

# Policing the Arctic: Relations Between the Mounted Police and Inuit in the Eastern Canadian Arctic during Sled Dog Patrols, 1903–45

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper examines relations between the Mounted Police and Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic from 1903 to 1945. It recognizes that although the Mounted Police, as an organization, acted coercively to impose Canadian laws and push Canada's colonial agenda in the Arctic, police officers needed to maintain good relationships with Inuit to do their job and survive Arctic conditions. The paper's overarching objective is to highlight the contribution of Inuit special constables to Canadian Arctic history. We present a careful study of routine and special patrols, as these provide a unique opportunity to gain a better understanding of the role of Inuit special constables and their relationships with Mounted Police officers. The paper presents a series of interactions between these two groups that illustrate the complexity and nuances of their relationship. Drawing on archival work, we also highlight the names of previously unacknowledged Inuit special constables.

**Keywords:** Canada; Arctic; Eastern Arctic; Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP); Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP); sled dog patrol; colonialism; Inuit

**RÉSUMÉ.** Cet article examine les relations entre la police montée et les Inuit de l'est de l'Arctique canadien de 1903 à 1945. Il reconnaît que bien que la police montée, en tant qu'organisation, ait agi de manière coercitive pour imposer les lois canadiennes et faire avancer le plan de colonisation du Canada dans l'Arctique, les agents de police devaient entretenir de bonnes relations avec les Inuit afin d'accomplir leur travail et de survivre dans les conditions de l'Arctique. L'objectif principal de cet article consiste à faire ressortir la contribution des gendarmes spéciaux inuit à l'histoire de l'Arctique canadien. Nous présentons une étude approfondie des patrouilles régulières et spéciales, car celles-ci offrent une occasion unique de mieux comprendre le rôle des gendarmes spéciaux inuit et leurs relations avec les officiers de la police montée. Cet article se penche sur diverses interactions entre ces deux groupes, interactions qui illustrent la complexité et les nuances de leurs relations. Il fait aussi mention des noms de gendarmes spéciaux inuit afin de mettre en lumière de nombreux Inuit inconnus dont les noms figurent dans les archives.

**Mots-clés :** Canada; Arctique; est de l'Arctique; Gendarmerie royale du Canada (GRC); Royale gendarmerie à cheval du Nord-Ouest (RGCNO); patrouille en traîneaux à chiens; colonialisme; Inuit

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper examines relations between the Mounted Police and Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic from 1903 to 1945. Known from 1873 to 1904 as the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), between 1904 and 1920 as the Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP), and since then as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Mounted Police (the term we will use throughout to refer to the organization across this historical period) were instrumental in supporting Canada's efforts to solidify its sovereignty claims over the Eastern Canadian Arctic in the twentieth century. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the region, which encompasses Hudson Bay, Nunavik (northern Quebec), Qikiqtani (Baffin Island region), and High Arctic Islands (see Fig. 1), was mostly administered from Ottawa by the Department of the Interior

and the Department of External Affairs, and, at a higher level, by the Prime Minister's Office and the Cabinet. The Mounted Police, however, did much of the groundwork to implement the policies adopted in the nation's capital.

The role played by the Mounted Police in the development of the Arctic was initially studied by retired officers and historians (e.g., Steele, 1936; Fetherstonhaugh, 1940) who were not critical of this evolving police force or of Canada's colonial project. The first critical analysis of Canada's project was published by Jenness in his 1964 report, *Eskimo Administration: II*. Moyles (1979) was the first to publish a book about the criminal legal system in the North. In the ensuing decades, many more followed his lead (Sissons, 1968; Harring, 1989; Patenaude, 1989; Morrow, 1995; Grant, 2002; Jenkins, 2006; Eber, 2008; Harper, 2015). Several authors have written specifically about the role played by the Mounted Police in Canada's

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sovereignty claim to Arctic regions in the twentieth century (Zaslow, 1971, 1981, 1984, 1988; Morrison, 1973, 1974, 1984, 1985, 1986; Coates, 1984; Grant, 1988, 2010, 2016; Mackinnon, 1991; Weissling, 1991; Cavell and Noakes, 2010; Cavell, 2011; Smith, 2014; Cavell and Kropf, 2016; Harper, 2017) and about police–Inuit relations in the High Arctic (Dick 2001; Barr, 2004). Morrison produced a thorough history of the Mounted Police from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth that supplements this focus on the role of police officers in sovereignty claims with hints at how much they depended on Inuit for travelling, hunting, and taking care of dogs (Morrison, 1973, 1974, 1984, 1985, 1986). While not his main topic, Morrison hypothesized that Mounted Police officers had a healthier relationship with Inuit than with any other Indigenous Peoples across Canada. More recently, Shackleton (2012), Baril (2019), and Heumann (2020) explored similar themes and came to the same conclusions. Building on the work of the aforementioned authors, this paper recognizes that although the Mounted Police, as an organization, acted coercively to impose Canadian laws and push Canada’s colonial agenda in the Arctic, police officers needed to maintain good relationships with Inuit because officers relied heavily on their work and knowledge to accomplish their tasks and survive Arctic conditions.

However, this paper does not focus on police officers. Its overarching objective is to highlight the contribution of Inuit special constables to Canadian Arctic history. We focus on routine and special sled dog patrols carried out from 1903 to 1945 to occupy and colonize the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Our emphasis on patrols provides a unique opportunity for understanding the role of Inuit special constables and their relationships with Mounted Police officers. We chose the period 1903 to 1945 because it is characterized by the first contacts between the Mounted Police and Inuit; this period starts with the opening of the first three Mounted Police detachments in 1903 and closes with the end of the Second World War. The Qikiqtani Truth Commission (which investigated social policy, language, the killing of qimmit, and relocations of Inuit in the Eastern Arctic) calls the period that follows the Second World War the *Sanguusaqtauliqtilluta*, literally “when people started to be persuaded to change their ways” (QIA, 2013:25). That period, which was characterized by increased interventions fuelled by the Cold War, led to tremendous changes in the Canadian Arctic (Damas, 2002).

To meet our objective, we have also decided to focus on the special constables themselves. They were hired for many different reasons by Mounted Police officers, who each had their own agenda and expectations. By documenting particular historical interactions between Inuit special constables and Mounted Police officers, we provide a more specific historical narrative than the description usually presented in research into this period. Choosing this focus meant we needed to document who the special constables were. This paper provides the names of many special constables (Table 1 includes names, locations,

and roles). While we cannot claim to have systematically identified all Inuit who worked with the Mounted Police, our work to name those we encountered in the archival documents is meaningful because it brings their memory back into the public sphere. It should also be noted that Inuit names (sg. *atiq*, pl. *atiit* in Inuktitut) are at the heart of the *tuqlurausiq*, the Inuit kinship system (Stevenson, 2012; Otak and Pitsiulak-Stevens, 2014; Laugrand, 2018; Payne et al., 2022). *Atiit* are autonomous and immortal entities that convey social relations, as well as a set of qualities, capacities, and desires that have been transmitted from generation to generation from time immemorial. For this reason, some Inuit today may share an *atiq* with special constables. Thus, this paper could provide them with a historical background about their namesakes.

We have used primary sources, mainly police detachments’ journals and annual Mounted Police reports (Public Safety Canada, 2015), all of which are public records available at Library and Archives Canada. Police officers were required to keep daily journals of their work and expenses at the post and on patrol and send them back to their superiors. We also consulted secondary sources, such as papers, books, and constables’ published journals. These sources focus on Mounted Police officers’ points of view, on their work and their relationships with Inuit. Unfortunately, the primary and secondary sources we used seldom included the voices of Inuit who were involved in patrols, with some exceptions, like the work of Grant (2002), who did interviews with Inuit elders, some excerpts of which are included in our paper. While some current research projects are now documenting Inuit voices (see, for example, the work of Inuit historian Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, 2019, 2022), very little oral history data on the subject is publicly available or has been published, especially for the period 1903–45. Oral history research could have been beneficial to this study, but before undertaking an interview-based project, we chose to establish a strong archival foundation concerning the actors present in the field, which we believe will strengthen such future work. For this reason, we do not pretend to provide a full and unbiased picture of the complex relationships between police officers and Inuit. However, the sources used in this paper increase our knowledge of Inuit roles and responsibilities, which allows us to infer aspects of Inuit special constables’ relationships with police officers that have never been discussed before in the literature.

## MOUNTED POLICE IN THE EASTERN ARCTIC

In describing the presence of the Mounted Police in this region, our aim is not to present a complete history of Canada’s Arctic colonial enterprise or the Mounted Police, but rather to provide a context to understand sled dog patrols.

In 1880, the Arctic Archipelago, which had until then been under the administration of the Imperial Parliament

TABLE 1. Inuit workers identified in this paper.

| Name<br>(Archives)               | Name<br>(Inuit spelling) | Location         | Role                                 | Years      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Paneloo                          | Paniluk                  | Pond Inlet       | Special constable                    | 1926, 1930 |
| Sampson                          | –                        | Port Harrison    | Special constable                    | 1938       |
| Tukeeaashook                     | –                        | Nuvuk Island     | Temporary worker                     | 1938       |
| Iola                             | –                        | Lake Harbour     | Temporary worker                     | 1929       |
| Itosiak                          | –                        | Lake Harbour     | Temporary worker                     | 1929       |
| Koutuk                           | Kautaq                   | Pond Inlet       | Special constable                    | 1926, 1930 |
| Peewatoo                         | –                        | Pond Inlet       | Temporary worker                     | 1930       |
| Oingut                           | Uirnngut                 | Pond Inlet       | Special constable                    | 1930, 1933 |
| Toogalook                        | –                        | Milne Inlet      | Temporary worker                     | 1930       |
| Koodloo                          | –                        | Pond Inlet       | Temporary worker                     | 1930       |
| Ululijarnaat                     | –                        | Pond Inlet       | Prisoner                             | 1923       |
| Qattuuq                          | –                        | Craig Harbour    | Special Constable, Oorallo's husband | 1922       |
| Oorallo                          | –                        | Craig Harbour    | Family, Qattuuq's wife               | 1922       |
| Killicktee                       | –                        | Devon Island     | Special constable                    | 1934       |
| Unnamed                          | –                        | Devon Island     | Family, Killicktee's wife            | 1934       |
| Eskimo Tommy                     | –                        | Port Burwell     | Guide                                | 1933       |
| Okoquialiak                      | –                        | Pond Inlet       | Special constable                    | 1933       |
| Kooneeloosee                     | –                        | Pangnirtung      | Special constable                    | 1937       |
| Ilcahling                        | –                        | Pangnirtung      | Interpreter                          | 1937       |
| Ojooalo                          | –                        | Pangnirtung      | Special constable                    | 1926       |
| Aluke                            | –                        | Pangnirtung      | Special constable                    | 1926       |
| Kipoomik                         | Kipumii                  | Dundas Harbour   | Special constable                    | 1929       |
| Nookapeungwak                    | Nukappianguaq            | Dundas Harbour   | Special constable                    | 1927, 1929 |
| Kamanuk                          | Qamaniq                  | Dundas Harbour   | Special constable                    | 1929       |
| Oo-orloo                         | –                        | Pond Inlet       | Dog driver                           | 1923       |
| Kidlappik                        | Killaapik                | Cumberland Sound | Dog driver                           | 1921       |
| Koodloo [same Koodloo as above?] | –                        | Cumberland Sound | Dog driver                           | 1921       |
| Nookudlah                        | Nuqallaq                 | Pond Inlet       | Prisoner                             | 1923       |
| Ahkeeo                           | –                        | Bache Peninsula  | Special constable                    | 1927       |
| Oodee                            | –                        | Bache Peninsula  | Hunter                               | 1927       |

of Great Britain, was transferred to Canada (Cavell and Kropf, 2016). In 1895 an Order-in-Council organized the Canadian North into four districts: Ungava, Mackenzie, Yukon, and Franklin (Orders in council, 1895). This order was not sufficient, however, to secure Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic (Cavell and Kropf, 2016). At the beginning of the twentieth century, some federal politicians expressed concerns about foreign explorers, whalers, commercial traders, and miners travelling to, and even occupying, the Arctic Archipelago. They felt Canada was not doing enough and worried that foreign activities weakened the country's sovereignty claims, disturbed the life of Inuit, and highlighted the lack of Canadian control over these regions. As early as 1901, the commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, Aylesworth Bowen Perry, wrote,

Tyranny over the Indians, debauching of the Indian women, illegal trading, and lawlessness among themselves demand the assertion of our laws. A small powerful steamer is needed, which can navigate the Mackenzie and, if necessary, go into the open sea. The cost of carrying law and order into the Arctic regions may cause hesitation, but where our territory is being violated and our people oppressed, cost should be the last consideration. I have already in this report referred to requests for new detachments, which I have met as far as possible.

NWMP, 1902:10

Although Perry was mostly concerned with the Mackenzie Delta and the Western Arctic, his observations also resonated in the Eastern Arctic. In 1903 the federal government decided to impose Canadian laws on whalers, commercial traders, explorers, miners, and Inuit by establishing three police detachments in locations where contacts were common. These detachments were installed at Fort McPherson, Herschel Island, and Cape Fullerton (NWMP, 1904; RNWMP, 1906; Jenness, 1964).

Following a 1903 expedition to Hudson Bay, Albert Peter Low of the Geological Survey of Canada recommended the establishment of a police station at Port Burwell at the entrance to Hudson Strait, which he considered a good location to collect custom duties (Grant, 2010). NWMP Superintendent John Douglas Moodie, who was also part of the 1903 expedition, developed a plan to establish eight detachments in Hudson Bay (see Table 2, which tracks the evolution of detachments from that year on). Moodie foresaw detachments at Cape Fullerton, Cape Wolstenholme, Churchill, Port Harrison, Repulse Bay, and Chesterfield Inlet. For the Baffin Island region, he requested detachments at Blacklead Island and Pond Inlet (RNWMP and RCMP officers wrote the name of the community that way during the era studied, rather than the contemporary Pond Inlet) (RNWMP, 1905, 1906). Although Moodie's proposed detachments were almost all eventually built (except for Cape Wolstenholme and Blacklead Island), his plan was considered too ambitious at the time. Instead, the

TABLE 2. RNWMP and RCMP posts in Eastern Arctic 1903–45.

| Detachments                      | Year of operation            |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Qatiktalik/Cape Fullerton        | 1903–14; 1918–22             |
| Qamani'tuaq/Baker Lake           | 1915–18; 1931–36; 1939–today |
| Killiniq/Port Burwell            | 1920–36                      |
| Igluligaarjuk/Chesterfield Inlet | 1921–63; ?–today             |
| Mittimatalik/Pond Inlet          | 1922–today                   |
| Craig Harbour                    | 1922–26; 1933–40; 1952–57    |
| Pangnirtung                      | 1923–today                   |
| Dundas Harbour                   | 1924–33; 1946–51             |
| Bache Peninsula                  | 1926–33                      |
| Kimmirut/Lake Harbour            | 1927–today                   |
| Arviat/Eskimo Point              | 1936–today                   |
| Inukjuak/Port Harrison           | 1936–39; 1946–61             |
| Kuujuuaq/Fort Chimo              | 1941–today                   |
| Salliqa/Southampton Island       | 1943–47                      |
| Iqaluit/Frobisher Bay            | 1945–today                   |

federal government settled for a more economical solution: the CGS *Arctic*, captained by Joseph-Elzéar Bernier, was chartered to patrol the Arctic Archipelago annually to make declarations of sovereignty, collect custom duties, deliver fishing permits to whalers, and transport mail (Mackinnon, 1991). Even though Moodie's plan clearly stated that an annual patrol was not sufficient to ensure sovereignty over the Arctic, the CGS *Arctic* became a staple of the Eastern Canadian Arctic in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The Canadian government waited until the early 1920s before producing another plan for the Mounted Police in the Eastern Arctic. At the time, Canadian nationalism was taking shape, fueled by, among other things, international explorers, sovereignty claims by European nations (most notably Norway), as well as fear, real or imagined, of being absorbed by the nation's American neighbour (Morrison, 1985, 1987; Cavell and Noakes, 2010; Grant, 2010; Smith, 2014). In this plan, police detachments were to be created in two distinct locations: first, where Inuit, traders, and missionaries congregated; and second, in the High Arctic, where Canada's sovereignty claims were still questioned by the international community. These detachments served different purposes. While both supported the growth of the Canadian colonial enterprise, the latter demonstrated to the international community that Canada was serious about establishing an effective presence in the High Arctic Archipelago. From 1920 to 1945, the Canadian government established 13 police detachments in the Eastern Canadian Arctic (RCMP, 1922, 1925, 1926, 1928; Public Safety Canada, 2015).

During the first decades of the twentieth century, Inuit were in contact with the Canadian state for the first time. Although this first contact took the form of a permanent cohabitation with the Mounted Police, the Canadian government only half-heartedly sought to administer Inuit. It sent police officers up north not out of concern for their welfare or to change their way of life, but to make a demonstration of force and show them that their land now belonged to Canada (Morrison, 1985). Indeed, the interests of the state were then centred on sovereignty and control

of its Arctic borders, not so much on controlling Inuit or administrating them (**Fig. 1**) (Morrison, 1973, 1974, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1998; Grant, 1988, 2002, 2010, 2016; Coates et al., 2008; Cavell and Noakes, 2010).

## THE PEOPLE

### *Mounted Police Officers*

Early on, most Mounted Police recruits were young Englishmen in search of adventure (Lee, 1928). In 1914, 490 of the 617 Mounted Police officers were from the United Kingdom, 76 from Canada, 24 from other British possessions, 10 from the United States, and 17 from other countries (House of Commons Debates, 1914). As time passed, the proportion of Canadian-born Mounted Police officers grew, but the force remained “very much a British institution” throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Hewitt, 2006:44). For example, two of the officers who extensively patrolled the Arctic in the 1920s and 1930s, Alfred Herbert Joy and Henry Webb Stallworthy, were both born in England (Davis, 1996). Although the number of positions at Arctic detachments was limited, they were “eagerly sought by younger recruits who yearned for adventure and challenge. [Yet, o]nly existing members could apply for northern service, with successful candidates hand-picked for their physical strength, strong character, and specific skills such as canoeing, carpentry and chopping wood” (Grant, 2002:30).

Arctic officers' experiences and responsibilities differed from those of their colleagues in other Canadian regions. Indeed, from 1903 to 1945, the Mounted Police were the only permanent representatives of the Canadian government in the Arctic (Jenness, 1964; Morrison, 1973; Diubaldo, 1985). Police officers not only maintained public order but were also required to deliver public services. They were responsible for enforcing wildlife laws, conducting inquests into causes of deaths (especially in suspected murder cases), prosecuting wrongdoers, collecting taxes, and delivering mail to outpost camps. The federal government also expected officers to take advantage of their visits to camps to assess the state of the population, gather demographic data, bring food supplies and medical aid when needed, and explore charted and uncharted lands to solidify Canada's claim over the Arctic (RCMP, 1922).

Although not always explicitly noted in mission orders, patrols were an integral part of every officer's to-do list. At Cape Fullerton, for example, Staff Sergeant Dee and Constables Conway and Tremaine were left with the following orders from NWMP Superintendent John Douglas Moodie:

I left Staff-Sergeant Dee and Constables Conway and Tremaine with a native here when the *Neptune* sailed on July 18. I instructed him, if possible, to purchase one or two teams, of ten good dogs each, this fall, and to



FIG. 1. RNWMP and RCMP posts in Eastern Arctic 1903–45.

purchase from natives and store ample supplies of dog feed, viz.: fish, deer meat, seal, walrus, &c. He has field rations for five men for 400 days, but his supply of coal is limited, a little over 14 tons.

I instructed him to endeavour to make a patrol to Repulse bay this summer by boat. He will also make short patrols in land and along the coast during the winter, as weather, &c, permits, should the *Neptune* not be able to return to Fullerton. Should I be enabled to return there and remain this winter, it is my intention to make or send patrols to Repulse bay, Baker Lake and Churchill, during the ensuing winter. Frequent short patrols will also be made. Two sleighs will be required for all long patrols, and the party will consist of a member of the detachment, two natives and an interpreter.

NWMP, 1904:5

As the only official representative of the Canadian administration in the North, police officers had a central role in the country's colonial enterprise. Jenness (1964) even described Canada's North before the Second World War as a de facto police state.

Yet, as the remainder of this paper will demonstrate, an examination of how this broad policing mandate was implemented shows that officers were not omnipotent rulers who blindly imposed Canada's policies with an iron fist over clueless, powerless Inuit. Archival sources draw a nuanced picture of the Mounted Police presence. The implementation of colonial rule over the Arctic required police personnel to adapt rapidly to the federal government's constantly changing policies and specific conditions on the ground. Furthermore, officers relied heavily on Inuit to carry out many of their obligations, which forced them to maintain good relationships.

*Inuit Workers*

RCMP officers hired Inuit to do the tasks necessary for the proper functioning of the detachments. These Inuit workers were from the region where the detachments were established, except for those on Devon and Ellesmere Islands, where no Inuit lived. Because of their remoteness from any Inuit settlement, those detachments hired Inuit from other Canadian regions. Unlike police officers, Inuit workers lived with their families (RCMP, 1925). Inuit workers formed four distinct groups: special constables, temporary workers, prisoners, and family members.

**Special Constables:** Although, according to their archives, the RCMP seldom used the term “special constable” before the mid-1930s (the preferred terms were then “employed native” or “detachment employed native”), its use was formalized by 1936 to identify Inuit men who were employed full time by detachments (Grant, 2002:232). Special constables worked year-round at the detachment where they lived with their families and did a wide variety of jobs, including construction, guiding, interpreting, driving dog teams, hunting, and general handyman work. Their tasks changed with seasonal conditions and obligations. During the summer and fall, they accompanied officers by boat patrols. They erected meat caches (supplies of food stored under stones on the land) along the coasts in preparation for winter dog patrols. They also maintained the exterior of the buildings (construction, painting, cleaning, etc.). When the supply boat made its annual summer visit, they unloaded it. According to the diaries kept by RCMP officers, one of special constables’ most important tasks while they were not on patrol was hunting, which they spent most of their time doing. For example, the Pond Inlet detachment reported in 1926 that Inuit employees, Paniluk (Peneloo\*) and Kautaq\*, regularly hunted seals at Button Point near the post on Bylot Island (Daily Journal, 1926). The asterisks indicate spellings as they appear in archival sources. Where we have been able to find traditional Inuit spellings, those have been used instead. All year round, Inuit employees also took care of dogs. They fed and trained them and repaired the equipment used during dog patrols.

In winter, special constables also accompanied police officers during dog patrols. During those patrols, described in the next section, they drove sleds and hunted, but they also worked as guides and interpreters. Ideally, one special constable would perform all these roles, but sometimes several of them needed to be hired. Special constables were hired based on their reputation, skills, and knowledge of the land. For example, Ellesmere and Devon Islands detachments often hired Inughuit from northwestern Greenland, who had been hunting in these regions for generations. When patrolling, special constables often used their own dogs and equipment. Although the number of dogs owned by the Mounted Police increased as decades passed, special constables often supplemented police teams with their own animals. Initially, Inuit were paid with goods from the Mounted Police store and eventually, as payment

for their work, the police would purchase goods chosen by the special constables at the HBC store (Grant, 2002). Both arrangements were based on a pay rate of between 50 cents and a dollar for each day on patrol. Special constables were also compensated for the use of their dogs and equipment, and family members who stayed behind at the detachment often received food rations. Comparatively, in the early 1930s, Constable Harry Stallworthy was earning \$75.96 monthly, but because he had no living expenses and the RCMP would cover his insurance, he was able to save most of his salary (Barr, 2004).

Special constables on patrol also hunted to feed the dogs and patrol members. Patrols always brought dog feed, but they also relied on caches prepared in the summer months. They made caches by covering meat, and sometimes goods such as beans, pemmican, condensed milk, butter, cheese, honey, jam, tea, and coffee (RCMP, 1928), with stone for protection against animals. Special constables set up caches at strategic locations along the trails used to travel from camp to camp (Wight, 1925). Despite these stores and the food brought on the sleds, hunting was an essential part of every patrol. Special constables hunted during non-travel days; they also repaired equipment and prepared caches for the return trip.

**Temporary Workers:** Temporary Inuit workers, or “temporary employed native” as they are identified in most sources, were hired to perform specific tasks either at the detachment or during patrols. For example, during long patrols (lasting more than two weeks), police officers could hire temporary guides to get to know an area. During patrols, Inuit shared a lot of information when they met one another on the way. They discussed weather, trail conditions, and directions to get to the nearest camps, for example. On 6 January 1938, a patrol left Port Harrison for Wolstenholme. The team consisted of Acting Lt. Corporal L. Weston and Special Constable Sampson, who was half-Inuit, half First Nation (Bolstad, 1936), as well as 12 sled dogs (Weston, 1938). On 18 January they reached Eevooyevik\* camp, near Nuvuk Island. With Sampson unsure of what directions to take for the rest of the trip, an Inuk named Tukeeaashook\* offered to accompany and guide them (Weston, 1938).

Police officers also hired interpreters. Although some police officers, missionaries, and HBC workers spoke Inuktitut, it was difficult for most of them to conduct their official mission without an intermediary. Constable James Edward Freeman Wight noted this situation while stationed at Lake Harbour. On 5 January 1929 he began an expedition from Lake Harbour to Frobisher Bay with two Inuit employees, Iola\* and Itosiak\*, on two teams totalling 20 dogs (Wight, 1929). Once in Frobisher Bay, Wight could not find an interpreter and had to do a census as best as he could.

Inuit were also hired in temporary roles as dog-team drivers during patrols. For instance, in 1930 Constable Frederick William, St. George D’Essecort Ashe, and Special Constables Kautaq and Paniluk set out on patrol

from Pond Inlet with two teams of 14 dogs each on their way to Home Bay (Ashe, 1930). Arriving in Clyde River, Ashe learned that he would not be able to get dog food at the HBC trading post, so he ordered Kautaq and Paniluk to go seal hunting on a nearby island to gather enough supplies for the return trip. Meanwhile, Ashe made the trip to Home Bay with Peewatoo\*, a temporary Inuit employee he hired as the driver for the expedition. Peewatoo\* provided his own equipment for the patrol (a team of 12 dogs and a sled), and he was hired for a dollar a day and a surplus of 15 cents a day to compensate the use of his dogs and sled (Ashe, 1930). Peewatoo\* ended up working for nine days and received a \$10.35 credit at the HBC trading post (Ashe, 1930). Several weeks earlier, on 17 February 1930, Constable Hugh Alexander MacBeth and Special Constable Uirngut (Oingut\*) had begun an expedition from Pond Inlet to Igloolik, Foxe Basin, Admiralty Inlet, and Navy Board Inlet. Uirngut and MacBeth, whom Inuit called Papigatualuk and could speak Inuktitut (Grant, 2002), made the trip with two teams of dogs, one with 14 dogs, and the second with 16. For this expedition, they also hired Koodloo\*, an Inuk from Pond Inlet, as a temporary employee. Koodloo's team also included six dogs that belonged to the Pond Inlet detachment. During the patrol, Uirngut injured his right arm. MacBeth decided to send him back to Pond Inlet, so he hired another Inuk named Toogalook\* at the Kooglooton camp, near the entrance to Milne Inlet. Toogalook\* was given a team of 12 dogs. MacBeth (1930:1) mentions in his report that "This native is a good dog driver and has no wife or family that would be dependents while he was away." After the patrol was over, Koodloo\* and Toogalook\* received one dollar a day for 59 and 46 days of work, respectively, which was paid in credit from the HBC trading post. MacBeth (1930:5) describes "Koodloo and Toogalook, my two native dog drivers" as "willing workers and entirely satisfactory."

**Prisoners:** Inuit prisoners often did unpaid work at police detachments as they waited for trial, to serve a sentence for a crime they had been found guilty of, or so they could be closely supervised by police officers for reasons associated with mental or behavioural disorders they were judged as having by Mounted Police. Given the absence of jails in the North, those accused of a crime were usually put into open arrest and had to stay in the vicinity of the police detachment while awaiting trial. When Inuit were found guilty, or when they needed to be observed or supervised, it was customary for the Mounted Police to put them to work for the period of their sentence. For example, following his guilty verdict for the murder of Robert Janes in 1923 (see Grant, 2002), Ululijarnaat worked for two years at the Pond Inlet detachment. During that period, he was not paid, but he was provided with a weapon, ammunition, and food rations for himself and his family. Known as a good hunter, Ululijarnaat held several positions, including hunter and dog driver (Grant, 2002).

**Family Members:** Special constables' family members also often worked for detachments. While it is difficult to paint a detailed picture of their daily occupations, since police officers seldom wrote about them in their journals, some testimonies attest to the fact that the wives would take care of cooking, cleaning, and making clothes in exchange for food (Grant, 2002). For example, when the Craig Harbour post was set up in 1922, Ooralloo, wife of Special Constable Qattuuq, made winter clothes for seven RCMP officers (Schledermann, 2003). Spouses very rarely participated in police patrols, which meant that in isolated detachments like Craig Harbour or Devon Island, Inuit women would live in isolation for extended periods when their husbands were away patrolling. Some women, however, did take part in dog patrols (Grant, 2002). Lyle Dick (2001) writes that on 23 April 1934, Corporal Henry Kearney embarked on a six-day journey with Special Constable Killecktee\*, his unnamed wife, and two children on two dog teams (Kearney, 1934). Kearney (1934:1) noted in his report that "Killecktee's wife was glad of the opportunity of a trip, after being cooped up all winter."

## SLED DOG PATROLS

Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, the organization of sled dog patrols followed similar patterns across the Arctic. However, not all patrols had similar purposes. Morrison (1973) distinguishes between routine and special patrols. The former took place annually between January and June, followed a predetermined schedule, and lasted one to two weeks. They used well-known trails often frequented by Inuit and traders alike. Most of the time, Mounted Police undertook routine patrols with dog teams, but during the summer months they could do so by boat. Dog teams used during patrols usually consisted of about 12 dogs that pulled a sled driven by an Inuk employee, most often a special constable, although temporary workers and even prisoners could also take part in the journey. These patrols visited Inuit camps to deliver mail, bring food, gather demographic data, and so on. However, two of the most important task officers had to accomplish were to distribute medical aid and to try to make sure, in so far as possible, that Inuit complied with Canadian laws. Both tasks were central to the relationships police officers and their Inuit colleagues maintained before, during, and after patrols.

Bringing medical assistance to Inuit was an integral part of police officers' duties. Until the Second World War, the only four dispensaries in all of the Eastern Arctic were in the Pangnirtung Fiord on Baffin Island, at Chesterfield Inlet in Hudson Bay, and at Fort Chimo and Fort George in Northern Quebec, areas that were not easily accessible for all Inuit. While a medical team was aboard the Eastern Arctic Patrol ship that sailed to many camps during the summer months (QIA, 2013), Inuit relied on police officers to deliver basic medical aid. In fact,

both the federal government and Inuit expected them to perform certain simple medical tasks like fixing a displaced collarbone. RCMP reports are filled with description of medical acts performed by their members. For example, in 1933 Corporal Gifford Paul Colclough Moore of the Lake Harbour detachment was patrolling at Chorbak Inlet when he heard Inuit talking about a child named Udloweeah\* who had been bitten by a dog in Ikeegashak's camp near Gordon Bay (camps were seasonal and named by the Mounted Police after the camp's Inuit leader). Moore decided to help the child, but before travelling to Ikeegashak's camp, he had to go all the way to the HBC station at Cape Dorset to get supplies (Moore, 1933:1). In March of the same year, Constable Allen Doig Kupkee and his guide Eskimo Tommy\* left Port Burwell by dog team to go to Oogulick's camp located about 24 km away to heal a broken clavicle the old man had suffered (Kupkee, 1933).

On occasion, doctors could join patrols, such as when Dr. Leslie Livingstone accompanied a 2093 km patrol led by Corporal Hugh Patrick Friel that travelled from Pangnirtung to south Baffin Island in 1927 (Friel, 1927). Although RCMP members regularly mentioned the need for better medical services in the North, the Canadian government did very little to help its policemen, even when the latter pointed out the prevalence of tuberculosis or when they reported the poor health of Inuit (Wilcox, 1926).

During the 1920s and 1930s routine patrols also delivered relief assistance to Inuit in need, mostly children, widows, elders, and incapacitated people (Diubaldo, 1985). The destitute ration, a form of assistance given by the federal government to Inuit in need, was not allocated in money but in ammunition, food (milk, butter, bacon, flour, and tea), medicine, and tobacco that Inuit could get from an HBC trading post. In 1933 the Northwest Territories Council issued an order stating that doctors had the prerogative to decide who would receive destitute rations. When a doctor was not available, RCMP members were responsible for establishing who was eligible to receive the ration, or not. The order also required local authorities (RCMP, missionaries, and traders) to encourage Inuit to live off the land by preventing them from staying around the detachments, missions, and trading stations (Diubaldo, 1985; Damas, 2002; Shackleton, 2012). Such orders neglected the role of the Mounted Police and the incursion of the Canadian state in radically disrupting the traditional lives of Inuit. Other times, RCMP members could be more attuned to the reality of local conditions. For example, from 18 March until 16 April 1933, Constable James C.M. Wishart and two Inuit Special Constables, Okoquialiak\* and Uirngut, patrolled between Pond Inlet and Home Bay on two sled dog teams made of 15 dogs each, 27 of which belonged to the two Inuit, and only three to the RCMP. The objective of the patrol was to visit camps and gather information about the conditions in which Inuit lived (Wishart, 1933). On 7 April, when they had stopped at the HBC post at Clyde River, an Inuk named Paulessie\* came to them. In his report, Wishart (1933:4) mentioned that:

Native Paulessie, one of the natives from the last camp visited the previous day, arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company Post, and complained to me that he was hungry, and had had nothing to eat for about one week. He also had no fat for his lamps. Being a cripple, he found it difficult owing to the recent adverse hunting conditions, to travel over the numerous drifts caused by the high winds. I issued him with a Destitute Ration, paid through the Hudson's Bay Company, to be charged to the Department of the Interior.

RCMP members also undertook routine patrols to make sure non-Inuit and Inuit complied with Canadian laws, and more specifically, game laws. Several provisions of these laws, such as the interdiction to hunt caribou from 1 August to 1 October, and from 1 December until 1 April, required that the RCMP visit camps regularly (Tester and Kulchyski, 1994). Those patrols also took place by boat during the summer. For example, in October 1937 Constable Edward Earle Muffitt, Special Constable Kooneeloosee\*, interpreter and guide Ilcahling\*, and HBC employee T. Harwood left Pangnirtung by boat to visit Nettilling Fiord just to make sure Inuit who lived there were respectful of Canadian laws (Muffitt, 1937).

Although they were often planned and well organized, special patrols happened when exceptional needs arose. During special patrols, Mounted Police officers mapped new territories, reasserted Canada's sovereignty over High Arctic islands, and conducted murder investigations. Special patrols were often lengthy and mostly occurred in territories where no Inuit lived. Most special patrols took place during the winter months and were thus made by dogsleds. Consequently, Mounted Police officers were always accompanied by Inuit special constables, which means they spent weeks working, travelling, and living together.

Mapping territories was an important task in most RCMP detachments. Consequently, police officers had to patrol areas they did not know well. For example, between 15 February and 2 May 1926, Sergeant James Edward Freeman Wight, of the Pangnirtung detachment, explored Amadjuak Lake and Nettilling Lake on Baffin Island. He was accompanied by Constable Thomas Henry Tredgold and two Inuit Special Constables, Ojooalo\* and Aluke\*. To map the area, special constables drove two sleds each (pulled by 13 dogs) because the only existing map at the time, produced just two years earlier, was "quite incorrect" (Wight, 1926:11).

Special patrols also allowed Canada to show the international community it was serious about asserting its sovereignty over the High Arctic Archipelago. The greatest example of such patrols is certainly the one Inspector Alfred Herbert Joy undertook in 1929. On 12 March the patrol left Dundas Harbour on Devon Island, travelled through many of the Queen Elizabeth Islands, including Melville, Ellef Ringnes, Amund Ringnes, Axel Heiberg, and Ellesmere, before returning to Bache Peninsula on



31 May, a 2740 km round trip that lasted two and a half months (Joy, 1929). The patrol was originally a six-man affair, but 10 days before leaving, Special Constable Kipumii (Kipoomik\*) injured himself with a knife and was forced to stay behind. Nevertheless, the patrol, which consisted of Joy, Constables Reginald Andrew Taggart and Robert Warren “Paddy” Hamilton, and Special Constables Nukappianguaq (Nookapeungwak\*) and Qamaniq (Kamanuk\*), left Dundas Harbour on three dogsleds, one pulled by 15 dogs and two pulled by 12. After crossing Lancaster Sound, Hamilton and Qamaniq were sent back to Dundas Harbour, leaving Joy and his two companions alone for the remainder of the expedition (Joy, 1929). This patrol was well publicized in southern newspapers and, as such, helped anchor the idea in the minds of Canadians, that Canada was a northern nation (see, e.g., Le “Beothic” dans l’Arctique, 1929; *The Gazette*, 1929). This was not Joy’s first long patrol in the region. Just two years before, he had travelled 2124 km over 54 days with Corporal Robert Roscoe Garnett and Special Constables Nukappianguaq, Ahkeoo\* and Oodee\* on four dog teams pulled by 11, 12, 14, and 15 dogs, respectively (Joy, 1927; RCMP, 1928).

Mounted Police members also undertook special patrols when they needed to conduct murder investigations, which happened on several occasions between 1912 and the mid-1920s (Moyles, 1979; Grant, 2002; Jenkins, 2006; Harper, 2015). These patrols were instrumental in supporting the growth of the Canadian colonial enterprise, as they were used to show Inuit that their land now belonged to Canada and that they were required to follow its laws.

#### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POLICE OFFICERS AND INUIT

Using police detachments’ journals, annual RCMP reports, public records, and published journals to get a full picture of the relationship between Mounted Police officers and Inuit during patrols is extremely difficult. One challenge stems from the fact that most police officers avoid describing relationships at all, be they relationships with their fellow police colleagues, or those with Inuit employees. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer, from the sources we consulted and from circumstances, aspects of their relationship that have seldom before been discussed in the literature.

For example, sources confirm that as soon as the Mounted Police opened detachments in the Arctic, Inuit were instrumental in teaching officers how to drive sleds and take care of dogs. Initially, Mounted Police in the Arctic had no dogs, and they did not receive training as recruits at the force’s main training facility in Regina, Saskatchewan, in driving dogsleds or taking care of dogs. An Inuk elder from Mittimatalik, Ningiuk Killiktee, recalls that:

When you [we] went by dog team in a snowstorm, we used to have to treat them like kids so nothing would

happen to them. They tended to get cold and we didn’t want them to freeze. We’d tell them what to do. We used to treat them like little children. Some of them would just sit there when they got cold. After they were here awhile, it was all right. When they found later [how to do things], it wouldn’t be like that. It was hard that time in the wind. You didn’t want anything to happen to them and you didn’t want them to get lost. We would care very much for them because you were the only ones out there with them. Once we got home, we wouldn’t care about them anymore. There were some you could work very well with and some who didn’t do anything at all.

Grant, 2002:231

In some Arctic detachments, newly appointed officers could count on experienced fur trade companies’ employees or police officers, but they often depended on Inuit who lived in camps surrounding the detachments to teach them how to drive dogsleds, how to take care of dogs, and, most importantly, provide them with dogs. From the opening of its first detachments in 1903, the Mounted Police tried to keep its own dog teams. But, even in the late 1920s and 1930s, police officers seldom had sufficient dogs to undertake patrols during the winter months and therefore required the assistance of Inuit special constables. The Danish explorer Peter Freuchen (1935) noted, however, that police officers and Inuit did not care for dogs the same way. Inuit fed their dogs only once every second day during patrols and once a week when not patrolling, whereas police officers fed them every day. For this reason, Freuchen explains, Inuit dogs were more resilient and resistant to the harsh Arctic conditions. When patrolling, they survived the lack of food better than police dogs, which were always first to die of hunger.

As we’ve seen, Inuit workers were essential during routine and special patrols, as they accomplished many tasks. Not only did they drive teams, they also hunted, repaired equipment, prepared caches for future trips, and built shelters. An Inuk elder from Mattimatalik, Sam Arnakallak, recalls that:

[RCMP officers] were just like kids, when they were having tea outside and they weren’t able to grasp the cup with their hands, the cup would be held for them exactly like children because they were from a warm climate ... The Inuit would have to dry their mitts and kamiks. Once they stopped for the night, the [guides] would have to hurry and build an iglu as if they had small children. Once they put them in, they’d have to light the stove to get them warm. Then [the guides] would have to stay outside to feed the dogs.

Grant, 2002:232

However, there were some slight differences between routine and special patrols. On one hand, routine patrols travelled through frequently used trails in populated locations. Thus, they often met with travellers, visited

Inuit camps, and stopped at trading stations, missions, or other police detachments. Inuit employees thus also acted as guides and interpreters. Without them, police officers might not have been able to communicate with Inuit to make sure that, among other things, they complied with the law. Special patrols, on the other hand, travelled in less populated areas, often in uncharted territories. While Inuit employees were not needed for their interpreting abilities in these circumstances, their capacity to act as guides must have been at a premium.

Even though police officers rarely described their colleagues and their Inuit companions, they did sometimes describe some Inuit they encountered during their patrols. Even if there is a lot of cultural incomprehension, in their memoirs, Mounted police officers generally admire Inuit skills (Lee, 1928; Campbell, 1936; Montague, 1939). Although direct descriptions of their Inuit companions would have provided a better understanding of their relationship, their documented observations of Inuit they encountered gives us some insight into how they viewed them generally. Constables' views of Inuit varied widely. For example, Harry Stallworthy was extremely positive. In a letter to his brother, he wrote:

There is no doubt about it—the whites could not survive without the Eskimos ... Personally, I am stuck on these people. In my opinion they are a wonderful race. They are very faithful to the white people (thank heavens) as a matter of fact, all the glory and honour the Mountie have in the North is due, absolutely, to the Eskimo guides. I have not heard yet of the policeman who could build an igloo or be sure of getting his arctic clothes or meat.

Stallworthy, 1923

However, as Heuman noted, it is impossible to know whether Inuit reciprocated Stallworthy's feelings (Heuman, 2020).

On the other hand, Corporal F. McInnes was not as impressed. Along with his colleague W.B. MacGregor and two Inuit, Killaapik (Kidlappik\*) and Koodloo\*, plus two dog teams totalling 25 dogs, McInnis made a patrol to the Kivitoo camp of the Cumberland Sound to investigate the murder of Niaquttiaq (Neahkuteuk\*). Niaquttiaq had overseen the Sabellum Trading Station since 1912. During Christmas 1921, he showed up wearing a white robe and pretended he was Jesus. In the following days, he encouraged people to speak out against those around them and, after days of threats, during which he murdered a blind man and just before he was about to murder a woman, his cousin Killaapik (Kidlappik\*) killed him. McInnes wrote the following account:

So childish is the average native mind, that although I instructed them through Constable MacGregor what to do in case of any further trouble cropping up, it would not be surprising if a similar scene were enacted at a future date. All that it needs is a master mind to start

it off, as the natives in spite of their professing deep religious belief, are in much the same state of mind at present as they were when the murders occurred ... it seems to have been a mistake for these people to be taught a religion for which their minds are not far enough advanced to grasp intelligently and it certainly is unfortunate for them to be abandoned by their former instructors and left without any white men in the country to steady their minds when they feel like going on a rampage. It is almost pitiful to get their translations of the scriptures as they interpret them one to the other as they are so ridiculous.

RCMP, 1925:54

Each in their own way, Stallworthy and McInnes express attitudes that reflect the dominant discourse of the time, which saw Inuit as competent Arctic dwellers who were childish and uncivilized (Backhouse, 1999).

Nevertheless, most police officers were not shy to adopt Inuit ways when they were better adapted to Arctic conditions than their own. Besides travelling by dogsleds, which from the beginning of twentieth century to the 1930s was the only available means of transportation during the winter months, officers also slept in igloos, except when they could find shelter at a trading station, in RCMP detachments, or in Inuit camps (Wilcox, 1926). In addition, officers and special constables would set up *inuksuit* on the land as visual cues to find their way (Wight, 1926). Police officers also patrolled wearing Inuit clothing made by Inuit women, which were much better adapted to Arctic conditions than their own woollen clothes (Barr, 2004). Even though life could be difficult, some officers, like Constable Sidney R. Montague, kept good memories of their time in the Arctic:

But no matter what were the narrow escapes, the near starvation, hardship and loneliness, I would not now give up that six years' experience I've had in the Royal Canadian Police for a million dollars in gold. That sort of thing teaches a fellow what it's all about, living up North there beyond latitude 60 as I did for three years of my six years of Mounted service, with Eskimo natives as my friends; heathen as they are counted, it was they who taught me there is a God, powerful and marvelous. It was up there I learned that just living can be fun.

Montague, 1939:16

The only aspect of Inuit life officers did not readily adopt was food: most officers preferred their own, which they carried for the length of patrols on their sleds or, when possible, had Inuit employees place in caches during preceding summers. Officers' journals are full of references to food (or lack thereof). Officers record eating milk, butter, cheese, biscuits, tea, bacon, canned beans. They describe in detail the food they brought during patrols and recorded their disappointment when they encountered a broken cache (RCMP, 1928). They noted instances of arriving at

their destination with nothing to eat except a few biscuits (RCMP, 1926), when they need to buy some food at the HBC store for a return trip (MacBeth, 1932), and when they or special constables need to hunt (Curleigh, 1928).

Lastly, and significantly, Inuit seemed to have some control over their capacity to accept or refuse to participate in a patrol. At times, their refusal even prevented police officers from patrolling altogether. For example, during a planned patrol that should have taken him from Port Harrison to Wakeham Bay in 1938, Interim Corporal L. Weston tried to hire an Inuk in Wolstenholme, as neither Westeron, nor Special Constable Sampson, who was accompanying him, knew the way ahead. However, they were not able to hire anyone because fur prices were very good that year, and the HBC hired Inuit employees for five dollars a day, five times what the RCMP offered. Corporal Weston had to abandon the remaining part of the patrol and return to Port Harrison (Weston, 1938).

The only Inuit who had no choice in the matter were those who were either waiting for trial or had been found guilty and sentenced to work for their local police detachment. And even then, they were afforded some freedom. For example, when he was awaiting his trial for the murder of Janes, Nuqallaq (Nookudlah\*) joined a patrol, during which he was allowed to hunt with a rifle (McInnes, 1923).

While the archives we used never directly address police officer-Inuit relationships, we can tease out features of these. Some police officers may have found Inuit childish and uncivilized, but many police respected their Inuit colleagues. First, they had enough confidence in Inuit to take seriously their teachings about dogs and dogsledding. Police officers also accepted to put their lives in the hands of Inuit special constable when patrolling, considered Inuit credible enough to be witnesses during trials, and, finally, recognized the right of the Inuit to choose to participate in patrols or not. It is harder to know exactly what Inuit thought about police officers. It is fair to assume some felt *ilira*, which may explain why they seldom refused to participate in patrols. *Ilira* is a feeling of fear, awe, and even respect for individuals whose motives are not well understood (Briggs, 1970; Brody, 1991; Shackleton, 2012). According to Brody, *ilira* is essential to understanding the relationship Inuit had with colonial agents and reveals why they often agreed to situations they did not agree with (Brody, 1991). But this did not mean they enjoyed their collaboration with police officers. According to Grant (2002:233):

Although complaints were rarely expressed to the *gallunaat*, there seemed to be lingering resentment among the Inuit over the tasks they were expected to perform when employed by the police. Some daily chores were viewed as drudgery, particularly if the police were quite capable of performing the tasks themselves.

Some Inuit also felt police officers were no better than children. Elijah Panipakoocho of Pond Inlet told the QTC (QAI 2013:10) that:

Without the help of the Inuit, [RCMP] would not have survived, they would have been dead . . . They tell stories of being heroic but they had to be housed, clothed, fed. It was [like] looking after a five- or a six-year-old. They . . . would start suffering immediately when they were alone. Those Inuit really had a hard time, they had to look after themselves and the RCMP.

Unfortunately, the sources used in this paper do not allow us to identify who among Inuit workers thought that of their work or of the police officers. From the sources we have, we can only infer that the relationship between Inuit and police officers seemed to have been complex, nuanced, and probably influenced by the personality of who was involved.

## CONCLUSION

By settling in the Arctic to establish its laws and strengthen its sovereignty, Canada transformed the way of life of Inuit, which had already been altered by previous periods of contact. The arrival of the police in these areas marked the beginning of sled dog patrols, which were initially carried out symbolically, largely to assert sovereignty and enforce Canadian laws. In the field, special and routine patrols were conducted for a host of practical reasons and to enforce the law. Inuit and the Mounted Police also accomplished a multitude of tasks in their detachments. The arrival of Mounted Police officers created a new form of employment for Inuit. In traditional Canadian Arctic history, credit for these patrols often emphasizes the work of police constables, but when analyzing historical sources, it is hard to imagine that these patrols would have happened without the contributions of the Inuit special constables and their dogs.

This paper has sought to highlight the contribution of Inuit special constables to Canadian Arctic history through the role they played during routine and special sled dog patrols. Inuit were guides, hunters, dog drivers, interpreters, and so much more. Special constables' wives cooked, cleaned, and made clothing, and took care of the station when their husbands and the police officers were off patrolling. While some Mounted Police officers greatly respected Inuit, others had a condescending attitude toward them. Although it is difficult to ascertain what Inuit special constables thought about these officers and their work, later testimonies show some Inuit likened police to helpless children. These testimonies also show that *ilira* played a significant role in guiding Inuit and police officers' relationships. The relationship between special constables and police officers were, in these respects, far from generic.

This paper also documented and named many Inuit special constables and workers. We now know that Panikluk was a special constable who served in Pond Inlet in 1926, that Ooralloo was Qattuuq's wife, who, himself, was a special constable in Craig Harbour in 1922, and that

Icchahling was an interpreter who worked in Pangnirtung in 1937. This humble contribution results in adding numerous unnamed Inuit to the public record and offers another opportunity to name and bring to light the roles of individuals like Nuqallaq and Ululijarnaat, from Pond Inlet, whose names were already on record for reasons unrelated to their work with the Mounted Police. As mentioned in the introduction, *Atiit* (Inuit names) are still today at the heart of the *tuqlurausiq*, the kinship system, and have been transmitted from generation to generation since time

immemorial. There might be people today who share names with Inuit special constables. As such, this paper links the past and the present.

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