and sealskin was at a low price which had a lot to do with that starvation. The policemen who came to help were sent by Ottawa and we were living in the land of Quebec without knowing about it. Since we were in Quebec we should have received help from Quebec but they seem to have been sleeping at the time. They awoke only after the Ottawa people had come and started to help.

Davideapik: We will stop now and come back again at nine; stop at eleven and start again at 1:30.

Povungnituk
General Meeting

Mission Hall
February 26, 1970
9:00 a.m.

- Davideapik:** Yesterday we were talking about all kinds of things and didn't make any sense. Today we want to talk more precisely. I am going to talk now about what the Eskimo thinks as to what government we want. We have been talking about this for six years now. We want now to be well understood. We will display the Eskimo thoughts. We don't want the Quebec administration; we didn't choose Quebec at all. This is our decision. You people say that you want to know what we think; this is what we think. If the Quebec government tries to impose itself, we will be fighting with our mouths. We have fixed our mind and do not want the Quebec government at all. This is the conclusion that we have reached in 1970, with Quebec there would be arguments all the time. Even when the first Quebec people came we had splits in the community. There are only three men who want Quebec; if they want to go with Quebec it is fine.
- Peter Naujak:** You are here to take what the Eskimos really think. This thing (letter) we think will splash everything in pieces; it was done without our consent. You will easily see that we don't want Quebec; we want to be with Ottawa. This is the decision of the council and I will talk with the people. (He asks them if they want the federal. They say yes. If they want to be bossed by Quebec, no). Before you go away, we will say what we do not find satisfactory. The council shouldn't be the only one to talk.
- Davideapik:** We say all this because we don't want they talk in the back of the government.
- Jose Poppi:** Those government people came here, wanting to help us. We want the Ottawa government to be true, to do the right. When we were home we were called here. We want the Ottawa government, none other. My words are a great many. I don't believe the one who said that Quebec owns this land. The Eskimos have been the first to have the land. The first white men that came here were veterans thinking about their own interest. These are the words of a white man called Ipimerk who is dead now.
- Davideapik:** These words are not to be said here.
- Innukpa:** We don't want Quebec; we want Ottawa.
- Mathewssie:** Now we reach an understanding. If the Eskimos are not involved it is not good. In the past it was so and decisions were taken without the people participating. We think like you, we are men, we shouldn't be treated like that. Some people say they don't want Quebec. It is the same here.
- Neville:** Since you have been talking today and yesterday, you raised the question of choice between two governments. This morning, in particular I have heard people say: I want the federal and not the provincial government to administer our affairs. I tried to explain to you why I came here: to get your reactions to what was written in the documents and how both governments should work together. When my government sent me here and the same goes for Mr. Robitaille, they thought that it would be better if the provincial government extended its services to the people providing that the rights of the Eskimos were guaranteed. As far as I know, my government still believes this; therefore, when you say you don't want the Province of Quebec, all I can do is listen to it knowing that this is not what my government thinks and all I can do is listen and bring back your thoughts to my government. I still do not understand why you refuse the help of a government when all the things you worry about are guaranteed by the agreement between the two governments. I understand your worries about your religion but the documents guarantee your right to the religion of your choice. Many of you do not want the children to be taught in Eskimo or in French and these documents say that you can have English instead. So there is another worry taken care of. I understand also that you want the size and number of camps to increase. Mr. Robitaille mentioned

the amount that Quebec spent to help co-ops; he said he didn't have the federal figures, but I know that the federal did not spend as much to help the co-ops. I understand your preoccupations about land and about controlling your own affairs. As you know, the federal government gave this land to the Province of Quebec and the land question will have to be settled with the Quebec Government in great part; so there is another reason to maintain contact with that government. Again, the consensus reached by the two governments agrees to look at any rights or interests you may have about the land. Finally, and listen carefully to this because it is very important. Even if Quebec was to extend all the services, the federal government would still be interested, would still see that the services are maintained at a high level; it would still be in a position to oversee what is done. It is said in the documents and both governments agreed on that. The federal government recognizes that it has a responsibility towards Indians and Eskimos. Its responsibility is to assure that the Indian and Eskimo get the services they need. Its responsibility is not to give these services itself, but to see that they are given and when a provincial government can give these services, the federal government wants that government to give them. You have to understand that there are some services that the federal government simply cannot give. Maybe that point is hard to explain. I just said that to show that I have trouble understanding your position. There has to be some reasons, some worries, and these worries are all taken care of in this understanding between the two governments.

Robitaille: I will add something. Around 1960, the Quebec Government started to give services because in other parts of the country provincial governments provide these services to Eskimos, as is done in Newfoundland. So in 1960 Quebec started in good faith to provide these services to help Eskimos. The Quebec Government considers the Eskimos to be citizens of Quebec and wants them to run their own affairs. I am not very happy about what I heard this morning, but I respect these ideas. I took note of them and I will take them to my Minister, Mr. Allard

Davideapik: I will reply to this since you are here to learn what we thought. You came to hear our views and this is what we think. We don't want the Quebec administration. The Quebecers are only a few and since they arrived, we have had splits in the community. We have nothing against being helped, but what we resent is this division among us, although we didn't want this to happen and this has made us opposed to the proposals. Some of the Quebecers here don't want to have anything to do with us who are members of the council, and we have opposition among us. We all share this Povungnituk land and it hurts us to be divided. This trouble between us is no help at all. Even before we didn't have this problem we were saying that we didn't want this trouble, this opposition among us. There are more and more Quebec people coming in here and our factions are becoming stronger. Because this is the way it is, there is no other solution than separating ourselves from the Quebec Government. Since I am a member of the council, I am part of these factions and it makes me unhappy. When Quebec was still sleeping, we were a community and since Quebec came we are fragmented. This is why I say that we don't want Quebec.

**Lucassie
Tukaluk:** I will talk about what I heard from our fathers. The things happening now, I heard my fathers talk about them. The reason why we are getting tougher is because we want to stand on our own feet. We think about the future; since the whites are getting more and more numerous and we don't want to be trampled on. This is what I have to say.

**Lucassie
Knamaktuak:** Right now we don't understand very well the thoughts of the government. These documents are asking us to have only one administration and one schooling system. They say it is too heavy. This is right. There should be only one government and this should be Ottawa. We heard about money and Quebec says it doesn't have much money. Having only one school system, only one health service, one administration would be the solution. We received good service from Ottawa health services. Since Quebec was here we didn't get as many visits from them and this is why we want Ottawa.

- Neville: The health services you are getting are given by the federal government. The province does provide some services but not health. If you think the services are not good, I would like to hear about it and talk it over with the nurses.
- Lucassie: Before, the nurses were not French speaking and the services were better. I am telling you that because you are the government. I say nothing about Quebec at all.
- Neville: I just want to say one thing more to Lucassie. The federal government has many people working in Quebec who speak French. You will find them in northern Quebec and in southern Quebec. I don't speak French perfectly but I try to speak French even if I work for the federal government and you know that many Quebec employees speak English. It is the policy of the federal government that its employees in Quebec should be bilingual although in fact it is true that around here many of the federal teachers do not talk French; but the federal administrator talks French. I say this to explain.
- Daniel Numak: There are many Ottawa people here and we want their number to increase and we want to have the Ottawa teachers. When there was only one system of schooling, it was fine. Do you understand now that those people here want the government of Ottawa and the school system of Ottawa?
- Neville: I just want to say a few words to Daniel. The English school system is really the Quebec English school system. Federal teachers are teaching, yes, but the system they use is the system of the Province of Quebec. In other words, we borrowed the English school system from the Government of Quebec. I offer that as an explanation.
- Naujark: I am happy to have these two people here. We have been told: you are the masters of your children since they are your children, but we don't seem to be the masters of our children, especially in regard to schooling. It seems that some want to impose some change on us. We have the Ottawa teachers. Since the children are ours, we are the ones to decide and I won't be happy if my children have to stop receiving education.
- Paulussie
Napartuk: The Eskimos sitting here are many. They are not thinking of themselves. They are preparing the path for their children. If Quebec takes more authority in the teaching of the young ones, the parents will not be able to go in the schools. I say that because I heard that. I heard that from a clergyman when I was a child. If the Quebec men are really taking over our land, I am afraid because as they get numerous they will try to get a stronger grasp on our land. At the beginning, they will please the Eskimos but when they are by themselves, they will put us aside. I do not want to despise these people but since the Eskimos are making up their ideas, there will be struggles. We don't think about help all the time; we want to trace our own road and if our road is not clear, there will be dangers.
- Neville: I want to comment on that. He said that after Quebec would move in, the services would deteriorate. I would like to repeat one of the guarantees I read this morning. It says that, even if Quebec assumes services, the federal government will still be interested to make sure that the standard of services is good. Some people seem to think that the federal government would just wash its hands. It is not that way at all. The federal government would still be interested. The federal government would still be there to supervise the work as Mr. Robitaille himself has said. We offer that by way of explanation. It seems that there is a lack of understanding among the Eskimo people. We don't mind saying these things over and over if it increases your understanding.
- Kilipauk: I will talk since I don't want to be the only one who is silent. If those who want the Ottawa government don't win their point, there will be turmoil in the future, and the Quebec people who come will not be welcome. These letters that came from outside were done without our knowledge; and if these things are going to win over us, we do not agree

any way but if the Eskimo had been consulted before it (the letter) had been sent out, we would accept this as it would represent what we think.

Before we had the Quebec people here, there was nothing to be afraid of, even in the Nursing Station. When somebody was sick, we would go to the station and the nurses would come in the middle of the night if somebody was sick. But now, even if somebody is sick, we can't get help after 5 o'clock. We are told, "I am very busy, bring the sick one here." No wonder the people are afraid that this will increase. Even if an old person can't walk, the nurses say, "Bring the sick here." I want to know if the nurses have been told to act this way by their boss.

Neville: The Nursing Station's boss is not my boss but he works for the federal government. The rules about service hours and visiting hours are made by the boss in the south. The fact that the nurses speak French has nothing to do with the rules as such and these rules have nothing to do with the Province of Quebec. In other words, the problem that you raise is a federal problem and if we have time this afternoon, I could pass over Kilipauk's comments to the nurses here. I should mention, too, what the Province of Quebec is doing in a place like Chimo. The Government of Quebec has established a board of directors for the hospital. I would like Robitaille to explain.

Robitaille: I will, since Mr. Neville asks me, but I don't want to be accused of boasting for Quebec. In Chimo, there is a small Quebec hospital with a doctor and it is run by whites and Eskimos. Archdeacon Clarke sits on the board with some Eskimos. So the medical services are better than what they used to be before there was no hospital, no doctor. Now there is a hospital, a doctor. The Eskimos sitting on the board now will get more involved with running their own hospital until they assume full control. I have to say that in the documents given to Elijahssie, the two governments say that they plan to have a hospital here with a doctor. This is not a promise but a plan that both governments would like to realize in years to come. When this is done, the Eskimos here will be in a position to control their own hospital.

Neville: The big boss of nursing stations who lives down south believes in having committees in the communities. This has given the Indian population a chance to participate in the health services. There should be established in all communities committees that could solve the problems mentioned by Paulussie. We only have a few minutes before this meeting is over but I want to say a few things. Mr. Robitaille and I have listened very attentively yesterday and today and we have tried not to talk too much but only to give answers. We heard many things said over and over again and we think we know pretty well what the community thinks; and we wonder if there is any point in having another meeting this afternoon. We have promised to meet with the members of the co-ops and we would like to do that this afternoon. What would you think of us stopping our general meetings now. I want to remind you that we will be coming again. In the meantime, there will be no changes in the way things are run.

Tamussie: We haven't seen the documents Elijahssie was supposed to bring back. If we had been there when these decisions were taken, we would understand better.

Neville: They have not seen the details of the proposals that were given to Elijahssie last year? If they haven't seen them, it is important that they see them so we would leave them here and they could be reproduced. There is one thing to be changed and it concerns the date, April 1st, 1970, when it was proposed Quebec would extend all services. There is no fixed date now.

Tamussie: We have seen it but there is no date, no signature. We didn't know if they were from whites or from Eskimos.

Robitaille: These were drafted by representatives of Quebec and Ottawa. There is one on education, one on health, one on co-ops, one on municipal services and one on housing. In each document you will find in the

first part what the two governments are doing now. In the second part, both governments present a plan for the next year. The first part had to be made by the two governments alone since these are facts, figures.

Now, what the two governments wanted was that the Eskimos study the second part which are only proposals and say what they thought in the next five years the governmental action should be. This is a long time and all Eskimos should meet and say what they think about all these things.

Tamussie: I have been to meetings about these documents but there is no date on it, no signature and we don't consider them seriously.

Elijahssie: I was the one who brought these documents. I explained all these things to the Eskimos but they did not agree with what is in the documents.

Davideapik: Elijahssie is not to be blamed about these documents. When people hear that Quebec wants to take over, they are not interested and they disagree.

Elijahssie: This is it. That is what I wanted to be understood.

Davideapik: We don't really understand about having one government and one schooling system, so we will meet again and act as one.

Povungnituk
General Meeting

R.C. Mission Hall
February 26, 1970
14:00 hours

- Davideapik: Have you understood what we had to say?
- Neville & Robitaille: Yes, and we will report to our ministers.
- Neville: Yesterday, Paulussie Sivouac asked us to talk about co-ops with the co-op people. We would like to keep this meeting short. We will be leaving tomorrow because we have seven other communities to see and the Sugluk people have phoned asking that we go there fast.
- Davideapik: I have alledged that we didn't want the Quebec administration. Those who agree raise your hands. (A majority agrees; four disagree.) If you want to talk about the co-ops, go ahead.
- Robitaille: I have seen those hands raised and will report to the minister.
- Neville: I will report to my minister too. Paulussie asked to talk about co-ops so we can listen now.
- Paulussie Sivouac: I want to talk about the co-op while the government people are here. It is not like it used to be and I want to talk about that. I want to ask if I understood well the co-op idea when it first started. When we started, we all agreed to it. Some said yes; some said no and we reached decisions this way. Now it is not the same and I will talk about it. We don't seem to have general meetings any more. We are told how it should be run but we don't have any voice anymore. I want to explain about that. A while ago, I wanted to have a general meeting to know why the ways were not followed anymore but they made no occasion for it. Although I wanted this very badly, I heard from the board of directors that I would not get time to talk about this. I was told that we could have a meeting only when the superior officers (of the co-op) would come. When this boss arrived, I asked and was told that we would have to wait for other directors to come. Therefore, it seems that I will have no place to say what I want to say. I am beginning to understand the co-op is not run the same way. Right now, though, the government agreed to help us when we were started the co-op; now the co-op is not the same. We were following the co-op legislation; we are not now and I don't know why. It seems that what I am talking about is one of the factors of the community breakdown. I am asking the government people, are we supposed to follow the co-op laws or go our own way?
- Robitaille: The charter was granted to you by the Quebec Government. The Quebec Government thinks that you should follow the laws.
- Paulussie Sivouac: It seems that I was right and that we should follow the co-op legislation. It seems that the co-op is not going the way it should. If I talk about all I want to talk about, it will be long. I and the people who think like me think that this will be solved only if we have somebody from outside and we wrote a letter. You will hear about it. Some people here will not let us talk.
- Robitaille: To whom was the letter sent?
- Paulussie Sivouac: We asked Lemieux to send it. (It was sent to Mr. Poitras.)
- Robitaille: Who wrote it?
- Paulussie Sivouac: I wrote it because I figured that the people were agreeing with me. Plenty were willing to sign it. I wanted to have a meeting about it but later on they didn't want to sign it. My purpose was not understood so I asked other people to come and explain it and I asked this person from outside to come and explain it. I figured that the only way to do was to get somebody who really understands about co-op business. We have a

federations and so have been told it is the supreme boss of the co-ops. If that is so, then the people here are being trampled and that is why I am working so hard. I do this because they don't understand. Before when things were wrong, we were able to fix it, now it seems that we cannot any more. I want to talk about how the co-op has been turned upside down. First, we were told the co-op was run by all the members. That apparently was right. I went to work in Levis to work in the Federation when the Federation was starting and was told the Federation had to federate all of the individual co-ops. But now, in 1970, it is different. Now we common members have to do only what the co-op board says and our store must follow what the Federation wants. Because of that, those of us who think something is wrong have no chance to talk about it. If we think there is something wrong in the Federation we have no way to have it fixed. It seems that the regulations only can fix it. If there is something wrong here in our co-op, we have to ask the Federation what is wrong. This is what I want to understand and because you may know about co-ops.

Robitaille: I have understood and would like to say a few things. I was working for Quebec when Quebec started to help the co-ops financially. We thought at the time that co-ops were a good way for the Eskimos to take control of their economy. So we helped the Povungnituk co-op to start a store. There were white men outside the government to explain to the Eskimos what co-ops were all about. As the Eskimos learned more and more, other co-ops were started. The Povungnituk Eskimos knew more and others were coming to Povungnituk to learn about the co-op. In the years, Quebec could see that the Eskimos were learning about co-ops and they kept on helping the co-ops. In 1967, all those co-ops wanted to unite and the Federation was started. The Federation had the job of co-ordinating the activities of different local co-ops. That is all I know for the time being but I didn't know things were different since the Federation had started.

Neville: I don't have much to say about co-ops. My department is interested in them and gives money to the Federation every year. I didn't know how things were going here in Povungnituk but I listened to Paulussie and took note of what he said.

Robitaille: Paulussie wrote to Mr. Poitras and Mr. Poitras will see what can be done.

Paulussie Sivouac: Thank you. I am not a director but I am a member and I have spoken my mind.

Davidcapik: I am not a member of the board but I will say something. Last year in March I was one of those who went out to Levis. We arrived there at the same time Paulussie was in opposition with the Federation. We met together in Levis because all these co-ops in the north are supposed to be one. We tried to understand if Paulussie was not a good worker in Levis. Paulussie was sick and I went to see him to know what was wrong and I saw the other workers in Levis to find out which one was telling the truth. We didn't find anything wrong with the other workers although we searched. We told ourselves that perhaps Paulussie was trying to make a lot of money. We thought that Paulussie was not making enough money that was all, because nothing was wrong beside that. So people from Quebec and Ottawa came and they found nothing wrong with the Federation.

Paulussie Sivouac: I will answer and talk to David before I start. It appears that we are not like one anymore. What Davidcapik said is right. He came to ask me what was wrong when he came in Levis and what is said about my low income is also true. If I hadn't been sick I would not have minded but the money was not the only reason. When I found out the Federation could not raise my pay, I came back home. That is one reason why I am not working for the Federation. The other is because Peter Murdoch ordered me to do things that didn't make sense. I don't speak English and when I asked him which way we were going, he didn't make sense. I didn't understand what he wanted for the co-ops. Peter would say we will do so and so, then he would come back and he didn't remember and I

didn't understand. That is what I want to tell you people who used to help the co-ops.

Robitaille: What did you mean when you said the co-op was not following the laws of Quebec?

Paulussie

Sivouac: It seems that they do not follow the law of the co-operatives in many ways. This is why we are waiting for somebody who knows about co-ops to come and explain.

Robitaille: The Quebec Government thinks that the Eskimos should make their own decisions. Both governments try not to interfere with the Eskimos' business of the co-ops. We understand that the Eskimos of Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Durvoert. The letter you sent to Mr. Poitras, he will read and try to see what he can do.

Paulussie

Sivouac: Thank you.

Davideapik: I am going to say a few words about the co-op. The representatives of the co-op met in January, wanting to work as one. The delegates went to the Federation to see if everything was going well. It is the wish of the co-op representatives that we all work together but there are some factions here. When Peter comes, we try to find out what goes well or wrong and the people find him alright and the grant we get from the government seems to be well used, so we can't complain.

Daniel Kumak: The co-op board here met with Paulussie to talk about the co-op. It would have been better if Paulussie had asked the board how they were managing. It is like Sivouac and the ones with him, even though they are less numerous than the others and they want to start their small co-op. He wrote this letter with only a few people knowing about it, not the majority. It would be nice, too, if he wrote the letter, if he comes up (to the front) and says what was in it. If he had written with our leaders knowing, it would be better. In order to have good understanding about, the council and the co-op board should meet together. Any letter that goes out from here without Davideapik's name at the bottom should not be believed. If David said now, "leave the building" I would do it. We ask that the white man do not believe any letters that come from anybody else but Davideapik. He is the one whom we have chosen.

Robitaille: I want to ask Thomassie Lungalook what he thinks about it.

Thomassie

Lungalook: I work for the people here. I am just an employee and the five who are my bosses are elected each year. I know that we are not doing things like we did before. I have to follow what they say. I have to obey them; they are the bosses. When the board of management was not here and Sivouac wanted this meeting, I could not allow it because nothing should be fixed if the five bosses were not here. If the meeting had taken place I could not have answered to my boss. So I wanted them to wait for the board. If the board did not hear what the people had to say, it would not have been good. I told them: we can have the meeting only if the board is here. Things can be fixed only if the board is present.

Paulussie

Khanayuk: I want to speak on this although I am not a member of the board and even if I am one of the disliked people. I saw that the co-op was not following the co-op regulations and that is why I met outside of the co-op. I am a member of the co-op and if I don't understand, then this is wrong, and this woke me up. Even if I am a member of the co-op it seems that it is better if I am asleep. I want to understand if you should like or dislike a person. I am one who is disliked and I want an answer about this. If they try to find out what we really think, the dislike would go away. I have said this so that my words can be heard. I want to say something about the way we did things in 1967. At that time we didn't come from the same place and we didn't always agree and I was involved in dissension in Great Whale. Murdoch said go this way

or that way and even if it was all right for the others, it was not for me. I could not understand which way the co-op went. I have the co-op rules in writing and the co-op directors do not seem to have this. This may be why we are not going together. I am grateful because I have been able to speak and say what was in my heart. If Quebec has nothing to do with us anymore how will the co-op survive?

Robitaille: This co-op exists officially because it receives a charter from Quebec. The regulations must be followed by the local co-op in Povungnituk. If the regulations are followed, Quebec will keep on helping this and other co-ops. Since there are a lot of people who want to talk and you people want to stop, it is not right. If you listen to the thoughts of a few it is not right.

Neville: Are there other things to say, other people to talk? Do you have something to say (to the people, yes). We will stop for a while. Then listen until five then we will go.

Mathewssie: I am the vice-president of the co-op. When the general assembly takes place, we say what we want to say. We are the servants of the members and when we are finished we ask them if this is the way it is supposed to go. Those who don't like it should say so. About the Federation, Paulussie Napartuk is the president and I don't want to talk about the Federation while he is not here. I think we could fix our own co-op without talking about the Federation. It surprises me some people here say that they were disliked. I haven't seen anybody here who is disliked unless they think themselves disliked. I haven't seen any hate in Povungnituk so I would like to know who it is that is disliked. As for Peter, he is almost an Eskimo; he doesn't follow the white man's rules. To name him in a bad way is not being true. I was in Levis and heard this said by Paulussie. Paulussie would tell people, if I see you doing something wrong, I will ask for your resignation, since you are working for us. That letter that went out has twenty signatures on it but there are not only twenty people in Povungnituk. Since we are getting numerous, it is the majority who should lead.

Josi

Pamiuktuk: I am a member of the co-op and manager of the Caisse Populaire. I will not talk long. The co-op was started by the Quebec Government; we have to follow the co-op laws. I want to ask the board of directors; I will ask a question and I want an answer. I want to ask the board what are the government regulations?

Mathewssie: I will answer. If the co-op here follows the government regulations, the children will not have anything to eat even tonight. The co-op has to be Eskimo.

Robitaille: What are these regulations that would take food away?

Mathewssie: Well, like if we had only cash at the store.

Robitaille: What number is that regulation?

Mathewssie: Well, we can have credit here and the laws forbid it.

Robitaille: I ask for the third time, what number is that regulation?

Mathewssie: We were told at the beginning that we couldn't have credit.

Robitaille: Do you have the regulations?

Mathewssie: No. We make our own rules.

Robitaille: You should ask for the regulation.

Mathewssie: We do not need it; we make our own.

Robitaille: This is wrong. You have to follow the regulations of Quebec since the charter was granted by Quebec. You talk about regulations you do not know.

- Mathewssie: The regulations never arrived here.
- Robitaille: Did you ask the people who work for you for a copy of them?
- Mathewssie: Our manager never got them.
- Robitaille: Then we can tell him how to get a copy of these regulations.
- Josie
Pamiuktuk: When the Federation began we were shown regulations. Is it Bill 9?
- Robitaille: Yes.
- Josie
Pamiuktuk: These regulations were numbered. I want to know which one of these regulations should not be followed and would take the food from the children.
- Mathewssie: I will ask Josie why you didn't ask for the regulations.
- Josie
Pamiuktuk: I will tell you. I am not the one who looks after the co-op and I don't know if the documents were hidden. You should have seen to it that the co-op manager has a copy.
- Mathewssie: I did not take them; I was just shown them by Peter. If you knew about it you should have talked about them. Then we would not argue like that.
- Josie
Pamiuktuk: I asked about Bill 9 because I thought he had it. We saw them together and took it for granted he was given a copy.
- Tamussie: We were shown them once but since then we were never shown them again.
- Peter Naura: I want to answer what Josie said first. When there is something wrong we try to fix it. Somebody else put the thoughts in Josie's head. They are not his own. We of the council have to be informed about what is going on and when Josie says he was thinking this way by himself, he was really told these things by somebody else. We didn't want this to come out, but it did and we are a bit shy.
- Neville: We were not really anxious to hear them since we feel it is a local problem.
- Robitaille: The government has let the co-op run their own affairs. The co-ops should not contribute to a split in Eskimo communities. We helped the co-op because we felt that the communities could be united through them. But here, it is not like that.
- Neville: In any community there are bound to be people who disagree with the majority. I agree with Robitaille when he says the co-op can help to unite these communities. But even then, every individual has a right to speak his mind. We heard it said that if one or two people disagree they should not write letters to the government. I don't agree. Everybody has a right to express his point of view.
- Josie
Pamiuktuk: I want to answer Peter Naura. You told me somebody else made me think.
- People: Go settle your differences outside. (Laughter)
- Neville: Okay. We will stop now and we will report to our minister.
- Robitaille: I was glad to be back here. I was here when everything was fine; but I see that there are divisions among the people. I hope that the Eskimos can discuss and settle that question among themselves. I hope that the next time we will be able to discuss government action without hearing people who have only co-op problems on their mind.

Neville:

I was not in this community before although I know some people here; but I can feel there are serious differences of opinions among the people. I feel sure, however, that you will be able to resolve these things among yourselves. You have two governments, each offering assistance; do not refuse assistance but make use of it for your own good ends. That is all I want to say.

Lucassie
Omahatuk:

We are grateful that these two people came. I want to say something at the end. It is like we have two co-ops in Povungnituk. Many follow Murdoch's lead and there are those of us following Steinmann and we are fewer; we want to fix that. I want you to understand that Steinmann is breaking up the co-op; this would not be happening if Steinmann was not trying to lead. Indeed Steinmann is doing harm. Nobody seems to want to talk about this so I will bring it out. I know when Steinmann is doing harm. Some of the people are from Povungnituk, some are from the islands off Cape Smith. Steinmann brings out the differences between the two groups in the settlement and this is harmful. The Povungnituk people would be happy if Steinmann kept quiet. He has brought to light the opposition between us. I don't really want to bring this up in front of the government but it is the only way to make it clear. I haven't been hungry and I lived well here in Povungnituk and I am grateful. I am also grateful to have had the chance to talk to you. Thank you.

Davideapik:

The stopping time is past but I will talk to the people. Many of you do not want Quebec but we should not dislike Quebec people who come to visit. We are not to make them angry when they come to visit us.

Leva Kumaluk:

I am pleased that we were given the co-op. We haven't starved lately even though there are times when we have been hungry. I understand that we should help each other. I want to say that I am grateful that you people came.

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

- Neville:** My name is Neville. I am from the federal government. Most of you I guess know Mr. Robitaille who is from the Quebec Government. Our two governments sent us to speak with the Eskimo people. We have been already in Great Whale, Inoucdjouac and Povungnituk. It is our custom to meet with the Council in each community. We want the Council to help us and tell us what the Eskimo people will have to say. Several weeks ago our Ministers sent a letter explaining why we were coming. We understand that letter was received in the community but we want to be sure everybody had a chance to see it.
- Noah Kumak:** Yes. We had a meeting and they heard about it.
- Neville:** We have some copies and we understand it would be enough to have one for each household. We would like you to distribute them to the people. We will take note of what is said. After we finish our trip, we will go back to our Ministers and report what the Eskimos said. I think all Eskimos know that Quebec and the federal government have been talking with the Eskimos about having the government of this province give services to the Eskimo communities. These are the things we have come to talk about. The two governments translated these proposals and gave them to the spokesman of the communities. Noah Kumak was the spokesman who came down south from your community to discuss these proposals. In December, our two Ministers met together again. Those two men who represent the government said that they still believed that Quebec should provide services but they could see that more time was needed to discuss with the Eskimo people. They also felt that right now the most important thing was to get the two governments to work more closely together than in the past. That is why Robitaille and I are here together. We want to help our governments to work more closely together. We are here to explain what was not understood and to listen.
- Robitaille:** I am happy to be here again in 1970. I used to come to look for shells in this area, when I worked for the federal government. However, since 1962 I have been working with the province. I came with Neville because our two ministers asked us. So we are here to listen to what the Eskimos have to say about the content of the letter and also to listen. After this trip, we will report to our two ministers in the south. We have met with Noah Kumak and other Eskimos in Quebec and Montreal. We came here to know the views not only of the delegates but also of the Eskimo community in general.
- Neville:** We have both said that we are here to listen and to explain. We feel it important that you understand that. We are not here to tell the people, "Go this way" or "Go that way"; but we are here to give information and to listen. Someone has suggested a meeting at 19:00 hours and that is fine for us. We can meet tomorrow too. Maybe we can talk about that tonight. We would like you to name a chairman for tonight.
- Noah Kumak:** This one will be chairman. That old man will look after the children.
- Neville:** Will $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours be enough for tonight?
- Noah Kumak:** Okay. Tonight we will listen and tomorrow we will talk.
- Neville:** We came here mainly to talk with the Eskimo people, but there are non-Eskimos in the community. What do you feel about them attending the meetings?
- Noah Kumak:** Yes. it is alright if they want to listen and if they want to ask questions.
- Neville:** Okay, but we leave it up to them to see that the whites do not take over the meetings.
- Padlic
Illissituk:** We are most interested that you hear what the Eskimos have to say. So we will take care of the others. We are glad that we will be able to understand better than when Noah was down in the south.

Noah Kumak: It will take quite a while to discuss all these things because it is not very well understood. One of the main things is that the governments have been meeting without the participation of the Eskimos.

A discussion follows in regard to interpreting where it was indicated that Quebec has a darn good interpreter here.

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General Meeting

- Chairman: We will start even if Josepi is not here yet. I ask that everybody keep quiet since this is going to be taped for future reference.
- Neville: My name is Neville. I work for the government of Ottawa and my minister is Mr. Chretien.
- Robitaille: I represent the government of Quebec. My name is Robitaille. My minister is Mr. Allard.
- Neville: Our two ministers have asked us to come here to talk with the Eskimos to explain and to listen to their thoughts. Mr. Robitaille and I are travelling together because our two governments want to work together. The reasons for our being here are explained in this letter which was sent to all the Eskimo councils. I am going to refer to this letter to explain in more detail why we are here. For many years the federal and the provincial governments have been thinking about how the services should be given to the Eskimos. The federal government thought that it would be better if the Quebec government gave to the Eskimos all the services the latter government is already providing to other citizens. These services are education, health, welfare, co-ops, housing and municipal services. It was natural for the two governments to think this way because in all parts of Canada the provincial government gives these services. When Canada was put together in 1867, powers were divided between the federal and the provincial governments. At that time it was decided that the provincial governments were to have nearly full responsibility in regard to education, health and other things, and since that time the provincial governments have been providing these services. Therefore, in Newfoundland the Government of Newfoundland is giving all these services to everybody there; Indian, Eskimo and others. Therefore, the federal government said that since there were Eskimos in Quebec, this (the provincial) government should give the services. In 1964 the two governments agreed that this was the best and that they should start to work toward that end. But they agreed that the Eskimos had certain ways, certain rights, certain thoughts. They said, we have to respect the rights of the Eskimos in regard to religion, language and contacts with other Eskimos in the country; and the two governments said that the services given by Quebec have to be as good as the services given now by the federal government. They agreed also to go and get the thoughts of the Eskimos on how they felt about this; on how this was going to be done. And they agreed that even though the province was giving the services, the federal government must still remain interested supervise the work and give money to the province to help in financing. Both governments agreed that this was the way they should be proceeding. That was in 1964. But many things happened to prevent that. Then, in the spring of 1969, the federal government, my government, went to see Quebec and said that it wanted to talk about this. Quebec agreed to talk about it some more. So late in the spring of 1969, the two governments wrote on paper what these services should be. But since it was agreed before, the two governments asked for a delegate in each community to come down and talk with them. Noah Kumak was the person you choose to come south. They had several meetings last summer and last fall. At the same time, the two governments drafted plans for education, health, welfare, co-ops, housing and municipal services. They were translated and given to Noah. When they did that, they told the Eskimos, "Tell us if you want some changes." Now if you look at these documents you will read that Quebec was to start giving services on April 1st, 1970. But when people like Noah came, it was evident that the Eskimos needed more time. My Minister, Mr. Chretien, visited some of these communities and came back feeling the same way. So our Ministers met in Quebec City in 1969 to talk about these things. They agreed that the people needed more time. They agreed that these things couldn't happen on April 1st, 1970; but they still believe it is a good idea and they want to move in that direction. And they wondered how they could make things better. They agreed that the two governments should work together. That is why I am here working with Mr. Robitaille. We know the Eskimo people want to achieve many things for themselves. Both governments working closely together could help the Eskimos to achieve that. That is why I am moving to Quebec to work with Mr. Robitaille. Another thing: the two

governments agreed that the Eskimo people needed more information and they decided to send emissaries to talk with the Eskimos. We are here to talk, listen, explain and answer questions. So far in our talks with the Eskimos, we found many misunderstandings. We think that now we understand the Eskimos' thoughts better and the Eskimos understand us better.

Robitaille:

I agree with what Neville said. I will not repeat that. I would like rather to explain something to the Eskimos about the land. (Uses the map.) From 1912 to 1960 the provincial government was not ready to give services here, so the federal government did it instead. So in 1962 Quebec started to give some services in northern Quebec. It was not interested only in the population but also in resources. When, in 1964, Quebec was assured that the federal government was ready to phase out, it decided to agree to give the services as is done in Labrador. The Quebec Government started to provide services in order to get ready to take over federal services. In March 1969, the Ottawa government asked the province again to take over. Many people in the North were against this; not only Eskimos but also whites. But since Ottawa, which is the government of the whole of Canada, wanted the province to take over, the province agreed to do it even if some Eskimos and whites did not agree. So Quebec agreed to take over the services that the federal government has been giving since Quebec was not ready before that time. That is why we had these meetings last year. That is why your delegate Noah Kumak was brought down to Quebec to discuss; that is why we are here. So the reason why Quebec wants to extend its services up here is because in all the rest of Canada provincial governments provide that kind of services to all their citizens; and here, we are in Quebec's territory. Also, Quebec has agreed that the federal government would still supervise; that cultural ties of the Eskimos would be respected; that the religion and language of the people would be respected; that services would be at least equivalent to those provided by the federal government. It also agreed that the Eskimos were to be consulted before any final take-over happened - that is, informed about what was happening. In conclusion, Quebec has many interests in Nouveau Quebec; one of these is to provide its services to the population of northern Quebec. That is all I have to say.

Break

Neville:

What we said tonight is in the letter and in the documents given to Noah last year, 1969.

Robitaille:

Noah was supposed to tell these things to the people. Has he done it?

Noah Kumak:

I want to talk to the people. I want to know if the people heard about the things that Robitaille and Neville talked about. If some never heard of it, it is because they don't come to meetings and I want those who didn't hear about it to say so. The government people say that the reason people are against Quebec is because they didn't hear about it. So I want to ask those who heard about it to raise their hands (a majority does, but many didn't hear about it.) Some of the people here refuse something they did not even hear about. So, people here do that because they never come to the meetings.

Josie:

People here refuse Quebec without even having heard about what the representatives were talking about.

Padlie

Illiasituk:

We did not see the hands long enough, so I would like the people to raise their hands again. Put up your hand if you heard about what was said here. (A great majority does so.)

Noah

Paulusiapiks:

I have only seen four who didn't hear about it.

- Padlayot:** I will not talk very long. I have read everything since I am a member of the Council. But there are two things I didn't understand that the two men were explaining. One of the things that I never heard about is that the federal government is giving to Quebec responsibilities for the Eskimos. I have heard that we had a delegate but not what he said to the governments, nor what answers he got. I know what the governments say because it is written on paper.
- Neville:** Paulussie says that he never heard that the federal government was giving to Quebec responsibilities for Eskimo affairs. The federal government says: "We accept the fact that we still have a responsibility over Eskimos affairs", but at the same time that government says to Quebec: "Would you provide services on our behalf to the Eskimos of northern Quebec?" The federal government is saying that Quebec has responsibility for all its citizens, in education, health, welfare, Eskimos included.
- Robitaille:** The Province of Quebec is being asked that and it answers: "Yes." As for the other thing Paulussiapiik said, we don't know what Noah said and what he was answered but we are here tonight and the people can ask questions.
- Noah:** I will reply to that. (He shows the minutes of the Montreal meeting.) I was chosen as a delegate for Wakeham, Saglouc and Ivujivic. When we have a meeting, everything said is written down, but the bad things we say are not passed on to higher bosses and these things are not put in the paper. When we had this meeting (in the south) the questions we asked about the white man's way were not answered or not written down on the paper.
- Robitaille:** Any examples?
- Noah:** One example. When the white person comes to the north, he doesn't have to pay even though he is in Eskimo land. Would it be the same if an Eskimo went south? Wouldn't he have to pay for the land where he puts his camp? Because things that I said are not put in the paper, the questions do not get to the higher bosses.
- Neville:** I was at that meeting (in Montreal). We talked for two days. This paper (i.e. the record) does not repeat everything said in two days. Instead of repeating everything the white man summarizes it. I will give an example. At that meeting some of the Eskimos talked about land rights and many things were said but the man who made the minutes summarized it in one paragraph. But Noah raised a good point. We should perhaps write all that is said by the Eskimos. Now he asked another question about land in the south. Mr. Robitaille wishes to answer.
- Robitaille:** If the Eskimo moves in to a town where the land is not owned by the government, he will have to pay. But in the case of the north land, both governments recognize that it is public land. So the people who put houses up and work for the government do not have to pay. But if a white man moves privately, he has to pay for the land. I will give an example. At Chimo, there are airlines who put up houses. They have to pay for the land. The churches, they have also to pay a bit of money to own the lands; but the Eskimos and Indians do not have to pay the government when they live on public land.
- Eskimo:** No wonder, this is the land of the Eskimo and the government does not own it.
- Chairman:** Noah has to answer and nobody else because it is the answer given to Noah.
- Noah:** When the Eskimo sees the minutes of the paper of the meetings they are not happy, because it looks as if the delegate was sleeping.
- Neville:** I can tell the people Noah was not sleeping. Robitaille was there as well.
- Robitaille:** I was not sleeping either.
- Neville:** I remember that Noah said a lot. It is not his fault if the paper says that Noah did not talk much.
- Noah:** I do not like that because it does not show what I said. Then the people perhaps will not trust me.

Robitaille: I have something important to say. The answer to that question is written here. (Noah reads the answer given by Mr. Yates to the Eskimos at the Montreal meeting.) Now I will explain what it means. (He goes to the historical map.) Before 1670, there were no white men in the north and this country was not called Quebec then. The King of England gave that land to the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company opened stores, at first around Rupert and later at Chimo and Great Whale. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company sold that territory to England for \$750,000 (at the present rate of the pound). In 1870 it became part of Canada. The Government of Canada, as I said, gave that territory to Quebec. I had to say this first. Now, I come to the point. In 1912 the federal government in an agreement with Quebec, said what is written in the answer. It means that if the Eskimo people think they have rights to this land that they first occupied, they have to tell the Quebec Government.

Paulusiapik
Palia:

I will answer. In July '64, at a meeting where Mr. Levesque and Mr. Robitaille were, I said that this land where the Eskimos lived belonged to the Eskimos. I said that in 1964 and I still believe it.

Joanasi
Naluyouk:

Since the meeting in 1964 in Chimo where Mr. Levesque, Robitaille and Goudreau were, we have been fighting about land rights. Mr. Levesque explained that the land of northern Quebec could be separated from the rest of Quebec if the Eskimos had their own government and from that time on Eskimos and governments were fighting about the land rights.

Paulusiapik: Does Robitaille have something to say?

Robitaille:

Yes. I was there. As a white man I could understand Levesque well. This is what I understood. Mr. Levesque said that the Eskimos in northern Quebec live in Quebec. Until now, the white people who came here used to say you should do this, you should do that. He, Mr. Levesque, said, "This is no good. Since you live in the northern portion of the province, you should take control of your own affairs, because you are living in this portion of Quebec." Mr. Levesque also said that is what the Government of Quebec wants to do; that is what the Quebec Government wants - to help the Eskimos to control their own affairs. It is not good to be told by whites what to do. They should get education, work together in their co-ops and control their own land.

Joanasi
Naluyouk:

For a long time now Eskimos and government have been arguing like that. That is why I find it a good reason to make clear our claims to the land. All the time the Eskimos have been talking; talking about their children and the children of our children. We are afraid that the Quebec Government would not give them as good services as they are giving now.

Paulusiapik:

Robitaille did not complete what was said at that meeting. One of the things Mr. Levesque said got into my heart. Mr. Levesque said that the Eskimos are like cattle, like animals; and they can't think like humans. I have heard that. It was said and it hurt my heart. Because Mr. Robitaille was on that side, because he works for Quebec, he didn't take it seriously but it hurt me and that government is not my government.

Robitaille:

I was there. I understand French and English. Mr. Levesque did not say that because he did not feel that. Would he have talked about Eskimos taking control if he had thought that? Even if Paulussiapik doesn't like Quebec, he should not say things that are not true.

Paulussie:

Mr. Levesque said that. When I came back from that meeting in Chimo, I told the people, "You can decide if you will believe Robitaille or me."

Joanasi:

I heard it too.

Robitaille:

Who was interpreting.

Paulussie:

Jimmy Ford.

Robitaille:

I think it impossible that a man like Levesque would leave Quebec City and go to meet the Eskimos to tell them that they are cattle. No man in

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his right mind can believe that. What may have happened is that Levesque said, "It is not good that the Eskimos be told do this and that, like cattle." He said it is not good, just the opposite of what Paulus' pik said.

Paulussie: What I said is what I was told. I even answered to that, when Levesque said that we thought like cattle. How could we survive in this land if we thought like cattle.

Robitaille: I have said what I have to say. I know Mr. Levesque. He is not a man like that. I don't know what was translated but he never said such a thing.

Neville: I was not at that meeting but I want to say this about Mr. Levesque. At that time, he was a minister of the Quebec Government and he used to meet with people from the federal government. Sometimes Mr. Levesque and my minister at that time used to argue, but I always understood Mr. Levesque to be a man concerned about people. We still see him as a man who is concerned about the rights of all human beings. I find it hard to imagine Mr. Levesque calling any group of human beings cattle. I was not at the meeting but my understanding of it was that there was a misunderstanding in the use of words. How many times do we misunderstand each other? Even tonight we sometimes misunderstand each other through the use of words. That is my impression of what may have happened for what it is worth.

Joanasi: I will answer back to Neville about misunderstanding because both Eskimos and white people want to be boss. If we can understand each other, we will reach agreement between us. The reason why the whites and the Eskimos cannot understand each other is because both of us have a desire to be the one on top.

Neville: We agree. Now, we agreed to quit at 22:30. So we had better stop now.

Noah Kumak: We better finish that question of cattle so that the people will not forget. I think that we are treated like cattle by both governments because they do what they want with us like the Eskimo does with his dogs. Like cattle, the Eskimos are given to Quebec because they are too numerous for the federal government, so Quebec has to look after the cattle. We don't like to be given to Quebec by the federal government because we are too numerous for them to do this without being consulted. The wrong things are coming out because we were not consulted by the government; because this reputation that we are cattle will spread all over the place; it makes us ashamed. I understand that we are seen like the ones who cannot say no to the white man and this is why decisions are taken without us being consulted. We will continue to talk about that tomorrow.

Robitaille: We understand very well what you said.

Noah Kumak: People want to say something at the meeting and the meeting should start earlier tomorrow.

Neville: Right. We would like to talk about this cattle business tomorrow too.

Noah Kumak: I don't speak on my own but I represent the ideas of the others.

Neville: Yes. At the same time, we invite anybody to speak his mind.

A discussion follows in regard to the next day's meeting. It will start at 10:00.

General Meeting

- Robitaille: Last night, being a Quebec representative, I was very stunned at what I heard said about Mr. Levesque and the Government of Quebec. I heard Paulussiapik say that Mr. Levesque, who was then a Minister of the Crown, said that the Eskimos were cattle. I said that I attended that meeting and that Mr. Levesque didn't say that. Paulussiapik says he understood something and I say I did not understand the same thing. If we are to have any understanding of each other, as a Quebec Government representative, I think that it is no use to keep talking. So Mr. Neville and I agree that this thing must be cleared.
- Neville: I agree. I heard it said here that people do not trust Quebec. It seems that they do not trust the federal government either since the federal government wants to do these things we have been talking about with the Quebec Government. But the federal government would not work with the Quebec Government if it believed that the Quebec Government did not view the Eskimos as people. So we feel that it is no use to keep talking unless the people show that they trust us. Last night we tried to give reasons why they should trust us but it seems we didn't convince the people. So with the permission of Archdeacon Clarke, I would like to ask a question of the spiritual leader of this community. Do I have this permission?
- (Clarke agrees.)
- Chairman: Anybody can talk at this meeting. Go ahead with your question.
- Neville: Mr. Williams, do you believe that in this country called Canada any government can look upon people as cattle?
- Williams: Mr. Neville, why am I put in this situation?
- Neville: You are close to the people here and you must feel that this lack of trust in both governments.
- (Discusses the point Mr. Neville is trying to make. Robitaille explains again the reason but Mr. Williams says he is a spiritual leader and he does not want to answer a political question. Robitaille says he is not a politician but a civil servant and that he and Neville are here in good faith and since the people will not trust them, they ask for the view of somebody who is respected by the people.)
- Williams: My answer is that I was not at the meeting in Chimo. I have heard for a long time the people say among themselves that Mr. Levesque had said they were considered like animals. For my own thought, I find it very difficult to believe that Mr. Levesque said this. But I believe sincerely that this was understood by the people at the meeting. I do not believe it was a story made up by somebody who didn't like the Government of Quebec. I think there must have been some misunderstanding. This is my answer to your original question but if you give me five more minutes, I will give you examples of things that happened that led the people to believe what they had misunderstood.
- Neville: Yes, you have five minutes.
- Williams: The first point concerns the documents made up as a basis for discussion at meetings by the joint committees on education, health, welfare, etc. I understand that it is this document that has been translated into Eskimo and which was mentioned last night.
- Robitaille: I was on the steering committee. There were six sub-committees. The summaries of the reports were translated into Eskimo as proposals for discussion.
- Williams: I don't think that the Eskimos understand that the document did not say we decided this or that, but only this is what we might do if you agree. They have not understood that the documents were proposals only.
- Interpreter: Do you understand the point Williams has been making?

- Williams: Secondly, with regard to this document, they were not the minutes of the meetings. So it is no wonder that the people do not see there what the... did.
- Robitaille: (Explains that the committees were technical committees who studied administrative facts. They were reporting to the general committee whose Eskimos were represented. But the documents in regard to the committee reports were not minutes of course. They were made in July but in September they had a meeting where they discussed the reports.)
- Williams: Can I ask Noah when he received the minutes?
- Noah: After freeze up but the things we said are not all written down.
- Neville: Mr. Williams is making a point that there is a lot of confusion about the documents. We can clear up the documents now or finish with Reverend Williams.
- Williams: This is a reason why the things that they think they heard Mr. Levesque say bear on their minds. Another thing is that they heard about this tour through a newspaper.
- Neville: The decision concerning this tour was taken in December and this letter was to inform the people that we would be coming; but the Ministers were travelling a lot and they could not manage to sign it. It is too bad it arrived so soon before we did. On the other hand, we discussed these things before with the Eskimos.
- Williams: The people thought the letter was saying that it was agreed to combine administrations not that the governments would like to combine administration if the Eskimos wanted.
- Neville: The letter said: "some changes are proposed."
- Williams: In these documents, the people have understood that the two governments went ahead with their plans in their back. I would like you to ask the people if they agree that this is the way they feel. Then I would like to make a couple more points in regard to Saglouc itself.
- Neville: I don't think it necessary. I believe that what you are telling me is what the people feel.
- Williams: I would like to make two points. They concern the promises made in the field of education in regard to the language of education. It has always been said the people would have the choice of the second language their children would be educated in. First, that is what I have heard from the people, true, but they heard from the local provincial agent that the province had no intention of teaching English. Second, were the parents of the children in grade three asked what language they wanted their children to be taught in or were they told after the beginning of the school year that French was to be taught? The people believe that although the politicians make promises, these promises are not carried out at the local level. Also there are people in this settlement who think something. I did not believe it first but Noah told me he heard the same thing in Ivujivik and Povungnituk. They say that Elijah Menarik said on CBC that if Quebec took control the people would not receive education unless they were Roman Catholics. This may sound funny to you but this is what the people heard or understood from the Menarik broadcast.
- Noah: Other people told me they heard the same thing in other settlements. But I did not believe that governments had anything to do with religion.
- Williams: Even though I do not believe that Mr. Levesque said what the people understood, because no politician with any brains would say that. But the promises and the other things have led the people to believe what they had misunderstood.
- Neville: We want to thank Reverend Williams and answer his questions.

Williams: I would like to say that Paulussiapik and Johenassie are not liars. They actually heard that and they said it in good faith. The misunderstanding must have happened in translation.

Neville: I agree. I do not think these men are liars but that there was a misunderstanding. We talked for 1½ hours about this matter of trust and understanding. It is very important. We will now answer Mr. Williams' questions.

Robitaille: We must stress the difference between the present situation and the one where Quebec would have control of all schools. Presently, there are federal schools where Eskimo and French are taught. The provincial government thought it should not repeat what the federal schools are doing. (i.e. teaching in English)

But I can say what will happen when the province has full control of all the schools. In Quebec, there are laws about education and I would like to mention Bill 63. This is a law of the government and it applies to all people in Quebec. Regarding the language of instruction, Bill 63 says this: the parents will be able to decide if they will send their children to an English or French school. I mean a school where the language of instruction is English. I do not mean a federal school; it means any school in the province which happens to use English.

Even the federal schools at the present time follow the laws of the Quebec Department of Education.

This means that if Quebec controls all the schools in the settlements, there will be three choices. This is very important. According to the law the Eskimos of northern Quebec can choose to send their children to an English school. I mean a school where the main language of instruction is English but there, French will have to be learned as a subject.

The second possibility according to Bill 63 is that the parents can choose to send their children to a French school with English as a subject but for northern Quebec the Quebec Government is also willing to have Eskimo schools. In these the language of instruction from kindergarten to grade 3 would be Eskimo. According to the choice of the parents, a second language can be taught and it can be French or English. French or English would start slowly in the first grades and after grade 3, it would increase until Eskimo is phased out completely at the end of elementary education.

I would like to mention again that the parents would have the choice.

Noah: We can understand well but what the Eskimos have said cannot be considered in all these choices. (The kids should be taught Eskimo from third to seventh grade.)

Neville: Yes. We made a note of that but we wanted to be sure that all Eskimos did not want Eskimo to be taught in the schools and we say again today that the people should think more about saying, "No, we don't want Eskimo to be the language of instruction." We have met Eskimos who said that they would like to have their children taught in Eskimo. Many others said they did not want it.

Noah: We would like to educate the teenagers who are in the middle of Eskimo and white culture. They could be taught Eskimo ways and language three times a week. It is for their protection; if they want to go hunting they would have to know about the weather, the ice floes, the currents. It would be good because white people here have been lost and this could happen to Eskimos.

But I find that what the Eskimos say cannot be followed.

Adjournment. Meeting will start again at 13:30.)

Seigloue
General Meeting

Federal School
February 28, 1970
13:45 hours

- Neville: We are sorry to have kept you waiting but we were discussing things mentioned this morning. Mr. Robitaille is going to answer the two questions raised by Mr. Williams, about religion and Mr. Servant's comment about the language instruction in the schools.
- Robitaille: I spoke with Mr. Servant and asked him about that thing. I understand that Mr. Servant was referring to the present situation. According to the laws, as I said, the Eskimos will have a choice when Quebec has control of all schools. But now, Quebec has concerned itself only with French since the federal government took care of the English.
- Paulussiapik: There was a meeting in September about the schools. Some of you people will remember. We were asked by Ruth Bessette what we would do with the children now frequenting English school when Quebec was going to take over.
- Robitaille: I would have answered along the lines of the law 63.
- Paulussiapik: This is another reason for us to feel like cattle.
- Robitaille: The people should meet and discuss that question. They have the right to choose the type of school they want.
- Paulussiapik: I am just saying what Ruth Bessette said, I am not changing what she said I am telling it like she said it. I am not mad at her. She can say what she may.
- Miss Bessette: The meeting was called by Robitaille because he had heard that children were moving out of our school. He told me to meet with the Federal teachers and the parents. At that meeting, the problem of the language was not discussed but the parents said that they would not change their mind.
- Robitaille: (Translates what Miss Bessette said in French)
Now I want to answer what will happen when Quebec can control. I don't know the answer but I know that the people will have the choice.
- Noah: You seem to believe that the Eskimos would agree to have Quebec as their government.
- Robitaille: I am not asking if the Eskimos want Quebec or not. Both governments agree that Quebec has the right to do so. But I just provide information so that the Eskimos can think about it.
- Noah: When we get a paper talking about change of government, they read the paper and they make sure they understand what is written. We do not refuse information. It seems that you believe the Eskimos refuse Quebec because they don't understand. And we have heard about all these things that were explained before.
- We had some meetings with the Eskimos and there was an agreement about this: the two governments make decisions without consultation. So, if the two governments say that Quebec is going to take over, we want our land to be separated from Quebec.
- I do not even like the federal government because they take decisions without notifying us, like if we were cattle. In a newspaper, it was said that Mr. Chretien noticed on his visit that Eskimos could not stay in one place, since they are like animals. So the government doesn't want to have much to do since the Eskimos always move around like animals. Myself though I am getting old and I never move.
- You do not have to believe a man who passes through an Eskimo village and says: "I know the ways of the Eskimos" just like an Eskimo after a visit south cannot say: "I know the ways of the whiteman". The Eskimo land is not like the whiteman's land, but the whiteman makes laws about the Eskimos without knowing the Eskimos. We Eskimos cannot make laws about the whiteman, since we don't know about their land and

We hear and read that there are many car accidents. We can't tell them what to do with this problem. We hear that the whites die everyday from car accidents. But we cannot say how to solve that since we don't know how they are used.

This is not my own idea but an idea that I share with my fellow people. We cannot agree, although we understand, with the decisions taken by the government although we do not walk on our hands and have a head like the whiteman. We have the right to choose the government we want. If the two governments proceed with their plans, we will stop the schooling of the children. We also know there is a law of Canada that says everybody should go to school. Because we think about the future and see the picture of the future, we can see that if the governments carry on their plans without the agreement of the Eskimos, we can see bad feelings to increase.

We say that because we have something in our head. These ideas come from everybody because I attend every meeting unless I am sick. These are the ideas of the whole people of Sagluc.

We received documents from the government that say things that do not make sense. Like this newspaper, the Message. One of the things explained is that the government of Quebec wants to be different from other governments. (Also separatism, etc... refer to Crowe's words). You think we don't understand, but we do. Sometimes, these papers do not make sense. Then the representatives of Quebec come here, they want to push out the federal employees. Although they are here, it seems they are doing nothing, the Quebec people.

After 1966, there were more French speaking people in Ottawa.

There are two things that are true in this newspaper: The Eskimo delegates attended the meetings and they don't agree to the transfer.

Neville: Many of the things in this document (re the newspaper) are not correct.

Noah: We are told now that things that are sent to us and are written are not true. This is unpleasant.

Neville: Do they want to hear the truth?

Noah: We believe that things are written only when they are sure.

Neville: We hope that what is written is right but in this case, it is not.

Noah: It was written by Crowe and translated by Zebedee Nunguk.

Neville: This paper is not a Quebec paper. It is a federal paper. It gives the views of Keith Crowe, not the views of my bosses at the Federal Government. That does not mean that everything said is wrong. But it does mean that some important things written here are not right.

Noah: How come, when you find something wrong, and you don't correct it?

Neville: It is a good question. Normally, when a document like that goes out many people see it and have to agree before it goes out. But I did not see this document nor did my boss before it went out. This document looks a little bit like a newspaper and in newspapers, people sometimes say what they think. I think Mr. Crowe was saying what he thought.

Noah: We don't want these kind of things to come up here, if they are not right. If somebody just writes what he thinks, it is not good. I would like to know if this part is right.

Neville: (Reads the paragraph)
It is not true that Quebec was more rural than urban. It is not true that more young people want less control by the federal government.

Noah: Here, the young ones are getting more numerous. So I am inclined to believe that.

- Neville: Yes I understand that. But I don't believe that sentence; next sentence: "their ancestors were the first whites in Canada and they want to keep their language and culture."
- Paulussiapiik: Yesterday, we said Levesque said something and you said you did not believe that. Is it the same thing now?
- Neville: No. I just say that the writer presents things here as facts, and they are not facts.
- Noah: I believe that Paulussiapiik was right when he said Levesque talked about cattle because Paulussiapiik had answered: "I have a soul like you". And Levesque had gotten mad about that.
- Neville: What has that to do with the Crowe paper?
- Noah: We are not judging. We are just saying that you are saying that we have a wrong understanding, like last night.
- Robitaille: I agree. It is the same situation.
- Neville: I am not saying that Crowe purposefully set out to say wrong things. But that the use of words is misleading. The federal government did not say it wanted to give responsibility to the provinces about Indian Affairs. It said that Indians should get from the provinces the services provided to their other citizens. Even if the provinces did that, the federal government would still be interested and give money to the provinces. But it thinks that the provinces are better able to provide these services because they can make laws on these matters.
- So that sentence seems to say the the federal government wants to give the responsibilities and walk away. That is not right. I think Crowe knows that, but the way the words are put is misleading. I am not saying Crowe is a liar, but I don't like the way he says things.
- Noah: It is right that the young people of Quebec and Montreal wants to separate from Canada?
- Neville: If you are asking if it is true that some young people want to separate, the answer is right. But there are also young people in B.C. that want to separate.
- Noah: We are in Quebec, so we don't care if young people that live in other provinces want to separate. We do not want to separate and we care about what is said in Quebec.
- Robitaille: I will say this even if this thing is a federal paper. It is true that there are young people who dislike the federal government. But there are also Indians and Eskimo who dislike the federal government. I can say that the Quebec Government does not want to separate from the rest of Canada, and the federal government knows that.
- We have stated that this document does not tell the truth and we are here to talk about the other documents. I do not want to keep discussing this.
- Neville: Neither do I.
- Noah: We think that Bill 63 is worse than what we people recommended in Montreal. So when you say the government represents the people, it is not right.
- (Somebody says the meeting should go on tomorrow).
- Neville: Well, we have other communities to visit. But before we go, we would like to say what the two governments want to do in the months immediately ahead.
- Noah: OK. We would like to say what we will do too.

Neville: OK

BREAK

Neville: In the months immediately ahead, our two governments want to work very closely together. The federal government is sending me to Quebec to work with Robitaille. I will still be a federal civil servant. Mr. Robitaille and I will be coming again to discuss with the Eskimos.

Robitaille: The two governments have changed the date of the transfer. It will not be done on April 1. So the only change in the months immediately ahead is that the federal and provincial employees and the Eskimos will work together and try to reach a good mutual understanding.

So, there will still be a Federal English school here next year, and a Provincial school because the government does not want to change things too fast.

There should be many meetings in the months to come so that the Eskimos understand and agree on good decisions.

Neville: Noah has said that the two governments have not listened to the Eskimos before. Now the two governments want to give more say to the Eskimos in all matters, like education. We are going to find ways to give more say to the people.

Robitaille: The Eskimos should think seriously about Eskimo teaching. If the Eskimos are not learning Eskimo in their school, in a few years some will not talk Eskimo anymore. There will be a lack of communication between the young and the old. These young ones will not be Eskimo very much. How will the Eskimo control their own affairs then?

Noah: If Quebec takes over, there will be no school.

Robitaille: OK. I take it down to report to my Minister. But even if he says that, the Eskimos should think about it.

Noah: I would feel better if these things were published for all Canada.

Robitaille: We will report to our boss. They will do what they want with this document.

Issaqui
Padlayat: You have been talking about important things. I will talk about something which is more important. Now, it is time that we know what is important.

The most important thing is the land. I am not mad at the two governments, and I am not trying to please the two governments. In 1912, the territory was extended. In 1964, we started to have another government.

Because the land is so important, we cannot agree with anything you say even if it sounds pleasant. The white people did not just discover the Eskimos, they existed a long time before. I say this because I believe the Eskimos should do about their own land what they want to do.

I am a full Eskimo. I believe what I say, and I would not mind if my words were printed in America. The reason we can't agree with the government is because we think of the future. In the future, since there will come a government that we don't want, the people will not be strong, and we will leave.

That is what I have to say. I would like it to be put in a newspaper.

Neville: I took down what you said.

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- Joanassie: We would like that all other people in the whiteman's land read what we said.
- Robitaille: I will also report to my Minister. It will be up to him to decide if what we heard is to be put into newspapers. But I must add that the other people who took notes here, are perfectly free to do what they want to do with them, like put them in the newspaper.
(Neville agrees)
- Adamie Alaku: If the white people were given away to a government they did not choose, would they like it?
- Robitaille: The answer is NO. But there have been changes in southern Canada that happened and the white people were there. Could you explain more what you mean?
- Adamie: I am asking that because we are given to a government and we did not have our say in it.
- Robitaille: I will answer that. It might sound harsh but I will talk.
- Mr. Neville said that the federal government will still keep an interest in Eskimos affairs. In 1964, the two governments felt that this was a matter to discuss among themselves. It is like in a Co-op. The Board of Directors makes decisions without consulting the members all the time, so that the Co-op can work. When Quebec and Ottawa met, it was a bit like this; they said: "We run our governments, we have to decide ourselves". I am not saying that this looks right to the Eskimos, but that it is the way the whitemen in the government think.
- Noah: We have heard that the federal government would still supervise the Eskimos even when we have the Provincial Government. Our land was given to the H.B.C. and the company used it to become rich even though we were starving. These people came from across the sea and take land where nobody is living. When the white people came from across the sea, they settled and claimed the land where they settled. But we Eskimos think that the land where we live should be ours; we were on it first, but we do not want the land where we do not live. In 1912, the land was arranged without consultation with the people, even though my father could think at the time. Now, at a time when I am getting older, the two governments made a plan without consulting the Eskimos, in 1964. It would have been easier if the Eskimos were asked what they thought.
- The whiteman brings us things that he had decided, we people bring our own things that we want to do. If Quebec takes over, the children will be taken out of school. The parents who have more children than I do all say that.
- The other thing is about the land. We want to give you a map where we want to show where we want our land to be marked; you will have to think that the teachers will have nothing to do if Quebec takes over. The parents will take care of their own children.
- Joanassie: You should not meet the teachers, because you are not here to meet the teachers. (Neville had said that he wanted to meet the teachers after supper)
- Neville: Why is it that they don't want Quebec?
- Noah: Because they did not find us first. We want to have our own government. The school will stop in both schools when Quebec takes over.
- Neville: OK. I just wanted to make sure that I understood.
- Noah: I say that because my fellow people say that. If I disagreed with what the people say, I will say so.
- Paulussie Alaku: Since there are a lot of people here, I will ask them what they think of the discussions. Does everybody agree about stopping the schools when Quebec takes over. Those who do raise your hand. (A clear majority does) We are fed up being the servants of the whiteman.

Noah: And he means both schools, federal and provincial.

Neville: Well, if Quebec is alone, there will not be two schools.

Noah: We heard all that.

Paulussic Alaku: The Eskimo was living by himself before. He still can do that. He wants to own his land. He is not afraid to do it again. I am trying here to bring out the people's thoughts.

It seems that some Eskimo land is bought by the mining companies. But the Eskimos never see any of that money. Perhaps this money would be enough to pay for health and schools. And this would allow us to run our own land. This way, we would keep our language and our culture.

Josepie: Only part of our culture. We can't live in snow houses anymore, and the animals are scarce.

Noah: When the whiteman comes, even as a worker, he succeeds in getting on top because the Eskimos do not report to his boss. Do you people feel the same thing? Mr. Robitaille came here, he was just going in a boat and now he is a boss. And Neville was just a Northern Service Officer

Neville: There are bad people in all peoples. Some of the white people who came up were bad. But some were good. I see two persons here (interpreters) who are good people.

Noah: Well the clergy come here to serve the population and they don't try to be on top.

Paulussiapik: We Eskimos, are travelling along ways which are not pleasant to us. Not the same thing for the whitemen. That is why we want to take the land. We have no desire to make things unpleasant. I know that the government does not want to make the Eskimo sad; but I do not like what the government is trying to do for us and it makes me sad. The whiteman does what he wants and we cannot do what we want to do. I do not expect an immediate answer. But I will expect an answer when your Ministers have heard this.

We people here started to do something about ourselves in 1969. So we began last fall to gather money by placing a tax on what we sell at the Co-op. We are just beginning; we don't expect to achieve what we want now, but perhaps our children's children will achieve what they want. If our land is separated now, we will be able to do this. It is the way the white people started; they didn't know if they would succeed. So we start it without being sure; but perhaps we will be able to live on our own without depending on the two governments.

I would like to be told how the whiteman succeeded in making a government for themselves. We were never told how it could be done, but we started anyway last year. Our tax is four cents a dollar, .01¢ up to .25¢, .02¢ for .50¢, .03¢ up to .75¢, four cents up to \$1.00. What we expect from the government is how we can go faster.

That is all, I will talk about something else. I don't want to hide those thoughts.

The things we are afraid of is to be cut off from our fellow Eskimos in Baffin Land. We also said this when we heard about separatism. If the children here are taught in French and the others are taught in English, how will we keep our ties. In Russia, there are Eskimos and we never hear about them. This is one of the reasons we don't want to be run by Quebec.

Neville: Does he know about the guarantee given by both governments?

Paulussiapik: Yes, we understand, but we want you to hear what we think. The older people are decreasing and the young ones are more numerous. We have heard about separatism and we are afraid. It has not happened but it may happen in the future.

- Josephic: It may be true that the ones who are separatists are increasing, but it is also true that those who are not are increasing. So we should not be afraid now.
- Paulussiapik: It is not a fear that we have only in Saglouc. The money that is spent for mining and furs should stay here.
- Another thing. About the white-man's land. The white population is increasing, the resources are diminishing. If we don't have our own land, we will have less and less chance.
- Robitaille: I feel I have to say something as a Quebec representative. I think that I understand well what the Eskimos think about the land. But now, in 1970, the Quebec and Federal Governments feel that this is part of Quebec, but I respect your views and I will report to my Minister.
- Noah: We are not asking a question, we are telling you what we have already started to do.
- Robitaille: I will now talk not as an employee of the Province, but as an individual. The Indians had the same problem. They hired lawyers and presented their point to the Prime Minister. If the Eskimos have claims to the land, they could perhaps do the same thing.
- Noah: When the Eskimos were starving, the H.B.C. got a million dollars for their land. This money should go back to the Eskimos. I have not heard that this money was given. They should at least have given money to the Eskimos to prevent them from starvation.
- I want to make certain about some things. We say that we refuse Quebec; how many times was it alledged that the Eskimos agreed to Quebec. We would like to hear if the other Eskimos agreed about Quebec. Do you know the answer to this question?
- Robitaille: In the settlements where we were, most Eskimos who spoke said that they did not want to be administered by Quebec, except in Inoucdjouac. There is one thing that the Eskimos said everywhere: they want to control their own land.
- Noah: Perhaps Lazarusie Epoo talked too much and this misled you.
- Robitaille: No. He was chairman but the other people talked more.
- Neville: In Great Whale and Inoucdjouac, the people agreed to work with the two governments to see what could be done in the months immediately ahead. They are anxious to work with us and we will try to give them special consideration. In Povung it was not as clear. I mean about the two governments working together.
- Noah: I would like to be notified if there is some letter written down favouring Quebec, I would like to see them. I mean a letter or something in the newspaper where the person who signs agrees with Quebec. It may come from Povung. A person told me not to think like a child by refusing the Quebec Government.
- When a lot of money is spent to take us out for these meetings and we are supposed to be childish, it doesn't make much sense.
- Neville: Who did say that?
- Noah: Steinman. He also told me that if the Eskimos liked the Quebec agent, they liked the Quebec Government. And this was supposed to be childish. If a letter comes out to say that, do not believe it; it would make us weaker. The men who were signing their name did not know what they were signing.
- Robitaille: Do you know anybody who signed it?
- Noah: One of them was Levi Kumaluk.
- Robitaille: We heard about the letter in Povung, but we have not seen it.

Neah I think this letter I am talking about is a different one.

Robitaille: Just before finishing, I would like to talk. I have been pleased to be here again. I won't say that I have been pleased by everything because I am representing Quebec and I know that Quebec Government wants to help the Eskimos, but I respect what you have said. After we are finished with our tour of the settlements, we will report to our Government. I am very proud to represent Quebec.

Neville: This is the first time I have been here. I have listened to what you said. Like Robitaille, some of the things I heard hurt my ears. But I appreciate that you have your own views and I respect them. We can see that there are hard feelings against both governments and against white people. Over the years, my government must have failed in many ways. And we, as white people, must have failed in many ways because these feelings are very real. But instead of that, we want to listen and learn from the words of the Eskimos. We sense that there is not much trust toward the government and that is hard. But we are tough and we are still going to try, with our governments, to do the best we can in the years ahead.

We only make one promise. We will try to understand you Eskimos and will try to help you, if you give us a chance. We will be coming back again to talk and to pick up these discussions where we left

Paulussie: We are glad that you came. You have heard what we had to say and we heard what you had to say and we are not finished. We want help to do what we want to do. We hope that you will have a trip without accidents, that your work will go well. Carry back our greetings to your people.

Paulussi Alaku: We are grateful that you came and listened to us.

APR 11 1968

Provincial School
March 1, 1970
17:00 hours

Inugivik

Extrajudicial Meeting with Eskimo Council

- Neville: We are glad to be here. I am Neville, I work for the Federal Government and the other is Robitaille, from the Government of Quebec. Our governments have sent us to talk to all Eskimo communities in Northern Quebec. (Especially the first but introductory comments, background information and general explanation of the purpose of the tour are given as at Saglouc) They have received the letter. Neville offers extra copies.
- Robitaille: (Talks more precisely about the Minister's letter. Mosossie Allualuk is the delegate. We would like to have a meeting tonight and tomorrow morning.)
- Neville: We would like to be in Wakeham tomorrow night.
- Mosossie: Why are you in such a rush here?
- Neville: We are not, but since there are few people, we think it will take less time. Do you think two meetings would not be enough?
- Mosossie: Yes, I think that will be time enough.
- Robitaille: This is just the first visit and we will come back.
- Neville: We will try not to talk too much. There are things we want to explain though.
- Robitaille: Mr. Simard here is taking note of everything we say and these notes will be brought to our Ministers.
- Mosossie: I will be grateful if everything we say is written down. I was a delegate and I am glad I will not be the only one to listen to you. Some people consider that we may have lied.
- Neville: We are here to listen and explain, and bring the ideas of the Eskimos to our Ministers.
- Eskimo: I would like to know why you didn't come here first, after Povungnituk?
- Robitaille: Because people were leaving Saglouc Monday and they asked us to go there before their departure.
- Sachariassie: I thought you made a mistake and by-passed this place.
- Neville: No. They asked us to go there first, and the request seemed reasonable.
- Sachariassie: We figured that the Saglouc people were the bosses.
- Robitaille: No. It is because they called us to say that some people were leaving Saglouc and we wanted to see everybody. We have to say the same thing and listen as much everywhere.
- Lucassie: Because of this, you might hear things that are not pleasant. We are not angry, but we are anxious to say what we want to say.
- Neville: We will listen.
- Mathewssie: You came here sent by your bosses. You should not leave before we have said what we have to say. We can't get any understanding if you leave before we are finished.
- Robitaille: We will see. Our Ministers have left us free to leave when we have to, since they also told us that we had to cover every village. We will not come just once but we will come again.
- Neville: We will try not to talk too much so that the people will have time to talk.
- Sachariassie: We are glad that you came.
- Neville: Do they want to assign somebody as chairman?
- (A little man, Oujjak, did not open his mouth)
- The general meeting will be held at 20:30 hours.

Ivujivik

Provincial School

March 1, 1970

General Meeting

21:30 hours

Mossesie: (Address to the meeting). Now is the time to say what you think about the things I have to you about. It is time to talk about the land. Say what you think about the land. These people here do not come to make you shy.

Neville: Introduces himself.

Robitaille: Introduces himself.

Neville: We were asked by our Ministers to visit the settlements of Northern Quebec and to listen to the Eskimos and to report back to them about the ideas of the Eskimos. Our Ministers have sent a letter to propose some things to the Eskimos and to explain why we were coming.

I want to explain a little bit what the governments think. For many years, the government of Canada and the government of Quebec thought that it would be a good idea if the government of Quebec provided to the Eskimos all the services Quebec was already providing to all the other citizens in the province, especially in the fields of health, welfare, education and economic development. In 1964, both governments sat down to think seriously about these things. They agreed that it would be good if Quebec took over federal services as long as certain rights of the Eskimo people were respected. The two governments agreed that the language and culture of the Eskimos should be respected. The Eskimos of Northern Quebec should maintain their ties with other Eskimos in the Northern Territories. The services that the people would get from Quebec should be at least as good as those now given by Federal Government. The Government of Quebec would have to listen to the Eskimos about their land. By this I mean that the Eskimo people may have rights to the land in Northern Quebec and the government of Quebec agreed to listen to the Eskimos on this matter. Also, even if Quebec was in charge, Ottawa would still be interested and would supervise the way the services would be given and contribute money. I mean that if Quebec was to provide the services, the government of Canada would not walk away but would still be interested about the way services are administered.

The two governments also agreed that the Eskimos should be consulted about how the changes should be made. Both governments agree that this would be good and they agreed on it in 1964. They think it is logical because provincial governments have the responsibility to provide these services in other parts of Canada. And the government of Canada was saying to Quebec, "will you do these things for us although we would still be interested in the Eskimo people?" The federal government said this because the provincial government is more able to do these things than it is. The provinces have been providing these services since this country was put together in 1867.

The two governments agreed to do this in 1964 but nothing happened. In March, 1969, the federal government approached the province again. Officials of both governments got together and wrote down what both governments were doing now. These things were facts. They also put down their thoughts on how the things could be done if the Province took over. Again, those were thoughts on how the services could be provided. At the same time, the governments asked each community in N.Q. to send a delegate to discuss these thoughts. The people agreed and your people sent Mossesie to discuss these things. I believe he came down twice once in Quebec, once in Montreal. When he came down the first time, the governments had translated their thoughts and gave them to Mossesie and to other delegates. All the spokesmen were asked to bring these thoughts back to the people and to make sure they understood well. Through the spokesmen, the people were also asked to say what they thought about these things.

Last summer, my Minister, Mr. Chretien, visited these communities. He did not go to all communities but to some of them only. He came back saying that the Eskimos did not understand some of these things that were written and he thought they did not have enough time to understand it all. The spokesmen said the same thing in Montreal. In the documents, there was a

Neville:
(Con't) date, April, 1970. The document said that perhaps Quebec would take over at that date but it became evident that more time was needed so that the Eskimos would understand well. In December, 1969, our ministers met to discuss this. They agreed that more time was needed for the Eskimos to understand. They decided to forget about that April 1, 1970 date. But they still believed the transfer was good and they still want to go in this direction.

In the meantime, the two governments decided to work more closely together. There are so many things to be done to help the people. Instead of having two sets of governments, there should be only one. The Ministers said that Neville and Robitaille should work closely together. They decided to send their officials up and that is why we are here tonight. We want to do this again in the year ahead.

We are here to explain, to listen and report your thoughts to our ministers.

Robitaille: I will speak more briefly than Neville because I agree with what he said. I say this as a Quebec Government representative. I would like to thank Mosessie because he helped us to understand better what the people thought.

I will now talk about the land. I used to teach a long time ago, and I will do the same thing tonight to explain why Quebec wants to give services.

(Mr. Robitaille gives the usual background discourse on how the land in Nouveau Quebec came to be regarded as part of Quebec Province.

In March, 1969, the government of Canada asked Quebec to administer all services in Northern Quebec. Both governments agreed to explain to the Eskimos how these things should be done. That is why we met the delegates and that is why we are here today.

Neville: We probably spoke too long because we told Mosessie we were not going to talk long; but we wanted the people to understand.

Lucassie: Why are you trying to look after the Eskimo land? This land has been the land of the Eskimos and of the H.B.C. Now, the whiteman wants to look after it.

Robitaille: The governments are not only trying to look after the land but also about the people. The whitemen think that this land is in the territory of Quebec. That is what the two governments think. They also know that the Eskimos were here first. Many years ago, there were Eskimos, missionaries and traders here. Sometimes, the Eskimos were short of food. Ottawa sent policemen to help the Eskimos. That was the first time governments were coming in. After that, schools were opened, and nursing stations because the needs were pressing. That is how the government came to look after the Eskimos and after the land.

Neville: I agree with what Robitaille said but perhaps I don't understand Lucassie's question. Can he explain what he means?

Lucassie: We were in need for a long time. Why didn't the governments come before?

Neville: It is true that both governments were busy with things happening in the Southern part of the provinces until after World War II. That was true in all the big provinces that had their own North. After the Second World War, the governments started to look towards the North and the people living there. It is true that missionaries, H.B.C. and police were helping long before. It seems that it was only after the War that the governments decided to do something. The provinces were saying: "we have to give services to the people of the North because we have to give services to all the people in our territory."

- Lucassie: It is true that a lot of Eskimos had a lot of needs even when I was young. I wonder why at that time, the governments did not think there were governments at the time and why they left the H.B.C. as sole helper.
- Neville: I agree that it took a long time for the governments to take an interest in Indians and Eskimos. It was even the same thing in regard to white people living in the South, deep in the country. It takes a long time for a nation to get a sense of responsibility. I can't say more.
- Robitaille: Another reason why communications were not good, there were no planes, no ships. The H.B.C. was first interested until 1870. Only in 1904 did the first policeman come in Chesterfield Inlet and afterwards the government moved in very slowly. Here in Quebec, the policemen were first in Port Harrison in 1937. After the War, after the airstrip in Chimo, the governments moved in faster.
- Lucassie: The people have a lot to say but there is one more thing I do not understand I want to know the deep reasons why governments are here.
- Neville: You ask hard questions.
- Lucassie: I would like to get an answer.
- Neville: Governments believe that they have a responsibility for the well being of all citizens in their country. They believe that citizens have a right to receive education, health services, welfare, good housing and ways to make a decent living. All across the country, governments try to provide these services to all citizens. When this country was made in 1867, most of responsibilities for the well being of citizens were given to the provincial governments but until recently, across the North, the provincial governments were not able to provide these services. The federal government gave the services to Indians and Eskimos while waiting for the provinces to be ready.
- So, gradually, the provincial governments are trying to bring these services to the people of the North. That is one reason why the governments are here.
- Another reason for the presence of the provincial government is to put to a good use the resources of the country. It is generally the case in Canada that the natural resources belong to provinces.
- Lucassie: Some of us do not understand what is a provincial government.
- Robitaille: (Going to a map) This is Canada. The government of this whole country is here, in Ottawa. The main function of the government of Canada is to see to the things that concern the country as a whole. For instance, the country must communicate with the other countries of the world. It has to see to the defence of the country. It prints the money. It also takes care of the general welfare of the people. These are things the federal government has to do.
- Robitaille: But this is a very big country. The Ottawa government cannot look after all the people because it is not close enough to them. Because of that, the country is separated in provinces. Since the Ottawa government could not look after all the needs of all the people, it was decided in 1867 that other governments, across the country will be separated. So there are Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Newfoundland, etc...
- Neville: There are people in the N.E.T. but there are not enough people to make a government.
- Robitaille: There is one government for each land. In Newfoundland, the government is at St. Johns. In the province of Newfoundland, there are whitemen and Indians and Eskimos. The government of Newfoundland therefore provides services to all these people. The 800 Eskimos along the coast of Labrador get services from the government of Newfoundland.

Robitaille:
(Cont)

In Quebec, the seat of the government is in Quebec city. So the government of Quebec wants to give the same services to Quebec Eskimos as Newfoundland does in Labrador.

Neville:

This is Ontario. The government of that province is here in Toronto. That government is trying to provide services to Indians in its territory. The same goes for Manitoba.

Sacharissie:

I am the chairman of the Council. I am happy that you two are here. The people hear what you two say. Since you say you are representatives of the government and the government is in charge, the people should listen.

In the past, I was a little afraid of the whiteman. I was turning my head. We will try to listen to you and to your wishes. We received documents from the South and we try to follow them. Even before the Eskimos have a chance to speak, these documents came to our land.

I will ask about something I have never heard before. If the land was purchased, the money should come to the Eskimos. Before, the governments came when the H.B.C. was in the land, the only reason that we could live was because our fathers worked hard. Before the governments came, we lived in tents during the fall; it was cold and the tents collapsed on us. We are looked after by the D.N.A. people and I would like to know why they want another one. If they (Quebec government) had come before, we could understand but the coming of the Quebec teachers is recent.

You are not disliked here. I just put out what I thought.

Robitaille:

I will answer about the land. I gave you some dates when I spoke. In 1670, when the H.B.C. got the land, they didn't pay. The land was given by the King of England. In 1869 the H.B.C. sold the land to the English. So, the whiteman bought the land for about \$700,000. It just became part of Canada. It was given to the federal government. In 1912, the federal government gave a part of it to Quebec. At the same time, the federal government gave land to other provinces.

That is all I know about land and money.

Neville:

I will answer why D.N.A. wants the other government to come. As we explained, there are small governments. In 1867, when the country was put together, it was agreed that the small governments would look after education, health, etc... It was written; it was put as law. The provincial government was going to give these services to all the people in the province.

The federal government decided that it would give these services to Indians and Eskimos who lived far away until the provinces were ready to do so. Now, the federal government wants the provincial governments to give these services. The federal government in the last few years has been asking the province of Quebec if they were ready and Quebec said yes.

That is the best explanation I can give.

Mathewssie:

I want to know why, the Quebec government when was asked to look after the people, didn't do so?

Robitaille:

In 1964, when it happened, the Quebec government had to be sure that the federal government would agree to it. The Quebec government did not have experience in the North; it wanted to get experience. Since 1964, Quebec has been in the North and has gained experience. In 1969, when the federal government asked again, Quebec said yes, we are ready.

Mathewssie:

That is a new answer. I was told that the Quebec government was asked long before that.

Robitaille: In the 1930's, there were discussions as to who would take care of the Eskimos. It was brought to court and the Supreme Court decreed that Ottawa was going to supervise the Eskimos. This was said by Mr. Neville today here and also in the letter sent to the Eskimos. That is why Mr. Neville said that the federal government was going to continue to supervise services to the Eskimos in Northern Quebec. But the federal government, while keeping jurisdiction, wants the province to administer these services.

Robitaille: The federal government is interested still, but it is asking the provincial government to do it (provide services) on their behalf.

Mathewssie: The Eskimos are considered as if they do not think since they are passed from one government to another. We are considered like musk-ox. Me too, I am considered as an animal by whitemen who are trying to take the land away from me.

Robitaille: By whom?

Mathewssie: The Quebec people. Did they go to see the Eskimos when they wanted to take the land. This part of the country doesn't have to be called Quebec, it should be considered as Eskimo land. There is a place where we want it to be separated. This is what we all think. The whiteman will not just disappear. I want the land to be known as Eskimo land not as part of Quebec. We want it divided where we put the line. If I want to go hunting, I do not want to be bound by the laws of Quebec.

Robitaille: Mr. Robitaille will answer and after that, we will stop.

Robitaille: I have taken note of what Mathewssie said. We heard the same thing in other settlements. The two governments know that the Eskimos were the first in this part of the country. But the two governments think that what is on the map is part of Quebec.

All I can say is that I will report to my Minister.

Mr. Aullaluk: I am a member of the Co-op even if I am not a boss. What I think, I will say. We want the help of both the federal and the provincial governments. We have a representative here but we also have a representative in Saglouc, Noah Kumak. He is not good to us. When he goes to meet the government, he comes back and says: "one government is good, the other one is no good". I don't like this kind of representative. He says Quebec is bad. I told him: "Who tried Quebec?" Maybe he should learn about government. Since Noah says Quebec is bad, it looks like we think the same way because he is our representative.

You say the representative is representing us. I say he is not. I would like to have a representative who is neutral; who is between the Eskimos and the two governments. I think that both governments should give to the Eskimos what they want. And they want more and more control of their own land. If the Eskimos are not master of their land, the government gets bigger and bigger and the Eskimos get smaller and smaller. If the Eskimos are too dependant on the two governments, they will lose their ways. And Eskimos' culture should not be lost. I do not know much but it seems that the French wanted the same thing; there has been a fight between the French and the English because of that. No matter if the Eskimo has the choice between Quebec and the federal government, the important thing is that the Eskimos have control of their local government. Even if the governments are helping, they should not be the boss. The Eskimos should.

I do not give orders. I am not a boss. But you have to be careful of what Noah says. Many people do not know much about government. They heard about it a lot but that does not mean that they know what it is. So, if we want to control, we must know what is a government. What is a government?

Neville: We will gladly answer that tomorrow.

Peter: I have asked to help my people and to help you. I want to have an answer. If I do not hear anything about it, it is because you guys do not make sense.

(The next meeting will be at 9:00)

Ivujivik

General Meeting

alle: We will try to answer Peter's question. To explain what a government is we must go back to the time man lived in a few families. The people in these families were able to decide what they wanted to do. These few families met all the needs of their members. The parents were responsible for education of their own children; families had to look after their own sick and their own old people. The work these people did was mostly hunting or gathering food. They did not have many rules to guide the people by. Life was quite simple. It was easy then for people to carry on themselves. Things were like that for a long time until people started to get together in bigger groups. Because there were more people, it was harder to decide what to do. The kind of work the fathers did began to change too. It soon became necessary for some men to make tools for the other men. It became necessary for some men to spend all their time looking for food for all the others. The people began to have different ideas as to how their children should be educated.

After a while, the men who had to spend all the time hunting didn't have time to educate the children and look after the sick. They began to have difficulties as to where they would hunt.

There were many people and they all had ideas on how things should be done. Many ideas were different and it was hard to decide what had to be done. Gradually, where there was a greater number of people, the people were looking for an easier way to look after the needs of all. They began to appoint certain people in the community to look after things that were to be done. Some would look after the matters of education; some others would look after the sick. They said that they should agree on rules to live in harmony. Some people had the job to develop these rules that would help the people to live in harmony. So people were appointed to do things for the community. That was the beginning of the idea of government. It started in villages thousands of years ago.

As one village was meeting with another village, they agreed on rules for both villages. This was extended to a whole country, many villages. Men developed different ideas on what should be the government. Some people have a strong man who has the most say about what rules should govern the people. The power to rule is passed inside a family, from generation to generation. In some countries, the people choose who should run the land and they also let this man choose other people to help him. Or they will also choose other men to help him. If they don't like the way the chosen men act, they change them.

That is the way it is in the cities, the provinces, in Canada. For instance, there is a city called Hamilton; there are one million people in that city. The people there elect people to direct the affairs of the city. They also choose other men to help them. If they don't like the way they act, they choose somebody else. There are things that go beyond the City of Hamilton. The people of all the cities of Ontario choose people to govern them. People of all the country have chosen people to govern them. Here in Canada, the top fellow is Trudeau and one of the men chosen to help is Chrétien, my Minister.

There is a beginning of local government in Ivujivik. People have chosen people to help run the community. So, government is a way people organize themselves to get things done. It is a thing supposed to carry the wishes of the people. It is mostly a way of doing things rather than a thing. That is the best explanation I can give.

alle: I will only talk a little more. I will speak about government in Quebec. There is the provincial government and municipal government. The provincial government is here and it is far away from many people. So the provincial government gives help to all by having municipal governments. The municipal governments don't have to take care of the whole of Quebec. All these

Robitaille:
(Con't)

governments work under the provincial government. Quebec would like to have municipal governments in the North. If there was a municipal government, the people could run the affairs of the people. But it would still be under the Provincial government. Then, perhaps the whiteman would have less control over the Eskimo settlement.

This is possible only if they work with the Quebec government. The federal cannot create municipal governments. It is a provincial responsibility.

There are Co-ops who elect their own board of directors running their own affairs; but it is smaller than a municipal government. For all the co-ops, there is a federation supposed to help all the Co-ops to work together. The provincial government helps all municipal governments to work together. But for the governments, what they do is much more important than the Co-ops. The Quebec government would like to create municipal governments when the Eskimos are ready.

Peter:

That is fine but we want to be part of Canada and you say the Eskimos should have more control in their land and the government should have less control. The government should teach the Eskimos how to run their own things. If the government does not do that, pretty soon, the Eskimos' way of doing will be lost. If we only use the whiteman's way, we will loose our ways. This is why the Eskimos should be taught how to run their own affairs. The Eskimos have to stand more and more on their own feet.

I said what I have to say.

Mosessie:

I am the substitute for Noah. If he falls sick, I should go but I shall not be called a representative. The documents that come from the whiteman, I have used all and I am working to get them understood by my fellow people. It appears as if I am disliked by my own people and when I go to the meetings, it seems that the whiteman dislikes me too. But I want you to hear what I want to say. I am pleased to go to these meetings, but when we get the documents, the whiteman's words are there but the Eskimos are not and this is unpleasant.

Right now, what I want to talk about is the time where we didn't know about the government but there was a government. Why was it that until 1946 we were not looked after by the government? I have heard what the whitemen are saying among themselves: "the Eskimos are just like dogs and they cannot think for themselves." This is true to the extent that a little while ago we didn't know more about the whitemen; but the Eskimos are thinking more and more now. The federal government began their work here as if it was only yesterday. Why do they want to give us away. This is too much. We Eskimos, and you, whitemen, have our own way of thinking and these ways do not agree; and this sudden desire to pass over responsibility seems wrong to us. We don't want to be separated from Canada.

The people here are few who have spoken. Some should talk frankly and say what they think.

Neville:

I will try to answer the first question. The Eskimos were not looked after by the government before 1946 because the governments were busy with the Southern people. It is only after the World War II, when people started to use more and more airplanes that the people started to come to these far away places. Both governments did not turn their eyes towards the North until recently. It is true that the people were neglecting the Northern people. People in the city have said the same thing. The people of the cities in the South were getting more attention but gradually, the provincial governments decided to give services to the people living in the Northern part of the provinces. It is a fact too that until the war, the governments were quite poor. When the war came, the people of Southern Canada were only concerned about the War. Only when the War was over, did the people start to care about the North.

The same thing goes for the federal government. That is the only answer we can give.

Robitaille: I have travelled in the North for many years and even in the Northwest Territories when I worked for the federal government. It is true that the white men in some cases were thinking that the Eskimos didn't have any thoughts. I believe it is because they did not understand the Eskimos and also because the Eskimos were not educated. But since 1964, there has been changes in this attitude. There might be still some who think that but not the government people.

I will give an example that the government does not think that. The Co-ops were born around 1962. The two governments helped the co-ops because they thought that the Eskimos could run their co-ops. More and more, the Eskimos will control their own Co-ops. The government thinks that the Eskimos can do for themselves in other fields what they have done with Co-ops - in education, health, welfare, etc... The two governments would like to help the Eskimos achieve that. When this is done, the Eskimos will really control their own affairs. Only then.

One can show lines on the map and say: This is Eskimo land but if the Eskimos do not have the knowledge to manage all these things, they will not be able to control the land.

And both governments want the Eskimos to achieve that. The governments think that the Eskimos are able to control their own affairs but that they are not ready to do it now; they have to get more knowledge and they still need the help of the government.

Neville: Mosessie also asked why the federal government wanted to pass over the Eskimos to Quebec. The federal does not want to give the Eskimos away. But the federal government cannot help the Eskimos to control their own affairs as well as the province. The federal government can't make laws about municipal governments or Co-ops laws; and the federal government can't make the laws about education. That is the way it is all across Canada. It is the provincial government that makes the law in regard to these things. If the Eskimos want to control their own affairs, they have to deal with the provincial government. That is why it seems that the federal government is anxious to see the provincial governments move in to assume these services. It does not mean that the federal government will walk away and abandon the people.

The federal government will still want to make sure that the services provided by the province are as good; and it will provide money for this purpose. It only asks the province: "will you provide these services that you can give better than us?"

Mosessie: I would like to ask a question about schooling. At the meetings, the Eskimos said that they would not decide about education before a year since the Eskimos like to have control of their children. That is what the Eskimos said in 1969: now, in 1969, let things stand as they are, we will take a decision in 1970. Now, in 1970, I asked the mothers about schooling. The mothers who have children of school-age said that if Quebec was the sole provider of schooling, they would take the children out of school. We say this because we want to make our own decisions.

Robitaille: Why do the Eskimos' mothers think this way?

Mosessie: It is not easy to know.

Neville: Do some of the others know? We took note of this feeling and our bosses will not understand why. They will ask the same question.

Peter Arillayak: I will get the women who were at the meeting.

BREAK

Neville: Can we hear from the women? Mosessie said that the mothers who have children in school said that if Quebec is the sole provider of education, the children will not be sent to school. We asked the question: Why do the mothers feel this way? We want to understand your thoughts and the men said that you should talk.

(The women show a certain reluctance to talk)

Martha: I have one child going to school and I have a younger child who will be going to school soon. The government of Quebec provide family allowances that do not come regularly and the federal allowances come regularly. I have three children. Two got family allowances. One did not. I wrote about it but we did not get allowances.

Neville: Is this the answer to our questions?

Mosessie: You should not be shy, although you are just women.

Other man: Your people had a meeting about it and you had reasons why. This is what you have to tell to these government people.

Robitaille: We have to explain to our ministers.

One woman: I was not there. So, I don't know why they arrived at that decision.

Neville: Did the women explain why to Mosessie?

Mosessie: I asked about it but I did not get any answer. What I told the women that they had to make a decision by 1970. They were not being ordered to choose one of the other but to decide on their own. They were not to be ashamed if their decision made sense.

But it is as though we don't know what they are thinking; since they don't want to speak, I will say what their reasons are.

The people whose children are going to the federal school will not like it if the children are going to change language. Those who have children going to the federal school seem to be happy to have them there until they finish their education. If Quebec had provided a school first, the parents would want to see their children finish their education there.

Robitaille: Even if Quebec took over, the children in the federal school would be able to finish their studies in English. In the province of Quebec, there are English schools run by the Quebec government. When Quebec opened this school here, the main purpose was to allow the children to be taught in their own language because if the Eskimo language is not taught in the school, maybe the Eskimos will lose their language. That is the main thing Quebec wanted to do. When Quebec is in charge, the Eskimos will have a choice between English and French.

Mosessie said that the Eskimos wanted to make a decision in 1970. I would advise that they be careful making the decision about the use of the Eskimo language in the school if they do not want their language to disappear.

Joseph: When they met to talk about the school, the meeting did not make much sense.

Elisabeth: You were not at the meeting.

- Joseph: When my wife came back from the meeting, she didn't say anything about stopping the children from going to school. So, it looks as if they were just playing about having a meeting, since my wife never said anything about stopping the children. We have a child going to the provincial school. My wife and I do not consider this is a bad thing. We are waiting for that child's education to be finished here, then we will move the child to the federal school. This is what I tried to say before; we don't see anything wrong about this school. If we did we would talk to the principal about it.
- I spoke to Robitaille last year in Levis about having a kindergarten.
- Lydia: We were told that we would not get Family Allowances if the children were taken out of school. We said we didn't care.
- Elisabeth: I was at the meeting. I have one child in the kindergarten here and I have been thinking about it. The classes are staggered; the kindergarten children go in the morning the older children sleep a long time in the morning. I have been thinking of moving the child when he is older, to the federal school. In the federal school, they go to the school in the morning. If the children go to the Quebec school, it will develop in them the habit of sleeping late in the morning.
- If the child is moved from Quebec to the federal school next year, it would settle this matter.
- Robitaille: We are short of space and teachers now but next year, we hope that your child will get a full-day's instruction. We don't know yet what to do about the classrooms next year but we will think about that.
- Elisabeth: I was thinking about it but I have not reached a decision.
- Martha: We heard that it will be possible to have English even if Quebec took over but we were told that only French would be allowed.
- Robitaille: There are laws in Quebec that allow people a choice. This law is called Bill 63; it is for all citizens of Quebec, whites and Eskimos.
- Martha: I was not told this but we could hear the children being taught in French at the Quebec school.
- Robitaille: When we came here, there was already an English school. So, we opened one where French was used. When Quebec will be in charge, there will be teaching in Eskimo and a choice between English and French.
- Neville: We know the people have been having meetings all night and are tired. We would like to be able to finish our discussions today. Are there other things they would like us to take down.
- Lucassie: (He shows two boots). This one has a hole. The other one has not. So, this one with the hole we throw away and we keep the other one. It is not that I dislike the one with the hole.
- I will talk about health. There is somebody in my family who was evacuated. He is in Montreal in the transient quarters. We want the health people to take care of him. We hear that the health people want us to use contraceptives. Who are the ones in favour of contraception? Because my wife has to be a long time in the transient quarters, I have to send her money that could be used here. I would prefer they were sent home quickly. My daughter is the only one I have at home. I have to get money for my wife and go seal hunting; so, I have to wake up my daughter to take care of the house while my wife is hanging around down south. I get help from my fellow men who have skidoos.
- There is one more thing I would like to say but I want an answer.

- Neville: The policy of the Health Department on contraceptives is to leave the choice in these matters up to the individual.
- Lucassie: There was a misunderstanding. I understood from my wife that when she arrived, the nurses tried to stop the labor. Nobody would say this is good.
- Neville: I will take down her name and try to see what happened.
- Lucassie: I wanted to talk about this about it very bad. I am glad you listened.
- Neville: The policy of Quebec and National Health is that the patient who is better should be sent home. Sometimes, the patients have to stay around for a while because the doctor wants to see them. Sometimes, the patient doesn't understand and they believe that because they are not in a hospital, there is nothing wrong anymore and that happens when there are no good interpreters to pass the message from the doctor to the patient. It costs the government money. The government and the doctor also realize that the patient is lonely and wants to go home.
- Lucassie: It is like the boots; let us hang onto the one that is good and if we find any medical person which is bad, let it be taken away. The only way we can use the hospital in the South is with government money. National Health seems to be getting less money. Your money takes my wife out as if it was my money.
- What we want is a better doctor so that my wife will be sent back. There might be others to whom this sort of thing has happened. I talk about the future so that the future will be better.
- Neville: We wrote down what you said and we will pass that to our bosses.
- Lucassie: I want to talk more about something I said last night. We were just Eskimos and we had the Company here. This Company (H.B. Co.) was displaced by the two governments. The Eskimos started to work for the Company; the governments came only after. We trap foxes and hunt seals; we have to do this but our dogs are being shot. Therefore, let us be helped so that we can get a skidoo because they are expensive. The skidoos are what we have as dogs now. This killing of the dogs is bad. They tell us that the dogs should be kept tied and they shoot them if they are not.
- Neville: We understand how you feel when you say the H.B.C. did the work at the beginning and that the governments came later. We talked about that last night and again today and we have tried to give a good explanation.
- We have written it down and we will think about it.
- Lucassie: It is tiring to walk the land when we have no dogs. I get help from the others who have skidoos.
- Neville: As we said, we will come back to talk again with the people of Ivujivik. We have to go in a few minutes to talk to another community. We listened to what was said here and found that they were very good thoughts. We wrote down everything and we will report.
- Luku: I have been a widow for a long time. I have received help from you for a long time and I am glad. I received help to raise my children after I became a widow. Now, I receive money regularly and I am grateful for it. I want this help continued. Thank you.
- Audlak: When the two governments were meeting among themselves to discuss about the Eskimos living in Quebec, it would have been better if the Eskimos had been consulted. If the Eskimos are brought into all their discussions, there will be a better understanding. The two governments meet together without the Eskimos and only the results of the discussions are sent to the Eskimos. The Eskimos have not been involved in the decision; it does not

Audick:
(Cont) show on the documents. It is true that they (spokesmen) went down south but it seems that they were just used as messengers to bring the documents. The Eskimos should be involved in all discussions about themselves.

We just heard things about health. Will the Eskimos be required to pay for health services in the future? We heard that.

Robitaille: Is he referring to Quebec services?

Neville: I don't know. The policy of National Health is that every body is required to pay if they can afford to do so. Some Eskimos who are making money in Frobisher are required to pay for some health services. More and more across Canada, provincial governments are helping to pay for health services. They get money to pay for these services through taxes; the federal government also gives them money. Every month, I pay a little bit of money to the government of the province I live in to help provide health services. I pay that even though I am not sick. That is true across Canada but the ones who don't have the money don't have to pay. The money collected from other people will be used to pay for those who can't. So, to answer your question, those who can afford to pay will pay; if you don't have money, you will not pay. Sometimes, people can pay part of it, some cannot pay anything. That is the way Eskimo speaker. Thanks.

Neville: We have to stop now. We will be back again.

Zacharissie: I am leader here and I would like it if you could listen to those who have more to say.

Joseph: If you have to report to your bosses, you should listen. There are more people who want to talk.

Neville: OK. We will stay until tomorrow morning. We will meet again this afternoon.

Provincial School
March 2, 1970
15:45 hours

Ivujivik

General Meeting

- Robitaille: If the people agree we could stop this meeting at 5:00, start again at 7:30 and finish at 10:00.
- Socharissie: Okay.
- Mungio: What was said last night, I don't want to forget. I heard about the Company, then the Police being first here. I want to talk a little bit about that. When I was growing up, only the Company was here, so I know about the Company. When the Company was here, we worked very hard, my father and I, so that we would have money. During the winter, we were trapping; we were taken care of. During the summer when we were not, it was not so nice. That is why I had to work very hard for me and my wife. We were very glad that the Police helped us. They arranged the Family Allowances and this was the best thing they did. When the Police stopped, the government took over and they helped us continuously. Not only the governments but also the nurses helped me. The first nurses took very good care of us. All my relatives had to be evacuated; I was the only one who had not. My wife had to go out twice and my son once. My daughter here was mauled by dogs and because the nurses worked so hard, she is still alive. I am grateful also that my daughter gets an allowance so that I do not have too much difficulty. Now I understand that the nurses are new and I doubt that they can do well the medicine work. Sickness and injury are getting worse among the Eskimos. What I say now, I have heard from other communities. Now we have the federal teacher and the Quebec teacher as nurses and they are sufficient because I hear that the new nurses go by the clock. But sickness does not go by the clock. I also heard that the nurses do not work on Saturday and Sunday. Even though they look after the sick on the other days, they go by the clock. If my daughter had been mauled when we had nurses like this, and it happened after hours or on Sunday, it would not have been good. This is what I wanted to say about the new nurses I have heard about. Maybe someone else will want to talk.
- Neville: Do you understand that the nurses on this side of the coast work for the federal government even though most of them speak French? Then, in Ungava Bay, it is the government of Quebec which provides the nurses. I will talk about the nurses working for the federal government. Yes, it seems to be that the nurses try to keep regular hours. It seems that they work all day from Monday to Friday and while they have work to do in the nursing station on Saturday and Sunday, they don't have clinics on those days. But if there are people very sick on Sundays and Saturdays, the nurses will see them. More and more, the nurses expect the people to come to the nursing stations, but if people are very sick in their homes, the nurses will go. This is what I understand, but I am not completely sure. But it is like that, too, in the white man's land. I understand also that young nurses, if they are asked to work all the time, think it is too much.
- Mungio: I understand. I will say a bit more. I am old now and the help that I receive from the federal government I do not want stopped. I had a child at the federal school and he is happy with the teacher. Now, he is at Great Whale at the school. Sometimes, it seems as if it is not quite right to me, although I am pleased that he is getting an education. It does not seem right to me that when the child is in Great Whale, I have to see that he gets proper clothing.
- Mille: I will say something about health. Last night, or in fact, at one o'clock this morning when we were finishing our meeting, I saw Mr. Rowens go to treat somebody. If Mr. Rowen was away, it would have been Gosselin who did it. It is unusual that people like this are ready to give services in the middle of the night. It would be very hard to find someone in the white man's land who would come to treat you in the night. The Eskimos should realize that they are fortunate to have people who do that. I hope that the Eskimos will not be too hard on these people. I mention this because I hope the people will look for treatment at reasonable hours.
- Mungio: That is right and we look at this man as our doctor.

- Robitaille: I want to talk about the Great Whale school since it is run by Quebec. First, when the children go to Great Whale, we insist on the agreement of the parents. We think that the parents should supply their children with clothes before they leave. If the parents cannot do this, it means that they are too poor and they should see the federal representative about that. Once this is done, they go to the school and Quebec takes care of all expenses, including the trip to visit their families at Christmas.
- Mungio: I understand very well. Thank you.
- Charlie: I am talking about myself and my daughter at the trade school in Great Whale. She was in school for three years. The first year, she seemed to learn a lot of things. Last year, she learned about medicine. The second year, she seemed to be finished with this because there was no nurse in Great Whale. Last summer she was asked to go to Chimo. I didn't agree. I had heard about the alcohol in Chimo and because I love my girl I thought of the fright she would get because of alcohol. I am glad I was able to say this. It is as if I had made her lose her education but it is because I love her and I don't want her to be harmed by drinkers. I was not told where she would stay. I wanted to say that while Mr. Robitaille was here even though I was shy. The same thing will happen if I am asked if she go to Churchill or Frobisher Bay. I have a lot of children and if they are going to go to Frobisher for high school, I doubt that I will agree.
- Robitaille: I want to answer Charlie so that he understands what happened with his daughter. The Quebec Government has a school in Great Whale but it does not have nurses. The nurses there are federal, but we have nurses in Chimo, a doctor and a small hospital. The first year your daughter was at Great Whale she learned basic things; but not how to become a nurse. There were three students who wanted to become nurses; one of which was your daughter. We could not teach them in Great Whale because we didn't have medical staff there. We wanted them to go to Chimo, where they would stay in the Quebec Buildings, where they could get supervision. It is true that people drink alcohol in Chimo. But at Great Whale there is much drinking too. We have people who supervise the kids to ensure that they behave and to make sure that the people are not afraid to send their children. You can change your mind and we can send your daughter to Chimo where we would have people to supervise her.
- Charlie: This is the first time I understand the situation clearly. The fact that I did not agree, I regret. I want my daughter to finish her schooling. When she comes home we will reach an understanding.
- Mathewssie: We are not making much sense here. We agreed together, when we met before that we were going to talk about land and when the land questions was settled we would talk about other things.
- Charlie: I said that I was going to talk about that and I sort of figured that it was not right.
- Mathewssie: This education thing has been going on all day. Before you came, we met and agreed to talk about land. This discussion about school does not make any sense.
- Robitaille: We are here to answer questions. If you want to talk about the land, go ahead. Why don't you talk about it Mathewssie?
- Mathewssie: We want this land to be called Eskimo land.
- Robitaille: We heard that; we took note, and we will report to our Ministers.
- Mathewssie: What is the matter with the white man who wants to be the boss of the Eskimos? The white man does not make any sense. He just wants to rule the Eskimos. Even when they say they want to help the Eskimos to control their land; even when their words say that they want the Eskimos to control, their deeds prove otherwise.
- (A general discussion follows as to what should be discussed. The delegates are said to be unable to answer any question about land.)
- Adamie: You have been telling us that your aim is that the Eskimo stands up on

his own. Even if we are not many in Ivujivik, we have to explain what we want. If we get to try to get together and to agree together, all the Eskimos of northern Quebec, then we will have strength. This is what I want to talk about: the Eskimos gathering strength by standing together.

Robitaille: This is very true.

Adamie: I said this because I think this.

Quiqsak: Although I am not a very good person, I will talk. I will give an example about Ivujivik. Like Robitaille, I will use the co-op as an example. I am pleased with Ivujivik because I know it. I did not have any experience with any government besides the federal, so I do not know about another government. I am happy with the way we do things here. I am happy with the government even though some days I am not. Perhaps, with another government I can be just as happy, I do not know. We have heard that Quebec is the government who will replace the government we have. It was also said that we were going to be better because it was closer to the people. We have heard that the Eskimo should be in charge of his own affairs and that he is not ready yet. It looks that the white man will come more and more and that we are too late. In 1964 the two governments met and the government of Canada, who was supposed to consider us, was slashing our thoughts.

Neville: We have written down what you said and we will pass that down to our bosses. He said that the two governments had met in '64 and that, in doing so, the federal had slashed the thoughts of the Eskimos. The federal does not think that by meeting with Quebec, it was slashing the ideas of the Eskimos.

Quiqsak: I say that because it took them a long time to reach an agreement.

Audlack: I was just given a thought by Adamie. When we are finished these meetings and when you are finished your trip, all the Eskimos of Quebec could meet together and discuss these things and we could reach an understanding. If we did this, then the next time you came you would have a quicker understanding of what the Eskimos think. Although the people are few, the settlements are many and perhaps some will want to go one way, some another way, and they do not seem to make sense. Maybe if we all got together, we could help the white man better.

Mosessie: Although Saglouc is not very far away, their thoughts are different.

Robitaille: Did they mean that they would like to have meetings among themselves when we are gone?

Mosessie: Yes, before you come again.

Robitaille: It seems hard to understand. Last year, representatives were elected by the Eskimos to discuss about these things. The delegates were able to travel. My question is do the Eskimos dislike to have delegates? What do they want?

Eskimo: What Peter said last night is right. If you have delegates that say this government is not right, that does not make sense.

Neville: Perhaps another delegate would be better.

Crowd: Yes.

Robitaille: Well, the twenty-two Eskimos that came down were free to elect four delegates. Then perhaps you say, I do not like Noah Kumak and the other one says, I like him, so the governments do not understand. At the meeting in April 25, the Eskimo delegates were sent by the Eskimos, not by the government. We do not know what happened, but if you are not satisfied with your delegates, we don't know what to do.

Joseph: We were in a great hurry to pick up these delegates. When we were talking about these delegates in Great Whale, it was changed and the twenty-two went to Quebec. Each settlement chose his own delegate and picked the one they thought would be the best and this was good. The thing that I don't

wrong is that the twenty-two delegates in Quebec City made their choice too quickly. We know this because we were going to fix it very well in Great Britain.

Moses: I would like to talk about delegates too. I was chosen as a substitute for Noah Kumak in case he got sick. He wanted very much to be the spokesman while I was not crazy about it. As for me, I was a substitute and talked to my people here only, as Noah went to other settlements.

Sacharissie: I was in Quebec City when they chose the delegates. I saw already in Quebec City that our delegate was not adequate. We were down there for business but he was acting as if it was a game and was drinking at night time. He drank like that because he was very enthusiastic about being a spokesman and this might have been the way for him to get thoughts.

Provincial School
March 2, 1970,
20:00 hours

Ivujivik

General Meeting

Neville: Can we start?

Crowd:
(16 people) Yes.

Saima: I have something to relate. So, in 1964 the two governments were talking about which one would come here. As if we were like children, we said yes as though we agreed to both of them, but only because of a lack of understanding. Now, we understand more but not a great deal yet. The federal government was the one looking after us and we heard Quebec now wants to look after us. We hear that the Quebec government has less money. If the federal government keeps looking after us, Quebec gets more money; we think this would be the best. Not long ago, the Eskimos didn't have any understanding; they were like children to the white men; it was as if the white men were the kings and we the subjects. We are grateful that you have spoken.

Neville: I will answer Saima on the matter of money required by governments to look after Eskimo affairs. He said Quebec did not have much money and we understood him to mean that if Quebec took over, it could not afford to look after the Eskimos. If Quebec was to assume services, the federal government would give to Quebec the money it is now spending. The federal government feels that would be better. Saima also expressed the view that the two governments were looking at the Eskimos like children. We took note of this but we talked about it yesterday. The two governments believe that the Eskimos are able to run their own affairs. They (the governments) have shown their confidence in the Eskimos through help given to the co-ops where the Eskimos are running their own affairs. The government would not do this if they thought the Eskimos were like children.

Robitaille: I agree with what Neville said.

Saima: I will say a bit more. If Quebec had come in 1964, when we did not understand, we could not disagree because this was the first time we had seen many white men and they made us shy. Now our thinking is getting settled but at that time we did not understand. If we understood thoroughly about Quebec and Ottawa, and Quebec would be administrator, that would be all right with us. Now that you will be going, I would like that what I said is spread around because I think it makes sense. These two people, we don't despise. If they want to come again, we would say, let them come. If we despised one we would say to the other, let the other one come. If we understood perfectly we could say: let us accept this one and take away this other one, but now we say, let both of them come. Since we do not understand, we would just say now to the federal government that we want to continue to use you. I am the servant of my elders; since they will talk again, I am stopping.

Mosesie: We can't reach any understanding or agreement right now. Yet I want to talk about the bit we know, to help the understanding to grow. If Quebec is going to be sole administrator, I would like to know what sort of customs they would have in regard to the Eskimos and the land. We hear often here that the Islands are not part of Quebec. If Quebec becomes the sole administrator, will it be possible to go to the Islands and to our fellow Eskimos in the N.W.T? If Quebec is sole administrator, I wonder if this will still be possible. We are not accustomed to hunt only on Quebec ground. If we cannot go to hunt on our own lands or visit our kinsmen it will be very unpleasant. We want very much to have an answer on this.

Robitaille: I have many answers.

Mosesie: We are happy to get answers.

Robitaille: I will answer what Quebec would do if it was the sole administrator and also on the matter of the islands and visits. You want to know what Quebec

would be regarding the land and the Eskimos. In regard to land, I will report the claims of the Eskimos and I cannot say more now. What would happen to the Eskimos if Quebec was the sole administrator? The services would not be lower, as it is guaranteed in the paper. Also, I think that the Quebec Government will really try to get the Eskimos to take control of their own affairs. They know Quebec has helped the co-ops because Quebec thought that the Eskimos could take more responsibilities gradually. Quebec will do that in education, health, community development, municipal services. In education, Quebec has already started to train Eskimo teachers to take over their schools. We are already training Eskimos like Jimmy, from here, so that they can come back and work in the fields of education or administration. In the field of health, at Fort Chimo there is a small hospital and there are white people and Eskimos who run the hospital. There, in Chimo, the Eskimos run the hospital with some white men. They are learning to run the hospital. In time, they will have total control. In the field of administration, Quebec is training Eskimos too. I do not say that to boast, but to show the people that Quebec has already started to train Eskimos to run their own affairs. The Quebec Government wants to help the Eskimos to administer their own affairs. This answers the question, what will happen to the Eskimos. As for the Islands it is true that they are not in the Province of Quebec. They are in the Northwest Territories. When the two governments met in '64, I was present. This problem regarding hunting was raised at that meeting. What the federal government said was this: the Eskimos who go hunting on the Islands will be allowed to hunt as before because the Islands are their hunting grounds for years back. The people of Ivujivik would be allowed to go hunt for seal, walrus and birds, on those islands and also on Mansel Island. As for the visit, the answer was given in the paper (document) where it is said that cultural and economic ties would be retained and encouraged. That is all. I hope it is clear.

Mosessie: Yes. I hope that this question is brought up to the officials. We are Eskimos. We don't want to be cut off from the other Eskimos. Are Mansel and Walrus Islands the only ones we will be allowed to hunt on?

Robitaille: As for the islands, there will simply be no change. This is what I heard from the federal government. Even now, the Eskimos who live in Quebec can hunt where they want. Quebec and Northwest Territories are both in Canada.

Marcussie Ijaittuk: I will make mistakes, but I will talk anyway. It is as if I understand everything these people are thinking about. These people say this and that and I understand. So I will say what I think now because I often hear that if Quebec becomes the sole administrator, the Eskimos of northern Quebec will not be well looked after. I often hear that when Quebec begins, everything will be fine but after a while, things will start to go badly. I have said this not for ourselves but because of the children that are carried in the womb. People say it will go well, some say it wont. So who lies? Who tells the truth? I do not know. I have talked about this fear that we have because of things to come. We have had no experience of Quebec as sole administrator, so nobody really knows what is going to happen. This is one of the reasons for our fear of the future. We have been happy to receive the help of both governments but we are not choosing. I have no more to say.

Robitaille: We both will answer. We understand the fear of the Eskimos if Quebec becomes the sole administrator. You are used to the federal government and do not know much about Quebec. I would like to answer that the Government of Quebec really wants the Eskimos to take control of their own affairs. If they learn, with the help of the governments, to do that, then if it goes well it will be because the people run their own affairs; that is what I think about the future.

Neville: I understand too, but I should repeat again about the guarantees. Even if Quebec was to provide services, the federal government would still be interested and would want to ensure that the services would be kept as good. I want to mention again that there would be no great changes in the year ahead. The two governments want to work more closely together to help the Eskimos to take control of their own affairs. We have about a half hour left.

- Mark:** What I want to say has been said.
- Audlak:** We have heard these things from people in other settlements. We also heard that they would try to turn us away from our faith. This is not from Ivujavut, this is what we have heard from delegates coming back.
- Neville:** The two governments understand that. In the paper of April 25 there is a reference to this matter. In 1964 the matter of faith was also studied. Both governments agreed that they would respect the wishes of Eskimo people in matters of religion. Remember we mentioned this too. The two governments agreed that they would respect the religion, language and culture of the Eskimos.
- Robitaille:** I agree. In Canada it is not the job of the government to take care of religion; it is the job of the churches. That applies to Quebec as to everywhere in Canada. The Government of Quebec has always been respectful of religious rights. There are many Anglicans in southern Quebec; they have never been kept from practising their faith. What goes for southern Quebec goes for northern Quebec.
- Audlak:** We hear too that the ordinary white men coming up here when they speak to the Eskimos are to be taken seriously and that this is very much the case in Saglouc. We hear on the CBC radio things about the faith and concerning the pupils. Many people hear it. It was heard that when Quebec runs the schools the children who do not have the faith of the teachers will not have schools. These are two reasons why we are afraid of Quebec.
- Robitaille:** Who said that?
- Audlak:** A woman announcer in Frobisher.
- Neville:** We heard the same thing in Saglouc but there it seems that they heard it in a broadcast coming from the south. They mentioned Elijah Menarik.
- Audlak:** I am not sure if it was him because I did not notice at the time.
- Neville:** Well, anyway, I will look into that because the CBC is federal and because this is not true.
- Robitaille:** I will say also that what you heard is not true. It will not be like that. This will not happen. In the schools in the south the religion is respected even in the schools of the Anglicans.
- Audlak:** There are other things that we heard from other settlements. We heard that this land called Quebec was going to separate from the rest of Canada.
- Robitaille:** It is true that there are young people who would like to be separated from Canada because they do not like the federal government. But in British Columbia there are also young men who would like to separate from Canada but there are not very many who think this way and the majority does not want it.
- Audlak:** We are grateful because we understand something better now.
- Sacharissie:** I saw your Minister in Saglouc last year. You are saying exactly the same thing. He said that when Quebec is administering, Ottawa will still be supervising. We heard this about one being good, the other one bad, but not from the top boss.
- Neville:** We have done a lot of talking for two days and we understand many things better. We think that when our Ministers will read this they will understand better. Understanding each other is important, especially for the things you want to do. I will be a federal guy in Quebec next year to work with Mr. Robitaille and we want to give a lot of attention to Arctic Quebec people. We will come back to talk again, so that we understand each other better. I want to thank you for the thoughts you provided.
- Robitaille:** I have learned many new things from the discussions here. Mr. Neville and I will report to our Ministers. I hope we will be able to come back. I hope when we come back we can have meetings and that the weather will be bad so that we can go hunting.

Saina: I am the last speaker and I hope that what I say will be useful to you.
I want to thank both of you. That is all.

Lucassie: I will talk for the Community Council. We thank you for coming here.
We would need a laundry for clothes.

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

(Robitaille and Neville introduce themselves; talk about the letter. Some people did not see it. Fifty copies were handed out so that people could read them. The letter might have been at the post office.)

- Neville:** That is the reason because we thought that the people had read it. Earlier today we had about meeting at three. But we thought that the people had read the letter, so it might be better to have a meeting tonight.
- Lucassie:** Yes. Not only the Council.
- Robitaille:** It is an important letter. We feel the Eskimos should know about it before we start the meetings.
- Lucassie:** We could meet among ourselves.
- Neville:** What we have been doing is meeting first with the Council since they represent local government. We have discussed with the Council to make sure that they understood.
- Robitaille:** We were sent by our Ministers, and we will report to our Ministers.
- Neville:** We came to talk about the thoughts of the governments as mentioned in this letter. We have come to listen to the thoughts of the Eskimos and we will write them down.
- Robitaille:** We did the same thing in Great Whale, Inoucdjouac, Povungnituk, Saglouc, Ivujivik.
- Lucassie:** When do you intend to leave.
- Neville:** We are not in a rush. Do you have thoughts on that?
- Lucassie:** We asked you because we feared that you might be in a hurry.
- Neville:** We have to go to other communities, but we will stay long enough to listen well.
- Man:** Sometimes people come, but they go away too fast.
- Neville:** Could we have a meeting tonight?
- Lucassie:** After supper?
- Neville:** Around seven?
- Lucassie:** At seven, maybe.
- Neville:** Okay. What about the whites coming to the meeting?
- Lucassie:** Yes, if they want to listen, but we don't want them to take over.
- Neville:** That is how we feel. Do you want to name a chairman?
- Lucassie:** Could be.
- Neville:** If we start at seven, should we fix an hour for stopping? Because we will be here tomorrow.

(A discussion follows as to what hour the meeting should start and stop since Mr. Clarke has ministrations to do. It is finally decided that no meetings will be held tonight and that the meeting will start at 8:00 a.m.)

Wakeham

Federal School
March 4, 1970
8:30 hours

General Meeting

(Mr. Neville and Mr. Robitaille introduce themselves and get on with the opening speech, explaining the letter, the proposals, the reason for their being here. Mr. Neville also explains the federal-provincial system and areas of respective responsibilities. He talks about the guarantees given. He explains supervision by the federal government. He explains the idea of extending services in the years ahead, and the idea of consultation. He explains that the date of the extension of services by Quebec has been postponed and no new date fixed. The two governments will work more closely together in the months ahead.

Neville: And we have heard that the Eskimos want to take control of their own lives. We also heard on this trip that they could not do this without the help of the governments. So both governments said; let us work closely together to help the Eskimos. The provincial government can help you better to take control of your own affairs than the federal government. That is why we are here, to explain, to listen, and to take note of your thoughts.

Robitaille: I agree with what Neville said. So I will not repeat it. I would like to speak about things that I find important. I will speak about the land. Before 1912, the north of Quebec belonged to the federal government. Eskimos and missionaries and Hudson's Bay men lived there. At first the communications between south and north were not very good. The Eskimos did not see government people very often. During the war, communications were better. An aerodrome was built in Chimo. It became possible to send people from the government in the north. The Government of Canada decided to give services to the Eskimos until Quebec was ready to do so. In 1962 Quebec prepared itself to get ready. They had to train people to know the north. The Quebec Government did not know the Eskimos very well. Since 1962 the Quebec Government people came north to learn. Here (in Wakeham) Quebec sent representatives in 1963, Christian and Serge Pageau. A small school was started where Quebec was trying to teach in the Eskimo language. Later we built a small bridge across the stream and extended medical services. In 1969, Quebec was asked by Ottawa if they would take over federal services. The Quebec Government answered: yes, we are ready to go ahead. That is why Mingo and Jimmy came down to meet the government people in Quebec. The two governments decided that there would be no change in services but that they would work more closely together. We hope that this way the Eskimos will understand better and that at a future date Quebec will become sole administrator. The Quebec Government, being closer to the people, wishes the Eskimos to make their own decisions; but they still need governments' help to gain more knowledge about how the government works in the north. Now we have talked and we would like to answer the questions of the people.

Mingo Alakuk: I am the leader of Wakeham Bay. Although I did not want it, I was made the head man by my people. We are grateful that these two people arrived together here. I will talk first, although the people might have better ideas. I was afraid, the day before yesterday, because we heard that you two were coming and that we would have to talk about important things. We have not been able to meet very much before you came and I am not very happy about it. I will stop now to give the others a chance to talk.

**Iyitsiak
Simigak:** The people here have gathered together and formed a council and we want to know if you approve of this.

ville: Yes, we think a Community Council is a good idea. It is the beginning of local government. Through this, people can learn how to manage their own affairs and take their life in their own hands. I have seen them in other communities and they seem to be working well. Unfortunately, Community Councils do not have enough authority. It is mainly provincial governments that can give local councils more authority.

Robitaille: In southern Quebec, there are local governments created by the provincial government. At Lévis, they are close to the provincial government but even then they have local government to look after their own affairs. At the

present time there are no municipal governments in the North. But Quebec would like to have them. And before these are created, the Eskimos should learn how to run a government. When they have learned, with the help of the government, the Eskimos could have municipal governments. (He writes the names of levels of government on the black board and explains what each does.) The Quebec Government would like to have municipal councils in the North. If the Eskimos want to run things really, they must have a set of regulations approved by the government. As for now, the governments consider the local councils as expressing the thoughts of the majority. It is good, but it can get better. If the Eskimo could learn more, they could have municipal government.

Mathew

Ningnirovik: I want to ask a question. You said earlier today something about 1970, that would not happen. What is this?

Neville:

When the two governments started to talk again about the extension of services by Quebec, they hoped that it could be done in 1970, April 1st. But after listening to what the people had to say it became evident that there was still a lot of misunderstanding about what the two governments wanted to do. So the two governments said that they would keep on as in the past; but that they were going to work more closely together. They will discuss again in 1971. But in the months immediately ahead, things are going to be pretty much like they were before. This means that in 1970 there will still be a provincial and a federal school and the federal government will still be doing what it was doing in the past. The only thing is that we will ask our local officials to work more closely together because we believe that in this way we will help the Eskimos better.

Robitaille:

I agree. The Quebec Government has accepted the proposal of the federal government that we work more closely together. This co-operation must lead to Quebec becoming sole administrator. When this happens, the federal government would still keep its supervision. This was written in the documents given to you.

Mathew

Ningnirovik: A long time ago, before there was any radio, Eskimos were contacted by ships only. Was Quebec taking care of the people then? Was this land Quebec Government's land of birth? This we want to understand. Did Quebec contact us in these ships?

Robitaille:

Before 1912, this was not in Quebec, so Quebec had nothing to do here. In 1912, the federal government transferred it to the Province of Quebec. From 1912 to 1962 Quebec did not take care of the Eskimos because it was not ready. Quebec was sending cheques but there was no government of Quebec people helping the Eskimos. In 1962 Quebec decided to learn how to administer services to the Eskimos living in its territory. In 1964 Quebec asked for responsibilities over the Eskimos. The federal government said, okay, get ready and we will let you handle the services. In 1969 the federal government asked Quebec if they were ready, and we answered, we are ready because at that time we had experience.

Mathew:

We understand.

Yugini:

I am grateful that you came to listen and try to understand the people. I want to talk about evacuation to the hospital. We are grateful that people can be evacuated to be treated, but the people seem to hang around a long time in Chimo after they are well. The plane comes and the patient is not on the aircraft. Quebec thinks they are ready; because of this, I think they are not ready. The mail seems to be more important than people. We are not less than the white man because we are Eskimos. I would like to talk about something else. Some of the men working at the mine do not get home often enough, even though our working place is close. We want to come home but the white people want us to stay. It would be good if we could come home more often. We make money working at the mine and we are thankful for this. I may have more to say later.

Robitaille:

Before 1966, Quebec was not providing health services for the Eskimos. The government thought that what was needed was a doctor. A doctor has more knowledge than a nurse. Before, the doctor came on the ship. He

did not stay very long. The Government of Quebec thought that the first thing was to get a doctor and a small hospital. Later, they sent nurses into the settlements, which was not the case before. This, I remember, the Eskimos wanted very much. But then, it has not been a very long time since we started. We are trying to improve all the time. As for the patients who have to wait in Chiro, I will say it is not a good thing if they have to wait long before they get back to their village. We will try to improve that and I will talk to the doctor and the health people.

Yugini: I was just talking about the waiting period and we are grateful for the services.

Neville: Concerning the work question, are the workers close enough to come back every night?

Mingo: The ones working at the end of the bay can come home every night.

Neville: In Raglan, how long do they stay at a time?

Yugini: At first, we could not come back for six months. Then it was agreed that if we stay four months, we can come back four weeks; three months, three weeks.

Neville: There are no houses for married people there?

Yugini: No.

Robitaille: Companies get a permit for mining and after that it does not have much to do with the government. What you talked about is a company decision. There is not much we can do but explain the problem to the company. The company wants the Eskimos to stay for some time before they leave. The white employees are far away from their families and they can't leave. As for the Eskimos, they are close to home and they feel the need to come back. We will explain that to the company but we are not sure what they will say.

Agpikunit: I am thankful that you are here, and that you have come to find out what the Eskimos say. I have not a lot to say that has not been said before. I am not used to talking a lot. That is all I wanted to say.

Johnny Kritik: We are grateful that you think of the Eskimos' well-being. Even if I do not have a great deal on my mind, I will talk. Here in Wakeham, we do not meet very often together, so we do not arrive at a common understanding. However, we are thinking about our children; but we cannot discuss things thoroughly because we don't meet often. We say we will do like this, then we do like that, and this is because we do not reach a common understanding. We are not used to discussing things like that. We are happy that you have come so that we can be understood. Because of this lack of discussion it seems that we are not going anywhere. It is as if I ran out of words since I had teeth extracted not long ago.

Mingo: I am hungry, so we would have to stop for one hour.

Federal School,
March 4, 1970
13:15 hours

Wakeham

General Meeting

Mingo Allaku: I want to say what I have been thinking for a long time. Here in Wakeham we have two administrations and I think this is not too good. Some say I would like this one, the others say I would like that one, and that is not very good. These are my thoughts; I am accustomed to think now. If the federal government looks after us and we do not have Quebec, this would be good.
We people in Wakeham, we do a great deal of hunting. I hear that Quebec will set different hunting laws. I talk like this because our people are hunters and I have heard that Quebec will set a quota on what we hunt. We understand the Ministers' letter and this is enough for us. We have descendants to think about and we are not sure for them. If what is written here is done, it is fine but later when Quebec is alone, maybe they will do something that is not so good for us. This is what we are afraid of. Also, I keep thinking about this: we get all kinds of literature from the south which tells us you have to do this or that, as if we could not think and were just like dogs. These are just my own thoughts and it is because of them that I think Quebec should not become the sole administrator in the near future. But if it cannot be so, it is all right with me. When I get these papers, I don't mind for me, but I wonder what it will be for my children, and my children's children.

Robitaille: Regarding the hunting, the regulations now enforced here are Quebec regulations. For the present time, I don't think that Quebec is restricting the hunting of the Eskimo, and this I believe will continue. Otherwise they would have made laws giving quotas. Regarding the sea animals, it is the federal government who is in charge of this. Even if Quebec assumes full control, they will be able to hunt sea animals under federal legislation. The Eskimos should not be fearful because Quebec will be concerned with the resources of both sea and land.
Regarding the second thing, it is true that in the past, governments have considered the Eskimos like children. Sometimes, the white men, because they could not talk the language and did not understand the Eskimos, thought that Eskimos could not think for themselves. But now both governments do not think this way. The two governments want more and more that the Eskimos take control of their own affairs. This is because they believe that the Eskimos can think by themselves. What is needed is more knowledge by the Eskimos to run governmental affairs. The two governments have agreed to help the Eskimos to achieve that goal. So the Eskimos will have less and less to fear, since they will more and more control their own affairs.

Neville: I agree.

Iyetsiak: We Eskimos are getting to have the same thoughts. But some of us do not think the same way. The Eskimos did not know what was happening in 1912; only now do we know that governments were interested in Eskimos. We have heard only lately that our land is part of Quebec. How it will be when Quebec is the sole administrator, we do not know, although we understand from 1962 on. What happened between 1964 and 1970, it seems that we have passively listened to what was happening.
From 1962, we have been gathered together by the governments. At that time, there would have been many people to whom it would have made no difference if Quebec was made sole administrator. Since there are DNA people and Quebec people in our land, we understand better about these two. Since we have them both as fellow citizens, we are more friendly to them. Sometimes we go to talk to the DNA people, some time to the Quebec people; one does not say yes or no; and the other one does not say yes or no, either. You two here say that you are working together. The only thing is that your local people who are in the land do not follow your advice. We Eskimos really know our own land. I also speak for the other Eskimos, not only for myself. I know people at this meeting are very happy with it, some others are not. Because if Ottawa was first and was the first one who helped us, it is my thought that they should continue to look after us. So I don't understand if the government will agree or not to what the Eskimo says. It is no wonder since the governments who only came after us in the land wanted to be the top people. And I hope that tomorrow, or next week, or next year, the Eskimos will do more thinking about this. I could not have said this, if you two had not come

- Neville: If I understood correctly, you seem to think that it is confusing to deal with two governments. Our Ministers recognized this and mentioned this thing in the documents. That is why our bosses say that they would like the officials to work more closely together in the south and in the communities. My government is sending me to Quebec so that I can work closely with Robitaille. When we go around in our trip, we also talk with our local people on how they can work more closely together. We have no precise ideas. We were talking about relief being given by only one government this morning. We have nothing fixed on this. Our staff agreed that it was a good idea. We would also like that our staff work more closely with the Community Council. Syichiak also mentioned that both governments were joking with them. I appreciate his opinion and I have written it down and we will show that to our bosses. It seems that governments are joking with them, but the governments actually want to listen to them seriously. If the government had not felt that way they would not have sent us. But I agree that it is often difficult to understand the action of the government; people all over Canada say the same thing. That is why I believe that the people should have a chance often to communicate with government people. The governments should also listen, because governments are for the people.
- Mingo: It is not sufficient that only two of us speak. But I said before I would speak more and I will now. I am not talking here on my own but I talk about the ideas of the people living on the coast. This is the way my wife and I think. We often arrive at a common mind, even before meetings with the others. Is it possible that our land will be separated from Quebec, as these other divisions (provinces) in Canada?
- Robitaille: The two governments think that the Eskimos were here before the white man. But the governments are mainly composed of white men. They represent many million people and they think this is part of Quebec. We are not the governments. We will report to our Ministers what was said here and in other settlements. We do not know what they will say.
- Mingo: So the only decisions will be made outside?
- Robitaille: We don't know. We will report, but in order to get control of your own land, you have to get the knowledge to administer your own affairs. If the Eskimos learn how to run their own country, they will be boss of their own land.
- Neville: I have a few words to add because I agree with Robitaille. Our Ministers asked us to talk about many things but land was not one of them. I really don't know what my government thinks of that suggestion you made, about the separation (of Nouveau Quebec) from Quebec. This is mainly a matter for the Eskimos to take up with the Quebec Government. As Mr. Robitaille said, the land is in Quebec. Do you think we will be finished soon because we have to tell the pilot if we are going to leave. We ask that because we will come back again to talk. We could finish by half past three.
- (This is agreed.)
- Yugini: I will speak a bit more. I want to know if we will be getting new houses.
- Neville: It is uncertain how many will be coming in Wakeham. There are a limited number of houses for all northern Quebec. What is the number you need?
- Rutha
Preirtuk: I was supposed to get one, and because our house is too small, the family has been split.
- Uktu: I was supposed to get one too.
- Neville: I am sure we won't be able to get in one year the number of houses needed for the whole community. But I will try to get as many houses as I can.
- Mingo: We think the number of houses would be seventeen. If the white people do not get fewer, the generators now in operation are not enough. We have new generators, but the line is not here.

- Neville: Mr. Côté told me that. We will try to do something about it in Chimo. Mr. Côté was saying they could not correct the problem before summertime.
- Mingo: We are doing some carvings here, and it is a great help. We heard this was going to stop at the end of March.
- Neville: We discussed this problem with our staff. It is a problem of money. We will try to find a solution to that problem. I have to discuss it with Mr. Robitaille and our staff in Chimo and in the south.
- Robitaille: We will try to give an answer as soon as possible before the first of April.
- Mijiagtuk
Murpaluk: If the land is cut off, will we no longer receive help from the white people? This is something to think about. My children and I cannot live like the old Eskimo did. If I am not helped by the white man, I will not feel well. I cannot be a real old type Eskimo and I cannot be a real white man; that is why I ask this question. I have not forgotten the old ways but I cannot be like that again.
- Robitaille: I do not know how to answer that question since I do not know the answer to the first question about the land.
- Mingo: I have raised the land question because others wanted to raise it. It was not really our concern.
- Joni Tungak: I am an old man and I get help from the white man. I cannot go hunting and this is what I want to talk about. Because we get relief and food, and because I am helped by the other Eskimos, neither I nor my children will go hungry. I want to talk about my old wife. My wife cannot see very well, but she cannot get a Blind Allowance. Could you see about that?
- Robitaille: The forms were sent a month ago. The normal time is three months, so she should not expect it before a couple of months are out.
- opi: Yes, I understand that. My ration is higher since I get help from both governments. This is one of the reasons I like them.
- Kigpitak: Every summer we expect houses and none come. My house has water flooding it at spring and it is starting to rot.
- Neville: We will try to get as many houses as we can. But I don't know how many we will get. Is it correct that the Council decides who will get houses?
- Eyitsiak: Yes. This is true, but we are often overruled by the white man.
- Neville: Do you want the full responsibility?
- Eyitsiak: As long as there are a few houses available and many people, it is hard to decide.
- Neville: We can't solve that matter right this year, but the Council should decide who gets the houses.
- Eyitsiak: We have some more to say because the Eskimos don't all get the same help from the government. This year we heard that people were going to be treated equally in respect of oil in the houses. But we are not. Could you explain this?
- Neville: Could you explain more about what you mean?
- Eyitsiak: We heard that Eskimos out of Quebec (in NWT) get far more help than those in Quebec. Why are we not treated the same as they are?
- Neville: I think it is because of the differences in welfare rates as between northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories. But I will need Mr. Bill's help to answer. I think Mr. Bill can answer these questions. So you can see him personally.
- Mingo: We are afraid that if you do not answer while you are here we might be deceived.

Neville: So exactly what is the problem?

Mingo: Some receive less oil, some others, more.

Neville to Bill: Have you got the answer?

Bill: Did those people ask for it?

Mingo: When I go and ask, I get what I want.

Neville: So you don't have a problem?

Mingo: This old lady should get some oil, too.

Neville: The policy is that people will get oil according to their needs and they are expected to pay according to their means.

Mingo: We used to live in Koartak. When she was in Koartak, her house was heated all the time with oil from DNE. But now she has to buy it.

Bill: She lives in Tumik's house and Tumik is making a lot of money at the mine. Mathilda has come many times to ask for oil.

Mathilda: Yes, I come to get oil but it is because I am told to go get oil.

Neville: People will get oil according to their need and are expected to pay if they can. And that seems fair to me.

Mingo: Do you consider fair that he who has money buys his oil?

Neville: Yes. This is the way everywhere. Do you think that it is not fair?

Mingo: Yes, I think it is unfair. Some get some, some don't; I consider that unfair.

Neville: Everybody in the same circumstances should be treated the same way.

Mingo: I know that.

Neville: When there are things like that, they should be discussed with my representative here if it is our business, or with Mr. Robitaille's man if it is Quebec business.

Eyitsiak: Well that's what I said. We go to Quebec, they send us to Ottawa. We go to Ottawa, they send us to Quebec.

Neville: We should leave now. We will be back.

Chotuk: I have been sick, and I went to Chimo. I stayed in Chimo until I was well.

Provincial School
March 4, 1970
18:00 hours

Koartak

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

(Robitaille and Neville introduce themselves. Mr. Neville talks about the letter, and offers extra copies. He summarizes the letter, talks about the April documents, gives the reasons for them being here.)

Neville: Could we have a meeting tonight?

Council: Yes.

Robitaille: What time?

Council: Eight o'clock.

Robitaille: These discussions started last April when Twi and Charlie Taquiapik went down to Quebec. The Eskimos elected delegates and Angutingua, from Payne. We came to discuss with the whole population about these same things. We visited all the settlements from Great Whale on and now we are in Koartak. Do you want a chairman?

Council: Yes. So that there are not many people talking at the same time.

Neville: The place will be the federal school. We have nothing more to say.

Council: Okay, but we ourselves have some thoughts. If our brains are well working, you will hear us tonight.

Koartac
General Meeting

Federal School
March 4, 1970
19:30 Hours

Neville: The first time here. My name is Neville; my minister's name is Chrétien.

Robitaille: My name is Robitaille. I work for the Quebec Government. My minister's name is Mr. Allard.

Neville: (reads part of the letter. Gives details on procedures. Things written down will be shown etc.) We started in Great Whale, went around the other side of the Bay and we are now in Koartac).

For many years the federal government has thought that it would be better if the Government of Quebec provided the services that the federal government now provides to the Eskimos. I mean services in the fields of education, health, welfare, housing, Co-ops, municipal government. It is because provincial governments normally provide these services to all the people living in the provinces. The federal government has been providing them because Quebec was not able to do so. The federal government talks about these same things as they relate to Indians, to the governments of all the provinces. Some provincial governments already provide all these services to all the citizens in their province. This is the case in Newfoundland, where there live Indians, Eskimos, and white people. The provincial government there provides all the services to everybody. It is logical for the province to do it because it is the provinces that make the laws about these things. That does not mean that the federal government is no longer interested in the Eskimos, but it believes the provincial government can give better services.

(He talks about the '64 talks, the guarantees, the April 1969 documents. He talks about the spokesmen.)

Neville (follows): The spokesmen were also asked to bring back comments on the documents. Last summer, Mr. Chrétien visited some communities in Northern Quebec and when he spoke to the Eskimo people, he could see that there were matters that they could not understand. And the spokesmen said the same thing. Last December, my minister Mr. Chrétien and Mr. Robitaille's minister Mr. Allard met. They both agreed that more time was required to let the Eskimo people think about those things. Now, the documents that the Eskimo people had received said that the changes were to be made by April 1, 1970. The Ministers thought that this date could not be met because the Eskimos needed more time.

(etc... like in Wakeham)

... Those are the reasons why Mr. Robitaille and I are here.

Robitaille: I agree with what Mr. Neville says but I will add a few more things, I would like to speak about the land.

(... as in other meetings in other communities)

... Here in Koartac, Quebec started having people in 1965. Here we built a house, a store - because there was no store. We also started education and health services. In the other settlements, we sent people who were learning about the Eskimos. In 1969, the federal government asked us again if we were ready to provide services. That is why we had the delegates down to talk about those things; and that is why we are here.

Jopi: The first thing I want to ask is will we not be able to finish this evening. The first one that started to give help to us, do they find it too much of a burden? The older people and myself remember the HBC and the missionaries as being the whitemen. The Eskimos here at Koartac came about 1943: from the east and from the west they came. So we came to Koartac looking for a place where we could live, and we normally moved from place to place. We didn't even know what some of the whitemen used for food. When we came to know that this

was a good place for seal and a good place for land, we settled here, where there were no whitemen. We are here on this land; we get help from the government and for this, we are thankful. We know about their language. Now the children go to school and they don't know some of the Eskimo ways. It appears that it is like that, because the Eskimos are using the English language too much. The children here are learning English. But when you have these meetings, what language is most commonly used, French or English?

Robitaille:

That is like Quebec. In southern Quebec, most of the meetings are in French. In Inuit areas, there are many English people and many meetings are in English. In James Bay, the meetings are in Cree, with interpretation in English. Here, the meetings are in Eskimo, with interpretation in English. I talk French, I could talk French to Father Lochat. Mr. Neville also talks French, even though his first language is English.

Jopi:

Here the children are learning English and we want it to be kept like that. When our children finish school will they be able to earn a living where they want to go? We used to make a living the Eskimo way, but the children are not able to do it like that.

I am not the only one who has children going to school. So the others may talk.

Robitaille:

If the children do not learn Eskimo in school, they have to learn English or French. If the children will work in Quebec, French will be very useful, along with English. In the rest of Canada, English is what they have to learn.

When Quebec provides all services, there will be three kinds of schools. There could be the full English one, the full French one, and a school where Eskimo is taught in the first grades. The laws of Quebec say that the parents can choose the school where their children will go. The main law is Bill 63.

I will explain more the three choices (See previous meetings).

Do they understand?

Jopi:

Yes, if it is like that, and if it is not changed, it is fine.

Robitaille:

Well this is a law. It will not change. Before Quebec starts to provide all services the Eskimos will have to choose. If we are not teaching English in our schools, it is because the federal government does so in their schools. But if Quebec does the teaching, there will be a choice between the three types of school.

Jopi and others:

We understand.

Matiussie

Kululak:

I want to say something now. I want to talk about the nurse. We are able to stay alive because of the medical services. I have been a few times in hospital before when National Health and Welfare was in charge. Last winter, I went to Fort Chimo, and the second day I was not seen. I wonder if it will be like that when we have French nurses.

Robitaille:

Were you not seen, by the doctor or the nurse?

Matiussie:

Well, I went to the clinic, and they just looked at me and they didn't take care of me. After that, they said I was well. So I came back.

Robitaille:

Did you feel well?

Matiussie:

Well I had a ski-deo accident and my wound was not stitched.

Robitaille:

I was not there, but Mr. Bacon tells me that the wound was starting to heal when you got there and that it could not be sewn.

- Matiussie:** It may be true, but this piece was not healed and it could have been better.
- Robitaille:** It is not a doctor. Usually the Eskimos do not complain, they think the doctor is right.
- Matiussie:** The doctor is sent by Quebec. He is a Quebec man, and maybe that is why you did not heal.
- Robitaille:** Even if he was a German, it would be the same. Doctors are supposed to be good. The doctor is not a Quebec employee, he works for the hospital. If Matiussie had been in Montreal, maybe he would not have been stitched.
- Matiussie:** I was in hospital twice. Once in Quebec, I had to make my way by myself to the treatment room, even if I did not know the place. In Montreal, they would take me by the arm to show me where I had to go. I was well treated in Montreal.
- Robitaille:** There is nothing I can say about this. There are good and bad hospitals everywhere.
- Matiussie:** I say that because the something may happen to others; and it is not good.
- Robitaille:** We are taking note of it and we will see what we can do to improve the situation.
- Itua
Pudtajuk:** I am very glad these two bosses arrived. We will have a better opportunity to speak now. Other bosses come in the land; we have something to say, but it is as though we don't have anything to say since they are always in a hurry. We are trying to make you understand about school and medical services.
- Since Quebec has taken over medical services, it seems to me that it is not so good as it was before. Last fall, I went out to the hospital. I was in hospital in Newfoundland. That hospital was following the rules of Ottawa. I went out by ship and I came back by airplane.
- Neville:** Where in Newfoundland?
- Itua:** Well, it was on the Island somewhere, but it was very foggy when we were there. So, I was told that Ottawa said I was to go to Montreal. They were afraid that I had something wrong with my lungs. And the people there gave me a paper so that I could get X-rayed.
- But I agree with this other man when he says Chimo is not very good, because they did not even notice the X-ray. They just looked at me and they did not X-ray me.
- Bacon:** Were you X-rayed by the Survey Team that came just to do that.
- Itua:** I was X-rayed when they came. But this is probably the reason why I went out in the first place.
- Robitaille:** I will check with Chimo.
- Itua:** If they talked English in the hospital, there would not have been problems.
- Robitaille:** Who told you about what was written on the paper?
- Itua:** The interpreter in Chimo. She told me to come back before I left Chimo to be X-rayed.
- Robitaille:** I was not there. I will check.

- Itua: I do not say that only for myself but because I would not want the same thing to happen to somebody else.
- Neville: We should stop now and start again tomorrow.
- Jopi: O.K. How long will you be here?
- Neville: We would like to get in to Payne Bay before dark.
- Jopi: There are people here not very many, but this is no reason to be in a hurry.
- Matiussie: If we try to reach decisions in a hurry, we will not get a good understanding.
- Jopi: I want to talk about nurses again and how they seem to go the wrong way. We don't have a nurse here and when the nurse does come, they are always in a hurry; we would like very much that medicine people stay until their job is finished. We find it not right that the medical people leave before their job is done.
- David
Utvaut: Before, the nurses seemed to finish everything before they left. Now it seems that the medicine people always leave before it is finished. I am looking after the family now; but before, my wife would not have had to go to Chimo. This we do not like. We would be happier if they would complete their work before they leave.
- Robitaille: The Quebec Government has been providing health services since 1966 in this area. As the Eskimos know, we sent a doctor to Chimo and as time went on, we put nurses in the settlements. We put nurses first in the larger settlements. We plan to send a nurse here and we are fixing the nursing station. There is also the problem of dental services. Before, the ship used to come with the dentist. For the past few months we have been trying to send a dentist to Chimo. We could not do it because there was no house. But we will have a house soon and the dentist will stay in Chimo and visit the small settlements. That is what the government will do in the weeks ahead.
- In the meantime, we have to get dentists in the south who come only for a few weeks. In some places, they work well but in small places they go fast and this is not good. This will stop soon, when we have a dentist in Chimo. We will keep on improving. When the dentist comes, he will not stay two hours, he will stay many days.
- As soon as the nursing station is fixed, a nurse will come here and stay here.
- Samvillie
Utvaut: I want to add something. I was in Koartak, and I was in Killinek (Port Burwell) for a time and I came back here because I have more affection for this place. Since I came back to Koartak, I have been sick and I have not been seen by medical staff. The Quebec man, Mr. Bacon, has been like a doctor to me. I am suspected of having tuberculosis, all my ribs hurt and I wonder if I will be treated.
- Robitaille: When did you come back to Koartak.
- Samvillie: Probably in August.
- Robitaille: Was there a nurse in Killinek.
- Samvillie: No.
- Robitaille: I hear from Mr. Bacon that if you still have pains you may have to go to Chimo to be hospitalized.

- Samvillie: It is only when I work hard that it hurts.
- Robitaille: Mr. Bacon is doing his best, but he is not a nurse. When the nurse comes, it will be better.
- Samvillie: With Mr. Bacon, it is fine, because when we are used to a white man we are not shy to go to him. I wonder if my wife could have a visit with her father who lives in Killinek. I wonder if she could get a ride to Killinek.
- Robitaille: This will be managed by the province, from here to Chimo and by the federal government from Chimo.
- Neville: If it can be arranged locally, it is alright. But the federal government does not have money for that. Many people ask for that kind of favour but unfortunately, we do not have money to do it. Anyway, we will try to see what can be done in Chimo. But I do not have much hope.
- (The wife's name is Siassie Utvaut E-9799).
- Neville: Unless she has a medical certificate to say the visit would be beneficial, we cannot spend money on air fare; but we will see what can be done; it is difficult to arrange.
- Samvillie: I am satisfied with the answer you gave.
- Putulik Kullulaq: I would like to ask a question about medical staff. Even though you people are not medically trained, I want to talk about Jani Qaugeit. He was evacuated from here to Chimo; it is as if he is just waiting in Chimo. I am afraid that this is what is happening. The Eskimo is like the white man; this is why we want our people to receive good medical attention. He has been gone almost two months. I heard that he was supposed to be evacuated to the south but they said there was no room for him in the south. A person should not be told: "there is no room for you in the hospital." He is probably very tired waiting around, I am asking about this.
- I also heard about the dentist's work. He came to hurt, not to cure people. He gave needles to the children and then he did not take the teeth out. Or he did not freeze others. The dentist did not seem to remember the person he hurt. I heard this because it concerns Annie's child. The child was left with a frozen mouth; he could not eat; he was in bad shape, because the dentist left before taking the tooth out. We did not think it was too long for the dentist and we don't want this to happen. Even though we do not pay, we do not feel it is too long a work for the medical people.
- I said this because we desire it to be improved.
- Robitaille: You mentioned two things: Jani Qaugeit and the dentist.
- Here is what I know about medical evacuation. When people are evacuated it is because the doctor orders evacuation. Mr. Bacon tells him the conditions of the patient and the doctor decides. When the patient gets to Chimo the doctor has to see him. If he can be treated, in Chimo, he stays there. They do an analysis. If the person does not need full care, he stays in a house and he goes to the clinic every day. Sometimes, once a week is enough. It depends on the disease. If the disease cannot be treated in Chimo, he is evacuated in Quebec. When the doctor says that, the patient goes out on Nordair. What you heard about space in the hospital is not right. So if he has not been sent south, it must be for another reason.
- I have talked with the doctor this morning, (by radio) and he will talk to me again at noon; and I will give the answers about Qaugeit and Situa.
- About the dentist, I told you a dentist would be a resident in Chimo soon. His family will be there and he will come to visit and will stay long enough. We know that a house will be available soon for the dentist.

I would like to speak about that dentist who came here. We sent him only for a few weeks. He came alone without his family. He went to many places, like Wakeham; and he spent a few days there. We had meetings in Wakeham and nobody complained about his work. After that I do not know what happened. I heard he was here just a few hours and I heard that he did the things you reported. I am not a dentist, but I know what he did does not make sense. It was a bad thing to do. I feel very sorry for that. He will not come back here. The one who will come now will be the Chimo dentist. He will spend many days. He will not be in a hurry.

I am very sorry for the bad things you told me.

Charlie Taquiapik: I have more to say about medical staff. Here we do not stop talking about the medical staff. We have not talked about the ones we had before, only about the ones we just got. The first nurses were alright to us. You have come here to collect the Eskimo words. The former government is going to be replaced by this new government. The new one should fix the way it is going to do things. I have never been out to hospital. I talk because we want to arrange things for the future. We hope the government fixes things so that we will be able to see what will happen to our children. The children will want things to be done well.

**Matiussie
Kudlulak:**

All this may seem to be difficult but it can be done. This is our land in Koartac, and we don't have to be just servants. I want to understand. We have a hospital in Chimo and we are boarded out when we get to Chimo. Before when we went to Chimo, we received food but not money. How can that be?

Robitaille:

When the case is not urgent, we place the Eskimos in a house in Chimo. We do not give food to the patient in Chimo, but we give money to the people of that house.(to buy food).

Matiussie:

I understand this. But in the place where I was staying, I did not see that the people were paid.

Robitaille:

We do pay.

Matiussie:

I understand that and I am pleased. But in my case, I did not get much food.

Robitaille:

You should have reported that to the doctor.

Matiussie:

Before, we had rations.

Robitaille:

I will look into that. Maybe the boarders should get money before a sick person comes so that they can get food.

Matiussie:

I want to talk about the opportunities for work. But before I do, others may want to talk about medical staff.

**David
Oukpik:**

We are often sick but not all the time. Our houses are few in number, and the ones we have are small. There are a lot of people in these houses. This is one of the reasons that we are sick so much. We would like larger houses. We have colds all the time which spread from mouth to mouth. So we would like to have more houses and larger houses as in other places we hear about.

Neville:

Yes. I have seen these houses. They are small, cold, and overcrowded. I know that there is a federal plan to build houses and that Nouveau Quebec is the last place to receive the houses. This community obviously needs more houses. I have been told there is only a small number of houses for Northern Quebec planned in 1970. I do not know if any will be built here. But I will see if we can have some here too. I can only promise that we will try.

Does the council know how many houses would be needed immediately.

Jopi:

The little square ones are sufficient for the summer. In the winter, there is frost on the walls and in the spring, water leaks out. Worms breed on the wet walls. We need one house urgently for a person who never had a house. But eight would be the right number. The school is the only place we can have public meetings. Maybe in the future, the school won't be enough.

Neville:

We will do what we can.

David
Oukpik:

The children will not live like we have done, it seems, like the Eskimo. The game is getting scarce now that we are accustomed to use rifles and fast canoes. So we would need a bigger school building because the children are increasing in number. We were accustomed to be hunters. We made a living by hunting. Our children will not be using game as the means by which they stay alive. We want for them a good future. Thank you. I was able to bring what I wanted to say to an end.

Robitaille:

I want to speak about the school. The two governments know that the school has been burned down. I do not think that the governments will build a school this year, but we will next year. Then, when the government does that, they will build also a community room perhaps into the school.

Koartac

Federal School
March 5, 1970
14.30 hours

General Meeting

- Robitaille: About the sick people. When Itua got in Chimo, the doctor had received a telegram saying that Itua was O.K. This is why they did not take an X-ray and the interpreter did not explain that.
- Itua: Fine. But I was sort of afraid that the same thing could happen to others.
- Robitaille: Yes. When they do not understand, they should ask the doctor. Now about his daughter Lizzie, she has nothing wrong with her lungs, she was just weak.
- Itua: She waited a long time before a plane could come.
- Robitaille: She will be in Chimo one more week, under observation. Now about Johnny Gageit. It is true that he is boarding in Chimo now, It seems that he has tuberculosis. We expect that he will have a place today in Laval Hospital.
- Matiussie
Kullunlak: I have more to say, about something that we did not feel before. This other government which is replacing the other, are they going to concentrate on the land or the Eskimos. Does it want to work on the land, or help the Eskimos.
- Robitaille: The Quebec government is interested, not only in the land, but also because there are inhabitants. So Quebec is interested in mineral resources; it is the same all across Canada. The main reason for this is that the government gets some money from the companies and can give better services to the whole population. The Government is interested in taking care of the Eskimos and also the whites of the North. So land and people are both important. And the government hopes that the Eskimos would profit from the exploitation of the natural resources.
- Jopi: We would like to know about the land. There are not going to be any laws passed which will prevent us from going to the areas where we habitually hunt, will there? It is alright if opportunities to work on the land are given. But we have the right to have time to think about it; the land should not be taken away from us. Because we consider that we do not need a lot of laws for this land of ours where we hunt. The game is getting scarce because of the motors and rifles. Very often, although we search for game, we can't find any. That is why it would not be a good thing if laws were made to restrict the land.
- Robitaille: Regarding animals, we have been asked the same question in Wakeham Bay. In regard to land animals, the Eskimos now hunt according to the Quebec rules. Now, the Quebec Government is not restricting the hunting of the Eskimos. There is no reason for this to be changed. I do not think Quebec will change that. Regarding sea animals, the seas around here are part of the Northwest Territories. They are not in Quebec. There, federal regulations apply. In 1964 when the two governments met together, this point was brought up about the Quebec Eskimos hunting in the N.W.T. The federal government said, there will be no change; the Eskimos will be allowed to hunt where they want. The Eskimos should not fear about that. The hunting rights of the Eskimo should be respected.
- Itua
Paqtaju: Because the Eskimo hunting rights should not be restricted, you agreed that there was not going to be restriction. We hope that it will be so. Our children, if they do not find a new way to make a living, they may have to do what we have done. We do not want the whiteman to interfere with our hunting, (rights) but sometimes they hunt just for sport, they are playing. I am finished.

Alupa
Itigaituk:

I want to say something about the children going to school. They seem to still a long time in Chimo before they are sent to home. The Koartak children spent a long time in Chimo this winter, while others went home after only one sleep in Chimo. Our radio operator is good. He asks, and he is told: "tomorrow they will come." The people in Chimo seem to be lying. The mothers wanted to see them, but for a long while, they were not able. When the people went out to go to the meeting in Quebec, they did not have that problem, but the children here. This does not seem right to us. Even before they were sent home, they were told to go back to Great Whale. We did not agree, before we had seen them. We know though that they are well looked after in Chimo and Great Whale. We heard that they should do three years in Great Whale. We agreed to that. It did not seem fair to me that the Koartak people did not get home, while the others did.

Robitaille:

Here is what I know about this. Before Christmas, the children leave to go back to visit their families. We use the existing airlines to bring them back. Around here, St-Félicien does the transportation. St-Félicien is a company, not the government. Quebec does not want to keep the children in Chimo; it wants them to visit their parents. I do not know why they could not come. Perhaps on account of the weather I do not know the reason. I hope that next year the children will come right away.

Itua:

I have a child in Great Whale. He does not want to go back to Great Whale next year. He says he wants to work here. He will not finish his course because he wants to work at home. I think this will be alright.

Robitaille:

What is your son learning - (Mechanics) -. Well, the teacher says it takes three years. If he quits, he will know enough about mechanics. His parents can do what they want, but perhaps it will be more difficult for him to find a job. Usually, Quebec helps the graduates to find jobs. This is what Guy Girouard does. We can find jobs when the students complete their course. If they stop before, it is more difficult to find jobs. But if the parents do not want him to complete his studies, there is nothing we can do.

Itua:

I understand very well. But my son hopes to get a job with the miners. That is why he wants to stop. If there is no job for him with the miners, he will go back at Great Whale.

Robitaille:

Well, what he learned in Great Whale will be useful. But he could get a better job if he finished his course. It is up to the student and the parents to decide.

Jopi:

Those in the back they may talk (He means the women). It would be good if we talked about other things. Maybe the others are thinking like me, I do not know. I want to ask something about money, on behalf of a permanent or casual laborer. It seems that it takes a long time for the money to reach us. And the debt builds up in the store. It would be good if there was a local pay office.

Robitaille:

I will speak for Quebec, since I represent Quebec. At first, the people we hired were paid in Quebec city. Gradually, people started to be paid in the north by our administrators. Starting today, Mr. Bacon will pay directly here. He just received this news.

Neville:

Any problem with federal payment?

Matlussie:

It is the same problem.

Neville:

The cheques have to be made up in Chimo. So I will discuss the question in Chimo or Ottawa. I have written it down.

We would like to stop at four to do our packing and take the plane.

Itua

Puktaju:

You don't have to be in a rush, the day is not going to fall suddenly. I would like to know if the D.O.T. at Hopes Advance could do the same thing.

This winter we no longer get rations from the D.O.T. I was told that this year the ration is stopping and I would get \$8,000 a year. I do not want to be lied to, so I continue to work at the Cape until May to see if the money comes. I don't feel very good about the fact that I need relief at the same time that I have a steady job. My pay only comes every three months. My pay last year was \$60 a month. So each 3 months I get \$180. It was increased slightly because my last pay was \$200. Now it is almost four months since I had my last pay.

Neville:

What do you do there?

Itua:

I get the water, empty the toilets, wash the floors, fuel the stove and the power house. Jopi and I both work for the federal Government. But I don't know much about his employer.

Neville:

I will check.

Itua:

My wife gets ten dollars a month. Every three months, \$30 dollars arrives. She makes up the beds, does the ironing, the washing, and the mending. I was told last spring that the increase should come. But it has not, except the one I mentioned. The D.O.T. man said the increase would arrive in June 1969.

Neville:

O.K. I will look into it.

Itua:

When you will ask, could you tell them to tell me, by radio or another way whether there will be an increase.

Alupa:

I have a short question. What kind of answers did you get in the settlements you have visited about the transfer to the Quebec Government. We heard that most Eskimos are not in favor.

Neville:

We met a lot of Eskimos who seemed to be worried about this. We also met some who were not worried and said: "Let us give Quebec a chance." We think we were able to answer the questions that the Eskimos had. We found many misunderstandings about the guarantees that were given by both governments. We found Eskimos that said, "alright, let us see what the two governments can do by working together"

Robitaille:

What Neville said is right. Sometimes it was hard for me specially, since the people did not understand about the government of Quebec. We answered the questions and we hope that the people understand better what the two governments want to do. It has been a good trip up to now.

Neville:

We learned something about the thoughts of the Eskimos towards the governments. Many Eskimos criticized the way governments and whites do things. We wrote things down and we will show them to our bosses. Through all this we hope that we will come to a better understanding between the Eskimos and the governments.

We want to thank you for the opportunity to explain and listen. We heard a number of problems; those that we could not solve, we will work on. Mr. Robitaille and I hope to come back here and continue our discussions.

Robitaille:

For the months immediately ahead, there will be no change. The two governments will work more closely together. We will ask our personnel to work more closely with the Eskimo Council. I hope the weather will be as good when we come back.

Matiussie:

The weather is good because we have good thoughts.

Jopi:

Thank you. Let us pray.

General Meeting

- Neville:** (gives introductions). This is my first time in this community.
- Robitaille:** (Offers greetings from the Minister.) I am happy to be back here with Mr. Neville.
- Neville:** (Talks about the letter.) We gave copies so that the people could read it before the meeting. (Gives more explanations about the letter. Explains the political system of Canada and distribution of responsibilities. Talks about the 1964 agreement. Repeats the guarantees. The Federal Government would give money to the Province to insure that services provided are good. Talks about the April 25, 1969 document. The full extension of services by Quebec was to have taken place April 1, 1970. Mr. Chrétien, however, saw that more time was needed for the Eskimos to understand. The spokesmen said the same thing. So there will be no great changes on April 1, 1970.) But we still want to do this. We will work more closely together. We want the thoughts of the Eskimos too.
- (The men who were seal hunting are back. They come in).
- Our ministers have asked us to come and listen to the thoughts and to report back.
- Robitaille:** (agrees). I will talk about the land. (He uses the map to describe the territorial evolution since 1670). Before 1912, Quebec did not care for N.Q.; it was not part of its territory. Only in 1950 did Quebec people come; then from 1964, Quebec sent people to learn about the Eskimos. Here, people came in 1966. In 1969, when Ottawa asked if we were ready to provide services, we said yes. We sent documents to the Eskimos about it; these were not always understood. So that is why we are here.
- Arnatuk Nassak:** I will say something. Why was not Quebec the first one to come and take care of the land and the people?
- Robitaille:** Before 1912, there were no Eskimos in what was then Quebec. After that, Quebec, like other provinces, was concentrating on the south where more people were living. Other provincial governments were doing the same thing. In Canada, the majority of the population lives in the southern corridor. Before, the provinces were working mainly in this area; the Federal Government was taking care of the people living in sparsely populated areas. Until 1962, Quebec was not ready to move north.
- Neville:** I will add something. Before 1912, remember, all this land belonged to Canada. So the provinces did not have any business in this part of the North. Two years after the land was given to the provinces, World War I broke out. Canadians were thinking only of the war. After the war, they began to look toward the North. There was also a period, starting about 1925, when the provinces did not have enough money. Then, in 1939, another big war started. I must say that the period where money was scarce lasted from '25 to '38. Many white people were without jobs and lived on Social Assistance. When World War II broke out, the people were thinking only about the war. It stopped in 1945, but people started working again only in 1946. At that time, the provinces were looking more toward the North. This is such a big area and it costs so much to bring in services, that it took a long time. Quebec has started to look North only in recent years. You can say the same thing about Ontario and Manitoba.
- Everywhere now, the Federal Government is asking the provinces to provide services on its behalf, because it believes that Indians and Eskimos are citizens of the provinces like all other citizens.
- Mathew Putulik:** Each of these divisions has its own government. We also heard that the NWT will be getting its own government. We are here living in Quebec. When they say the small government, they mean the Provincial Government. (He went to the map to explain that).

Arnatuk Nassak: What government will look after the people of Northwest Territories?

Neville: Something like a Provincial Government. In 1967, the Federal government asked the Government of NWT to look after the land and the people in the MacKenzie area. In 1970, the Government of Canada asked NWT to look after the rest of the Territory. They agreed. The Federal Government will give money to the NWT government to look after Indians and Eskimos. We have asked the same thing of the Government of Quebec. The Federal Government is not just letting everything go. It is saying: "we will give you money if you provide these services on our behalf".

Arnatuk Nassak: These people across the strait (Hudson) will be having their own government and will be able to run their own affairs the way they think best. This is what we want too. We want a line to be drawn on the map. (They show where they want the line. It is the same as others.)

Samwillie
Annahatak: The year before last, it is in this land that the Federation of Coops chose as the Eskimo land. In Pov., two years ago, the territory of the Federation was chosen to go from Fort George to George River. In Great Whale last year, it was extended as far down as Wemindji at a meeting where all the Eskimos of everywhere were represented, except for Wakeham Bay. Killinek (Port Burwell) and Becher Islands are affiliated with NWT Coops. Now, Leaf Bay, Koartac and Wakeham Bay are not members. I am not sure, but eventually, the territory (covered by the Fed. des Coop-de Nouveau Quebec) could be extended southward. The Federation decided to work together with the Quebec Government. We are in Quebec; we want to be fellow workers with the Quebec Government. It is no wonder because the Eskimo does not have much money, and Quebec seems to have more. We know that; the Eskimos and Quebec should work together. All Canada has natural resources. In Quebec, which is part of Canada, we have prospectors and miners working on the resources. These miners who come up here, they buy the right to work from the Quebec Government.

Arnatuk Nassak: Some of this money should come back to the Eskimos.

Samwillie: Arnatuk has taken the words from my mouth. If the Coop up here wants a lot (i.e. land) for their house, do they have to pay for this?

Robitaille: In Northern Quebec, the land is public land. It is the land of everybody in Quebec. The government knows very well that the Eskimos have been the first inhabitants. When an Eskimo or a Coop want to build a house, the government wants to know where. The Eskimos do not have to pay. All the Quebec Government wants to know is where they will build a house on the land. It is good to have the location of each building on maps. When people want land, here is how it goes. The H. B. C. store for instance they have to ask the government for the land they want to occupy. A map is sent to show what piece of land is needed. When this happens, we ask our representative what he thinks about it and anybody who wants land, even the white people. Perhaps, in the future, in the case of the Company, more would be paid and in the case of a Mission, very little.

As for those people who come north to make money, the government expects them to pay for the land. I don't think the Mission makes much money, so they will not pay more than a dollar, perhaps.

I will now talk about land where exploration is being made. It is not the same thing about mining land, and land where people stay. When a mining company wants to work in Northern Quebec, they have to ask the Government for an exploration permit. They pay a little for this; it depends on the size of the land. If they find minerals of economic importance, they have to report that to Quebec. Then, they must get a new permit, an exploitation permit. When a company gets that permit, it means that they can open a mine. This is not the case yet in Northern Quebec; the companies are just exploring. When the mine is open, part of the money will go to the Government of Quebec. That has not happened in Northern Quebec.

Now, if money came from the mines, what would Quebec do? Provincial Governments have special fields of work. If the Government builds a school or a nursing station it costs money. These are services for the welfare of the population. The money to pay for these comes from taxes. The money from mines is used the same way.

When a company gets an exploitation permit, it does not become the owner of the land. The land is put at the disposal of the company for mining purposes only.

Arnatuk Nassak:

Yes, we know about the prospectors and how they work on the land.

It is time to stop now. We will start again at one.

Robitaille:

At one o'clock, I would like to say more about the general land question.

Robitaille:

I would like to say two main things. I was quite impressed with what Samiville said this morning, because it shows that the Eskimos are beginning to be more united in the North. I was pleased to see that the Eskimos were talking more and more about controlling their own affairs. When I visited the North in 1956, I visited the settlements on the Strait. I observed there that the people in each settlement were living on their own. Later, I attended meetings in Chimo. There were Eskimos from each settlement and they said they were unhappy because they did not have many chances in the past to contact other Eskimos. Now, in 1970, it seems that there is a fairly common thought about important things among the Eskimos. We whitemen can see that. Mr. Neville will agree that it is recent, and that it is a good thing.

I was also pleased to see that the Eskimos wanted to control their own affairs; Samiville has pointed out on the map the land of the Coops. The two governments have realized that through the Coops, the Eskimos could take control of their own affairs. The governments helped but did not try to run the Coops. The Federal has given technical advice for the fishing here. Quebec has made it possible for Eskimos to go to Pov. to learn how to run Coops. The governments also helped the Coops financially. The Eskimos, through the Coops, see that they can control a good sector of activity and this is very good. Now both governments would like the Eskimos to control other sectors of activities. They would like the Eskimos to get more knowledge about those fields of activity. This will take time. When this is achieved, the Eskimos will really govern their own affairs.

I was pleased to hear that the Eskimos here want to work with the government.

Neville:

What Robitaille said is also the way my government feels. I can look back ten years in time when there were no Coops in this part of the North. In 10 years, the Eskimo people have achieved many things. On this trip, we met many Eskimo people who were capable. When I look ten years in the future, I am sure that the Eskimos will take much more control of their own affairs. The two governments want to help the Eskimo people to do the things they want to do.

Arniatuk Nassak:

We were going to talk about the land, but the Coop men have spoken about their interests. The land question must be settled; it is a land that belongs to the Eskimos; a line has to be drawn. What you heard before is the thought of the Coops; we are often talking about the Coop. It would be better if we said what the people think. The government (men) may think that is just one fellow talking, so perhaps the others should say what they think.

Sammy
Annahatack:

In other places, people talked about fixing things together. I will talk about this. When you first came in 1956, you say that it seems they (the Eskimos) did not think the same. Now, because the Eskimos have had some meetings together, you think they have more of a common mind and fix things better. In the past, we received a lot of literature coming here that really applied to the NWT. Some of the stuff said, "I do not regret the land that I left because this is a better land." Now that the Eskimos meet together, we have a chance to fix things and improve them.

Angutingua:

I will say what I think myself. The place where we were drawing a line on the map is the Eskimo land. Surely we will want it. In 1956, you said the Eskimos did not seem to have a common mind. Now the Government understands that we agree together on a common goal. We want to work at this increasingly. Everyone has to be able to talk about this and hear about this. One thing we want very much is this line on the map; can we get help from the Government of Quebec to put a demarcation line on the map? Even if this line was on the map, the Quebec Provincial employees could still work among us. Up to until now, the people have not thought very much about the Quebec Government.

- Putulik:** After the line is drawn, will the people make a choice as to what government they want?
- Arnatuk Nassak:** This part that is marked up, which is our land, is not to be taken from us; the Eskimo is still living on it. Even so, any whiteman who wants to work in our country is welcomed to come, but he should remember it is our land. He is not the big boss. He should not concern himself with hunting regulations.
- Jamvillie:** When I was at the map I spoke about Quebec and the Eskimos working together to develop the resources.
- Josepi Angmak:** I want to say a little bit, even if it is not too much. We don't want the land to be taken away, neither do we want to be replaced by the whiteman. We don't want our land to be separated from Canada.
- Arnatuk:** The Eskimos were the first people in here. How come we were not told before 1964 when the governments were trying to fix things among themselves?
- Robitaille:** In 1962, Quebec started to want to administer the North. In 1964, Quebec had to say to the Government of Canada that they were ready (to provide all services.) They had to meet to tell them that.
- Arnatuk:** They should have told the Eskimos.
- Robitaille:** Maybe. The two governments thought differently.
- Arnatuk:** Maybe you thought the Eskimos did not have enough brains.
- Robitaille:** No, the first people who came here in 1962 told the Eskimos they wanted to replace the Federal Government.
- Neville:** We are having a hard time answering this question. Maybe because we do not understand the question well. We have talked about Quebec coming to extend services to everybody in Northern Quebec. If we did not have these meetings and you would not have a chance to speak your mind, what do you think would have happened to the land? I am trying to understand what you are getting at. When you say you don't want to be separated from Canada, what do you mean?
- Arnatuk:** When we are separated from Canada we are afraid that we will be trampled upon.
- Neville:** But how could they be separated from Canada?
- Arnatuk:** We heard that Quebec wanted to separate from Canada.
- Robitaille:** I have heard that some people want that. I have heard that some people outside Quebec wanted to separate from Canada. In B.C., they are far away from the rest of Canada. Some people would like to separate from Canada in B.C. There are some people like that in Quebec too. This has happened before; this will happen again. But the Government of Quebec who represents the people of Quebec, they don't want that. The Eskimos should not be fearful about that.
- Angutingua:** We heard here that the services coming from Ottawa are going to be given by Quebec. We also heard that the money given for these services will not all come to the Eskimos. This has been told to the Eskimos.
- Neville:** By whom?
- Angutingua:** We heard this in Montreal.

- Neville:** I think there is a misunderstanding. It is true that the Government of Canada has asked the Quebec Government to give services on its behalf. It is different from just asking Quebec to give the services.
- Canada and Quebec both agreed that the Government of Canada was still responsible for Indians and Eskimos. This means that the Government of Canada will insure that the services given are good. It is saying the same thing in regard to Indian Affairs. The Government of Canada is asking the Provinces: "will you provide to the Indians and Eskimos the same services you are providing to other citizens?" It is doing so because it is the Provinces that make most of the laws concerning these services. The Provincial Government can provide better services than the Federal Government can.
- I will say something about the money. The Government of Canada told Quebec "we will give you the money to provide these services," and the Quebec Government has agreed to provide these services to Eskimos. It is certain that Quebec will even spend some of its own money to improve these services; it is doing that already.
- We found many misunderstandings on this trip, things seem to get twisted with distance.
- Arnatuk Nassak:** The services that Ottawa gives, we had thought that it was sufficient for a long while because Ottawa helped very well those who could not help themselves. Before you arrived, we had some problems locally. We didn't buy anything from the (federal) government; when the Eskimos wanted something that was available, he got it. Now Quebec is selling its services, I know that already. Three men had to buy kamotik (sled) runners. Will we have to pay for the help we get in the future.
- Neville:** I will answer that question in regards to the Federal Government. These arrangements are often local and are often not the policy of the government as a whole. I will give two examples. One about health. In the NWT, the Eskimos pay for health services if they can afford to.
- Arnatuk:** You are changing the subject.
- Neville:** I can't answer without examples. So the Federal Government often does give services without charge. Also people there (in the NWT) don't get social assistance unless they have no money. It is the Federal Government that says that. The Federal Government also says: "if you have to buy a pair of runners and can afford it, you should pay for them. But it may be that the person gets runners for free if they cannot afford to buy a pair. This is the idea of the Federal Government all across Canada.
- Arnatuk:** We have been told that the government cannot sell things.
- Neville:** That is usually correct.
- Arnatuk:** People here have been buying things from the Quebec Government people. When the school was finished, there were materials left and three men did not have sled runners; they bought the runners, they paid for them.
- We are afraid that it will be like that with Quebec; you will have to pay for every little thing we want. Here in Payne Bay if we want to use the Federal workshop, we can and we can bring tools home.
- Robitaille:** First, the Governments in Canada are not working for money. The services are paid by tax payer's money. The governments in the North are not there to sell things. They are not there to give anything

away either. Sometimes they have to sell; there are government stores in Tasiuyaq and Koartak. In those two places, the government sells things to the Eskimos. It does this because there is no store. They are not trying to make money but they are giving these things as a service. If Co-ops want to take these stores later, they can.

As for runners, I will say this. The (Quebec) government would prefer not to sell wood. If poor people need runners, it would give them away. I heard from Mr. Tremblay that there was wood left and that the Eskimos asked for the wood as runners. That wood could have been kept for future buildings. The Eskimos insisted and Mr. Tremblay sold the wood to those who could pay. With the money they paid, the government will be able to replace the wood. It would be much better if wood was sold by the store. The money went back to the government.

Tomassie Augiak: I also got runners from the same person and I did not pay. Will I have to pay?

Robitaille: You have been transporting things for us to the lake, so you do not have to pay.

Peter Nassak: I transported part of the houses up (to the community); I was not paid and even then I had to pay for the sled runners.

Robitaille: Mr. Tremblay will check in his book to see if he paid you. If you were not paid, you will be.

Peter Nassak: If he gives me back the four dollars I paid for the runners, that will be equivalent.

Tommy Qaukai: From each community around the coast, two representatives went South. We have the opportunity to talk to two governments when we go out. The Eskimos met together first without any whiteman present. When they meet together like this, they wonder which government is in charge of game. Some of them, not from here, heard that you have to pay to be able to hunt. And this is a reason why we would have a preference for the older government, since a new government would ask payment from hunting. When the delegates came back that is what we heard from them. This is one of the reasons we prefer not to change. Did you hear this around the coast?

Robitaille: We heard questions in regard to hunting but not the same question; it was about hunting in the Islands.

Regarding the game regulations, the Federal Government still has its services here; the regulations in regard to hunting were Quebec regulations. I don't know if the Eskimos knew that, but it was so. Quebec has laws regarding fish and land animals. Quebec will not try to prevent the Eskimos from going hunting. As for the sea animals, the regulations are not those of Quebec. At the meeting of 1964, the Federal Government said that the Esquimos would be able to hunt on the islands.

Arnatuk Nassak may remember that at the Montreal meeting, the answer given was that there would be no change. In southern Quebec many people go hunting and they need a permit. It is the same thing in other provinces. Quebec does not want to keep the Eskimos from hunting. It may happen that the governments give fishing quotas to the Eskimos, since if they overfish a stream, there will be no more fish after a while. This has happened in Tasiuyak.

Neville: I want to ask a question of Tommy Qaukai. Who told the delegates they would have to pay for hunting?

Arnatuk Nassak: I will answer, since I was there. We heard this and that is why we talk about it. It would be very bad, especially for those who make a living from hunting. We heard that from other people (Eskimo).

Tomy Quikai: That is one of the reason we fear change.

Robitaille: Just to make sure the people understood, I will say that the islands are in the NWT and that some Federal people said they should not kill too many bears. It is like the fish. If too many are killed, in some years, there will not be any left.

Neville: I remember that the Titirajnak (Whale Cove) people thought this was a good law.

Samvillie: It is good to make money from hunting but we have to think of the future. When we are solely under Quebec, how will it be? I take polar bear and walrus in the NWT (islands).

Neville: The laws of the NWT will apply as far as the land animals are concerned. And I think that no hunter will be stopped from hunting. Federal laws apply to seal and polar bear. I cannot see any changes. The laws that apply now will apply then. That point was raised in a meeting in Montreal. The things written down about what was said say that there will not be any change.

Samvillie: This is good if it is like that. We don't like to kill animals and not be able to bring them home. We people do not want to kill for killing's sake, we try to bring the stuff home. I was saying this because we want enough animal resources for the future so that the ones growing up will have animals they can hunt. We hear that in Chimo, some of the Eskimos are killing caribou just for the fun of it. The Payne Bay people are accustomed to talk about game; we are hunters and we want do things the right way; we don't want the caribou all killed off, because they might be coming up this way as they increase. My words are finished.

Robitaille: Where do the Payne Bay people go hunting the caribou?

Samvillie: Just south of here (He shows on the map an area around Lac Faribault).

Robitaille: Are the caribou moving North?

Samvillie: For three years it has been the same. They do not go up, nor down.

Neville: Do you think that if you spoke to your (Eskimo) friends in Chimo, they would cut back on hunting? Because you seem to be able to regulate these things better than us.

Samvillie: If the caribou hunters from here talked, it may work.

Neville: What about a meeting of both councils? That is what it means, to take your affairs in your own hands.

Samvillie: Sure. It would be better if the Eskimo did it.

Robitaille: I have seen people whose job is to count the caribou by plane. They say there is more caribou and they are generally moving northward.

Samvillie: We have heard that they are right by the sea in George River.

Putulik: Is the Quebec Government planning to take over this year?

Robitaille: For the months immediately ahead, Quebec and the Federal government will both maintain their services. Last summer, documents were sent here in regards to what the governments were suggesting, that the transfer would take place on April 1st 1970. But then, after the meetings with the Eskimos, it was understood that the Eskimos did not understand fully and it was decided not to transfer on April 1st 1970.

For the months immediately ahead, no changes will occur except that the two governments will work more closely together. We will also ask the Eskimo councils to co-operate more closely

with the local officials.

Sammy Annahatak: We don't want hunting to become just a game for people. All the Eskimo men hunted but it seems that some of them are no longer hunting. Those who hunt have the custom of giving meat to those who are not hunting, even though they are helped by the government.

Robitaille: I understand how the Eskimo feel about hunting being just a sport. However, in some places the Eskimos have started tourist operations where whitemen come to hunt. That is a good thing, but it should not be everywhere. There are not too many animals killed by the sportsmen. Sometimes they leave the meat to the Eskimos.

Arnatuk Nassak: It seems that I am the only one with a mouth. We have not finished talking about the land. I would like to know what the rest think about the land. We would like it to be understood very well that this is Eskimo land and that it should not be taken away from us. I heard that the Indian has been pushed out of his own land by the whiteman. The Eskimo does not want this to happen to him.

Putulik: Is it going to be like this? Would Quebec take more and more services, and Ottawa less and less?

Neville: Yes. Since Quebec is more and more ready to give these services. But remember, the Federal Government has responsibility, I will keep it and carry it out.

Putulik: About the English in the schools, is it going to be cut down gradually?

Robitaille: In the months ahead, there will be no change. But we would like the Eskimos to think about what will happen in the future.

Arnatuk: We want it to stay like it is.

Robitaille: I will give some more explanations.
(He explains about the three choices in respect of Education systems. Arnatuk agrees that they should be able to choose.)

The two governments would like the Eskimos to think about these two types of school. This is a very serious thing and the parents have the right to choose. It is not the responsibility of our school teacher, or the Federal school teacher to do that.

Arnatuk: This is what we are doing now.

Robitaille: I don't want to influence the Eskimos but I want to say something more. If the Eskimos want to keep their language, the third choice would be a very good way to do so.

Neville: I agree with what Mr. Robitaille said on this point. Some Eskimos said that they were not anxious to have the Eskimo language in school. At that time, we didn't know if many Eskimos felt that way. I want to stress that they should think about it carefully.

We should stop now. Do you want to meet again tomorrow morning?

Arnatuk: We should maybe talk tonight. Many people have not talked.

Neville: If we spent the whole morning, would that be enough, because we have to move out at noon.

Arnatuk: The whole morning might not be enough.

Neville: We could meet till 15.30 hrs.

Arnatuk: We could meet at 8 o'clock. We are grateful that you are not in such a rush. When we went to the whiteman's land, everything was a rush.

Thomassie
Kalluk:

We often have medical people who come here and they leave before their job is done. I say that because you seem to be in a big rush.

Robitaille:

No. But we have to go to many places. We have to get back to the south to our bosses.

Arnatuk:

You came here to gather the thoughts of the people.

Thomassie:

These top men of yours in Quebec and Montreal, if they say you have to be back so soon, maybe they could come here.

General Meeting

- Arnatuk Nassak:** I will speak first because we made a mistake about something we talked about yesterday. Only if all the people agree together can the Provincial people and the people work together.
- Tomassie Kudluk:** Yesterday, you spoke about the map and how we should all work together.
- Arnatuk:** I am still asking the same question. Some are too fast at deciding. The Eskimo makes up his mind in too much of a hurry.
- Tomassie:** We had the Ottawa Government for a long time: now we look with attention at the Quebec Government to know what it is like.
- Arnatuk:** When one person has finished talking, you have to say if you agree with him. When one person says something, it seems that the white-man believes that he only expresses his own thoughts.
- Neville:** No. It depends on what is said and what is happening. We can usually tell, from a lot of listening, if the individual expresses his own view, or the views of the people. Sometimes somebody says: "what I am saying is not my own view, it is the view of the people." So you should not worry about that.
- I want to ask a question. You refer to a mistake you may have made. We are trying to understand what mistake you may have made.
- Arnatuk:** Yesterday you heard that the Eskimos were prepared to work with Quebec; then you ought to have asked, is this the thinking of all the people.
- Robitaille:** Yes. I wrote it down. Samwillie said that. He has the right to speak; we came to hear all Eskimos, not only the delegates. We wrote down what Arnatuk said just the same. We will report on what one said and what the other said. The right to speak their mind belongs to everybody in Canada. This has happened in other places; but for important things, the Eskimos thought the same way. We heard delegates, Coop people, hunters, workers, we listened to everybody.
- Arnatuk:** I do not like it sometimes. A man will say his own thoughts without bothering about what his fellow people may think.
- Neville:** Yes. We understand. But we want also the ideas of the individuals.
- Samwillie:** It may seem to you, Arnatuk, that I was mistaken yesterday. These documents that were sent here don't only speak about the Coop, but also about land, education and other important things. I am saying that the Coops and the people who look after the land must work together. It bothered you that I talked about the Federation.
- Arnatuk:** Not really, but we have to speak about the land.
- Samwillie:** Well, it is not finished. You can speak about the land today.
- Robitaille:** I want to ask Arnatuk what he thinks about the land.
- Arnatuk:** This is our land. If it is taken away from us or if we are pushed out it will not be good. It seemed that the question about land was settled yesterday when Samwillie talked. So that is why I want to talk some more this morning.
- Neville:** We are still trying to get the people's idea about land. So they should talk.

Josepi Angmi:

May I speak. Ottawa has been looking after us and should continue to look after us. Quebec is making an obstacle in the way of Ottawa. The assistance we have had from Ottawa is considered to be very good. If Quebec becomes the one that assists us, the assistance is less, not the same. I am finished for now.

Robitaille:

The land was given to Quebec by Ottawa in 1912. The Ottawa Government, since 1912, has worked in northern Quebec. Even if the Federal government left the provision of services to Quebec, this would not change anything on the land question.

Neville:

I want to answer Josepi. He said that he thought Ottawa was the Government looking after the Eskimos and that he wanted this to continue. It looks, he said, as if Quebec was an obstacle. He also said that if Quebec provided the assistance and the assistance was not the same, it would be bad.

Yes, Ottawa has been providing most of the services but Quebec has been providing assistance too, even though if they had no staff here. For instance, the pension for the disabled, the blind, the widows. Before the Quebec Government came, our staff used to help the Eskimos fill in applications for these. Maybe they (the Eskimos) never understood that the money came from Quebec. Even though the Federal Government is asking Quebec to provide the services, it is going to continue to be interested. It (the Federal Government) is asking that because it thinks that Quebec can provide better services. The Government of Canada believes that the provinces can provide better services because they make the laws about these things. When the services are provided by Quebec, they should be better services. There is one of the guarantees that says that the services will be at least as good.

I will give you an example about B.C. (Gives the B.C. instance where child welfare services for Indian children are provided by the Government of B.C.). And the Indians are quite happy with this arrangement.

The rules and the laws of the Coops are made by the Quebec Government. The Provincial Government is able to loan money to the Coops. And it is a fact that Quebec gives much more money to the Coops than the Federal Government (Indian Affairs and Northern Development) does.

We are not here to convince the Eskimo people but to provide information.

Samvillie:

If I make a mistake, I can be corrected. I want to say more about the Coops and the Federation. The people who look after the land and the Coops should work together. The community council is inside of the Coop. Yesterday, I spoke about all the Coops, even the ones across the peninsula; we meet with them; the Federation is the way by which we go to find ways to get the Coops to carry the work that they should do, to try and develop further the individual Coops and to increase the number of activities they work at. This is not to be stepped on by Governments. If it increases like this, the Coop will be able to work like the government. If we just sit and wait for the government to give us what we want, this will cause overtaking by the government. We want to work like the government to increase the money. We are part of Quebec, because the Quebec Government is here; we are working together for the sake of our descendants, Quebec Government and the people.

In the fall, we put a local tax of .02¢ on the dollar. We are going to have our government in the Council when the tax money gathered is sufficient. By this our effort is apparent. This way we will not need to have government help for our descendants. The government has been increasing its power because it worked for it. If we just wait all the time for what the government can

bring us, our descendants will not be able to do anything by themselves. We have to think about this if we don't want to be trampled upon.

Arnatuk: It seems that only the three of us are talking. (To the people): Is that enough for you people? I think more people should talk.

Robitaille: Yesterday, Mr. Neville and I made speeches. At the end of our speeches, we said the two governments wanted the Eskimo to get control of their own affairs. I think that is what Samiville says and what the two governments feel.

Putulik: We know that not all the Eskimos in Northern Quebec have agreed to have the Quebec Government. But perhaps, even so, the people cannot stop Quebec from taking over the services. For a long while, the Eskimos were looked after by the Ottawa Government and the help they got seemed to be improving. When Quebec is the sole administrator, if in their care for the people they continually improve things, this would be enough for the Eskimos. However, some of the medical people who come seem to be not too good. Although the needs in health are not very big, there is no time when it is finished. When the Federal Government was providing medical staff, it seemed that they finished the work they had to do. Now they don't.

Robitaille: Could you be more specific?

Putulik: Because they are in such a great rush, they go away before seeing people they should see.

Robitaille: I came here before Quebec started services in this area. I remember when Priscille and Noella would come here. They would come in summer for a few weeks. They would also come at other times of the year on surveys. They were doing their work very well.

The first thing Quebec did was to send a doctor to Chimo. Before the sick Eskimos had to go far, to southern Canada or Frobisher Bay. We also started a small hospital in Chimo. We have tried to put nurses in the small settlements.

But the present situation must be improved. We know that the survey people don't stay long enough. This we are trying to improve. Soon, a dentist will stay in Chimo. Now, the dentist leaves his family in the South and he is anxious to go back, but this will change.

So the services are improving if the people can have patience.

**Tomassie
Kudluk:**

I want to say something about nurses. I will talk about what the Federal Government did, first. The papers say that the governments will guarantee religious rights. We agree with the Ottawa Government. When the Federal government nurses came, they did all their work, whether it had to do with teeth or with lungs. When the Quebec medical people came, some people were told to go out again before we were examined. Will they keep the same way of doing things? This administrator, why does he hold the money for a long time which comes for the Eskimos. If it is like that, this will be very bad. The money that comes from outside, from the government, is what we use to clear our debts and when it comes, it should be given right away instead of waiting for the end of the month. This I want to understand. I do not have a relief ration anymore. The pension is my only means of subsistence. I find it too long to wait.

Robitaille: I will speak first about the health. I believe that what I said before is the reason for it. These people were away from their families and anxious to go back. It is too bad, but this, the government is trying to improve.

About the cheques, our representative tells me that when he gets the cheques, he gives them right away.

- Woman: This is not correct. Cheques that we know have arrived are held two weeks by Mr. Tremblay.
- Robitaille: I believe everybody. I will ask Mr. Tremblay to give the checks as soon as he gets them in the mail.
- Putulik: The postmaster has seen the cheques and he tells the people that they arrived some time ago.
- Robitaille: There might have been a hold up somewhere else, in the post office or at St. Felicien Air Service at Chimo.
- Woman: Money that should have come in February we just received yesterday.
- Robitaille: Our man got the cheques in the mail, three days ago. He asked Ohituk to distribute them. But there were also other cheques, wage cheques. All the cheques were distributed the following day.
- Mr. Tremblay has other occupations but he tries to give out the cheques before a long delay.
- Woman: Perhaps we should have an administrator as well as a teacher. Because he is tired at night and he closes the light before we can go and inquire.
- Robitaille: Yes. Before we had an administrator. But after, we were short of room and we asked the teacher to take on the administrator's job. Maybe the Federal Government will help us to get a house.
- Neville: I have a comment. We have the same arrangement with the Federal Government. The teacher has to act as an administrator. We know that it is not fair. What we would like to be able to do is have an Eskimo to do the administration, both Federal and Provincial. We heard the Eskimo people say that they want to control their own affairs. We also heard two governments saying that they wanted to work together. So let us find an arrangement whereby this could be done.
- We are going to look for somebody who could be trained for this purpose. We ask you to look for somebody who could do this in the community. What do you think of it?
- Samvillie: If he has enough education, it would be fine.
- Neville: Maybe there is no one here, but maybe we could look in other communities.
- Samvillie: If he is well trained, then he would be acceptable to us.

BREAK

- Arnatuk: I will speak very briefly. I want you to understand that we are not speaking about the resident nurse. She goes to the sick people.
- Woman
Suzie Kaukai: We do not want her changed. She is very good. Even early in the morning, she comes right away.
- Harriet Nassak: I want to talk about this agent here. I am accustomed to feed the children at the Provincial school in the morning. I started in February last year. I want to know something about the money which did not arrive for me last year. I want to know if the whole thing was taken to pay taxes. Three cheques have come, one for \$1., one for \$2., one for \$3. It does not make any sense to me.

Another thing I want to know is why the salary I was supposed to get has been split into pieces.

Robitaille:

I don't know. I will try to find out from Mr. Tremblay.

Harriet:

Ohituk is the one who brings the cheques. He said that my cheque did not come, except for the June cheque.

Robitaille to
Tremblay:

Did you receive a cheque for the month of May last year. (No.)
OK. Mr. Tremblay will pay her for the month of May and we will find out about the cheque later.

Harriet:

When he brings the money, I will give him a kiss.

Sammy
Annahatak:

The people will not be pleased when Quebec is the only one and it sends an administrator who is not good.

Peter Airo:

The administrator that Quebec sends here, Quebec think is good and doing well. But this agent can deceive his superiors and we consider this very bad.

Robitaille:

Mr. Neville suggested that the administrator could be an Eskimo. When this happen, it will not be a whiteman from the outside. Until then, there will be white people like now. When they do not do their work well, the Eskimo write about it and we tell them to improve. It would be better if the community council wrote.

Annie Gray:

I have two things to say. I have not spoken since you arrived. I want to talk first about the nurses who were here before because they left without anybody having anything bad to say about them. I want to talk about the new health personnel. Those who came after to care for the teeth; they have gone away before they have done all their work. Because it has been like this, the man doctor told me something that was not pleasant to hear and I replied the same way. I took my child to the doctor because he had a tooth problem, and now the child has to go to Chimo and I want to go with him. I am the only parent of this child and I want to go with him. The Chimo people will not take good care of him. I was angry because I had an angry reply. I said that unless I could go with the child, he would not go. I said that because I was angry and I left thinking that the previous health people did not give replies like this. So I wrote to the old health authority.

Later in the morning, I was called back by the same person and was told that the child must go to Chimo to have his teeth fixed. If I would not let the child go to Chimo, I would not receive more help from the health people.

Another thing. The Federal nurses that came before, used to take teeth out too. My teeth were taken out by them. I have been seen by these new nurses but then they don't do anything. I have not received any false teeth. This also is another reason to be afraid.

Harriet Nassak
(Ikuma):

I want to help her and I will talk about the medical services. Every year, I had to go to Chimo because I was sick. When I was there with the old medical staff, I used to be there quite a long time. I did not have any money but when I was there, I was helped by the Federal administrator. I have been to Chimo under the Quebec health people. I went to see the Federal administrator because the people where I lived were hungry. I was told to go to the Quebec people. When the Federal government was in charge, I used to go and get my rations at the store with a paper (voucher). I went to see the Quebec people and I did not get a paper but I got old food from the food warehouse.

This will cause problems to other people if they have to go to Chimo. Very often, children that cannot look after themselves are sent to Chimo. Because they are in a strange place, they are shy to ask about food. I am saying this because I have been in Chimo and I know these things happened to a child who was not my own. But I was not in the same home. When they come back home here to Payne Bay they have habits that they didn't have before they left and so they don't behave the same way towards their parents. This we find wrong. They don't seem to be well treated in the houses. In the hospital in Chimo, there are a lot of Eskimo helpers. Some of these helpers do not do a good job. Those children that have diapers are very often wet. I have seen that in the hospital. Some of them have had bottoms very sore because they were wet too long. These Eskimo helpers should be told to take better care of the children.

I wanted to say this while you were here.

Robitaille:

I will speak first about what Annie Gray said. I already said that visiting health people should stay long enough to do their job. We are trying to improve that by having people live in Chimo with their families. You got mad at the doctor, but what did the doctor tell you

Annie:

I told him that I would not like to see the child go to Chimo without me. I was told: "are you going to take good care of the child? You seem to be so good that perhaps you will be able to do without medical help in the future."

Robitaille:

This doctor, is he the Chimo doctor?

Annie:

It was a replacement doctor. He was not a young man.

Robitaille:

I will talk to the Chimo doctor but he has to take holidays and the doctors who take his place are sometimes not very good. But we will see that this will not happen again.

The first nurses used to pull teeth. Sometimes the H.B.C. people or the missionary did it too. But it is much better to have a dentist to fix teeth. We will be sending a resident dentist to Chimo soon.

I will now speak about what Ikuma said. It is true that people now stay in homes when they go to Chimo and it is different about the food. The Eskimo families are paid by the government to give food to the sick Eskimos. Before, the sick person would get a ration paper. Quebec does it differently.

Arnatuk:

Sometimes they don't get the money until the person is gone.

Robitaille:

Yes. I heard that and I will talk to the doctor so that this is improved. As for the Eskimo helpers, we will try to improve that also. We also may have a person that would take care of the transients at Chimo.

Payne Bay
General Meeting

Federal School
March 7, 1970
13:30 hrs.

- Neville:** I think that we have to make arrangements for leaving now. The pilot says he has to take off at 4 o'clock at the latest. We also have to bring a patient to Chimo with us.
- Arnatuk:** Perhaps they should not leave, but they are going to leave. Those who may have something to say should go ahead. What you have heard about the interpreters and Eskimo helpers was also said already in Montreal. We told you that they were perhaps too young and also lazy.
- Marcussie Killiotak:** I want to talk to Mr. Tremblay.
- Angutingua:** We talked about the problem of transient people in Chimo. In many places, the pregnant women and the children are scared by the people who get drunk. Sometimes they are hungry too so they say they want transient quarters. Some of the pregnant women are made to work by the people where they are staying. A Transient Centre is wanted very much by the people from outside Chimo.
- Neville:** Some years ago, the Federal Government had a Transient Centre in Chimo. We also had one in Churchill and Frobisher Bay. There were some problems. One of the problems was drinking in the Centre. In other places, where they discussed this matter, they seemed to prefer to stay with families. I know it does not work too well where the houses are not good. But in other places, where the houses are good, it is fine. The problems you mentioned may be solved in Chimo. Transient Centres are institutions and institutions are difficult things to run properly.
- Arnatuk Nassak:** We want to know whether there could be a Transient Centre.
- Angutingua:** In the transient quarters before, it was out of bounds of the Chimo village so that no disease would be passed on. Now that Quebec is running things, those that are sick and those that are not are mixed together.
- Harriet:** We heard that Quebec was going to administer the land. Now, it seems that the time has come. When we heard first about this, we were afraid but now we are not as afraid, since Ottawa will keep responsibility even if it is not doing the actual work. The government before was like a father to people since they could not do much for themselves. This has changed. In time past, the Federal Government had a radio in each settlement and we were free to use it. It is not like that now. Sometimes I want to hear about my son in Fort Chimo but we cannot talk on the radio. We are told that if we have spoken once in the week, we have to wait till the next week. I do not like that. People have a lot to say and we are allowed only five minutes.
- Robitaille:** It is true that before Quebec came, the people could talk on the Federal phone. There is a radio in this school still; I heard it today. I don't know if the people are allowed to use it.
- The other radio is in a Quebec house but it belongs to Bell Telephone. The Company wants to make money with the radios. They like people to pay to speak on their radios. The rules are Bell Telephone rules. But the people will not be able to talk too much since the Company rules are against that.

- Samville:** When the Bell system was first put in, you had to pay if the call was outside the North but it was free inside the North. This should not be changed. The councils want to pass information to other settlements, they do not want to use the radio for fun. It is the same thing with the Coop. They don't everyday talk on it. Every night the ones looking after the phones talk to the other parts in other settlements. You two people should pass this on to the phone company.
- Robitaille:** That is true. At the beginning, the Eskimos spoke as much as they wanted. A lot of Eskimos were talking during the night and the day. In 1950 Bell issued new regulations. The company said that some councils were for government business. Governments should try to convince the company to let the Coop and council people talk with other settlements.
- Arnatuk:** Before, we had three hours on the phone for our business, from five to eight o'clock. After there was trouble with the radio, this rule was changed.
- Robitaille:** It was changed by the telephone company, maybe it should be changed again. In the meantime, our agent should use his judgment to allow certain calls.
- Arnatuk:** When the radio is broken and people are sick, we cannot get messages to Chimo.
- Annie Gray:** I was going to say something else this morning. These people are saying that they don't want the land taken away. Before they worked very hard on the land to earn their living, the Eskimos were not many. It is no wonder, at that time they did not know the government could help them. These men are not saying to Quebec: "don't come if Quebec wants to stay among us." They say it like this because they are thinking about their children and they want to fix a secure future for their children. They feel that the coming generation should know the Eskimo way and the whiteman's way.
- Neville:** I understand, I appreciate that point of view and I wrote it down.
- Robitaille:** The Quebec Government has started services and it will keep on giving services. I believe that Quebec has come here to stay.
- Annie:** We are not trying to stop Quebec. We are just saying what we think and what we heard.
- Robitaille:** We feel the same way about our own children.
- Minnie Annahatuk:** I am a little old woman and I have something to say. Suzy is my first child. When she was my only child, two whitemen came in the land to put sticks in the rock. At that time, there were only two families who lived here. After that, Minnie's father was here as manager. That was before we had whitemen in the store. In the store, there was only ammunition, flour, sugar, tea, and tobacco. When these men came to mark off rocks, my father was the guide and they went up the river with only paddles. The men told him the stuff that was in the land was worth some money. In the past I worked hard, and now I get help; I hope it keeps on this way and I have no reason to reject the Quebec Government. The children are now being taught in schools, things are made better for them.
- Suzie Kaukai:** My grandfather used to tell me that before the whiteman comes, he will die. But what do you know, this is what happened, even if I did not believe him. In those days the people worked very hard and there was no government to help. I am getting older and I am happy that it is better now. I am not afraid that Quebec comes because Ottawa will still keep its interest.

Georgie
Anahatak:

There is something I would like to be fixed by my own employer (DNA). First, I will ask a question: Will the Federal employees have the Quebec people as their bosses?

Neville:

It seems to me that we would probably need the same number of people if one government was in charge. But who will be in charge of who? We cannot say. But I also guess that there would be more possibilities of employment as time goes on. The document says that at the time of the transfer, Quebec will offer employment to the Eskimo people already working for the Federal Government. Does that answer your question?

Georgie:

What sort of habits would the employers have. I keep remembering the Quebec water-people since I was with them all the time. If there was work to be done, we were not supposed to be late. We were late, Aroyak and I, and for this we were laid off. If Quebec is the only one, will it not be like this also.

Robitaille:

When you were hired by Quebec Streams, you were hired like whitemen. It was like the Eskimos at Raglan, they are not hired because they are Eskimos but because they are in the north. If they are late for work, they are laid off. When Quebec becomes the sole administrator, the employees will have understood better the ways of the Eskimos. It will not be like the Quebec Stream people who did not know the Eskimos. But just the same, even the Federal Government wants its employees to be in time.

Neville:

I agree. It is a pity but most people who work for wages have to watch the clock all the time. Time is worth money because time is hard to find. Most of the people know that you are expected to be on time.

Georgie
Anahatak:

I am happy that the Federal teacher is back. (in the room) I will talk some more. I will talk about the work, I began in 1968. This is more important for Mr. Neville than for Mr. Robitaille. It seems that sometimes the days are too short, sometimes they are all right. Sometimes I have a lot to do, sometimes there is not much to do. When there is a lot to do, I keep an eye on the clock so that I can finish my work in time. I usually start at nine and I am supposed to finish at three in the afternoon. My pay rate is fine. Only some days are too short for me to finish all my work. When it is a blizzard and my fellow workers have not finished their jobs yet, I often leave them even though I don't want to. If I was alone without a family, these number of hours would be enough for me.

I heard today that Mr. Tremblay takes too long to give the money, but it seems to be the case with Mr. Milne (Federal Government) too. Sometimes I ask questions of him and I don't seem to be able to get an answer that makes sense. I don't mind saying that here in public because then a person is not going to get angry. I want to talk now about fresh food coupons. My fellow workers from DNA got coupons but I did not. So I tried very hard to tell Mr. Colleymore (from Chimo) when he came here during the winter. He said it was because I was new at the job. I wonder if that is right.

Neville:

I will ask Mr. Milne to help me give the answers.

Milne:

I have explained to George that he is supposed to work four hours a day to deliver ice. The person that tells him what to do is Tommy Kaukai. It seems that he sometimes works more than four hours. Yet we only have money to pay him for four hours. However, if one works many hours in a day, he can work less the next day.

Does George think he is asked to work more than four hours a day?

Georgie
Anahatak:

When I work more than four hours, I don't get paid.

Neville:

We can only pay for four hours. If you work six hours one day, maybe the next day you can work only two hours. We are trying to find some more money so that you can provide ice to more people and work more hours. As for the cheques, they may be slow to come since they are made in Chimo. If there is a delay, it is due to airplanes. As for fresh food, since you are a contract employee, you are not the same as Jacob and Tommy. Anyway, the fresh food coupons will be up for everybody on April 1st.

I am sorry, we have to stop. This is not the only time we will come. Maybe the next time, we will take on where we left off. We want to thank you people, for listening and giving us the opportunity to listen. We wrote these things down, and we will report.

Arnatuk:

The most important thing is the land.

Neville:

OK. It was so in other places too.

Port Hope, Ontario
Federal House
March 9, 1970.
Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council 19.30 hrs.

(Neville introduces himself. Robitaille does the same. Talks about the letter. They did not receive it. Hand's out copies. Suggests that they be passed around and read.)

Robitaille:

Is this a new council?

Mark Anannack:

Yes, it is the new chief. He replaces Stanley.

Robitaille:

This is not the first place the letter has not arrived.

Mark:

We heard about it but never received it.

(It seems that there is a postal problem. Mr. Maier has not seen the letter either. Mr. Smith from Chimo was supposed to make sure it got here. Mr. Neville introduces the contents of the letter. It talks about the extension of services by Quebec and better cooperation. It says that Mr. Neville and Mr. Robitaille are here to listen, explain and take note to report to the Ministers. Explains the roles of the interpreters and secretary. The meetings will be held in Ottawa.)

Neville:

Do you think we will meet again tomorrow night?

Council:

We will know tomorrow afternoon.

Neville:

We still have Tasivyak and Chimo and we hope to finish by Friday.

(The council will select a chairman)

Johnny:

All those who have something to say will be allowed to speak. I hope they will say everything they want to.

Neville:

We ordinarily speak, Robitaille and myself, at the start of the meeting.

(This is understood; a chairman is named by the Council and plans for the first community meeting are finalized).

(Neville and Robitaille introduce themselves. Mr. Neville goes on with his introductory speech. Mr. Robitaille agrees with what was said and he goes on with his talk on land and the gradual implantation of provincial services in the North.)

Robitaille: That is why we were sent here by the two ministers. We have spoken quite a long time and are ready to hear what the Eskimos have to say.

Mark Anannack: Any of you who have anything to say should talk. We have to express our thinking to these two government people so that nothing is left to say when they leave. You can talk about the letter we had last night or about the papers we received before. Or else, you could discuss this letter paragraph by paragraph.

Davie Ittuk: We will read the letter, paragraph by paragraph. (He reads paragraph one).

Mark Anannack: We heard indeed about these arrangements fixed together between the two governments, and we don't think it is right. If the governments had first consulted with the Eskimos, it would have been right.

Neville: I want to ask a question. I have heard what you came to say about not being consulted. I do not quite understand. Not consulted about what?

Stanley Anannack: What we find wrong is that the two governments have agreed together on this without consulting the Eskimos. They fixed the letter and after this was done, they sent it to the Eskimos. Since it is a finished letter, it seems that there will be no way that the Eskimos can reply. It seems that this letter is looking for an agreement. We don't have to be worried about being chastened by words because the words may be unpleasant. These people are here to listen and we should not only throw the words in the wastebasket.

Neville: We are not here to convince people. We are here to answer questions and to provide information.

Stanley: The Eskimos' own words that are taken have to be carried back to the heads of government who sent you here. They do not have to be changed.

Neville: The words will go back as they come out. We will not change them. But some people will make statements that they don't believe the government has done or that they don't like our kind, we feel that these misunderstandings, our job is to provide information to clear up misunderstandings. And we hope that when we talk to the people will not say that we are trying to deceive. We are providing information.

The words will not be changed. The two governments will go on working for government, will not meet in a way that will confirm that the record will be as it was said.

Willie Ittuk: I am asking if what we say here will be listened to by the heads of the government outside?

Neville:

Yes. Our bosses are interested in what you have to say: this is why we are here. But I have to add something. My boss sometimes asks me what I think about something; sometimes he accepts it, sometimes not. Our bosses will listen to what the Eskimos say but we don't know if they will agree with and do all the things the Eskimos say or suggest.

Robitaille:

I am sure that if our ministers don't agree with what the Eskimos say, they will ask us to come back to discuss with the Eskimos until there is a good understanding. Last summer, for instance, when Mr. Chretien visited Northern Quebec, he had meetings with the Eskimos and they said they did not want big changes made right away. So he went back, met with Mr. Allard and postponed the changes that were supposed to be made. He also sent us up here to provide more explanations to the Eskimos. So, we will report; and if our ministers don't agree with the Eskimos, they will send us back here to discuss until we reach an understanding.

Jopi Imudluk:

Both governments say they want to help; but it seems that there are things Quebec has not done well, even though it has been here for a shorter time than the federal. Three times I have had an argument with the Quebec agent. It seems that some of the evacuees that go to the hospital do not get an issue of clothing anymore and some of them have to pay for their food.

Robitaille:

Regarding the first agent Quebec sent here I will say something. He was sent here to work with the Eskimos. We thought he would be able to work with the Eskimos. We try our best to find the best people for the North but even then, we are not always sure it will work. Most of the time, in other settlements, the agents have done their work well and the Eskimos were happy with them.

When we got letters from the Eskimos about him we met him and told him to try to work more closely with the Eskimos. But it did not work; he thought like a white man all the time and did not understand that he was here for the Eskimos. That is why he did not associate with the Eskimos and did not allow them to visit his house which is very bad.

But the Quebec Government is learning more about recruiting people. And it will be better. This has also happened with Ottawa.

Neville:

I don't know about this community, but it happened in other communities. Part of this can be corrected with experience. But even then, there is always a possibility of getting a person who is not suitable. We try, but we are not always successful.

Robitaille:

I will say more about the health matter.

Mark:

I would like to say something about the first agent before you talk about health. Those people that Quebec sends here are not good. They do not help. When they land here, because of their ignorance, even though they try to help, their help is no good. We try to tell him what we know, but he out of ignorance, says that we do not know anything and we make no progress.

Davie Ittuk:

When they come here, they don't want to listen. That is why they did not want to listen to what the Eskimos thought about the dogs and they just shot them. That is wrong; the Eskimos can take care of his property. I was told by that man that my job was to shoot loose dogs and I told him I would need two guns.

Elizah Annatuk:

I should not say anything because it is as though I stay at my house all the time. What is written in the letter makes good sense but we are afraid that this collaboration they talk about will not happen. The help we got from Ottawa was very good and although Quebec says it will be as good or better, we are doubtful of this. It is written down and it will not be forgotten. We fear that some administrators will not carry out what their superiors want them to do. If the two governments carry on the help that they say they will give, we will not refuse. But we are afraid that this will not happen. Before, the Eskimo used to get his food from the land, but now, he has a stomach like the whiteman and he has developed a taste for the whiteman's food. We are afraid that the help will be stopped.

Another thing, some of the nurses that come do not take care of the sick people and I want to ask if this is what their superior wants them to do.

We have asked the Quebec government people who have been sent here and very often the reply is that Quebec has no money. And when the government people are good, we develop an affection for them and we want to keep them. But when they are bad, we sometimes can't do anything about it because we are not the boss.

Neville:

Would they like to get an answer now?

Mark:

Perhaps people will have more comments on the same subjects.

Sandy Annanack:

When the federal people came in, they came just to help the Eskimo, not to be helped by the Eskimos. And now, it seems that the government buys spoons at the Co-op store, because they (the gov't) are short of spoons.

About these people in the hospital that had to pay for their food, it might be because at the beginning, Quebec fed the Eskimos, but now he expects them to pay for their food.

Mark:

When a different administrator was here, he told me that any government property that is lost should be replaced by the one who lost it; I did not spread this around because I felt it was not right.

Josepi Annanack:

Did the Quebec agent tell his superiors that he was helping the Eskimos? And how did he think he helped them?

Robitaille:

I have many answers to all that was said...

Mark Annanack:

Some of the administrators that came here were very good and they went away very quickly. But the federal administrators that were bad remained a long time. If a guy is good, he doesn't stay long. And the same is true of mechanics. We would like to know how it is like this?

Jobi Imudluk:

The Quebec administrators come here and they say we will help you. I want to know in what way they helped us?

Johnny Ittuk:

This is a question about the Quebec administrators. What do they do as administrators? How do they behave? Perhaps they are just postmasters. If a person desires something from the Quebec administrators, they say: we can't help you, there is no money. If there is no money, why are they still administrators? Maybe they are just playing at being administrators.

Neville:

Some of the things we heard apply to Quebec, othersto the federal staff. If you agree, after lunch, we will try to answer. There are no answers to some of these things but we will try to answer as best we can.

Mark Annanack:

OK. After you have answered, we also want to talk about health, education, hunting and other things.

Point Neuvau Quebec

General Meeting

Federal School
March 10, 1970
13:30 hrs.

- Robitaille:** Bob and Herdina and myself have comments to make on what was said this morning.
- First about clothing and food for sick people. I was surprised to hear that, since in Quebec City, when people come down, the government is aware of these two things. Does he refer to local trade?
- Jobi:** The thing I find worst is after their discharge from the hospital, they do not have money to come back and for clothing.
- Robitaille:** I am surprised to hear that since I sign the bills myself. I will check into that.
Now, about what Mark Annanack said about the administrators. I agree completely with him and agree that this was a problem with the former Quebec administrator. In the future, we will suggest to our employees to consult with the community council.
- Mark Annanack:** The person who comes here as administrator is told that he should listen in Quebec City, but when he actually gets here, he acts as though he knows everything and acts as if he is a big boss.
- When the administrator comes here, we know that he is ignorant about something so we go and talk to him. But he claims he has all the right answers and the Eskimos cannot help him.
- Davie Ittuk:** They are told in Quebec how they should behave but when they get here, they do not follow what they have been told to do.
- Robitaille:** It seems that this settlement is visited less often than others. We learned of the situation here through letters.
- Stanley Annanack:** It is as if PEI is not part of Quebec. Places as far away as Great Whale get often visited and all other settlements are visited, but we are passed by as if we were not part of Quebec.
- Robitaille:** I agree and this is not good. When inspectors go around, they bypass this place and they should not do that. This will change.
- Neville:** We have talked about good and bad administrators. We have all known bad and good administrators.
- When we pick an administrator, we have to
- 1.- choose the right type of person,
 - 2.- train them before they come,
 - 3.- there must be a steady help.
- These people are not trained in the way of the people, or the specialist that we need bigger parties.
- Now we are trying to do this and it is a good step. Mr. Robitaille has been very good in getting good administrators very often. He has got all the right answers. The federal government has had more experience in this matter; but we do not have all the answers. It is up to us here, so our local governments want to work together and try to get the answers to the problems that you have.

Neville: Mark said that it seemed the good would always go away and the bad stay. There is truth in what he says. The fact is that there are never enough good administrators for every place. Sometimes, a good man is sent somewhere else to solve a problem. Also sometimes the good administrators want to move to another community. I know that this does not answer all the questions but maybe it helps to explain the views of the governments about these things. We are working on these problems.

Mark: I want to reply about the good administrator who is moved to another place where he can solve a problem.

We had a good administrator here and he left because he did not want anymore to work in the province of Quebec and now, the teacher has to act as administrator. He left because,

- 1.- he was moved by his bosses,
- 2.- he knew how Quebec would run things in the future.

Neville: I don't know.

Mark: This man has been moved to the Belchers and he said that the Quebec government would do things the wrong way.

Neville: I don't know him, but he works for my government and I would not want to say things like that about another government, unless I could support these ideas with proof.

Mark: It is fine as you are here. But when you are gone, it will be different.

Neville: Yes. Other Eskimos said the same thing. That is why both governments agreed that the federal government would still be interested even if Quebec were sole administrator. Quebec, as a decent government, says that it can provide the services.

Some people think Quebec is short of money and are afraid that in the future, the services will be less good. That is why the government of Canada said that it was going to give money to Quebec to provide the services.

I said this morning that we were not trying to convince. So I have to repeat this. Our job is not to convince, but give information

Mark: You have said the Eskimos should have their own thoughts and you have alleged that the government will follow the Eskimo's idea. We have heard that a great many of the Eskimos do not want to have Quebec; if this is true, you are not doing what you are supposed to do. If you listened to the Eskimos, you would agree that the federal government should be the only one. It seems that the Eskimos are sold to Quebec without being consulted.

Neville: When you sell your skidoo, are you expected to pay for its maintenance later? No. That is why the word "sell" does not belong in our talks. The federal is not selling anything. In the April 25 paper, it is guaranteed that the federal government will not sell its responsibility. The highest court in Canada has said that the federal government shall not abandon its responsibilities in regard to Indians and Eskimos. But that doesn't mean that we can't ask the provinces to provide services for us. This is what we do in all the provinces of Canada; we are asking them to give services to Indians and Eskimos on our behalf because they can do it better than we can. And the provinces agree: "yes we should provide services to Indian and Eskimos just as we do to white people."

Neville: And this is what is happening with Quebec.

I may look cross, but I am not angry. But it is very important that you understand, that there is no selling involved.

Elizah Arnatuk: We are trying hard to earn a living so we should not be considered as articles for sale.

Neville: Right. And you are not. You are not considered as articles for sale. You are not considered as articles to be bought by the provincial government, nor as articles to be bought by the federal government. When this is understood, the idea of having a man, with the words "agent" will make more sense.

Jopi Imudluk: I am a member of this number about Quebec administrators: what is it that they do to help?

Robitaille: The Quebec agent's first function is to represent the Quebec government. He is sent here to help the Eskimos also but he has a broader job of administration. For instance, he has to administer provincial allowances. We also ask them to assist in areas of work we are not aware of but which are obvious to our staff in the field. That is what we expect them to do now, but we realize it is not enough and we are trying to get a new type of administrator into the North. These new people would work closely with the Eskimos; they would be people who would not stay in their houses but would be close to the Eskimos and help them replace the white people. It is very nice for our agent to have the radio, but I don't like it. When he does that he is not trying to get the Eskimos ready to take the place of the white people. It is also nice to have the radio, but when he is doing that, he is not doing more useful things.

Elizah asked me a question about nurses. We want them to do the same, be close to the people.

Mark: It is too bad that your speech was long since some of us wanted to reply. But your main point and administrators visiting is fine; they do that and you can't get them then you can hardly get them out of their houses.

Robitaille: Part of that is radio and postal work.

Stanley Annanack: You said that the agent has to take care of the postal and radio work. If the administrator has an assistant who is an Eskimo and who knows about the houses and the conditions of the Eskimos, if the agent listens to that and reports to Quebec about what is needed to alleviate the hardships, then would this be, I ask, too bothersome for the agent?

Robitaille: If he finds that bothersome, he should not be an agent.

Stanley: What I mean is that if the white man here looks after radio and postal work, an Eskimo could take care of the needs of the people and report to Quebec. Would the government people down south get tired of always having under their nose the needs of the people?

Robitaille: We take note of that and we are doing nothing against it. The new type of administrator would have the job to teach an Eskimo about radio, telephone, and the papers necessary to be an administrator.

Mark: The Quebec agent would take note of that and would take note of what the needs of the people are and then he would forward this to Quebec. The new type of administrator of an administrator which will work with the Eskimos will be talking about something to do now.

Robitaille: I have discussed this with Mr. Neville. He told you that the post-office and radio work should not be done by our agent. This is just the way it is. They should be done by the government. I think our agent should not do that. He should do the more important jobs like training Eskimos and giving the assistance. If the man took care only of radio and postal work, would he be able to give the assistance forms?

Robitaille: I don't find it bad, this suggestion. But we would need time to see how it could work, while government business could be carried on. As for the Quebec administrators, they would not get tired of getting notes from the Eskimos; it is their job to do so.

We have no formal objection but we need a bit of time. A new administrator will be coming today. The council should meet with him and discuss this idea. He could report to Quebec.

Stanley: You have sent two administrators who were married. And this one, he has two children and his wife is a nurse. When they are installed up there, they will look after the phone, the postal service and the paper work and they will not care about the people. They have too much to do.

Robitaille: An Eskimo should take care of the post-office.

Stanley: I have been told something by the first administrator. He wanted to know if the settlement could be cleaned if there was a tractor. I said it was good and he said he would write to Quebec about it. Did you get the letter?

Robitaille: No. Not me.

Stanley: Maybe he didn't write.

Robitaille: Could have been received by somebody else.

Stanley: It happens like that sometimes because the local man tries to deceive his superiors. I am afraid that the new administrator may do the same thing.

Robitaille: He received better training in Quebec and Chimo. If the Eskimos explain well to him what they expect, if they help him, he may be good.

Stanley: The whiteman who comes in here and wants to help the Eskimos will be helped by the Eskimos. If he does not help, the Eskimos will not help him.

The land needs to be cleaned and there is a tractor sitting in the garage for three years. If that thing continues to sleep up there, no matter if it belongs to Quebec or the Federal government, the land will stay dirty.

Neville: We will talk about the sleeping tractor in a minute. But first, I will comment on what Stanley said. If an administrator passes his time listening to the phone or putting letters in a box, he will not have time to listen to the Eskimos. We hope that somebody here can do this (postal and phone) and get money for it. I would like better to see the white man here working with an Eskimo to get him to take his place. We know that can't happen overnight.

But this is the situation we would like to go in and we wonder if you agree.

Mark: You were just talking about the post-office and radio. This is the only thing the Eskimos can do. When the administrator first arrived he talked about helping the people but after awhile he just looks after the phone and post-office. And this is why we do not want anyone to act as administrator.

Neville: These are the changes we want to make and this is why we are here. It seems I speak for Quebec because I know Mr. Robitaille feels the same way.

Now about the sleeping tractor, I will ask the teacher.

- Teacher:** The tractor does not sleep. It is dead. I have heard that it got drowned.
- Stanley:** Yes. But since that time, it was used.
- Teacher:** Right. But it broke again. We are trying to get parts to fix it, but the government has spent a lot of money on it and is reluctant to spend more.
- Neville:** We will try to see if we can get parts. If there are many parts needed, the chances are little, but if there are few parts needed, the chances are good. But all this is not the fault of the teacher.
- Mark:** We know that Mr. Maier has tried to help. We also know that it is because of his superiors that it was not done.
- Stanley:** They must understand this and bring it to the attention of the government because this land is in bad shape and we need a tractor to fix it.
- Neville:** We wrote everything down and we will try.
- Mark:** How long will it be before we get a reply?
- Neville:** Our bosses have asked us to report within a month. But for things like the tractor, I can discuss it in Chimo and Ottawa. As for the other arrangements, it could take a few months.
- Mark:** The muskeg tractor is the water truck in here. Could it be used during the summer?
- Teacher:** It was used last September for filling different reservoirs around the village.
- Stanley:** The teacher's words are misleading.
- Neville:** Our policy is to deliver water to water points. But we have not been able to carry out that policy.
- Stanley:** That is fine. But some of these water centers are far away, out of reach.
- Neville:** I was just going to say that we had not succeeded in applying the policy. We have not done enough. But we want to improve all the services, with the help of the government of Quebec. But we will not do that in a year. I know that the government has a housing program for the next years and plans to improve municipal services.
- But we won't do it all in one year. We will serve first the communities that have the most pressing needs. Here in PNQ, we have noted that water service was not very good and we will report that to our bosses but do not expect that all which is wrong will be fixed in a year.
- Stanley:** Now about this airstrip we started in 1965. I was told it was stopped because neither Quebec nor Ottawa could decide as to which one had the responsibility for it.
- Robitaille:** I think that an airline company paid for the work on the strip and I am sure that it did not stop because governments could not make up their mind.
- Stanley:** We heard that about governments; this is what we were told.
- Robitaille:** Who paid you?
- Stanley:** I don't know. But the tractor driver was a man who got drowned last year.
- Mark:** I was paid from the \$1000 community fund. And we were told to stop because the governments could not make up their mind.
- Robitaille:** I think it was Wheeler that built rough airstrips in different communities a few years ago.

- Mark: There was a white man from Wheeler who came here to start the work and he is the one who said the governments could not make up their mind.
- Robitaille: I believe the airstrips were stopped because the strips proved to be too expensive to build for the companies. The Quebec government has been helping to build strips in the James Bay area. We have some money for next year on the airstrip project. But it is not very much and it covers only the manpower costs. But if there is no tractor here, I doubt that we can do much.
- Neville: We will try to get the tractor running. But I have a feeling that it is old and that it may break again.
- Robitaille: How long is needed to complete the strip?
- Mark: Less than two months.
- Neville: We will try.
- Stanley: We heard that a tractor would move from settlement to settlement.
- Neville: We did not hear about it.
- Stanley: Some people may say these things to please the people here but they lie, since their superiors don't know anything about what they say.
- We have some community funds given by Quebec and we were told that we could use it for the Co-op or for the community. We used \$1000 for logging. Now logs are sitting by the sawmill. We will saw them and use them as siding for the community hall.
- We also thought about the inside of the house and about the help we could get from the government for material for the inside.
- Mark: The Community Development money has not arrived yet for this year and we hope to use it for the insides of the community hall. The thousand dollars came from Quebec but we hope to get some from the federal Community Development Fund. But we understand that we will not know about this until April 1st.
- Neville: There is some money in your community fund and you can get it before April 1st if you can figure out a way to use it. If you don't, this amount will drop and on April 1st, a new \$1500 will be available.
- Mark: Could we get this year's amount for things that we ordered but will only come next year?
- Neville: Yes, if you get the bills and charge them to the government before April 1st. Did you and Bruce Wilson write a list of materials that were needed?
- Stanley: Yes, but we did not figure the price. Mr. Wilson wrote down the size of the building and materials needed.
- Mark: We would need the community hall very badly because as it is now, we use government facilities and we are always afraid that we may be told no.
- Stanley: Yes. And if a government building got burned while we were in it, it would be an extremely hard situation for us. Well, it seems that we have left far behind what we were here to talk about.

Port-Nouveau-Quebec

Federal School

March 10, 1970

19:20 hrs.

General Meeting

- Tomassie Annanack:** I want to talk about the first administrator from Quebec. I went to see him about federal Family Allowances. The cheques were coming under my wife's name. Mr. St. Pierre was to write to get the name changed to my own and since then, I haven't had Family Allowances.
- Neville:** How old are the children?
- Tomassie:** 9 and 14.
- Teacher:** The cheques for his two children go to May Annanack who has the care of the children.
- Tomassie:** Yes. I know. But I do not understand it well.
- Neville:** Family Allowance cheques are paid to the person who actually looks after the children. If May Annanack is looking after the children, the cheque should go to her.
- Tomassie:** That is fine; but I did not appreciate that the cheques were transferred to May.
- Neville:** I understand but the rules are what they are.
- Mark:** We would like to return to administration before we go on to education. If the new Quebec administrator is like the other one, this again will not be sufficient. The first administrators did not perform very well. If this administrator is like them, are you ready to receive letters about this. If he is very good at the start and then becomes worse, he will be of no use. While you are here, we want to bring this to your attention because things may go wrong when you are gone.
- Robitaille:** The last agent was here for 3 years. At the start, it was OK but after a while he was not OK. Then we thought that the school teacher could do. Now, a new administrator arrives with his wife and children. His name is Tschiember. His wife is a nurse. Regarding the training they received, Mr. Tschiember has worked in our office in Quebec. He also spent 3 weeks in Chimo to learn more closely about the North. I think he has received good training and we count on the Eskimos to help him out. As for Mrs. Tschiember, she has worked in the North; she did the same kind of work she will do here.
- As for the letters, the Eskimos are always free to write what they think.
- Neville:** If one of your people came into the whiteman's land to work, he would need the whiteman to teach him the white man's ways and he would ask the whiteman to give him a chance to do his best. Mark Annanack knows what it is to be in a strange land with strange people. A whiteman feels the same way towards the North. He needs the Eskimos to teach him the Eskimo ways and to feel comfortable in the country. I don't know him (Mr. Tschiember) but I know he needs time and understanding from your people. He has not been forced to come here. He comes here because he wants to come.
- Stanley Annanack:** You were saying that if I went to the whiteman's land I would not know about somethings. This man who has arrived does not know many things. The thing is, after a year, he may think that he knows better than the Eskimo. If he doesn't, he will be accepted among us. If not, he will be rejected. The whiteman who acts well is liked; if he does wrong, he will be disliked.
- Neville:** I agree. Tonight, we can't know how it is going to be a year from now and I am only saying: "give him a chance".

- Stanley:** If he is all right, we will not only give him a chance for a year but beyond that.
- Robitaille:** Mr. Neville and I will be back during the next months and we will see. I am sure Mr. Tschienber has come here in good faith.
- Mark Annanack:** about your next visit. You are meeting with us now without a newspaper reporter and when you do this, we think it is in vain. The scribe's writings are going only to your ministers.
- Neville:** We haven't thought very much about it but the copies will be sent to the Eskimo councils and they can do whatever they want with them.
- Stanley:** Other people should talk, not only the two or three of us.
- Jopi Imudluk:** We have been talking about the Quebec administrator. What did he do, did he help us by way of food or money?
- Robitaille:** When we send an administrator we do not exactly know how he will workout. Now, we are starting with a new man and we hope that it will work.
- Davie Ittuk:** There is something written in the paper that was done without our consent. (Reads the part on joint administration)
- Stanley:** Who made the translation?
- Robitaille:** It was translated from the English by Lea Idlout then it was revised in Ottawa.
- Stanley:** The way it is done about mixing the school and administration, in Eskimo, is not right.
- Neville:** There might be confusion due to the examples. The letter mentions education and administration but they could have mentioned some other thing. For instance, if there is a water truck in a community, no matter to which government it belongs, anybody can use it.
- Willie Imudluk:** The Quebec government is putting in administrators without the Eskimo having agreed to it, at the federal government's request. How is this question of education seen by the governments outside?
- Robitaille:** One of the documents sent to Mark Annanack talks about education and it says what the two governments think about education. Does he want me to summarize it?
(He summarizes the document)
- Willie:** If a child starts in French or English, does he have to finish in the same system?
- Robitaille:** There has been shift (of children) from our schools to the federal school. The educators say that if they start in one system, they should go on to grade seven in the same system. If a child is transferred from grade 3, for instance, he will have to start again and will lose three years.
- Willie:** Was there thought given to the fact that we have known the federal school for years; are there any plans that in the future all the education will be in French?
- Robitaille:** (Explains the bill 63 provisions about education)
- Willie:** This is very good, will it be like that all the time?
- Robitaille:** It is a law. It will last a long time. The parents will have the choice.

Willie:

This is fine if it is going to be like that. Now, the administrators are being changed without the consent of the Eskimos. The first meetings were held in Chimo in 1964 and Mr. Lohitaille was there. The documents we have now are a continuation of these meetings because they talk about the decisions still taken without consulting the Eskimos. We met then only with the Quebec government. When the two governments agreed to talk about the change-over, they ought to have sought the views of the Eskimos about having a different government. That is what should have been done but maybe they were afraid the Eskimos would not agree.

Because the two governments have made this agreement, without consultation with the Eskimos, the Eskimos are now reluctant to agree. It seems that both governments are deceiving the Eskimos. So, the federal government has never said to us: you will be having a different administration next year. We were not told: "we will be replaced by the Quebec government." It is no wonder that when you come with decisions already made that Quebec will take over, that this makes it difficult for the Eskimos to accept and they will not agree. Down in the whiteman's land, there are many governments and these people have the government that they choose. If they were asked to have another government that they did not like, would they like this?

Stanley Annanack:

You are two whitemen who have come to our country. Is that correct? It is like Willie and I going to the whiteman's land and saying to the people: "you are going to have another government." When we get there, we just present them with a letter. When we get there, we gather them together and tell them: "you are going to have a new government." Will they agree to it? This is why it is difficult for us to reach an agreement.

Willie:

We heard today that the aims are two; we were told that it was up to us to decide which of these two aims we would choose. So I am asking now; is there still an opportunity for us to decide which government we will have? Let us hear if we do have the opportunity to decide.

Neville:

I will try to answer. I will use examples like Stanley does. First, I will ask a question: Do you have a Co-op? (Yes). OK. The head of the Co-op are the directors. How do the directors become directors? The people appoint or elect them. When those directors are elected, the people say: "we expect you to run the Co-op affairs but you have to explain to us why you do things." You give the directors the right to make decisions. The directors get together and they have thoughts and the people do not tell them: "you have to come to us before you can have thoughts." It is the same thing with Governments. The people who are 21 yrs. old vote to send people to Ottawa to make decisions. So, all of us who elect people to the government say: you may have your own thoughts and you have to run the government well.

Willie:

Mark should interpret because many people here can't understand.

Neville:

Mark, I went a long way around to make a point. I understand that you say the federal government should have consulted you before it had those thoughts about asking Quebec to provide services. But you don't run your Co-op this way. You do not ask your directors to come to you before they have thoughts. So, the government of Canada had those thoughts and is back here now to discuss them with the people. And both governments are telling themselves that this is good and they will go on this way unless there are serious reasons against it. Both agreed to protect the rights of the Eskimo people. The two governments know what are the worries of the Eskimos and these will be looked after.

- Robitaille:** I would like to say a few things more. From 1964 to 1969, there was no major change. But in 1969, when the federal government asked Quebec to go ahead, then the Eskimos were called to discuss these things. In Newfoundland, it has not been done. In the Northwest Territories, the services were passed over to the Territorial Government and there was consultation but to a much lesser extent.
- Neville:** But it seems to me that when the whiteman puts things down on paper like that, the Eskimo thinks his mind is made up about it. But whitemen have the habit of writing down their thoughts and then they say: "what do you think about it?" So, most of these documents are only proposals; they can be changed.
- Mark:** The government of Northwest Territories is not the Quebec Government and the people figured it could help them.
- Neville:** It seems that the Eskimos believe that by asking Quebec to provide services, it is quitting. That is not right, it is still interested in the Eskimos. Do you understand the difference?
- Stanley:** This is the first time we heard it today. If we had heard that before, they would not have been so much against it.
- Neville:** We heard other people say the something; that is why I spent so much time talking about it.
- Mark:** You say that Ottawa will still be interested in the Eskimos but the letter says there will be only one government.
- Neville:** That part of the letter talks about services. It asks how can we work out an arrangement where you have two governments working closely together as if they were only one. When I say that the federal government will continue to be interested, I do not mean that it will still be doing the same thing in this community as it is now. It says to Quebec, "provide education, or health, and we will give you money for it but we will still assure that the services you get are, at least as good as what they are now" and Quebec says "yes"; and it is usual because provincial governments have responsibilities for most of these services.
- In 1867, when this country was put together, the responsibilities for education health etc...were given to the provinces and now, the federal government is asking the provinces: "will you give the services that you already provide to the whiteman, to the Eskimos and Indians also?" Do you understand?
- Stanley:** Yes.
- Willie:** We understand all that. Everything you said, we understood right away. You told us we had two choices of government. Now, it seems that we don't have a choice.
- Neville:** I have explained the way the government see it.
- Willie Imudluk:** If we had not understood that we had two choices, everything would have been easier.

- Mark: Let us leave that subject and go back to education. How long will it be before we have these three choices in education?
- Robitaille: The law is made. It will last a long time.
- Mark: How long will the three schools operate?
- Robitaille: Elementary will be up to 7 grades and so on.
- Mark: Will they have to switch school after grade 7?
- Robitaille: No, high school will be available in both English and French. There might be a confusion here. The Quebec Government would not like to have three schools in the same settlement but it would like the parents to choose one kind of schooling so that there would be only one school.
- Willie Imudluk: If there was a French school here, would the teachers talk only French or would they be able to talk English?
- Robitaille: There would be French teachers of course and teachers who would talk English to teach English. During the next year, the two actual school systems will stay the same but during the next year, the governments would like the people to make a choice.
- Mark: OK. So when we choose the schools in 1971 who will provide the schooling? The Federal or Provincial Government?
- Robitaille: Even if the schools are federal, they will have to follow the provincial laws. Even now, the federal schools are following the provincial programs.
- Now about the third choice, the Eskimo school. In other settlement the people have told us they wanted to retain their identity. An Eskimo school would be a good way to do so.
- Willie: We heard that and we understand; but often, in the long run, what should have been does not happen. Sometimes, people say they will do something, but they don't do it.
- Robitaille: Well, this bill 63 is a law. It affects six million people and it won't change for a long time.
- Mark: I understand that this law will not be changed. The only thing wrong is that teachers will be changed, that teachers from Ottawa will be replaced by teachers from Quebec. We did not understand we would have to change the teachers.
- Robitaille: There are English speaking people in Quebec. Miss Tincombe is from Montreal.
- Mark: Will we have a choice between teachers?
- Robitaille: I don't think all the Eskimos will have the choice. There will be a school board which will hire the teachers. If Eskimos are on the school board, it amounts to the samething.
- Willie: Will they be in Quebec?
- Robitaille: Some will be in Quebec, some in the North.
- Mark: When we met in Chimo in 1964, Mr. John Gordon said that the people could have a federal school as long as they wished. Even when Quebec would take over, they would have a choice for the federal teachers and even the federal administrators. It was true at the time and now, it is changed.

Robitaille:

I was there; here is what I understood. The Eskimos of Chimo in 1964 did not know where to send their children. Quite a few wanted to send their children to the provincial school; others to the federal. Those who wanted to have their children at the federal were thinking that the extension of services by Quebec had already taken place. Then, Mr. Gordon said the federal schools would continue.

Mark:

Things have changed from 1964 to 1969.

Robitaille:

The circumstances given in '64 are the same in the 1969 document.

Mark:

There is just a small part in the new document which is in the old document.

(The documents are examined and each is briefly identified.)

Willie Ittuk:

I will talk about education. When I first heard that Quebec was going to run the school and Ottawa was going to be still interested, it was fine. But I want to impress upon you that we don't want it to be changed in a little while. When Quebec becomes the sole administrator of the school and English is the language of schooling, will the teachers be English or French?

Robitaille:

If the parents choose an English school, it will be an English school with teachers whose mother language will be English, but there also will be French taught and there may be French speaking people for this.

Willie Ittuk:

In this other document, it was said that English schools could be maintained so I figured it would be the same as now.

Jobi Imudluk:

Since the people have heard that Quebec would be taking over, there will be some who will move outside the province because the people do not like Quebec to take over.

Mark:

If the federal government is replaced, can we choose to have teachers from the federal government? The nurses and teachers that come up here to teach have not finished their training down South and they come up to finish it here.

Robitaille:

Both the teachers and nurses that we send here always have diplomas their training is finished.

Willie Imudluk:

The teachers that would be coming would have been taught in French throughout their education and if this happens, when they come up here, they would not have completed their education in English. That would not be good.

Robitaille:

I said before that, in English schools, the teachers would be English born and would have had an English schooling. In the South, there are English schools in Quebec and they are very good.

Rev. Clarke:
(interpreter)

My wife was born in Montreal, in Quebec, and she received all her education in English.

Davie Ittuk:

We have had administrators and nurses from Quebec in this settlement and because we have had this experience, we are very doubtful about the future. The DNA nurse would come anytime we wanted. When Quebec nurses were here, people were sick, we would call them and they wouldn't visit the patients. They tell the people that they want only two hours of clinic a day. Anybody who was sick had to be at the nurse's residence between 10 and 11 because at eleven, the door was closed. It would open again between 3 and 4 and at 4, the door was closed until 10 the next day, even if somebody was dying. If they continue to work like that, it will be no good for a long time. To have a nurse like that is something that we very much despise.

- Mark Annanack: The nurses now are not doing the something as the federal nurses and this is not right at all. For 2 years, we have had nurses that would say "yes, I am coming" and they wouldn't come. When they first come, they are good, but after a few weeks, they get bad. These nurses are thought to be working very well by their superiors while they are not working well at all.
- Davie Ittuk: When they come, they are very fast about putting the rules on the door, without caring about what the people really want. When Quebec takes over, they probably will be good at first, but then, we think we may even be stopped from going hunting. If they go on like this making rules, the children will soon forget that they are Eskimos. It will turn the peoples' lives upside down -- I mean if Quebec cares only about its own rules.
- Robitaille: I have heard that last Fall we had a nurse who was also a school teacher. She did not go out very much to visit the sick people. She divided her time between teaching and nursing. She left and she will not come back. Instead, we have sent another nurse who works full time. I hear that she visits the people. Mrs. Tschiember who arrived today, will work full time. In other settlements, we have had nurses for one year and people are satisfied.
- We are trying to recruit better people all the time. A few years back, the people here wanted a nurse and that is what we are trying to do.
- Willie Imudluk: There were two nurses before this one who were exceptionally bad.
- Mark: This nurse that we have now seems to be doing a very good job.
- Stanley: We realize that there cannot be two persons alike, so we understand this situation very well.
- Willie Imudluk: If we get a bad nurse like the others, we have to let the superiors know right away.
- Robitaille: Yes. I would suggest that in such a case the community council write and give us facts.
- Willie: One more thing. During the summer, I work with English speaking people so I find an Eskimo in the community who speaks English. So, see that new stranger back there (Mr. Tschiember). He has come here for us to work with and to use. I don't speak or understand English so if I want to see the administrator I would like to go directly to him. He has to find an interpreter who knows English so that we don't have to look for one. It is no wonder they will have a house together, they are married. So his wife, being the nurse, already has an interpreter. So the administrator should have one for himself.
- Because it is getting late some people will not talk. So, I know what they think and I will speak for them. We heard about the bosses who make visits in other places. We heard that George River should be visited the same way. We will not say all we have to say tonight. When you were in other villages, you must have made sure everybody was finished before you left. It should be the same here, we should begin again tomorrow. Only if you do this will you be doing what you said about PNQ being treated the same way?
- Robitaille: In all settlements, we were there one, two days. We would like to leave at noon. In Payne Bay, which is similar to here, we had 3 meetings.

Port-Nouveau-Quebec

Federal School.
March 11, 1970.
9:30 hrs.

PNQ

General Meeting

Johnny Annanack:

I will say first what we are thinking. If the administrators, teachers, nurses are only from Quebec, we consider this inadequate. The Quebec people that have already come here before were inadequate. The school and the federal government that we had before Quebec came, was satisfying to us. Since Quebec has introduced its services, we have been going backwards, although slowly and the Co-op was raised up under the first government and has now been transferred to Quebec. When the Co-op was first transferred over, everything was fine. Later on, after it was transferred to the Federation, the Co-op seems to be going backwards. The Co-ops in all the settlements agreed to join the Federation and one of the ways they used to force this agreement was to say that any Co-op that stayed on its own would not be able to live. If we had been the only one to disagree, we would have not made sense, so we joined the other people along the coast. We were told by Peter Murdock who was trying to form a Federation, that we should not be walked over by the government and that we would be between 2 governments. Is that right? We used to get good money for our carvings but now, the prices are low. Our money was building up, it is not anymore.

Robitaille:

In regard to our personnel, we are trying to improve it. Regarding Your Co-op, it was the first co-op started in the Arctic, in 1958. A few years later, another one was started in 1960 at Pov. At first, the federal government was giving much technical and financial help. Starting in 1962, they also got help from Quebec... The Pov. Co-op was strong and between 1960 and 1965, more Co-ops were started. The Eskimos were learning more and more about Co-ops. In 1967, the Eskimos met and agreed to form a federation.

The Co-ops are not government; the Federation is not a government undertaking. The Federation gets money from both governments but the government does not run the Co-ops. Peter Murdock is not a government employee. The governments give money to the Co-ops to help the Eskimos.

About what Peter Murdock said regarding the position of the Co-ops between the two governments, there is a great deal of truth in that, even though I don't agree completely. The Co-ops have united the Eskimos and through them, the Eskimos have taken control of one sector of economic activity. We think that the Eskimos can get control of other fields of activity, like education administration if they learn.

Johnny Annanack:

We have heard about all that running of education, health, administration (by Eskimos) but it has not started yet.

Robitaille:

I disagree; the Quebec government is training nurses in Chimo and teachers too.

Mark:

What Johnny means is that it happens in other settlements, but not here.

Stanley:

We have heard for a long time about these things. My daughter has been approached about training to become a nurse. But as her father, I opposed it because she could not be taught here in Port-Nouveau-Quebec. I can agree only after I have given it very serious thought and am convinced that they really want to make her a nurse; that they won't stop midway. This is the reason for my refusal. We have been told too about the children who go to Churchill for further schooling; they will.

Stanley:

have opportunity for jobs, but in order to take these jobs, they will have to leave their own country because there are no jobs available in their settlement; but when the children come back home, it seems that nobody thinks about this anymore. It seems that they say this, so that we will more readily agree to send the children to Churchill or Great Whale. It is as if there are only two from here who took schooling away from the settlement. Although they are told that they will get jobs, perhaps with the miners, it seems that no whiteman comes here and says we have a job for you in a different place. As long as we have schools here that are good enough, I will not consent to send my children far away.

Robitaille:

I want to ask a question of Mark Annanack. Did anybody from Quebec or our agent explain about the school in Great Whale?

Mark:

Yes, we heard before about having to go to school in Great Whale. We were told that it would be for two weeks or maybe for a month that they were going to be taught in Great Whale. That is too short a time and in a very short while, the person will come back and forget; but I was told by Mr. Ouellet that the course would last for a year; but your agent here said two weeks. That doesn't make any sense; the superior says one thing, the subordinate says another; so I ended up not believing either.

Robitaille:

I am sorry if our agent said that. What Mr. Ouellet said was the truth. There was not enough information on the Great Whale School.

Mark:

The people were under the impression that your man in the field was no good.

Robitaille:

The Principal of the school will come to explain and to find out if the parents want to send their children to the school. He will also leave papers that explain about the Great Whale School.

Now about what Stanley said. I understand that he is reluctant to send his daughter away. I wish to say that no government would start a school of nursing in a small settlement; but there will be a possibility to train nurses in Chimo next year because there is a doctor and a small hospital. If they stayed here with the nurse, they would not learn enough; so, there will be a nursing school in Chimo next September.

He also said that the children out of school cannot find jobs. At Great Whale River, we took note of that situation. Mr. Girouard who was our agent in Payne Bay, has now the job of finding work for the students and he was able to do this for many students.

Stanley:

When the children go away a long way to get education, we cannot communicate with them. The white teachers do not want to make communication easy; and it seems the children do not belong to their parents anymore. If the school for nursing is close, and we can hear how the students are doing every two or three weeks, that is fine; it will have my agreement. As for the school a long way away, we know that a child was taken by a polar bear and the mothers in our settlement say: "maybe my child is next". We are cut from them and it is a very poor situation.

Stanley:

So with the teachers in Chimo, Payne Bay or Ivujivic; they don't give any thought to this and they say: "the children have to go there, that is all", without giving a thought to the mother's feelings.

When a child is very small, the mother looks after him because he can't help himself. When he becomes of school age, he is asked to get his education from the whiteman. The teachers work very hard to educate them in the whiteman's knowledge. When the girl is grown up, she might marry a whiteman and even though the mother took care of the child, it seems that she is thrown away. Does that husband try to help the girl's family by sending them money? That husband doesn't take any care at all of his wife's family. This is very bad, although it may be all right for the government; and I would think that perhaps this is the way the parents feel. Both governments keep saying that the Eskimo way should not be forgotten. I am finished.

I would like this to go to government people but perhaps it will not.

Neville:

It is written and it will be reported.

Mark:

I want to reply to what Stanley said first. If you have students from here sent to Chimo, Stanley says this will be all right. I will say what I think about education. I do not agree and this is what I want to talk about. I went to school at Frobisher Bay. From Frobisher Bay southward, and then, to Yellowknife; it was a long way. In Yellowknife, I went to school, thinking about my fellow people. Stanley said the parents don't want their children to be sent away. If you are close, between here and Chimo, they would have no chance to learn. In Fort Chimo, there are many Eskimos and few whitemen. If he is in Chimo, he will not learn the other language. We ask the children who go to Great Whale and Churchill, "what did you learn?" But at the same time, we want them to be close to home. We ask them to interpret and they cannot, so we ask them "what did you learn?"

Robitaille:

We don't want to move the trade school to Chimo. It is only for the nursing that we want it in Chimo.

(A discussion between Stanley and Mark follows, where each one explains his point of view).

Neville:

I want to talk about the children that go away to learn. It is a problem that all parents have in all the small communities, all over the country. It is never easy to see the children go away but it is just not possible to give a broader education in small communities. Stanley spoke about the problem of communication. These problems of keeping in touch are difficult ones and I don't know all the answers. I know that the teachers try to encourage the children to write letters to their parents. The children should take some responsibility themselves.

I have heard too that the Government of Quebec sends the children home at Christmas and I think that it is better than what we do in the federal schools. This is a good way of improving communications but if the parents have good ideas, we would like to hear them. How about radio messages?

- Woman, Clara Ittuk: I had a son in school at Churchill. I was told that he would be back at Christmas so I gathered all his Christmas presents, clothing. This was a useless gesture since he did not come. I was told he would get an allowance; at the end of the week, he got two dollars but he wrote to say that he needed money for food.
- Neville: With the help of the teacher, I will answer. Perhaps your son was mistaken, because the federal government does not send the Churchill students home at Christmas. Quebec does it at Great Whale, perhaps because it is closer.
- Clara: This was told to me by the teacher in Chimo. He was a liar, that is all.
- Neville: That young man over there has been to Churchill; he can give us information. Every two weeks, the children get two dollars to buy incidentals but the food they need is provided by the school.
- Clara: That is the way it should be. They go there to be taught.
- I was in Quebec a little while ago. Before, I was in Montreal to see my husband. I didn't have to pay anything when I went to Montreal but when I got there I was hungry and I was told to get two dollars. My husband gave me the money. We left Quebec to come back to Chimo. My husband had a catheter and a disposal bag attached to his body and they did not give him anything to empty his bag. We were in a small jet and they said no container was available. With the other government, we were well taken care of.
- Robitaille: I am sorry to hear that. I remember that; when Clara Ittuk came down, we were on the same plane. I arrived home at seven o'clock so she must have got there at 7.30. At that time, the supper was finished.
- Clara: I did not eat or drink.
- Robitaille: Perhaps there was a misunderstanding since she could not talk French or English.
- Clara: I can ask for water.
- Robitaille: I had left my phone number and told her to call me if there was any language problem.
- Clara: I remember the paper with the phone number but I didn't know what it meant.
- Robitaille: In the planes, there are always sick bags and I am surprised that she could not get any.
- Clara: I looked for them but I could not find any.
- Robitaille: Did you ask the steward?
- Clara: My husband asked for something to empty his bag.
- Robitaille: Well that is too bad. They probably didn't understand.
- Clara: I fixed Moses's bag by myself. The people in the airplane didn't have anything to do with that. There is something else I want to say because I had this my heart for a long time. Ever since my husband was shot, we have a stove that burns oil. When we were in Chimo, we were visited by a top man from Ottawa. My husband was told that he could not help himself anymore and that with government help, he would get oil in the stove since he had many children. Twice this winter we had to pay for oil. We use his pension for food and we get relief when that pension money has run out. The

Clara: old fellow who is called a mechanic said that the administrator in Chimo said that we would have to pay for oil. But the teacher always gives us oil when we need it.

I should be supported by the whiteman but when we have trouble with the stove, no whiteman helps us. I call Noah and Johnny. Another thing. When we did not have a nurse and we had an infection, we got rid of it easily by cutting the wound to let the puss out. I did this for Bobby. I had just finished doing this on his leg that was very swollen when the plane came to get him. I was told by the nurse that Bobby would have to be out for a long time because the knife that I used was bad. Then, I was blamed by your Administration who was the medical dispenser at the same time he was administrator. I was told by him that the Eskimos who do that will be blamed by the police.

Robitaille: Before the nurses were here, the Eskimos did that but now, the doctors should do it, since there is less risk of infection. About the police, it is not true.

Mark: The nurses say that they should wait until the puss comes out or disappears.

Robitaille: That must be right since they know about medical care.

Neville: We will have to meet with the teachers and we would like to finish at twelve. We will be coming back for other visits to this community. Your people have given us a lot of things to think about.

Mark: Lizzie Annanack has not received her widow's allowance for nine months. It should come from Quebec.

Robitaille: I will check and give an answer later. I regret that it has happened.

Lizzie: It is no wonder that you regret now that the federal government is going away.

Mark: One last thing. By what processes did they arrive to call this place Port-Mouveau-Quebec without advising the people?

Robitaille: A geographer proposed the name since the new settlement was different from the old post of George River. I don't know why he did not consult the people. We don't do that anymore. In Paint Hills, the name was changed to the Indian name, Wemindji.

Stanley: There is no reason to change the name. It has been called Kangirkshualudjuak for a long time.

Robitaille: The maps are made by whitemen who want to have names shorter to pronounce.

Woman: My old husband's name was George Annanack and part of his name was used to name the place. He was always pleased with that.

Robitaille: The people should write to me and if an Eskimo name is proposed by the majority, we will try to fix it and the name will be shown on the federal and Quebec map.

Mark: Will we meet again?

Robitaille: No. We will leave for Tasinyaqk (Leaf Bay) or Fort Chimo, depending on the weather.

Josepi Annanack: Perhaps you forgot to say something yesterday.

- Robitaille: Oh yes. You asked if the former Quebec agent told his superiors in Quebec that he was doing his work very well.
- Josepi: Yes.
- Robitaille: ... did not write very much. I have not seen anything about that.
- Josepi: He wasn't good. So, I was afraid that he might have said so.
- Johnny Morgan: Is the Quebec administrator sent here to get lots of things? At the beginning we had enough tools, now there are no tools left at the Quebec warehouse. When an administrator leaves, some tools disappear. It happened when the last two agents left.
- Robitaille: Whatever happened to the other tools will have to be found out. In the meantime, the agent will order new tools.
- Mark: I understand that you will be coming back again to have meetings with us; the meetings that we had lead nowhere. We have tried to tell you what the Eskimos want. What we have said won't be put into use at all.
- Neville: Why do you say that?
- Mark: We understood that we had a choice; now, at the end of the meeting, we understand that we have no choice.
- Neville: I don't feel the same way about it. Our bosses sent us here to get the thoughts of the Eskimo people and generally to discuss with them. We think that we bring back thoughts that our bosses consider important. Mr. Robitaille and I are going back and we ourselves will try to fix things like the Tractor. Some things will be fixed by our bosses. It is too bad you did not receive the letter before because you would realize that there will not be any great changes in the year ahead. As I listened to the things that were said, I understood that people were saying they were glad that there was this new understanding. I thought people were also saying; if we all work together we can get things to work in this community. I thought that the Eskimos were saying; "here is what is wrong", and that we were answering: "yes, here is how we can improve it". I was under the impression that people thought it good to talk because through talking comes a better understanding.
- Those are the things I thought we were doing these last days but you seem to tear all that apart; but that doesn't make sense to me because I still believe that the Eskimos want to progress and that they need the help of the Government to do so. How can you make progress and how can we help, if we don't talk?
- Mr. Robitaille and I will both try to improve conditions. We think our bosses are serious in trying to improve conditions. If you don't believe, we respect that opinion but you have to understand the way we feel too. We don't believe that we have discussed for two days for no reason at all and with no result at all. We learned a lot from it and we will continue to try. You have our word that these things will be passed on and you have the interpreters word that the record will write of what was said. I hope you will believe it but we can't change your thoughts on the matter.
- Mark: The only thing we find bad is that when we think we have a choice, we find out we don't. Now, nothing will be changed but in a while there will be change.

- Neville: It depends on what you mean by change. The federal government is asking Quebec to provide services on its behalf. It is still interested in Eskimo and Indian Affairs, it is not turning its face.
- Stanley: Then it is true, we don't have any choice. The federal government is asking the province to do it without the Eskimo consent.
- Neville: No. We are here for that.
- Mark: You say what Stanley says is not true, but why do you ask the province to administer if you don't mean to say it?
- Neville: The federal government is asking the same thing of all the provinces.
- Robitaille: I want to talk and be straightforward about this. In Canada, the provincial government can provide services to the residents of its population without asking anybody, even the federal government, because these are provincial responsibilities. This is the same all over Canada. Other provinces have the same right in regard to health, welfare, education, etc...The Quebec government is not ashamed to do that. Quebec knows that it is not the job of the federal government to provide the services that it now temporarily gives in northern Quebec. When the federal government asks Quebec to provide services on its behalf, there is nothing extraordinary about that. It is the normal thing to do in Canada. The Quebec government cannot accept that any people refuse to let it start services in its own territory but we understand that these things have to be known by the population to be administered. That is why we are here. That is what the Quebec government is trying to do.
- Mark: If we would wish to make a choice between governments, will we have it?
- Robitaille: No. For the Quebec government, these responsibilities are vested in provincial authority and it does not have to ask anybody, Indians or Eskimos, or the federal government.
- Mark: We understand that. We will stop now and we will exercise our right to express our views to the superior authorities.
- Stanley: You started in Great Whale, and visited all the other settlements. It is necessary that you tell us what the others have thought. Although it is past mid-day, we would like to know.
- Neville: Eskimos had many points of view on this. We heard Eskimos say, "we would not like to see Quebec provide services", but some also said they had not understood what the proposal was all about before we came to the communities. We heard Eskimos say: "what we want is to manage our own affairs and this seems to me the most important thing". I mean, to do things that the governments are now doing for them. They said they needed the help of governments to do that and the governments said they were happy to work more closely together to help the Eskimos do that. The people were also concerned about land and we agreed to pass those thoughts to the government.

- Neville: We heard Eskimos say: "we don't want Quebec!" We wrote their reasons for it and there seemed to be many misunderstandings. But the main thing, I repeat, is that they wanted to manage their own affairs. Some criticized Quebec, some criticized Ottawa as you can see; there were many points of view expressed.
- Robitaille: I agree that those were the main points.
- Stanley: Are the Eskimos in other settlements waiting for your reports?
- Neville: I can't answer that very well. In some communities, we listened and decided on how things could be fixed. Some of the things mentioned like the land question, could not be settled. I presume the people are waiting to see what the bosses will say about the land.
- Robitaille: The Eskimos did not tell us very clearly,
- Willie Imudluk: We will be expecting an answer from the Governments after they have read the reports.
- Neville: It may take several months.
- Stanley: That is fine. If the two governments come to a better understanding, it will be better. We realize that you too are just messengers; because you are simply messengers to bring information and report our thoughts, we cannot put a great effort towards solving things while you are here.
- Neville: I agree.
- Stanley: That is fine. If we fixed something and our solution was not in agreement with what they think outside, our solution would be just thrown away.
- Mark: The opportunities of fixing things is not here now as you act as messengers.
- Stanley: Yes. You are just like the boy who is asked to take caribou meat to his father.
- Elizah Arnatuk: I heard that you were just messengers. That is why I realize that a better understanding will be necessary with the people outside. What we have said shall be carried to the ministers without the help of the whiteman, we would be helpless. You are now beginning to be in a hurry and I don't want to keep you.

Port-Nouveau-Quebec

General Meeting

Federal School
March 11, 1970
20.10 hrs.

PNQ

Neville:

We would like to stop at ten o'clock. Also, we have been answering questions for two days; now we want to ask you questions about the village and things around here.

Mark:

We would like to finish the housing first.

Neville:

OK. We will try to finish the housing quickly.

Mark:

About housing: We haven't had any houses here for sometime. There are four houses belonging to the government occupied by people. A fifth one is said to belong to the government but this is not exact since all the materials are of local origin and it is too small to belong to the government. We read in this paper that 15 houses were to be built in the North in 1969-70. What settlement were they built in?

Neville:

I don't know exactly. Some have been built in Chimo.

Robitaille:

There are others in Pov., Inoucdjouac. As for Quebec, we built 7 houses in Leaf Bay.

Neville:

Several years ago, the federal government started a big housing programme called: "Northern Housing Programme". The houses in Northern Quebec were not built under this programme. This housing programme is going to start in 1970 and will continue until '75 but we would like to complete this programme in less than four years. I was told in Ottawa that there would be only 33 houses for all Northern Quebec. When I go back to Ottawa, I will see if I can get more than that but I will not know before I go to Ottawa whether this number can be increased

The teacher, Mr. Maier, wrote to Chimo several weeks ago, to explain the housing situation here, and to ask that houses be built.

Mark:

The one-bedroom house, 14X24, is not big enough for a family of seven or eight. These houses should not be sent anymore.

Neville:

I agree it is too small.

Mark:

For four years now, we have been asking for housing material from the federal government. We asked the administrator but he never gave any answers.

Neville:

The housing programme is to start in 1970.

Willie Ittuk:

We hear often that houses will come. But the Summer passes and none come.

Neville:

It will be different this year. The teacher tells me that he has a letter saying there are six houses to come here next summer. These six, we will not talk about them more. Maybe we will be able to get more. This is a thing I will have to discuss with my boss.

Stanley:

It would be greatly appreciated if these six houses came. We would take it as a sign that things are really improving.

Neville:

How many houses are needed?

- Mark: If you bring houses to meet the number of families, we would need 10 or 12.
- Neville: The federal and provincial governments will try to work on that together. I can't promise 10 houses. We know we will get six. How many more we will get, I don't know.
- Robitaille: Where would these houses be built?
- Stanley: Up in the back. There is lots of room.
- Robitaille: Isn't it wet?
- Mark: There is a lot of dry ground.
- Neville: This program of housing does not consist only of giving houses. This is a low rental housing programme. The Government would own the houses and provide services for them. The people would pay rent according to their ability to pay.
- Stanley: What would be the monthly rent for a person who has no income?
- Neville: If I am right, the rent is 2 dollars.
- Mark: Before long, somebody will come in the community to explain what the housing programme is.
- Mark: What furnishing comes with the house?
- Neville: I believe a stove, a water tank, a toilet. Whether there is furniture, I don't know. I don't think so. The teacher tells me beds are built-in, mattresses are provided and a kitchen table and chairs. The person who comes in to talk about the housing will have a list. There is also a furnace and linoleum or tile.
- Mark: We would like to know when you find out if there are more than six houses?
- Neville: The custom is that the community council decides to whom the houses will be assigned. A person will come to explain how the housing program works. The people of the community will be asked to take a lot of responsibilities for assigning houses collecting the rent and looking after a lot of things that come with the houses. In some communities now, the people are taking responsibilities for all that concerns housing and we hope that this will happen in this community too. The person who comes to talk about the housing programme will also mention these things.
- Stanley: The government wants these things to be taken care of, because they are expensive. If a person does not take care of his house, perhaps he will be evicted. The person who gets a house must take good care of it, if he wants to be in a good house, not in a wooden shack.
- Mark: It would be better if we elected housing authorities instead of leaving the authority to the council.
- Neville: That is good. It works like that in other communities.
- Mark: When the men who will talk about houses comes, we will elect our housing authority so they will know when they leave.

- Neville: Yes. When a man or two men, from the federal and the provincial governments come to talk about the housing this could be done.
- Stanley: The only problem is this thing which seems to be sleeping profoundly (the tractor); we would need it to make roads and levelling.
- Neville: Yes, we may have to get a missionary to resurrect this dead one. The mechanic told us it would take much money to fix it.
- Stanley: Well, there are a lot of tractors in Chimo and two governments like here; it is not very far away and they could send one here.
- Neville: The administrator has shown me a tractor sleeping in Chimo too.
- Stanley: The government should waken them all up.
- Robitaille: If we are finished about housing, I would like to ask a question. I was here a few times and Mr. Neville never was. He might be interested to know how Imudluk's camp is working, how it started.
- Willie Imudluk: I can't say anything now since there is nobody at it. We knew that, with only the Co-op, there would not be enough resources for the settlement, so we started the tourist camp to help. We figured that the tourists would come and buy things in the Co-op and use local people for guides so that more money would come in the community. Now we have enough cabins. I am quite happy even though sometimes I am not. We have enough cabins for the tourist but the guides and myself live in tents and with the wind and rain since we are on a hill, we sometimes get wet.
- Neville: Are the tourists Canadians or Americans?
- Willie Imudluk: I will talk about that later. I was talking about tents. If the workers that come with their families could have houses made out of local lumber and plywood for the roofs, it would be good. As for the tourist cabins, they sleep three and there are six of them.
- The maximum for one week that I would like to have is twelve and the person who works with me (the contact man outside) agrees.
- Neville: Who is the cook.
- Willie: I have had many cooks but the one I will have next year is Miss Tinconbe but if she gets married before the summer, I will have lost my cook.
- Neville: Do you know if she is good?
- Willie: Even if she was not good, it would not matter since the tourists are much interested in their fishing. I had a top cook once but it was very expensive since the food he ordered was expensive. The tourist can go directly to the camp if the weather is good. They come up to Chimo by Nordair and Johnny May from St. Felicien brings them here. The first year there were 6, then 21, then 61 but last summer, it fell down to 48. Of these 48, only 40 were paying guests. The others were newspaper man and publicity men. And in the future, we won't need as many of them. We have canoes and motors enough; but I may add one canoe and motor next summer depending upon the number of guests. Before I had materials from the government which I replaced. Last year, I got kitchen material and everything is completed.

- Willie: When spring comes, we will take care of the food and other equipment to prepare the camp. Because of the decrease of the number of fishermen, my overhead went up, although it is not bad. Last year, we made cheques for oil, food, airplane fees and the cheques came back because of lack of funds but the Co-op assumed the debt so I have a debt in the store now.
- Neville: Do the tourists hunt ducks and geese?
- Willie: We had a loan from Ottawa that we used to decrease the debt. I ought to have repaid a bit of the loan this winter; I am sorry if they are fed up down there but I will not be able to pay this winter. Two years ago, my loan was \$10,000.; last year, I finished payment for a boat and I also reduced the loan by three thousand dollars so that I have now \$7000. debt. The people here know about my debts. But you have asked me to talk about these things.
- Neville: We just asked that because we were interested in his work, not to pry into your personal affairs.
- Willie: That is good, since you may meet people who did not know about the camp and talk about it. I have debts at the government, St. Felicien, Jimmy Ford, the Co-op and other people outside. All my debt amounts to about \$13,600. I am not too worried about it because I know that the Eskimo Loan Fund does not have to be paid in a rush; but the people here have to be paid and so is it for the companies; those are the debts we will try to pay first. The deposits sent by the tourists will be applied to the debts; first to the airline. Well it seems that I talked only about the sad things, my debts.
- Neville: Well, I think that you have things figured out pretty well.
- Willie: I am helped a lot by my fellow countrymen, the teachers and one of the government people in Ottawa.
- Neville: Who is he?
- Willie: John Macdonald. The one who helped me before has moved to another part of the country. He came here this winter and we discussed how we could manage things. I understand he will go to the U. S. in March to get customers. He will also try to get people to come hunt seal in April. If he can get six or seven people interested in a spring hunt, he would bring them with him. The first group should arrive on June 24 in Chimo and they will come here by canoe. You know about the camp on the island; I have another one in Long River.
- Neville: What kind of fish do you get?
- Willie: Char and sculpins but they are not supposed to catch sculpins. There are no salmon because there are no rapids. The tourists fish with spoons and spinning reels.
- Mark: The policeman said there was a bounty on wolves. Is that right? Because the wolves are killing the caribou, the government should do something about it.
- Robitaille: I don't know. In the South, there are bounties.
- Stanley: It seems that the wolves are getting more numerous.

Robitaille: The government knows that caribou herds are increasing. If the wolves are also increasing, the government will certainly be interested. I will report that to Quebec.

Jobi Imudluk: The wolves kill the caribou just for fun.

Mark: (Asks the people how many wolves they killed this Winter)
It adds up to 21. Last year, nine.

Nevilles: Close by?

Stanley: Yes.

Robitaille: The policeman, I hear, will be coming shortly. He will tell the Eskimos if there is anything new about the bounty.

Fort Chimo

March 14, 1970
14.30 hrs.

Preliminary Meeting with Eskimo Council

- Neville: (Introduces himself and Robitaille. Did they get the letter? Yes, and it was distributed. Explains approximately the contents of the letter. Explains the aims of the council meetings that are held in each community. Notes will be taken by the secretary. Lechat and Clarke are interpreters)
- Johnny Peter: When the main meetings are on, will everybody who has something to say be allowed to talk even if it is unpleasant?
- Robitaille: Yes. The Eskimos are free to say what they want.
- J. Peter: I will speak on the full meeting, not now. I have many things to say.
- Robitaille: We are not here to convince anybody. We are here to inform.
- J. Peter: We are pleased that you came; we will have a chance to express what we feel.
- Robitaille: When should we have the first meeting?
- J. Peter: Tomorrow would be better since we did not have a chance to tell everybody this morning.
- Neville: Would it be possible to have a meeting tonight?
- J. Peter: No; there is plenty of time; you could be here, even for two weeks.
- Charlié Watt: Many times in the past, the meetings are always in a rush. Even when we go to Quebec or Montreal.
- Neville: We took four days in Great Whale; where there were Indian people too.
- J. Peter: The people will think that they should have time to say what they have to say.
- Neville: We will give proportionally as much time to this community as in the others. This will not be the only time we will come. We will have time to discuss the main points and we will come back to continue the discussions.
- Robitaille: Will it be possible to have more than one meeting tomorrow?
(The interpreters have services. Monday, many people work)
- Charlie: Tomorrow at one.
(A local interpreter will help. The whitepeople will be allowed. Members of the councils will be excused from their work, for the week days meetings. Mr. Watt asks about the delegates impressions of the other settlements. They are given them).
- Robitaille: The notes of the meetings will be checked by the interpreters.
(This pleases the council)
- Watt: What answers were given about the land?
- Neville: We were not to talk about the land. We are not sure of what our ministers think about the land.

Robitaille:

Different things were said about the land. Some joined together the matter of land and the operation of the Co-op. Sometimes the Eskimos have shown on the map the line that separates what they consider to be their territory.

Watt:

What community showed the line?

Robitaille:

Great Whale, Povungnituk, Inoucdjouac, Saglouc, Ivujivik.

Watt:

Where was the line?

(The Saglouc map is shown),

What did you think of the people's idea?

Robitaille:

Personally, as a geographer, I think it is in accordance with the ethnic distribution of native inhabitants, in regard to the coastal area. The southern limit is more doubtful since the traditional Eskimos were generally inhabitants of the barren land, above the tree line but this is a strictly geographical point of view.

J. Peter:

Of course, at the general meeting, our thoughts will have a more important bearing.

Robitaille:

Sure and then, we will talk as representatives of the government.

Fort Chimo
General meeting

Provincial school
March 15, 1970
13.15 hrs.

Neville: introduces himself.

Robitaille: introduces himself.

Neville: A letter was sent by the ministers. We understand that the Chimo people received and read it. It explains (in general terms) why we are here. I will explain in detail. In 1964, the two governments sat down to discuss ways of providing services to the Eskimos. For many years, the two governments felt that the province should provide the services since the services now provided by the federal government are normally given by provincial governments all over Canada. Both governments realized that the Eskimo people had rights that should be respected:-language, religion, culture. The two governments agreed that the services given by the province should be at least as good as those provided by the federal government at the present time. It was not possible to pursue this in 1964. It was only in 1969 that they started to talk seriously about it again; they (the two governments) met and tried to see how it could be done. That was last March, 1969. They wrote down the nature and the cost of services that both provided. They also made projections on what it could be in the immediate future. This was translated into Eskimo and sent to the Eskimos to seek their views. The Eskimo communities elected representatives to come down and talk. Charlie Saunders and Tommy Gordon came down. Later, for this area, Mark Annanack was chosen as regional delegate and Charlie Watt took the place of Charlie Saunders as substitute delegate. The delegates came back and were asked to discuss these matters with their people. The date suggested for the changes, April 1, 1970, was postponed to a later date since it seemed that the Eskimos had not understood fully the documents and the ideas involved. The governments decided that more time was needed for the Eskimos to understand. Instead it was decided that both governments would work much more closely together to improve the services given to the Eskimos in the months immediately ahead.

The government of Canada is asking the province to provide these services on its behalf. Both governments want to consult more and more with the Eskimo people and they want to work closely together. It was also agreed to send people to discuss all this with the Eskimos, not only once, but many times. Our job is to explain, inform, listen and report to our ministers. Our role is not to convince. We were asked many questions and provided a lot of answers. We found many misunderstandings, and were able to correct a lot of them; Father Lechat and Cannon Clarke act as interpreters. The secretary will write the minutes. The interpreters will check the minutes. Everything will be reported.

Robitaille: I agree with everything Mr. Neville said. I will talk about how Quebec has become involved in the provision of services to the Eskimos of Northern Quebec.

(Refers to the map and repeats history of Arctic Quebec from 15th century to 2nd World War).

Robitaille:

Communications improved after the war and more and more government people came to Northern-Quebec. The federal government came first. Quebec came in 1960 to provide services in provincial fields. It (Quebec) started here in 1962 when Quebec employees came to study the language of the Eskimos. In 1964, as personnel were getting more experience, Quebec met with the federal government about extending all services. It was agreed that the Eskimos would be consulted before any decision or final agreement would be taken between the two governments. These services are normally provincial, so Quebec does not have to ask anybody permission to provide them anywhere in its territory. It is the duty of the provincial government to provide these services and it intends to carry out this duty, whenever possible.

It believes also that, this way, the Eskimos of Northern-Quebec will be able to take more control of their own affairs. We are now ready to listen.

(The speakers table is moved up closer to the audience)

Charlie Watt:

In regard to education, what will be the language of instruction? If Quebec provides French language education, how will communication be maintained with the people who received English language education?

Robitaille:

I will explain, on the blackboard, what will happen when Quebec is solely responsible for education services; now, Quebec is not. (He explains the provisions Bill 63).

Charlie Watt:

You have not answered my question.

Robitaille:

Could you repeat?

Charlie Watt:

I did not mean the language of the schools. I meant that if the Quebec personnel are only French speaking, how will they communicate with the English speaking Eskimos?

Robitaille:

If the Eskimos choose English schools, the teaching staff will be English. There might be French personnel in other fields and bilingual people will come.

Charlie Watt:

If an Eskimo has been instructed in English and he has to talk French, it is as if he got his education for nothing and he will not be able to get jobs.

Robitaille:

The personnel will certainly be bilingual.

Charlie Watt:

You said there would be bilingual people. Is this possible?

Robitaille:

Yes. Quebec is a bilingual province.

Charlie Watt:

Is the Quebec government ready to send English speaking teachers?

Robitaille:

Yes. If Quebec is sole administrator, it will be possible. If the Eskimos choose an English school, the teachers will be English speaking. Now, with the federal English schools Quebec doesn't have to send English teachers but there are English schools in southern Quebec.

Charlie Watt:

You are saying that in the south, you have teaching in French and in English; and since the French want to keep their language, it seems that they want to push the English out.

- Robitaille: Bill 63 guarantees the right of the English people to English schooling. So, I do not see how English teachers can be pushed out.
- Charlie Watt: Does the Quebec government think it would be better if the Eskimos choose French?
- Robitaille: The government has made provisions for both languages in Bill 63. So, as such, it does not favor any one of the two; the parents have the right to choose.
- Charlie Watt: If Quebec is sole administrator, will the schools be under D.G.N.Q. or the (Quebec) Department of Education?
- Robitaille: At the start, since Quebec wanted to learn about the North, it felt that a specific Branch should look after the North but in regard to education, now, it believes that a school board where the parents have their say about education, should look after education in the North. A law was passed about that. For the first couple of years, the Board will work with D.G.N.Q. but it will also have to deal with the Department of Education and eventually will come under its jurisdiction.
- I have the text of the law here. The school board has not been named yet. Article 10 of this law says that the Minister of Education shall see to the carrying out of this Act.
- Charlie Watt: Will there be regional school boards?
- Robitaille: The Act is not specific on this point. I could give the text to Charlie Watt or perhaps provide an explanation right now.
- Charlie Watt: Don't you think it would be better to have a regional school board in Chimo such as they have in other cities in the south?
- Robitaille: Due to the sparceness of the population, the Act encompasses all the communities of the North. There is a similar school board along the lower North Shore of the St. Lawrence. Even if it is not called a Regional School Board, it will be able to provide secondary and trade education which is the responsibility of regional school boards in the South.
- Neville: Mr. Watt has asked a technical question and has received a technical answer, but I wonder if the other people understood? If necessary, we could provide an explanation of the general idea of a regional school board.
- Jaku Arnatuk: This is the first meeting and generally, the people at a first meeting do not speak.
- Charlie Watt: I think the school board explanation could wait for later and I will ask something else. Regarding the schools now, will there be a school committee, that would allow local parents to express their views on education?
- Robitaille: Yes. There is an article in that law that says that school committees will be formed locally and that they will report to the Administrator of the School Board.

- Charlie Watt: Supposing that the joint administration is realized, to which government will the School Board be responsible?
- Robitaille: Since the transfer date was postponed, the two governments have decided that the federal schools would not be administered by the School Board. But D.G.N.Q. would like its schools to be administered by the School Board.
- Charlie Watt: Are you saying that next September, the provincial schools will be under the responsibility of the School Board?
- Robitaille: Yes.
- Neville: The federal schools will stay as they are. The two governments had hoped to work into a combined system of education but this will be too hard to do.
- Charlie Watt: You say that the parents have the choice of the school. When a child has attained the level of schooling available locally and has to go outside, will he be allowed to study outside the province?
- Robitaille: The joint committee on Education says that secondary education will be available but inside the territory of Quebec.
- Charlie Watt: I did not seem to say that in the documents I got.
- Robitaille: That is right. The documents are not very explicit on this. But a Quebec School Board cannot organize something with a School Board from another province. So, the answer to me, is quite obvious.
- Charlie Watt: Will the government provide English secondary and university education in the South?
- Robitaille: Yes.
- Jaku Arnatuk: Perhaps it would be like this when Quebec starts but perhaps it would change later.
- Neville: As the guarantees state, the federal government will insure that good services are provided and this will continue.
- Charlie Watt: It is all very well to be written down; the people believe that it will not be changed; but these things changed. Take Labrador, for instance, and the Quebec-Labrador dispute where Quebec claims Labrador even if there was an agreement.
- Robitaille: Bill 63 was very seriously studied and it is a law that will be there for a long time. As for Labrador, I think that Quebec does not claim Labrador.
- Charlie Watt: Then, how come it does not show on the map?
- Robitaille: It is because Quebec never agreed to the 1927 Privy Council Statement. At the time, though, the difference was between Canada and England, since Newfoundland was a British colony. At that time Canada did not agree very much.
- Charlie Watt: I was using Labrador as an illustration. It seems that Quebec often tries to trade things afterwards to change the agreements that were supposed to be settled.

Neville:

You are entitled to your opinion but it is difficult to argue a comment like that. We have noted your opinions on this matter and they will be passed on to our two ministers.

Charlie Watt:

Why is it that the ministers have not come to see the people yet? How come they did not come themselves?

Robitaille:

It takes a long time to go around the North like this. It was not possible for both ministers to undertake such a long trip due to other commitments.

Neville:

Next day, we agreed with the council that the meeting would not last more than three hours. We should stop now.

Mark Arnatuk:

We must have other meetings since I have much to say.

Neville:

Yes. But we would like to go to Tasiuyaq tomorrow if the weather is nice and to come back to continue meetings here.

Fort Chimo
General Meeting

Provincial School
March 17, 1970
9:30 a.m.

Meeting between Mr. Neville and Mr. Robitaille and Eskimo Council.
Interpreters: Rev. J.C.M. Clarke and Rev. Father Lochat, O.M.I.

Also present were interested Eskimos from the community.

Neville: Meeting declared open at 9:30 a.m.

C. Watt: I wish to resume an old subject. The Minister (Mr. Chretien) went through part of the country; he should have come here also. It was alleged that when he made the visit, he was able to understand the Eskimos but this is not possible. It is my conviction that a white person cannot understand Eskimos in a short time. It was also alleged that there were misunderstandings on the part of the Eskimo people regarding documents but this is not true - the documents were understood but they were not complete. The written material seemed all right but things concerning Eskimos do not appear in the documents. There are a lot of children attending school who have not finished their education. The documents don't say what the future education will be. I wish an explanation.

Neville: Regarding the misunderstanding, I wish to explain that a misunderstanding is when one does not understand what is written or spoken. Regarding the September meeting, Mr. Watt and others said they did not understand what was in the documents prepared in 1969.

Watt: I was present at the September meeting and things were not understood.

Neville: Do you refer to Fort Chimo Eskimos or Eskimos of New Quebec?

Watt: As far as I know, it is people he has met here. Did you expect to come here and not have any questions asked?

Neville: We are anxious to answer all questions. There have been many misunderstandings regarding the extension of services by the Province of Quebec. I want to tell you of one misunderstanding in Leaf Bay yesterday. Most have heard that, last year, 7 houses were built by Quebec at Leaf Bay for Eskimos. Yesterday, an elderly man said he had heard Quebec had no more money.

Watt: Explain what you have heard.

Neville: The elderly Eskimo said that if Quebec has no more money, how come it can build those 7 houses?

Watt: I would like to ask something.

Neville: I would like to finish, to explain the misunderstanding.

Watt: You are told only part of what Eskimos say and assume there is a lie along the line.

Neville: There is a big difference between a misunderstanding and a lie. The Eskimo people did not know that the Federal Government will give Quebec money to provide services and this was the misunderstanding in Leaf Bay.

John Peters: People are here to speak and they should not stop until they say what they have to say.

Watt: What do you call this? Take-over? Quebec acting for the Federal Government? Will this continue?

Neville: No time limit has been set. It has been agreed by both Governments that April 1, 1970 is not the time.

- Neville: Would you like a more thorough explanation of Quebec's position on behalf of the Federal Government?
- Watt: There is no reason why you should not explain if you can do so without sounding too much like a schoolteacher.
- Neville: You have the Federation of Co-Operatives in Quebec. The Government of Canada recognizes its responsibility to Eskimos of the North to develop economically. Canada sees this can be done through the Co-operatives. Canada says to the Federation: "We will do it on our behalf and provide guidance to Eskimos in the process." Canada pays money to the Federation so that it can do it on its behalf, spend the money on its behalf, to provide services on its behalf. Canada says the same thing to the Province of Quebec regarding Municipal Services. "Will you provide such services to Eskimos of New Quebec on our behalf?" Canada is not turning away; it is still interested, and will provide money to ensure that the services are good. These are proposals. The Eskimos did not understand that the Federal Government would still be in the picture is not forsaking the Eskimos.
- I hope I didn't sound too much like a schoolteacher.
- Watt: You did sound a bit like a schoolteacher because you spoke for a long time during which we could not ask questions. We want to know about children - do you care about the land only or do you also care about people?
- Neville: I don't understand the question.
- Watt: We spoke of schools - French only. The children who have been attending English schools would have to start all over again.
- We understood they could send English speaking teachers. Will they send French teachers who know only a little English?
- Robitaille: As was mentioned, the Eskimos will have the choice of the language of instruction. The teachers will have to be fully qualified in the chosen language. Regarding the children who commenced in the English language, Quebec is not the sole administrator of schools in Northern Quebec.
- Watt: Do you mean teachers in Quebec schools are not fully qualified?
- Robitaille: No.
- Watt: Why are there some teachers not fully qualified?
- Robitaille: Which ones? Quebec Teachers?
- Watt: One is supposed to be a teacher as well as a nurse. Many Eskimos know this. How can this be?
- Robitaille: Who is she? Which grade does she teach?
- Watt: Were you not told at George River? She was there last Fall but is not there now.
- Robitaille: We do use others but not at the formal level - as supervisors in Kindergarten. Sometimes the wives of our Provincial Agents. This is the same in Koartak and elsewhere. They are supervisors in Kindergarten only.
- Regarding the children who started their education in English, for the time being, both Governments want them to continue in the same schools. Does Mr. Watt know of the proposals at the Montreal meeting?

tt: Yes. They have been gone over many many times and copies have been made so the people can read them.

obitaille: Mr. Neville and I are interested in the reactions of the Eskimo people to these proposals.

tt: Ed's asking all of us, not just me.

Jako Angnatuk: I'd like to know what we learn in kindergarten, what is done?

obitaille: The children play games and colour but also learn a bit of reading and tracing in Eskimo.

tt: I think Jako wants information to grade 4.

obitaille: In the first three grades, qualified teachers and Eskimo assistants teach the usual subjects in the Eskimo language. In grade 3 there is some French taught as well as Eskimo.

Jako Angnatuk: I don't know if the children are taught properly in grades 2 and 3 as they can't seem to bring home what they have learned. I don't know if it's the teacher or the child but I think the teachers are not qualified.

obitaille: The qualifications to teach in the North must be the same as in the South. However, the Eskimo language poses a problem and it is difficult for the teachers. The problem probably will never be settled until Eskimos can teach. Some are being trained in Great Whale River at the present time.

tt: Other people have questions. But to continue with education, by the time the children who are taught in French reach grade 4, they cannot say the numbers or colours in French. What about the future?

obitaille: It is difficult to tell. When taught in Eskimo, the children derive more knowledge but when a second language is introduced, this slows up the children. Perhaps a comparison should be made of results between the Federal school and the Provincial School.

Jako: I am not against French but education in English seems faster for the children. It should be equal in both languages but the children taught in the Federal school are ahead.

obitaille: This may be true. What about Eskimo as the language of instruction? We have long wondered about this.

Jako: When two languages are taught at once, the children don't seem to speak well when they get home. This may be a barrier. I'm not sure if two languages taught at once is a good thing. It is difficult to know. The culture, Eskimo culture, should be preserved in school. Others will explain more clearly. I don't know how this should be done.

Tommy Saunders: I will try to help Jako explain. My daughter was in the provincial school for one year. At the end of that time, she couldn't speak well. I'm not against the Provincial teachers. My daughter was mischievous and threw snow at the teacher. The teacher hurt her and the child did not want to go back to the Provincial school. This is all right by me; the child was not badly hurt and was being disciplined. It is the custom of the teachers to see parents at the start of the new school year to choose the school the child will attend. The teacher saw me to ask which school and I said the Federal school where my older children attend. At the start, the children couldn't talk to each other but now they speak to each other quite well in the second language. It's better to have both children in the same school. Now the younger child seems more proficient in English than she was in French when she was in the Provincial school.

Jako Angnatuk:

Others should speak. Now is the time to speak, for all to be heard.

Willie Cooper:

These things have been on my mind for a long time but I have never spoken of them before. Now is the time to speak. The young people know how they live and older people should not be overcome by the young people. It is the Eskimo's (Chimo's) custom to show affection for the white men who come to their country. Fort Chimo should have been the start of your tour, not the last place you visit. Our fathers know the French who came here before, at the first. Where are they? They were the only white men who tried to help the Eskimos. My father told me the French Traders came here after the Company (Hudson's Bay Co.) was already here. The Hudson's Bay Co. has stayed but the French Company did not stay. They tried to overcome the Hudson's Bay Co. The Quebec Government is coming in the same way, as though to overcome the Federal Government. I only understand Eskimos; I do not understand the white men; but it seems to me that Quebec is doing this. My father told me when I was 19. I cannot forget. Our elders know a lot without the benefit of a formal education. Because elders know more, I spoke so that they can speak after me.

Robitaille:

We intended limiting the discussions to two hours. Can we stop now? It is 11:30. We can return at 3:00 p.m. so that the men on the water trucks have a chance to finish their work.

Mark Angnatuk:

Why not start at one o'clock?

Rev. Clarke:8

It has been explained about the water delivery.

Jako Angnatuk:

Three o'clock is fine by us as long as you are not taking off.

Neville:

We are not in a big hurry but we do not have all the time in the world. We will give Fort Chimo as much time as we gave other settlements of this size. Long meetings are hard, particularly on interpreters.

Johnny Peters:

We started late - let's set 2:30.

Robitaille:

Agreed. I would like to speak then about what Willie Cooper said.

Adjourned at 11:30

P.M. - 2:30

March 17, 1970.

Robitaille:

I wish to talk about the Révillon Frères Co., and the Frenchmen who started it. We had the same question at Inoucdjouac. It is true, as Willie says, a company was set up and competed with the Hudson's Bay Co. The Company also opened stores in Northern Ontario, in the Keewatin, Northwest Territories. The Company came from France and it still has stores there. I was in Paris last year and saw them myself. When this Company was here, it was not associated with the Government of Quebec. It had stores in other northern countries. The Company pulled out when fur prices declined. This had nothing to do with the Government of the Province of Quebec. Eskimos think Quebec will do the same but it is not the same and I will explain. The Government of Quebec is not a company. The people of the Government are Quebec residents. They are mainly French but there are some English speaking members of the Government. It is not competing with the Federal Government. It wants to extend provincial services in the fields of education, health, and

municipal services to the Northern residents of the Province. It is not trying to push the Federal Government out but just trying to assume Provincial services. The last difference is that the Révillon Frères came temporarily, business declined for them, and they left. Quebec is here to stay as this northern Quebec is part of the Province. The Eskimos should not be fearful that the Government of Quebec will do as the Révillon Frères did.

Why did the Company break or quit?

Allie Cooper:

Robitaille:

As I have said, the Company still exists and has big stores in other countries. I don't know exactly why it left but I have heard it was due to a decline in the price of furs.

Allie Cooper:

Only since then the whites have come in numbers and only recently have we been gathered together in settlements as we are. Why is it that although they are both missionaries (Rev. Clark and Father Lechat) they don't understand Eskimo very well; but they are the only ones interpreting. Although he (Rev. Clark) appears to understand a great deal, he doesn't understand much. (A few other words to the same effect or on same plane were missed)

Reville:

I will try to answer about the interpreters. These are two men who understand our mother tongues. We say things in a different way at times but we are sure these two men understand what we mean when either language is spoken. We understand they speak Eskimo but during the tour, they have an Eskimo also assisting with translations. For example, Charlie Watt assisted this morning. We spoke of this matter with your council and in all communities we visited in Northern Quebec.

Allie Cooper:

If the tour had started here, we could have had a very good interpreter but you left this place for the last. This is where white men came first, not where you went first. It's been told to us this is where whites first came but now it's the last. (Some reference made here to white foxes but missed it. Believe what was said is that this is where the white fox was first hunted or trapped and bought by the white men.)

Reville:

The Great Whale River Eskimos would have said much the thing, as would people in other settlements. We had to start somewhere. If we started here, the Great Whale River Eskimos would be similarly displeased. The important thing is not where we started but the fact that we are conducting this tour and visiting all settlements.

Watt:

From 1924 to 1944, there was a royalty paid on foxes. It was \$2.00 for a white fox, \$1.50 for a red fox and \$10.00 for a silver fox. This all went to the Province of Quebec but none ever came back here.

Robitaille:

This is not exact. During the period, Social Allowances were paid by the Province of Quebec to residents of Northern Quebec.

Watt:

This is not accurate as far as the Eskimos are concerned. No one came from the Province of Quebec. The help came from the Federal Government. When relief was given, it was administered by the Hudson's Bay Company and paid by the Government. The Province of Quebec did not recognize Eskimos here, only Indians.

Robitaille:

This is not exact.

Watt:

How was it?

Robitaille:

I will speak clearly. It is true that the Province had no personnel in Northern Quebec in the early years. The older people will recall the R.C.M.P. (Federal Government employees), the Hudson's Bay Co., and missionairies were here. Around 1929, relief had to be administered to the Eskimo people. According to Government of Quebec records I have seen, the Federal Government paid the relief to the Eskimos but sent the bills to the Province of Quebec.

Watt:

I.....

Robitaille:

Let me finish if you wish an explanation. You asked a question and should let me finish my explanation.

From 1929 to 1933 there were discussions between the Government of Quebec and the Federal Government as to who should pay the relief to the Eskimos. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1935. The Supreme Court finally ruled in 1939 that the people who drafted the Constitution of this country had Eskimos in mind also and intended including Eskimos in the sections dealing with Indians; that they intended Eskimos to be treated the same as Indians, being, along with Indians, the first residents of this country. This is why the documents given in 1969 stated the Federal Government cannot abandon its responsibilities to the Eskimo people. As Mr. Neville has stated, this is why the Government of Canada will not abandon the Eskimos but wishes the Province of Quebec to administer Provincial services on its behalf.

Watt:

(Charlie asked a question which Rev. Clark did not understand fully. Mr. Watt then said that if a person could not interpret, he should not be up there interpreting. At this point, Peter Abraham was asked to leave his work and join the meeting to assist in translations.)

Rev. Clark:

Go ahead, Charlie.

Watt:

You are saying the bills were paid through (Provincial) Welfare. Were they sent to Quebec and back to the Federal Government?

Robitaille:

The Province of Quebec paid Welfare during the period. I have seen the records in the Government offices. I can give you references if you wish. The Hudson's Bay Co. sent the bills to the Federal Government who, in turn, sent them to Quebec for payment. There was discussion as has been said and no agreement could be reached and the matter was referred to the Supreme Court in 1935. The ruling mentioned before was issued in 1939.

Watt:

If the Province of Quebec tried to own everthing, why couldn't it pay?

Robitaille:

Because Indians in Canada are the responsibility of the Federal Government under the British North America Act.

Neville:

While it's true that Eskimos are the special responsibility of the Federal Government, it is also true that the Province of Quebec pays certain Social Allowances to some Eskimos. It's all very difficult to understand. I'm sure some people in this room receive allowances of various kinds from the Province of Quebec and have been receiving them for several years.

Watt:

Where do the funds come from?

Neville:

The money comes from all people in Quebec; and the Federal Government gives money to all Provinces to assist them in their Social Allowances programs.

tt: The people don't know the situation exactly where the money comes from. The people of the Government should explain thoroughly where the money comes from.

pitaille: I could not explain thoroughly but it is certain that a great portion of the money is raised in the Province of Quebec. Perhaps Mr. Neville could explain.

Wille: I can list payments (allowances) and sources of revenue if that's what you want.

tt: I wish to know where the money comes from - the people don't know.

Wille: The money comes from the Federal Government through Income Taxes and from the Provincial Government through Income Tax and Sales taxes. Take Needy Mother's Allowance, for instance. No one knows exactly what part is paid by each Government. A lump sum or grant is given the Province by the Federal Government and the Province of Quebec tries to finance all its programs within its total income comprised of Federal Grants and its own tax sources.

(Mr. Neville goes to board and lists 'Needy Mothers' Allowance' and 'Old Age Security' and refers to each in turn.)

This is one kind of allowance paid by the Province of Quebec. It is paid to women who are alone with their children. There are many allowances paid by the Province; this is just one of them.

Here (O.A.S.) is an Allowance paid by the Federal Government. This is just one; there are many. The Federal Government collects taxes to pay this allowance and for everything else it must do. Income Taxes are collected from all Canadians with a certain income including people in this room - from people in the Province of Quebec and from all provinces. Some people in this room receive Old Age Security.

So Quebec has welfare programs for all its residents - one is Needy Mothers' Allowance. It gets the money from (1) the people of Quebec
(2) the people of Canada as a whole through Federal grants made to finance this and other programs.

For example, a Needy Mother's Allowance of \$85.00 a month might be paid. I don't know exactly what part is paid by each of the two governments.

Mrk Angnatuk: I get \$65.00 a month Old Age Pension. I've never seen this \$85.00 a month.

Interpreter: That is because you are not a Needy Mother.

Nville: The important thing is the source of the money - from both Provincial and Federal Governments. This is the best I can do at the moment to explain how taxes are used to finance both Federal and Provincial programs.

Johnny Peters: The Government should mention that all this money comes from people who are working - from people(missed balance of statement)

Nville: The Government has no money of its own - only what it gets from the people of the country through taxes.

Johnny Peters: Which Province has the highest taxes including Sales Taxes?

Neville: I believe Newfoundland has the highest taxes. We can find out for sure and let you know.

Johnny Peters: (interrupting his words) ... this Quebec has the highest sales taxes.

Robitaille: I am a resident of Quebec and I know the Quebec taxpayer pays both Income tax and Sales tax.

Johnny Peters: The people in the North have limited opportunities. There are many jobs available. Why do they have to pay so many taxes?

Robitaille: This is also true in the south of the Province. The making of jobs is the responsibility of all, the Provincial Government, the Federal Government and private enterprise.

Johnny Peters: Getting welfare from any government is a big problem. If employment is high I would expect people to live on their earnings and there would be more money available to the government through taxes. I have heard mining is coming in. If this is true, there won't be so many welfare problems. Is it so very hard to open employment for all because so many able-bodied men are willing for welfare in the north?

Robitaille: I agree. The Eskimos are expecting relief because there is no job for them. Johnny also mentioned mineral resources still unexploited. The Governments know and the Eskimos know there are lots of minerals from Shefferville to the Hudson Straits and from Wakeham Bay to Cape Smith. There are some very rich deposits. Usually, it's not the Government but private enterprise which exploits mineral resources. Many companies have done exploratory work and are thinking of exploiting the resources. However, it is a very expensive undertaking and a lot of time is taken in making a final decision.

Johnny Peters: About this problem, is it really hard to open a railroad to Chimo and other Northern settlements or areas to open the mining?

Robitaille: I will try to answer. The companies must think a lot about exploiting but seem to have decided to do so. They have gone on record as saying that Eskimos are to be employed. If they are trained, some good jobs will be available for them. They have told the Government that they would like workers and specialists from the Eskimo population.

Regarding a railroad, the one from Seven Islands to Shefferville was built to export iron ore from the area. It is called the Quebec - North Shore Railroad. I know this railroad company has rights to a tract of land from Shefferville to Leaf Bay. The railroad would pass west of Fort Chimo. This company would build this railroad only if the mining companies decide to exploit mineral resources between Shefferville and Leaf Bay. This will not take place very soon, it seems. It is up to the mining companies.

Johnny Peters: If this is done, there will be no waiting for welfare. Build it for them.

Robitaille: The companies must first be sure of making a reasonable profit in such a venture. The Government of Quebec is interested in a railroad for the benefit of all the province but cannot build this railroad. As I have said, it is up to the mining companies.

Johnny Peters: One more question. I know Northern Quebec is not the only place short (of a railroad?) I know the Provincial employees do not get paid for overtime. It is not so for other government employees.

- Neville:** The normal work week is 48 hours but up to 72 hours a week can be paid.
- Johnny Peters:** In Northern Quebec, Eskimos who have worked over 42 hours a week but have not been paid a higher rate for the overtime hours.
- Robitaille:** The normal work week is 48 hours and overtime to 72 hours may be paid. It's possible that the people of whom you speak did not work 48 hours - it depends on the amount of work.
- Johnny Peters:** I know they say this but I have not seen this. They get paid time and one-half only on holidays. For the Federal Government, the work week is 48 hours paid at normal time. Time worked on a holiday is paid at double time and one-half. Other overtime is paid at time and one-half.
- (Reporter's note: The truth is that the Federal Government employees subject to Prevailing Rates have a normal work week of 40 hours, that is, 8 hours a day from Monday to Friday, incl. Four hours of overtime paid at time and one-half are worked on Saturdays. Time worked on Sunday is paid at double time.
- If an employee does not work on a Statutory holiday, he is, of course, paid 8 hours normal for that day. Any time actually worked on a holiday is paid at time and one-half which accounts for the statement that double time and one-half is paid on a holiday.)
- Robitaille:** The rates of pay are different but an adjustment is to be made.
- Neville:** The rates of pay of the two governments are not the same. The rate also depends on the job performed.
- Johnny Peters:** Which rate of pay will be used when the Province of Quebec becomes the sole administrator?
- Robitaille:** In the report made to Charlie Watt, it is clearly stated that the Province will pay wages and benefits equivalent to those being received now.
- Charlie Watt:** Copies of the report have been given to all concerned.
- Peter Abraham:** (Translates into Eskimo the portion of the report dealing with wages and benefits.)
- Charlie Watt:** What about overtime pay?
- Robitaille:** The report applies there, too.
- Johnny Peters:** Is it impossible to start now to pay the Provincial employees those rates?
- Robitaille:** The rates paid are in accordance with the collective agreements negotiated from time to time. I cannot say yes or no. The question is being negotiated and new agreements will provide for higher wages, possibly higher than those now paid by the Federal Government.
- Johnny Peters:** I was not asking for myself nor for the men alone but also the women. Some men have worked at night and the rates have been low.
- Robitaille:** According to Mr. Ouellette, the men were paid the same hourly rate at night but were paid for more hours than actually worked to compensate.

Johnny Peters:

I've been told this by others: "I've worked so many hours and was only paid so much." This is why I asked the question.

Also I would like to say that Eskimos are not people who cannot open their eyes and should not be treated as though their eyes were shut all the time.

I would like to speak again this evening.

Fort Chimo

General Meeting

Provincial School

March 17, 1970

8:10 p.m.

Johnny Berthie

It is past the hour (8:10) and time to begin.

Ed Gordon, Sr.:

This has been my land for a long time and I know it very well. I'm going to speak now. Since 1941, I have piloted ships up river. I started training then. I don't take the wheel. The ship comes slowly upriver, that's the safe way to do it, and I tell the helmsman which way to go. The house I live in is my own and I built it. It seems the older people are the strangers while the younger people have the new houses. I am an old man now - 77 years of age. I do have a space heater as an auxiliary heater but my cooking is done on a wood stove. Every year, new houses are built and I am still in my old house. I don't feel very well about this. I feel it is part of my responsibility for putting all the new things on the land as a pilot of the ships. I think about getting a new house as I can no longer get wood as I used to. I'm not trying to withstand anyone. I know about the Province of Quebec people coming now from the other side. The first people from the other side were the English speaking people and then the second company arrived and tried to manipulate fur prices. At the same time, I knew that Révillon Frères did not belong to the Province of Quebec, that they came from overseas.

I also want to say a few words about my father who knew the customs of the white men, Indians, and Eskimos as though they were one people. My father told me of the times they would harness the dogs at night to leave early in the morning and beat the other teams to the camps and get the furs. My father's dogs were used by the Company. They seemed to be the only dogs owned by the company, they were so big. This is how it was and I have gone up the Koksoak to the Indian camps to try to pick up the fox furs. This is almost like it happened yesterday.

Nwille:

I wish to speak to Ned about Housing. This year, the Federal Government is starting its housing program in this part of the North. It seems the program will take several years. We hope for speed. The hope is that we can accomplish in one or two years what we had hoped to accomplish in 4 or 5 years. It's just a hope and I will see what can be done to hasten the program. To-day, I heard that 5 or 6 houses will be built in Fort Chimo in the fall of 1970. We are trying to get more houses for all communities in the North. The Community Councils will decide who gets the new houses first because the Councils know the circumstances of the Eskimos better and are better able to judge who is the most in need. I know the Council will study Ned's case closely.

Johnny Peters:

Last summer, the Council tried to do so. We tried to put Ned Number One on the list but were vetoed by the Administrator.

Nwille:

The Council will see whose circumstances are the most desperate. This new Administrator understands it is the Council which will decide who gets a house.

Johnny Peters:

If what you say is true and things turn out that way, it will be very good. It was not good in the past when our traditions were disregarded.

For all I have to say for now. Someone else may wish

Mark Angnatuk:

I am the last one to know what it was really like. I was a four old one but I know what it was really like. It seems I may have been one with no mind (or unable myself). There are just the four of us and the fourth is a woman. There are four although I am the only one speaking. Because I sometimes forget words, I have refrained from speaking and the young ones have done all the talking. I remember well when the Révillon Frères first came here. This is what I want to speak about. It should not be something that is not spoken about. The way things were done in the times of our fathers is not the way we want things done now. The white men we knew helped us with ammunition so we could hunt for food. We knew nothing about government. The customs that were in those days I know are valuable for to-day. Although I have a lot to say, perhaps I should not. I may be in the way of someone else who wants to speak. No one, myself, Ned, Ned Segual, or anyone else who really know how it was in the old days. The things we brought to sell used to be worth nothing. About the fox skins, when I heard to-day about prices, I said to myself: "It was not like that at all." For a white fox, all we got was 1/4. That's how it was in those days even though we did not wish it so. We knew nothing about the Government. As far as the price of white fox went, no one could even say (bid) \$1.00. Up until today fox prices are a bit better. With Révillon Frères you could not get \$1.00 although prices went up a bit when they first came to the country. These were not customs by choice. My father got food through hunting. Now we have been overtaken by the white man and we are grateful for in those days our way of life was not a good way of life. Now it seems that with the coming of whites (when Révillon Frères came?) things were better but when the Company left, for two winters, the Eskimos starved. When the Company first came, it was good. It helped the Eskimos with food but after some time things became bad and there were two years of starvation after the Company left. Those that starved to death numbered almost twenty. Then later, the Americans came and the Eskimo race here was saved and did not disappear. It's no wonder one of the four is blind - he knows very well whereof I speak.

Ned Gordon, Sr.:

Because the Americans came, the Eskimos got food and starvation stopped. At that time I worked on the boats. Because my father had money, we were all right and were able to buy food and ammunition. In winter, we were able to get advances-called "wages" from the Americans. When the Americans came to the station, I piloted the ship. When the Americans first came, I didn't stop even during the night because there were so many ships. They came for me one night because of an accident to a white man who had been badly hurt by a bear. They did not have a doctor to go down the river at night so they got me to take him to the base to the mouth of the river where there was a ship with a doctor. I received \$275.00 for one night's work. That's the highest pay I ever received for a night's work.

Johnny Berthie:

We're here to arrive at mutual understandings, not to relate old times. The old times are known. We must go ahead to what is better, talk about things that lead to mutual understanding. We should start now to try to understand what

has been said to-day. To gain a better understanding of the future is what we should discuss, not the past. I don't know how we can understand although we understand some things. The other government and Quebec try to work together. I have heard they want to work more closely together, as one, to help the people. How, is what we want to understand; but it is hard for us to understand this, how it might be done. We know the Government helped us first and are grateful. It was not the Government of Quebec. Now we have heard that the Province of Quebec is here and should look after all Quebec. The two Governments have said that the Eskimos will be looked after the same as before. If this is true, it would be all right but, later, if things changed we would consider it bad and would cause people to be upset. Speak if you wish.

Robitaille:

Mr. Neville and I have been told about this fear of what will happen later. I understand this fear because in fact the Government of Quebec has not been in the North very long and the Federal Government is better known. Since it is a job of the Provincial Government, I think provincial services will be better and will not cause regrets. Guarantees have been given by both Governments. It will be best for the future government services.

Neville:

Concerning the two governments' working together, I wish you to understand what the two governments have in mind. This is why we, Mr. Robitaille and I, are here. We are still looking at ways to work more closely together. Everyone in this room knows the two governments have not worked as closely together as they might have in the past. Because of this, we feel the Eskimos have not achieved as much as they might have if both governments had worked closely together. We spoke of this in other settlements. In Leaf Bay, both Governments can see they can work together and provide a better service. We learned that the (Federal) Social Assistance program in Leaf Bay was administered from the Fort Chimo office. This was not good when, in Leaf Bay, there is a Provincial Agent who is more aware of the needs of the people. All then agreed to have the (Federal) Social Assistance program in Leaf Bay administered by the Provincial Agent. It's still a Federal program but it is administered by the Province of Quebec. A better job is done and it is less expensive since it obviates the necessity of the Federal Government's paying a man in Leaf Bay to do the job. We hope the two governments will work closely on the housing program this summer. There are other examples but these are two examples in which the two governments can work together for the betterment of the Eskimos.

We invite the suggestions of Eskimos regarding ways in which the two governments can work together.

Johnny Berthie:

I don't really understand. Will there be two administrators?

Neville:

For the time being, there will be two administrators but, in the right circumstances, the functions of the two administrators will be combined under one administrator.

Johnny Berthie:

I think I understand now.

Robitaille:

Here is a simple example. At Payne Bay, the Eskimos said they needed a tractor for urgent work, a light tractor for road work and to haul water. There is no tractor at Payne Bay but the Province has one at Koartak. We are thinking of sending it to Payne Bay next summer and the Federal Government may pay the operator and provide the fuel. This would be a combined operation. There are more important

things in which both governments can work, together. Mr. Neville and I asked about closer co-operation at the teachers' conference; the Province is to try to collaborate more with the Federal Government. Teaching staffs of both governments are to meet and discuss ways to achieve better results.

Neville:

Here is a further example of co-operation. The George River Eskimos want a community hall and have asked both governments to help build it. Neither Government has enough money by itself to build it but we hope that by joining resources, we can give some assistance. We will see what can be done about this.

Robitaille:

I feel it is necessary to explain closer co-operation between both governments. Even if the employees of both governments get along well, this is not enough. It must be so at all levels of government in the South. This has been difficult to do in the past with the Federal government working in Ottawa and the Provincial Government working in Quebec City, these cities being the seats of government. However, the Federal government has offices in Quebec City also, and, for better co-operation, is sending a staff to Quebec City. Mr. Neville will be one of these. The Federal government will be closer to the D.C.N.Q. to work for the Eskimos of Northern Quebec.

Jako Anagnatuk:

The Eskimos may be deceived to a far greater degree when both governments work together. You have completed agreements in the way you speak. When you come to work together in the city, it must be as you have said - work together for the good of the Eskimos for a long time.

Charlie Watt:

I must speak now because of what Jako has said. You say the two governments will work together. How long will this collaboration last?

Robitaille:

It will be as mentioned in the Minister's letter until Quebec becomes sole administrator.

Charlie Watt:

For how long?

Robitaille:

The decision has not been made yet.

Charlie Watt:

We wish to know how long there will be a joint administration and the reply seems to be one year.

Robitaille:

The reply is that the governments don't know. Instead of the former date of April 1, 1970, an undetermined period of joint administration has been agreed upon by both Ministers. The date of ultimate sole administration by the Province of Quebec is not known yet.

Watt:

Will the Eskimos be told when you do know?

Robitaille:

The answer is yes. Both Mr. Neville and I are coming back soon. There will be no change in education next September. Both Governments are to work more closely together, thinking of ways to accomplish more and not thinking of target dates.

Watt:

Will the Eskimos be informed of the steps as they occur?

Robitaille:

I think I speak for both of us. In March, 1969, when the Federal Government asked Quebec if it was willing to become sole administrator in the North of the Province, it was agreed that the Eskimos would be party to the meetings before any decision was made.

Neville:

It is also my understanding that Eskimos are already involved. There have been meetings in the South and the North with Eskimos and we are meeting with you here.

Watt: The letter from the two Ministers suggests the decision has already been made. This may be done by people who don't know the Eskimos. When we ask, we are told: "It's already in the documents." If you are asked and you say it is in the documents, say why so we can try to understand. We try to understand what is written in the documents and if there is something we don't understand, we ask questions and require answers.

Robitaille: We try to answer the questions but what does Charlie refer to? What point? I would like to answer correctly.

Watt: I'm talking about the documents we saw in Montreal (given to us in Montreal). We stopped before we were finished and it's not sufficient for me.

Neville: Charlie, is it something specific in the documents?

Watt: At the education conference, they asked and were told: "It's in the documents." They were not properly answered.

Neville: Would you like us to go through the proposals on education? Is that what you refer to?

Watt: I wish to know how education will be handled.

Neville: I can explain it now or at the next meeting. In September, (1969) the question on education could not be answered, as Bill 63 was not passed until November. I can explain all this tomorrow.

Watt: We will try to ask questions about this. We tried before to ask but we didn't know about Bill 63. It's new and not in the documents.

Berthie: Adjourned until next meeting at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow.

	Fort Chimo	Provincial School
		March 18, 1970
Johnny Berthie:	General Meeting	9:50 a.m.

Robitaille: I understand the Eskimos wanted to know about education in the future. Is this correct? If so, I'm prepared to speak on that subject. Is there another subject you wish me to speak about?

Watt: Others would like to talk. Education can wait.

Mark Angnatuk: We have been talking about education. It's almost all we have talked about. It's not the only thing that should be talked about. Although some people don't want to hear about the past, I want to talk about the past a bit more, about how it was. My question is: is the Federal Government, the government we have known before, giving us away to the Provincial Government? It's what I think. The Federal Government is using us as though we were for sale to the Provincial Government; as if the old government got us back on our feet through our stomachs but at the time we needed help, Révillon Frères left us; as if the Federal Government is abandoning us and the other government, why is it (Quebec) here now? When we were hungry it was not there. It's not good enough for us. The Federal Government is using us as trade goods to be sold to the Provincial Government. We don't want the Federal Government to give us up. Even though it's twenty years only, it got us back on our feet. The Government of Quebec was not here when we needed help. It's coming in now that we are on our feet. I have heard the Province of Quebec wants to be administrator. Now I have questions about hunting rights. I have heard that when the Province of Quebec is the administrator, we will have to pay a license to hunt, but game represents our food since the dawn of time. We used to live on meat only but now we eat the white man's food along with meat. Regarding the French fur company, I heard that they left us for no good

reason at all. They imported food - it was very expensive. The reason they left is that they couldn't pay for the food they had imported during the last two years in the country. The Révillon Company helped the Eskimos a great deal with food. When they left, we had some young people starve to death. I'm not ignorant about this. The Province of Quebec will be good at the start but later they won't be able to pay and will abandon their responsibilities. That's all I have to say now. I will speak again later.

Neville:

I have some comments to make. The first is regarding this Province being sold. I want all the people to know that no one is being bought or sold in the arrangement for the provision of services by the Province of Quebec. This is very important and I must stress this point. Here is an example. I will repeat what has been said in other communities. If I own a skidoo and sell it, it is no longer mine and I am no longer responsible for whatever happens to it. The man who has bought it is responsible. It is not the same with the Eskimos. The Federal Government is not selling them and is not giving up responsibility for them either. The Province, in accepting to provide services is not buying the Eskimos. What the Federal Government is saying is: "Will you provide services to the Eskimos? If you do, we are still interested as we retain responsibility to see that the services are good." The Province of Quebec says much the same thing: "We will provide but you retain responsibility in this field." This is very important. I wish to explain it as best I can. There is little difference between what the Federal Government has asked the Federation of Co-operatives to do and what it is asking the Government of Quebec to do. In both cases, the Federal Government says: "Will you provide services on our behalf?"

I think I have covered the point as best I can.

Johnny Peters:

We heard you would be making this tour but I haven't heard anyone expressing agreement. Now we know the Province of Quebec is coming and I am pleased about that. We hear there are 3,200 Eskimos in Northern Quebec. You have come here to listen to what the Eskimo thinks and take it back to the Governments. It seems that when the two governments have made up their minds, they will expect the Eskimos to just go along with it. The Federal Government has helped us a lot but now, it looks like it is giving us away. I think it would be better if we had our own government.

Robitaille:

I will speak first of what Johnny Peters has said. The number of Eskimos in Northern Quebec is approximately 3,500, not 3,200.

Johnny Peters:

The number 3,200 is what we saw in the documents. Have 300 children been born since 1969.

Robitaille:

Our present figures are more accurate. The 1969 documents used figures of one or perhaps two years ago.

Johnny Peters:

I did not wish to start an argument. I was just using the figures mentioned in the documents.

Robitaille:

Nor did I wish to start an argument. I just wanted to give the more recent information.

What is more important is that you have mentioned having your own government. As mentioned last Sunday, we have heard this in other settlements, this desire on the part of Eskimos to govern themselves.

Johnny Peters:

I said this because the Greenland people have their own government. It seems this would be a good thing.

Robitaille:

Mr. Neville and I have said both governments want to help Eskimos in the fields of education, business administration, etc. The Eskimos were the first occupants of the country and the Province of Quebec wants to help them. Both governments want Eskimos to learn to administer their own affairs. Regarding the Co-operatives, the Eskimos know the first one was started at George River in 1958 and the Federal Government helped a lot in its establishment. From then until 1967, more Co-operatives opened throughout Northern Quebec. Both Governments helped financially and technically by teaching the Eskimos how to operate the Co-operatives. The Province of Quebec has been in the Co-operative picture since 1962. In 1967, the Co-operatives were united in the Federation of Co-operatives. Both governments still help but the Federation is run by Eskimos. Mr. Peters' statement about Greenland is true. They have their own government. The Danish Government has helped the Eskimos in Greenland. The Province of Quebec can do the same. It's a matter of organizing and getting together with the Eskimos.

Johnny Peters:

This is something all the people will be very glad to hear, to have our own government. It's not just for us but for our descendants. The people doubt because we don't have the knowledge now.

Robitaille:

May I answer Mark Angnatuk's questions now? Regarding the hunting rights of Eskimos, in 1912, Quebec obtained the land under the Boundaries Extension Act of that year which also bears on the special rights of Eskimos in connection with Northern Quebec. Their hunting rights are preserved because Eskimos were the first residents of the North of the Province. This is in both the Federal and Provincial laws. The same has been asked in other settlements. Fish and game are Provincial responsibilities under the British North America Act. Therefore, since 1912, all the fish and game regulations in all of Quebec have been regulations of the Province. Since that time, Eskimos have not been prevented from hunting and fishing to earn their living nor has the Government asked Eskimos to buy any licenses to fish, hunt, and trap. I do not understand why the Eskimos should be fearful now. This should not change even if Quebec should become the sole administrator in Northern Quebec.

I understand, also, that there will be no change in the coastal water nor on the islands. These are federal or territorial. The Province is much more interested in helping the Eskimos to preserve the faunal resources of the North. Regarding the fishing industry, the government has sent biologists to help use the resources rationally so as not to wipe them out completely. There is fishing in Fort Chimo. As you know, biologists study the fish population and recommend the amount to be taken each year to preserve the fishing grounds so that the Eskimo can benefit from them for many, many years.

Neville:

Mr. Robitaille has been called away briefly. He wished to answer the question of why the Quebec government came into its north only in recent years. I will try to answer it. Most Eskimos seem to feel that Quebec is the only Province which seemed to notice its Northern residents only in the past few years. In fact, the same is true in all Provinces and I will explain why. It was only in 1912 that responsibility for the northern part of the Provinces was given to the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba. Before that time, people in the south of the Provinces did not see that they had any responsibility for Northerners, most of whom were Indians. The land did not even belong to the Provinces before 1912. It was much the same in the other Provinces, not having much to do with the North nor the people who lived there. In 1914,

war was declared in Europe, a World War, which lasted four years until 1918. During that time, the only thoughts were of war, not of the north. From 1918 to 1940, people began to be interested in the northern part of the provinces but communications were difficult. At that time, it was very hard to make money and many people were very poor for many years. Many white people started to leave and the Provincial Governments had very little money. They certainly want to try to develop the north-
west part of the Provinces. This period of difficult times lasted about ten years.

When the Second World War broke out in Europe and, once again, the thoughts were only of this war. But with war came the airplane and thoughts of the necessity for protection. Soldiers were sent to the North to prevent a surprise attack from that quarter and, in doing that, southern Canadians began to understand the North and the people who lived there. As most know, that war ended in 1945. A few years later, around 1946 or 1947, all governments said they must start to provide services for the North. Since then, the Provincial Governments have been trying to exploit the resources and provide all services. It takes a lot of time and money to develop resources. It's only in the past 10 or 15 years that all provincial governments have really started to provide services and this is still going on. The Federal Government said it would try to provide services but the provinces could do so.

Quebec looked and wants to provide services; Ontario does the same. The Federal Government is talking to all the Provinces about these matters now and has been doing so for the past several years. In 1965, an agreement was reached between the Province of Ontario and the Federal Government regarding northern services. Other provinces give some services to Indians on behalf of the Federal Government. The Federal Government has asked Quebec to provide services because this should be a Provincial responsibility and Quebec can do a better job. The Federal Government will not walk away, turn its back. It is still interested in Eskimos but wants the Provincial government to act on its behalf.

It is true of all Provinces - they have all been late in coming to the North.

(While speaking, Mr. Neville pointed to various areas on the map.)

Mark Angnatuk:

We won't be able to go to all those places you spoke about. We are interested in our own land. I'm still not fully satisfied regarding the hunting rights. I'm still afraid we'll be told to buy licenses later on.

Robitaille:

Perhaps the money is not sufficient. Who is saying this about the money?

Zachariasy Tukkiapik:

When at Bob May's camp on the George River, a Quebec Game Warden said this.

Robitaille:

Did he say this to Eskimos or to the tourists?

Tukkiapik:

I was told this by Bob May who was relating what the Game Warden had said.

Robitaille:

I will verify this but if he said what you say, I think he was wrong.

Tukkiapik:

The Wardie came to Fort Chimo and said he had heard the Eskimos had taken 500 caribou and expected them to be getting cut when he came here. This is the reason for our plans regarding the hunting rights. Eskimos gain their food hunting at considerable danger. If it's true that we have to pay for a license, we won't have enough food. It's not possible to harvest any crops so hunting is the only source of natural food we have. If the requirements are respected, the living will be easier and the Eskimos will be happier.

Robitaille:

I'm not sure of the details. Now we know the cause of the problem. I will check on this and hope to be able to say more on this matter before the meetings end.

Johnny Berthie:

Adjourned the meeting at 12 noon.

Fort Chimo
General Meeting

Provincial School
March 18, 1970

(Detained at office by long
2:20 p.m.)

distance call and arrived at meeting while Charlie Watt was speaking. Probably did not miss very much of his statement.)

Charlie Watt:

.....Eskimos' feelings are ignored. I'm not speaking for Fort Chimo Eskimos but people all around the coast say this also. It seems to the Eskimos that they are treated like animals - turned which way the white man wants them to go. If the white man had not continuously come to the North, perhaps the Eskimos would be better off. They could look after themselves. I think the Federal Government is responsible for (putting Eskimos in) settlements and now is abandoning its responsibilities. The white men come in to do jobs Eskimos can do such as truck driving. They think of the Eskimos as lazy. They have never been given an opportunity. How would the white men feel in their own land if people did the same to them, came in to laugh at them. It's no wonder the Eskimos are tired. They should speak out. The white man has taken the Eskimo's land - this also is not good. If you think I am alone in these thoughts, ask others; they share my thoughts.

Neville:

Does anyone else wish to speak before we reply to Mr. Watt?

Mark Angnatuk:

What I have to say is not pleasant. It seems we don't know French. The medical staff is French and they seem to be laughing at the Eskimo workers in the hospital. Is this something they are encouraged to do by their superiors? I'm just an Eskimo and they are just Eskimos. I don't know the customs. I don't encourage my children to laugh at them. I find that the French-speaking medical staff are the ones who have gone too far, making a joke of the Eskimos. There are others who just make a joke of fellow-workers who are Eskimo. That's all I have to say for now.

Robitaille:

I wish to echo the Mark Angnatuk. I'm surprised to hear this about the medical staff. It's true the medical staff is French. I am French. Most of us like to make jokes between ourselves but we are not necessarily joking about people. It's hard to believe that they would laugh at the Eskimos. If this is true they should have stayed in the South; if it is true, they should not be here. It is certainly not the instructions of their superiors that they should laugh at the Eskimos. I will see the Doctor and check the situation. If it is as stated, I will take steps to see that there is no repetition.

Angnatuk:

Even if you ask him, he won't tell you the truth. He has seen them laughing.

Robitaille:

Instructions will be issued so that their jokes will not seem as though they are directed at the Eskimos.

Neville:

Regarding Mr. Watt's comment that, if given the opportunity, the Eskimos can manage their own affairs, the two governments would agree and both wish to assist you in every way possible to gain management over your own affairs. Most of you understand, I think, that you cannot achieve this by turning your back on either government. You need both governments to realize all your desires. We heard about your interest in the land, about its riches being developed. This cannot happen without the involvement of both governments. The Eskimos say they are interested in more opportunities to make a living. They need help in this respect and this is particularly true in the North of this country. Both governments are assisting. Here you have a hospital, houses will be built in addition to the ones already built, allowances are paid, etc. This is not to say you are completely dependent on the government but all people need the government to provide all kinds of different services. None of us can choose his government. I am a resident of Ontario and I must abide by the laws of Ontario and so it must be with the residents of Quebec.

Watt:

There are two governments. Do we have a choice of which one will provide services? You have not answered. Say yes or no. Do we have a choice?

Neville:

I am trying to answer but I must explain it in my own way.

Watt:

Are you not using an Eskimo custom now, not saying yes or no?

Neville:

It may be so. I hadn't noticed.

The Government of Canada says to the Province of Quebec: "Will you provide services on our behalf?" Quebec answers: "Yes." This is believed to be the best way to do things provided certain guarantees are given and satisfied. Before Quebec becomes the administrator, both agree that the Eskimos must be consulted as they are involved in the bringing about of this arrangement.

I will throw the question back at you: why would you refuse the arrangement with all the guarantees?

The two governments met again last fall and said they were not ready to transfer administration. The Eskimos said they were not ready but they have a voice in the proceedings. That voice is being heard now.

Watt:

Is the Eskimos' voice being recognized by the governments?

Neville:

All the voices are heard. Yes. The governments listen which is why the arrangement has been delayed.

Robitaille:

I would like to answer Charlie as I see it, as a representative of the Provincial government. Each citizen in this country has two governments, the Federal Government and the Government of the Province in which he lives and, in that sense, there is no choice. It is not the same regarding the extension of provincial services. There is no way out, no choice of government but it is another thing regarding the extension of services. The Eskimos can express their views on government services. In 1964, the two governments said they would consult with the Eskimos on when and how the extension of services by Quebec could be brought about.

- Watt: How long will this relationship last?
- Robitaille: This relationship has been in effect since 1867. There is no thought of changing it.
- Watt: What about the Separatists?
- Robitaille: It is true that in the south, there is a Separatist party led by Mr. Levesque. This party wants Quebec to be apart from Canada yet still have certain ties with the country. The Government of Quebec as well as the Liberal party, the Opposition, are opposed to the idea.
- Watt: Mr. Levesque was a member of the government at the time of the discussions.
- Robitaille: This is true - he was a member of the Liberal party. He was not its leader.
- There are some in other parts of the country who would like to separate from Canada and perhaps join the United States. British Columbia is an example. I would like to return to the question of a choice. The reason why the two governments met in 1964 was not to choose the government to be the administrator but to discuss the extension of services and to study ways to bring it about. They entered into an agreement whereby the Federal Government would retain its jurisdiction over Eskimos but was prepared to have the Province of Quebec extend services to Eskimos on behalf of the Federal Government. Guarantees were given by both governments regarding religion, language, services, the provisions of the Boundaries Extension Act of 1912, economic ties with other Eskimo groups. Finally, the agreement said that the Eskimos were to be informed of plans and the reactions of Eskimos to these plans obtained before any arrangement were passed. This is being done now and will be done for some time to come.
- Johnny Peters: The Eskimos' voice must be heard.
- Robitaille: The voice will most certainly be heard.
- Johnny Peters: It must be heard by the upper echelons of government in the South.
- Neville: Your voice and thoughts are being reported to both Ministers.
- Robitaille: A true report is being made of your questions and the answers we have tried to give.
- Watt: On the same question, if there are some who do not want Quebec to be the administrator, will the Federal Government pay to move them elsewhere?
- Neville: There is already provision for the Federal Government to assist in moving Eskimos but it must be for a defensible reason. The Federal government does help Eskimos move for health and economic reasons. These are good reasons. My impression is that there would be no assistance when a family wants to move just because it doesn't like the government of the Province of Quebec; because it's reasonable for the Federal Government to think that if guarantees are given, the services are bound to be good. Do you understand why the Federal Government feels this way?
- Watt: Yes. How would the white men like it and I will use the children as an example or test. The children have been in school for four years and have not learned anything. Do you think this is good?

- Robitaille:** Do you refer to children in the Provincial School?
- Watt:** Yes.
- Robitaille:** How do you know they haven't learned anything?
- Watt:** I told you yesterday that they can't say the numbers or colours.
- Robitaille:** Can you tell the numbers and colours in French?
- Watt:** No, because I can't speak French.
- Robitaille:** Then how do you know the children can't say the numbers and colour in French?
- Watt:** Because I've been told.
- Robitaille:** By whom?
- Watt:** I can't tell you.
- Robitaille:** You can't tell me but I must know.
- Watt:** Do you want me to bring a child here?
- Robitaille:** No, I don't think it would be a good thing to have a child here.
- This is a serious accusation by Mr. Watt. I would like the opinion of other Eskimos regarding their children.
- Jako Angnatuk:** I said this before and it should already have been written down.
- Tommy Saunders:** I, too, have said this when I spoke of moving my child from the Provincial school to the Federal School.
- Johnny Peters:** Some have been in school five years and do not speak French. In the Federal school, the children are way ahead.
- Robitaille:** As I told you before, the children receive instruction in Eskimo, only, for the first three years. It's certain that from grade three to grade five, they cannot learn as much French as in five years.
- Zachariasy Tukkiapik:** I have a child in 5th year. He should be able to speak some French but when he is brought back to the Provincial school he says he does not want to go because he is tired of going back to the same thing.
- Charlie Watt:** This should be investigated by an inspector of schools.
- Zachariasy Tukkiapik:** When a child is growing, the child can learn his native language and syllabics from his parents. It only takes one month. My child has been colouring. He should have learned more if he had been taught properly. The only book the parents can teach is the Bible.
- Sandy Gordon:** Would you listen? We are meeting to reach an understanding but we are at odds. I have nothing to say about that subject. These two men have come here to give us information. We have spoken of schools only.
- Johnny Watt:** The people are tired of talking of school, especially the older ones who never went to school. It is interesting for me. We are not going back. The children's future is tied up with schooling because the children will be able to do more. Education, for me, is important. We should continue the discussion. What provision is made for those who have finished

for higher education? If they get higher education, will provision be made for more so they can find jobs? If Quebec is the sole administrator, Quebec's money will not be sufficient.

Neville:

I'll start but Mr. Robitaille may want to speak also. As long as the two Governments are together in New Quebec, the Federal Government will continue offering higher and technical education in outside institutions. If Quebec becomes the sole administrator, technical training would also be available in Great Whale River and the southern part of the Province.

Robitaille:

Regarding Johnny Watt's statement, I wish to refer again to the report of the sub-committee on education which states that children should obtain the maximum education.

Regarding the present school, I am surprised to hear that the children have learned only drawing. Mr. Andrew Roy's report two years ago does not coincide with what has been said here.

The suggestion regarding an investigation is a good one and I think we'll have this done.

There is a choice of English, French, or Eskimo, when Quebec becomes sole administrator of schools.

Watt:

Look at page three of the document to which you just referred. We understand that April 1, 1970 is not the date.

Robitaille:

This is correct, as Mr. Neville has said. This was a proposal only. After Mr. Chrétien's visit, he proposed a joint administration to Mr. Allard and no other date was set.

During the next school year, the two schools will continue with the same programs.

Johnny Watt:

I don't understand what was said regarding the school at Great Whale River.

Neville:

I mentioned that Great Whale River is one place where students get technical training. There are other technical schools in the southern part of Quebec. You mentioned children aged twenty and what would be available when Quebec is the sole administrator of the education program.

Johnny Watt:

If they have finished in the Federal School, would they have to attend the school in Great Whale River or other schools before getting a job?

Robitaille:

Mr. Neville referred to the time when Quebec would be the sole administrator. Now the children can go to the Great Whale River school or any other school.

It would depend on the job and what additional training might be required.

Johnny Watt:

If a young child has full education, will he be told he needs training at Great Whale River?

Robitaille:

I'm not certain of the question. There are many trade or technical schools and a child is not forced to attend any but additional training is good to increase job opportunities.

Johnny Watt:

That's not the answer. If a person has finished education here and there is no job, he is told to go back to school but does not want to go....

Robitaille:

If the child has received technical training and there is no job, the training should be such that the child could go anywhere in the country to seek employment.

Neville:

As an example, let us take the case of an 18 year old who has completed grade 6 and does not want further education. He wants a job. How will the government help him here or elsewhere to get a job? Now the Province of Quebec or the Federal are trying to find him a job in the Province of Quebec and both are prepared to help him move to the job. If he wanted to work in the N.W.T. the Federal Government would enquire regarding job availability and, if a job were available, would help get him to it but, depending on circumstances, might expect repayment. We think the Government of Quebec will do the same.

Johnny Watt:

You use grade 6 as an example but I don't know of anyone who is ready to take a job after grade 6. I was thinking of grade 9 or 10. My son was in the Great Whale River school for two years. He was told his education was not sufficient. After Christmas, he came home saying he was not learning any more and was used as an assistant only. So he came home. He went to see Mr. Van Gils but Mr. Beaudoin wrote to Mr. Van Gils saying my son should not have a job with the Province of Quebec.

Robitaille:

If this is so, Mr. Beaudoin was wrong; he had no right to write such a letter. At the start of the school year, had you signed a paper agreeing to keep your son in school for one year?

Johnny Watt:

I don't remember. Maybe his mother signed such a paper. I will ask her. She had more to do with him since he had not finished his education.

Robitaille:

I would like you to do this. Perhaps an attempt was made to get your son to finish his year. This would have been good for him. If Mr. Van Gils kept your son from a job, this was not right at all.

Johnny Watt:

It's very bad. Maybe Mr. Van Gils did it on his own account to cause trouble. Why does the Province not have good supervision over its employees in the field?

Robitaille:

I agree that there should be good supervision over provincial employees in the field offices.

(A discussion followed over meetings and it was agreed to meet again tomorrow at 9:30).

Fort Chimo
General Meeting

Provincial School
March 19, 1970
10:00 hours

- Johnny Berthie: Let us begin. It is 10:00 and we are late in starting. There are not many people here but there may be more later on.
- Charlie Watt: I wish to talk about Bill 63. How will the Eskimos be treated under Bill 63?
- Mr. Robitaille: Bill 63 authorizes both English and French schools and it applies to the entire Province, not just the North. Approval has been obtained for a third school, Eskimo if the Eskimos want it.
- Mr. Watt: Under Bill 63, if the parents do not sign a document at the start of the year, will the children automatically go to the French School?
- Mr. Robitaille: The parents will have to choose the school. Bill 63 does not say that if parents do not sign a document, the children will have to go to the French school.
- Mr. Watt: I know (or think) that if parents in the South do not indicate which school they wish the child to attend, the child automatically is educated in French. Is this what Bill 63 says?
- Mr. Robitaille: In the south, the majority of the people are French speaking. Bill 63 says a person may have a child educated in English but in the circumstances, must sign a document. In predominantly English-speaking areas where mostly English schools are established, the reverse would apply. Thus, in such an area, an English-speaking person who wanted his child educated in French, would have to sign a document. Rev. Clark has gone to get a copy of Bill 63. In Northern Quebec, the Eskimos will have to indicate the school of their choice because neither English nor French is the Eskimos' mother tongue. It's not like it is in the South of the Province.
- Mr. Watt: The majority of Eskimos speak English. Will they still have to indicate the school of their choice?
- Mr. Robitaille: I think so. As in the South, there are people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French and will, therefore, have to signify the school of their choice.
- Mr. Watt: Which language do you think is more important?
- Mr. Robitaille: If you ask me personally, not as a representative of the Quebec Government, I have to say French because the majority of people in Quebec are French-speaking. Bill 63 states that Eskimos are free to choose the school to which they will send their children. I'm saying I think French is more important not because I'm French myself but because you are living in the Province of Quebec and more and more French-speaking people will be coming to the North. However, the choice is the Eskimos' as it is for all people of the Province.
- Mr. Abraham: Since the majority here have been educated in English and the French-speaking seem to be stepping in on the Eskimos, the Eskimos would have to go back.
- Mr. Robitaille: The choice is up to the Eskimos but if English is chosen, the education programs would include some French, Bill 63 contains this provision. Rev. Clark now has an extract from Bill 63 and I wish to quote the relative portion: "Quoted from Bill 63 that portion dealing with courses and the curriculum to include some French."
- Mr. Watt: If through an oversight, no paper is signed by the parents, will the children automatically be taught in French?
- Mr. Robitaille: I don't think this can happen here. In the North, I think the teachers will have to ensure that the parents have indicated their choice.

I can't say much more regarding Bill 63. It is a general Bill. Regulations are being drafted in connection with education but such regulations will have to respect the general principles of Bill 63. The date the choice must be made will be mentioned in the Regulations. The Regulations will be very complex particularly in view of the situation in the South. A few months must necessarily elapse before the Regulations are ready.

Mr. Watt: When the regulations are made, will the parents be advised?

Mr. Robitaille: Yes, the parents will be advised and the Regulations will be explained so that the best choice and a free choice is made. It has been decided that next September is too early a date to effect any change and the Federal school will therefore continue for another year. During the next school year, full explanations will be given concerning the regulations so that the parents may choose the school for the 1971-72 school year.

Mr. Watt: We should understand well because it's a free country and we know our own minds.

Mr. Robitaille: The Eskimos should not confuse Bill 63 with the Education Regulations. All schools are affected by Bill 63. Even if the Federal school were to continue, it would have to operate in accordance with the provisions of Bill 63. It also applies to private schools.

I will send copies of Bill 63 to the Eskimo Council when I get back to Quebec.

Mr. Watt: I asked because the parents require the information.

Mr. Robitaille: I will also send copies of the Regulations to the Eskimo Council so that they can be explained to the parents.

Willie Cooper: I have a few things to say which may be disagreeable. The last time I spoke, I was not completely finished. I have a few more things to say. We are using the Provincial School for a meeting-place - it will be used for education. At the start, for one or two years, a snowmobile was provided to transport the children to school. Now there is no snowmobile provided. It seems to me that transportation is finished. It was provided only for the first two years. (misses a bit concerning this 'marriage of the two governments') I prefer the old government which is in the position of the bride and Quebec is like the new groom.

The police are from the Q.P.P. Since they have been here, the dog population is down. I have seen many of my neighbours' dogs killed by the police. Maybe it will be like this with the Eskimos later on. The dogs were used for hunting. We regret the dogs have been shot. It seems to be part of the operation of the new government. Now I'm finished. Others wish a chance to speak.

Mr. Robitaille: I seem to speak a lot but I must speak more. Regarding Willie Cooper's statement about transportation, I will try to explain. The children were transported to school by the snowmobile for the first year. I believe that then there were a lot of dogs in Fort Chimo which made it quite dangerous particularly for the very young children in Kindergarten.

Willie Cooper: The dogs had pretty well all been shot by then.

Mr. Robitaille: The transportation was provided because of the dogs although some had been shot. However, it was discovered that a short time after being driven home, a lot of the children walked back to the school grounds to play. It was obvious that there was no benefit in transporting them to school when they exposed themselves to the same dangers later. It was decided that the children would be safe one way or another if the young children walked to school.

Willie Cooper:

There are more and more young children ready to go to school. The parents should be informed if transportation is not to be provided.

Mr. Robitaille:

We will review the situation but I'm not making any promise. If some children live far from school, we'll see what can be done.

Now about the killing of dogs. The regulations regarding the tying up of dogs are designed for the safety of humans in the North of Quebec. The same thing applies in the Northwest Territories; it is for safety. The dogs are dangerous if permitted to run loose. They must be tied so people will not be attacked and mauled. This has happened here as you know. I remember one case in particular.

If I were an Eskimo, I would understand the unpleasantness of seeing my own dogs shot. But if I lived here, I would consider the safety of the residents more important than my dogs. It's not just the killing of dogs by the Q.P.P. which has had such an effect on the dog population. The motorized snow vehicle, the skidoo, which is not linked to the shooting of dogs has had quite an effect. Many Eskimos use skidoos and do not feel dogs are so important any more. In other settlements, the law regarding the tying up of dogs has been accepted. Here, it's always been a problem. Perhaps it will be settled in time. However, safety must be our first preoccupation.

Willie Cooper:

The Eskimos try to take care of things belonging to the white men. We feel it should be the same on the part of the white men regarding the Eskimos' belongings. We do this because we believe the white man's things are of value. Can it be the white man thinks the Eskimos' belongings are of no value? I am not finished but I will stop now.

Weshua Makiuk:

The white men are not despised. We have been looked after by the white men for a long time. Eskimos that board people for Quebec do not receive any money. It's not like it was before, because we have difficulty in receiving payment for the patients we board, it seems we are despising the Quebec government and appear to refuse that government. The government of Quebec starts out well and will do as they say at the start. Later on, they would not continue to do so. They speak well now and say what they are going to do. The Eskimos think it may not be like that later on. Because we are almost considered to be their dogs. When it's all right, we normally agree with the white men. It seems as if the White man says: "If we do this and do that, the Eskimos won't mind." I have often gone to the Quebec Centre thinking the Agent is also an administrator. I went there two years ago about my pension and two years have gone by without my receiving it. I was told: "You will get it before Christmas, maybe even next month." The cheques did not arrive. It is now three years since my wife's incapacitation. I went back to the same place and was told again: "This month, if not, next month." The cheques still have not arrived.

I'm not the only one this has happened to. We want something very much and our food goes very quickly. If our food is gone before the pension arrives, this is not good enough. We don't mind about the white man but it takes so long to get these things fixed, we find this insufficient, not good enough. This is the only means of support I have. Even so, the Eskimos do not despise or dislike the white men. If we were listened to by the Province of Quebec and treated equally, beginning now and in the future, we would be less likely to refuse the Government's plans. This is one of the problems.

Others wish to speak so I will stop now.

We don't refuse the white man, we only fear they won't do as they say and we appear to refuse them. We find pleasure in having food and the children find pleasure in having food. This will be a necessary part of the future. We are not really refusing the white men; we are just saying that we want now to be treated equally and for our descendants as well. Because we think like this, we're just Eskimos,

perhaps like dogs. We remember very well what has been spoken. It seems it is forgotten quickly by the white men. If they do as we ask, there is no reason to refuse them. These are my thoughts even though I don't think very well. I still have things I want to say but others want to speak. Maybe I'll speak again later on.

Wijah Watt: Would you say something about the patients boarding in homes?

Mr. Robitaille: We have heard the same remarks elsewhere about boarders. The family provides food for the patient and payment is made when the patient leaves. It is hard for the doctor to say how long a patient from another settlement will be here. We would like to pay at the start but we don't know for how long. We have been told that sometimes there is not enough food in Chimo because there is not enough money. We don't have a definite answer. We are trying to find a way to pay something at the start so food can be purchased. We're sure we'll find a solution and are working on it.

Wijah Watt: You say some have said there is not enough to eat at the start. Who has said this?

Mr. Robitaille: There was one from Koartak and one from Payne Bay. I can find out exactly who and let you know.

Mr. Neville: The people in other communities didn't give any names. They just said there was a problem in this respect.

Wijah Watt: Why didn't they say the names? In the same situation, I would want to know the names.

Mr. Robitaille: I don't know why they didn't give names. I have the name of one from Payne Bay. Do you wish to know?

Wijah Watt: The people I board are usually from Koartak, not Payne Bay.

Mr. Neville: We can understand how there can be a problem when there is no money to buy food immediately. We are working on this problem.

Wijah Watt: When you board, how much do you pay per day?

Mr. Neville: The rates vary all over. They are also different between the two governments.

Charlie Watt: He means how much do you pay in the South?

Mr. Neville: It's the same there - the rates vary.

Mr. Robitaille: I have had occasion to see some documents in this connection. I believe we pay around \$30.00 a week. The rates vary between \$25.00 and \$35.00 a week depending on the circumstances.

Wijah Watt: How many meals a day do you eat.

Mr. Robitaille: Three meals.

Wijah Watt: That is the custom in the South. It is different here. I am an Eskimo; how many times a day do you think I eat?

Mr. Neville: I believe three times but I don't understand the point.

Wijah Watt: If I were a white man and ate three times a day, I would pay \$6.00 dollars. Even if I were paid only \$2.00 a day, I would try to feed the patients well but I would like to receive more.

Mr. Robitaille: In the South, if one paid \$42.00 a week, he would have a very nice room. At \$30.00 a week, the room would not be so nice. Sometimes, when boarding at one place over a long period, one pays a bit less.

Charlie Watt: The cost of food is much higher here than in the South.

- Mr. Robitaille: That is true and the rates are not high enough. Mr. Ouellette has already written the Provincial Government recommending an increase in the board payments.
- Elijah Watt: If this is fixed, it will be an improvement. We have to have milk for the children. It is used up very fast. If it is used up before we get more, this creates a problem. I always took good care of the people in my home. If any have any complaints, they should come to me.
- Mr. Robitaille: The criticism we heard was not of the Eskimos in Fort Chimo but of the Province of Quebec. Everywhere, the Eskimos said that the Fort Chimo Eskimos did their best.
- Elijah Watt: That is right because the Province of Quebec is responsible.
- Mr. Robitaille: We are trying to do something. But you must remember that the rates apply to patients, students, and delegates. Payments cannot be made on behalf of other visitors to Fort Chimo.
- It seems this talk of food has stimulated the appetite and the time to eat has arrived.
- Elijah Watt: I have more to say now before lunch. Twice last year, I was fooled by the Province of Quebec. The first time it was my wife because she is the one who looks after the boarders. We didn't get what we were supposed to get but I got it when I went so that is all right now. The second time was when we had a boarder from Koartak. My wife went but there was no allowance for him as he was working. That was all right with me because I didn't consider him as a source of income.
- (Meeting adjourned at about 12.15)
- Mr. Neville: Mr. Chairman, it is now 2.15 and I think we should start. Tonight will be taken up with the teachers and tomorrow we must meet with the interpreters and the two administrators. Moreover, the time must be limited now to 4 o'clock. This is all the time we have to cover as many subjects as possible. We will return in the months to come and resume the discussions where we left off.
- Mr. Robitaille: I am trying to find out regarding Joshua Makiuk. It seems what is involved is Old Age Assistance but something is not quite right. Mr. Ouellette is checking on this and we should be able to give more information later.
- Charlie Watt: Why did you not say this morning that you were stopping at 4 o'clock?
- Mr. Neville: Because Mr. Robitaille did not know then about his meeting at 4 o'clock.
- Mr. Watt: There will be no general meeting this evening?
- Mr. Neville: No. This evening will be taken up with other meetings.
- Mr. Watt: I have been asked by people who can't come here during the day why there has been no evening meeting. They have a lot of things they would like to say.
- Mr. Robitaille: We wished to have an evening meeting last week but the Eskimos were not ready. Church services on Sunday evening prevented having a meeting then. Monday was spent in meetings at Leaf Bay and that was enough for one day. Tuesday, we had three meetings including one in the evening and that was too much for us, particularly the interpreters. Personally, I found three meetings very hard. However, Mr. Neville and I will be coming back and will resume discussions then.
- Jake Angnatuk: You should not be in a hurry. We haven't said everything we have on our minds. You said before you would try to answer questions before we were finished with the meetings. It seems now that you are in a hurry and that we will be stopped before we are finished.

- Mr. Neville: At the start we said we realized there would not be enough time to discuss each subject fully. We also said we would give Fort Chimo time proportionate to the time given settlements of the same size such as Great Whale River and Pevungnituk. We have now had eight or nine meetings. It is our view that this is reasonable realizing that there is never enough time but that we are returning. This is not the last meeting. There will be others when we come back.
- Johnny Peters: You will be gone for a longer time. These two white men are in a hurry so they should answer right away.
- Mr. Neville: We will do the best we can.
- Charlie Watt: They will think these questions are my own. It is not so. I have a lot of questions that come from a lot of people.
- The first concerns the people who work for the Federal Government. When Quebec is the sole administrator, will they retain their jobs. In the recommendations in the documents, nothing is said about school janitors and he wants to know if the circumstances will be the same. Will the Eskimo employees continue to receive travel warrants, Isolation Pay, and Rations? I would like an answer to the last question first but you don't have to answer the first question as you are in a hurry.
- Mr. Neville: We can answer the last question and give you quick answers to the other two if you wish.
- Mr. Robitaille: The documents contain provision for the equalization of Pay and Allowances. Quebec has Isolation Allowances called by another name - Northern Allowances.
- Mr. Watt: Do the Eskimos who now work for the Province of Quebec receive this Northern Allowance?
- Mr. Robitaille: There is only one receiving that allowance, the Eskimo who works at the Musk-ox station at old Fort Chimo. The others do not receive the Allowance for various reasons. I admit I don't understand some of the reasons myself. Some don't receive the allowance because they are casual workers only. Some in the settlements receive the allowance. The Eskimo teaching staffs get it in the settlements at \$125.00 a month because they are considered regular employees.
- Mr. Watt: What do you call people who have been working for the Province for many years.
- Mr. Robitaille: They are called regular employees. If they do not receive the Northern Allowance, it is wrong. Sammy Tukkiapik is an example. He has been working for the Province for several years and does not get the allowance. This will be corrected as soon as I can do.
- Mr. Watt: If it is decided that he should get the allowance, will it be paid with retroactive effect and will he have to pay Income Tax on it?
- Mr. Robitaille: If the government agrees to pay the Allowance to Sammy Tukkiapik, it will have to consider the question of a retroactive payment for the time he should have been receiving it.
- Mr. Watt: The one you say is the only one receiving the allowance would like to speak.
- Sandy Gordon: Last Fall, I had no knowledge of any other money that should come to me. I was not informed as to whether I was getting the allowance or not so I wonder if the payment I received last Fall would be what you are talking about?
- Mr. Robitaille: Were you working for the Province at the time? For how long?

- Sandy Gordon: Yes. I have been working for the Province since the musk-oxen first arrived. You would know the date.
- Mr. Robitaille: Mr. Ouellette says you are getting the allowance and are the only one who is getting it.
- Sandy Gordon: Thank you very much. My money comes through the manager of the musk-ox station and I didn't know how it was made up.
- Mr. Robitaille: Mr. Ouellette who knows more about this than I do and who prepares the pay for Sandy says the Northern Allowance is included in the cheque but deductions are made for Income Tax, house payment, etc. (At this point he said something which interpreters could not make out.)
- Johnny Peters: He feels the manager of the station does not do as much work as he does and that some of the money he receives should belong to Sandy.
- Mr. Robitaille: This is true to a certain extent. Mr. Bellaar-Spruyt has been hired for a certain limited time in view of his experience in this matter. In time, the Eskimos will be able to manage the musk-ox station themselves.
- Charlie Watt: This is from Bobby Snowball who is not here but who left these words to be said for him. It is about some carvings that were sent to Quebec and were taken. Mr. Robitaille knows that some of the carvings that went outside were taken. Bobby wanted help from the Province of Quebec in this situation but was told that the Eskimos should look after it themselves. If the same is done in the future, they shouldn't be coming here.
- Charlie Kudluk wishes to speak on this matter.
- Charlie Kudluk: This is what Bobby said: he couldn't find anyone to help. He tried to get help from Mr. Robitaille. He was not very happy when he came back home.
- Charlie Watt: Bobby was out and came back and had not heard anything bad. The next time, he brought unpleasant news and was very unhappy about it.
- Charlie Kudluk: Bobby said so now it is true what they have said. Quebec keeps falling back and is not really trying to help the Eskimos. One was of some help before (Peter Murdock) but there was no help or co-operation from him in the south. Now I'm finished.
- Mr. Robitaille: It is too bad Bobby Snowball is not here but I will say what I know. Since the Federation was first founded in 1967, it has been both governments' policy to let the Eskimos run it with as little intrusion from the governments as possible. They continue to assist financially but are not active in Federation affairs. The Eskimos are not happy, now that the two Governments don't want to intrude. I was home one nice Saturday when Mr. Murdock called me for a meeting. Bobby was there and so was Mr. Poitras. We listened. Bobby said Inuk-Canada wanted to buy the collection of carvings belonging to the Federation. The Inuk-Canada offered to buy the collection. One girl, Miss Lavallee, an employee of the Federation wrote quoting a price of \$65,000.00 for the collection. The Eskimos said this was not right, that Miss Lavallee did not ask enough for the collection, that it was worth more. However, the Federation had promised to sell in view of the letter signed by one of its employees and Inuk-Canada wanted to buy.
- Johnny Peters: What Bobby said to me was that carvings which were not for display were stolen. Perhaps these are the ones to which this discussion refers. No help was given but the matter was straightened out after the Federation obtained the services of a lawyer.

Mr. Robitaille:

This is true. Both Inuk-Canada and the Federation engaged lawyers. Help was given by the Provincial Government but it could not tell the Foundation to return the collection in view of the promise made to sell in the letter mentioned before. However, the Provincial government did what it could and the collection was returned to the Federation.

Inuk-Canada is a private concern and has nothing to do with the Provincial Government. The government explained that the carvings should be returned to the Federation and they were returned.

Jobie Kudluk:

I'm going to say something because I have heard what you just said about the carvings. The Federation was not informed about the price mentioned. Miss Lavallee should have asked the Eskimos before writing the letter. That's what they were doing with Eskimo carvings in the South. It could not happen here, in the Eskimos' land, only in the South, in the white man's land. It couldn't be the same here without the Eskimos' knowledge. Will it not happen if Quebec is the sole administrator?

Others have a lot to say and the clock is racing.

Mr. Robitaille:

Regarding Miss Lavallee, she was hired by the Federation and worked for the Federation. When the Federation's Eskimo Board of Directors met, they fired Miss Lavallee because of what she had done without the knowledge of the Eskimos. When Bobby comes back, he will know more but that which I have told you is exact.

Mark Suppa:

This seems so bad. The collection is worth over \$100,000.00. Even though the carvings are worth more than \$100,00.00, they were offered for only \$65,000.00. The Eskimos asked for help but could not get into the building where the carvings were kept. They were told: "It's up to you." This is bad. That's what I heard. I have something else to say.

Jake Angnatuk:

Last Summer I went to Leaf Bay for a week's holiday. I left a net and some cartridges behind. I was never informed if they were sent back here. I learned later that that had been returned and were in the Quebec Garage. I found out they were taken out by aircraft and put in the garage but I was not informed. I went to the police but they said the items were lost. If Quebec is the sole administrator will they not steal in this way? Will the Province of Quebec just be interested in stealing the Eskimo's belongings?

Mr. Robitaille:

I can't explain this. Mr. Ouellette will check to see if he can find out what happened. If someone is guilty, the articles will have to be replaced by that person.

Jake Angnatuk:

That's not the only thing. There were also some people who came to take pictures. One took Elijahapic's rifle. I got there in time to take it back. Some white men seem to want to take the land. They regard Eskimos as animals. In Leaf Bay, I met a white man, a reporter. He was not from Quebec but was an American. On his parka he wore a shoulder flash or badge in Eskimo. I asked him where he got it but he would not say. The flash said that Eskimos are inferior and the white man is superior. Because we are only Eskimos, we should say 'yes' to the white men and get trampled underfoot. You are in a hurry and Tommy Sequaluk wants to speak.

Tommy Sequaluk:

Regarding the carvings. When the Federation started, in 1966, we heard of the plans for the Federation. We were told we would get help from both governments but later on, we would have to go to our own. We were told by Peter (Murdock) this would not happen for ten years. Four years have gone by and, although we are still receiving help, we are still ignorant of many things about the white men. Ten years is too soon. We were told there is nothing to be afraid of, that we would be well looked after. This was said in the beginning. Now, in spite of this, if we are told now we'll have to

go on our own and if something else happens, we may be told again: "You are on your own." The carvings were in a building which employed an armed guard. We are distrustful of Quebec.

Mr. Neville:

Regarding the assistance from the two governments, there is no restriction on the number of years placed by either government to my knowledge. Mr. Murdock may have said ten years but this was his opinion and not necessarily that of the governments.

The view of both governments is they have to help the co-operative movement and the Federation. In our view, this is a good example of the steps the Eskimos should take to manage their own affairs. We heard many in all the settlements we have visited say they want more and more control over their affairs and we believe the Eskimos have succeeded in the co-operative movement.

We are anxious to help but in a way that does not interfere with the way the Eskimos want things to proceed. The two governments offer technical assistance and money. It is up to you as to how you will use this assistance.

I don't know many details concerning what I heard about the carvings but this was a matter between the Federation and Innuk-Canada, a private company in the South. There are many things which are the responsibility of the Federation and not of the government. I hope Mr. Robitaille's statements were well understood. Innuk Canada is not part of either government. It is a private concern which was interested in purchasing the Federation's collection.

Here we listen to ways we can assist and we must say the assistance we are prepared to give must not interfere unduly with the way the Eskimos want to do things themselves.

We have heard: "You don't give us a chance to do things ourselves, to make a mistake ourselves." We are trying to do so.

Johnny Peters:

Are you urging us to have the Province of Quebec which we don't want?

Mr. Neville:

No, I'm trying to say two things. First, we have been listening to the statements regarding the carvings and how we can offer more effective assistance to the co-operatives. We are anxious to give help to the co-operatives and the Federation but we wish to do this in a way that interferes as little as possible with the way the Eskimos want to do things.

Secondly, about the matter of where the Province of Quebec fits in. It seems the Eskimos thought Innuk-Canada, is part of the Province of Quebec but I tried to explain it is not part of the Government of Quebec.

Johnny Peters:

If you don't want to help the Eskimos, you should not be here.

Mr. Neville:

I have listened to a lot of talk about carvings belonging to the Federation. The Federation lost control of the carvings to Innuk Canada. We learned some of the causes. The Eskimos seem to say: "When the Federation lost control of the carvings, why didn't the Government of Quebec do more?"

Johnny Peters:

We are finished with carvings.

Mr. Neville:

Do you want an answer to the question of help from the governments? One point I wish to make is that the Federation of Co-operatives and Innuk Canada are business concerns; the government does not wish to interfere unduly in the affairs of private concerns. Both governments are prepared to give help but both do not wish to interfere in the affairs of the Federation, these are Eskimo affairs.

Johnny Peters:

So that's the answer. Other people have things to say.

Zachariasy Tukkiapik:

Something was said about 1954, about a meeting in 1954. John Gordon was present and said that the Eskimo language, culture, and religion would be safeguarded. This should have been written down and passed on to these two but this was not done. He said Quebec wishes to replace the Federal Government and the English school would not be discontinued even if Quebec replaces the Federal Government because education is very important. All over the world, this is very important, for a person to work on his own, whether Eskimo or white, and even if Quebec is here in Eskimo land, the Ottawa government would not stop as long as the Eskimos did not want it to stop. The Eskimos have said strongly this ought not to be changed so, therefore, we, the Eskimo people, don't agree because we're not yet certain since we have not asked Ottawa to stop. So that's what I say and I'm finished.

Ned Sequaluk:

I wish to know why Quebec has come here. They should have said why they are so anxious to come here. Maybe they want to be like the others who came here first. Will you be better than the old government which was here before? That is my question, if the voice of the Eskimo can be heard. I have been unable to hunt for a long time and have been brought to old age with the help of my fellow Eskimos. All the time, the old government has helped all the Eskimos with food and if Quebec is the only Government here, will they be exactly like this? Perhaps they will be like the French fur company. Will they not obstruct hunting if they are the only ones here? Even if they say they will not, they are not telling the truth. Since the Eskimos are in need of food, there should be no obstacle put in the way of obtaining it. That's what I think, myself.

There is something more. The Quebec Provincial Police's main job seems to be to put an end to things. Is this the way to fix things so that the Eskimos can go hunting by putting an end to things? I can no longer hunt but I have sons who are able to hunt. Even when I could see, I had difficulty getting food and it was a very hard way to make a living and often we were in great difficulties. Because of this, I say "No" to Quebec's coming because there should be no obstacle to people's hunting. The game is not always close and the hunting is dangerous. I knew the French and grew up when the Revillon Frères were here and this is why I join in saying "No" to Quebec's being the administrator. Because we have been made aware of the habits of the French fur company, I believe Quebec will have the same habits. All of us that knew the Revillon Frères Company are saying "No" because we are concerned and will the Eskimos have to give something if they ask for something from Quebec?

So others have a lot to say. If there are any answers, I would like to hear them.

Mr. Neville:

Everything said here is listened to carefully and is being recorded. The record will be looked at by the interpreters to make sure the record is true. We will be reporting to our Ministers in approximately one month. We have been given that much time only to make our report. Some time must elapse while the governments consider the report. The governments' views will be communicated to the Eskimos. Mr. Robitaille and I will be back to resume these discussions.

I wish to thank you for the opportunity of hearing your comments and the questions you have asked.

I have learned some things and have tried to provide information. I hope we were able to answer the important questions.

Mr. Robitaille:

I also wish to thank people for the opportunity of hearing comments and of answering questions. We will be back in a few months to pursue discussions.

Charlie Watt:

We wish to thank you for the opportunity of putting our views before you. It is too bad there is not time to continue the discussions now but that can't be helped. Thank you for the information you have given us.

Johnny Peters:

Thank you. It looks like you people are interested. This has never happened before. We are grateful for the information you have provided.

Mike Angnatuk:

We want you to come back so that we can continue the discussions. We have a lot more things to say.

Mark Angnatuk:

Thank you very much. There was not enough time to listen to everyone including the women. I spoke because I am well known and am in my old age. Take my regards back to your Minister.

Charlie Watt:

Will there be a meeting with the Council?

Mr. Robitaille:

We can have a short one at 9 o'clock tomorrow.

Charlie Watt:

I have a few questions to ask tomorrow.

Note 1:

The team met for approximately one hour with the Fort Chimo Council on the morning of March 20th. The Recorder being absent, no written record was kept of this meeting, although both members of the federal-provincial team kept rough notes.

The discussions on that occasion amounted to a post-mortem of the current series of public meetings held in that community. Members of the Council and of the federal-provincial team agreed on the usefulness of the meetings and determined to continue the process at the earliest opportunity.

Note 2:

T A S I U J A Q
(Leaf Bay)

Provincial House
March 16, 1970

The Recorder being absent, no written record was kept of the proceedings of the meetings in this tiny settlement, although both members of the federal-provincial team kept rough notes.

As in all other settlements the team met first of all with the Eskimo Council and then held two meetings with the community at large, to explain the content of the letter from the Ministers as well as the proposals contained in the documents submitted by the two governments.

There was practically no discussion on these texts. Rather, the topics discussed were of a local character: availability of game resources; health services; administration of social assistance by the local Quebec agent; sports fishing at Finger Lake, etc.

In summary, the Leaf Bay Eskimos expressed satisfaction with present government action in their settlement.

T A I M A I

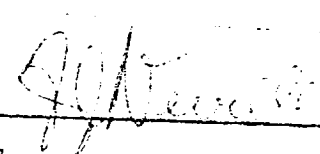
Fort Chimo, Quebec
April 20, 1970

This is to certify that we have read the reports of the meeting held in New Quebec, and that these reports, as amended, are an accurate record of the proceedings, to the best of our knowledge and belief. And we have signed.

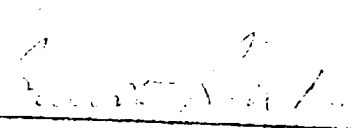
(Original signed by R. Lechat and J.C.M. Clarke, Archdeacon of Ungava)

N.B. We were not present at the meeting of the Band Council in Great Whale River, the record of which comprises the first six pages of these reports.

Respectfully submitted,



F.J. Neville



B. Robitaille

PART III

APPENDICES

1. MINISTERS' LETTER
2. DEMARCATION OF "THE LAND" BY
INOUCDJOUAC ESKIMO COUNCIL

TO THE ESKIMOS OF NEW QUEBEC

For many years our two governments have recognized the desirability of having the Government of Quebec extend to Eskimos in that province all the services and programs which a provincial government normally extends to its residents.

There are many advantages to such an arrangement, but by far the greatest of these is the opportunity it offers to Eskimo people to participate fully in the social, economic and political life of the province. It is not possible for the Eskimo people to realize the fullness of this opportunity as long as they are set aside and dealt with as a separate group within the province.

In 1964, our two governments agreed to work towards this end. The agreement reached at that time was based upon the acceptance by both governments of certain conditions and guarantees to protect the rights and interests of the Eskimo people. You already know what guarantees were given to you by the two governments. However, we will repeat them here. In brief, the two governments agreed to recognize your religious preferences, your language and your cultural heritage, and to ensure that you continue to receive services at a standard at least equivalent to that now provided by the federal administration. It was also agreed that you would be consulted and your views sought on all of these matters.

Although both governments agreed on these things in 1964, and met several times to talk about them, in the years following, detailed discussions on how the provincial government was to provide the services did not get started until the

spring of 1969. Since that time, there have been many discussions among the two governments and the Eskimo people on these matters. Last summer, proposals on how the Government of Quebec was to provide services were translated into your language and sent to your communities for your views and comments. Eskimo spokesmen elected by you in April, 1969 were brought south several times in the past year by our two governments to hear your opinions on proposals that had been made.

We are aware that you still have questions that need to be answered and that some of the Eskimo people do not yet fully understand what these changes will involve. It is obvious that more time is needed to answer your questions and to clear up misunderstandings.

We also propose to make some changes right now in the way our two governments provide services to Eskimo people in Nouveau-Quebec, which we would like to hear your views on. We think that the way services are given now by our two governments is expensive and confusing. Instead of having two separate sets of services and two separate administrative and educational staffs in each community, there should only be one set of services, looked after by one administrator in each community, with one school principal. These services and the staff providing them would be administered and paid for jointly by our two governments. This would be an interim measure, and would allow the Government of Quebec more time to understand how the federal programs work, so that when the transfer takes place that government will be thoroughly familiar with them.

However, we hope you will understand that both governments are convinced that the changes proposed here and agreed to in principle in 1964 will benefit the Eskimo people. We need your help in bringing about these changes and we want to get your views on how they should be carried out.

That is why we have asked two of our officials, Mr. Neville from the federal government and Mr. Robitaille from the Government of Quebec to visit all communities in New Quebec, as soon as possible, to talk with you about these matters and to listen to your views on how best to make these changes.

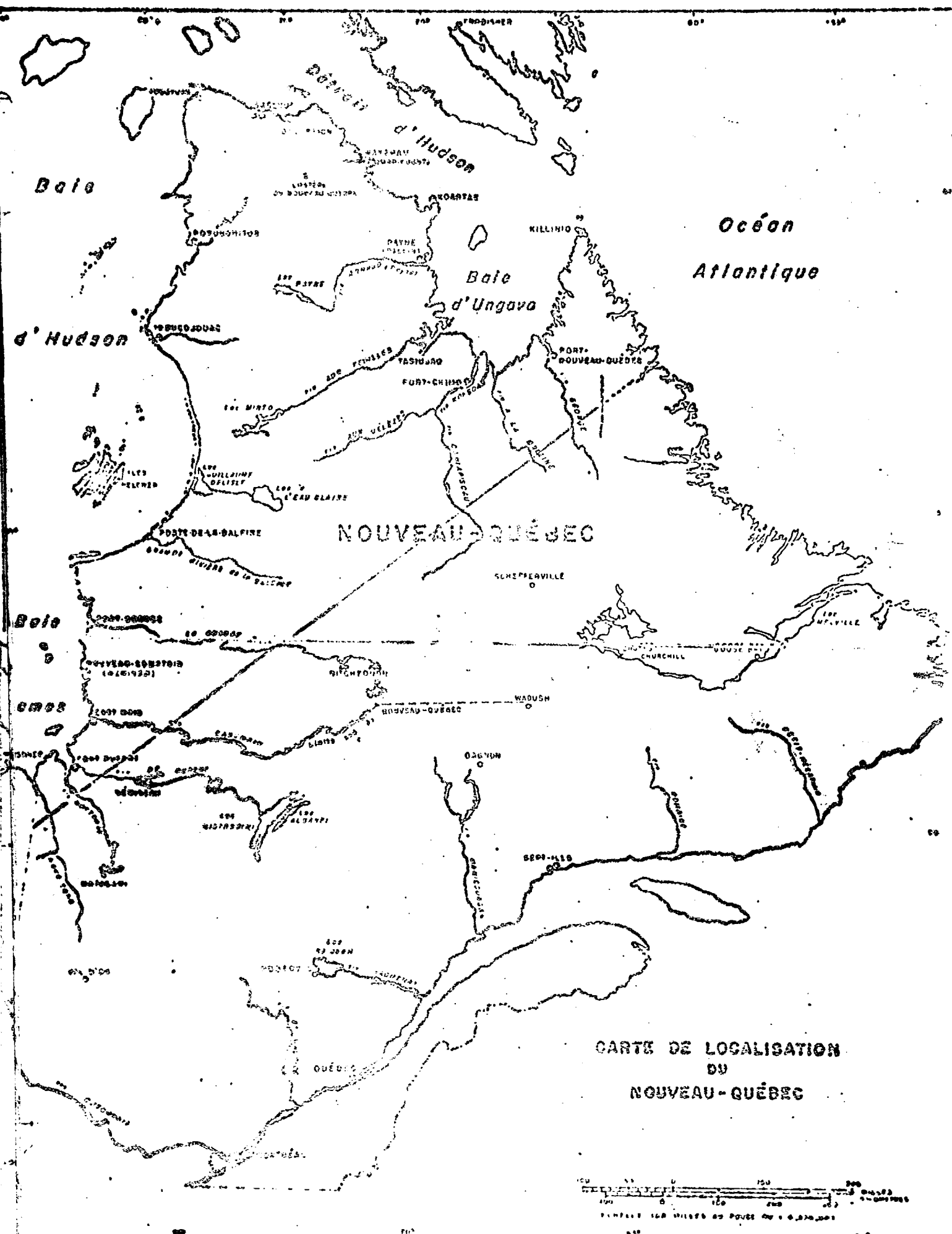


The Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of the Department of
Indian Affairs and Northern Development



The Honourable Paul Allard, Minister of Natural Resources, Quebec

January 27th 1970.



CARTE DE LOCALISATION
DU
NOUVEAU-QUÉBEC

100 0 100 200
100 0 100 200
Echelle 100 MILES EN POUSSES 1:6,250,000

McGill University

Northern Studies

Library

