

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN RANGERS OF QUEBEC 2ND CANADIAN RANGER PATROL GROUP

P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER

with the assistance of Stéphane Roussel and Magali Vullierme



A History of the Canadian Rangers of Quebec

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ACRONYM LIST

2 CRPG	2 nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group	JCR	Junior Canadian Rangers
2IC	2 nd -in-command	KRG	Kativik Regional Government
AO	Area of Operation	LCol	Lieutenant-Colonel
AOR	Area of Responsibility	LFQA	Land Force Quebec Area
CA	Canadian Army	Maj	Major
CAF	Canadian Armed Forces	MAJAID	Major Air Disaster
CF	Canadian Forces	MAJMAR	Major Maritime Disaster
CFSAC	Canadian Forces Small Arms Competition	PCMR	Pacific Coast Militia Rangers
CIMIC	Civil-Military Co-operation	PHASE	Promoting Healthy and Safe Experiences
CR	Canadian Ranger	RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
CRI	Canadian Ranger Instructor	RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
CRPG	Canadian Ranger Patrol Group	SAR Tech	Search and Rescue Technician
DAOD	Defence Administrative Order and Directive	Sgt	Sergeant
GSAR	Ground Search and Rescue	SQ	Sûreté du Québec
HQ	Headquarters	VCDS	Vice Chief of the Defence Staff
IRU	Immediate Response Unit		
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami)		



Preface



Her Excellency the Right Honourable Mary May Simon

Occasion: 75th anniversary of the Canadian Rangers and the 25th anniversary of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group

The Canadian Rangers play a vital role within the Canadian Armed Forces, its members providing support for national security and operations within Canada. What is truly unique is that the Rangers come from all walks of life but share a special knowledge of the diverse landscapes and the peoples who call the North their home.

For seventy-five years, the Canadian Rangers have provided services in times of natural disaster, to protect our Arctic and, most recently, during the pandemic. Its members consistently safeguard the public and show respect to the peoples who populate these lands.

Growing up in Nunavik, and later as I fought for Indigenous rights throughout my career, I have met and known the brave members of the Rangers who are ensuring our safety. Many northern families, including mine, have a personal connection to the Rangers, to those who serve their community and all the peoples of the Arctic.

In particular, I am pleased that many Indigenous people are serving as Canadian Rangers, able to communicate not only in English and French, but also in Inuktitut and a number of other languages spoken in the North. This outreach is a major part of reconciliation, allowing us not only to reclaim our culture, but also to participate in our society and access help in our own languages.

As governor general and commander-in-chief, I am proud to congratulate members, past and present, of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group on their unit's 25th anniversary. May you continue to be the eyes and ears in Canada's North.



Her Excellency the Right
Honourable
Mary Simon, C.C., C.M.M., C.O.M.,
O.Q., C.D.,
Governor General and Commander-
in-Chief of Canada

Foreword

The province of Quebec is an immense territory with over fifty-five Indigenous communities characterized by the diversity of our regions, nations, and cultures. Indigenous peoples in Quebec have lived in these vast expanses of beautiful landscapes since time immemorial. The 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) consists of twenty-eight Canadian Ranger Patrols in the territory: a total of 1,400 people, including seventy military and civilian executives, 700 Canadian Rangers, and 700 Junior Canadian Rangers (JCR). They are located throughout the province's isolated, sparsely settled northern regions and coastal areas.

2 CRPG is responsible for the Canadian Rangers and JCRs in Quebec. The Patrol Group plays a significant role in the Northern Quebec region, Eeyou Istchee/James Bay and the Lower North Shore, whether in organizing patrols, reporting unusual events or sightings, and gathering local data for the Canadian Armed Forces. In addition, other tasks include carrying out sovereignty or national security functions, assisting in search and rescue attempts, and aiding with natural disasters throughout the province.

The JCR Program is a youth program led by the Department of National Defence and under the supervision of highly experienced and qualified Canadian Rangers. The Program is for youth between twelve and eighteen years old. JCRs learn within the three circles of training: the traditional community skills, life skills, and understanding Rangers' skills. They practise their abilities in field training exercises, enhanced training sessions and marksmanship competitions. In addition, as of 3 April 2020, at the request of the Government of Quebec, the Canadian Armed Forces directly supported northern and remote communities by mobilizing Rangers on continuous standby and others on call in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, especially those located in Nunavik and in the Lower North Shore region.

The 75th anniversary of the Canadian Rangers will commemorate the remarkable devotion and extraordinary work of 2 CRPG for the past twenty-five years. It is an honour to be contributing to this significant milestone. This book will present 2 CRPG's remarkable contributions to the Northern Quebec region, James Bay, and Lower North Shore communities and traditional territories. I wish to extend my sincere thanks to all who have dedicated their time and exceptional efforts to provide essential services to our people in our

beautiful homelands. Your outstanding patriotic efforts have not gone unnoticed by the rest of the population.

Miikwehch,

Nii Mandy Gull-Masty
Grand Chief of Eeyou Istchee (Cree Nation)



The first Eeyou Istchee/James Bay Canadian Ranger patrol was created in 1999 in Waskaganish, followed by Wemindji in 2002, Eastmain in 2002, Chisasibi in 2009, and Nemaska in 2019. JCR patrols were inaugurated in Whapmagoostui in 2001, Eastmain in 2002, Waskaganish in 2002, Wemindji in 2003, and Chisasibi in 2011.

Foreword

The Kativik Regional Government (KRG) is a proud partner of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) in Nunavik.

The first Canadian Ranger patrol in Québec was inaugurated in Nunavik, in Puvirnituk, in 1948. Patrols were then opened in Ivujivik and Kuujuaq in 1960, Kangiqsuaq in 1962, Kangirsuk, Salluit and Kangiqsualujuaq in 1964, Tasiujaq and Quaqtaq in 1972, Akulivik and Aupaluk in 1985, Inukjuak in 1990, Kuujuaapik in 1995, and Umiujaq in 1996.

Canadian Rangers are respected members of our communities. They come from various experiences but all hold the safety and well-being of their fellow citizens as well as their respect for Canada and its values in the highest regard. Many continue to serve and contribute, despite having challenging careers and obligations, including as school directors, teachers, first responders, elected officials, artists, hunters, active community members, and Elders.

Canadian Rangers have proven to be invaluable partners from past to present in challenging times. 2 CRPG has historically been ahead of other patrol groups in their assistance with land search and rescue. Since 1989, Nunavik Rangers have responded to over 100 ground search and rescue operations, saving countless lives. Following the 1999 avalanche in Kangiqsualujuaq, Canadian Rangers from all Nunavik patrols contributed support. Many Nunavik Rangers have been recognized for their hard work and dedication with medals and recognition. We are very proud, grateful, and appreciative of their dedication and devotion.

Nunavik involvement with the first successful Junior Canadian Ranger (JCR) patrols in Kuujuaq and Puvirnituk helped in expanding the program to all Nunavik communities and eventually into a national program. JCR patrols have opened in all fourteen Nunavik communities, offering a youth program tailored to our community's needs, with local steering committees established to ensure a balance of Ranger skills with traditional knowledge and culture, as well as the goal of having Nunavik youth be active and maintain a healthy lifestyle.

KRG partnered with 2 CRPG to establish the first Okpiapik camp near Tasiujaq in 1997 and continues to offer support for this week-long summer camp experience for JCRs. Many JCRs choose to join the Ranger patrol in their communities after leaving the JCR program. It should be noted that some of

the original JCR patrols' members are proud active Rangers today, a testament to the organization.

We congratulate 2 CRPG in celebrating its 25th anniversary. In particular, we congratulate the Nunavimmiut who have served and still serve, as well as current and past staff for their continued support and harmonious cooperation.

Happy 75th anniversary to all current and retired Canadian Rangers who are leaving a strong heritage and legacy for the next generations.

On behalf of all Nunavimmiut, congratulations on these important milestones, and we are looking forward to a bright and collaborative future and creating new memories.

Ms. Jennifer Munick
Chairperson of Kativik Regional Government



Foreword

The Canadian Rangers have been present on the Lower North Shore (LNS) since 1947.

Mr. Gordon Jones, who fought in World War II under the Black Watch, started the Ranger Group in 1947. When he came home, he was a game warden and travelled the LNS from Natashquan to Blanc Sablon. He would get one Ranger, sometimes two, per village or outpost. Their duties consisted of patrolling to ensure all was well.

Mr. Lambert Gallibois, who is now 95 years young, said it was the only organization that welcomed him and did not discriminate against his deafness. The Ranger patrols grew and expanded along the coast. As of now, there are Canadian Rangers in all five municipalities. It is no longer just men, as women have also joined the ranks.

There is also the Junior Canadian Ranger (JCR) Program on the LNS. In fact, Gros-Mécatina boasts the first non-Native JCR patrol in the country.

The Canadian Rangers have been instrumental in ground search and rescue (GSR) operations along the coast and inland. The Canadian Rangers have also taken the lead in training the youth of our region. In the past two years they have been active in patrolling the villages to help in the fight against COVID-19. They ensured our seniors were visited on a daily basis to see to their needs. All in all, they have helped make this a much better place to live.

Thank you to all the past and present Canadian Rangers for your service and your invaluable involvement in your communities and for looking after our precious youth through the JCR program. Congratulations on this special 75th anniversary of the Canadian Rangers Corps as well as on the 25th anniversary of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group.

Randy Jones

Préfet de la MRC du Golfe-du-St-Laurent, and former mayor of Gros-Mécatina



The 2 CRPG North Shore area of responsibility includes nine Canadian Ranger patrols that supervise sixteen JCR patrols. These Canadian Ranger patrols include Harrington Harbour inaugurated in 1961, Blanc-Sablon 1968, Havre-Saint-Pierre 1988, Natashquan 1996, Saint-Augustin 1996, Schefferville 2002, Îles-de-la-Madeleine 2009, Unamen Shipu (La Romaine) 2019, and Bonne-Espérance 2019. The JCR patrols are La Tabatière 1998, Bonne-Espérance 1999, Chevery 1999, Mingan 2000, Havre-Saint-Pierre 2000, Saint-Augustin 2001, Natashquan 2001, Blanc-Sablon 2002, Kawawachikamach 2003, Schefferville 2003, La Romaine 2009, Harrington Harbour 2011, Tête-à-la-Baleine 2011, Îles-de-la-Madeleine 2013, Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon 2016, and Pakua Shipi 2016.



Introduction

Formed on 24 November 1997, the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) is the umbrella organization for the Canadian Rangers in Quebec. These patrols represent a valuable asset to the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) in the exercise of sovereignty, the conduct and support of domestic operations, and the provision of assistance to communities in isolated northern and coastal areas. Often referred to as the “eyes and ears” of the CAF in remote communities, the Canadian Rangers can look back with pride at how far they have come since 1947. On the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the creation of this unique organization, as well as the twenty-fifth anniversary of 2 CRPG, this book is dedicated to the Rangers, past and present, who have served their communities and their country.

The origins of the Canadian Rangers date back to the Second World War when British Columbians took up arms to defend their home region in response to the Japanese threat to the Pacific Coast of North America. Designed to be self-sufficient and to draw upon local resources and expertise, the Pacific Coast Militia Rangers (PCMR) reported suspicious vessels, trained with other military units, conducted search and rescue operations, and located Japanese balloon bombs that had drifted across the Pacific. At the end of the war, having lost its *raison d’être*, the PCMR organization was disbanded.

In 1947, at the dawn of the Cold War, the military embraced the Ranger concept to create a national force: the Canadian Rangers. The first companies were formed in Yukon, closely followed by four in Quebec. The organization soon expanded along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts and throughout northern Canada. Leveraging their experience as outdoorspeople from diverse backgrounds, the Rangers served as guides and scouts for the Canadian military and reported suspicious activities in their local areas. To carry out these missions, the Army provided the Rangers with minimal equipment – a .303 Lee Enfield rifle, 200 rounds of ammunition per year, and an armband – and expected them to use their own, locally appropriate clothing, equipment, and modes of transportation to patrol their homelands.

As a sign of its growth, in December 1956 the organization had 2,725 members in forty-two companies located from coast to coast to coast. The Rangers during this era continued to report suspicious ships and aircraft, took part in military training exercises, and conducted search and rescue operations. By the 1960s, however, they were forgotten. With the exception

of Quebec's North Shore and Newfoundland and Labrador, the Ranger organization was largely inactive. In 1970, the remaining companies in Quebec were divided between two entities: Northern Region headquarters in Yellowknife, responsible for the companies in northern Quebec; and Maritime Command (the official name of the Royal Canadian Navy from 1968-2011), which oversaw the companies along the Lower North Shore.

During the 1970s and 1980s, concerns about Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic prompted the military to revitalize the Rangers, whose community roots helped keep Canada's North "strong and free." By the 1990s, the news media began to emphasize the social and political contributions of the Ranger organization to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities at a time when Canadians were increasingly aware of the importance of strengthening Indigenous-military partnerships. Ranger training and resupply resumed, and the company-platoon structure was replaced with a community-focused structure built around individual Ranger patrols. In this context, the number of Rangers increased rapidly, as did the areas that the Ranger organization covered. When the Army brought together all of the Ranger patrols in Quebec under the command of Land Force Quebec Area (LFQA) in 1993, the groundwork was laid to forge a Ranger identity for the province as a whole.

Journalists praised the Rangers' active role in teaching the military and in sharing traditional knowledge with youth. The creation of the Junior Canadian Rangers (JCR) in 1996 formalized the latter role, providing the Rangers and their communities with a new way to strengthen the intergenerational transfer of knowledge. With the strong support of the Kativik Regional Government (KRG), the Rangers in Quebec were at the forefront of developing the JCR program and, in addition to community-centred activities, began to organize the first JCR summer camps to bring together youth from across the province.



In 1997, the Canadian Army reorganized the Canadian Rangers into five Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups across the country. In Quebec, the headquarters of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) opened in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu that November. It serves all of the Rangers in the



province, whether located in Nunavik, along the Lower North Shore, in Eeyou Istchee/James Bay, or “south of 60.” This restructuring proved to be a major turning point in professionalizing, formalizing, and coordinating support for the Rangers. The Rangers in 2 CRPG have continued to expand and flourish since that time, benefitting from enhanced training and resources to complement the existing skills and knowledge that they bring to the Ranger family.

The interest of the Canadian population in the Rangers continues to grow in the twenty-first century, largely propelled by concerns about sovereignty and security in Canada’s Arctic. The most common image of the Rangers is

that of a line of snowmobiles flying the Canadian flag on the Arctic tundra or sea ice. As the story of 2 CRPG reveals, however, the Canadian Rangers' important role is not limited to high-profile sovereignty operations. Supporting a wide range of government agencies, the Rangers ensure the safety and security of their communities on an ongoing basis. Given their expertise and training, they are first responders in emergencies and disasters (such as snowstorms, power plant outages, or plane crashes) and frequently support ground search and rescue operations.

Over the last two years, Rangers have distinguished themselves as part of the response to the COVID-19 pandemic. 2 CRPG was the first CAF unit formally requested and mobilized for this operation, with more than 250 Rangers from all fourteen communities in Nunavik and thirteen communities on Quebec's North Shore contributing directly to Operation LASER – the largest and longest domestic operation in which the Canadian Rangers have been mobilized since the first patrols were established in 1947.

Today, more than 5,000 Canadian Rangers, speaking more than twenty-six languages and dialects, serve in more than 200 patrols across Canada. The 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group has nearly 1,500 members, including seventy-three military and civilian personnel, 700 Canadian Rangers, and 700 Junior Canadian Rangers. Serving in thirty-six Quebec communities, the Rangers and Juniors of 2 CRPG reflect the diversity of the province, including Inuit, Cree,



Innu, Naskapi, and Métis members. Proud and courageous, the Canadian Rangers provide a useful and effective military presence in remote areas. They remain ever vigilant – keeping careful watch over their communities and our country.



The Origins of the Canadian Rangers, 1942-1952

The Pacific Coast Militia Rangers, 1942-1945

In 1941, Japanese military advances in the Pacific led defence planners to reconsider the security of British Columbia. The chief of the general staff in Ottawa assured the minister of national defence that if war broke out with Japan, the Canadian forces on the Pacific Coast would be adequate to stop any probable attack. When Japan began offensive operations in December 1941, however, concerned citizens worried that these forces were not strong enough.

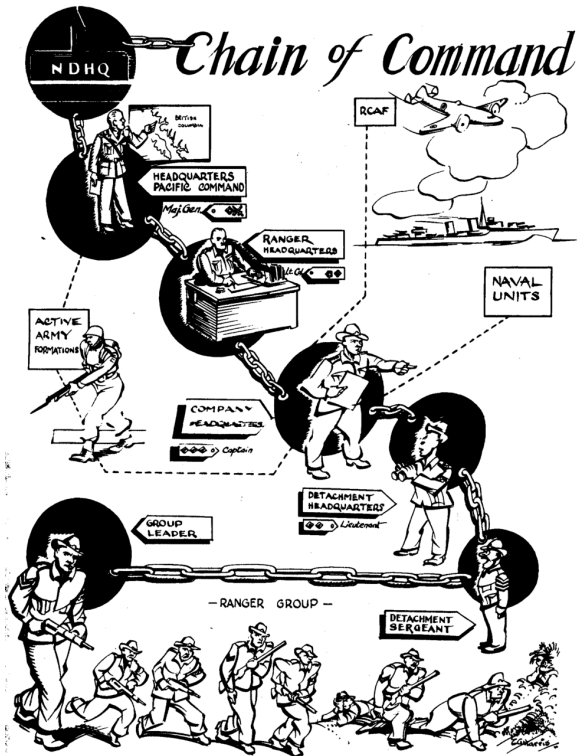
The military did not want to take trained soldiers who were needed to fight the war in Europe and send them to British Columbia to defend against an unlikely threat. Instead, defence officials saw an opportunity to tap into the local knowledge and skills that British Columbia residents already had. “Only experienced men accustomed to rugged, timbered country could adequately undertake much of the work required if the [Japanese] gained a foothold,” insisted Lieutenant-Colonel T.A.H. “Tommy” Taylor, the officer tasked with setting up a volunteer defence force. He sought out hardy woodsmen with strength of character who lived along the coast and in the interior of the province. Their ability to work independently and creatively would make this new force adaptable and effective in fulfilling its duties. Military authorities settled on the name “Pacific Coast Militia Rangers” or “PCMR.” Members simply referred to themselves as “the Rangers.”

Originally, military organizers focused on coastal communities, where the threat of invasion seemed most serious. The call went out for volunteers. Within two



weeks, the Ranger commanders who had been appointed had organized forty companies with more than 5,000 Rangers. Within a few months, the PCMR had grown to more than 10,000 Rangers along the coast, main roads, and highways, as well as near vulnerable points throughout the province. They had three operational tasks: (i) to have an “up-to-date, complete and detailed knowledge of their area,” which they would share with Pacific Command headquarters and local military leaders; (ii) to report any suspicious vessels, unusual subversive activity, or groups of saboteurs infiltrating Canadian soil; and (iii) in emergencies, to repel enemy invasions and attacks (alone or with the Army) and to slow their progress using anti-sabotage measures and guerrilla tactics.

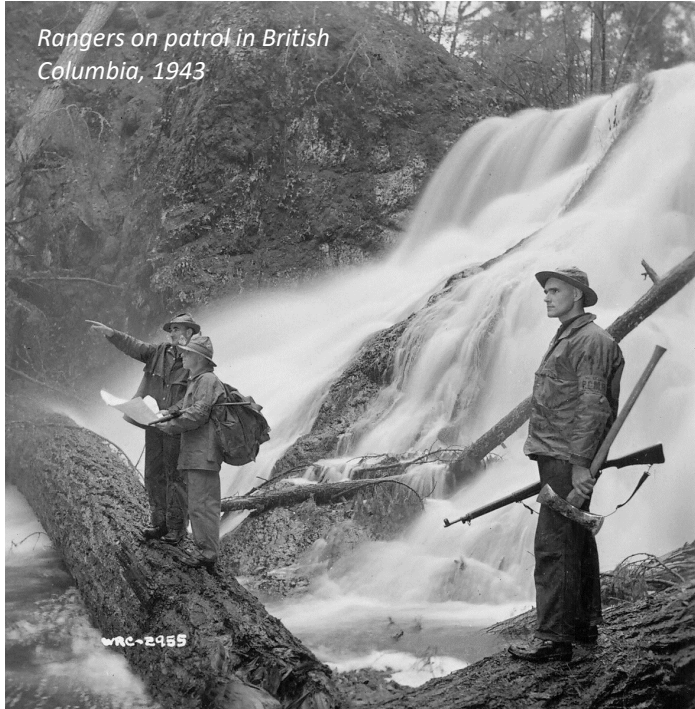
In this highly informal organization, the Rangers received no pay, no military vehicles, and no regimental equipment to do their daily duties. Instead, they would rely upon personal clothing, equipment, and means of transportation that were suited to their local areas in the different seasons. They were provided with steel helmets and armbands to prove their military status (and eventually “dry-bak” uniforms), as well as guns and ammunition. Using local initiative, they trained to defend against possible raids or attacks, preparing to fight on their own or to assist Regular Forces. They built local rifle ranges and met in community halls, Royal Canadian Legion buildings, and church basements to train in reconnaissance and map reading. They also trained in scouting and guerrilla tactics, as well as attending lectures and demonstrations when instructors toured their areas. Eventually, the Army established a training camp near Chilliwack, British Columbia, where Rangers from across the province could attend courses to upgrade their skills. Overall, however, the focus was on community-based training and preparedness.



At their peak in August 1943, the PCMRs numbered nearly 15,000 trappers, loggers, fishers, and workers in other essential industries, as well as men who were either too old or too young for regular military service. These Rangers served in 126 companies along the coast and interior of British Columbia and the Yukon.

Despite the low-cost nature of the PCMRs, defence officials eventually questioned their relevance in the face of a changing strategic situation. With the Japanese threat diminishing at the end of 1943, Pacific Command limited the PCMR to 10,000 members. Then the Imperial Japanese Army began launching “balloon bombs” towards North America in 1944. The Rangers played a central role in finding and reporting the balloons, giving the Ranger organization a new lease on life.

The Second World War in the Pacific ended in early September 1945. Having fulfilled its objectives and mission, the PCMR was officially disbanded in a formal ceremony in Vancouver at the end of that month. In appreciation of their voluntary and unpaid service, Rangers who had served for more than ninety days were allowed to keep their uniforms and purchase their rifles for a nominal sum of five dollars.



The post-war period, 1946-1952

With the Second World War barely over, the Cold War between the Soviet Union, the United States, and their allies soon cast its shroud over Canada's North. Indeed, the shortest air route between the rival superpowers passed over the Arctic. The isolation, cold, and vast distances that had once made the region an impassable barrier suddenly seemed to be useless bulwarks against long-range bombers. Not only did the Department of National Defence believe that it was crucial for the Canadian Army to defend the North, but the military also insisted that there was a risk of undermining Canadian sovereignty if the United States assumed sole responsibility for defending the region. However, despite these considerations, the federal government, then in the midst of budget cuts following the end of the war, did not have the desire to mobilize a large number of soldiers in the North.

Accordingly, Canada's regional military commanders developed modest measures to defend the North. Major-General Frank "Worthy" Worthington, in charge of Western Command, concentrated on mobilizing local reservists. In early 1946, he informed Army Headquarters in Ottawa that northerners wanted to contribute to Canadian defence. However, limited transportation and communication connectivity, as well as local demographics, did not allow the military to create typical Reserve units. When Worthington visited Yellowknife and Dawson City in the summer, local delegations proposed forming Ranger units modelled on the PCMR. This time, however, the organization would be national in scope, extending to the northern, eastern, and western coasts and concentrating on small, isolated communities. This structure was intended to avoid any competition between the "Militia Rangers" – the proposed name – and existing Reserve units. This proposal corresponded to what Worthington was looking for, and he passed the idea on to Ottawa.

The Canadian Ranger concept took shape over the following months, through debates between the Army's regional commanders and senior officials in Ottawa. They decided that the organization would operate "throughout Canada, in populated areas not normally crossed or under surveillance and where it is impossible to organise other Reserve Force units." Ranger units would therefore be established in remote communities under the responsibility of regional commanders.



Map 1-1: Map of Army command locations, 1946

Although the regional commands agreed to this proposal, they disagreed on the degree to which the new units would be organized (fully, partially, or simply on paper). While Western Command recommended the establishment of units organized in the same manner as those of the PCMR, the other commands preferred to stick to “nuclei” of units to better balance practical requirements with the nature of peacetime needs. In Quebec Command, Major-General E.J. Renault advocated for the establishment of forces centred on Hudson’s Bay Company or Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) posts, where Rangers could be mobilized quickly. On the one hand, he argued, simple planning on paper would not adequately prepare unit members to respond quickly to an emergency situation. On the other hand, trying to fully organize a national Ranger force from the onset would be unrealistic and perhaps even unhelpful. Across the country, officers emphasized the importance of organizational flexibility, a recommendation that is still relevant today. Furthermore, Renault felt that uniform training for all Rangers would be inappropriate given the diversity of individual Rangers’ experience and expectations, but he insisted that they be provided with communications equipment so they could adequately cover sensitive areas.

The idea was not to create a full force, but to recruit a “nucleus” of Rangers led by “key personnel” living in the communities. Rangers would not be trained as soldiers and would not have to meet the same physical standards as other soldiers. “Normal service” would go unpaid, but when they participated in manoeuvres with other military units or attended military schools, they would receive standard military pay.

In early April 1947, during an inspection of West Coast defences, Minister of National Defence Brooke Claxton announced the formation of the Canadian Rangers on a limited basis across the country. Order in Council P.C. 1644 of 23 May 1947 marked the creation of this organization as a Reserve Militia Corps. The Rangers would be a modest force, limited to 5,000 members across Canada. According to P.C. 1644, they were to use their local knowledge to act as guides and scouts for the Army, report suspicious activities to civilian authorities, assist in the apprehension of potential saboteurs, and conduct search and rescue operations. These roles were very similar to those of the PCMR, but the Rangers now covered a much larger area.

Some officers suggested that the Rangers should be given a more traditional military role and trained as soldiers in the south. Others, like Lieutenant-Colonel Bob Keane of Western Command, argued that the Rangers should be seen as something unique and different, as he explained in July 1947:

We don't want, and we don't need, further organized military bodies supplementing Active and Reserve Forces but what we need is that small groups of specially adapted people take an interest in the defence of their country in order that we may derive the greatest benefits from their knowledge and particular facilities and it is necessary that they be organized to some extent; but I am afraid that if we try to make them too military we will certainly stand to lose by it. I can understand that the “powers that be” wish to retain the strictest possible control over anyone with firearms, particularly when issued by the Department [of National Defence] and I can see the reason for it but I also suggest that if the ... interest [is] taken by the respective Commanders, that the organization can be kept in line and a great deal of benefit will accrue to the [Canadian] Forces and the country in general.

The main role of the Rangers, then, would be to gather local intelligence. Even in wartime, they would remain in their immediate areas, serving as “the

eyes, ears and feelers of all services in the more isolated portions of the country.” They would provide a unique service, not a watered-down version of other Reserve and Regular Force personnel. The important thing would be to make use of their local knowledge and existing skills without over-militarizing them. Rather than teaching hand-to-hand combat or weapons handling, Ranger training would focus on elementary topography, message writing, the use of wireless radios, and other basic essentials. As a military uniform and equipment, the Rangers would be issued armbands and Lee Enfield No. 4 Mk. 1 rifles.

To become a Ranger, the emphasis would be on local residency, with no limitations on age or physical ability. Rangers would therefore come from diverse backgrounds, could be older than other soldiers, and would not all speak English or French. To accommodate this diversity, the Ranger organization was designed to be flexible and based on regional or community specificities. On paper, however, Ranger units would follow a typical Army combat company model. Ranger captains, appointed by regional Army headquarters, would be responsible for the control and administration of a Ranger company of up to five platoons. Each Ranger platoon, commanded by a lieutenant, would accommodate up to thirty Rangers of other ranks, who would themselves be grouped into sections commanded by sergeants.

To create these units, Army officers searched for the right local leaders: men respected in their communities who would head up companies and platoons. Once a Ranger leader assumed command, he would select outdoorsmen for his detachments, “whether they be white men, Indian, or Eskimo,” who knew their local area like “the palm of their hand.”

It was not until 12 August 1947 that a General Personnel Policy Statement was published. The overall recruitment strength was set at 5,000, all ranks combined, distributed as follows:

Eastern Command:	60
Quebec Command:	550
Central Command:	300
Prairie Command:	1,490
<u>Western Command:</u>	<u>2,600</u>
TOTAL:	5,000

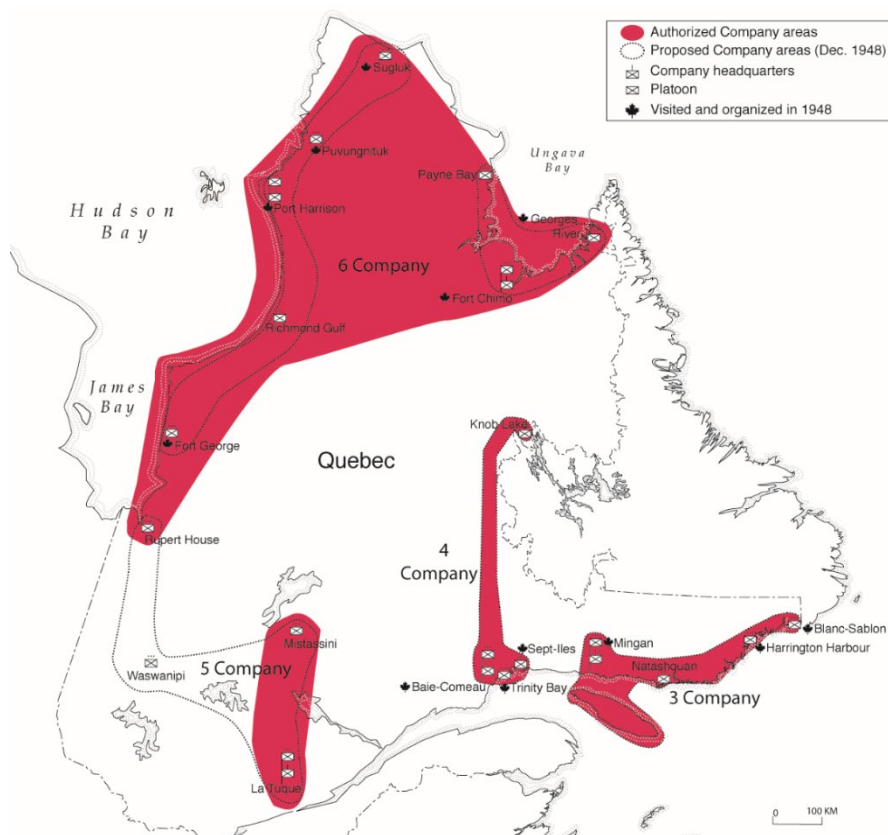
The first Canadian Ranger companies were created according to these directives.

The first Canadian Ranger companies in Quebec

During the Second World War, when German submarines attacked shipping in the St. Lawrence, residents of isolated communities along the river mobilized in Reserve units and trained to patrol the coast. During the war, nearly 5,000 Quebecers served as volunteer observers in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Air Detection Corps. All telegraph employees on the North Shore, from Tadoussac, Quebec, to Red Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador, were members. After formally dismantling this detection corps in 1944, the federal authorities wanted to maintain minimal defences around the Mingan, La Tuque, and Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq) airfields, as well as around the La Tuque and Saint-Maurice River hydroelectric power stations. A symbolic military presence at Hudson's Bay Company posts and in isolated communities, whether inland or along the coast, was deemed sufficient. Later, this experience showed that the presence of Rangers in the communities reduced the need to deploy soldiers to isolated regions.

The first companies were authorized in Yukon, under the responsibility of Western Command, on 22 August 1947: No. 1 Company (Dawson City) and No. 2 Company (Whitehorse). Early the following year, Quebec Command proposed the organization of the first four companies, with eleven platoons, that would cover the sparsely populated coastal areas of the province:

- No. 3 Company (Mingan)
 - Anticosti Platoon
 - Harrington Harbour Platoon
 - Blanc-Sablon Platoon
- No. 4 Company (Seven Islands)
 - Clarke City Platoon
 - Lac Nichicun Platoon
 - Baie-Comeau Platoon
- No. 5 Company (La Tuque)
 - La Tuque Platoon
 - Chibougamau Platoon
- No. 6 Company (Fort Chimo - Kuujjuaq)
 - Fort Mackenzie Platoon
 - Port Harrison Platoon (Inukjuak)
 - Rupert House Platoon (Waskaganish)



Map 1-2: Map of proposed Quebec locations, 1948

Authorized on 27 February 1948, the locations of these first companies and their platoons were adjusted according to the advice of the local residents and the realities of the terrain. At first, Captain A. Gaumond, an intelligence officer for Eastern Quebec region, concentrated on organizing the platoons along the 1,050 kilometres of the North Shore, stretching along the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Saguenay (Tadoussac) to Blanc-Sablon, located on the Labrador border.

The headquarters of Company No. 3 were located in Mingan. Nestled behind an archipelago of limestone islands, Mingan is home to one of the most beautiful harbours on the North Shore. It was comprised of three distinct communities: a US Air Force station with over 200 civilians and military personnel and a good communications system; the municipality of Longue-Pointe-de-Mingan, with a population of 700; and finally, the town of Mingan, accessible only by boat or plane and inhabited by thirty-five Whites and 150 Innu. The senior officer of the US Air Force appointed one of his civilian

employees, James Patrick Whelan, as Commander of Company No. 3. Whelan, assisted by his second-in-command and a platoon commander, then recruited one section of Indigenous residents and another of Whites from Longue-Pointe-de-Mingan.

A platoon was then formed in Harrington Harbour, a fishing village of about 400 people. Surrounded by countless islands, Harrington Harbour was difficult to approach. "This was an area where silence reigned supreme, where ballot boxes reached their destination the day after scheduled elections," wrote Father Gabriel Dionne upon his arrival in 1948. Only the monthly transit of the old liner *The North Voyager* linked the Lower North Shore to the rest of Canada. The inhabitants of Harrington Harbour emphasized the extreme slowness of communications and the unpredictable weather, which complicated travel between villages, especially by dogsled in the winter. The platoon, once established, would focus on coast watching and aircraft spotting along the linear community between Natashquan and the St. Augustine River, which included the settlements of Kegaska, Wolf Bay, Cape Whittle, Etamamiou River (Etamamiou), Pointe-à-Maurier, Whale Head, Mutton Bay, and La Tabatière. Born and raised in Harrington Harbour, Gordon Jones became a Ranger in 1948 and remained one for thirty-six years. During the war, he served with the Black Watch Regiment in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany. Working as a game warden along the coast between La Romaine and Saint-Augustin, Jones recalled that he had "no real reason for joining -- I was just asked. Because I was going around in a boat, it just made sense." He enlisted without signing any forms or partaking in any start-up training. He simply received a rifle, a web belt, and an armband. The officer instructed him that, if a plane came down in the district, he should "do what he could."

What officers encountered on the ground during their visits influenced how plans for practical units took shape. Quebec Command proposed the headquarters for the second Quebec company (No. 4) at Sept-Îles, but plans changed when Captain Gaumond met with Henry Arthur Sewell, a former captain of the 42nd Highlanders of Montreal, the woods manager for the Quebec North Shore Pulp and Paper Company, and the mayor of Baie-Comeau. Sewell convinced him that his company town was a "more logical" choice for the new Ranger company's headquarters. Baie-Comeau was larger and had better communications, and many local veterans would be interested in joining. Furthermore, the town had an appropriate local commander: Maurice Lebon, an ex-paratrooper who had fought with the Canadian and



American armies in the Aleutian Campaign and sustained serious injuries during the battle for Anzio in Italy. After the war, he became the sports officer for the pulp and paper company. Lebon enthusiastically agreed to serve his country once again, and he organized the company in Baie-Comeau. Given that most men in the area travelled north in fall and winter, the headquarters' location had little bearing on regional coverage.

The demographics of "Nouveau Quebec," the Ungava Peninsula covering the northern two-thirds of the province that encompassed No. 5 and No. 6 Companies, were very different from those of the North Shore. The 7,500 kilometres of coastline from Cape Jones on Hudson Bay to Cape Chidley at the northern tip of Labrador were home to a predominantly Inuit population. The region's vastness, sparse population, and limited communications and transportation infrastructure posed significant problems for defence planners. Not all trading posts had airstrips. There was no land communication during the summer season, and dog teams were the only means of communication in winter. Without a budget, the Army staff could not visit all the potential sites. Major Guy Grenier, the regional intelligence officer, had little information when he flew to Fort Chimo (Kuujuaq), Sugluk (Salluit), Port Harrison (Inukjuak), Rupert House (Waskaganish), Lac Nichicun, and Chibougamau to form platoons in August 1948. At most, he was able to select officers and begin the recruitment process before returning to the south. Records of this visit no longer exist, but memories of it survive in oral histories. Johnny Tookalook was not quite sixteen when a *qallunaaq* (white man) arrived from Port Harrison (Inukjuak) and gave him a rifle, twenty

rounds of ammunition, and an armband. He continued to serve in the Rangers with the Sanikiluaq patrol (now part of Nunavut, but with close connections to Nunavik) for more than five decades.

Upon their return to Montreal, officers had little contact with the companies and platoons. Army officials provided Ranger company and platoon commanders with simple written instructions and expected them to recruit new members. “You will NOT receive any arms or ammunition before the summer of 1949,” Captain Gaumond advised the platoon commanders. “However, in the meantime it is expected that you will carry on recruiting and making plans for your area.” The vitality of individual Ranger units thus depended solely on the local officers’ powers of persuasion.

The few individuals who had already enlisted took their role seriously. Lieutenant Douglas A. Rowsell, the platoon commander in Harrington Harbour, owned and operated the only store in town and served as the town’s schoolteacher, church warden, and postmaster. On 31 October 1948, he reported that a suspicious man had crossed the Strait of Belle Isle from Newfoundland (still a separate colony from Canada at the time) and had been slowly working his way along the coast in a small boat. The man, giving himself different names at different places, had arrived in the community the night before with no baggage of any kind, and had booked himself passage to an unknown destination. Rowsell wanted instructions on what to do. Headquarters in Eastern Quebec Region told him that the man probably belonged to the Royal Air Force but asked local Rangers to keep an eye on him.



A gradual expansion

In contrast to the rapid growth of the PCMR during the Second World War, the ranks of the Canadian Rangers grew slowly in the late 1940s. In 1948, the Army organized the first Canadian Ranger companies in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Ontario, giving the institution a more national presence. It also supported the new military concept of a Mobile Striking Force. Given how impractical it would be to station Regular Forces across all of Canada’s vast northern territories, and the lack of a credible enemy threat

to the region, it made more sense to train and equip paratroopers, based in southern Canada, so that they could be flown to remote regions to deal with a small-scale enemy incursion such as the capture of an airfield. To operate safely and effectively in isolated areas, these Regular Force units needed the local knowledge of the Canadian Rangers.

Because Canada did not face an immediate military threat, the work of organizing the Rangers was done quietly and with little publicity to ensure that the Rangers recruited men of absolute integrity. This practice also reflected how the Army wanted to spend as little money as possible to organize and recruit the Rangers – which meant that it would be a drawn-out process.

In October 1948, fifteen months after the formal creation of the corps, the Canadian Rangers had forty-four officers and fifty-seven men of other ranks. At the beginning of 1949, Quebec had three companies established – at Mingan, Baie-Comeau, and Fort Chimo (Kuujuuaq) – and eleven of its fourteen platoons planned. The Port Harrison (Inukjuak) Company was created that same year.

While organizational efforts continued, companies and platoons sought to keep busy. Since the Army had not authorized any activities or training for the Rangers, they began to lose interest in their units.

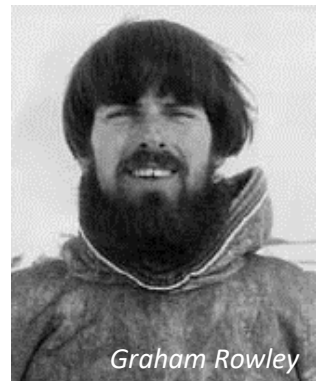
At Quebec Command, Major-General Geoffrey Morton felt that “it would never be easy to keep in touch with the other ranks, many of whom were Indians and Eskimos of migratory habits.” However, while some commanders in other regions did not see a role for Aboriginals in the Rangers, Morton felt that their way of life was well suited to that of a military organization. After all, “the Eskimos and Indians living in isolated communities were excellent marksmen and probably would use the annual 100-round allotment of ammunition (the only remuneration they received) for hunting seal and reindeer.” The Hudson’s Bay Company, as well as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which had taken away the flour and sugar allowances from Indigenous people and distributed ammunition to encourage them to hunt rather than rely on outside help, welcomed the distribution of weapons to the Rangers.

Far from sharing these negative stereotypes, Morton highlighted the potential benefits of integrating Aboriginal people with intimate knowledge of the land and northern survival skills into the Rangers. Lieutenant P.M. Wright, the Ranger officer at Fort Chimo, had recently passed along a report

from Inuit claiming that an eight-foot-long rocket had landed near their camp at Great Whale River. Wright had asked the local missionary to investigate. Morton saw this as an ideal model for information gathering. Local hunters and trappers were already out on the land, and even if they did not possess the language or technology to communicate their observations to the military, missionaries and factors at trading posts did. In his view, the Rangers were already proving their worth.

There was more going on along the north shore of the St. Lawrence River and north of the fifty-second parallel in Quebec than the available statistics might have shown. Officers had been appointed and platoon recruitment was well underway in the four companies. The strength returns did not reflect this activity because ordinary mail came only once a year to posts in northern Quebec and only twice per month along the North Shore. Although Quebec Command placed its highest priority on communications, and although command headquarters had established a radio network to reach all Ranger platoons in the province, company headquarters had no way to contact platoons. In what would become a frequent refrain over the next four decades, Quebec Command requested radio sets so that its Rangers could communicate with one another and practise relaying messages. National headquarters decided against it: sets were in short supply and could not be maintained in remote areas, and the Rangers would not make full use of them until they organized completely. Quebec officers also found that the vast distances between company headquarters and platoons made it more feasible to administer and supply platoons from Montreal. Although this broke with army protocol and undermined the company-platoon hierarchy, defence planners in Ottawa agreed that the change was inevitable given the nature of the Ranger organization.

In late 1949, Graham Rowley, the head of Arctic research at the Defence Research Board, received disturbing news from Port Harrison (Inukjuak). The previous summer, a ship had supplied the Rangers with more than 100 rifles and 100 rounds of ammunition per weapon. "Unfortunately these rifles had never been 'zero'ed," Rowley reported, "and the apparent lack of accuracy seems to have encouraged the Eskimo to modify them to be more efficient by filing down the sights, as well as lightening them by shortening the stocks, etc."



Graham Rowley



Port Harrison (Inukjuak), 1948

However deep the Rangers' disappointment in the guns, the former musketry instructor doubted that these modifications would improve performance!

Other Ranger companies complained that they had not received any equipment at all. Some units had tried to establish lines of communication with Quebec Command headquarters, but they had received no response from military officials in the south. For example, in early 1950, Lieutenant Douglas A. Rowsell of Harrington Harbour complained that he had already enlisted about fifteen Rangers and sent the application forms to the Mingan commander, with a request for authorization to enlist more. He awaited an answer for several months. "Some of the men I enlisted have been asking for the Rifle and ammunition that was promised to them," he explained, and because they had not received it, they began to believe that "the whole thing has been called off."

The Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949, and the Korean War broke out a few months later. The possibility of a new world war between the communist bloc and the Western democracies became more likely. Although the threat to Canada remained low in remote areas, intensifying international tensions confirmed the value of the Rangers' role in gathering field information on conditions and infrastructure in these regions. The Royal Canadian Air Force asked them to report "any information on unusual activity they observe during exercises or patrols in the Arctic Islands or elsewhere in the Northwest Territories." In addition, the Army arranged for the Rangers to act as ground observers. These roles gave the Rangers a clearer focus.

In 1949, Newfoundland and Labrador became the tenth province of Canada. New Ranger units appeared along the Atlantic Coast. In the west, Ranger units continued to expand into towns and communities along the Alaska Highway from Dawson Creek to Fairbanks.

On 30 September 1950, the Canadian Rangers had an actual strength of fifty officers and 472 men of other ranks, organized into twenty-one companies, with thirteen in Western Command, four in Prairie Command, and four in Quebec Command. Then, on 25 May 1951, Defence Minister Brooke Claxton announced in the House of Commons that the Canadian Rangers would extend over the entire “Hudson Bay area and the north Atlantic coast” and cover “the whole area of the Northwest Territories, the Arctic, the coast of British Columbia.” At that time, although the Rangers provided modest coverage over the eastern and western flanks of Canada, they provided a sparse military presence in the Far North.

In 1951, Eastern Command assumed control of the Rangers in all of northeastern Canada, including Quebec, and began to organize companies on Baffin Island. In December of that year, a new Canadian Army policy set the distribution of Rangers as:

Eastern Command:	550
Quebec Command:	550
Central Command:	300
Prairie Command:	1,000
<u>Western Command:</u>	<u>2,600</u>
TOTAL:	5,000

The following year, Eastern Command’s Ranger liaison officer complained of being overburdened. Captain Ambrose Shea embarked in the summer of 1952 on a three-month voyage aboard the *C.D. Howe*, the new ice-strengthened government vessel that patrolled the Eastern Arctic. At each stop along Baffin Island and in northern Quebec, Shea organized platoons, ran basic communications exercises, delivered ammunition, and recruited new members.

In late September 1952, command of the Rangers in Quebec reverted to Quebec Command. They formed part of an increasingly national force that extended to the shores of Canada’s three oceans. Given the meagre resources dedicated to the Ranger organization, their vast geographical coverage was impressive. More than 1,500 Rangers had signed up across the country. They were now eager for some action!



From Action to Neglect, 1953-1969

Throughout the 1950s, the Rangers proved to be a useful and inexpensive military asset, participating in search and rescue operations and guiding southern units during exercises. In order to maintain cohesion between the Ranger units, the Army assigned a Ranger liaison officer (RLO) in each command. These officers were responsible for maintaining contact with the company commanders, as well as planning annual visits to the units to resupply them and provide basic training. However, the long distances between units and the difficulty of communications complicated these tasks.

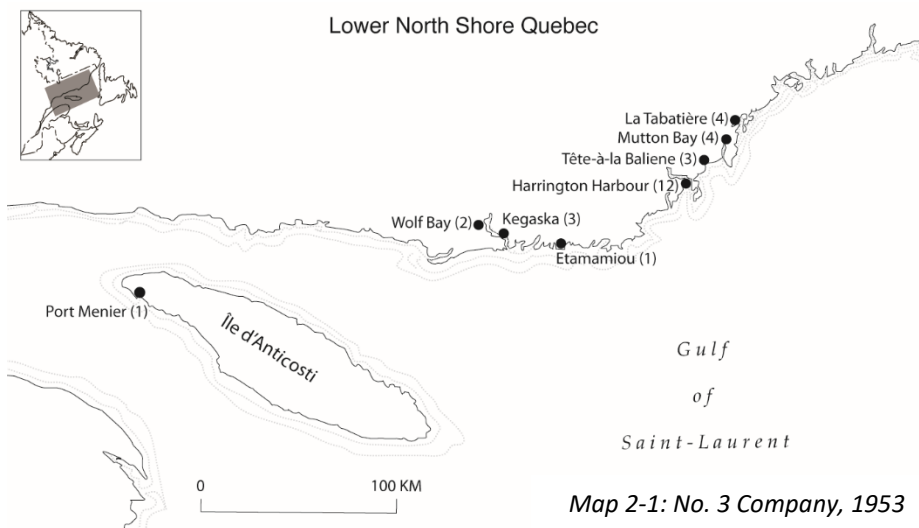
When Quebec Command took over responsibility for the Ranger units in September 1952, the regional commander appointed Major Peter Templeton as liaison officer. Templeton spent much of his time administering and organizing the platoons, but he stressed the importance of “constant and consistent personal liaison” to maintain Ranger interest in the organization. The Army had never visited some units, and some Rangers did not receive their annual ammunition allowances. Templeton had to remedy this situation. From October 1955 to September 1956, for example, he travelled more than 16,000 miles (25,000 kilometres) to visit the Rangers of his command: 12,724 miles by plane, 2,756 by boat, 146 by dogsled, and 74 by snowshoe. “Despite the apparent general belief that the command Ranger officer spends his time on boat and air trips for the purpose of fishing and hunting,” Templeton wrote, “it must be noted that considerable improvement in the Ranger situation has taken place.”

Creating and maintaining viable Ranger units meant sustaining contacts and fostering ongoing local relationships. Rangers signed on for three years and had to be re-engaged after that term elapsed. Only company and platoon commanders could reach individual Rangers spread across the country to do so. “It is apparent that the organizational period never ceases,” the director of military operations and plans noted. “The Ranger officers can undertake these tours in their own time but not at their own expense.” Ranger officers’

civilian jobs put them in contact with their men in theory. In practice, “some Rangers are trappers and woodsmen but the officers do not, as a body, get very far afield in their day to day work, neither do they have the financial means to undertake such travel,” a regional commander reported in 1954. “Weather conditions and the uncertainty of road and rail communications make travel conditions slow and expensive.” The Army authorized modest travel allowances so that company and platoon commanders could tour their areas and visit Rangers. The dispersion of units and the lack of communication between Ranger platoons and company headquarters, however, complicated the practical exercise of command.

To solve this problem, Templeton recommended that the platoon replace the company as the basic sub-unit of the Rangers. This would allow platoon officers to communicate directly with Quebec Command Headquarters in Montreal. The Army, however, was not ready to make this change in the 1950s. It preferred a more typical command structure, one that, on paper at least, offered fewer points of contact for liaison officers. Regional commanders would have to decentralize responsibilities within the existing framework and within the limits of the Rangers’ tiny budget.

Templeton managed to make this system work in Quebec. Along the North Shore, for example, company commanders, who were “capable and prominent citizens,” could not visit their platoons (let alone individual sections) because of their civilian work obligations. To maintain contact, Templeton paid Ranger Lieutenant Douglas A. Rowsell, the platoon commander at Harrington Harbour, to inspect his unit’s detachments each



Map 2-1: No. 3 Company, 1953

summer in the mid-1950s. He travelled 600 miles in twelve days, visiting Rangers deployed along the coast in groups of three or four. Despite the magnitude of this task, he gained a reputation for leading one of the best-run Ranger units.

For his part, Templeton also visited his platoons as soon as possible to keep in touch, check equipment and weapons, and record any personnel changes. His liaison visits to the North Shore platoons in summer 1957 show how these trips boosted Ranger morale and also provided him with better awareness of changing local conditions and constraints. In this case, he noted how rapidly expanding mining and power projects, particularly along the QNS&L (Iron Ore) railroad (Knob Lake-Sept-Îles), were transforming the region. In Havre-Saint-Pierre, Leopold Boudreau took the RLO on a tour of the area and explained the operation of the titanium mine (where Boudreau worked as a train despatcher). John Landry, the Ranger officer in Natashquan where everything “was in fine shape,” accompanied Templeton on the ship to Blanc-Sablon. En route, they visited Harrington Harbour, where Templeton exclaimed that “Doug Rowsell just won’t leave me anything to criticize! We had a good talk and made plans for his inspection visit which has since been completed and the usual meticulous report forwarded to [Army Headquarters].” In Saint-Augustin River, Pat Maurice had “a nice new dock to display,” and in Blanc-Sablon Templeton visited Graham Russell and his family, who had been “here so long that people refer to him” rather than the community’s name. The next stop was Port-Menier on Anticosti Island on the new – and “very posh” – cruise ship *SS Anticosti*. “This was a most exciting visit,” the RLO explained. He “spent some time visiting the woods operations then, on the way back to Port Menier John Smith hooked an 8 lb 2 oz salmon in the Riviere de l’Oeil. It had no sooner been hooked than he handed me the line and left me to land the fish which, under his expert guidance, I managed to do after half an hour or so!”

His visits that year also took him by train from Sept-Îles to Knob Lake, as well as on a six-day dog team trip from Fort George. “With the kind assistance of Constable Wayne Canam, RCMP who arranged for komatik, dogs and driver,” they had a successful trip, sleeping in a five-man army Arctic tent en route. “Rev[erend] John Martinson welcomed us and he and his staff swamped us with kindness and hospitality,” Templeton wrote. “His Rangers are well organized and he has things under good control. I’m afraid that, due to the weather, we were forced to abuse their hospitality somewhat but it was an experience in good manners and kindness that I’ll never forget.” Templeton also heaped praise on the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) for its

Ranger Liaison Officer Peter Templeton’s Travel by Mode of Transportation, 1956

Air	12,724 miles
Boat	2,756 miles
Rail	320 miles
Bus	240 miles
Dog team	146 miles
Foot (snowshoe)	74 miles
Total	16,260 miles

ongoing cooperation, noting that “I’m sure they’ve spent more time trying to fit me in to their trips than they spend on all their other passengers put together.”

Visiting all of the Rangers on an annual basis, however, proved impossible given that the RLO was a “one man show” with very limited resources. “As you know I had great hopes of visiting all our platoons this year but several things have interfered,” Templeton wrote in September 1957. “The trip to Fort Chimo had to be delayed as Bob May was away for the summer. Secondly, after all arrangements had been made to visit Ruperts House, I was suddenly sent on a Course to [Royal Military College] at Kingston. Thirdly, as the Arctic platoon commanders know, the *Rupertsland* got ice-bound and had to go into dry-dock and her trips were cancelled.” Templeton lamented that this left him “in a very bad position as I am almost out of touch with the Ranger officers in the North.” Noting that the Rangers sustained a high level of interest and the organization was “much improved,” the Ranger liaison officer noted optimistically that “perhaps the Arctic platoons are in better shape than I imagine. It’s most frustrating not being able to visit them and my only hope is that they realize [it is] not for want of trying.”

Liaison letters helped maintain contact with Rangers throughout the province. Templeton issued informal training bulletins twice annually to sustain Ranger interest and convey general information. Written in English and translated into French and Inuktitut (the latter by the resident Roman Catholic missionary in Sugluk/Salluit), they discussed rifle stores, safety, and equipment and offered updates on local Ranger commanders. “The informal language in which they are couched gets a very favourable reaction,” he reported. “The letters have been of great help in stirring up platoon competition in recruiting and in the recovery of rifles.”

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Rangers:

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Command Ranger Liaison Officer
HQ Quebec Command
3520 Atwater Ave

MONTREAL, PQ

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By late September 1956, Templeton reported that the Rangers in Quebec had been fully organized. Each platoon now had an officer, and the Rangers covered the North Shore and the Quebec shores of James Bay, Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, and western Ungava Bay. Communications remained a challenge, however, particularly in the Far North. "While there are numerous Rangers in the area from Port Burwell to Fort Chimo, there are at present no communication facilities," he observed. The HBC had closed its posts at Port Burwell and George River, and the Department of Transport had no stations in the area. While there were no Ranger platoons in the northern interior of Quebec (apart from the Schefferville-Sept-Îles corridor), Templeton was not concerned. First Nations and Inuit members of the coastal platoons covered most of the area in their seasonal hunting and fishing trips, thus providing an annual presence. Accordingly, while the Ranger organization in Quebec had space for up to 550 men, the liaison officer saw no need to try to reach that figure. He had faith that the thirteen officers and 364 Rangers in his command could do the job.

COY	Pl	Location	Officers	Rangers	Total
3	1	Havre St Pierre	1	20	21
	Det	Mataukquan		9	9
	2	Port Menier	1	25	26
	3	Harrington Harbour	1	29	30
	4	Blanc Sablon	1	30	31
	Det	St Augustine River		12	12
	Total No 3 Coy		4	125	129
4	1	Knob Lake (1)	1	-	1
	2	Trinity Bay	1	27	28
	3	Baie Comeau	1	30	31
	Total No 4 Coy		3	57	60
5	1	Port Harrison	1	22	23
	2	Rupert's House (1)	1	15	16
	3	Fort George (2)	-	27	27
	4	Povungnituk	1	40	41
	5	Great Whale River (1)	2	-	2
	6	Richmond Gulf (3)	-	-	-
	Total No 5 Coy		5	104	109
6	1	Fort Chimo	1	33	34
	2	Sugluk (2)	-	31	31
	Det	Payne Bay	-	9	9
	Total No 6 Coy		1	73	79
Grand Total			13	364	377

*Strength return of
Canadian Ranger
companies and
platoons in
Quebec, 1956*

In December 1956, there were 2,725 Rangers in forty-two companies across Canada, which indicated their growing footprint. With few resources, the Rangers gathered intelligence on suspicious ships and aircraft, participated in training with other Army units, conducted search and rescue missions, and assisted the RCMP. For example, in 1956, the Blanc-Sablon Rangers identified a suspicious aerial object and reported their observations. Less than ten minutes later, Templeton received their telegram. According to the press clippings, it proved to be a stray weather balloon. Nevertheless, this episode illustrated the capabilities of the Rangers and their responsiveness in relaying information to Army headquarters. That same year, *Toronto Star* reporter Robert Taylor painted a reassuring portrait of the Rangers on their lonely polar watch in 1956. “Some of [the Rangers] can’t read their own names but they are the real scholars of this country when it comes to reading signs on the trails of the north,” he explained. “Eskimos, Indians, whites and all the mixtures of these races, they are united in one task: Guarding a country that doesn’t even know of their existence.” They were not only “the least expensive military force any nation has today,” he highlighted, but highly useful in their role as eyes and ears in remote regions.

Bob May: Fur trader, trapper, and Canadian Ranger

“All Ranger officers have done good service and carried out their duties most satisfactorily,” Templeton noted in a 1956 report, but he drew special attention to Ranger Captain Bob May of Fort Chimo (No. 6 Company).

Born in Sandy Lake, Manitoba, in 1918, he went North at seventeen as a Hudson’s Bay Company apprentice and never left. Soon after arriving in Baffin and northern Quebec, “May quickly adapted to Inuit life, becoming fluent in Inuktitut and developing the skills necessary for Arctic survival and success,” his son-in-law Whit Fraser recounted. “He hunted, trapped, handled dog teams, learned igloo building and, above all, embraced Inuit values and traditions.” He brought these relationships and skill sets to the Rangers when he joined as one of the “originals.”

May assumed control over the platoons in George River and Fort Chimo in the mid-1950s, and within a short time re-enlisted forty Rangers and accounted for forty-five of the sixty rifles that had been issued in that area. Templeton noted that May also provided “the greatest assistance in rendering advice as to trips, training, accounting, and interpreting in a most practical manner.”

Training and exercises

In the early 1950s, Ottawa officials recommended activities to test each company's vigilance, organization, and communication skills. In addition, they suggested that the Rangers participate in military training in the areas covered by their units – and particularly Mobile Striking Force activities – so that the Army could assess the Rangers' usefulness as guides. Accordingly, platoon training focused on signalling, aircraft recognition, navigation, and topographical surveys. This was complemented by inter-unit training in the sharing of information and identification of vital points in the region, as well as practical field training with elements of the Regular Force.

In the early 1950s, intelligence estimated that Soviet paratroopers could, at most, mount company-size attacks on northern Canada and sea-borne attacks of up to ten men against coastal targets. Atomic weapons made these attacks unlikely, but the enemy could possibly sabotage vital points, such as bridges on the Alaska Highway, remote weather stations, and early-warning radar lines. In this eventuality, Canada would need some kind of response capability to deal with enemy lodgements in isolated areas, and the Rangers seemed to be a good option.

The Rangers in Western Command were most active in this respect. For example, in February 1953, Captain Kenneth Murray Mackenzie ordered the Rangers of 21 Company to the local airstrip and transmitter station to report unidentified aircraft during Exercise BULL DOG near Fort Norman, Northwest Territories. These exercises showed that the Rangers were up to speed on their patrol tactics. However, they still had a lot to learn about operating with other forces. The attack on Fort Norman in Exercise BULL DOG, for example, caught the Rangers completely off guard. In the panic triggered by the arrival of the first paratroopers, the Rangers opened fire on troops arriving as reinforcements! Officials also noted that the Rangers had to learn to communicate clear plans and transmit enemy movements accurately and reliably. While they had guided the allied units, they had not anticipated certain problems, such as the difficulty for troops of moving at night on sledges or snowshoes. As a result, the Rangers easily outran and outpaced both the enemy and their allies! Officials concluded that in order to play a useful role in combat, the Rangers needed more experience. Despite this, the Rangers' interaction with Regular soldiers during these exercises increased the enthusiasm and confidence of the Rangers.



Rangers on Exercise BULL DOG, 1953

In a report from Silver Creek, Yukon, a journalist with the *Montreal Gazette* told readers on 13 February 1954 about “unsung Ranger Arctic warfare defenders” engaging in “guerrilla warfare” for the Army. This article and others like it helped promote the idea that the Rangers were a combat-orientated force. The reporter explained that during HOT DOG II, this “little-known militia unit,” which represented “North America’s first line for Arctic defence,” had demonstrated “the guerrilla tactics they would use if an enemy ever invaded sub-Arctic Canada from the north.” The Rangers, a diverse lot, included “ex-RCMP officers who have settled in the north, trappers, guides, prospectors, Hudson’s Bay Co. trading personnel, and a few Eskimos and Indians.” Every Ranger, the author declared, “is a crack shot.” Canadians could rest assured. “Should an enemy ever advance over the Arctic barrens,” he reported, “the Ranger role would be hit-and-run operations to stall the invading force until Canada’s mobile striking force could be transported or parachuted into the area.”

Later that same month, an *Ottawa Citizen* headline proclaimed that during an “Arctic Exercise: Indians Point the Way.” Near Sept-Îles, Quebec, Rangers with No. 4 Company had acted as a local defence force during the Mobile Striking Force exercise LOUP GAROU. “Indians, woodsmen and trappers ... are emerging as the heroes of this fast-paced Arctic exercise,” the newspaper reported. “For days before the paratroopers hurtled into the Sept Îles salient to box in the northern attacking force, Rangers scoured the ground, dodging the invaders but closely watching their movements as they set up defence

positions.” When the mock invasion force took over the airport, the Rangers, described as “a civilian commando outfit, faded in the surrounding woods,” where they patiently bided their time and harassed the enemy until an airborne assault force arrived. “The Rangers knocked out one of the enemy’s two medium machine-gun posts, shot up a light machine-gun outfit and captured a mortar position with the loss of only one man.” The loss was theoretical, of course, but the excitement was palpable. The Rangers, who lacked radio facilities to communicate with air and ground forces, still emerged on cue from their bush hideouts and donned their red armbands when the airborne troops arrived. The official after-action report made no specific mention of the Rangers. The press, by contrast, homed in on them as unorthodox military heroes.

The participation of the Rangers in these exercises reopened the debate about their role. Did the exercise scenarios go far beyond the official mandate of the Rangers, and were their roles competing with those of the Regular and Reserve Forces? Furthermore, did Ranger participation in these training exercises create unrealistic expectations about what they could do in an actual battle? While Western Command wanted to professionalize the Rangers and train them for combat, Major Templeton did not share this view. In March 1955, he observed that:

The part[s] played by Rangers in recent [Mobile Striking Force] exercises were beyond their actual capabilities and not in accord with their terms of reference. Aggressive fighting patrols such as were carried out during LOUP GAROU and BULLDOG III were rated to be successful, whereas it does not seem reasonable that a heavily armed, well trained enemy in superior strength would have been as effectively contained as happened on these exercises. Rangers were given tasks during the past two BULLDOG exercises which were far in excess of their normal abilities and in fact were treated as an integral fighting part of the Friendly Force. This is very unrealistic and only serves to give a false impression of the capabilities of the Ranger organization.

Major Templeton attributed the Rangers’ much-touted successes in recent Mobile Striking Force exercises “to pre-exercise coaching and to the use of equipment and facilities which would not normally be available.” Officials had expected the Rangers to attack and defend as if they were formal soldiers rather than guides and scouts. To achieve these fighting standards in reality, however, the Army would need to organize the Rangers along militia lines and

provide modern infantry weapons, equipment, uniforms, and formal training. In Templeton's view, most Rangers could not absorb the information he presented, could not afford the time away from work to train, and would not receive enough professional instruction to train their own platoons. Finally, most Ranger platoons would not gather often enough to conduct the formal training required to play the role envisaged by Western Command Headquarters.

By overselling the Rangers, the military ran the risk of overlooking the Rangers' modest but clear contributions to national defence. Templeton reaffirmed that Rangers in Quebec Command should develop according to established Canadian Army orders, not Western Command's example. "In this way," he explained, "the Rangers afford a [potentially] valuable source of information and assistance to the [Mobile Striking Force] with a *minimum of expense*." Just because the concept was simple, he wrote to Captain Ambrose Shea, did not mean "it can't be any good!"

Templeton urged the Army to focus on the positive features of the Rangers:

- (a) They are permanent residents of their locality and district.
- (b) They are familiar with the local terrain.
- (c) They are most experienced hunters, trappers, fishermen and guides.



- (d) They are capable of living “off the country” for considerable periods without a fixed base.
- (e) They are experienced, all-weather travellers on land and water, ice and snow.
- (f) They are keen and interested, and particularly responsive to any suggestions from higher authority.

Templeton insisted that the Army should keep the Rangers as they were, because they were inexpensive “insurance against surprise air or sea landing nuisance raids in isolated areas.” He also warned against associating the Rangers too closely with the Mobile Striking Force: if defence analysis someday concluded that Canada no longer needed paratroopers to defend the North, he cautioned that this would have repercussions for the Rangers. History proved him right.

By the mid-1950s, political leaders and the military had abandoned the idea that the North could be a gateway for a ground invasion. In their threat assessment, the real task was to defend North America against transpolar air attack. In this respect, the role of the Rangers was diminished. They retained a role in monitoring the skies, but most attention moved from human sensors to radar networks that would automate the detection of enemy bombers and, defence planners hoped, deter the Soviets from ever launching an attack.

A quiet watch in a changing world

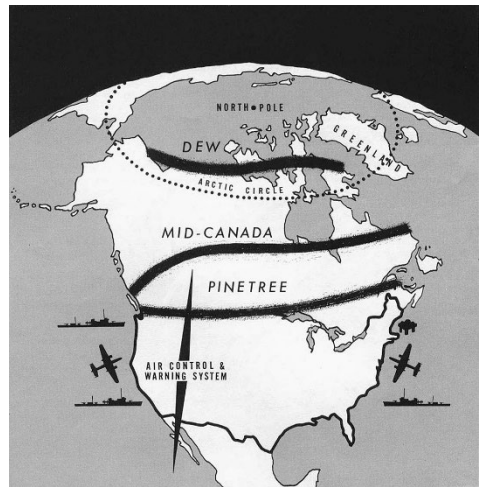
In the fall of 1958, the Canadian government publicly revealed the strength of the “shadowy band of volunteers who patrol Canada’s remotest areas on the lookout for any enemy landings.” It described a group of 2,690 trappers, loggers, prospectors, miners, and farmers quietly defending Canada’s remote northern and coastal areas. In a 10 September 1958 article, the *Toronto Star* highlighted the Rangers’ role, including their surveillance of potential enemy paratroopers dropped “into remote areas to set up beacons to guide bombers or submarines.” With less than forty-two dollars in issued equipment, these sturdy outdoorsmen – their identities “largely unknown” – could “operate alone for weeks at a time and can, for the most part, live off the land.” Army officials were otherwise “extremely close-mouthed” about the Rangers, who served in the shadows.

By the late 1950s, the concepts of massive retaliation, nuclear deterrence, and mutually assured destruction (MAD) were entering the jargon of

continental defence. Defence planners turned to high-tech solutions, abandoning land and sea-based approaches.

Between 1955 and 1957, the construction of the Mid-Canada and Distant Early Warning (DEW) Lines reshaped the Arctic, settling the Inuit in permanent communities and changing their ways of life. In Kuujuarapik/Whapmagoostui, an Inuit and Cree community on the southeast coast of Hudson Bay, the military employed local hunters and trappers to build the airstrip and radar station. In 1949, when anthropologist John Honigmann visited the community, its permanent facilities included a church, store, warehouse, small wharf, and five houses. In 1956, Major Templeton noted major changes, including a new subdivision that housed the RCMP, the Department of Transport, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Indigenous residents. Lieutenant D. Woodrow, the local platoon commander who also worked for the Department of Transportation, enlisted twenty Rangers to provide security for the military installations. Templeton anticipated that the Indigenous townsfolk would leave when the radar project was completed because there were few hunting or fishing opportunities in the area. He greatly underestimated the impact of the sedentary lifestyle, however, which drew Indigenous people into a relationship of dependency with the Canadian state.

In the 1950s, the collapse of the fur trade, wage employment, new housing in permanent communities, and access to new technologies profoundly altered Indigenous ways of life. Journalists proclaimed that the Arctic had gone from the "Stone Age" to the "Atomic Age" overnight.



By 1957, the Mid-Canada and DEW Lines were operational. That same year, the Soviets put the Sputnik satellite into orbit, which also demonstrated that

they had the capability to launch intercontinental missiles at North America. The idea of a land-based battle in the Canadian Arctic seemed obsolete. In this new strategic context, what role could the Rangers play? Equipped with simple armbands and rifles, they were no match for Soviet bombers and nuclear missiles.

During the 1960s, Ottawa's defence plans focused on three Ns: NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), NORAD (North American Air Defence Command), and nuclear weapons. As northern defences slid to the background, so did the attention and Army support given to the Rangers. "The Rangers were not disbanded," historian Kenneth Eyre explained, "but they were left to wither on the vine." Nevertheless, almost a dozen platoons were created in Quebec during that decade. The Ivujivik and Fort Chimo (Kuujuuaq) platoons were formed in 1960, the Harrington Harbour platoon in 1961, and the Kangiqsujuaq platoon in 1962. In 1964, two other platoons were created in Kangirsuk and Salluit. Finally, the Blanc-Sablon platoon was formed in 1968.

Some Quebecers still seized the opportunity to serve in the military in their home areas. Gordon Foreman of Harrington Harbour joined his local Ranger platoon in 1967 because he "liked the idea" and saw it as a way to serve his country. Gordon Jones knew all the Rangers in the region – "old men" such as Wilfred Kippen, his uncle Frank, and Great War veteran Gilbert Jones. Gordon Jones always kept his Ranger rifle in the bottom of his boat when he was out on the water in his civilian job as a game warden or with the auxiliary coast guard. Although wardens were prohibited from carrying other firearms, he had special permission to carry his .303 during daily activities because he was a Ranger. Still, no one conducted training for the Rangers, and the platoon



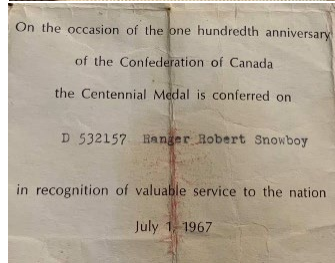
Gord Jones with Rangers of the Harrington Harbour patrol, 2017

never met. For Jones, the "perk" of being a Ranger was putting food on the table. He always used up his annual allotment of hard-point ammunition, which the company commander replaced whenever he visited communities along the coast. David Reginald Anderson – a carpenter, mechanic, and jack of all trades – received no military instruction whatsoever, but "living off the land" was a way of life for him and his friends. Hunting seals

not only allowed Rangers to “feed their families,” Gordon Foreman explained, but it also helped many become “very good shots.” This was “*real practice*,” he insisted, not like going to a range and shooting at stationary targets.

By the late 1960s, the Army seemed unable to clarify the role and objectives of the Rangers. National Defence Headquarters admitted that the units were “fairly autonomous, put up their own commanders, and simply asked for approval.” They were created when the threat of invasion seemed likely, and no one had thought of any reason to disband them. The Rangers were an inexpensive way to provide a military presence in hard-to-reach places. But with the military withdrawing from northern areas more generally to save money, did the Rangers serve a practical purpose? When Rangers left their remote communities or passed away, the Army did not recruit replacements. It did not replace lost or damaged rifles either. Liaison officers made fewer and fewer visits, making ammunition resupply sporadic. Without a clear objective, local Ranger commanders lost interest in their military duties and instead focused their volunteer energies on local civilian affairs.

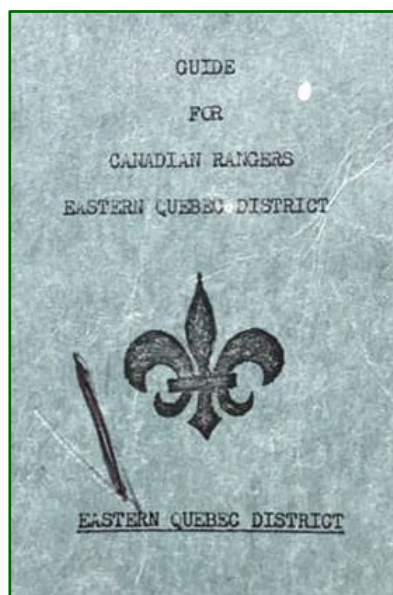
“One of the unfortunate aspects of the Rangers, in our experience, is the lack of understanding of the limited capabilities of this force,” Colonel Roland A. Reid, the commander of Quebec Region, noted in early 1968. Proposals to train the Rangers to a high degree of military effectiveness to defend industrial installations misrepresented and were based on a misunderstanding of the Rangers’ unique traits and limitations. The Rangers were deliberately chosen from among people who would not be mobilized for active service. They brought a modest suite of attributes to the defence of Canada: they were permanent residents of their localities and districts who lived and worked on the land and who could thus survive on it without a fixed base. As “experienced all-weather travellers on land and water, ice and snow,” Rangers offered continuous surveillance while hunting or “making excursions.” Reid emphasized that, despite their minimal training, the



Rangers offered a cheap form of insurance against nuisance raids. Echoing earlier commentators, and equally important in Reid's mind, the Rangers helped to indoctrinate residents of remote regions "against docile or even helpful action to a potential enemy."

Thus began nearly a decade of thinking about the future of the Rangers and their roles.

Clifford Georgesisk's enlistment booklet, 1967



CANADIAN RANGERS

ROLE

1. The role of the Canadian Rangers is to provide a military force in sparsely settled northern, coastal and isolated areas of Canada which cannot conveniently or economically be covered by other elements of the Canadian Army.

TASK

2. The normal tasks of the Canadian Rangers which are to be performed under ordinary as well as emergency conditions, are:
 - a. to report any suspicious activities occurring in their respective areas, to the Headquarter Eastern Quebec District Quebec City by the best means available.
 - b. to provide guides to army units operating within their area.
 - c. to assist in immediate local defence by containing or observing small enemy detachments pending the arrival of other forces. This does not include the responsibility for planning or directing local defence.
 - d. to perform aircraft spotting duties to supplement the RCAF Ground observer corps including the locating and reporting of aircraft apparently in distress within their area of responsibility.
 - e. to carry out coast watching.
 - f. to provide rescue parties for military purposes as detailed by the Commander Eastern Quebec District.

FOREWORD

This order sets forth the policy governing the Canadian Rangers in accordance with CMO 246-3.

NO. 3-PL-5 Coy NO. DP41075

RANK RANGER

NAME CLIFFORD GEORGESISK

DATE OF ENLISTMENT: APRIL 12th 1967

LOCATION: PAINT HILLS R.Q.

RIFLE NO: 2225850 5 FT 9 1/2"

- g. to assist the RCAF Police and/or provincial police in the discovery reporting and apprehension of enemy agents or saboteurs.
- h. to collect detailed information concerning their local area likely to be of assistance in their other tasks or of value to the Armed Forces generally.

SPECIAL TASK

3. Where it can be established that a locality requires a defence force and it is not feasible to employ a Regular Army or Militia unit for such a purpose officer commanding R&D may recommend to AM that this task be assigned to a Canadian Rangers unit.

MILITARY STATUS

4. The Canadian Rangers is a corps of the Reserve Militia. Members have therefore Military Status consistent with CR & C 2.03. Thus they are:
 - a. liable to serve only in an emergency.
 - b. not required to undergo annual training.
 - c. liable for service when placed on active service by the Governor in Council.





Sovereignty and Renewal, 1969-1984

In April 1969, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau unveiled his government's new defence priorities, which assigned central importance to the surveillance of Canada's territory and coasts and to the protection of its sovereignty. This mission, aimed at "the protection of Canada and Canadian national interests," was the main role of the Canadian Armed Forces. However, in August 1969, and again in 1970, the transit of the American tanker *Manhattan* through the Northwest Passage seemed to challenge Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic waters. In response to this apparent threat to Canadian sovereignty, the Opposition pressured the government in Parliament to strengthen Canada's presence in the High Arctic.

A few months later, in December 1969, the military's Steering Committee on the Canadian North concluded that "large-scale military activity in the Canadian North would not be justified on the basis of the direct military threat alone, nor would it be valid to permanently station large military establishments in the North." The Committee recommended retaining the Rangers because of their military and social contributions and argued that the Canadian Armed Forces could "substantially contribute to the defence against the indirect threat to Canadian sovereignty.... In order to make its contribution both to economic and social development, and the maintenance of sovereignty, the Canadian Forces must establish a presence in the Canadian North."

Despite grand plans for the Canadian Forces in the Arctic, money never matched rhetoric. In early 1970, however, soldiers resumed training in the northern territories, Maritime Command sent naval ships on their first northern deployment since 1962, and the military established Northern Region Headquarters in Yellowknife as the regional administrative, liaison, and support unit. Although responsible for the largest military region in the world, Northern Region had almost no operational units under its direct command. The Rangers were the exception: 700 members in thirty-six

northern communities, at least on paper. To contribute to sovereignty and security, however, these volunteers – neglected for more than a decade – would need to be re-engaged.

The Stirling Report: Reorganization or disbandment?

In April 1970, Mobile Command commissioned Major W.K. “Bill” Stirling to undertake a comprehensive study to determine what should be done “to reorganize the Canadian Rangers to perform their prescribed functions.” For example, should the force be reorganized and converted into a Primary Reserve unit or a paramilitary force similar to the Alaska National Guard? To answer this question, Stirling visited seventeen of the sixty-one communities with Ranger units. He quickly noted that the organization had lost momentum.

In Port-Menier, on Anticosti Island, Stirling discovered that there had been no Ranger activity since 1964. The district superintendent of Consolidated Bathurst Limited told Stirling that “there was no need for the Rangers as the Company had excellent communication with the mainland and would report any unusual activity as a matter of course.” At Harrington Harbour, Stirling found a total of five Rangers. A meeting with three of them revealed that they too had never met, had never been told what to do, and were “unable to describe any role they could perform other than report unusual incidents at sea which they would do anyway.” The local Anglican priest and pilot, Reverend John Blake, informed Stirling that Department of Transport radio operators, lighthouse keepers, fishing patrol boats, and commercial pilots were more familiar with activities in the area than the Rangers and that they routinely reported incidents. But according to Stirling, the situation for Rangers in Western Canada was even worse.

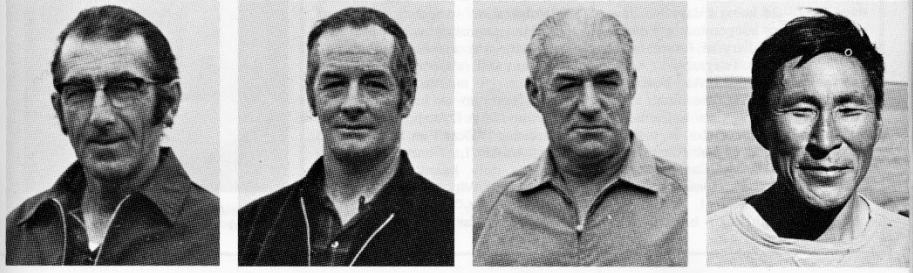
When Stirling submitted his report in August 1970, his conclusion was clear: “The Canadian Rangers as presently constituted both in form and concept should be disbanded.” The North had changed and, in his eyes, the Rangers were obsolete. In Stirling’s view, the era of the Ranger was over. This assessment contradicted earlier military studies suggesting that an active Ranger force did contribute to national defence.

Defence officials were divided about what to do. On the one hand, senior staff officers in Ottawa supported Stirling’s recommendation, as did the Army, which could not justify the retention of the Ranger organization based “on

Wise in the ways of life in the north, these are some of the Canadian Rangers who serve at Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk and Harrington Harbour.



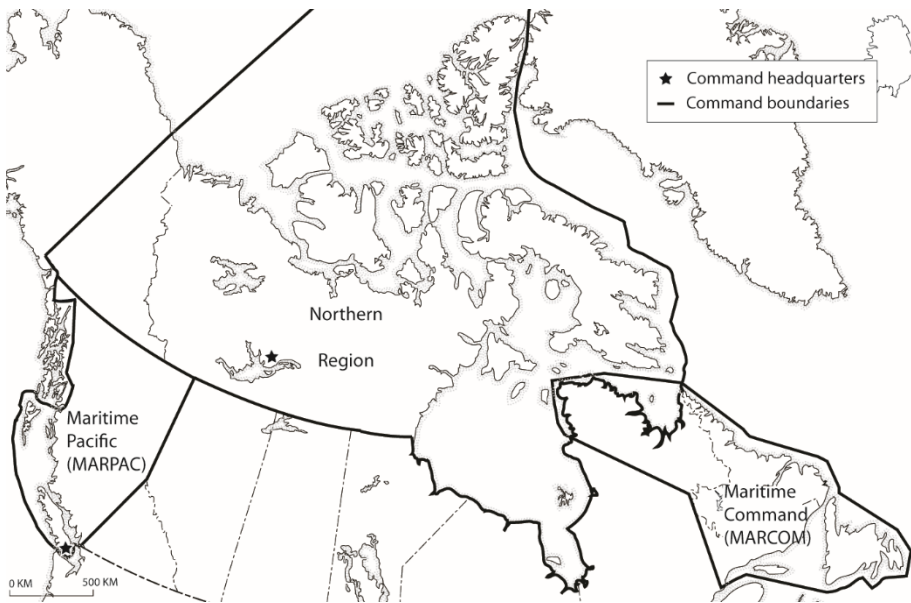
The unpaid volunteer Canadian Rangers were photographed for Sentinel by Major Stirling during his far-ranging flying visits in the north.



Photos of Canadian Rangers taken during Major W.K. Stirling's 1970 trips

military principles.” On the other hand, Northern voices insisted that the region needed the Rangers, especially with the emergence of new sovereignty and security issues. Defence officials asserted that a greater military presence and heightened surveillance in the North would strengthen Canada’s legal claims in the Arctic. Who better to do this than the Rangers?

In November 1970, the chief of the defence staff decided to “spare” the Rangers “for the foreseeable future” but split the organization. In February 1971, operational responsibility for the Rangers north of the sixtieth parallel (including northern Quebec) fell to Northern Region Headquarters, while Maritime Command (the name given to the Royal Canadian Navy between 1968 and 2011) assumed responsibility for the Rangers along the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts. This restructuring meant that the Army no longer controlled the Rangers. Units in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and south of Puvirnituk in Quebec fell dormant (although two platoons were created in 1972 in the Arctic Quebec communities of Quaqtaq and Tasiujaq). Each command was responsible for determining the specific needs of its Rangers. In theory, the commanders of the two headquarters would coordinate activities to maintain a national organization. In practice, the “Northern” and “Atlantic” Rangers operated independently.



The Northern Rangers' new concept

At Northern Region Headquarters (which was responsible for military activities in Arctic Quebec as well as the Yukon and the Northwest Territories), Major F.L. Berry, the detachment commander in Yellowknife, proposed developing a “radical approach to a revitalized Ranger Programme ... in view of [the] present communication, travel and social development of the North.” He insisted that any planning must follow the “most simple and straightforward approach. No plan is workable unless we are in a position to give it complete follow-up support.” Over the years, the military had developed and then abandoned so many plans that it had lost the trust of the Rangers and other Northerners. If National Defence failed to deliver again, because of cost or timing, he warned that its reputation would be ruined.

Northern Region Headquarters made significant changes to the Ranger organization to lay a more solid foundation for the organization as it rebuilt. One of the first changes involved the selection of local commanders. In the past, the Army had routinely appointed a “token” white resident to command Ranger companies and platoons. In the political context of the 1970s, this was no longer acceptable. After all, Northerners now elected their own political leaders at the local and territorial levels. It was essential that the Rangers

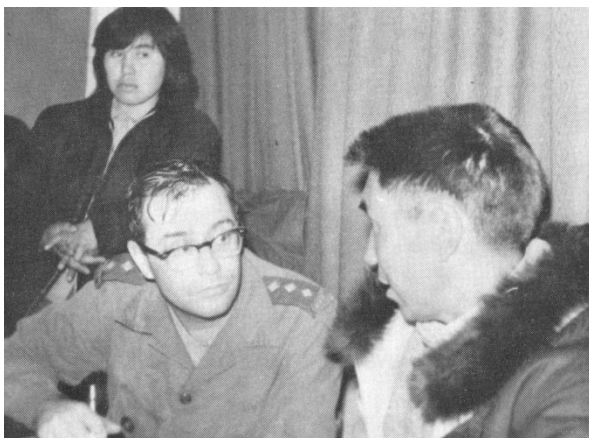
recognize and reflect these new social and political realities, Major Berry pointed out:

The Eskimo is not one to be easily regimented. He does not accept imposed leadership, in fact his communities are more akin to a gathering of closely knit family groups banded together for social and welfare advantages. He respects intelligence and skill rather than imposed authority ... The old Ranger concept of appointing the HBC factor or the [Department of Transport] engineer as ranger Officers is not considered the answer. The active white resident in some communities should be encouraged to participate but not as automatic leaders.

To be more effective, representative, and respectful of Indigenous communities, the Ranger organization had to evolve to allow its members to choose their own leadership at the local level.

Another change concerned the Rangers' hierarchical structure. Since 1947, the Rangers had been organized according to a traditional army structure, with companies headed by platoons. However, this had never really worked in the North, as the Ranger liaison officers proved unable to visit the communities often enough to maintain that hierarchical link. Furthermore, company commanders only saw their platoons "on the very rare occasions when they were travelling on their employer's business." Consequently, the Rangers had developed few links with the companies to which they belonged.

The distances between the localities were too great and the resources insufficient to create an effective pan-community organization. Instead, a new structure would allow community-based platoons – soon redesignated as "patrols" – to run their affairs in direct partnership with Ranger instructors and their respective military headquarters.



Ranger liaison officer Captain Bruce Fraser speaks with Ranger Sergeant Elijah Johannes, Fort Chimo (Kuujuaq), 1971

This restructuring also reflected the military's growing recognition that it needed to adjust its protocols for working with volunteers from Indigenous communities. "You don't order the Rangers out; instead you ask them – and kindly," said Captain Sandy McDonald, the operations officer at Northern Region Headquarters. This relationship did not worry officers like McDonald, who understood that this approach to leadership and command allowed the Army to have access to "troops of that potential – very handy militarily – for the cost of an old .303 rifle and 300 rounds of ammo a year." He viewed the Rangers as Northern patriots defending their homeland: "they're sincerely loyal, like to be associated with the armed forces, and are very proud of it."



Exercise NANOOK RANGER II, 1974

Ranger training also underwent dramatic change. The Rangers would not receive training to fight enemies, given that there was little risk of direct attack and this would require a skill set better suited to Regular or Primary Reserve Force soldiers, but they could be taught how to report "anomalies" and could participate in Regular Force exercises. This fit with the government's broader objectives for the North as well as its new defence policy. Thus, from 1971 onwards, a small cadre of non-commissioned officers serving as Ranger instructors conducted a fourteen-day Nanook Ranger exercise in two communities each year. This basic course included weapons handling, map reading, patrolling, information reporting, first aid, and ground search and rescue methods. In most cases, the Rangers in northern communities had never received formal training before.

These changes and more regular visits revitalized the Ranger units in Northern Region. In the mid-1970s, community patrols replaced the old company-platoon structure. With ten to twenty Rangers, these patrols no longer needed Ranger captains and lieutenants. The local structure had changed. Whereas previously Ranger sergeants commanded the patrols, assisted by master corporals, the patrol members now elected fellow Rangers to these positions. This system made Ranger leadership more representative of northern communities, which the communities highly valued. These local

reorganization efforts laid a solid foundation for the future. In July 1976, Northern Region had 212 active Rangers. Despite this small number, the organization perfectly reflected federal policies that described Canada's North as a populated place, rather than just a remote area. With Northern Region Headquarters serving "as a link between [the Canadian Armed Forces] and the northern settlements in which they operate and exercise," the Rangers offered the day-to-day presence providing that connection.

In the 1970s, Northern Region, responsible for the Rangers in Ungava Bay (northeastern Quebec), had to juggle many logistical, economic, and political concerns. The relative isolation of these communities meant limited liaison visits, and little institutional support existed, even for community activities such as search and rescue. When the community development director in Fort

JANUARY 1977,

ARMY RANGERS,
MONTREAL

The list of names are were members of army rangers before they discharge at INUKLUAK Que. (Port Harrison) and all those ^{are} looking for visit by army rangers officer to our community as soon as possible.

ELI ELIJASSIAPIC	GEORGE PALLISER
SIMEONIE ELIJASSIAPIC	SIMEONIE NALAKTURAK
SIMON KASUDLUAK	CHARLIE EPOO
CHARLIE KASUDLUAK	JAMESIE WEETALUKTUK
ABRAHAM POV	DANIEL INUKPAK
	JOE PALLISER
	SILASIE TURAI
	JOHNNY INUKPAK JNR
	JOHNNY INUKPAK SNR
LOZUOSIE MINA	
TIMOTHY KUTCHAKA	
ABRAHAM NASTABOOKA	
CHARLIE NARUAMEALUK	
JACOB OWEETALTUK	
MATHEWSIE AMIDLAK	
SAMWILLIE NUNAXIE	
JEANASIE NOWKAWALK	

J. Oweetaltuk
JACOB OWEETALTUK
INUKLUAK, P.Q.

Chimo (Kuujuuaq) suggested that Ranger sergeants from each community in northern Quebec should meet with representatives of the Department of National Defence to discuss “what they feel they should be doing,” Maritime Command rejected the proposal on financial grounds. In addition, members of the Ranger platoons south of Puvirnituk were frustrated by the decision to concentrate resources on Ranger operations North of 60. In 1977, for example, twenty-three former Rangers from Inukjuak asked an officer to visit their community to re-establish their platoon. But the response from Maritime Command was clear: it had no intention of reactivating the dormant units at that time.

Ranger succession, or the replacement of older Rangers with younger members of the community, was often a family affair. Ranger Paulusi Novalinga joined the Puvirnituk platoon in March 1972 thanks to his father, who was the first elected Inuit sergeant in Nunavik. “I was 17 years old. My father didn’t speak English and I was his translator,” Novalinga recalled. “I asked the army commander what he was going to do without a translator, he made me a Ranger that day, I got 200 rounds of ammunition (having that much ammunition was like gold), a rifle and a red armband and was told to



WO Peterson speaks with Rangers, Povungnituk, October 1981

defend the country.” Daniellie Qinuajuak, from Akulivik, joined the Rangers in 1976. “My older brother was in the Rangers,” he recalled. “One day they were regrouping in Puvirnituk and they were missing a guy in the patrol, so they asked me to join them. They gave me a .303 and asked me to practice shooting. I wasn’t very good because I was left-handed and they never told me how to handle a rifle like that.” He enjoyed getting out in the field, learning how to use a map and compass, and training for search and rescue – things he still enjoys today in his ongoing service as a Ranger. Ranger Tommy Cain, of the Tasiujaq patrol, joined in May 1980. “My uncle was in the Canadian Rangers and he asked me if I wanted to join. At that time, I didn’t know what the Rangers’ duties were, but in light of my experience, I have no regrets. I feel I am helping my community.” A year later, Corporal Martin Conway joined the Bonne-Espérance platoon at the age of thirty-five. When his father (who had been part of the first group of seven Rangers recruited in St. Paul’s River in 1954) retired, Conway was given the rifle his father had used during his twenty-seven years of service. Between them, they served in the Rangers for more than six decades.

In 1979, Maritime Command announced its intention to relinquish responsibility for the Rangers in northern Quebec. Northern Region Command then took control of the units. This transfer lightened the administrative burden of the Ranger liaison officer at Maritime Command, which could now concentrate entirely on the Rangers along the Lower North Shore and in Newfoundland and Labrador.



Maritime Command and the Atlantic Rangers

On the Lower North Shore and in Newfoundland and Labrador, support to and interest in the Ranger organization also improved in the early 1980s. The strengthening of the sense of identity and esprit de corps in the region's Rangers was largely due to the new Ranger liaison officer, Captain Les Palhazi, who assumed this role in 1980 with enthusiasm. He revitalized the organization with annual meetings with each platoon, either in central areas or at the commanders' homes. During these meetings, Rangers discussed training options, planned activities, and watched films about the Canadian Armed Forces. Palhazi recognized the Rangers as an informal, grassroots organization, and he focused on social gatherings that maintained local connections.



Capt Les Palhazi



Atlantic Rangers training in the early 1980s





Awarding of Canadian Forces Decorations (CDs) in Salluit, 1983

The “Atlantic” Rangers, however, received little public or military recognition for their service. The Rangers raised this grievance with Palhazi, who successfully sought changes to the military regulations so that, in May 1982, Rangers became eligible to receive decorations for their military service. The following year, 367 Rangers of Maritime Command received Canadian Forces Decorations (CDs) in recognition of at least twelve years of service, 161 were awarded First Clasps for at least twenty-two years of service, and six accepted Second Clasps for more than thirty-two years of service. Officers presented the decorations at community gatherings, training events, or the Rangers’ homes, helping to build “a greater sense of recognition and pride within the organization.”

At the end of 1983, Atlantic Region had 740 Rangers in four companies and thirty platoons. These Rangers ranged in age from twenty-five to seventy and included fishers, trappers, and high-paid executives. To accommodate the tremendous diversity in the region, Palhazi felt that the Atlantic Rangers’ training regime needed to be “more flexible and varied” than the one used in Northern Region. First, the Rangers were dispersed in groups of three or four per village or outpost. Second, they hailed from three distinct cultures. “The Canadian Rangers of Northern Region are composed almost entirely of native peoples, the Dene and the Inuit, whereas in Maritime Command’s area of responsibility there is a far greater diversity of cultural backgrounds within the

programme. From the primarily Francophone population of the Lower North Shore of Quebec, to the Inuit of the Labrador Coast, to the Anglophone Newfoundlanders, this great divergence of cultures presents great challenges.” While reducing the various Indigenous populations of the Territorial North into one singular category was reductive, Palhazi’s overall conclusion was clear: training had to take into account the cultures of the individual units and their communities.

To find out how the Atlantic Rangers compared to their Arctic counterparts, Palhazi visited staff in Yellowknife in March 1984. He discovered striking disparities. Northern Region had one major and five non-commissioned officers to support its 661 Rangers, while Palhazi single-handedly administered the entire organization along the East Coast. The budget for the Rangers in Northern Region was more than five times that of Maritime Command, even though it had fewer Rangers. In addition, Ranger personnel in Yellowknife had access to two CC-138 Twin Otter aircraft based in Edmonton, while Captain Palhazi had none. Upon his return, Palhazi was convinced that, despite budgetary restrictions, the Rangers in Maritime Command needed more support staff to increase their effectiveness. They had been neglected for too long.

Reflections on Ranger service: Lambert Gallibois

(Interview conducted in 2021 by Captain Julie Pagé)

Born in April 1925, Gallibois joined the Rangers in 1953 and retired in 1994 after forty-one years of service. He passed away on 15 February 2022.

I was twenty-eight years old when I joined the Canadian Rangers. It is one of my proudest moments. You can’t imagine what it meant to be part of a team where my deafness was not considered a handicap. I was judged on my abilities and not on my disabilities.

Our Saint-Augustin/La Tabatière patrol was from Newfoundland. There were twelve fine fellows in that patrol at the beginning: Patrick Maurice, me, Jackie Bateman, John Bateman, Eric Lessard, Daniel Bursey, Leonard (Lennie) Maurice, Earnest Maurice, Harrison Kennedy, and Cecil Driscoll from Saint-Augustin, and Riley Mckinnon and Russell Robertson from Snuffbox.

Patrick was the head of the patrol, and then it was me. I could help take care of everything we needed here, as Pat was sometimes away. We were paid three dollars a day in the early years, and when we had snowmobiles we got an extra \$1.50 a day for our machine. This was not until the late 1960s and

early 1970s. The interest in patrolling continued to grow. Dave Driscoll, Arthur Maurice, Percy Lavallee, and others started joining the patrol in the 1970s.

We would meet every year for a week of training at L'Anse au Loup, L'Anse au Claire, Blanc-Sablon, La Tabatière, Tête-à-la-Baleine, Chevery, or Sept-Îles (where we stayed at the hotel). They [the Department of National Defence] always looked after us very well.

When we were here, we would go to the 'park' area, do target shooting and survival tasks. We were given guns and ammunition and we also had an armband to wear during training. Later we were given a khaki parka and T-shirts, and the pay went up to thirty dollars a day.

The patrol always looked forward to this annual gathering. It gave us the opportunity to concentrate on our training duties, as it was difficult to find time otherwise, as everyone was busy providing for the family. And it was also nice to get together at the end of the day to catch up and meet new people. We had some great laughs and discussions!

Becoming a Canadian Ranger has been one of the most rewarding experiences of my life. I am also proud of the teamwork of our patrol. We had such a hard-working group of men who were proud to be Canadian Rangers.

For remote areas like ours, the Canadian Rangers offer so many opportunities and benefits, professional and personal growth, exploration and teamwork. The Canadian Rangers is not only about serving with pride. It's also about local traditions and skills.



A Northern focus

With additional staff and funding in the early 1980s, Northern Region redesigned its Ranger Training Plan to follow a three-year cycle. Each patrol received an annual ammunition resupply and liaison visit, and every third year it would participate in a Nanook Ranger field exercise conducted in and around the community. In-town Ranger training included basic drill, first aid, map use, surveillance, and reconnaissance. Advanced training included five days of refresher training and a four- or five-day field-training exercise, which usually involved a long-range patrol. (The staff in Yellowknife had only been



Salluit patrol training, April 1983

able to conduct two Ranger exercises per year before this point, which meant that it would have taken fifteen years to train each patrol under its command!)

Other military units that interacted with the Rangers also began to celebrate the force's contributions. In January 1984, following an exercise in Cambridge Bay, Captain Ernie Reumiller of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry Regiment wrote:

We must remember that the Rangers have a different culture, have worked under arctic conditions for many generations and in order to survive, we must be prepared to accept their advice and assistance.

The Rangers' sense of loyalty is very high and we found that they watched over our well-being. We also learned a great deal from the Rangers by watching them do maintenance on stoves, lanterns, and skidoos. Their methods are quite unorthodox; however, no one blew themselves up and the end result was that the piece of equipment was normally fixed in half the time it would have taken us.

The Eskimos were willing to share their food while on the trail. Several members of the course tried eating pieces of raw frozen caribou covered with hair. It was different, filling and not unlike beef jerky. Eating raw char[,] however, did not sit well with any of the personnel. The Eskimo version of bread (banik) was excellent. We ate over 50 pounds of it in five days. Several people even took some loaves home along with the recipe. The purpose

of existing on the native diet was to prove to everyone that we could survive on what was available in the North.

In the North, the national preoccupation with tying sovereignty to a military presence helped to justify the revitalization rather than the disbandment of the Rangers. As part of the Canadian Armed Forces, the Rangers provided a low-cost military footprint in remote areas. Although the organization was little known outside of communities that had Ranger patrols, a few reporters began to take note of their valuable service. In November 1979, journalist David Miller described to *News of the North* readers how 450 Rangers, “stand[ing] as our northern sentinels” and serving in twenty-three communities “scattered thinly across tundra and taiga,” were “maintaining a vigilant eye over our nation’s Arctic approaches.” He characterized the Rangers as “rugged hunters and trappers,” ninety percent of whom were Inuit, Dene, or Métis – and all of whom were patriotic Canadians and “humble servants of the Queen.”

“Until Canadian sovereignty in the North was an issue, believe you me there was no money for the Rangers,” Captain Gordon Foreman of Harrington Harbour later confided. Ranger activity in Maritime Command increased modestly in the early 1980s, but the absence of a clear sovereignty mission along the Atlantic Coast meant little public profile for Rangers serving along the Lower North Shore. Demographics and politics also conspired against the Rangers South of 60. The opening of new patrols in January 1985 in Akulivik and Aupaluk provided new opportunities for Inuit service in northern Quebec, but there were no concerns about external threats to Canadian sovereignty in those areas similar to those related to the Northwest Passage and the High Arctic communities in the Northwest Territories. For their part, the Rangers of the Lower North Shore, who seemed less “exotic” to reporters than their counterparts in Northern Region, attracted little to no national media attention.



MWO Brausen and Maj Colpitts presenting CDs to Rangers in Kuujjuaq, November 1984



Mingan, September 1995



Expansion and Enhancement, 1985-1996

A year after Brian Mulroney's Conservative government came to power in 1984, the US Coast Guard icebreaker *Polar Sea* sailed through the Northwest Passage, reigniting concerns about Canada's Arctic presence. Although this voyage was not intended to challenge Canadian sovereignty, the debate in the news media that it provoked forced the government to re-evaluate its Arctic policies. In September 1985, it announced that Canada would implement straight baselines around its archipelago to legally clarify the extent of its historic internal waters. To show the flag, the Canadian Forces would increase their northern patrol flights and naval activities, thus repackaging military activities that had been ongoing since the 1970s. The government's intention to build a Polar 8 class icebreaker to operate in Arctic waters indicated a definite commitment to asserting Canadian sovereignty.

On 10 September 1985, Joe Clark, the minister of external affairs, declared in the House of Commons that a strong link existed between Canadian sovereignty and the peoples of the North:

Canada is an Arctic nation ... Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic is indivisible. It embraces land, sea and ice ... From time immemorial Canada's Inuit people have used and occupied the ice as they have used and occupied the land ... Full sovereignty is vital to Canada's security. It is vital to the Inuit people. And it is vital to Canada's national identity.

In this context, Inuit spokespersons, political leaders, and military personnel made a strong case for the Canadian Rangers. Mark Gordon of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) argued that Inuit had "a valuable contribution to give" to the security of the North and commended the Rangers for being "the eyes" of the military. Testifying before a parliamentary committee, he noted that the Rangers provided "valuable services to our communities, such as search and rescue" and contributing to the food supply. In his view, the Rangers, "who in most instances are the most experienced and the best

hunters of the communities and the most knowledgeable of the area surrounding their communities,” had done everything possible to ensure that the military and local people worked together. Rhoda Innuksuk, the president of the ITC, saw the Rangers as an appropriate way for Inuit to contribute to Canadian sovereignty and security. “Inuit understand Arctic conditions. National Defence has demonstrated the importance of this fact to Arctic operations by training Canadian troops in Inuit survival techniques and through the Canadian Ranger program, a program we would like to see expanded.”

Reacting to these enthusiastic reviews, members of the House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence in turn praised the Rangers in September 1985. The Rangers, they said, provided a cost-effective military presence and allowed Northerners to play a direct role in the defence of their country. “It is not a matter of the people accommodating the old way of life to the military necessity,” said Member of Parliament (MP) Dan Heap. “It is a matter of accommodating the military necessity, not to the old way of life but to the people who are here now with some old knowledge and some new knowledge.” By connecting cultures and serving as a bridge between the civilian and military worlds, the Rangers successfully integrated national sovereignty and defence considerations with local issues.



Rangers teaching soldiers, late 1980s



Rangers on parade in Kangirsuk, 1987

Finally, the Ranger organization valued and reflected the diversity of the North. In 1986, the organization in Northern Region – to which the northern Quebec patrols were still attached – had a total of 642 Rangers, eighty-seven percent of whom were Inuit and twelve percent First Nations. The average age was forty, and the average length of service was twelve years. Of these Rangers, only forty-one percent spoke some English. “Native leaders and the Rangers themselves have expressed a renewed interest in the program,” said Major S.J. Joudry. “While their motivation and enthusiasm may not be entirely military oriented, it is genuine.” With “several years of detailed knowledge and extensive exposure” to the Rangers, Northern Region Headquarters was building on an excellent rapport with the Rangers and the respect that Indigenous communities had for the instructors when it explored options for improving the organization.

Northern representatives, staff officers, instructors, and the Rangers themselves took this message of respect to heart. Instructors were relaxed regarding orders and rules about punctuality, a central pillar of military life. Indeed, “the hours of the day are not always relevant in the land of the midnight sun. Children play in the streets at two o’clock in the morning, meetings rarely start on time and watches have no place on the traplines.” The Army attempted to gradually familiarize the Rangers with “basic military rules,” but it had modest expectations. Captain Bob Gauthier, the officer in charge of the Rangers at Northern Region Headquarters, explained that the main threat to the Rangers was that Indigenous people would give up hunting and trapping for wage employment. Thus, the Army encouraged traditional

activities, as the disappearance of this way of life would reduce the Rangers' usefulness.

At the same time, the Rangers continued to serve as the "eyes and ears" of the Canadian Armed Forces. In the mid-1980s, for example, they reported the presence of submarines on several occasions. In September 1986, two Inuit fishermen reported seeing a ship "larger than a whale" with a large mast and "mirrors" near Arctic Bay. The following summer, a group of hunters spotted a submarine on the surface of Akimiski Strait (James Bay), and



Canadian Rangers in action, late 1980s



Rangers from Coppermine (Kugluktuk) spotted two others. Sergeant Clarence Rufus of Tuktoyaktuk recounted how, after seeing a strange object in the water, “one Ranger asked if it was a whale. The other guy said, ‘if that’s a whale it’s got a guy walking down its back.’”

In the mid-1980s, the Rangers had also proven their usefulness in Regular and Reserve Force operations. “We don’t permit any army training north of 60 without Ranger involvement,” Brigadier-General John Hayter, the commander of Northern Region, emphasized. To improve its ability to operate in the Arctic, the Army conducted training scenarios that involved the Rangers in large-scale exercises. Exercise LIGHTNING STRIKE ’87 involved over 300 soldiers, airmen, and Rangers. The sixteen-day exercise included several air missions, parachute drops at Cape Dyer and Cape Dorset, and the “fortification” of Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay) as a forward operating base. Northerners did not perceive this exercise as intrusive because the Rangers were participating. “Sovereignty is a matter of deep concern to us,” Iqaluit mayor Andy Theriault explained. “We’ve been wondering when people ‘south of 60’ are going to wake up.” According to Jim Bell, the editor of *Nunatsiaq News*, the Inuit felt that their presence protected sovereignty and thus should be recognized. For its part, the military concurred and encouraged the Army



Rangers during Exercise LIGHTNING STRIKE at Cape Dyer, February 1987

to involve the communities more in its activities. "It used to be that we would just show up, disappear in the bush for our exercises and then when we were finished, fly out," Brigadier-General Kent Foster explained. "Now, a major objective is to see how well we integrate; we want our presence felt but we don't want to disrupt the lifestyle." These activities also fulfilled the government's commitment to an increased military presence in the North.

Vice-Admiral Nigel Brodeur, the deputy chief of the defence staff, paid tribute to the 638 Canadian Rangers in the North before the Standing Committee on National Defence:

Having observed them first-hand, it is remarkable: the talents they have for survival on the land, the ability they have to transmit this knowledge and information to our military people, and the very close co-operation that exists between them, the pride the Canadian Rangers take in their job. I believe we are really using them in a most effective manner. As you are probably aware, it is the communities whose advice is sought as to whether they wish to establish a Ranger unit, and it is the community whose advice is sought as to who should be the leader of that unit. It is not a decision we impose in the north, nor a decision that the Commander, Northern Region Headquarters, imposes on them.

The chair of the committee remained skeptical about whether these "peacetime militiamen" could play more than a limited role given their small numbers and wide dispersal, but Brodeur dismissed his proposal to incorporate the Rangers into the Regular Force. The military used the Rangers "to the maximum limit of the effectiveness they have at this time," Brodeur insisted, and he had no intention of recasting them into typical soldiers.

The 1987 defence white paper, *Challenge and Commitment*, emphasized the need to increase Arctic capabilities in a Cold War context. The white paper identified a military "commitment-capability gap" that required extensive funds to modernize equipment and obtain new systems, including long-range patrol aircraft, nuclear-powered attack submarines capable of operating under the polar ice, and seabed sonar arrays to detect submarines. The government pledged to upgrade airfields at forward operating locations in the North and to work with the United States to modernize the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) and construct the North Warning System to replace the antiquated DEW Line. The white paper also stated that



Rangers on parade in Iqaluit, 1987

sovereignty and territorial defence required “appropriate land forces to demonstrate presence, authority, and effective defence within Canada in peace time and to defend against incursions and sabotage in war.” Along these lines, *Challenge and Commitment* highlighted the importance of the Ranger organization “as a surveillance force and as a visible expression of Canadian sovereignty in the North” and called for “its expansion and an improvement in the equipment, training and support it receives.”

Recognizing the high level of support for the Rangers, among both Aboriginal people and the military, politicians and senior defence officials publicly praised the organization’s contributions. In 1987, a journalist noted that, “[i]n a part of the country where the federal government spends \$1.5 billion a year, the Ranger program has a \$210,000 budget.” For this reason, Brigadier-General Hayter called the Rangers the “most cost-efficient program in the Canadian Armed Forces.” Minister of National Defence Perrin Beatty further committed to strengthening the force. He not only saw the Rangers as “an important expression of sovereignty,” but also envisaged a greater role for them as military activity in the region grew. In 1988, the Standing Committee on National Defence announced that the Rangers would receive new rifles and communications equipment. According to its projections, the number of Rangers would reach 1,000 by 1995, with the creation of new patrols in several communities. This political support paved the way for the force’s growth.

The Rangers grew much faster than expected. In Quebec, new patrols were created in Havre-Saint-Pierre (1988) and Inukjuak (disbanded in 1970, reinstated in 1990). The Ranger organization also returned to the Pacific Coast, marking the beginning of a decade of major expansion in the provincial norths alongside that in Canada’s Northern territories.

Northern expansion continues

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War soon thereafter raised questions about defence and security assumptions that had guided Canadian thinking for decades. In its 1989 annual report, the Department of National Defence noted that “no one seriously believes that the current Soviet leadership has any intention of attacking Western Europe or North America.” As the Cold War melted away, the federal government cancelled its nuclear submarine program, its icebreaker project, and most of its plans to bolster its Arctic defences. The media, meanwhile, became more focused on federal deficits and the massive national debt than on sovereignty and security issues. Fortunately, the low cost and favourable political and media profile of the Canadian Rangers made them particularly attractive compared to other military organizations and activities.

In the 1990s, most Canadian Armed Forces’ activities were cut back significantly. The Rangers, on the other hand, benefitted from an increase in budget, which facilitated their expansion. Brigadier-General Larry Gollner, Commander of Northern Region, continued “to press growth with *vigour*” in the early post-Cold War period. In June 1990, seven members of Northern Region Headquarters were responsible for forty-four patrols and 935 Rangers. Of these, thirty-eight patrols were primarily Inuit (twelve of them in Quebec), five were Dene, and one was non-Aboriginal. In terms of “basic military skills, musketry, field craft, robustness and survival knowledge, the Rangers are every bit as proficient as their Primary Reserve counterparts at a fraction of the cost,” Brigadier-General Gollner observed. “There are not very many places in Canada amongst the native population where the CF [(Canadian Forces)] and our activities are welcomed these days,” he wrote. “In the North, the Rangers are welcome as a vital and integral part of the native communities. We have a chance to expand, using very few resources ... our influence and at the same time our ability to enhance our national sovereignty and security.”

Given the strained relationship between Aboriginal people and the military in other parts of Canada, politicians and defence officials highlighted the importance of “wide positive public and territorial support” for the Rangers. During the summer of 1990, Elijah Harper defeated the Meech Lake Accord in the Manitoba Legislature, and camouflaged Mohawk warriors faced off against the Canadian Army at Oka. The situation was different in the North, where the cooperative spirit of the Rangers persisted. The Inuit actively supported the Rangers, as the Elders saw the organization as a way to bring

young people “out on the land or ice to learn and master the old way of life and skills.” Since these Elders were often community leaders, the military had influential allies.

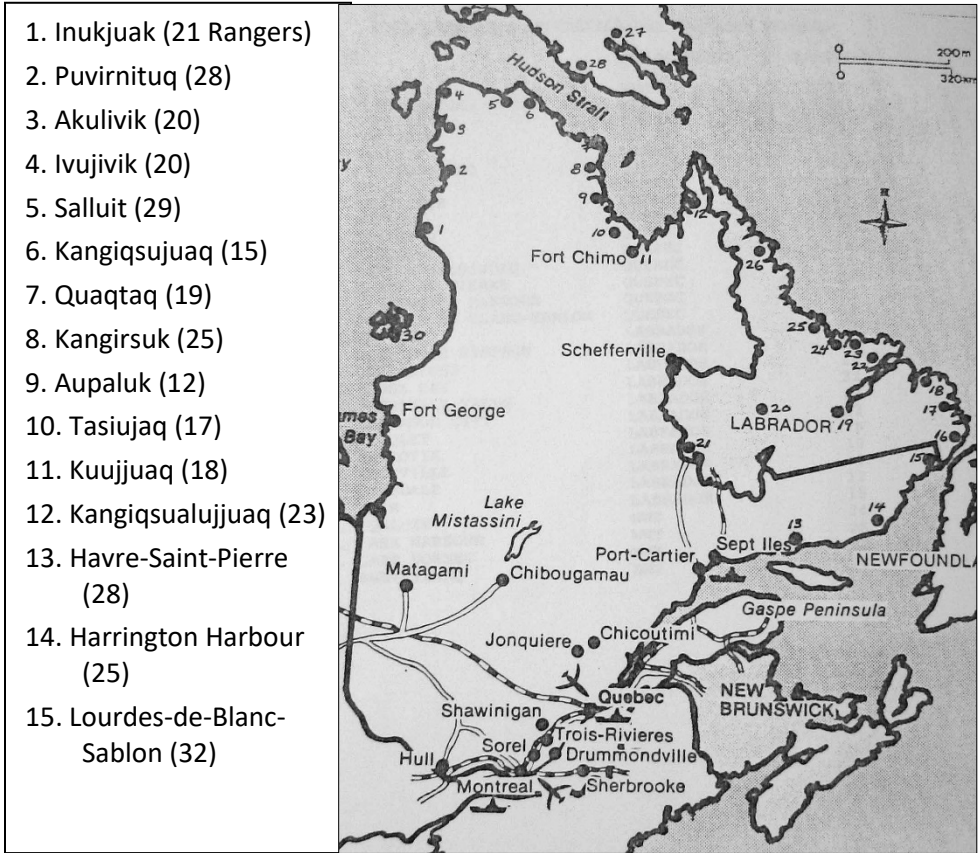


The Army did not advertise the Rangers very much, but it continued to support the organization. In 1991, Brigadier-General Ernest Beno pointed out that “[a]s ‘Twice the Citizens’ and true volunteers,” the Rangers had “a good message to put out.” After all, the Rangers were cheap and inclusive: a winning recipe. Consequently, senior decision-makers fully supported Brigadier-General Gollner’s plan to reach the threshold of fifty patrols and then add two or three per year. By this time, virtually every Inuit community capable of hosting a Ranger patrol had one.

The Rangers’ growing footprint across the North ensured that the military was well integrated into local and regional political networks. Many Rangers held respected positions within their communities as band chiefs, hamlet mayors, deputies, and other elected posts. They actively promoted using the Rangers to exercise and share traditional and local knowledge. Ranger instructors concurred with Elders that “the younger generation of northern natives is gradually losing its knowledge of traditional skills.” Accordingly, Ranger exercises specifically included time “for the older members to teach and reinforce this knowledge to younger members of the patrol.” The Ranger concept was based on knowledge of the local environment, so the transmission of traditional skills, such as igloo building, ice fishing, and special hunting techniques, remained essential.

The Ranger organization’s expansion efforts in Northern Region bore fruit. In January 1992, the Region supervised 1,160 Rangers in fifty-two patrols, accounting for nearly half of the national strength. These numbers surpassed those of Atlantic Region, which had boasted a larger membership than Northern Region since the 1970s. Even though politicians and the media focused their communications on the Northwest Territories Rangers, more than half of the patrols nation-wide were located south of the sixtieth parallel.

The Rangers in 1991: Quebec and national strengths

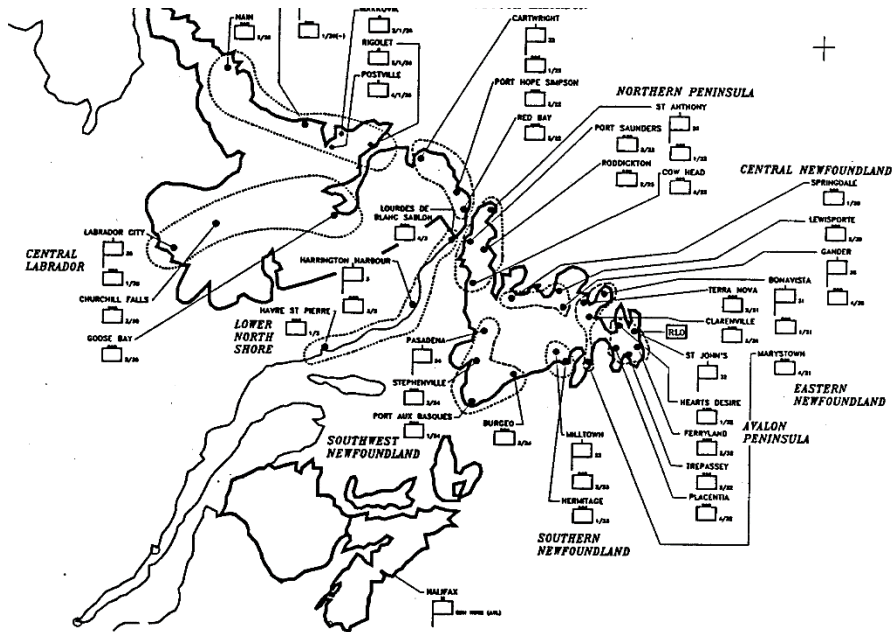


Region	Platoons/ Patrols	Strength	Percentage
Atlantic	30	1,017	44.5
Newfoundland	20	664	29.0
Labrador	7	270	11.8
Quebec (Lower North Shore)	3	83	3.6
Northern	52	1,160	50.7
Quebec (Ungava)	12	246	10.8
Manitoba	1	18	0.1
Northwest Territories	34	779	34.1
Yukon Territory	5	117	5.1
Pacific	4	110	4.8
British Columbia	4	110	4.8
Totals	86	2,287	100



Samisa Passauraluk and Alasua Tamusi Nutaraalu, two Puvirnituk Rangers who were personally presented with commendations by the Chief of the Defence Staff, became local folk heroes upon their retirement after forty-one years of continuous service. On the right is Abraham Irqu.

The number of patrols continued to increase in Atlantic Region as well, including along the Lower North Shore of Quebec. In 1986, Major-General R.W. Lewis, the chief of reserves, recognized the close integration of the Rangers, Cadets, and Legion in this region, as well as the Rangers' very "visible military presence in the life of the communities." He noted that most of the platoons met voluntarily twice a month, showing the strong interest among the Rangers. However, he regretted the lack of publicity surrounding the force and wished to launch a proactive campaign to show this "perfect example of the citizen soldier." With "their character, qualifications and enthusiasm," Lewis added, "I consider them to represent the best of our Reserve Force in Canada." The Department of National Defence shared this view, noting in its 1989 annual report that each unit in Atlantic Region appeared "to have reached the ideal balance of youthful vigor and mature experience." While local leaders took the initiative to keep their platoons active, Maritime Command redesigned the Ranger training regime to more closely resemble that of Northern Region. Monthly meetings were now required to follow regional training guidelines and course standards developed for the region. Seminars, which required all Rangers to be centralized, were replaced with classroom training in local communities, followed by short field trips to put

Map of the Canadian Rangers in Atlantic Region, 1991

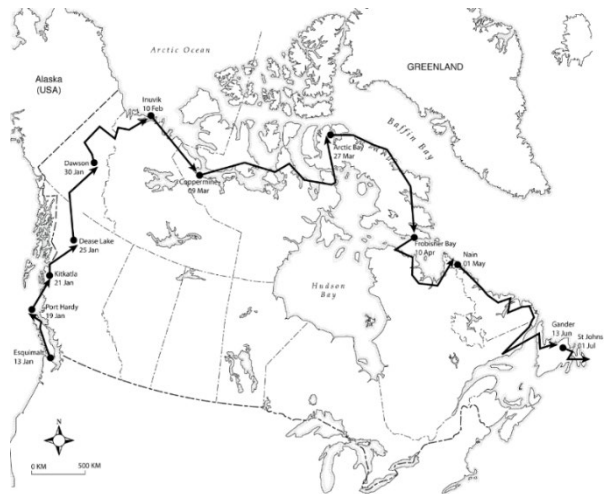
their learnings into practice. In addition, each patrol held an annual two-day paid exercise. This was the first pay that Rangers in Maritime Command received. All these exercises familiarized the Rangers in Atlantic Region with military equipment, operations, and techniques. Unlike Northern Region, Atlantic Region focused on training and efficiency rather than expansion. Instead of pushing for more units, it moved platoon headquarters to better cover coastal areas and important inland locations. First aid and search and rescue training prepared Rangers for situations they could encounter. This new, field-focused training and education program further enhanced the interest and effectiveness of these patrols.

In 1992, the Rangers had much to celebrate. In addition to the activities related to Canada's 125th birthday, the Department of National Defence officially commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the Rangers. The choice of this commemoration date was based on the formation of the PCMR in 1942 rather than the creation of the Canadian Rangers five years later. Nonetheless, the anniversary provided the rationale for Exercise BATON RANGER. Starting in Victoria, Rangers relayed a twelve-sided wooden baton from coast to coast. For six months, the baton travelled more than 12,000 kilometres – by dogsled, canoe, snowmobile, small boat, light aircraft, and on foot. Temperatures sometimes dropped to minus ninety degrees Celsius with



Rangers pass the baton, 1992

the wind chill. Local patrols along the route marked and timed the winter trails, acted as guides between communities, and resupplied the two permanent travellers in the group: Sergeant Mario Aubin and Ranger Sergeant Simeoni Natsek from Repulse Bay (Nauyasat). On 26 April 1992, a military plane flew the baton from Lake Harbour (Kimmirut) to Kangiqsujaq, in northern Ungava. "It was so good to see the baton in our community," wrote one of the Rangers in the official logbook. The baton was then flown to Kuujuaq, where Sergeant Sandy Gordon and fourteen Rangers held a parade before Northern Region handed the baton over to Atlantic Region and the Rangers of the Nain community in Labrador. The baton arrived in St. John's on Canada Day. "This relay reminds us of the important role played by Canadian Rangers in our



more remote regions,” said the chief of reserves and cadets. “It is symbolic of people’s hands coming together all across this country, to pass along a message of unity.”

EXERCISE BATON RANGER

LEG NUMBER 40 FROM IGALUIT TO WAKCHAM BAY—KANGIQSUJUAQ

	<u>CARRIER(S)</u>	<u>MODE</u>	<u>START DATE</u>	<u>RECIPIENT(S)</u>	<u>TRANSFER DATE</u>
1.	LOCAL R. HARDER COS CC138 NRHQ		22 APR 92	CHARLIE ADELAK SLL 46	Mark Tordick Simon Ilimasut
2.					
<u>COMMENTS</u>	Ranger in place Paragrade 01510 It was so good to see Baton in on Community. Thank Johanny Annaituk Jossuikaitag 76 P & C Bobby AUKU JAN 20 2020				

LEG NUMBER 41 FROM KANGIQSUJUAQ TO KUUSJUAQ

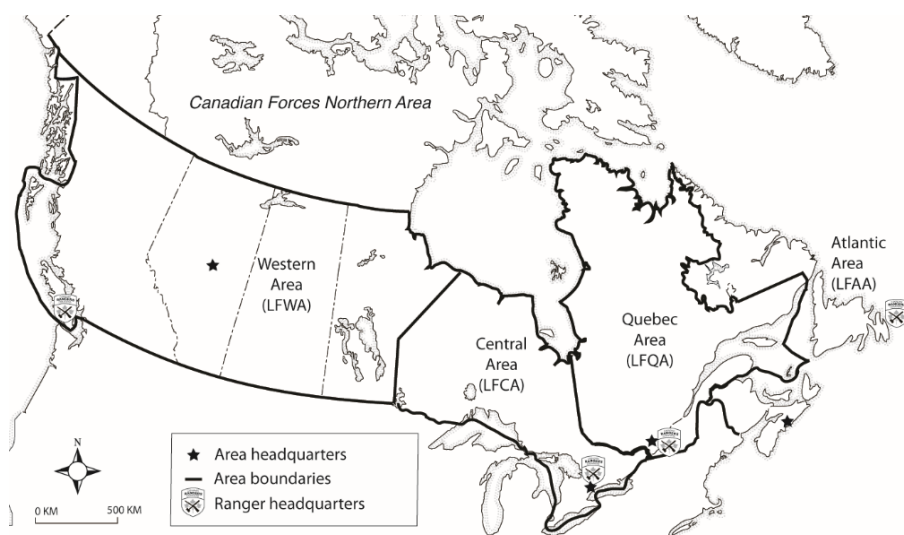
	<u>CARRIER(S)</u>	<u>MODE</u>	<u>START DATE</u>	<u>RECIPIENT(S)</u>	<u>TRANSFER DATE</u>
1.	LOCAL R. HARDER COS CC138 NRHQ		22 APR 92	RANGER SGT. SANDY GORDON	
2.				KUUSJUAQ PTC 14 ON PARADE	
<u>COMMENTS</u>	SIBER PARADE PROFTS TURNING ONCE TO COMMODORE PRESTON AND ATLANTIC RANGERS. Lo 300 AL H. AC S. BEATHE D. HOWEYK 15.10.2020				

Lieutenant Raymond Jr Jones, of Harrington Harbour, enlisted at the age of eighteen in 1970 – and is still serving fifty-one years later. “I made a lot of friends and had the opportunity to travel across Canada from coast to coast and up north for shooting competitions,” he recalls. “I also had the opportunity to carry the baton across Canada to present it to the Governor General.” In this 2022 photo he receives a certificate from Sergeant Daryl Ransom of his patrol.

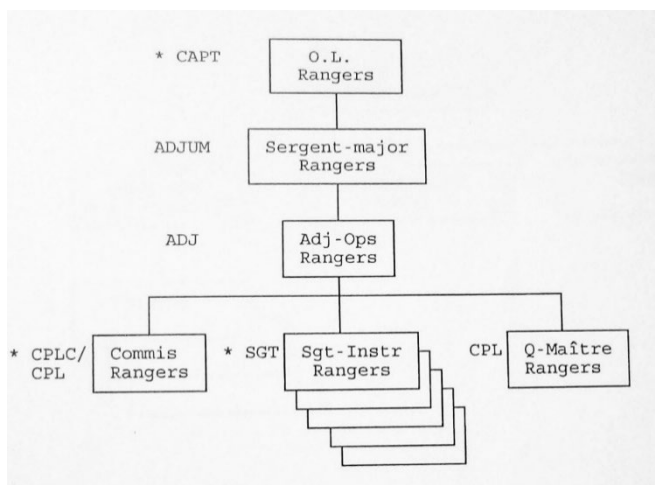


The Land Force Quebec Area (LFQA) Rangers

In 1993, the Army restructured. The Rangers that had been attached to Maritime Command now came under the responsibility of the Canadian Army. Land Force Quebec Area (LFQA) took operational command of the twelve patrols and 250 Rangers in northern Quebec. A year later, LFQA assumed full responsibility for the patrols in Nunavik and three others on the Lower North Shore between Havre-Saint-Pierre and Blanc-Sablon (transferred from Land Force Atlantic Area).



Map of the newly created Land Force Areas and organizational chart of the Ranger cell in LFQA, 1993



At the end of this restructuring, Captain Marc Morin, the Ranger liaison officer, led a training cadre composed of Sergeant Mario Aubin (transferred from Northern Region) and Sergeant Pasqualino (Pat) Rizzo. Their objective was to reconcile two different cultures: that of the former Northern Region patrols and that of the company of the Lower North Shore, which previously had been under the direction of Maritime Command. Along the Lower North Shore, a single platoon covered several small coastal communities, unlike in Nunavik, where there was one patrol per community. In addition, most residents of the Lower North Shore had regular salaried jobs and were not hunters or trappers. Training a platoon on the Lower North Shore was therefore more expensive than training a patrol in Nunavik. The methods of training also differed between the two regions. In the North, patrols went out into the field to train when the instructor arrived, while on the Lower North Shore, they followed the Atlantic model of classroom meetings, range exercises, and sharing food in the community.



Ranger training: Havre-Saint-Pierre, 1994 (left); Puvirnituk, 1993 (below); Harrington Harbour, 1994 (over top); Kuujjuarapik, 1996 (over middle); Quaqtaq, 1996 (over bottom)





Rangers remember...

Sergeant Tommy Kudluk of Kangirsuk, who joined the Rangers in 1983-1984, remembered “like it was yesterday” when he and three other Rangers (Jonasi Kudluk, David Pootoogi, and Angnatuk Nassaak) rescued a French colonel who had fallen into the river in the mid-1990s. “It was getting very late in the evening and we were behind the leading group,” he explained. “Before we had a chance to warn him about the ice conditions, he was already on his way to catch up with [the lead group]. As he moved forward, we realized that he had fallen into the river.” The four Rangers rescued him, and “he stays in touch with us by sending Christmas cards to this day.

Ranger Daniellie Qinuajuak, from the Akulivik patrol, recalled that “once, between 1990 and 2000, we had a course with the Rangers in Goose Bay in May. We were supposed to meet the Ivujivik patrol there. When our patrol arrived near the camp, we noticed that the Ivujivik patrol was already there, so we decided to play a prank on them. We put masks on our faces, so that the other Rangers couldn’t recognize us, and we started to drive around their camp with our snowmobile as if it was a surprise attack. It worked, because they didn’t know who we were, which gave them a good scare! It was a good time.

“During that same night we were learning how to defend our camp and had to stay up. Everyone was very tired and it was very windy outside. We were all sitting in a big Inuk tent (which has big poles around the roof) and one of the poles came off and hit one of our elders. He was injured and had a big bump on his head. One of the Rangers went to get the doctor who was working on his snowmobile. Because of this, his hands were all black and dirty. The elder was scared and didn’t want the doctor to help him with his dirty hands!”

Rangers recalled that the local training programs improved after the Lower North Shore units were transferred to LFQA. Rizzo and Aubin “came in with armed forces style training,” Ranger Ernie Waye of Chevery recounted, and began organizing weapons, drill, map and compass exercises, as well as search and rescue training. “Things just started happening,” Waye recalled. “We were actually doing something ... not just sitting in the house with a rifle.” This proposal raised concern, long-serving Ranger Captain Gordon Foreman in Harrington Harbour remembered, because it invited comparisons. He believed that the Ranger cell in Saint-Jean had wanted to eliminate the

Rangers along the Lower North Shore in the early 1990s because it “only had interest in the North” and faced major financial constraints. Nevertheless, he successfully lobbied to keep the Lower North Shore patrols together under Quebec Area. LFQA remained skeptical about the value of the Rangers in this region, however, until a Ranger informed the domestic operations cell at headquarters that he had seen a submarine. This demonstrated the force’s value as an intelligence asset, and any talk of disbanding patrols quickly dissipated.

Along the North Shore, Quebec Area quickly replaced the old company-platoon structure with patrols, thus standardizing the organization within the province. It also abolished the Ranger officer positions, with sergeants now serving as patrol commanders. Since instructors were non-commissioned members, not officers, and annual training had replaced the traditional “liaison” role of handing out bullets, the old hierarchy no longer made sense. As compensation, existing Ranger officers retained their commissions, but the Army did not replace them when they retired.

Quebec Area focused primarily on the northern regions of the province, where Inuit had a long-standing relationship with the military thanks to the Rangers. Sergeant Aubin provided continuity after the transfer, and his well-established relationships allowed the new instructors to understand and respect cultural differences. “It was not just an 8-4 job,” recalled Rizzo. “Aubin explained that you needed to build relationships with the community.” In



Kuujjuarapik, 1996

1995, the Kuujuarapik patrol was created, and in 1996, three new units were created in Natashquan, Saint-Augustin, and Umiujaq.

Profile: Sergeant Mario Aubin, Ranger Instructor

Journalist Monique Giguère described Ranger Instructor Mario Aubin as the “Davy Crockett of Quebec’s Great North,” the “super-Ranger” who was away from home 250 days a year to participate in patrol activities. “I have one foot in the Army and one foot among the Inuit,” Aubin explained. He never gave orders in Nunavik, but rather thought and acted like an Inuk, seeking consensus whenever possible. He was patient, even during half-hour debates about what kind of tea or coffee the Rangers should buy. In his nine years as an instructor, he had learned two dialects of Inuktitut and the importance of maintaining a sense of humour. In all cases, he found that Inuit were not “primitive,” as some racist stereotypes characterized them, but that some were doctors and pilots and that they ran committees and co-operatives while



maintaining their traditional hunting and fishing activities. “They don’t fit into the system,” Aubin observed. “It’s the freedom they like.” As a Ranger instructor, Aubin enjoyed a similar freedom when working in the “Grand Nord” of Quebec.

Source: Monique Giguère, “Au pays d’Agaguk : Le ‘Davy Crockett’ du Grand Nord,” *Le Soleil*, 15 April 1996, A1-A2.

The Ranger Enhancement Program

Although the 1994 federal budget and defence white paper signalled the Chrétien government's declining commitment to national defence, it also launched the revitalization of the Canadian Rangers. With Aboriginal issues gaining higher profile on Canada's political agenda, the high rates of Indigenous peoples' service in the Rangers made the organization particularly attractive – as did the tiny cost of supporting the national force compared to other military components. According to the white paper, "the Canadian Rangers reflect an important dimension of Canada's national identity and the Government will improve their capability to conduct Arctic and coastal land patrols." This created an opportunity for growth and enhancement.

Colonel Pierre Leblanc, the director general of reserves and cadets in Ottawa between July 1994 and July 1995, recognized that the Rangers were "a unique and in some ways romantic force" and that officials had a political interest in promoting Aboriginal participation in the Army. In 1995, he mobilized this idea to sell the Ranger Enhancement Program as a "low risk, cost effective" way of doing business. He focused on the "remote and isolated" part of the Rangers' mandate north of the sixtieth parallel. The first part of his plan was to create patrols in nine communities to improve "the social fabric" of those communities. The second part was to provide the Rangers with new equipment. For example, the Northern



patrols would now receive global positioning system (GPS) units to assist in land navigation. In addition, each patrol would receive two SBX-11A radios, which could withstand the rigours of the northern climate. Indeed, military personnel often complained about the lack of a means of communication to report events – centralized communications meant delays of a day or even a week.

This enhancement program also addressed the notorious issue of uniforms. Leblanc understood that “recognition as a member of a Ranger patrol is extremely important to the morale of the Rangers and their standing in their community.” On their own initiative, the Canadian Rangers had designed and purchased cotton jumpers and t-shirts, but there was no common national uniform. The Rangers needed something simple yet distinctive and symbolic. As such, all members were fitted with standard cotton “hoodies” (sweatshirts

with hoods), t-shirts, and toques with the Ranger crest. These red garments – and particularly the hoodies – quickly became the Rangers’ trademark in their communities and in the media.

The Ranger Enhancement Program also included funding for sovereignty patrols (known as SOVPATs), which would reinforce the Rangers’ sense of collective identity and push them to exercise their northern capacity. During these SOVPATs, Rangers embarked on three- or four-day excursions outside of their communities to demonstrate their skills and “show the flag.” In Quebec, the Rangers launched the Nunavik Challenge between late March and early April 1996 to assess their ability to deploy patrols in this northern region of the province. For the first time, more than 100 Rangers from thirteen Inuit patrols in Nunavik and one in the Northwest Territories came together in a joint training exercise. During this challenge, the Rangers travelled some 400 kilometres by snowmobile to Lac Klotz, nestled in the heart of northern Quebec. There they built a survival camp and a landing strip to welcome a plane full of journalists on 3 April. “The reporters appreciated the Rangers’ help and guidance in eating the uncooked, frozen meat and fish and in sleeping in igloos while the outside temperature was -30°,” Major Carlo de Ciccio observed. “The journalists confirmed why southerners associate the Inuit Rangers’ way of life with the term ‘survival.’”



Exercise NUNAVIK CHALLENGE (1996)

André Noël, "L'élite des Rangers du Nord," *La Presse*, 13 April 1996, p. A21.

On April 1, Thamussi Sivuarapik found himself in the blizzard-swept tundra, 200 kilometres from any habitation, at 20 degrees below zero, alone, with no water, no food, no fire, no shelter, no means of locomotion and no communication. Anyone else would have frozen to death. For Sivuarapik, a small, wiry man of 55, it was a trivial incident.

He had left Povungnituk [Puvirnituq] four days earlier with a team of twelve dogs. Direction: Lac Klotz, in the heart of New Quebec. There he was to join about a hundred other Inuit who had left the fourteen villages along the coast by snowmobile. The elite of the Northern Quebec Rangers, a paramilitary group organised by the Armed Forces in remote regions. Name of the operation: Nunavik Challenge. The goal: to test survival skills.

Less experienced patrols got lost along the way. But they had radio transmitters, guns, knives, maps and GPS (Global Positioning System) to find their coordinates through satellites. They eventually arrived at Lac Klotz.

Sivuarapik found himself with only his coat on his back when his dogs started chasing a herd of caribou. He shouted, but to no avail. The wind covered his voice. He left his sled to force the dogs back onto the right path. They dashed off. He could not catch them. All his stuff was in the sledge.

He walked for a while. The snow was blowing. It was already erasing the tracks. Night was falling. He built a tiny igloo with his hands and feet: a feat even for the Inuit. He slept on his knees with his hands under his armpits.

"We knew something had happened to him because we couldn't communicate with him by radio," says Paulusi Novalinga, who was ahead of him on a snowmobile. "But we knew he would be okay. We went looking for him the next day."

The people of his village found him somewhere, in the vast white desert that covers a third of Quebec's territory. He was still looking for his dogs. Eventually he would have seen them. They were waiting for him, lying in the snow.

"Did you get scared?" we asked him from the shelter of one of the 20 large, comfortable igloos erected on the shores of Lac Klotz. "Absolutely not," he replied, a broad smile plastered across his face tanned by years of wind and sun.

Much to teach

Sergeant Mario Aubin, 42, has been working with the Rangers, remote citizens trained by the army to respond to emergencies, for more than eight years.... He spent a few years in the Northwest Territories. He is passionate about the North. For the past four years, he has been travelling the coasts of Quebec. He has fallen in love with the Inuit and speaks their language.

"The 8,000 Inuit of Quebec are the best preserved Aboriginal nation," he says. "Elsewhere, many people have lost their traditions and their language. In the Northwest Territories, white people have to teach them how to build igloos! Here, it's the opposite. The Inuit have a lot to show us."

Sergeant Aubin trains the patrols for about ten days every two years. He goes around the fourteen villages. Two new communities have just been added: Umiujaq and Kuujjuarapik. Bodies of "Junior Rangers" are also being formed. The sergeant is so busy that he can only see his wife fourteen days a year! He encourages the older men to teach the younger ones how to build igloos, hunt caribou and survive in the cold. He teaches them shooting, map reading and first aid.


All of this produces results. Paulusi Novalinga knows all about it. Five years ago, in Povungnituk, he heard children shouting that a woman was drowning. He jumped into a boat. He saw the body of the young woman floating in seven metres of water. He dived in, brought her to shore and began to resuscitate her, alternating mouth-to-mouth and heart massage. Seven minutes later, she was breathing again. The National Assembly awarded him a medal for bravery.

The Rangers regularly participate in search activities. "They are the eyes and ears of the army in remote areas," Sgt. Aubin explained. "If something happens, such as a plane crash, they will be the first to respond. For their part, the Inuit Rangers show the regular army how to survive in a hostile territory."

For some Quebec journalists, this exercise also related to sovereignty. Indeed, the October 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty revealed certain ethno-linguistic cleavages in Canada and Quebec. Ninety-six percent of Nunavimmiut voted against Quebec independence. Mayors and other influential community leaders also joined Ranger patrols "out of love for their country," Captain Marc Morin explained. Inuit also informed journalist André Noël that the decision to hold the Nunavik Challenge had been linked to the debate surrounding Quebec separatism. They saw the exercise as a way to reinforce "Inuit pride and their sense of belonging in Canada, via the Canadian army." During Major-General Alain Forand's visit to Inukjuak in 1996, Ranger Marroosie Patsauq asked him the following question: If Quebec decided to separate from Canada, but Nunavimmiut wanted to stay, would Nunavimmiut be able to call upon the Canadian Army to protect their territory? The Rangers in Nunavik wore their red clothing with tremendous pride, evoking a sincere attachment to Canada. "This loyalty is manifested ... in their very enthusiastic participation in the Ranger organization," Paul Bussi res of Makivik Corporation explained to a journalist in "Les s paratistes de la toundra," an article in the 1 September 1996 issue of *L'Actualit * magazine.

A snapshot of the Rangers in Quebec, 1996



 Les RANGERS						
COMpte RENDU DES EFFECTIFS						
	RGR	M	F	Blanc	Indien	Inuit
AKULIVIK	29	28	1	0	0	29
AUPALUK	17	15	2	0	0	17
INUKJUAQ	30	29	1	1	0	29
IVUJIVIK	22	22	0	0	0	22
KANGIQSUALUJJUAQ	22	22	0	0	0	22
KANGIQSUJJUAQ	19	19	0	0	0	19
KANGIRSUK	25	24	1	1	0	24
KUJJUAQ	25	25	0	1	0	24
KUJJUARAPIK	23	18	5	0	0	23
POVIRGNITUK	30	28	2	0	0	30
QUAGTAG	24	24	0	0	0	24
SALLUIT	27	26	1	0	0	27
TASIJJUAQ	18	18	0	0	0	18
BLANC SABLON	32	32	0	32	0	0
HARRINGTON HARBOUR	32	32	0	32	0	0
HAVRE ST-PIERRE	27	27	0	19	8	0
ST-AUGUSTIN	20	20	0	10	10	0
KEGASKA	0	0	0	0	0	0



Kuujjuarapik, 1997



The Juniors and Professionalization, 1996-2005

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, established in 1991 in the aftermath of the Oka Crisis, issued its final report in October 1996, which emphasized the destructive legacies of colonialism and misguided attempts to assimilate Aboriginal people into mainstream society by eradicating their distinct cultures and identities, as well as the resiliency of Canada's "First Peoples." Given its large Aboriginal membership, the Canadian Rangers remained highly relevant, and the organization continued to expand in an era of military austerity.

Most political and national media attention continued to fixate on Inuit participation in the Far North, where the Rangers retained their appeal as an inexpensive, culturally inclusive, and visible means of demonstrating Canadian sovereignty. Although concern about Arctic sovereignty receded (along with military activity), the Rangers saw enhanced budgets and efforts to expand their presence and capabilities North of 60. The organization enjoyed modest growth throughout Canada, consolidating its footprint in Quebec and along the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts and returning to northern Ontario. Most new growth came in Aboriginal communities, reflecting the political focus on building and reinforcing Indigenous-Crown partnerships.

In this context, observers applauded the Rangers' role not only in teaching the military but also in facilitating the transfer of traditional knowledge within communities. The creation of the Junior Canadian Rangers represented a clear move in this direction.

The creation of the Junior Canadian Rangers (JCRs), 1996

In 1993, concerned about the high rate of youth suicide and school dropout, the Kativik Regional Government Council (composed of seventeen elected municipal representatives appointed by each of the northern villages and the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach) asked the provincial government for community-based assistance. The Quebec government in



turn requested the assistance of the commander of Land Force Quebec Area in the creation of a corps of Cadets in Nunavik. The following year, the military decided that a youth program, similar to the Cadet program but adapted to the cultural, geographical, and logistical context of northern communities, would have a better chance of success.

In early 1994, Northern Area formally proposed a two-year pilot project to test the concept of a Junior Canadian Ranger (JCR) program for twelve- to seventeen-year-olds. The results were disappointing, but efforts to develop a similar program in Nunavik by Land Forces Quebec Area yielded much more optimism. Thanks to support from regional organizations, the Junior Canadian Rangers proceeded. That fall, Quebec Area signed a statement of principle with the provincial government and the Kativik Regional Government. Cadet officials presented a proposal to the regional health authority and met with the thirteen Ranger patrol leaders in February 1995 to discuss the concept.

Unlike the pilot in Northern Area, Quebec Area received no additional defence funding for its “unauthorized” trial. The Kativik Regional Government, demonstrating its clear determination to see the project succeed, offered \$5,000 in start-up funds to each patrol and another \$45,000 for equipment such as tents and sleeping bags. In July 1995, twelve Junior Rangers and Rangers participated in a ten-day cadet camp at Valcartier (their

home communities paid for travel), and in September the first annual training exercise was held in Nunavik, which provided a safe and positive learning environment that instilled the values of discipline, respect, and good citizenship. By December, Quebec Area had established Junior Ranger patrols in Puvirnituq, Salluit, and Kuujuaq, comprising nearly ninety youth. The Kativik Regional Government wanted to expand the Junior Rangers throughout Nunavik, so Quebec Area devised a plan to extend the program to fourteen Inuit communities over the following three years.

Based on the success of these initiatives, the minister of national defence formalized the Junior Canadian Rangers on 31 May 1996. Inspired by the Cadet model, the JCR program was structured around three skill sets:

Traditional skills

- Making shelter, hunting, fishing, and living off the land
- Building, loading, and using sleds, small boats, and canoes
- Learning Aboriginal spirituality, language, traditional music, song, and dance
- Discussing local customs and traditions with Elders

Life skills

- Healthy living
- Preventing substance abuse
- Public speaking
- Being a good citizen and a responsible member of the community
- Protecting the environment

Ranger skills

- Administering first aid
- Navigating using map and compass
- Using weapons safely
- Preparing for field exercises

Of these three components, only the “Ranger skills” component was common to all Junior Ranger patrols. The traditional skills segment of the program would be



determined in partnership with a community-based committee and would be taught by members of the community. These skills would thus be adapted to the priorities and interests of each community. This ensured that the Junior Rangers reflected the cultural and natural specificities, the local language, and the particular social needs of their individual communities. Local leaders also had considerable latitude to address issues affecting their young people as part of the life skills component of the program. Thus, the Junior Rangers was a community-based youth program, supported by the Army, not a military program designed to encourage young people to develop a military way of life and thinking.



In September 1996, three Junior patrols were formed in Nunavik – at Inukjuak, Tasiujaq, and Akulivik – followed in 1997 by Kangiqsujuaq and Ivujivik. Military officials expected a positive public reaction, which did indeed soon follow. Communities valued the Junior Rangers, not only because of the popularity of the Ranger organization, but also because of the intrinsic merits of the youth program. Teachers noted an increase in attendance and improved schoolwork among Junior Rangers, as well as a decrease in vandalism and destructive behaviour. Journalists, inundated with government reports on the rampant suicide rates among Aboriginal youth, began to talk about the program as part of the solution. Monique Giguère called the Junior Rangers “an antidote to suicide” in *Le Soleil*, citing local sources in Puvirnituk who believed the program was contributing to the absence of suicide in the community that year.

These positive social indicators, anecdotal as they were, generated even more enthusiasm. Since eight mayors in the Nunavik region were Rangers, Quebec Area had no trouble convincing local councils to partake in the program. When Major-General Alain Forand visited four Nunavik villages to officially inaugurate new Junior patrols in September 1996, 200 of Akulivik’s 400 residents showed up at the opening ceremony to applaud their youth. In Kangiqsujuaq, 120 people crowded into the gym. Almost the entire community of Tasiujaq (150 people) showed up. Communities without Junior

patrols were eagerly waiting and pushing for faster expansion. In 1998, Kuujuarapik, Quaqtaq, La Tabatière, and Kangirsuk created their own Junior Ranger patrols. In July of that year, the federal government provided three years of funding for the Junior Ranger program. Ethel Blondin-Andrew, a Dene from Tulita, Northwest Territories, and the federal secretary of state for youth in Ottawa, described the JCRs as “a success story that the government wants to see grow. With this funding, the goal is to double the number of Junior Ranger patrols in 2001.”

The program grew even faster than Blondin-Andrew had hoped. In late 1999, Quebec already had seventeen Junior Ranger patrols, including newly formed ones in Bonne-Espérance, Umiujaq, Aupaluk, Kangisualujjuaq, and Chevery. This number reached twenty-two patrols in 2001 with the addition of the Mingan, Havre-Saint-Pierre, Whapmagoostui, Natashquan, and Saint-Augustin patrols; twenty-four in 2002 with the formation of the Blanc-Sablon and Waskaganish patrols; and twenty-seven in 2003 after Kawawachikamach, Wemindji, and Schefferville formed patrols. The explosive growth of the Junior Rangers was a testament to the popularity and acceptance of the Ranger organization in isolated communities. The Junior Rangers gave young people a sense of identity, purpose, and civic awareness that community leaders saw as helping to prevent juvenile delinquency.

The Rangers fit perfectly with the spirit of political cooperation and national support that federal officials hoped to instill in northern communities. The link between land skills, traditional knowledge, and sustaining military operations in remote areas became increasingly clear. While these ideas were not new, the political environment of the 1990s was more receptive to them.

*JCR Summer Camp,
Kangisualujjuaq, 1999*



“Supporting the Junior Canadian Rangers”

Makivik Magazine (Fall 1998).

It was a rewarding experience for participants and visitors to the site of the second Nunavik Junior Canadian Rangers summer camp on the north shore of the Leaf River near Tasiujaq. In all, approximately 180 people, including Junior Rangers, instructors and civilian parents, stayed in the tent city set up for the week-long event. In addition to the tents set up for sleeping, there were also tents for medical services, cooking and eating, and storage of supplies.

Learning modules organised for the Junior Rangers included first aid, traditional activities, seamanship, ropes and knots, maps and compass, drug awareness and safe handling of weapons. Junior Rangers from La Tabatière on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, as well as some from Nunavut, also attended the camp.

Among the dignitaries who visited the site was Makivik President Zebedee Nungak, who was invited to the camp on the night of July 18, 1998. “What you get here - what you learn and experience - is something you will carry with you for the rest of your life,” he told the group of enthusiastic young people at the morning inspection. “Enjoy this time, learn what you are taught and have fun,” he encouraged them.

... Makivik’s president says he was very impressed with the way the camp was organised and the way discipline was valued. “There was a lot of vitality. I could see right away that the Junior Rangers were having a lot of fun,” he noted. He is also looking forward to a meeting with Canadian Rangers officials in September for a full briefing on the entire program and to assess how Makivik Corporation can best support the organization.



Makivik's Executive Secretary, George Berthe, also took the time to visit the summer training camp and was impressed with the Nunavik Junior Rangers. He could see that they really appreciate the discipline and structure. "The Junior Rangers never let a flag touch the ground, they were eager to listen to orders and really wanted to impress their Rangers leaders. It's an amazing project and I really like it," he said.

Berthe says he also plans to budget \$5,000 per community to support each Nunavik Junior Ranger patrol.... Forty to 45 Canadian Rangers were hired as camp leaders and [the Kativik Regional Association] provided small boat transportation for the Junior Canadian Rangers.

... The first Nunavik summer training camp in 1997 was held at a site near Puvirnituq.... Holding the camp in a different location each year, rather than continually in the same place, is particularly useful for youth who rarely have the opportunity to travel and see other places.

Local committees select the young people who attend the camp. This year there were eight per community. This gives the young people an incentive to work hard and keep their grades up at school. After the training camp, the youth find themselves in a position of increased responsibility and leadership within their local Junior Rangers group.

The Nunavik Junior Canadian Rangers have earned a reputation as a model of success. The Commander of the Ontario Ranger Patrol Group (which does not yet have a Junior Ranger program) and the Program Coordinator from National Defence Headquarters visited the camp to gain a better understanding of how it operates.

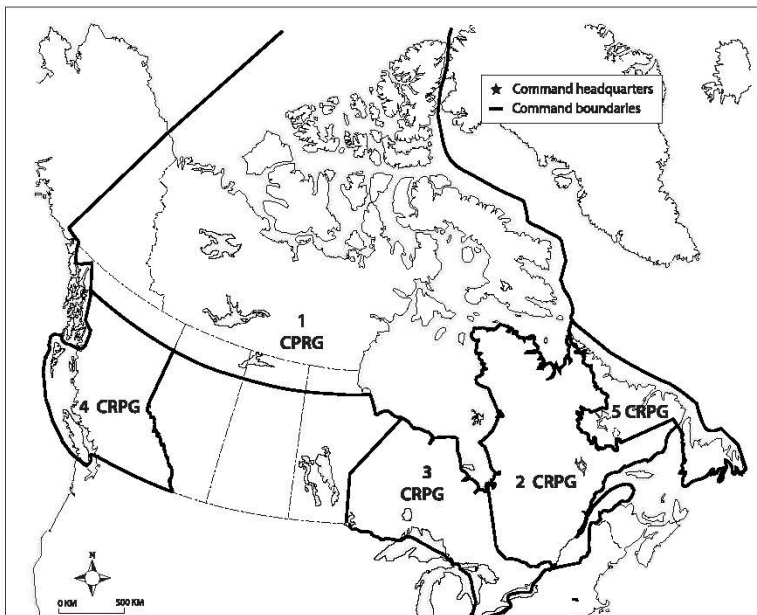


Major Claude Archambault was the camp commander. He said they were surprised by the progress the programme has made over the past four years. "What makes the program successful is the involvement of the committee members in each community and the community councils. Without their support, we would not be where we are today. We thought it would take ten years to get to where we are today."

The creation of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, 1997

New responsibilities associated with the JCR program, the increasing number of Rangers and wider distribution of patrols across Canada, and the expanding size of regional military staff to support the Rangers required a new structure. The regional nature of the organization meant that it had the flexibility to accommodate tremendous diversity, but it also meant that each region interpreted national directives differently. Command and control issues confused matters further.

Accordingly, military leaders decided to organize the patrols into formal “patrol groups” in Canadian Forces Northern Area and in each of the Land Force areas. Each had a distinct geographical area of responsibility. 1 CRPG, based in Yellowknife, was responsible for patrols in Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Alberta, Saskatchewan, northern British Columbia, and northern Manitoba. 2 CRPG was responsible for Quebec, 3 CRPG for Ontario, 4 CRPG for the West Coast and interior of British Columbia, and 5 CRPG for Newfoundland and Labrador. Individual Ranger patrol commanders now reported to the commanding officers of their respective patrol groups. Thus, 2 CRPG reported to Land Force Quebec Area. In 2013, the sectors were replaced by a divisional system. 2 Canadian Division (or Joint Task Force East when on operations), which assumed responsibility for all land units stationed in Quebec, then took over and became the home unit of 2 CRPG.



On 24 November 1997, 2 CRPG's headquarters opened in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, with six Primary Reserve and Regular Force members serving under deputy commander Major Claude Archambault (who essentially ran the unit). Although 2 CRPG did not receive the same media attention as 1 CRPG, it enjoyed strong regional support, which Archambault wanted to translate into a much larger Ranger footprint in Quebec. Before growing the organization, however, the Quebec Area commander directed 2 CRPG to establish better financial controls and training. To do this, Major Archambault had to professionalize the 2 CRPG headquarters, which at the time had only a few instructors without adequate oversight. "Slowly but surely, the Group standardized its operations and progressed rapidly towards maturity," explained Sergeant Pascal Croteau, an instructor with 2 CRPG between 1999 and 2003. In 1999, Chief Warrant Officer J.R. Temple, who joined 2 CRPG as Group Sergeant Major and Chief Instructor, also made a major contribution to the structuring and standardization of the Rangers' annual training.



To formalize operations, Archambault established all the elements of a proper unit: administration, a quartermaster, operations, and finance. He invoked standard operating procedures for booking tickets, administering money, enrolling and releasing Rangers, and controlling stores. Given his excellent relationships with Quebec Area and all of the generals, he could restructure the patrol group as he saw fit. When he ran into obstacles, he intimidated anyone who opposed him with "his boxes and boxes of knowledge," Warrant Officer Pat Rizzo observed. "He was the godfather. He had the connections to get things through."

Archambault refused to distinguish between units "north and south of 60," the criterion that had framed the Ranger Enhancement Project. He believed that everyone should have access to the same military "kit," and in the absence of clear national policy, he decided to distribute Canadian Forces parkas and wind pants to the Rangers throughout Quebec. Archambault pushed for more used combat clothing to distribute to the Rangers so that



Ranger sergeants' meeting, 1998

they would have a more complete uniform for summer training and ceremonies. In the end, the director general reserves and cadets in Ottawa conceded to a one-time issue of boots and combat pants.

By the spring of 1999, the Rangers' footprint in Quebec had grown to nineteen Ranger patrols and sixteen Junior Ranger patrols. Archambault wanted more and requested additional Ranger patrols to accommodate a more expansive youth program. Quebec Area committed to expanding to twenty-nine Junior Canadian Ranger patrols, which first required an additional ten Ranger patrols: five in Ungava and five in the central interior of the province. The area commander requested additional funding from the vice chief of the defence staff. Brigadier Robin Gagnon touted that at minimal cost, the program was having a clear social impact in remote Aboriginal communities, and the Rangers' image continued "to rub off favourably on the Canadian Forces."

The Rangers' practical role was reinforced on 31 December 1999, when a deadly avalanche struck Kangiqsualujuaq. About 300 of the 650 residents were attending the New Year's Eve festivities at the Satuumavik School gymnasium, which also served as the community's meeting hall. At midnight, everyone gathered outside the building to watch the ten Rangers fire a ceremonial salute, before returning to the gym and forming the usual circle to welcome in 1999. Moments after the ceremony ended, they watched in horror as snow from the hillside adjacent to the building crashed through the wall. In attempt to save their friends and families, many of whom had been

completely buried by the avalanche, people frantically dug with their bare hands. The local Rangers, whose gunfire did not cause the avalanche, played a vital role in the response. Over the course of the night and the following day, they helped extract dozens of injured men, women, and children from the disaster site. The deaths of four adults and five children, including two members of the Kangiqsualujjuaq patrol, were testimony to this “horrible nightmare.”



Despite its vast geography, Nunavik is a close-knit region. When the Nunavik Rangers heard about the avalanche, they reacted quickly. Sergeant Vallee Saunders of Kuujjuaq told a reporter:

Since the weather was a whiteout, we had heard the news at around 2:30 A.M. by telephone. Then at 7:30 A.M. the chief of the fire department came to my house to notify me to get my Ranger group ready to go. I started calling my patrol and I managed to get 18 of my Rangers ready by 11 A.M. Then we took a civilian aircraft and arrived there at around noon on Jan. 1.

They were expecting us and a school bus picked us up at the terminal and drove us to the community centre. We saw what we had never expected to see. Many Ski-Doos were all over the place like dinky toys. I saw Ford pickup trucks crushed like sardine cans.

Then we were told they had recovered six bodies but were missing three more. Even though this event was a real emotional tragedy, the people who had been digging all night were very happy to see us because we were there to help them out.

We were handed shovels and we started digging. The condition of the snow was unbelievably hard because it just dropped and didn't travel a lot.

We had to break the snow first to shovel it. We dug for about six hours before recovering the first body. This woman had a baby (with) her in the traditional parka for carrying a baby. Once we

found the lady's body, the Sûreté du Québec came in to take care of the body.

We didn't proceed digging until the body was removed. We were also told she had a second baby with her. We started digging some more and about 30 to 45 minutes later we recovered the last body, the woman's second child.

The experience was very hard to go through. Two Rangers from that community died in the avalanche and we all knew them.

Members from eleven of the fourteen Nunavik patrols mobilized to help the victims. Rangers controlled access to the school building, provided honour guards and ensured security for the visits of the federal prime minister and provincial premier, and transported the handmade coffins. In an extraordinary collaborative effort, patrols from as far away as the Northwest Territories sent food and emergency supplies, such as the patrol in Coral Harbour, whose members sent caribou meat, demonstrating the strength of mutual aid between Arctic communities. In recognition of the Rangers' role during this disaster, the chief of the defence staff awarded 2 CRPG with a Canadian Forces Unit Commendation. Major-General Maurice Baril emphasized that "without their dedication, the human suffering would surely have been greater.... The leadership and moral support provided by the Rangers during this crisis was invaluable."



During his visit to the community a week later, Ranger instructor Sergeant Jean-François Gauthier suggested postponing the opening of the Junior Ranger patrol planned for that winter. The community, however, insisted on going ahead without delay because it considered the Junior Rangers to be part of the healing process. In June of that year, Jane Stewart, the minister of Indian affairs and northern development, noted “the tremendous recent contribution made by the Canadian Rangers here in the North in providing relief services” and pledged \$50,000 in new funding to the Junior Rangers as part of the government’s action plan to provide “practical, hands-on support to the Northern communities.” The Rangers’ contribution to the disaster is still appreciated at the local level. Nancy Etok, the deputy mayor of Kangiqsualujjuaq, recently recalled how “the Rangers went out without hesitation to help their community” after the 1999 avalanche. “They are extraordinary. They showed great care and energy to ensure the safety of the people.”

“Nunavik rangers honoured in Montreal”

Jane George, *Nunatsiaq News*, 26 November 1999.

The Canadian Rangers who rushed to Kangiqsualujjuaq’s aid after the community’s January 1 avalanche were honoured last weekend in Montreal.

Montreal - Last Saturday at the Farnham military base near Montreal, Major General Maurice Baril, chief of the defense staff and head of the Canadian Forces, honoured the second Canadian Rangers patrol group for their selfless dedication and professionalism in the aftermath of Kangiqsualujjuaq’s January 1 avalanche.

Following the disaster, Nunavik Rangers rushed to provide assistance to the community.

Baril awarded the Nunavik Rangers a special unit commendation for their outstanding efforts.

“Immediately, and in many cases in spite of great personal tragedy, members of the second Rangers patrol group present in the village began rescue operations,” Baril said in his presentation speech.

“Soon, they were joined by Rangers from other patrols across Nunavik. Together, they worked in support of local authorities to rescue survivors, secure the area, and assist with the funeral preparations for the victims of the avalanche.”

Baril said the “rapid and efficient reaction” of the nearly 50 Rangers who responded to this disaster saved lives and alleviated the suffering of those affected by the avalanche.

“Wi[t]hout their dedication, the toll in human suffering would surely have been higher. The leadership and moral support the Rangers provided in the face of this crisis was invaluable,” Baril said.

Sammy Unatweenuk, from Kangiqsualujjuaq’s Ranger patrol, accepted the certificate on behalf of the 14 ranger patrols in Nunavik.

On the night of the avalanche, Unatweenuk, like others in Kangiqsualujjuaq, dug with his bare hands in the snow to uncover survivors and kept on digging right through the night until relief from Kuujjuaq’s rangers and volunteer firefighters arrived.

“This tragedy which cost the lives of nine Inuit from Kangiqsualujjuaq opened people’s eyes to the fact that the Rangers are valiant members of the Canadian Forces,” read the commendation certificate.

In honor of the commendation, the Rangers’ flag will be flown during next year at the Farnham base. The Nunavik rangers will be able to fly a special pennant in honour of the commendation. A medal also accompanied the award.

“We’re very pleased,” Mattiusi Tulugak from Puvirnituk told Nunatsiaq News. “We worked so hard - this is a special event.”

The award ceremony was attended by dignitaries from Ottawa, Quebec City and Nunavik, including Makivik Corporation President Pita Aatami, Kativik Regional Government chairman Johnny Adams, Kangiqsualujjuaq Mayor Maggie Emudluk, Kuujjuaq Mayor Michael Gordon and Nunavik MP Guy St. Julien.

Long-time Kangiqsualujjuaq ranger Charlie Arngak also received a special medal in honour of his 22 years of service....





Visit of Governor General Adrienne Clarkson to Kangiqsualujuaq, 1999

At the end of 1999, there were 3,446 Rangers in 140 patrols across Canada. The organization had evolved from informal “eyes and ears” to guardians of Canada’s sovereignty. In the process, Rangers were assigned more social and political roles in their communities. Lieutenant-Colonel Rory Kilburn, the chief of staff of Canadian Forces Northern Area, observed at the time that some Elders played a direct role in identifying Rangers with leadership potential and encouraging them to become sergeants and master corporals. This would allow emerging leaders to develop their skills in their communities and territorial governments, and facilitate the transfer of land knowledge and skills to youth. It was a win-win situation for both the communities and the military, making the patrols all the more popular.

In early 2000, a national review of the Rangers called CAN RAN 2000 highlighted the important influence that Rangers had as local role models. In what official reports often described as vulnerable communities, the Rangers offered a glimmer of hope while creating a positive, visible link with the state:

By their very nature, the Canadian Rangers have an enormous impact on the lives of the people and communities in which they find themselves.... They are active members of the community who can have a positive influence on their local environment. Rangers, in communities where there is no other federal



Kangiqsujuaq, 1999



Expedition Nunavik, 1999



Saint-Augustin, 2000

presence, are often seen as the elite of the community and are held up as role models for others. Often the Rangers are the only identifiable group readily available to the community in times of need... The Rangers now have a new role - they are educators and role models for the more than 1,000 young people who participate in the JCR Programme. The presence of Rangers in the communities is therefore truly beneficial, both from the point of view of improving the community environment and from the point of view of the image of the federal government and the Canadian Armed Forces.

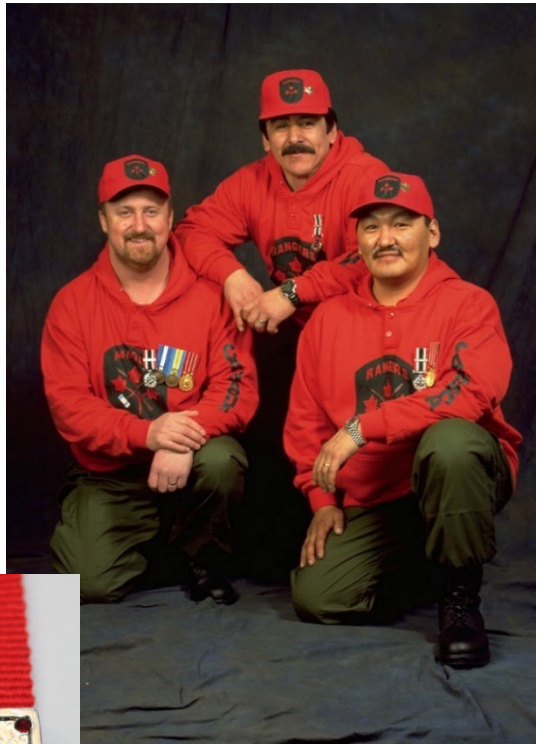
CAN RAN 2000 had an immediate impact by recommending an increase in the number of Rangers and Junior Rangers, as well as the number of instructors and staff in patrol group headquarters. Rangers also began to receive modest allowances for new equipment. Each patrol group received radios and two GPS units, as well as access to satellite phones during exercises. The Rangers also received new combat pants and boots – a modest addition to their uniform that had been strongly promoted by 2 CRPG. Ultimately, CAN RAN 2000 celebrated how the composition of the Rangers and Junior Rangers reflected Canada's multicultural dimension and the importance of having national institutions that promote and embrace this diversity.



Tasiujaq, 1997

Special Service Medal (Ranger Bar)

As the profile of the Rangers grew, national recognition followed. Governor General Roméo LeBlanc (1995-1999) was a strong supporter of the Rangers: a painting of them hung behind his office at Rideau Hall, and he lobbied for special recognition of the Rangers' service. In one of his last acts as Vice Regal of Canada, he approved the addition of the Ranger Bar to the Special Service Medal, awarded to Rangers who had served for at least four years and participated in at least three patrol exercises. On 14 February 2000, his successor, Adrienne Clarkson, held a special ceremony at Rideau Hall to present the first Special Service Medals to seventeen Rangers from across Canada, including Sergeant Markusie Quinuajuak of Akulivik, Sergeant Vallee Saunders of Kuujjuaq, and Sergeant Harold Jones of Blanc-Sablon representing 2 CRPG. "You are the eyes and ears of the military in remote communities in the Territories and the northern parts of the provinces," Clarkson proclaimed. "You support the military and help to protect our sovereignty. You also serve as guides and advisors, and participate in search and rescue. Your skills, your knowledge, your know-how, are unparalleled ... You, the Canadian Rangers, have made great contributions to the north – and you continue to do so – and to our journey as your fellow Canadians."



Diversity and expansion, 2001-2005

To facilitate the growth of the unit, 2 CRPG decided to merge the training and administration activities of the Rangers and the JCR program. In 2003, Sergeant Pascal Croteau wrote:

Initially, the two programs were slightly uncomfortable with the arrangement, but the instructors soon adjusted. The mission element was divided into areas of responsibility, in which each team of instructors was responsible for the conduct of both Ranger and Junior Ranger training. The instructors became highly knowledgeable about their villages, thereby improving management and simultaneously eliminating the duplication inherent in the old structure. During the same period, the group HQ [(Headquarters)] was organized, creating an operations cell, a separate administration cell, a quartermaster and a special projects cell. The aim of all these cells is to provide enhanced organization and support for the work of the mission element. They also allow the instructors to focus exclusively on their exercises and visits, whereas before they were responsible for everything: QM [quartermaster/stores], annual re-supply, claims, etc., which complicated the management of the unit's financial resources.

These changes quickly bore fruit. In 2001, 2 CRPG confirmed that all of the mayors and local organizations in each of the regions of the province where the Rangers were present considered the patrols to be well-trained units that they could count on to ensure the safety of their communities. In Nunavik, the Kativik Regional Government, Makivik Corporation, and municipal authorities actively supported the organization and the JCR program, and many municipalities included the Rangers (as volunteers) in their local emergency plans, with patrol commanders usually serving on their municipal public safety committees. The Sûreté du Québec and the Quebec Ministry of Transport discussed with 2 CRPG how the Rangers could be used to respond to plane crashes near community airports. For its part, Quebec Public Health reached an agreement in principle to create



a group of medical first responders in each village – ninety percent of them Rangers. In addition, the Rangers regularly volunteered for local search and rescue operations and were closely involved in most community projects. “They are respected and proud members of the Canadian Rangers who honourably and effectively represent the Canadian Armed Forces in their communities,” 2 CRPG summarized.

Nancy Maina, who enrolled as a Ranger in 2001, was elected as Master Corporal of the Inukjuak patrol in December 2002 – the first woman to hold this position in 2 CRPG.



“Women Rangers: A Perfect Fit”

When she isn’t dealing with administrative and educational matters as a high-school principal in her hometown of Inukjuak in Northern Quebec (1 200 people), Betsy Epoo seeks out adventure with the Rangers of the 2 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG-Quebec), a commitment that allows her to contribute to her community’s well-being in other ways and gives her an opportunity to serve her country.

“I like the challenge of the Rangers training, and I see no contradiction between my civilian life and my life as a Ranger, far from it.”

Ms. Epoo is one of 505 women who serve with the Canadian Rangers, a figure which represents almost 13 percent of the total membership (3 850 members as of June 7, 2002) and slightly exceeds that found in today’s CF, where women account for 11.9 percent of total strength.

Ms. Epoo is also in charge of organizing the training and activities of the local Junior Canadian Rangers, where she holds the rank of corporal. “I have

Betsy Epoo, August 2006



already taken part in search and rescue operations with my patrol,” she points out, hastening to add: “I can do whatever men do and I’ve already done it.”

As Major Claudia Ferland, the national coordinator of the Canadian Rangers Program, makes clear, “The role of the women Rangers is a perfectly natural role, defined by the skills proper to it and the community’s culture and values rather than by gender.”

“Very little distinction is made between men and women during training. Later on, each patrol develops its own identity, and differences may emerge that reflect the

traditions unique to each particular community.

[“]Our organization respects this diversity,” she notes.

To ensure such respect, Maj Ferland warns people against any categorization of female members of the Canadian Rangers. She advises instead that we stress the complementary nature of the two sexes’ contributions to the organization. “I have known women Rangers who excelled in specific activities like hunting or shooting and who were highly prized for these skills, with no thought given to what sex they were.”

Source: Najwa Asmar, *The Maple Leaf*, 2 July 2002.

At the local level, the Ranger organization embraced the idea that patrols should be representative of their communities’ ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity. The Saint-Augustin Ranger patrol, located on the Lower North Shore, was a case in point. In 2003, it was comprised of thirty-five members from the communities of Mouton Bay, La Tabatière, Pakuashipi, and Saint-Augustin. Depending on the village, Rangers tended to speak English or Innu and French. Most patrol members worked in fishing, outfitting, and construction during the summer, with over half working in Ontario and Western Canada. Accordingly, most exercises were held during the winter. The recently commissioned 2nd Lieutenant Pascal Croteau noted their impressive operational capability during an exercise in March 2003. Patrol members had “good equipment, outstanding snowmobiles, and have a great deal of experience in manoeuvring in woodland areas. They are also dedicated

workers and do not hesitate to set aside their personal interests for the benefit of the patrol.”

To make the patrol group even more representative of Quebec’s diversity, Archambault sought to expand the Canadian Ranger presence into Eeyou Istchee: the Cree homeland in the province. To do so, officials had to find common ground in a sensitive political environment. In the early 1990s, only the Inuit of Kuujuaupik, a village adjacent to the Cree community of Whapmagoostui, had participated in the Ranger patrol. In 1996, the chief of the Whapmagoostui Band allowed its members to become Rangers. LFQA took advantage of this opening to recruit seven Crees and seventeen Inuit to form a mixed Cree-Inuit patrol in Kuujuaupik-Whapmagoostui. With this foundation in place, 2 CRPG pursued growth into Eeyou Istchee communities with vigour. Increased funding for operations and maintenance proved instrumental to selling the Rangers and JCRs to the Grand Council of the Crees and the Cree Youth Development Association, who strongly supported the Ranger expansion plan. Archambault and his team visited Waskaganish three times prior to opening a patrol there in June 1999, followed by patrols in the Cree communities of Wemindji and Eastmain in 2002.



Major Archambault’s understanding of power relations in northern Quebec and his jovial personality allowed him to forge strong relationships in each community. He trumpeted the benefits of the Junior Ranger program (particularly the summer



camp) for youth and convinced stakeholders that they would receive positive publicity for supporting the program financially – and the cheques were written! The Kativik Regional Government and Makivik Corporation provided generous support, and regional airlines offered substantial rebates to JCR travellers. Archambault's promotional efforts were bolstered by favourable media attention about the Rangers and the JCR program. In the summer of 2001, for example, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) produced two thirty-minute segments that it broadcast that fall. Radio Canada *en jeux* also produced a one-hour program about the Rangers, and articles appeared in various regional newspapers.

Ranger exercises continued to demonstrate the Rangers' knowledge and skills on the land. Activities along the Lower North Shore are indicative. During Exercise LAC TRIQUET in February 2001, Rangers completed a sovereignty operation between Havre-Saint-Pierre, Natashquan, Harrington Harbour, Saint-Augustin, and Blanc-Sablon. In June 2003, Rangers mounted a canoe expedition along the Lower North Shore between Mingan and Natashquan. Training sessions also strengthened inter-community ties between Junior Rangers. In February 2003, for example, joint training between Puvirnituq and Harrington Harbour Rangers encouraged "north-south" dialogue and cultural exchange.



Lower North Shore, 2002



Camp Okpiaik, 2005



Havre St-Pierre, 2004



Puvirnituk, 2002



Puvirnituk, 2002



Georges River, Okpiaik 2003

In April 2003, the vice chief of the defence staff in Ottawa decided to review the Ranger organization in light of new and changing defence priorities after 9/11. Unresolved issues included command and control, roles, missions, and tasks, all of which affected Canadian Ranger training, equipment, and employment, as well as effective administration. Towards this end, “Operation PAUSE” (which came into effect that July) temporarily halted the Rangers’ further expansion and the implementation of the original recommendations of CAN RAN 2000 while senior officials addressed issues of concern and developed a new plan. While the military determined where the Canadian Rangers fit into the “Total Force,” there would be no further expansion of Ranger/JCR patrols until senior military officials directed otherwise.

Stamp of approval

In 2003, a postage stamp depicted a Ranger peering through binoculars that reflected a snow-crustr mountain peak. The Rangers symbolized the military’s positive cooperation with all Canadians in remote areas, particularly Aboriginal communities. Furthermore, the organization proved that the military could successfully integrate national security and sovereignty agendas with community-based activities and local priorities.



Revisiting the role, mission, and tasks of the Rangers

Growing concerns about climate change, the opening of the Northwest Passage, and global demands for Arctic resources and security in the post-9/11 world conspired to put the Arctic back on the national and international agenda. They also highlighted the interconnections between the defence of North America and the protection of local communities. The Canadian Ranger mystique grew under the national spotlight in the early 2000s and assumed almost mythic proportions in some media stories. “They’re the MacGyvers of

the Canadian Arctic,” reporter Stephanie Rubec exclaimed in 2002. “Strand any Canadian Ranger on an ice floe north of 60 with their military issued .303 rifle and they can live off the land indefinitely. Throw in a needle and some dental floss – which no Ranger would be caught dead without – and they’ll sew up a fur outfit to ward off the most chilling arctic wind.” On 22 April 2002, an editorial in the *Northern News Service* concluded:

Overflights and satellite surveillance are important, but nothing beats a person on the ground for accurate intelligence gathering. Rangers are perfect for the job. They live in the North and understand the land and the climate. When full-time soldiers come to the Arctic, they turn to Rangers for advice. They mean as much, and more to their communities. The Canadian military understands this and has been working to expand Ranger ranks. It’s building upon a fine tradition for which all Northerners should be grateful.

The same logic held true for all isolated northern and coastal communities in Canada.

Despite all of this favourable national attention, questions still lingered about how the Rangers fit with national priorities, CAF requirements, and available resources. Accordingly, the vice chief of the defence staff imposed Operation PAUSE in July 2003 until the military sorted out command and control issues and produced a new strategic plan. Concurrently, it reviewed the role, tasks, and missions of the Rangers. The Rangers’ original mission was to provide lightly equipped, self-sufficient, mobile forces in support of the Canadian Forces’ sovereignty and domestic operational tasks in remote and sparsely populated coastal areas that could not be covered effectively and at a reasonable cost by other components of the Forces. The Rangers’ general mandate had not changed



significantly over the years, but commanding officers had interpreted it differently. During national working group discussions, representatives from the patrol groups agreed that the Rangers served two central elements of Canada's defence mission: the surveillance and control of Canada's territory, airspace, and maritime areas; and helping the federal government achieve national goals. The Rangers' revised role, mission, and task list reflected this consensus.

The original role, first outlined in 1947, remained unchanged. Despite demographic changes over the previous half century, the Rangers remained the only military presence in some of the least populated parts of Canada. Their mission statement emphasized that they were expected "to provide lightly equipped, self sufficient, mobile forces in support of the CF's sovereignty and domestic operation tasks." Other things had changed, however. The Rangers were no longer included in defence plans as a potential combat force, so the military officially removed tasks that had a combat-related connotation (providing local defence by containing or observing small enemy detachments, or assisting police in reporting or apprehending enemy agents or saboteurs) requiring a level of training and liability far beyond the Rangers' mandate. The Rangers were not trained or equipped to perform such roles, which were already assigned to other military components or civilian agencies. As a result of this review, the revised national task list stated that the Rangers would do the following:

a. Conduct and Provide Support to Sovereignty Operations:

- Conduct surveillance and sovereignty patrols
- Participate in CAF operations, exercises and training
- Report suspicious and unusual activities
- Patrol the North Warning Site
- Collect local data of military significance

b. Conduct and Provide Assistance to CAF Domestic Operations:

- Conduct territorial, coastal and inland water surveillance
- Provide local knowledge and Canadian Ranger expertise (guides and advice)
- Provide assistance to other government departments
- Provide local assistance and advice to ground search and rescue operations
- Provide support in response to natural disasters and humanitarian operations

c. Maintain a CAF presence in local communities:

- Instruct and supervise the Junior Canadian Ranger Program.

While this clarification of tasks helped to bring coherence to the Ranger organization nationally, Operation PAUSE upset 2 CRPG's expansion plans for the short term. "Operation PAUSE generated some negative reactions, mainly from Cree authorities, who had hoped to open Ranger patrols," Archambault noted in 2004. When Op PAUSE postponed the promised openings of seven new patrols "for an indefinite period," political authorities in the communities began to question the "word" of 2 CRPG – and the relationships that underpinned the Ranger organization depended on trust and credibility.

In the meantime, 2 CRPG did what it could with the resources at its disposal, particularly with regard to the JCR program. Because the unit lacked core funding to support both Ranger and Junior Ranger visits, Archambault merged the training programs to reduce costs. Under this system, two instructors visited each of the five patrols under their purview up to five times a year. Unified training forced instructors to focus on both programs, but trying to run three field trips in each community and complete all the administration associated with each visit proved overwhelming. Instructors in 2 CRPG travelled an average of twelve days per month. Nevertheless, the Rangers were better organized and better prepared, and 2 CRPG considered its youth program to be highly professional and successful.

Launch of the PHASE program for 2 CRPG Junior Rangers

The PHASE program (the "Harassment and Abuse Prevention through Awareness and Education" program, now the "Promoting Healthy and Safe Experiences" program) was launched in 2001. According to the 2 CRPG newsletter of October 2002, the main goal of this program is to provide Junior Rangers with an environment free of harassment and abuse. Training is focused primarily on discussion modules that incorporate mutual respect and concern for others. To this end, the unit trains a PHASE representative for each community that hosts a JCR patrol.



2004 JCR leadership camp



The growing focus on the Junior Canadian Rangers, however, raised some debate nationally about the sustainability of the organization. Advanced summer training was a particular drain on the resources of the patrol groups, and some observers felt that this practice created unreasonable expectations and blurred the line between discretionary JCR activities and core Ranger priorities. For its part, 2 CRPG fought tenaciously for the summer camps, which local and regional stakeholders expected to be held every year, and it argued that halting them would have political repercussions. This was indeed the case, when the Department of National Defence, faced with a lack of funds, announced in 2003 that it would not support the summer camps. In response, members of parliament, community leaders, and Indigenous organizations sent letters of protest to the minister. The Department backed down and ran Junior Ranger camps. Pita Aatami, President of Makivik Corporation, observed that the Rangers were victims of their own success. “When a kid has something to look forward to, their self-esteem is much higher. We believe in it, but we can only do so much with the funding,” Aatami told General Marc Caron, the commander of Land Force Quebec Area. Even Caron, who described himself as a true believer in the Rangers and Junior Rangers, conceded that 2 CRPG was already “operating at the edge of our military mandate.”

Nevertheless, 2 CRPG staunchly defended the importance of both the Rangers and the JCR program – even if this required pushing the envelope of

how the military supported communities. In May 2004, Major Archambault insisted that:

the program itself is a necessity for all our villages and must continue to exist... The JCR program is the only program in the North and in isolated communities that gives young people a sense of responsibility, honesty, loyalty and consistency. Without the support of our donors, it will be difficult to achieve our goal. 2 CRPG is lobbying hard for additional funding for summer camps and to create new patrols. There is still a lot of work to be done to complete the JCR training modules at the national and unit levels. For 2 CRPG, the follow up on the development of these modules must be rigorous and not rushed, at the risk of them being interpreted as rules imposed by whites.

Despite concerns about the sustainability of the JCR program, it proved very successful at the local, regional, and provincial levels. A 2005 report noted that the unit met all of its objectives, and “Instructors carefully monitored the teaching of JCRs during their visits to ensure quality and diversity” of training. Adult committees, comprised of community members, managed the funds allocated to each patrol and ensured that activities were geared towards local priorities and cultures. The JCR program had become deeply rooted in remote northern and coastal communities across the province, earning widespread praise from regional leaders – and, most importantly, from the youth themselves.

On target: A portrait of the JCR program in 2 CRPG, 2004/2005

151 visits to 28 patrols

558 JCRs – 318 young men and 240 young women

\$68.7K to Rangers to guide and support activities with the JCRs

\$1.1M in total operations and support costs



Ranger Instructors: A Bridge Between Two Worlds (2007)

P. Whitney Lackenbauer

Excerpts from an article in the *Canadian Army Journal*, 2007

Based upon a series of interviews conducted with Canadian Ranger patrol group personnel across Canada in the early 2000s, I explored the roles, responsibilities, and “lessons learned” by Ranger instructors who train the Ranger patrols in their communities and areas of operations. In simple terms, I noted that the standard approach to the training of Regular and Reserve Force units in the south will not suffice with the Rangers, and instructors must develop a flexible, culturally aware approach to acclimatize and adapt to the ways and needs of diverse communities. Ranger instructors must learn to teach and build trust relationships with patrols in an adaptive manner than transcends cultural, linguistic, and generational lines. The relationship between the Rangers and their instructors, based on a spirit of mutual respect and exchange of knowledge, is the bond that binds the members of this organization residing in their community to the military institution.

Ranger instructors do not receive any formal training to become instructors, but the vast majority are combat arms specialists with extensive training and skills such as navigation and weaponry. Once in the field, they bear tremendous responsibilities. There is extensive paperwork and liaison work with communities prior to Ranger training exercises; budgeting for cash, ammunition, weapons, equipment, and rations; and extensive preparations and planning for field training exercises. Plans and estimates are based upon the practical, learned experience of instructors rather than formal trials. Once in the community, the instructor’s work is non-stop from arrival to departure, from purchasing fuel and oil, to sorting out rations, to teaching up to thirty Rangers for ten days (in contrast to eight to ten



With Sgt Antoine Duff and MWO François Duchesneau in Inukjuak, August 2006

personnel in a typical section in the south). The logistical and administrative responsibilities are much more onerous than for the typical combat arms sergeant stationed in southern Canada and are designed to place the burden on the instructor rather than the patrol itself. They are expected to be everything in one, from paymaster, to quartermaster, “to padre when a guy is not feeling so well.” Sergeant Joe Gonneau (2 CRPG) explained in a May 2006 telephone interview that instructors need to be self-sufficient – there is very little outside support on the ground, and he could not simply drive to stores if something failed to arrive. “When I am up there, it is just me.” At the end of annual patrol training or an exercise, the instructor also must record all that has happened so that future instructors can plan to reinforce strengths and correct weaknesses in the patrol. This is important, given the annual nature of training and the short timeline available to each instructor to work with each community.

Due to geographical, demographic, and operational realities in different regions, as well as the voluntary nature of the Rangers, the training regime is remarkably flexible. “Canadian Ranger training is not mandatory other than the initial ten-day orientation training for new members,” the Rangers website explained in 2006. “Specialist training may also be offered to assist Canadian Rangers [to] master and practice a new skill.” The explicit emphasis is on self-sufficiency and leadership, “as well as traditional skills – which are uniquely defined according to the cultural and historical practices in the local community.” Given that Rangers have not taken courses like their counterparts in other CF units, and are not bound by the same education requirements, they also must be taught about how the military functions. This



training allows the patrols to perform their official tasks in support of sovereignty; to assist other CF units as guides, teachers, and sources of local intelligence; and to serve their local communities in search and rescue and disaster response.

At the same time, Ranger instructors recognized that the training they offer not only serves the Canadian Forces' domestic mission, but also facilitates the trans-generational transfer of critical life skills within Northern communities. The importance of the time on the land to practising and reinforcing traditional land skills has been highlighted in recent reports and media articles. "An emerging development that could impact on future Ranger operations is a noticeable decline in the transfer of skills necessary to live on the land," the 2000 Canadian Forces Arctic Capabilities Study reported:

It is becoming gradually apparent that younger members of the Canadian Rangers are less skilled than older members in some aspects of survival in the Arctic wilderness. The reason for this can perhaps be found in cultural changes in the aboriginal communities but the impact ... is an increasing training requirement for the Rangers if they are to remain effective.

If traditional Indigenous survival skills are allowed to atrophy, not only will Rangers' skills weaken, but the CF's already limited ability to operate in the North will sunder. Ranger activities thus represent an important means of sharing knowledge of traditional survival skills within communities. The Ranger instructor's role to encourage the trans-generational transfer of traditional survival skills is vital to the future operational integrity of the CF, which relies upon Rangers for guidance and survival training.

Ranger training is conducted differently in different parts of the country. Various working groups have tried to devise a standard training regime for Rangers, but tremendous cultural, geographical, and regional variations make standardization difficult. For example, Ranger instructors have found that Aboriginal communities in regions



across the country demand different approaches to training. Some patrols enjoy army hierarchy and direct command, meet on a regular basis even when the instructors are not in town, and provide periodic reports to headquarters. Others do not respond favourably to authoritarian leadership and are less likely to get together without clear incentives. Most Ranger instructors highlighted that top-down command structures do not work in Aboriginal communities, where egalitarianism is a fundamental principle and communal approaches to decision-making are the cultural norm.

The tempo of northern operations is much slower than in temperate climates, and time estimates and planning must accommodate this reality. Simply put, one cannot force the operational pace of the south onto the Arctic. Equipment failure rates are higher, and all activities require careful contingency planning. Cold casualty rates increase when troops stop after having been overworked to the point of sweating. Personnel carrying survival gear in cold temperatures burn off calories at an accelerated rate and require time to eat compensatory meals that can take longer to prepare and consume. Of course, the stakes are uncharacteristically high in the Arctic, given the harsh environmental conditions and the dangers that these can pose. Soldiers' survival skills are developed through experience and expert guidance. Unless one has spent time in the North, Ranger instructors suggested, practical preparations are somewhat academic. Combat arms training provides a pivotal foundation, but soldiers must experience the North and be trained to live, move, and work in its unique climate and environment.

The basic rationale for the Rangers is that they are local experts because of their experiential knowledge of the environment and climate. Accordingly, instructors must be careful not to press patrol members to do things with



2 CRPG Ranger instructors, 2002

which they are not comfortable. If an instructor is too insistent on going out on the land or sea, even when conditions are unsafe, the Rangers may feel obliged to do so against their better judgment. This can put people in serious danger. Success in northern and remote operations more generally depends upon an awareness that uncertainty requires contingency planning, an acceptance of unanticipated delays, and attentiveness to local wisdom. It is critical for new instructors to learn that, while they are professional soldiers with much to teach, the Rangers are the survival experts when they are out on the land for exercises or operations.

Decision-making often involves lengthy discussions that engage an issue from multiple perspectives and the subtle emphasis of particular facts, but do not involve clear statements of points of view, and conclusions are only reached after a prolonged “distillation” process. As Sergeant Gonneau explained to me, you cannot have a rigid schedule: “we run it at their pace.” Accordingly, new instructors are challenged to be flexible and patient. When stationed with southern Regular Force units, Army sergeants are trained to have their commands met without debate and on time. There is an inherent rigidity in the philosophy of command and strict obedience. This “hard army” approach does not work with the Rangers. Instructors cannot yell at patrols according to standard drill techniques, “dress down” and embarrass individuals who make mistakes, or demand unquestioning and immediate responses.

While the Rangers have important skills, they also enjoy working with Ranger instructors because they can learn a lot from the military. For example, in many communities, Rangers navigate through memory. Instructors teach them map and compass, GPS, and communication skills that expand the breadth of area in which they can comfortably operate. Furthermore, field exercises provide Rangers with an opportunity to go to parts of their area of operations that they otherwise might not visit, and they are involved in planning these activities to suit local interests. Sovereignty patrols, enhanced sovereignty patrols, mass exercises, leadership training, and shooting competitions also provide Rangers with opportunities to meet other people from their patrol group and visit new parts of the country.

A sense of humour is also essential to work with the Rangers. Sergeant J-F Gauthier’s first training exercise in January 1998 was most memorable for a joke played on him by the Inuit Rangers in Salluit, Nunavik. After leaving town

Akulivik, 2002

for their field training, the group stopped for tea. Gauthier asked if he could go for a pee, and the Rangers said this was fine. He walked away from the group, and when he started to urinate, someone behind him yelled: “What are you doing, this is the land of our ancestors!” Gauthier apologized profusely and was told to take a plastic bag and a knife to clean up after himself. “This land is very important to us,” the Rangers insisted. When he knelt down and started to clean up, everyone in the group fell down on the ground in hysterical laughter. When they returned to town five days later, everyone in Salluit seemed to know the story – the Rangers had reported it back in advance by radio. En route back home, when the plane stopped in Kuujuaq, someone there teased him about the story. Gauthier could not believe it, but this confirmed in his mind that word gets around quickly in the North. Even when he visits Salluit today, someone still reminds him of this episode. He takes it in the fun spirit in which it was intended.

A flexible, culturally sensitive approach and a willingness to become acclimatized to the ways of diverse groups of people are similarly essential. Most instructors stressed that mutual learning, credibility, and trust are crucial to effective relationships with patrols. In order to be effective, Ranger instructors need to accept that compromise is a source of strength, not a display of weakness. Cultural differences between instructors and the Rangers require mutual learning and flexibility. “If you are closed and don’t want to open your mind, you will fail,” Sergeant Gauthier explained to me in a telephone interview in May 2006. “If your attitude is to learn and share, then you can succeed.”



Rangers in Action: Training and Operations, 2005-2014

In the campaign leading up to the January 2006 federal election, the Canadian Rangers were featured in national party platforms for the first time. Conservative defence critic Gordon O'Connor, visiting Iqaluit in late 2005, promised that his party would expand the Rangers as part of its plan to strengthen Canada's Arctic sovereignty. "I look on the Rangers as one of the prime instruments in enforcing our sovereignty," O'Connor said. Rangers requested better equipment, more training, and more work to do. "Patrols have to increase in frequency," the former brigadier-general told a northern reporter. "As I understand it, the current 4,000 Rangers are capable of doing more patrols, but there just isn't enough money." In O'Connor's assessment, Rangers "should be touching every island and every piece of land in the north on a regular basis." Promises of new uniforms, a new rifle, and more cash for Rangers to maintain personal equipment fit with the Conservative Party's "Canada first" approach to defence.

When Stephen Harper won a minority government in early 2006, his party inherited a mature and capable Ranger organization. The Rangers also fit



with his commitment to improve Canada's capability to exercise and enforce its sovereignty in the Arctic.

Building on his earlier campaign promises, Prime Minister Harper announced measures to bolster Canada's Northern sovereignty on 10 August 2007. He unveiled plans for a Canadian Forces Arctic Training Centre in Resolute, a deep-water docking and refuelling facility at Nanisivik, and the expansion of the Canadian Rangers from 4,100 to 5,000 members. The Ranger expansion program had four objectives:

- to add new patrols and strengthen existing ones in the North and farther south where required;
- to put in place the command-and-control systems necessary to manage the expanded force;
- to formalize business plans for the Rangers' \$29-million-annual budget; and
- to support the Ranger Modernization Project, designed to address all aspects of the Rangers' uniforms and equipment.

Under this plan, the Ranger organization across Canada would receive an additional twelve million dollars each year – nearly a quarter-billion-dollar investment over twenty years. According to the Prime Minister's Office, this



investment would “significantly strengthen Canada’s sovereignty ... [and] benefit communities throughout the region by creating jobs and opportunities and enhancing the safety and security of the people who live here.” It also earmarked funding for light equipment that would enable the Rangers to do their jobs more effectively, including duffel bags, ballistic glasses, backpacks, multi-tools, and new hand-held radios.

The Ranger uniform also expanded. The distinctive red sweatshirt (“hoodie”) had become the hallmark of the Rangers’ distinct accoutrements. For decades, however, Rangers had requested more army clothing so they could look more uniform while on parade. After the handover of the Canadian Ranger National Authority to the Army in October 2007, the chief of the land staff committed to a “Clothe the Ranger” project, which supplemented the Rangers’ ballcap, sweatshirt, and t-shirt with a red fleece, an ICE jacket, a rain suit, wet-weather boots, socks, wind pants, and combat gloves. The military still expected the Rangers to wear personal clothing suited to local conditions, but this new ensemble expanded the “Ranger red” brand. (The Army also promised to replace another enduring symbol of the Rangers – the .303 Lee Enfield rifle – owing to its declining stock of replacement parts, which is discussed in the next chapter.)

As one of its core promises, the Harper government promised to expand the Canadian Rangers to 5,000 members. Despite the government’s strong Arctic sovereignty focus, the Ranger organization could only expand so far in that region. After all, the Rangers already had a permanent footprint in every



High Arctic community. Accordingly, the Rangers could only expand in the Arctic by recruiting more people into existing patrols to “make a credible presence if called on in an emergency or for training.” The organization could, however, expand to new areas in the Subarctic and other remote coastal communities.

Diversity, expansion, and preparedness

Major Guy Lang, who commanded 2 CRPG from 2006-2010, described the Rangers as “a truly beautiful organization, the dream of any commander: 750 soldiers deployed in 25 municipalities and communities, a mix of Cree, Inuit, Montagnais and Naskapi, of Whites, anglophones and francophones, a ‘cauldron’ of cultures from which we can learn a lot.” He also emphasized their military affiliation. “My biggest challenge is to get the Rangers accepted as soldiers,” he explained. “The Rangers are responsible and capable of being autonomous. They know their territory, they understand their mission very well and they take pride in their work ... I call them my ‘Warriors.’” (With all this strong soldiering language, he also reassured the Rangers that they were not expected to deploy overseas, only domestically in their local areas.)

The commanding officer also sought to introduce a new regional training structure when the unit assumed additional responsibilities for domestic operations within Joint Task Force East. “Your training is going to be more intensive and the scope of your duties will increase,” Lang told the Rangers. “By having two or three villages work together, you will get to know each other and the weaker members of the team will learn from the stronger ones. If one day you are asked to work together, you will already have common working methods and you will be more efficient.” He also encouraged patrols to establish command posts from which sergeants and master corporals could direct future operations. Since Rangers played local leadership roles, this could have positive repercussions for the communities more generally. In order to provide Rangers with even more leadership training, Lang also broke with convention by sending Rangers to Army leadership qualification courses.

Major Lang emphasized to the Rangers the importance of collective training: encouraging different patrols to meet with and learn from each other, operate outside their immediate areas, and develop a synergy amongst themselves. At the same time, he appointed seven Ranger warrant officers responsible for Hudson Bay, the Lower North Shore (one Francophone and one Anglophone), James Bay, Ungava Bay, and Hudson Strait. He envisaged these warrant officers as regional liaison officers supervising their zones, with

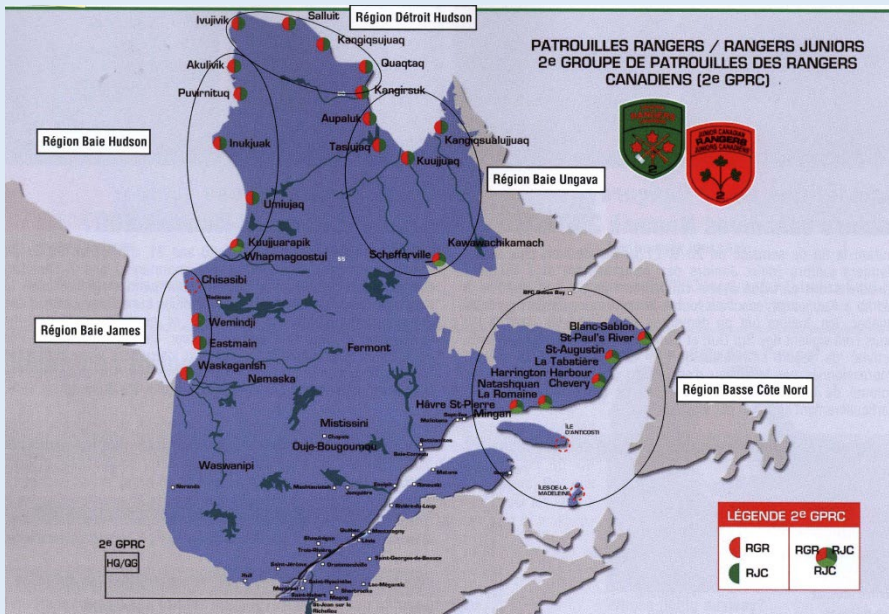
patrol sergeants reporting directly to them – a way of instilling a philosophy of “Rangers leading Rangers.” The position of Warrant Officer did not exist within the nationally authorized Canadian Ranger organization, but authorities in Ottawa left this as an issue for 2 CRPG and the LFQA commander to sort out at that time.

A new structure for 2 CRPG (2007)

At this time, the patrol group made major changes to the training of its Rangers. Its communities were grouped into five distinct regions. The objective of this regrouping was to:

1. allow the Rangers from the same region to work together;
2. allow for more structured and intensive training in order to obtain a level of operational effectiveness;
3. improve the situational awareness of each region;
4. allow the communities to help each other in case of emergencies; and
5. allow more stable training by keeping the same instructors in the same region.

This new structure was implemented as of April 2008, and the Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay regions were the first to follow it.



Like his predecessor, Lang was an enthusiastic commander who maintained strong, positive relationships with political leaders throughout the province. When the commander of Canada Command announced in 2008 that Ranger expansion could resume, 2 CRPG was quick to recruit new members from new communities. When the Chisasibi and Îles-de-la Madeleine patrols opened in July 2009, they were at full strength from the onset. The patrol group's area of responsibility within the province of Quebec expanded farther south and east than ever before.



Chisasibi's Patrol



Patrouille des Îles de la Madeleine

In December 2010, Lang's successor, Lieutenant-Colonel Marcel Chevarie, offered an impassioned tribute to his Rangers:

Today, as they approach their 65th anniversary, their mission has evolved. By their presence, as the eyes and ears of the Canadian Armed Forces, they demonstrate Canada's sovereignty along our three coasts and in the entire hinterland. This is specified in the 2005 Defence Policy Statement, which states that the Canadian Rangers are primarily assigned to sovereignty-related tasks and must devote the majority of their efforts to them. They contribute to the defence of North America by mobilizing their expertise in their own environment. They also protect Canadians by assisting their fellow citizens in emergencies and by mentoring the Junior Canadian Ranger Programme.

But if this mission fits perfectly with the 1 CRPG (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut), what about us, the inhabitants of Quebec, a region whose borders are not in any way challenged by a third country and whose first line to the North is Nunavut? I therefore propose that our Rangers focus on their compatriots, pass on their values to their youth, and help their communities in the event of natural or man-made disasters.



The instructors of 2 CRPG will strive to make our Rangers a self-sufficient and mobile force, capable of responding to local emergencies and supporting national operations in their area of responsibility. Our role will be to train them in the technical skills required to operate safely on land and inland waters and to provide them with the necessary equipment for their patrols. In cooperation with the Ministry of Public Security, Nunavik authorities, Canadian Command and Land Force Quebec Area, we will develop a protocol that will allow us to respond quickly and legally to the demands of the communities we support.

The Canadian Rangers remain the cornerstone of Canadian sovereignty in the North and 2 CRPG is more relevant than ever.

While the Rangers had become icons of Canadian sovereignty and security in the High Arctic, their presence – and operational contributions – extended well beyond Canada's northern territories into Nunavik, Eeyou Istchee, the interior of Quebec, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The Rangers participated in numerous joint operations and training every year throughout 2 CRPG's area of responsibility. Since the fall of 2013, the Rangers' tasks have been grouped into six standard patrols, ranging from routine training to high-level sovereignty operations, that provide a useful framework to understand training and operations:

Under the direction of the Canadian Army ("force generation"):

Type 1 - Basic Training (e.g., field training, traditional skills, mentoring of Junior Canadian Rangers) - Class A;

Type 2 - Individual Training (e.g., leadership development) - Class A;

Type 3 - Collective Training (e.g., familiarization with other patrols and communities) - Class A.

Under the direction of Canadian Joint Operations Command ("force employment"):

Type 4 - Training, Exercise and Activity (e.g., support to CAF training or exercises) - Class A;

Type 5 - Domestic Operation (search and rescue - execution or assistance) - Class A or C;

Type 6 - Sovereignty operation (e.g., enhanced sovereignty patrol) - Class A or C.

Basic training

With the Rangers becoming more regularly employed in domestic operations such as ground search and rescue and aid to the civil power in response to a humanitarian disaster, Ranger training at the patrol level underwent significant changes after the creation of 2 CRPG. Sergeant Pascal Croteau wrote in 2003 that:

In the early '90s, [annual] training was left to the instructor's discretion; now it is better structured, with a timetable adapted to the needs of the patrol. There are four levels of patrol in 2 CRPG, with training appropriate to each one. For example, a level two patrol will have map and compass courses, while a level four patrol will receive an introduction to GPS. In short, the higher the level of the patrol, the more capable it is of military deployment.



Sgt Pascal Croteau

In this regard, the instructors of 2 CRPG are increasingly attempting to train Rangers to understand and operate like a real army platoon. They thus take time to teach the Rangers about the chain of command and the use of battle procedure in the

performance of their duties.... As a result, according to former Rangers, the training they receive today is far more stimulating and is much less of a hunting and fishing trip than it used to be.

The training, nonetheless, remains oriented towards traditional survival techniques and tries hard to encourage the transmission of knowledge from one generation of Rangers to another. The role of teaching leadership to patrol commanders and 2ICs [(2nd-in-commands)] is also part of the new military organization of Ranger training. They receive annual training to help them rise to the challenges of commanding a Ranger patrol and the management aspects that go with it. The results of this training were apparent, especially during training sessions, in the more effective shouldering of responsibilities and a reduction in the rotation of patrol sergeants.

Sergeant Croteau's description offered an apt synopsis of the core annual training provided to Rangers at the community level. During these activities, Ranger instructors were responsible for all of the logistical, administrative, financial, and training aspects. Accordingly, each instructor would spend three weeks at HQ in Saint-Jean, followed by two weeks conducting a Ranger training exercise or visiting the Junior Canadian Ranger patrols that they coordinated and administered. Each team of two instructors was responsible for about five communities, representing approximately 200 Rangers and Junior Rangers.



Training in Aupaluk, 2014

The CAF provides Canadian Rangers with flexible training, tailored to the local terrain and environmental conditions, but generally with several elements directly related to emergency and disaster management capabilities: first aid, wilderness first aid, ground search and rescue, emergency airstrip construction on land and ice, and communications. Depending on the hazards facing a Ranger patrol's community, training may also include flood, fire, and/or earthquake evacuation; major air disaster response; and other location-specific emergency scenarios. Patrols learn to work together as a cohesive unit (a necessity during an emergency), and training exercises sometimes involve patrols from several communities and other CAF personnel with whom they may have to respond to a disaster.



*Training
in Havre-
St-Pierre,
January
2011*

It is common for Rangers to patrol outside their communities during their annual training exercises, giving them the opportunity to practise their skills and share their knowledge. For example, the Rangers in the Cree community of Wemindji in Eeyou Istchee/James Bay participated in a marine exercise from 22 October–5 November 2007, which included search and rescue and the establishment of observation posts. The first four days were devoted to administration and courses in GPS, topography, radio procedures, and familiarization with the C-7 rifle used by Regular Force and Primary Reserve members. On 29 October, the group deployed by boat to an island about two and a half hours away. The Rangers first set up observation posts on various islands to the north of the base camp and then sent situation reports by radio. The next day was devoted to search and rescue, with two teams deployed by boat twenty kilometres from their bivouac: one to the north and one to the south. "During the time of year the training was held, the weather in James Bay is very unpredictable, making it difficult to forecast what the meteorological conditions will be throughout the day," instructor Sergeant J.P. Rheault explained:



As luck would have it, the wind started to pick up and the sea grew increasingly choppy. The search and rescue exercise had to be cancelled for safety reasons. However, the two deployed teams stayed where they were and returned the next day with some good stories to tell. The team in the north had been more fortunate and had spent the night in a camp, while the other team had spent the night huddled up to a fire while the rain and wind beat down on them.

Despite the inclement weather, the Rangers returned with fond memories – and some useful training experience.

These training activities took place in all seasons. For example, under the command of Sergeant Bertrand Aucoin, the Îles-de-la-Madeleine patrol participated in its annual training from 10-21 January 2011. During the first six days, the Rangers underwent classroom training to obtain their nautical operator's certificates and to practise maps and compass, GPS handling, first aid, and the setting up of a bivouac site. A six-day field exercise followed in the lagoon of Havre aux Maisons. The Rangers left by boat to a site twelve kilometres from town, unloading their equipment on a beach and setting up their camp on a dune. Two days later, they relocated their bivouac to another site. "The boats were used to perfect our sea rescue skills," Ranger Jean-Louis Leblanc explained. "The Rangers of our patrol greatly appreciated this stay in

the wilderness. Our teamwork, despite the bad weather conditions, earned us congratulations from our instructor, Warrant Officer Steve Bélanger.”

Canadian Ranger patrols are of different sizes and varied capabilities. This requires adaptable training that is focused, motivating, and relevant to Rangers in their operating areas, and that improves a patrol’s practical capabilities. Because patrols are deeply embedded within their communities, they have become an important way for members to share traditional knowledge and skills across generations. “On-the-land” Ranger activities provide opportunities for community members to learn how to travel safely, read the weather and ice conditions, set up camps, build komatiks/qamutiik (sleds), hunt and fish, and develop a wealth of other skills and ways of knowing that allow them to thrive in the field.



*Guerrier Nordique
in Wemindji, 2011*

Ranger leadership training

2 CRPG also provides Ranger sergeants and master corporals with annual leadership training to help them organize, plan, coordinate, and solve problems more effectively. Ranger leadership training is highly practical – generally a task is given out and participants are taught how to break it down into its component parts. The training also teaches participants how to keep a patrol motivated, organized, and focused, and how to coordinate and cooperate with other members and units of the CAF. The training brings Rangers together from different communities, allowing them to share best practices that are relevant when orchestrating responses to emergencies and disasters.

“Typically, all Rangers in a patrol get involved and give suggestions when a task has to be completed,” long-time instructor Sergeant Etienne Ouellet explained after a Ranger leadership training session in Farnham in December 2007. “But this way of doing things does not fit with the Canadian Forces’ concept of leadership. Thus, the training sets out to teach patrol leaders that, when they are in charge of an operation, they must see it through to completion, even if they use some of their coworkers’ ideas in doing so.” During the formal training session, participants discussed the military ethos and themes such as courage, valour, and ethics. “We spoke about the loyalty that a leader must show towards his men,” Ouellet described. “We also stressed that a leader is always responsible for his actions, even when he delegates a task.”

Two years later, 2 CRPG held its patrol commanders’ leadership course at Campus Fort St-Jean, involving seventy participants from twenty-eight



communities. Topics on the agenda included conducting search and rescue missions, operating a firing range, perfecting training techniques, and conducting patrols. The Rangers leading their local JCR programs were trained in planning, conducting, and supervising activities and community liaison, among other topics. During the course, Sergeant Charlie Ikey from Salluit described the origins of the program and his own experience working with the JCR patrols. After experiencing hardship as a child, he decided to take charge and share his experiences and skills with younger people. He reminded everyone how important it is for Rangers, who are respected leaders in their communities, to share their knowledge with young people. Sergeant Ikey's speech inspired Rangers to continue to energize the youth program.



*Leadership training in
Saint-Jean, 2012*

Collective instruction

As 2 CRPG adjusted its approach to training, it encouraged joint or inter-patrol training that would build *esprit de corps* and allow Rangers from different communities to share knowledge and best practices. "It is my belief that this type of training greatly helps increase the operational level of patrols," Major Archambault explained in June 2005. "Exercise *Vigilis Rangers*, which was conducted in February on the Lower North Shore, is proof of this." This exercise brought together the five patrols along the coast, two CH-146 Griffon helicopters, and ten members of the 2 CRPG staff to test the patrols'

Rencontre Basse-Côte-Nord, 2005

ability to deploy quickly for search and rescue (SAR). Patrol sergeants were given advance warning to plan and prepare their patrols for deployment within hours of an instructor's arrival. Once the patrols were ready to go, they met at Baie-Johan-Beetz and Saint-Augustin to receive their operation orders for the exercise. The patrol sergeants put into practice the command techniques that they had been taught the previous fall during a meeting in Havre-Saint-Pierre. "Fortunately for them, the weather conditions were very good," Ranger instructor Sergeant Christian Cossette observed. "However, the training area was quite difficult for both the rangers and their snowmobiles. There were many mountains, and many structures had to be built in order to cover the entire search area."

After two days of SAR training, the participants proceeded to other activities. Patrol-level shooting competitions ultimately identified the five Ranger "marksmen" from the Lower North Shore who would participate in 2 CRPG's overall shooting competition. Then, to complete the training, each patrol built a helicopter landing site in a wooded area. Once the helicopter landed on the austere site (with a representative from the patrol on board), the pilots provided feedback. That afternoon, the Ranger section corporals led the construction of a rope bridge, a camp site, or a makeshift antenna. "The goal of the exercise was achieved," Cossette assessed at the end of the exercise. "Now we are convinced that all our Lower North Shore patrols are able to deploy rapidly when necessary, and that they are able to work as a team."



Boat patrol, early 2010s

That October, the Harrington Harbour patrol hosted the five Ranger patrols from the Lower North Shore: Havre-Saint-Pierre, Natashquan, Harrington Harbour, Saint-Augustin, and Blanc-Sablon. During Exercise *Mishti Kushu*, “participants perfected their knowledge through theoretical and practical lessons, such as reading maps and taking part in boat drills,” Ranger instructor Sergeant Etienne Ouellet recounted. “This allowed them to improve their marine search and rescue skills and learn to manage an observation post.” Each of the Rangers who participated received Lifesaving Society’s Boat Operator Accredited Training. “The exercise was challenging and was made all the more so by the elements,” Ouellet noted, “as Hurricane Noel somewhat hindered the redeployment of the patrols at the very end of the activity.”

Similar activities took place across 2 CRPG’s area of operations in the years that followed. In April 2013, for example, Rangers from the Akulivik, Inukjuak, and Puvirnituk patrols along the Hudson Bay coast participated in a joint exercise at Kuuvik Bay (north of Akulivik). One of the primary objectives was to practise travelling over long distances – which was obviously met by the Inukjuak patrol, which travelled about 400 kilometres to the training site, and the Puvirnituk patrol, which travelled 250 kilometres. “All of the basic training concepts (GPS, map and compass, communications) were taught by patrol members,” Training Warrant Officer Steve Bélanger observed. “The portable welder, a new piece of shared equipment, was tried out successfully and proved to be particularly useful for repairing komatiks and snowmobiles.” He

declared the exercise “a great success” and highlighted how it strengthened team spirit – a key outcome sought in all joint exercises.

Supporting CAF training and exercises

The CAF relies heavily on the Canadian Rangers’ expertise during Regular Force and Primary Reserve units’ training exercises and operations in remote northern and coastal areas. Having “friends on the ground” with expert knowledge of the areas and/or conditions in which outside units are deployed is a force multiplier. The goal is for Rangers to serve as liaisons and help to prepare those units to operate with a high degree of readiness and effectiveness in remote areas.

Northern Exercises (NOREXs) are intended to maintain an Arctic response capability, to ensure that soldiers in southern-based units develop and retain the ability to move, communicate, and command in austere conditions. This includes exercising first response scenarios. To prepare for these exercises, Rangers conduct route reconnaissance and brief southern-based units on what to expect when they operate in the North, and then serve as guides, subject matter experts, and trail parties during the exercises themselves. As advisors embedded within individual sections of soldiers from the south, Rangers serve as teachers and help to ensure safe operations under prevailing local conditions. Rangers also help to organize and participate in all community days, which often include traditional games, dancing, and singing. Rangers furthermore provide essential liaison with local organizations, help to enhance southern forces’ understandings of northern cultures, and build positive ties between the military and northern communities.

For example, Sovereignty Exercise (SOVEX) BARBARA NORDIQUE was held from 28 January-13 February 2005 to train members of Romeo (R) Battery of the 5th Light Artillery Regiment of Canada from Valcartier. During the twelve-day deployment, seventeen Canadian Rangers from the Kangiqsujuaq patrol provided winter survival training to 110 soldiers, including how to build snowhouses (igloos) and wind-walls around tents. The soldiers appreciated the guidance, particularly after a severe blizzard struck and the tips and tricks they learned proved extremely useful in the field. The exercise ended in the village of Kangiqsujuaq with a simulated plane crash and search and rescue scenario. The activities culminated with a community celebration, featuring cultural activities and a traditional Inuit dinner, hosted by the Canadian Rangers and other Inuit from the village.



*Rangers building
snowhouses,
2013*

That same year, six Kawawachikamach Rangers from the Schefferville patrol were among the first members of 2 CRPG to take part in the LFQA's summer "militia concentration" exercise NOBLE GUERRIER 2005. They acted as interpreters and "actors" for the Civil-Military Co-operation (CIMIC) Cell, which needed to rely on Rangers who spoke the Naskapi language to communicate – an important way to train CIMIC officers for missions they would encounter overseas. "The CIMIC cell was impressed with the Rangers' professionalism and the brio that they brought to their roles," Training Sergeant Scott Doyle observed. The Rangers often wore civilian clothes to add "more realism to their roles," and their tasks covered the full range of situations that the CIMIC team may face in overseas negotiations, including working with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), crowd dispersal techniques, and liaison with persecuted religious minorities.

As the Canadian Army developed its Arctic operating concept, the frequency of training activities in which the Rangers shared their knowledge with outside units grew apace. For example, POLAR STRIKE exercises saw Rangers from 2 CRPG supporting and teaching soldiers in Wemindji and Kuujuarapik (2006), Wemindji (2007), and Chisasibi (2014). When the Canadian Army was tasked in 2007 to create and train four Arctic Response Company Groups (ARCGs), built mainly around Primary Reserve forces, to respond to incidents in the Arctic, the Canadian Rangers assumed an important supporting role as advisors and guides, as well as expert instructors teaching visiting units how to operate safely and effectively in their home areas. Exercise GUERRIER NORDIQUE, held annually, familiarized soldiers from 35 Brigade Group in Quebec with northern operations to improve the



Guerrier Nordique 2008, Puvirnituk

CAF's ability to operate in harsh winter conditions and to test personnel and equipment. Rangers supported the first serials of the exercise in Puvirnituk in 2008 and Kuujuaq in 2009. From 24 February-12 March 2011, the exercise took place in the Eeyou Istchee/James Bay area and involved nearly 1,500 people, including Regular and Reserve Force personnel, civilians, and soldiers from the United States, France, and Poland. "Ten instructors, some clerks and close to 60 Canadian Rangers shared their expertise in working in the northern regions," explained Warrant Officer Martin Prince, who acted as the unit's coordinator for the exercise. "I want to highlight their professionalism and thank them for their close cooperation in this activity. The scenario was a simulated summit on the environment, and the soldiers had to provide security and conduct search and rescue activities."

The following year, Salluit hosted 200 Primary Reservists from 34 and 35 Brigade Groups, as well as US Army Reserve National Guard soldiers from Maine and Vermont. During Exercise GUERRIER NORDIQUE 2012, seventeen Rangers from Salluit and Ivujivik demonstrated how to build igloos and taught soldiers how they could protect themselves from the cold. Brigadier-General Richard Giguère, the commander of Land Force Quebec Area and Joint Task Force East, explained to the *Huffington Post* that "winter warfare is one of the major strings to our soldiers' bow. This winter aspect is important, because we are in Canada and we will be called upon to intervene more often north of the 60th parallel in the years to come." For their part, the Rangers welcomed the opportunity to train visiting forces. "It's nice to see them come and get involved in our community," Ranger Charlie Pinguaqtuq explained. Echoing his sentiment, Ranger Mary Adams of Salluit told a public affairs officer that "we appreciate that the soldiers came to train in our homeland."

*Sgt Simeonie
Nalagartuk*



In newspaper stories, the Regular and Primary Reserve soldiers who exercised with the Rangers in Quebec frequently expressed their admiration for the Rangers – and their appreciation for the practical local and traditional knowledge that they shared. During a patrol in Inukjuak in 2006, Sergeant Simeonie Nalagartuk described the Rangers as “the glasses, hearing aids and walking stick of the Canadian Forces in the North.” His

reference to the inability of other military units to operate unaided in Inuit Nunangat was unmistakable.

Leading and supporting CAF domestic operations

As discussed in the last chapter, the Rangers’ core tasks include the ability to “conduct and provide assistance to CAF domestic operations.” In practical terms, this means that the Rangers must be prepared to assist their communities during an emergency. Although other “first responders” (police, fire, and medical professionals) have the lead responsibility in emergencies, Rangers are expected to play a vital supporting function. The Canadian Army considers the Rangers to be a “mature capability” at the heart of the “Army’s operational capability in the North for a range of domestic missions,” including humanitarian aid, disaster relief, ground search and rescue (GSAR) support, and responses to major air disasters (MAJAID) and major maritime disasters (MAJMAR). Accordingly, they receive specialized training to respond to natural disasters and support humanitarian operations, such as learning how to build emergency runways or landing areas.

This training and preparedness have proven instrumental when Ranger patrols have been called upon to assist their communities in times of need. For example, forest fires in the James Bay region threatened the communities of Waskaganish, Eastmain, and Wemindji in early June 2005. The village of Eastmain and the new hydroelectric installation of EM-1 were evacuated as a precautionary measure, and a smoke haze settled around the village of Wemindji. When the health board and public security officer decided to

evacuate Elders, persons with respiratory problems, and pregnant women from Wemindji to the safety of Val-d'Or, the Rangers were called to action. Members of the local patrol helped coordinate the flow of townspeople at the airport, assisted people in need, and embarked evacuees onto aircraft. Owing to the Rangers' training and coordination, the process was smooth and efficient – and managed by local residents with intimate knowledge of the people whom they were assisting.

CANADIAN RANGERS FROM 2 CRPG SHINE AT THE CFSAC (2011)

Every year the top marksmen of the Canadian Forces gather in Connaught Ranges, near Ottawa, to participate in the Canadian Forces Small Arms Competition (CFSAC). The aim of [the] CFSAC is to increase operational effectiveness by encouraging and developing advanced marksmanship skills within all components of the CF. The event attracts shooters from the Regular Force, the Primary Reserve, the CR [(Canadian Rangers)] and the RCMP [(Royal Canadian Mounted Police)].

Master Warrant Officer François Duchesneau, Training Company Sergeant-Major for 2 CRPG, was hardly a rookie where this competition is concerned. He has been taking part for more than 20 years, first as a competitor and now as coach. He is ideally suited to lead the unit's shooting team, something he has done for about ten years now. On only a few days' notice, he had the opportunity to compete as a shooter. He took up the challenge and obtained the best result of all 297 participants, which earned him the Queen's Medal for Champion Shot.

Master Warrant Officer Duchesneau was very proud of his performance and of achieving a goal he had had for so many years. But it was in all modesty that he recalled that his primary purpose in attending the event was to act as coach for the 2 CRPG team.



At the ripe old age of 24, Jean-Marie Beaulne of the CR Puvirnituq Patrol was participating in his 4th CFSAC. He finished highest in the individual category among all the CR. He was pleased with his performance and proud of representing his community in such a prestigious competition.

But marksmanship runs in the family: his brothers, Juani and Paul, were also on the 2 CRPG team. In fact, Juani captured third place in the individual category.

Rangers Trophy

Rounding out the medal haul, the 2 CRPG Rangers took home the Rangers Trophy awarded to the best eight-person squad of CR.

Before leaving for Connaught, the staff and shooters on the 2 CRPG team had spent nearly three weeks training at the Valcartier shooting range. The intensive training and efforts were worth it, though, as the CR once again distinguished themselves at this annual competition. Master Warrant Duchesneau saluted all the CR for the time and effort spent throughout the competition. He also thanked Sergeants Steve Savoie and Daniel Dussault, instructors at 2 CRPG, as well as everyone who made it easier for the participants to take part in the activities over the preceding few weeks.

Source: Info Rangers (December 2011)



Having a well-trained, cohesive group bolsters community resilience and a local sense of security. “At all levels of government, [the Rangers] are recognized for their efforts to participate in search and rescue and their cohesiveness in working together as a unit,” the unit historical report noted in 2005. Accordingly, communities provide free access to classrooms, gyms, and offices for Ranger training. They also support broader resilience measures. For example, when the Regional Symposium on Civil Security was held in Wemindji in August 2009, 2 CRPG played a key role in organizing and supporting the event, providing lodging and rations, setting up and dismantling the site, and providing event security.

2 CRPG Supply Section (2010)

The supply team at 2 CRPG consisted of 6 military personnel, working full time, to fill orders for the group’s Canadian Rangers and JCRs. The main material warehouse is located in St-Jean-Sur-Richelieu, near Montreal. The equipment stored there is worth several million dollars. The turnover of equipment on the floor is very large. The equipment required by the patrols and the Rangers is shipped at all times. Mostly, supplies are shipped by boat, and occasionally, aeroplanes are preferred for their speed and flexibility. New equipment acquired by the supply section is regularly put into service and quickly shipped to the patrols. Examples include snowmobile and ATV helmets, winter coats designed for the junior program, new green camouflage trousers called “CADPAT,” “very cold” winter boots for the northern regions,



WO Martin Langlois, logistician, at the Quebec crater in Nunavik

and water boots for the more southern regions acquired for the CR. These projects, from acquisition to distribution, are a huge part of our staff’s work. The challenges are great within the section and teamwork is paramount to the smooth functioning of the supply chain for the benefit of the mission of our 25 Ranger patrols and 30 JCR patrols.

Source: 2 CRPG Info Bulletin (2010)

By anticipating the effects of potential disasters, Rangers help to prevent situations from overwhelming communities – and are also prepared to respond when situations require. For example, Rangers were mobilized to provide surveillance during a major power failure in Chisasibi and Wemindji from 7-12 December 2011. The following February, eight Rangers from the Îles-de-la-Madeleine patrol provided humanitarian aid on the Magdalen Islands in support of the Sûreté du Québec when an ice storm cut off power to hundreds of homes. Under the leadership of Sergeant Bertrand Aucoin and Master-Corporal Paul Hébert, the Rangers checked in on hundreds of homes to ensure the safety of residents and to inform them of the various measures to be taken. The team of Rangers was proud to help the population – and they received accolades from the civil authorities for their valuable assistance.

Search and rescue specialists

The most frequently employed Ranger response capabilities are those related to search and rescue. Officially, the Ranger task list states that they “provide local assistance and advice to ground search and rescue operations.” The police retain primary responsibility for these operations, but the Rangers are in most cases the only trained, equipped, and organized group available in their communities to undertake them. Thus, while participation in search and rescue missions is a secondary task for the Canadian Rangers, 2 CRPG encourages the participation of Rangers in these missions. This service is essential – the loss of a hunting party or family can be disastrous to the general health and well-being of a small community – and Rangers are celebrated for their involvement. Paulusi Novalinga, a long-serving Ranger from Puvirnituq, explains how:

Living in the North, where the temperature can reach -60 Celsius, you have a certain type of discipline where you can perform certain tasks only if you have the traditional knowledge and respect for the land. Many times we were asked to go on search and rescue [missions], when even the local police would not go and the government resources (for us it was [the Joint Rescue Coordination Centre in] Trenton) were not available for many days after we asked for help. We were the only ones who dared to go out to help others. At other times, we were the only ones to support family and friends.



*Markusi Qinuajuak of
Akulivik (left), c. 2004*

Rangers often cite their participation in successful search and rescue operations as their most memorable – and most important – activities. The list of examples is extensive, and the following are just a small sample. Corporal Markusi Qinuajuak of Akulivik, who joined the Rangers in 1985, considered his patrol's greatest success to be the time they found two women alive after a three-day search. Master-Corporal Jusipi Kulula, who joined the Quaqtac patrol in 1990, said his proudest moment was a search and rescue operation in which he and other Rangers from the patrol (including Joie Aupaluk, Willie Kauki, and Charlie Puttayuk) set out in terrible weather conditions, facing 100-kilometre winds. They had to stop several times because of the blizzard, but “thanks to the grid [reference] they sent us and our GPS, we found the two community members who were lost in the storm alive.” It took the Rangers twelve hours to find the lost persons. Corporal Martin Scott, a Ranger with the Aupaluk patrol since 1995, recalled how his patrol conducted:

a super big search and rescue for this young man in a wheelchair and his wife who had gone fishing. They left early, but a big storm came up and they got lost. It was a big search and the Rangers were activated. A Ranger from the Tasiujaq patrol and I were sleeping on the floor of the command post for many days, because they were desperate to find these people. They didn't know how long he could live out there, because of his bladder, being paralyzed from the waist down. After a week, the search was called off by the [Sûreté du Québec], but the Rangers from the Tasiujaq patrol found the lost couple on their way back home. I was still in the command post when they found them. It was wonderful to find them alive. Even the elders had given up because they thought it was impossible for them to live that long under such bad conditions. But they survived by finding shelter in their overturned Qamutiik [sled].

As an organized and skilled search and rescue group, the Rangers are a vital form of resilience and safety for their communities. The patrol in the village of Inukjuak is a case in point. In March 2007, Rangers rescued four members

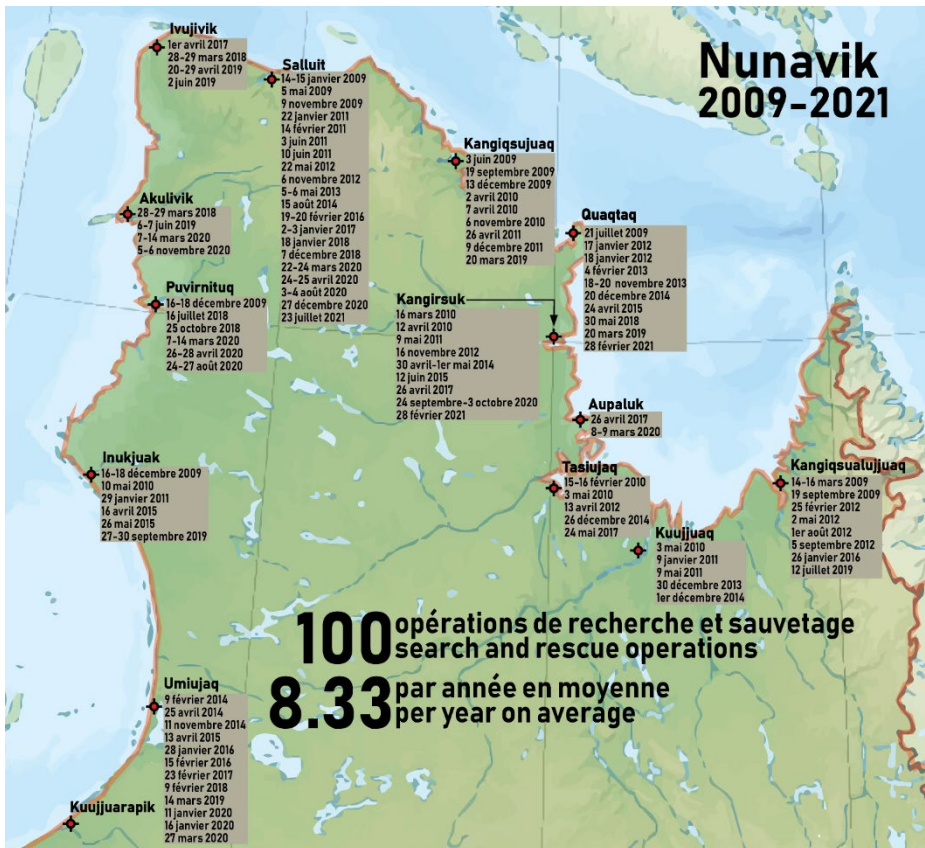
SAR training in Inukjuak, August 2006

of the Kuujuaq-Quebec snowmobile expedition after a snowmobiler found himself in a dangerous position when his machine sank in water about fifty kilometres from Inukjuak. Less than an hour and a half after the person in distress sent his SOS, Ranger Ituk Ningiuk, Ranger Charlie Elijassiapik, and former Ranger Charlie Kasudluak arrived on the scene to assist and brought all of the expedition members back safely. Four years later, on 4 February 2011, two teenagers from Inukjuak left to go hunting but did not return to the village when expected. The Ranger patrol was asked to help three days later. Within two hours of receiving authorization to carry out a search and rescue mission, four well-equipped Rangers left to look for clues to help them find the two young people, while three Rangers stayed in the village to support the search. “The Rangers’ knowledge of the territory and their vigilance enabled them to find the two young people, who had been separated,” a report noted. “The first was in good condition, while the second was in an advanced stage of hypothermia. The Rangers quickly applied techniques of rescue, first aid, landing strip construction and communication that they had learned” during their training session the previous fall. Both teenagers survived, thanks to the Rangers’ efforts (although one had to be evacuated by plane and had his foot amputated).

Even experienced hunters can run into difficulties in challenging – and changing – northern conditions. For example, an Inuk in his mid-sixties was hunting for seals near his home in Salluit in 2009 when the ice floe he was walking on broke away from the shore. While his hunting companions managed to drive their snowmobiles onto the remaining ice, the man became

stranded on the small ice pan that drifted out into rough seas. After spending a harrowing night on the ice worrying that he would not survive, Canadian Rangers on snowmobiles found him the next day after the rising tide had pushed the ice pan back to the mainland.

The following maps provide a visualization of the breadth of SAR activities conducted by 2 CRPG Rangers from 2009-2021. During interviews with Vullierme, Inuit participants shared a strong sense of pride in how their Ranger skills enable them to work effectively with other constabulary teams. One Ranger shared the memory of a complex search and rescue operation in which the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) team expressed surprise at his capabilities. Based on his training, the Ranger effectively organized the search teams into sections, outlined his plans using a map on the conference room table, coordinated map and GPS navigation, set up search facilities, and launched the teams, which managed to find the missing persons within a matter of hours.



Commendation - Kulula, Kaukai & Aupaluk

On 19 and 20 November 2013, three Rangers rescued two members of the northern community of Quaqtac after they became stranded in extreme weather conditions.

The two men had been snowmobiling since 15 November 2013, but their snowmobiles broke down on their way back to the community, forcing them to stop and build makeshift shelters using their sleds. The weather conditions quickly deteriorated: the wind gusted to 103 km/hour and the snow fell for the next few days.

Although trapped by the weather, they were able to communicate with family members. Reported missing on 18 November, the Quaqtac Ranger patrol organized and deployed a search and rescue team. Master Corporal Jusipi Kulula helped organize and lead the team of Rangers Willie Kaukai and Jobie Aupaluk and a civilian throughout the search. The team finally found the two men eleven hours after leaving Quaqtac – a trip that usually takes two hours. The success of this response was the result of the leadership of Master Corporal Jusipi Kulula and the dedication and knowledge of the Aupaluk Rangers.

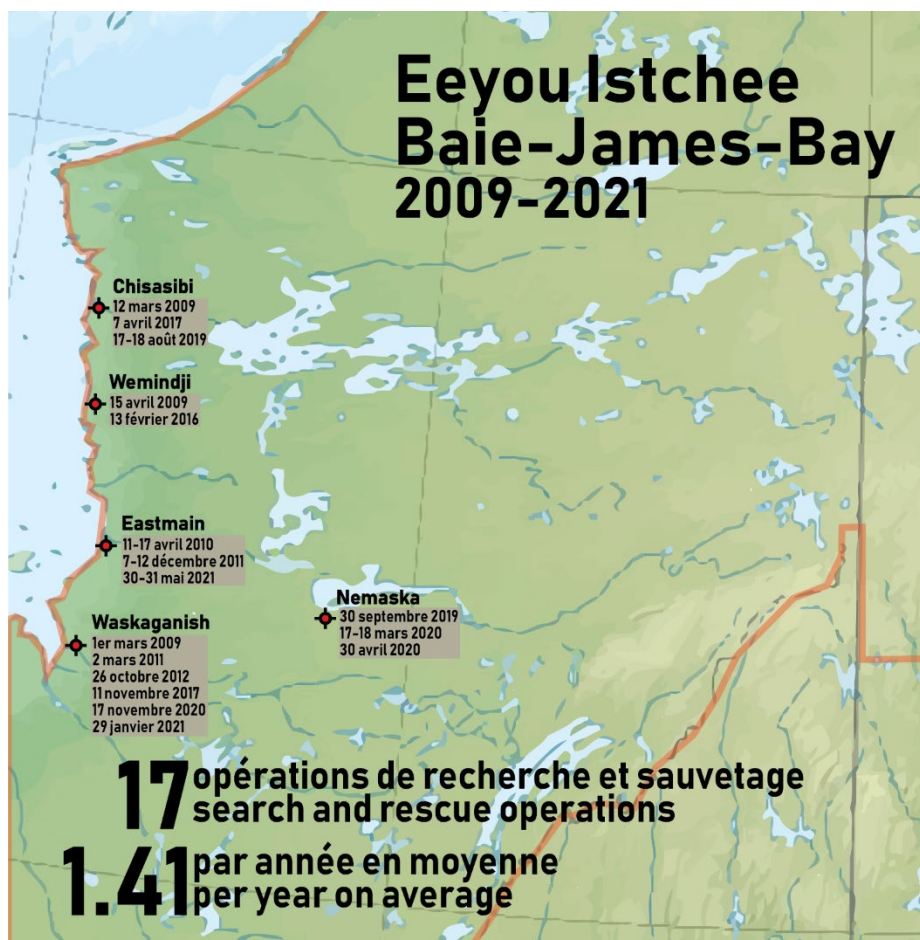
As noted in the recommendation for commendation:

Mr. Johnny Ooavaut and his son thanked the Rangers for their teamwork and the Canadian Armed Forces for training the Rangers to save lives. Without them, the end of this adventure would not have been as happy.

I can tell you that the actions of Master Corporal Kulula and the Kaukai and Aupaluk Rangers are examples of the value and professionalism of the Canadian Rangers. They take great pride in being able to support their community and this situation demonstrates that no matter what the conditions, they are ready and willing to respond at any time. In addition to putting his knowledge into practice, Master Corporal Kulula and the Kaukai and Aupaluk Rangers were able to perform a civic act.



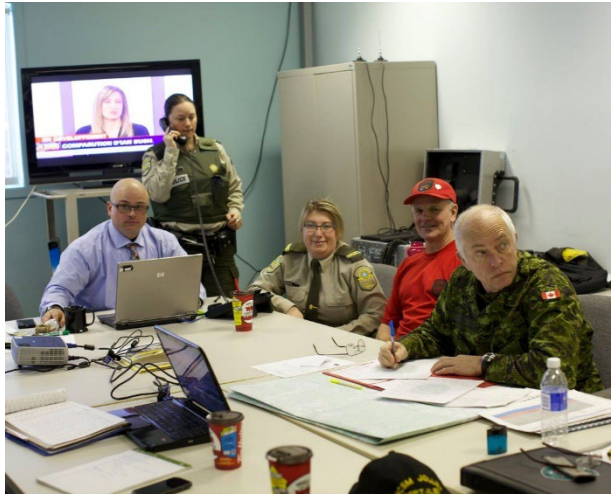
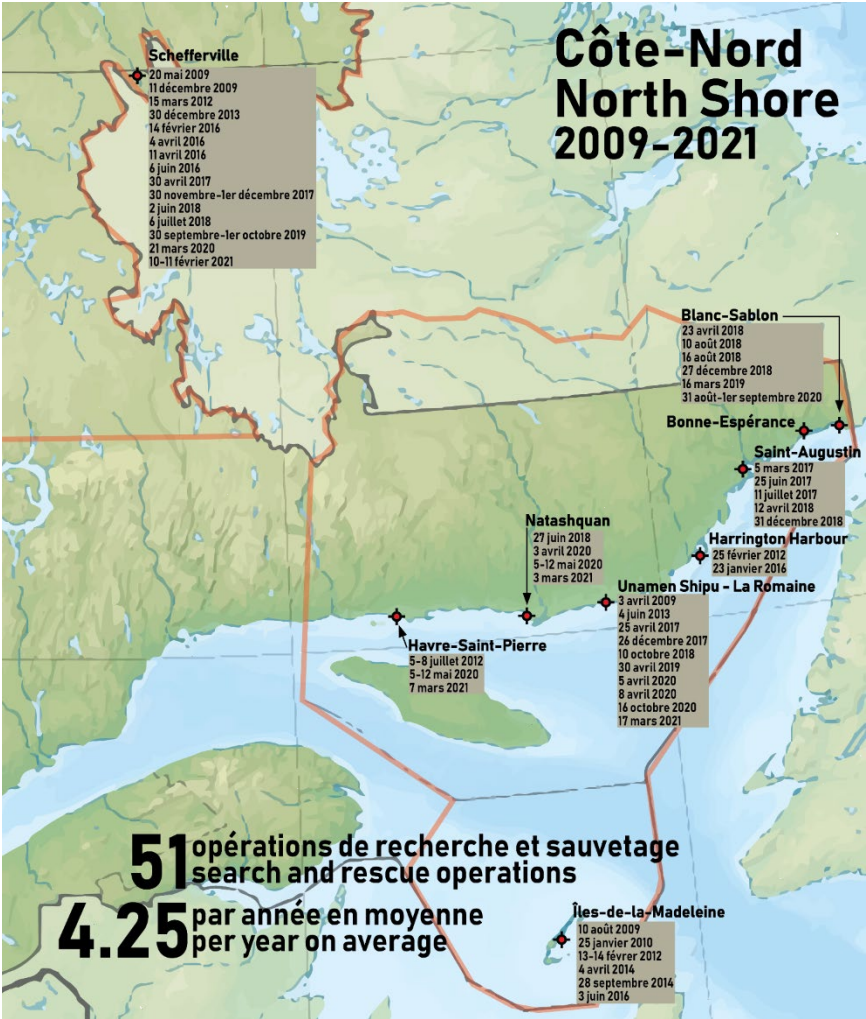
Aupaluk Rangers on patrol, 2014



Search and rescue training in Washkaganish



*Ranger Queenie Napash,
Chisasibi patrol*



Search and rescue
exercice with the
Sûreté du Québec
(Ranger Sgt Dollar
Boudreau and
Capt Réjean
Plourde
representing 2
CRPG).

Conducting and supporting sovereignty operations

Patrolling functions are the central element in the implementation of the Rangers' mandate to conduct and support sovereignty operations. In the early twenty-first century, growing awareness about global warming and an increasingly accessible Arctic have fuelled concerns about Canadian sovereignty. Emerging security issues, and the CAF's limited ability to project conventional military force into Canada's Arctic, have heightened the value of the Rangers' persistent presence and their role as a "force multiplier" in the region. While 1 CRPG's epic enhanced sovereignty patrols in the Far North (Exercises *Kigliqavik Ranger* and Operation *Nunalivut*) dominated political discussions and media coverage in the 2000s and early 2010s, Rangers across the country also completed more modest patrols by snowmobile, all-terrain vehicle, and boat. For 2 CRPG, presence patrols sometimes involved Hercules aircraft picking up sections of Rangers, along with their skidoos and komatiks, and carrying them to a distant point from which the Rangers travelled back home. A 2008 exercise from Chisasibi to Kuujuaq, which passed through Blanc-Sablon, was a prime example.

That same year, the Rangers' participation in a large-scale expedition to mark the 400th anniversary of the founding of Quebec City was the first major official CAF activity to mark this historic milestone. Brigadier-General Christian Barabé hatched the idea for this trek during a meeting with the Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation, Max "One Onti" Gros-Louis, in 2007. "I wanted not only to present our Rangers with a challenge," Barabé recalled, "but also to highlight the presence and the importance of the First Nations within 2 CRPG." In response, the Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation proposed



In action during the 2008 expedition

organizing a meeting of peoples, as had occurred four centuries earlier with the founding of Quebec City by Samuel de Champlain.

First, three groups of Rangers would head out from their home communities by snowmobile to rendezvous in Saguenay. The first expedition left Kuujuaq on 15 January with twenty-two Inuit, Innu, and Naskapi Rangers under the command of Warrant Officer André Caron and Sergeant Philippe Rheault. The second expedition, with six Cree Rangers under Warrant Officer Martin Prince, left Waskaganish (Eeyou Istchee/James Bay) on 20 January. The third expedition, composed of nine Innu and non-Indigenous Rangers under Warrant Officer François Duchesneau, left Sept-Îles on 23 January. "I am very proud that the Canadian Rangers are now under the responsibility of the Army," Lieutenant-General Andrew Leslie declared during an evening event after the three expeditions arrived on schedule on 24/25 January. "The expedition you are accomplishing demonstrates that the Canadian Rangers have great capabilities. Your contribution and expertise are important to the Canadian Forces."

After a 2,600-kilometre journey for the Nunavik Rangers and more than 1,500 kilometres for those from Eeyou Istchee/James Bay and the North Shore, the expedition arrived at Wendake, the host nation of the 400th anniversary of Quebec City, on 28 January. The Rangers received a warm and traditional welcome from the Huron-Wendat Nation and its Grand Chief. The



next day, the expedition members rode their snowmobiles and qamutiiks up the streets of Old Quebec to city hall. During the reception hosted by city officials, Rangers joined Bonhomme Carnaval for a photo session. The exercise successfully highlighted both the anniversary of the founding of Quebec City and its proud military heritage and traditions extending back to its origins.

For his part, Major Lang expressed pride in how the participants “demonstrated that the Rangers of 2 CRPG, Inuit, Cree, Innu, Naskapi and non-Aboriginal, can work as a team and that together we have the capacity to be entrusted with and succeed in the accomplishment of tasks involving complex challenges.” For many of the Rangers, however, the first thing they did after arriving at city hall was call their families. “That’s who we do this for, our families and our communities. We are proud to be Rangers, and we hope our children will be proud of us,” Henry Stewart, the senior Canadian Ranger in the James Bay region, told the *Maple Leaf* magazine. Ranger Lindy Georgekish from the Wemindji patrol had joined the Rangers two years before, looking for both a challenge and a chance to give back to his community. “It feels good to be able to do something like this,” he said. “I hope my son will be proud of seeing what I’ve done.” Norman “Junior” Cheezo, a Cree Ranger from the James Bay area, had followed in his father’s footsteps by joining the Rangers. “It’s a lot of fun,” he said. “We don’t get the chance to go out for days at a time anymore, live off the land, that kind of thing. We do it with the Ranger patrols. It’s a whole different side of living up North.”



The Rangers' Historic Snowmobile Journey to Quebec City

Makivik Magazine 84 (Spring 2008).

It was a cold morning this past January 15th when a fleet of 23 Canadian Northern Rangers on snowmobiles, local well-wishers, media, and Canadian Forces personnel assembled in the parking lot of the Kuujjuaq Town Hall to receive good wishes from Mayor Larry Watt and other dignitaries prior to starting their 15-day journey to the parking lot of Quebec City Hall — a distance that was recorded by one Nunavik Ranger to be exactly 2,597 kilometres. The trail leading from Kuujjuaq was broken ahead of time by [Canadian Army] Sgt Neil McElligott, Sandy Gordon Jr., and Johnny Gordon, halfway to Schefferville, while a Naskapi crew from Kawawachikamach broke the trail south of that.

That morning in front of the Kuujjuaq Town Hall, James Nassak led the prayer for safe travel. The Kuujjuaq mayor handed a letter to Ranger William Saunders to deliver to the mayor of Quebec City. Then the Ski-doo's were started one-by-one, and drove away to begin their hardy adventure.

... On the outskirts of Quebec City, on January 28th, Huron-Wendat Grand Chief Max Gros-Louis and his entourage were at Wendake to greet the Northern Rangers, complete with a purification ceremony and speeches by a list of local and visiting dignitaries. Makivik president Pita Aatami and KRG [(Kativik Regional Government)] chair Maggie Emudluk, in their roles not only as elected Nunavik officials but also as honorary Rangers in their own right, stood at the podium and gave their speeches of pride and appreciation that everyone had made the journey safely and could now be participants in such an important anniversary for Quebec.

Then on January 29th, a lot of snow was spread on certain sidewalks of Quebec City as well as on the parking lot of Quebec City Hall to make way for the pre-eminent arrival of the Rangers' snowmobile patrol.

Among the group of Inuit that departed from Kuujjuaq was just one woman: the Makivik board member representing Quaataq, mother and grandmother, Lizzie Kulula. She eventually met up with her other female comrade, Ranger Corrie Robertson of La Tabatiere from the Quebec North Shore section.

It was Lizzie Kulula's first time travelling such a long distance by Ski-doo. Upon meeting Lizzie again at the Makivik annual general meeting in her home community of Quaataq, *Makivik Magazine* asked her for some reflections on this historic snowmobile expedition.

Makivik Magazine: When did you decide to go on the Ranger's expedition to Quebec City?

Lizzie Kulula: There was a call asking for anyone who would be interested to go to Quebec City for January to submit their name, so I submitted my name to our local corporal. I was uncertain until the very end that I was going to Quebec City, whether I had been chosen from my community to go. There was another Ranger who submitted his name but he said, 'I'll go only if there is absolutely no one else going: So I went.'

There was somebody from every (Nunavik) community. If it was a bigger community, they chose two candidates and from the small communities they chose one. There were 15 Canadian Army Ski-doo's and eight rentals for our section.

MM: What was it like to go so far by snowmobile?

LK: It was very exciting for me: first

of all to be driving the Ski-doo, and that I was going to go down across the province of Quebec and see the different terrain. I really enjoyed it. Coming from the tundra here (in Quaqtaq), then we left from Kuujuaq, which is the tree line region. It was my first time Ski-dooing through the bushes so I was very cautious at first because I saw some guys bumping into the tree stumps because they were not used to being cautious about that — those of us who are from the tundra.

We were 23 Ski-doo's in single file when we left, and I was the twenty-first. Very last was a corporal from the Canadian Army then in front of him there was a guy from Inukjuak, and then me. On our first day we drove 18 hours. (The last man in line) was not used to driving [a] snowmobile and we had to help him out a lot because he was getting stuck or capsizing here and there and stuff like that. I was pretty tired the first day.

MM: You had mentioned the fumes were bad as you were driving behind.



LK: Ah yes. That was the worst thing, having to inhale fumes from all the skidoos in front of me. I was receiving the fumes from the twenty first Ski-doo. It was worse when we were racing, when it was very flat terrain. When you are racing is when a lot of gas burns.



MM: Was that first day the longest day on the trail?

LK: Yes, it was our longest day. We slept two nights at a lake just before Schefferville. We slept in tents, which they had set up for us. It was the first and last time that we stayed in tents; for two nights. On the third day we drove to Kawawachikamach. We arrived late, around seven o'clock, after driving the whole day, and then went to sleep at a hotel in Schefferville, a few miles from Kawawachikamach. From thereafter we slept in hotels.

MM: And you also went into Labrador?

LK: Labrador City. It was a funny thing: we arrived in Labrador City coming from Schefferville at night — we were always arriving at night around six, seven or eight — and we arrived at MacDonald's restaurant. We



Ranger Lizzie Kulula of Quaqtac and Cpl Carrie Robertson of La Tabatière with Bonhomme.

were so cold and hungry. The first restaurant we saw coming into town was a MacDonald's. It was fun. I was too cold to take pictures. We defrosted our helmets and neck warmers with the hand dryers in their public washroom.

MM: What was it like to be the only woman in the group?

LK: The only thing about being a woman is having to go to the washroom and remove all your gear. Then by the time you get it back on, your hands are frozen. Otherwise, if you are a man, you just take it out and put it in, you know. I froze my hands a few times like that. Other than that I was very comfortable. I never got stuck or anything.

MM: How long have you been with the Rangers?

LK: Since 2003. I like the fact that everybody gets involved. It is good to work together and I like learning new things.

MM: How was the food along the way?

LK: Our food was good. The first few days we had to eat rations, which a lot of us Inuit have a hard time to digest because of the preservatives in there.

MM: How did you feel when you finally arrived at Quebec City Hall?

LK: First of all I was surprised to see my Inuit acquaintances. It was very exciting to arrive there with Inuit and lots of other people greeting us.

MM: Any other comment you would wish to add?

LK: I would like to say that if I can do it, other women can do it and younger people can do it. You have to be prepared and alert to what is going on, and have the proper gear.

A CAF presence in local communities

The Rangers also play a vital role in maintaining a Canadian Armed Forces presence in local communities. Indeed, Rangers often cite their contributions to their communities as the main reason why they are proud of their service, as a few quotes from recent interviews with Rangers reveal. For example, Sergeant Aquujaq Juusipi Qissiq, a member of the Kangiqsujuaq patrol since 1991, "truly believes that the Rangers are an important resource for the community, in that they support the community in difficult situations where people are in trouble." Willie Angnatuk of the Tasiujaq patrol, who has been a Ranger since 1995, joined the organization "because of the help and support we can provide to our community."

The intersection of multiple social networks in a patrol ensures that its members know most or all community members and understand who is



Rangers on the 2012 patrol commanders' course

vulnerable and who needs assistance. When outside agencies respond to local emergencies and disasters, Ranger patrols provide a ready entry point into the community and offer immediate access to extensive networks, all of which facilitates response activities. Rangers respect and understand local cultural norms (which they actively work to strengthen), enjoy the trust of the communities, and have fluency in local languages – an important asset during emergency scenarios, such as explaining complex evacuation plans. The organization of the Rangers into patrols at the community level ensures that they can respond as a group almost *immediately* – an important consideration in austere environments.

Rangers' ability to identify issues, their training, and their sense of social responsibility make them significant community leaders. Through their leadership, initiatives, and presence, Ranger patrols contribute to the social capital (networks), pride, sense of purpose, spirit of mutual assistance and cooperation, people-place connections, and attachment to community that animate their home communities. The Rangers also provide opportunities for learning, knowledge sharing, problem solving, and the development of human infrastructure and community resources. They make these contributions in their official capacity as Rangers, as well as through their actions as community members who draw upon their Ranger training and networks in their everyday lives.



Faces of 2 CRPG from the unit Flickr site, circa 2012

Jubilant Rangers from 2 CRPG, 2010

Rangers serve as role models in their communities and create a sense of community pride. They are known to be self-reliant, respectful, confident, and strong, which has generated much support for and pride in the organization. In particular, participants emphasized the role the Rangers play in providing strong role models to teach youth and young adults how to behave properly and respectfully. Rangers and their communities take pride in the conduct of the members of a patrol, their general willingness to volunteer their time and efforts, and the various activities they conduct – from training military personnel from the south (which generates a great deal of pride amongst the Rangers) to leading community events.

Rangers also provide support to non-military regional and community events that are important to reinforce social networks, create a sense of belonging, and promote shared identities in communities. For example, Rangers and JCRs in communities have distributed hampers, food, and gift baskets to families in need at Christmas and other holidays, and have assisted with traditional activities, bingos, and countless local holiday games and activities.

Headquarters-level initiatives also complement these grassroots activities. In March 2006, for example, 2 CRPG arranged for Junior Rangers from the communities of Kuujjuarapik, Whapmagoostui, Umiujaq, and Inukjuak to participate in the annual Puvirnituk Snow Festival. The unit also provided two

pipers from the Black Watch Royal Highlanders of Canada for nightly musical performances in which JCRs from Puvirnituk performed Scottish dancing. “During the festival, the largest igloo in the world was built and the Junior Rangers helped set a new Guinness World Record for the most people in an igloo, 407,” the unit bulletin reported. “On an organized fishing trip by dog sled, Junior Ranger Steve Einish, from Whapmagoostui, caught the largest fish.” The community demonstrated its “unconditional support” to 2 CRPG – and the unit reciprocated.

Visible Ranger involvement in national events such as Remembrance Day, National Indigenous Peoples Day, and Canada Day also promote a positive, familiar image of the Canadian Armed Forces at the local level. Ranger involvement in these ceremonies provides a focal point for appreciation for the military and first responders more generally. Rangers also play an ambassadorial role, welcoming Canadian and foreign dignitaries with honour guards and introducing them to their communities, to their cultures, and to life on the land. For example, when the Governor General of Canada, Her Excellency the Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean, visited Kuujuaq in early summer 2009 with her husband, Jean-Daniel Lafond, and their daughter Marie-Éden, an honour guard made up of Rangers and Junior Rangers from the local patrol greeted them.



Canada Day parade

The Puvirnituk patrol celebrates its sixtieth anniversary (2008)

On 15 September 2008, the Puvirnituk patrol celebrated its sixtieth anniversary. The patrol was the first to be formed in Quebec on 15 September 1948. The patrol took advantage of the annual training of the five patrols in the region to mark this event. A mass and a parade marked the day on 21 September. The commander of 2 CRPG presented a commemorative plaque during his visit, in the presence of the mayor of Puvirnituk and the Rangers who participated in the training.

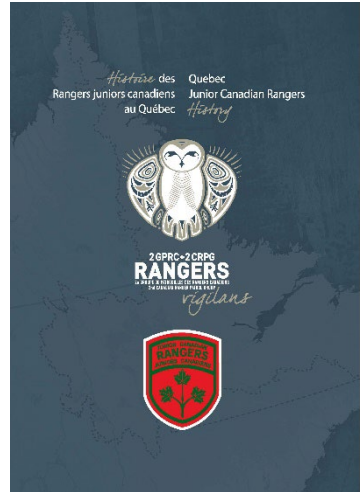


Two guests of honour were present during the sixtieth anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Puvirnituk patrol. Mr. Abraham Irqu and Mr. Alasuaq Notaraaluk Tomasie proudly displayed their Canadian Forces Decoration with four bars (CD 4), attesting to their fifty-two-plus years of service in the Rangers.



Junior Canadian Rangers: A springboard for youth

During the period from 2005-2014, 2 CRPG maintained a steady course with the JCR program in Quebec. The number of youth involved in individual JCR patrols varied from year to year, reflecting local demographics and changing cohorts, but the overall trend across the patrol group was one of stability and sustained commitment. In 2005, there were 751 Junior Rangers in twenty-eight patrols. By 2014, there were 734 JCRs in thirty-two patrols – which now included Tête-à-la-Baleine, Harrington Harbour, Chisasibi, and the Îles-de-la-Madeleine. The testimonies from youth, encapsulated in a short history of the JCRs in Quebec produced in 2017, indicated the myriad impacts that the program has on future leaders and their communities.



Many Rangers highlight their work with the JCRs and other community youth as a key component of and contribution to community-building. Ranger Daniellie Qinuajuak, an Elder from Akulivik, explained, “I like to pass on my knowledge and experience, like how to navigate with a map and compass. But



LCol Guy Lang awarding Ranger Daniellie Qinuajuak his Canadian Forces Decoration 2nd clasp for thirty-two years of CAF service.

what I liked the most was teaching them how to navigate at night with the stars and the Northern Lights. It's really useful because the sky never changes." In media interviews, community leaders frequently stressed the importance of having self-reliant, respectful, confident, and responsible young people in the communities who have the opportunity to learn and practise traditional and contemporary skills. The Junior Rangers recognize the tremendous value of having people learn first aid and GPS use, how to live and travel in the territory, and how to have a positive impact on their communities. By valuing traditional and local knowledge and skills, and by encouraging and enabling community members to go out into the field and share their knowledge and expertise, the Rangers play a crucial role in maintaining and even expanding cultural literacy by supporting this youth program. Rangers and JCRs appreciate the benefits of travelling to other communities in Quebec and other parts of Canada, which promotes awareness, provides insight into new opportunities, and builds confidence.

The desire to work with young people through the Junior Canadian Rangers program has also compelled many people – including many women – to join the Rangers. In 2006, twenty-eight-year-old Mary Annanack of the Kangiqsualujjuaq patrol approached Warrant Officer Prince (a Ranger instructor at the time) "and volunteered to work with the Juniors who had no one [to look after them]. He then made me a Ranger." She "started working with the Juniors and eventually became the only female sergeant in the Kangiqsualujjuaq patrol, so that was important." For his part, Corporal Martin



Junior Rangers in Inukjuak, 2013

Scott moved to Aupaluk as a teacher and met his wife in the community. “I could see that the Rangers were very respected and admired when they came back from patrol and training,” he recalls. In 1994, he “asked the Ranger instructor [to] join them, and at first he told me it was only for Inuit. The next year he approached me again, seeing that I was the school headmaster, because the Aupaluk patrol was starting their JCR program. He told me that if I agreed to organize the JCR program, they would let me join the Rangers.” Corporal Scott has been a Ranger ever since. “The kids have a very hard life here sometimes, so I think the PHASE programme is good,” he explained. “In my opinion, the most important skill they learn is Ranger skills, like map, compass and GPS.”

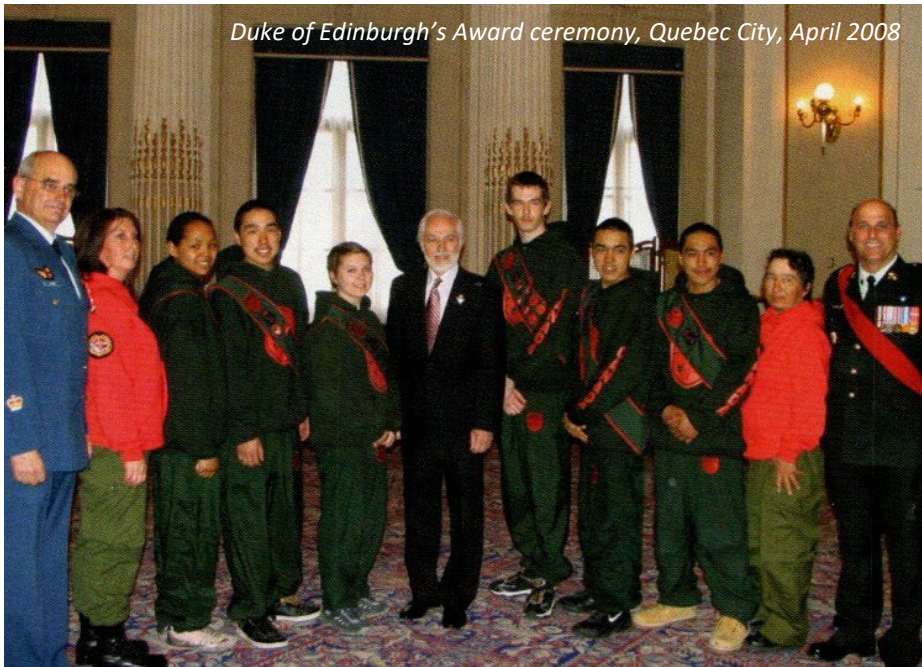
The Junior Canadian Rangers program aims to instill a sense of pride in those who participate and promotes active community involvement. Brenda Joncas, a long-time member of the Junior Rangers adult committee in Blanc-Sablon, recalled:

My first contact with the Canadian Rangers was through the Junior Canadian Rangers in the spring of 2001. I gave them a CPR course. The ritual continued for several years.

In the fall of 2005, I became a member of the parents’ committee, and it was at this same time that I became involved as a volunteer. I went to the weekly meetings of the Junior Canadian Rangers and, with the Canadian Rangers, we organized activities together (cartography, compass, knots, outdoor activities, survival).

Also, with MCpl [Dave] Bolger, I was in charge of the Duke of Edinburgh’s medal activities for several years. These activities, with the Junior Canadian Rangers, allowed me to develop a relationship with the Junior Canadian Rangers and we had a common goal: the desire to help the community and to help people in need.

2 CRPG also facilitated opportunities for youth to participate in national youth award programs. In fall 2005, the unit started helping Junior Rangers work towards the Duke of Edinburgh’s Award: a self-development program for youth aged fourteen to twenty-five. This program encourages youth to be active, take part in new activities, and develop their talents in four areas of activity: community service, skills, fitness, and adventure travel. In April 2008, the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec presented the first JCR recipients –



Deseray Cumberbatch, Eliasie Elijassiaapik, Andrew Kopiapik, and Éric Ohaituk of the Inukjuak patrol, and Sancho McKinnon and Jessica Poole of the La Tabatière patrol – with their silver award certificates at a ceremony at the Hôtel du Parlement du Québec. Junior Rangers in 2 CRPG have also worked towards the Lord Strathcona Medal (LSM) since 2009. As the highest award given to Junior Rangers and Cadets for “outstanding performance in physical and military training,” the medal is accompanied by a certificate of merit awarded by the Lord Strathcona Fund. For example, in 2011, Ranger Corporal Nathan Roberts of the Bonne-Espérance patrol received this medal and \$1,000 in recognition of his involvement with the Elders of his community, organization of sports tournaments, and fundraising. Two years later, Ranger Sergeant Ned Gordon of the Aupaluk patrol received the medal with a \$500 prize for his active role in his hockey team and the youth recreation centre, as well as his participation in the Arctic Winter Games.

In addition to individual community-based patrol activities and regular visits by JCR instructors, hundreds of Junior Rangers in 2 CRPG attended the Okpiapik Summer Camp each year. The summer camps featured activities such as horseback riding, trapping, boating and woodworking, archery and trap shooting, ATV safety, rappelling, wall climbing, canoeing, and swift water rescue. During these camps, youth were divided by age into three groups – basic, advanced, and leadership – where they met JCRs from other

communities. These activities are a great opportunity for young people to discover different cultures, make friends, expand their social networks, and deepen their sense of responsibility towards each other and the environment. The same is true of JCR national air rifle competitions and leadership camps that bring together youth from across Canada.

Camp Okpiapik (2006)

By Sub-Lieutenant Stephan Boivin

From July 1 to 13, 2006, 187 Junior Canadian Rangers from 27 remote communities in Quebec met in Akulivik, Nunavik for the annual Camp Okpiapik. The camp is an opportunity for these young people, aged 12 to 18,



to participate in various activities and to meet other Junior Rangers from other regions in the area. "The objective of the camp is to reflect the training received during the year at a higher level," explains Captain Eric Lavallières, Operations Officer for the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG).

Camp Okpiapik is a permanent training session (PTS) set up by 2 CRPG since 1997 for 800 junior Rangers from 28 remote and isolated communities in Land Force Quebec Area (LFQA). The young people come from Nunavik,

James Bay, the Lower North Shore and the North Shore and represent five different nations: Cree, Inuit, Innu and Naskapi, as well as non-natives.

These young people all have something in common: they come from isolated regions of Quebec, demonstrate a certain level of leadership and train throughout the year in the Junior Canadian Rangers Program. "The young people participating in the camp have demonstrated a high level of initiative, motivation and leadership," said Warrant Officer Yan Davey, one of the training officers. "The programme is tailored to each community. Each adult committee decides on the criteria they will use to select the youth. So we make sure there are criteria, but we don't impose them," said Capt Lavallières.

“The camp is a way to communicate with the Aboriginal communities, the First Nations and the Inuit. It’s a way to make them recognise that success is possible through their own success,” said Brigadier-General Christian Barabé, commander of Land Force Quebec Area and Joint Task Force East. “This is a very important program. We hope to have an impact on the young people, which will perhaps light a fire under them so that they will want to pursue excellence,” he explains.

This training is done through various activities such as mountain biking, hiking, fishing, soccer, volleyball, archery, rifle shooting and other survival activities. One of the important activities of the camp is called the traditional 24 hours. For 24 hours, small groups of teenagers share their traditions,



fishing and hunting methods with elders. During this time, they feed on what they have hunted and fished and learn how to survive in the wild.

Complex logistics surround the preparation of the camp and the organisers have to start several months in advance. “We start planning the activities 18 months in advance. We have to take into account several factors such as the distance from the villages and the ice that prevents the delivery of a dozen containers,” said Capt Lavallières, in charge of the deployment. Helicopters from 438 Squadron were mobilized to support the organizers. In addition to

transporting the Junior Rangers between the Puvirnituq airport and Camp OKPIAPIK, they helped locate locations for camp activities and transported food for the hikes.

The organisation of such a camp is positively perceived by the local population. “We have asked to host the camp for several years. The whole population is very happy to receive these young people and the CF,” shares Eli Aullaluk, mayor of the municipality of Akulivik. Akulivik is a community of 520 people located just north of the 60th parallel on the shores of Hudson Bay.

Junior Rangers at Camp Okpiapik, 2006

Each year the camp is held in a different village. Last year the camp was held in Blanc-Sablon and next year it will be held in Kuujjuaq.

“The Nordic youth is very beautiful. They have difficulties, but they are very promising, and what we have to do is to offer them ways to get out of it, through movements like we are doing now,” says BGen Barabe. “Through such programmes and the steps we take, we substantially increase these possibilities. So what we hope is that as we put more juice, more emphasis, more enthusiasm into the delivery of the Junior Ranger Program, that impact will grow,” he concluded.

Source: 2 CRPG Info Bulletin (2006)

Like the Canadian Rangers, the Junior Canadian Ranger program inspires pride in its members and the communities that host patrols. It has become a prominent part of the Rangers’ brand. High-profile events reinforce this status. For example, in 2007, a Ranger and three Junior Rangers from Kuujjuaq accompanied the commander of Land Force Quebec Area to erect a flag on the highest peak in the province (Mont D’Iberville). Junior Rangers also had the chance to participate in cultural trips to Peru in 2011 and Nepal in 2014, both under the direction of Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Voyer, well known for his explorations and lectures. On the 2014 trip, seven JCRs, two Rangers, and two instructors spent three weeks travelling through this South Asian country, visiting Chitwan National Park, hiking the Everest Base Camp

trail, meeting with the Sherpa community, and volunteering in several villages with the Sir Edmund Hillary Foundation. The Nunavik Rangers also exchanged homemade nassaks with Nepalese youth. These unique cross-cultural experiences left the participants with unforgettable memories.

“A flexible and adaptable force”

In January 2010, Major Lang handed over command of 2 CRPG to Lieutenant-Colonel Marcel Chevarie, who formulated a command philosophy that capitalized on the way the Canadian Rangers fit into both the Canadian Army and their communities. “Patrols are a flexible and adaptable force that draw their strength from the unique knowledge of their individual members who operate at the community level in an extraordinary environment,” Chevarie shared:

I understand that a traditional approach, based on standard military methods, is unlikely to be understood or accepted. Ranger patrols operate more collectively than individually; your leaders are elected by the members and accountable to their subordinates, and decisions are generally made by consensus. This makes your command structure unique, and I am committed to it. So, rather than assigning a task to your patrol and giving you orders or directions, I will explain the objectives and decide with you how to operate. I know that a flexible approach, adapted to your cultural specificities and based on mutual trust, is the key to success. However, it is always imperative to deepen your knowledge and I will continue to pay particular attention to the acquisition of skills, offering training and providing adequate means of communication and transport. Although training is not compulsory, the acquisition of additional tools to complement your ancestral knowledge will undoubtedly interest many of you.

Outlining a vision rooted in consistency, consultation, respect, and maintaining a persistent presence on the ground, Chevarie committed to coordinating relationships with community leaders, regional governments, and other organizations working within the 2 CRPG area of operations. “You are a vital component that allows our country to exercise sovereignty and control over a vast and sparsely populated territory,” he extolled. “To do this, you can and must be able to assist the armed forces, while remaining inextricably connected to your community.”

2 CRPG Change of Command, 10 December 2013

Three years later, Lieutenant-Colonel Chevarie handed the commanding officer's axe over to Lieutenant-Colonel Bruno Plourde. With LFQA redesignated as 2nd Canadian Division, 2 CRPG now fell under its command and that of Joint Task Force East. In December 2014, Plourde described his first year in command as a time of "transition" – a common sentiment amongst his predecessors. "The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) are undergoing a major transformation and the North is one of the principal issues at the heart of this strategy to which the Government of Canada is also contributing," he explained. "This is why we are able to provide the Rangers of 2 CRPG with the right equipment, the right training, and the right resources to support the CAF while they are deployed in the North. Second, we need to be able to respond to emergency situations for which our members are often the first to respond given their proximity." When asked about his most memorable moments, however, he described the "breathtaking landscapes" of Quebec's North, "as well as the serenity and immensity of the territory" that fell within his unit's area of operations. His core tribute, however, was to "the patrollers, our Rangers." He extolled "the resources they have at their disposal, their hospitality, their generosity, their willingness to serve, to develop, and then to unite in order to work towards a common goal." He also characterized the Rangers as "professionals" who deserved their stellar reputation. "We are constantly told that our Rangers are exceptional people," he noted, praising their devotion to duty and their willingness to put their heart into the work.

Maintaining a balance between the Rangers' support to the Canadian Armed Forces and their contributions to their home communities remains a key challenge. The Rangers continue to provide an important outlet for Quebecers who wish to serve in the defence of their country without having to leave their community. Ranger activities allow members in remote areas to practise and share traditional and local skills, such as living in the field, not only with people outside their cultures, but also between generations within them. By integrating the knowledge and skills of the Rangers, encouraging and enabling them to go out into the field and share their expertise, the CRPG plays a vital role in maintaining and expanding core cultural competencies. In turn, the Ranger concept has remained intrinsically rooted in the idea that the unique knowledge of diverse communities can make a significant contribution to the effectiveness of military operations. This partnership, based on mutual learning and sharing, continues to make the Ranger organization a long-term success at the local and national levels.



Canadian Rangers and their Instructors in 2016

Magali Vullierme, Ph.D.

“It works very well. The training we get and the local knowledge... when you put the two cultures together, the military culture and the Inuit culture, and you kind of mix them, you find a unity.”

A Ranger from Salluit (2016)

Working closely with the Rangers, Ranger instructors are key players in the lives of 2 CRPG patrols. This short summary of articles published by Dr. Vullierme in 2018 and 2019 helps us to better understand their role.

In 2016, 2 CRPG had between twelve and fourteen instructors. Typically, an instructor is trained for a one-year cycle and is accompanied by a more “senior” instructor during their first community training. In 2 CRPG, unlike other CRPGs, the instructors are Reservists, like the Rangers. They therefore stay in their instructor positions longer than in 1 CRPG, for example. To work with a Ranger patrol, an instructor must have the rank of sergeant or warrant officer; be qualified in snowmobiling, operating all-terrain vehicles, and canoeing; and have his or her nautical, ice and swift water rescue, first aid, and avalanche rescue certificates. In 2 CRPG, an instructor must be bilingual in French and English, with English being used in twenty-one of the twenty-five patrols. Their role is to give the Rangers the tools and instruction they need to become autonomous. They must also manage the administration and finances of their patrols and write up the patrol and regional reports (situational awareness). Finally, they must supervise the activities and camps of the Junior Canadian Rangers.

Beyond these formal prerequisites, several instructors underlined the fact that an instructor must be able to adapt and be humble, open-minded, and non-judgmental in order to understand and work within patrols with different cultural realities. Indeed, working in 2 CRPG means working with different Aboriginal peoples (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit). It is this cross-cultural nature that drives most instructors to join 2 CRPG as reservists.

What I was taught in school and the reality are two completely different things.... Having lived it for a long time, there are really big differences... I don't even know where to start: with 17 years in the military, I have so much baggage. I've worked with Cree, Naskapi, Innu, Inuit, White, Franco... I could give you examples for all of them. The Inuit people and the First Nations, for example, are very different. In my opinion, the Inuit are a people who are less assimilated in the southern way. They have natural leaders but they are more a people who know how to live and let live. Stress is not part of their nature; stress comes from the south, not the north. They are very communal people, they will always be there to help each other. They've survived for thousands of years like that, so it's something that will always be unique to them... They are people who, once they trust you, will always trust you, and then ... they have a hard time letting trust go because they have seen so many people come and go. It's all break-ups every time so they're fearful. But when they open up, when they know you and know that you are there. Like I said, I've been doing this for 17 years, and then after 17 years, there are some I can consider long-time friends.

Ranger instructor – December 2016



WO Stéphane Beauchesne with members of the Blanc-Sablon patrol

Some instructors also pointed out that as guests in Aboriginal communities, it is up to them to assimilate to Aboriginal cultures, not the Rangers to assimilate to the mainstream military culture. Thus, when asked whether “the relationship between instructors and Rangers was balanced and whether each learned as much as they learned,” both Rangers and instructors responded positively. A Ranger from Aupaluk said, “A lot. I think it’s always half and half yes. I mean, we have a traditional day where the local Rangers show the southerners how to fish and hunt and everything and ... there’s a lot of technology we have to learn, GPS, maps, compasses, but there’s a real respect.” An instructor from 2 CRPG spoke of field knowledge: “What they teach us in the field, that’s what’s fun to see: the right tree, the birch tree, the mushrooms that grow around it, it’s survival stuff, trapping. A lot of things I didn’t know how to do before coming here... when you’re in the woods, survival, how to react better, how to dress better, all that kind of stuff. Then they actually have it, they live in it all the time.”

By working with different Aboriginal cultures and learning to listen to and respect their land knowledge, the instructors develop a set of memories, feelings, and behaviours with the Aboriginal people in the Ranger patrols. The experiences and techniques shared in the field build a common cultural life between the Rangers and their instructors that allows the patrols to function in a balanced and effective manner.

Other elements also explain this success. In the interviews, several instructors emphasized common values shared by the military and Inuit. The most developed answers were given by the instructors. Most often, family, teamwork, respect, courage, integrity, and duty were mentioned. “When communities see that “I respect you, I hear you, I listen to you, we share knowledge rather than I impose myself,” there is no problem,” an instructor explained in 2016. “On a military base, everyone works together, everyone helps each other. You have to listen and share. Life in a tent, in the tundra, it’s the same thing. You have to build, you have to be self-sufficient, you have to be able to use resources in the field, and then adapt.” These values of mutual aid at the base of the deployed military system allow for the development of balanced relationships.

This balanced and culturally respectful operation also results from the historical evolution of the structure of patrols. As one Ranger pointed out, “In the beginning they did what they were supposed to do in the Army. But sometimes it doesn’t work. Sometimes we have to tell them how we do it in



the North.” Another Ranger from Aupaluk shared that the “Rangers didn’t appreciate how strict it was or how ... sometimes the southern military was bossy and didn’t follow the advice of the elders. Today, the patrols function through the regular inclusion of and consultation with the Rangers. Decisions are made by consensus, especially after asking the Elders. Elders are also systematically consulted to discuss the best route or the best way to carry out an exercise, as well as when ordering new equipment. This decision-making process differs completely from the hierarchical military model and appears to be central to the patrols. Thanks to these regular consultations, patrols operate on the basis of mutual exchange, thus allowing for balanced relations.

Many participants also emphasized that the relationship to time represents an important cultural difference. Two examples from my fieldwork in Aupaluk help to illustrate this. The first example relates to an appointment with a Ranger for an interview. At the end of the training, we had agreed to meet two hours later, at 7 pm; he never came and explained the next day that he had fallen asleep. The other example took place during a training session. We were split into three teams: one at headquarters and two in the car to do radio tests. On the way back, the Rangers decided to take a coffee break in a hunting cabin. When Headquarters called to find out what time we would be back, a Ranger replied, “We’ll be there ... soon enough.” He later added, “If you’re impatient then you’ve picked the wrong place to work.”

As for the way things are done... You can't ask them to hurry up, to run, it's not normal. They'll do it if it's a matter of life and death or if someone is injured, then they'll hurry. But apart from that, why hurry? We're going to go quietly and do it right. It's a bit of a different world out there. Completely different... they go to bed when they are tired and get up when they wake up, they eat when they are hungry. They don't necessarily have the same relationship to time as we do. We've instilled that relationship to time in them, and then that's the side they like the least.

A Ranger instructor – December 2016

As a sign of this respect and cultural exchange, some instructors have also assimilated elements of the Inuit education model. One instructor explained to me that he was trying to “bring home” educational aspects he had discovered on his patrols, such as learning through observation and experience:



JCR Paul Beaulne from Puvurnituq during a caribou hunt

I have a small family, I have three children. So I liked what it gave me to see what their culture was, how they interacted with their children. And it seemed, quietly, that it was changing me. I was bringing it home. So, with my children, I am more tolerant, more permissive. I include them more in our model where we are relatively more restrictive. For example, when we forbid them to play with certain things. When I ... play ... with knives in the kitchen... with the axe... we tend to say to our children: “Don’t do that”. We immediately put constraints on them and they never do that, on the contrary: they let them do it, until they realise that there is going to be a danger. Then they warn them. And sometimes even afterwards. By saying: “You see, you’re too young. You shouldn’t play with that.” (...). Learning by experience.



*Cpl Paulay Anne Munger Nadeau of the
Schefferville patrol*



Towards the 75th Anniversary: Recent Developments, 2015-2022

The changing international security environment demands that the Canadian Armed Forces remain adaptable, agile, and responsive. The Canadian Rangers continue to ensure a CAF presence in northern Quebec and along the Lower North Shore as leading military and community players through their actions and outreach activities. Canada's conventional military forces integrate the Rangers into their plans and operations, as do many other government agencies and partners. The “whole-of-government” approach and links with civilian partners in the communities are essential to the Rangers achieving their mission. During training and operations, these connections reinforce the credibility of the Rangers as a military force capable of conducting or supporting CAF operations, as well as mentoring the Junior Canadian Rangers within their communities.



Harrington Harbour, 2015

Confirmation of the Rangers’ role

On 21 May 2015, the Department of National Defence issued Defence Administrative Order and Directive 2020-2 (DAOD-2020) – Canadian Rangers. It reiterates that the role of the Canadian Rangers is to provide a CAF presence in sparsely populated northern, coastal, and remote areas of Canada that cannot be adequately or economically supported by other elements of the Armed Forces. Ranger patrols fulfill this role by providing self-sufficient, lightly equipped mobile forces to support the Armed Forces in homeland protection and other domestic operations.

DAOD-2020 groups Ranger missions under three main headings:

Conduct and provide support to sovereignty operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conduct and provide support to surveillance and sovereignty patrols, including training in Canada.• Conduct North Warning System site patrols.• Report suspicious and unusual activities.• Collect local information of military significance.
Conduct and provide assistance to CAF domestic operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conduct surveillance of Canadian territory.• Provide local knowledge and CR expertise (i.e. advice and guides).• Participate in search and rescue operations.• Provide support in response to natural or man-made disasters and support in humanitarian operations.• Provide assistance to federal, provincial, territorial or municipal government authorities.
Maintain a CAF presence in the local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Instruct, mentor and supervise junior Canadian rangers.• Participate in and support events in the local community (e.g. Yukon Quest, Canada Day, Remembrance Day, etc.).

DAOD-2020 also reiterates the duties that cannot be assigned to a Ranger unless he or she is placed on active service under Section 31 of the *National Defence Act*: participating in tactical military training; performing immediate local defence duties such as containing small enemy detachments or guarding them while awaiting the arrival of other forces; protecting vital infrastructure such as dams, mines, or pipelines; assisting federal, provincial, territorial, and local police forces in discovering, reporting, or arresting enemy agents, saboteurs, criminals, or terrorists; or assisting the civil power. The Rangers are

not trained for such activities, which are the responsibility of other agencies. Instead, they concentrate their energies on acting as the Canadian Army's eyes, ears, and guides in remote regions.

The Rangers in the 2017 defence policy

In November 2015, newly elected Prime Minister Justin Trudeau distributed “mandate letters” to members of his Cabinet in Ottawa. The letter to Minister of National Defence Harjit Sajjan began, like the others, by stressing the importance of renewing a nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous peoples “based on recognition, rights, respect, co-operation and partnership.” The letter also instructed Sajjan to “renew Canada’s focus on surveillance and control of Canadian territory and approaches, particularly our Arctic regions, and increase the size of the Canadian Rangers.” While the specific reference to the Canadian Rangers in the letter indicated positive support for the organization and political will to enhance it, the focus on the Arctic was telling. When it came to Northern communities, opportunities to expand the Ranger footprint were constrained by simple demographics: nearly every Canadian community in the Arctic that can sustain a Ranger patrol already has one. Accordingly, the message was changed to emphasize that the Canadian Rangers organization should focus on an *expansion of capability*: to “improve and increase their training and effectiveness in order to enhance their functional capabilities within the CAF,” and to expand the



Search and rescue training, Goose Bay, 2015

JCR program. This expansion echoes the recommendations of Mary Simon, the Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs' Special Representative for Arctic Leadership (subsequently appointed Governor General in 2021), who urged that issues such as education, the transmission of Indigenous culture, and community mental health be addressed as priorities.

Canada's defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, published in June 2017, reaffirms the full range of Ranger missions. After emphasizing the important role of Aboriginal people in northern security, it states that the government wishes "to expand and deepen the Defence Team's extensive relationships with remote and isolated communities that are 'at the heart of Canada's North,' particularly through the Canadian Rangers and Junior Canadian Rangers, but also by engaging local populations as part of routine operations and exercises." The Canadian Army's Arctic plans and priorities, and those related to the Canadian Rangers in particular, also intersect with the Government of Canada's broader Arctic and Northern policy priorities. Released in September 2019, Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework offers "a shared vision of the future where northern and Arctic people are thriving, strong and safe." It envisages a North in which:

- Self-reliant individuals live in healthy, vital communities, manage their own affairs and shape their own destinies;
- The Northern tradition of respect for the land and the environment is paramount and the principles of responsible and sustainable development anchor all decision-making and action;
- Strong, responsible, accountable governments work together for a vibrant, prosperous future for all - a place whose people and governments are significant contributing partners to a dynamic, secure Canadian federation; and
- The CAF patrols and protects the territory through enhanced presence on the land, in the sea and over the skies of the North.

The chapter on security and defence identifies climate change and increased access to the North as posing emerging security challenges. These ideas extend beyond the Arctic to other parts of the provincial norths and to coastal communities outside of the main population belt. Climate change is reshaping the physical, social, and political environments of remote areas and is having a significant impact on the lives and well-being of northerners. Residents of

these areas anticipate threats to sensitive ecosystems and critical infrastructure, as well as negative effects on food security, supply chains, and transportation systems. This, in turn, means greater uncertainty and complexity.

To address challenges in isolated communities, Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework emphasizes the importance of collaborative partnerships and "shared leadership." It cites the idea of "nothing about us without us" as "the essential principle that weaves federal, territorial, provincial and Indigenous institutions and interests together for mutual success." This same message applies to all isolated communities in Canada – that local residents must be involved in all conversations and decisions that affect their homelands and their ways of life.

The Canadian Armed Forces have a responsibility to defend Canada in the event of an attack. Given the vastness of the land, environmental constraints, and low population densities in some areas, it is simply not possible to replicate the same approaches to combat capability in the North and in remote coastal areas as are employed in the more densely populated areas in southern Canada. Moreover, most analyses of Canada's strategic situation suggest that Canada is unlikely to face a conventional military threat to its sovereign territory in the near term.

Accordingly, the Canadian Army continues to invest in efforts to achieve a suitable level of preparedness and capability to operate in remote regions of the country. The Rangers, as a subcomponent of the Canadian Army Reserve, obviously fall within this overall concept. The Rangers provide an essential, persistent presence in isolated communities. In emphasizing their many contributions, the Canadian Army notes that the Rangers "remain a critical and enduring presence on the ground, valuable in many roles, including amongst others, the CAF's eyes and ears for routine surveillance purposes, its guides, local cultural advisors, interpreters, and the core of our liaison capacity in many locations, while remaining immediately available to support local government or other agencies." Given the challenges of mobility, sustainment, survivability/functionality, and communications in remote regions, the Canadian Army highlights the value of having Rangers as lightly equipped, self-sufficient, community-based Reservists who are attuned to their local physical and human environments. Accordingly, 2 CRPG – which has been integrated into 2 Canadian Division (formerly LFQA) since 2013 – is recognized as a key player in the planning and conduct of operations within

its area of responsibility (AOR), spanning more than three-quarters of the province's territory.

“Determination, drive, and professionalism”: A practical force

The majority of Ranger patrols are capable of operating autonomously for short contingency operations and are able to support and advise a conventional force such as an Immediate Response Unit (IRU) or an Arctic Response Company Group (ARCG). The Rangers are therefore frequently mobilized to assist and train soldiers of the Regular Force and the Primary Reserve. In this role as “force multipliers” for other military elements, the Rangers frequently serve as observers, guides, and advisers. For example, Rangers from the Inukjuak, Akulivik, and Puvirnituk patrols participated in Exercise *Réaction Royale 2016*, establishing a snowmobile trail between communities for soldiers and then escorting them safely along the route. The following July, when HMCS *Goose Bay* visited various communities in Nunavik, the Rangers completed route reconnaissance for the Royal Canadian Navy. In 2018, two Rangers guided twenty-three British soldiers and forty-five members of the 12e Régiment blindé du Canada who travelled by snowmobile to Baie-Saint-Paul, in the Charlevoix region, to develop their winter expertise.

Concurrently, 2 CRPG continues its efforts to increase the autonomy of patrols and their ability to conduct or support operations in their regions. The



Rangers' "ability to innovate, adapt, and perform a complex, diverse and demanding mission" is the force behind 2 CRPG's success, commanding officer Lieutenant-Colonel Bruno Plourde noted in April 2017. Two months before, Kangiqsualujjuaq Ranger Charlie Etok – who had been serving in the organization for three decades – was more specific when he highlighted how "returning to the basics," such as land-based harvesting and navigation skills, was "truly important, not only for our culture, but for our own security. It is not easy to live here. You need to be ready for everything." Patrol group activities at local, regional, and provincial scales provided opportunities to share that knowledge and generate that readiness.

In 2017, 2 CRPG's signature AQIKGIK exercise, organized to mark the 150th anniversary of Canadian Confederation, the seventieth anniversary of the Canadian Rangers, and the twentieth anniversary of 2 CRPG, heightened public awareness about Rangers across Quebec. At the official launch ceremony of the exercise, held on 15 December 2016 at the Collège militaire royal in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Lieutenant-Colonel Plourde emphasized:

As part of Exercise AQIKGIK 2017, this will be the first time that 2 Canadian Ranger Patrol Group will conduct a training exercise across its entire area of operations. This historic exercise will highlight the cooperation that exists between the Canadian Army and the communities of Northern Quebec and the Lower North Shore. There is no doubt that AQIKGIK 2017 is a remarkable achievement that demonstrates the operational capability, professionalism and pride of the Canadian Rangers.

Brigadier-General Hercule Gosselin, the commander of 2nd Canadian Division, encapsulated the historic exercise in similar terms, emphasizing how it represented an opportunity to showcase the Rangers' "determination, drive, and professionalism."

Departing from Waskaganish in the Eeyou Istchee/James Bay region on 27 January, AQIKGIK 2017 ultimately involved 120 Canadian Ranger personnel (100 Rangers and twenty commanders and instructors). Six teams of six Rangers each travelled by snowmobile to each of the thirty-five Quebec communities with Ranger patrols by 17 March. The 3,690-kilometre route was divided into six segments, one per team. For the Canadian Armed Forces, the expedition demonstrated "the operational capability of the Canadian Rangers, the vitality of the Junior Canadian Rangers, and the importance of maintaining intergenerational cohesion." Sergeant Alain Dérap, a Ranger

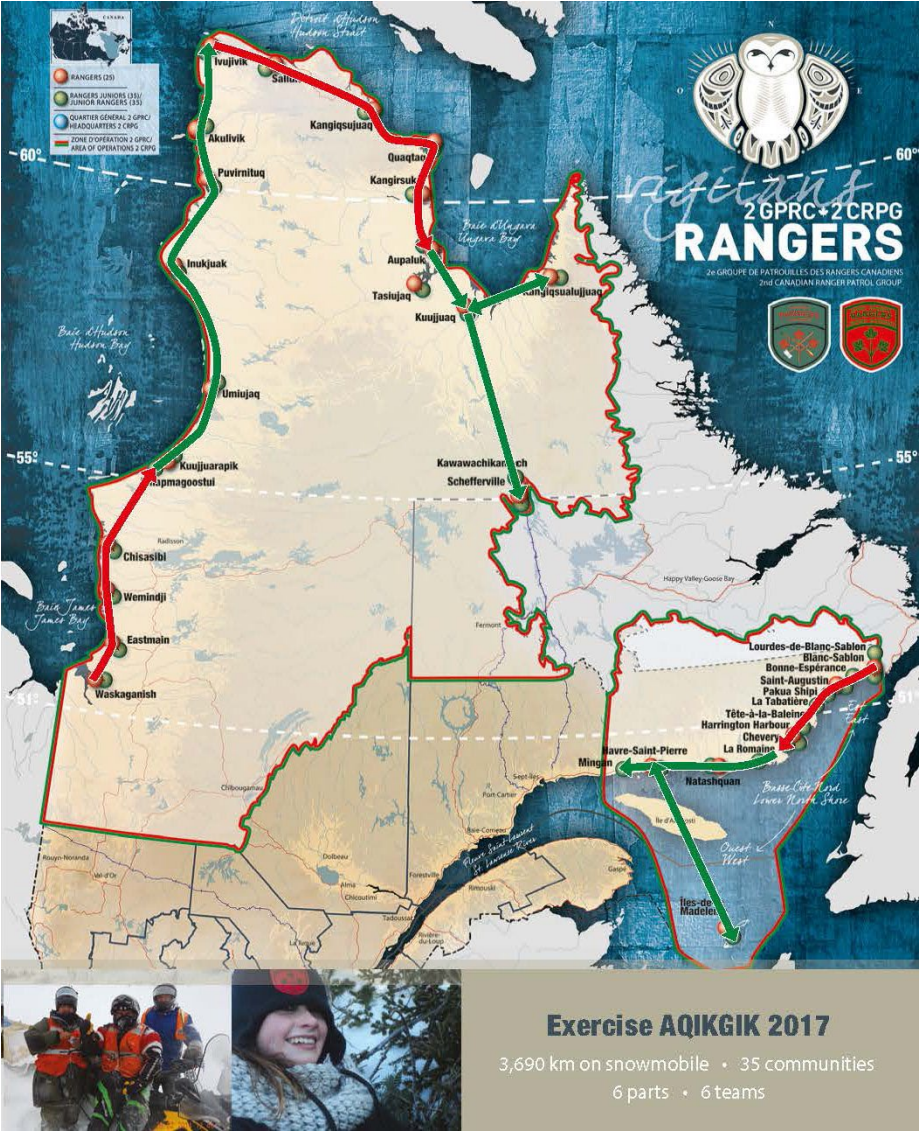
A Ranger from Ivujivik celebrates Exercise AGIKGIK 2017



from Natashquan, highlighted how the exercise brought “very good visibility” to the patrol. “We bonded. I came to understand that language is not a barrier in itself. These are quality moments that I will remember for a long time – ones that you don’t get from a regular exercise.”

For 2 CRPG, the exercise was an opportunity to gain experience and practical lessons. For Rangers like Master Corporal Charlie Takirk from Ivujivik, who travelled the portion of the expedition that visited Aupaluk, Tasiujaq, Kangiqsualujjuaq, and Kuujjuaq, the value was also personal. While the travel could be physically tiring, he told a reporter, seeing his own region this way and being welcomed into each community made it worth it. “I love it, I would never say no” to such an opportunity, he said, having previously travelled 3,600 kilometres from Kuujjuaq to Quebec City in 2008. “It’s a privilege to be a Ranger.” Ranger Sarah Berthe, who participated in one of the other groups, described it as an exercise that she “will never forget.” She set out “across the Lower North Shore with a bunch of guys I wasn’t very familiar with who ended up being like family at the end.”

Signature events, designed to assert the Rangers’ presence across Quebec’s northern and isolated coastal regions, continue to serve as a way to exercise operational capabilities and exchange knowledge. More modest link-up patrols that bring patrols together also do the same. Ranger Mathieu Chabot of the Umiujaq patrol recounted how “the expedition from Umiujaq to Minto Lake in January 2019 was a very powerful experience because it allo-



Exercise AQIKGIK 2017

3,690 km on snowmobile • 35 communities
6 parts • 6 teams





wed me to experience a relationship of equals with the Inuit of Umiujaq and Sanikiluaq, I was able to put my life in their hands, to see that their traditions and knowledge are still very much alive, and this in a wilderness environment that is very hostile to the average person from a more urban environment.” Coupled with annual community-based training, these force generation activities enable Rangers to make important contributions to defence, safety, and security, both as individuals and as a group.

“As they regularly prove, the Rangers are a unique capability within their isolated community, and represent a highly beneficial investment in the defence of Canada,” Lieutenant-Colonel Benoit Mainville, who took over as Commanding Officer of 2 CRPG in April 2017, extolled two years later. “Canadian Rangers play a social stabilizing role in their communities. In addition to often being the only federal entity present, the Canadian Ranger patrol is usually the only credible resource available to support activities within a community such as a youth expedition, sports competition, weapons safety training, or to quickly reinforce local agencies during a public health crisis.” For these practical reasons, the Canadian Army considers the Rangers to be an essential component of the Defence Team and, since 2015, has re-examined its policies to ensure that the Rangers are managed fairly and effectively, and that the risks specific to Ranger training and employment are recognized.

Discovering the Wemindji Patrol

Wemindji, which means “red ochre mountain,” is a Cree community in Eeyou Istchee/Baie-James where the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) has had a 25-member Canadian Ranger patrol and a 15-member Junior Canadian Ranger Patrol since 2002. This community of 1,500 people is tightly knit and almost everyone knows everyone else.

Many Rangers are active and influential members of the community: some work for the Band Council, while others are councillors, firemen, road officials, employees for various community services, to name a few.

Ranger Brianna Linklater-Georgekish got the bug for the Junior Program when she visited her father, himself a member of the Rangers, at the site of a JCR summer camp that he was coordinating. “The youth activities were really interesting and I wanted to get involved in the Junior Program,” Brianna shares enthusiastically.

Being a Ranger is a family affair for the Georgekishes: grandfather was a Ranger, father is the Ranger Patrol Sergeant, older sister is a Ranger, younger sister is a Junior, and Brianna is involved with the JCR Program. She is studying at Algonquin College in Ottawa in the Arts and Baking Program and hopes to present a business plan to one day open her own business in Wemindji to share her culinary talents.

When her studies permit, she returns to her hometown and participates in JCR activities and Ranger training. Wemindji residents are warm and proud of their community, culture and history, and are happy to share if we take the time to listen.

The community invited the Canadian Rangers to a community lunch on Sunday and a traditional dinner the following day. These meals take place in the “longhouse”, ingeniously built with precisely spaced tree branches and secured with rope. There are no nails. Comfort is a priority and the place is heated by not one, but two wood-burning stoves. During the “culture and well-being” dinner, a lady from the community shares her spiritual and physical healing journey. It is a very touching and inspiring moment.

The four Ranger patrols of Eeyou Istchee/Baie-James (Waskaganish, Eastmain, Wemindji and Chisasibi) are participating in regional training from February 27 to March 4, 2018. The four patrols will meet in the vicinity of the Vieux-Comptoir, a former Hudson’s Bay Company trading post. The Rangers will practice various field procedures such as navigating with map, compass and GPS, setting up a bivouac,

building an austere airstrip, conducting a ground search and rescue and coordinating a medical evacuation. Good training ahead.

Captain Julie L. Pagé,
2 CRPG Public Affairs
Officer
2 CRPG Facebook,
25 February 2018



Wemindji patrol, 2017

Restructuring and transition

In his 2017 annual report, Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville described that year as one of transition and preparation for the future. Considering the sustained pace of activity in 2016 and early 2017, he acknowledged that:

there were many indicators of fatigue and an urgent need to address structural and cultural issues within the unit. It became critical to consolidate, in preparation for 2018, with a modernization of the Ranger role, the addition of new patrols and the deployment of the new C-19 0.308 service weapon. The unit had to deal with the backlog of personnel files that had accumulated over many years ... as well as a major overhaul of the unit's operational, administrative, and logistical processes. We had to deal with a very high tempo due to a recognized structural deficiency in personnel while balancing rigour, adherence to policies and directives, the realities of our environment and those of the Canadian Rangers. Recognizing that members of 2 CRPG operate in a high-risk environment (climate and predators) and must deal with communities with psychological distress (addictions, abuse, violence, suicide, precarious employment, isolation), the health and well-being of Rangers and cadre has also become a focus of efforts within 2 CRPG.

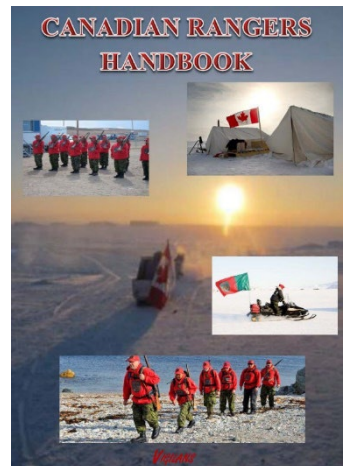


Tasiujaq, 2017

This direction also responded to broader issues related to Ranger service and entitlements as Reservists. In April 2015, the Commander of the Canadian Army ordered a review of the Canadian Rangers organization and structure with the intent of ensuring its long-term relevance and sustainability. This review would examine its organization and policies; command, control, and personnel; financial and personnel administration; and resources and infrastructure. Two years later, the National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces Ombudsman reported on its research into the Ranger organization and identified concerns about determining the appropriate type of Reserve service, the absence of medical examinations for Canadian Rangers prior to enrollment, and the Canadian Rangers' limited awareness about their entitlement to health care treatment and employment benefits as CAF members.

These adjustments initially required a period of consolidation to optimize administrative and logistical processes within the patrol group. Since 2017, the 2 CRPG headquarters has grown significantly, adding twenty positions. This staffing supports the growth and autonomy of the patrols and thus enables the Group to better face emerging challenges.

Moreover, the HQ has set itself apart by implementing several practical initiatives. First, it undertook to standardize reference materials. The *Canadian Ranger Handbook*, released in 2017, became the national standard for operations and training for the five patrol groups across Canada and is now an essential reference tool for the Rangers. Also, the unit is standardizing its internal administrative and financial procedures by developing the Instructor's Checklist, which details all procedures in place at the unit. Finally, the Group established Ranger Aptitude Standards (RAS) to clearly define the skills to be exercised during the collective training of patrols.



Second, 2 CRPG developed two training courses, piloted in 2016, to standardize individual training. The Canadian Ranger Basic Military Indoctrination (CRBMI) is designed for all members, while the Canadian Ranger Patrol Leadership Course (CRPLC) is intended for both Ranger and Junior Ranger patrol commanders. The unit has also developed several specialized courses for Rangers who have a specific task within their patrol,

including combat clerks, radio operators, and equipment managers. These courses are delivered at the southern headquarters (Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu or Valcartier), at a regional hub, or online. In order to overcome common deficiencies across patrols or to develop the expertise that Rangers require, 2 CRPG also aims to enhance specific skills such as scouting, snowmobile inspection and mechanics, communication, leadership, and maintenance of stores and equipment.

In support of the military's efforts to ensure that the Defence Team is representative of Canada's population and our national values, 2 CRPG has promoted awareness about Canadian Rangers' rights and responsibilities. For example, in August 2015, the chief of the defence staff launched Operation HONOUR, with the mission of eliminating sexual misconduct in the CAF. This operation remains the Canadian military's highest institutional priority, and the Rangers receive clear guidance on how this applies to them as CAF members. Specific training for the Rangers also includes "Mission: Ready" (on programs and support resources) and instruction on the grievance process, the requirement to report when Rangers are involved in legal processes, the importance of properly documenting illnesses and injuries when they are attributable to service, and weapons safety.

The physical and logistical challenges for 2 CRPG are immense, as the unit must maintain and resupply twenty-eight Ranger patrols and thirty-five Junior Ranger patrols, all located in isolated communities. In each of these locations, 2 CRPG must securely store equipment in extreme weather conditions to maintain a high level of operational readiness. Consequently, the HQ has



Rangers work in front of their sea containers in Kangiqsujuaq, April 2020

worked diligently to improve equipment management. The establishment of sea containers in each of the patrol communities allows for the efficient storage of collective equipment and quick access to military equipment needed to conduct training and operations. The storage container replacement program, which began in 2019, will be phased in over five years, with approximately twenty containers being replaced each year across the patrol group.

Perhaps the most exciting development was the issuing of a new bolt action rifle to Rangers to replace the venerable .303 Lee Enfield No. 4, which had become increasingly difficult to maintain owing to a scarcity of replacement parts. As part of the Army's Small Arms Modernization Project, 2 CRPG received the new Colt Canada C-19 service rifle, alongside a donation/recovery process for the .303 Lee Enfield. The distribution began on 13 October 2018, with members of the Waskaganish Ranger Patrol in James Bay receiving their new rifles. As Yves Bélanger recounted in *Servir* newspaper:

Lieutenant-Colonel Benoit Mainville, commander of 2 CRPG, who was present for the occasion, indicated that the new weapon is long overdue. He recalled that according to the new Defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*, the intention is to increase the effectiveness of the Canadian Rangers in order to enhance their functional capabilities within the CAF. "Equipping our Rangers with a modern service rifle, adapted to their needs and realities, is a priority. Planning the distribution of the C-19 was a masterful job of planning and coordination. All the members of 2 CRPG have been working hard to ensure that the Quebec Rangers receive the new C-19."

The unit completed the distribution of the C-19s in March 2020. Distributing the rifle to new Rangers now occurs as part of the normal annual training cycle. Like the Lee Enfield before it, the new service weapon is the property of the CAF and is issued to a Ranger for protection and subsistence only. The permission given to each Ranger by the commanding officer to store it in her or his private residence is a privilege unique to the Rangers within the CAF and is linked to maintaining the Rangers' operational capability and their ability to respond swiftly in times of need.



From the Mark No. 4 Lee Enfield rifle (.303 calibre) to the Colt Canada C-19

From 1947 through to the end of the 2010s, the Mark No. 4 Lee Enfield rifle (.303 calibre) was the Canadian Rangers' service weapon. The long life of the Lee Enfield rifle reflected its quality of construction and ruggedness, which made it an ideal weapon for cold weather.

The .308 calibre C-19 rifle has now replaced the Lee Enfield .303 rifle as the Canadian Ranger service rifle. The design and materials used are based upon the proven effectiveness of the Lee Enfield but also improve upon it. Among other things, the C-19 is made of stainless steel and has a larger trigger guard for use with gloves.



Firing the new C-19 Ranger rifle

The distribution of the C-19 consumed most of 2018 and 2019, along with the replacement of sea containers in communities. These two major innovations also accelerated the overhaul of the operational, administrative, and logistical processes of 2 CRPG that had been initiated the previous year. Towards these ends, the unit implemented several measures to ensure sound governance and to strengthen its structure: training camps, instructor checklists, Ranger reliability checks, and equipment allocation scales. At the same time, Headquarters continued its efforts to modernize its definition of the Rangers' role, to create new patrols, and to deal with a longstanding backlog in personnel files. Finally, the unit continues to support the health and well-being of Rangers and other unit members, notably by coordinating with local partners to identify tools to combat psychological distress endemic to remote areas.

2 CRPG was reorganized into a new structure in 2019. Headed by the commanding officer, a deputy commanding officer, and a group sergeant major, the unit is now further divided into three companies. The first is the service company, which includes logistics, administration, and finance. The second is the command company, which is responsible for operations, operational planning, standards, communications, information management, and public affairs. Finally, the training company includes the instructors and the Rangers, who are grouped into three regions: Eeyou Istchee/James Bay, Nunavik, and the North Shore.



Growth continues within this new framework. Three new Ranger patrols – Unamen Shipu (La Romaine), Nemaska, and Bonne-Espérance – and two Junior patrols (Pakua Shipi and Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon) were formed in 2019. Sergeant Clarence Jason Jolly, the patrol commander in Nemaska, explained how the formation of the new patrols continued to reflect grassroots interest and commitment. “I am the Nemaska Public Safety Officer and I wanted a Ranger Patrol for our community. The Band Chief at the time, Mr. Thomas Jolly, got the approval of the Band Council. I knew that some communities on the coast, like Wemindji, had Rangers.” Residents of communities without patrols observe how the Rangers build local resilience. “I think the Rangers provide an extra layer of support to the community by filling in what the emergency services can’t do,” Jolly explained. “We can call on the Rangers for help in an SAR situation outside the village without compromising the safety of the community.”

While the Rangers’ core mission has remained the same since 1947, and they have shown that they are capable of carrying out the tasks assigned to them, questions have been raised about their ability to maintain their level of activity over the long term. “A new generation of [Rangers] is emerging, and they are vigorously expressing distinct needs,” Lieutenant-Colonel



*Members of the Havre-St-Pierre
patrol, 11 November 2019*

Mainville explained in April 2019. “Their knowledge, experience and capabilities are significantly different from their predecessors. In addition, they are much more judgmental of the Canadian Armed Forces. As a result, our failures to meet, or at least manage, their expectations result in a loss of confidence that leads to an almost immediate decline in capability.” He pointed out that, for more than twenty years, various bodies have documented the problems embedded in the policies governing the Rangers:

Faced with these issues, 2 CRPG has been working for the past three years to optimize the various administrative, financial, and logistical processes and to improve access to existing benefits for [Rangers]. Our ability to innovate is limited within a large bureau-

Inauguration of the 28th Canadian Rangers Patrol in Québec

On December 7, 2019, the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG), inaugurated its 28th Canadian Ranger Patrol in Bonne-Espérance, in the Lower North Shore Québec region.

Bonne-Espérance Municipality Mayor Mr. Roderick Fequet was present at the event. Lieutenant Colonel Benoit Mainville, Commanding Officer 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, and Chief Warrant Officer Mathieu Giard, Group Sergeant Major, were also present. Approximately 30 Rangers were on parade to highlight the significance of the event.

"I am pleased to announce the opening of the 28th Canadian Ranger's Patrol in Québec in 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group area of responsibility. The Rangers are active members of their community and we look forward to working closely with them, the City Council and the community of Bonne-Espérance. Welcome to all," said Lieutenant Colonel Mainville.

The Canadian Rangers Patrol Bonne-Espérance comprises 34 Rangers. The Canadian Rangers patrol will be led by a Patrol Sergeant and assisted by a deputy and three section commanders of the rank of Master Corporal.

Rangers of the new patrol are trained to complete impromptu short term operations and patrols as quickly and as safely as possible. They receive annual military training on navigation, communications, search and rescue procedures, first aid, and weapon handling. Considered the 'eyes and ears' of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) in remote, isolated, coastal regions of Canada, the Rangers provide self-sustaining, lightly equipped mobile forces to support Canadian operations.

Fequet said, "The Municipality of Bonne-Espérance is honoured to inaugurate a Canadian Ranger Patrol and support the Junior Canadian Rangers Program in our community."

"Our Rangers will proudly represent our community, and they will proudly perform their duties in support of the Canadian Armed Forces. We are excited and appreciative of this new collaboration," he added.

Source: Canadian Military Family Magazine (2019)



Stand-up of the Bonne-Espérance patrol, December 2019

cracy. We hereby propose solutions to correct known problems, and also share our thoughts on those that arise. We believe in a balance between sound risk management in compliance with laws and regulations and our need to generate operational capacity within isolated and sometimes fragile communities.

In conclusion, he quoted a statement from an Inuk leader in one of 2 CRPG's patrols: "All you're offering us is more paper." Mainville acknowledged that "it is urgent to address known issues, but it is also important to be creative in addressing emerging issues, if we want to keep future generations interested in joining the Canadian Rangers."

To achieve this goal, 2 CRPG is working hard to correct directives and regulations that hinder the operation of the Rangers and the JCR program, as well as certain outdated or inappropriate policies such as reimbursement for damaged equipment, pay, and staffing that hinder the growth and efficiency of the organization. Mainville's suggestions include upgrading personal equipment to reduce the risk of injury, annualizing compensation rates for Rangers using their personal equipment, and establishing a financial support program to help Rangers acquire snowmobiles or ATVs. Current enhancement efforts at the national level (discussed later) committed to strengthening Ranger training and effectiveness should support positive outcomes along these lines.

COVID-19 and Operation LASER

In March 2020, the World Health Organization declared the outbreak of the new coronavirus, COVID-19, to be a pandemic, bringing dramatic changes to people's lives overnight. The pandemic poses a serious risk not only to human health, but also to social, economic, and cultural systems. Furthermore, the measures taken to prevent its spread have important public health and social effects. Isolated communities, in particular, face great risks, given their limited access to health care, lack of infrastructure, and associated vulnerabilities. The management of the pandemic has also demonstrated the strength and resilience of Canadians living in isolated areas, as well as the important roles that the Rangers play in supporting their communities.

On 30 March 2020, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan announced that 24,000 military personnel were preparing to provide support to civil authorities, particularly in the North and in Aboriginal communities. This was linked to the activation of Operation LASER, which involved preparing the CAF for the crisis

and providing support to other government agencies, both federal and provincial, involved in the fight against the pandemic.

On 3 April, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau declared that 2 CRPG would be mobilized to assist the Government of Quebec. The initial request, which came from the Nunavik Regional Emergency Preparedness Advisory Committee (a group set up to manage the crisis in that region), was endorsed by Premier François Legault before being requested from Ottawa. The Committee requested that the Rangers set up tents in small, isolated communities to screen for COVID-19. Other tasks would be added to this initial mission, such as distributing food to the elderly and encouraging social distancing measures. Thus, across the sparsely populated northern and coastal regions of Quebec and Canada, hundreds of Rangers prepared to deal with the pandemic. Never before had the Rangers been mobilized on such a sweeping scale.

Josée Lévesque of the Nunavik Regional Health Board pointed out “the advantage ... that the Rangers are already there, in their communities.” As such, their effectiveness stems largely from this proximity and their interweaving with other community networks. Sharing the cultures and languages of their communities, a sense of trust in the Rangers naturally follows. Although the Rangers are not trained to provide medical care beyond first aid, they know the cultures from which they come and within which they operate, which puts them in a better position to offer a wide range of services.

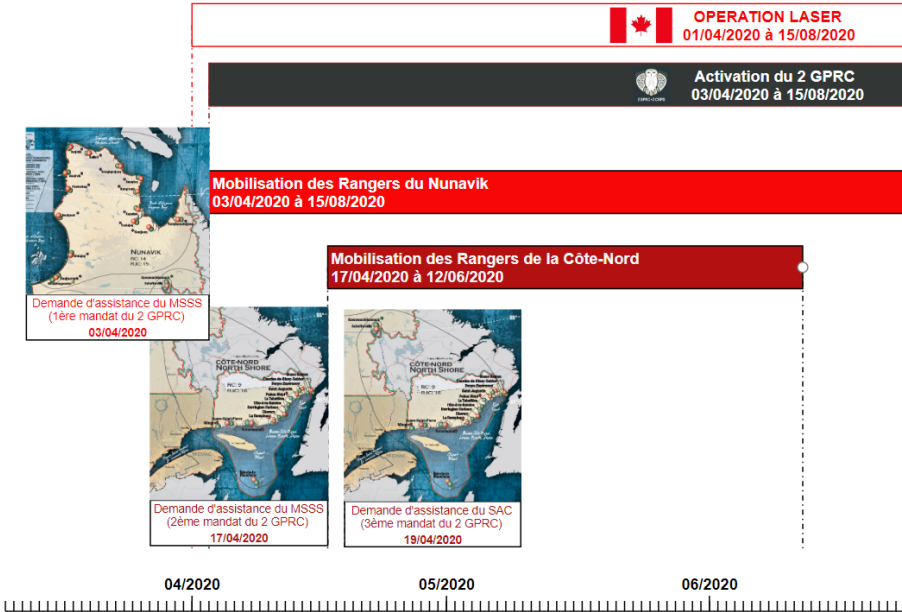
Accordingly, 2 CRPG was the first CAF unit to be formally requested and mobilized under Op LASER. On 17 April 2020, ten days after the activation of 100 Rangers in Nunavik, 2 CRPG received a second formal request for assistance from the North Shore section of the Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (MSSS). Hugo Lemieux, Senior Advisor in Emergency Measures and Civil Security at the Centre intégré de santé et de services sociaux de la Côte-Nord, explained that the Rangers “are already from the Lower North Shore. Therefore, there will not be a massive arrival of soldiers from outside. Many people on the Lower North Shore fear that people from outside would bring the COVID-19 virus with them.” Two days later, the unit received a third mandate in response to a request from Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) to support Innu communities on the North Shore. In late April, the request expanded to include the community of Kawawachikamach. “This application was eagerly awaited on the Lower North Shore,” Radio-Canada reported on 19 April. “On Friday, images of Rangers from the Innu community

of Pakuashipi going door-to-door to raise awareness about social distancing could be seen on Facebook.”

Scholar Magali Vullierme observed that “the content of these two official requests for assistance differed slightly.” The first, received on 1 April, was a general request to set up COVID-19 screening and investigation areas (i.e., tents) in northern communities. The second, received on 14 April, clarified the role of the mobilizing Rangers by listing four tasks:

1. Provide logistical and general manpower support to local health authorities (e.g. setting up mobile clinics, directing people to locations).
2. Provide equipment and logistical support to the MSSS in setting up COVID-19 testing and investigation areas in communities.
3. Provide community support to vulnerable people or those confined to the community (e.g. distribute food).
4. Support local COVID-19 awareness programs (e.g. awareness activity to avoid gatherings, maintain physical distance, explain the importance of curfews and other measures to limit the spread).

On 26 April, Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville stated in a press release that 2 CRPG was “proud to respond to the mandates of government authorities and Indigenous Services Canada in the context of Operation LASER. ... The



Canadian Rangers are professional and ready to support domestic operations and whole-of-government efforts during this unprecedented crisis.”

The Rangers’ enthusiastic response also required that 2 CRPG carefully explain to other authorities what the Rangers could do within their mandate. “The beginning of Op LASER required intense coordination and negotiation,” a member of 2 CRPG HQ explained to Vullierme. “The civilian partners, especially within the police, wanted the Rangers to help ensure compliance with the rules of containment and social distancing. Except that this is a prohibited mandate for the Rangers since they cannot assist law enforcement authorities.” For example, the unit refused to conduct night patrols to enforce curfews because the Rangers are not authorized to assist civil authorities and should not be put into potentially confrontational situations or cast in a peace officer role. Furthermore, the Rangers might have found it very awkward to hand out tickets or arrest family members, friends, and neighbours! “Thus, the task was reformulated to include only daytime awareness patrols in the community or on the tundra, at fishing or hunting sites,” Vullierme explained. “These patrols were intended only to explain and remind people of the measures in place – and did not include enforcement measures in case of non-compliance.”

On the ground, the Rangers performed several tasks in support of the civilian authorities, including the preparation of triage areas to facilitate the work of health personnel. “We are scared when we see the number of cases of COVID-19 in the world,” Sergeant Michael Cameron of Salluit explained in an interview with *La Presse* on 22 April. “We go to public places – the grocery shop, the clinic, the post office – to enforce the two-metre distance rules. At first, people didn’t know about it, but now they are getting used to it.” The Rangers’ presence as local community members, wearing their trusted red hoodies, was a comforting show of assurance and grassroots authority. “Even though we don’t have any cases in our community [or neighbouring communities], we remind everyone to practice physical distancing and stay home as much as possible so that they are ready for the day the virus arrives, if it arrives,” Master Corporal Martin Scott of Aupaluk explained. “We also go out into the territory on snowmobiles to visit family camps to give them a friendly reminder that everyone should obey the rules.” While this mission is certainly less dramatic than rescuing a trapped family from a destructive blizzard, he noted, “we are proud to be doing our part to stop the virus.”



Canadian Rangers from Inukjuak deployed as part of Operation LASER to fight the COVID-19 pandemic learn from nurses at the Inuulitsivik CLSC (Local Community Services Centre) about how to properly use personal protective equipment (PPE).

According to Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville, the Rangers “demonstrate [every day] their ability to perform their tasks autonomously, under remote command and control.” This meant balancing Op LASER tasks with other tasks such as ground search and rescue and support to various levels of government. For example, between mid-March and mid-May 2020, patrols were asked on eleven occasions to conduct GSAR operations. “Nine of these requests led to the activation of the patrol. Our Canadian Rangers managed to bring back 13 people safely,” the commanding officer explained in a press statement. Unfortunately, one of the people reported missing in the Natashquan area, Ranger Georges Metokosho, was found deceased. He was not on duty at the time of his disappearance.

When Operation LASER ended on 12 June in the North Shore region and on 15 August in Nunavik, it represented the largest and longest national operation (106 days) in which the Rangers had participated since the creation of the organization in 1947. In total, more than 250 Rangers had mobilized in fourteen communities in Nunavik and thirteen on Quebec’s North Shore: thirty-five percent of the total strength of 2 CRPG in twenty-two of the twenty-eight patrols.

“The mobilization of the Ranger patrols was perceived very positively by the communities,” Vullierme summarized. “The reassuring daily presence of the red sweatshirts and the visits to the elders seem to have been very beneficial.” For example, the mayor of the Municipality of Gros-Mécatina noted how “our Canadian Rangers during this pandemic stepped up to the plate. The role they played in our communities was greatly appreciated by all our citizens. It was very comforting to have their presence to reassure our seniors and help them with the many tasks they could not do for themselves.” Public comments on Facebook suggest that this sentiment was widespread. “These guys have been nothing short of excellent,” a community member posted on 5 May. “They put themselves through a lot when people are in need of assistance. I cannot say how much I appreciate the efforts you guys do for our region.”

In an interview on 18 August, Master Corporal Rowena Osborne and Ranger Merl Osborne from Harrington Harbour reflected on their experience. “When we deployed for Op LASER we had a lot of emotion about keeping everyone safe in [our] community,” Rowena explained. “Everyone took it very serious.” She concentrated on assessing the morale of seniors who were unable to visit each other or with families. Each Sunday for the nine weeks that they were activated, she would go to houses to visit Elders, bringing along



*Master Corporal Rowena
Osborne, Harrington*



*Ranger Jarred Rogers
shovelling out a resident's
front door, Bonne-
Espérance, April 2020*

her guitar to give them a musical boost. The Rangers delivered food, goods, and medication to seniors in the community, and cleared snow for a community member with a disability. Merl noted widespread concern that outsiders would bring COVID-19 into the community with them, and the Rangers – as fellow residents – offered reassurance. We did “anything to keep our citizens and our communities in a safe mode,” Rowena added, celebrating how the whole group of Rangers came together. “We were comforting our communities,” and “people looked forward to seeing us on our patrols.” Various patrol training activities had to be cancelled owing to COVID restrictions, however, which particularly affected the JCR program. “Adults, youth, instructors, we all miss it,” she lamented. “This program is a part of our lifestyle.... We are like a family.”

Travel restrictions also affected interactions within the 2 CRPG family. In late March 2020, Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville suspended all visits by Headquarters personnel to isolated areas (unless required to support domestic operations) and cancelled all patrol training and Junior Ranger activities, including the provincial and national shooting championships and Camp OKPIAPIK 2020. In order to comply with health regulations, the usual meetings between instructors and Rangers in the communities were postponed. In a press release, the commanding officer underlined the urgency “to adapt our culture and our usual work methods in order to maintain, among other things, the operational capacity of the Canadian Rangers, and to participate actively in the development of youth in our communities through the Junior Canadian Rangers Program.” This meant that the patrols had to operate “in autonomous mode, that is, without the presence in person of a member of 2 CRPG headquarters.”

On a local level, the Rangers had to assume a wide range of responsibilities to keep their patrols operational. Master Corporal Lalie Sagiagak, a Ranger in Kangiqsujuaq since 1998, took over the entire administration of her patrol



MCpl Lalie Saggiagak and other Rangers in Kangiqsujaq, 20 April 2020

during Op LASER, completing the course to do so online. This training allowed her to ensure that all Rangers received their allowances, that gasoline was distributed, and that detailed reports were forwarded to the right people. Even when patrols communicated regularly with their commanding officers or regional commanders, limited on-the-ground 2 CRPG Headquarters personnel meant that the Rangers themselves had to manage more relationships with outside agencies than ever before. As soon as regulations permitted, Canadian Ranger and Junior Ranger patrols resumed limited local meetings and training activities using their own resources. JCR excursions were replaced with one-day expeditions (without overnight stays), and 2 CRPG increased its social media activities to maintain interest and contact with members in remote communities.

“We are facing totally unprecedented circumstances to which we are adapting quickly in order to minimize the disruption this may cause,” Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville explained in a letter to the Cree of Eeyou Istchee on 24 March 2020. “We are taking the necessary steps to ensure the protection of 2 CRPG personnel and our communities for a quick resumption of our activities when possible.” Unfortunately, the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic lasted much longer than expected and continue into early 2022. However, they also provide important lessons about what Rangers can do on their own. Vullierme noted that “the evaluation of the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on the Canadian Rangers and on the communities of Nunavik could be twofold: the role played by these patrols in strengthening

the health security of Arctic communities; and the possible evolution of the way in which the patrols are trained.” Deriving lessons from this experience will be important in the months and years ahead.

Op LASER in the North: 2 CRPG on track to conclude unprecedented mission

www.45enord.ca, 13 June 2020

While all eyes were on the long-term care facilities in southern Quebec and Ontario where, as part of Operation LASER, Canadian Forces members were assisting civilian personnel in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic, our military was carrying out a no less challenging mission in 28 northern communities on the North Shore, the Lower North Shore and Nunavik.

The 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group’s mission in these vast, remote, but fragile regions was unprecedented in its duration and scope.... [The unit, which] covers a vast territory and whose members are Inuit, Innu, Naskapi or Cree, and whose mother tongues are Inuktitut, Innu, Cree, English and not very often French, had the mission of assisting civilian personnel and raising the awareness of the inhabitants of these remote communities in order to prevent the virus from spreading and decimating the population.

Today, with the danger averted, Lieutenant-Colonel Benoît Mainville ... and his chief warrant officer, Mathieu Giard, were willing to explain to 45eNord.ca the unique challenges of this mission, which was in its 70th day at the time of the interview.

“While all the conditions were present to have a severe pandemic, the social proximity, and I say that, it is known, it has been documented for several years,

the social proximity in Nunavik, it is present. The presence of diseases such as tuberculosis [is an example]. So, we had great fears at the beginning, there seemed to be a predisposition to, probably, a greater vulnerability to COVID-19,” Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville said.

But the very strong links between the Canadian Armed Forces via 2 CRPG and the Rangers, on the one hand, and



Rangers set up a tent as part of Op LASER in Inukjuak.

between these same Rangers and the northern populations from which they come, on the other, made it possible to quickly and effectively raise awareness among the inhabitants of this vast territory....

In Nunavik, for example, there have only been about twenty cases so far, and in other areas of Northern Quebec, barely any: “There was a discipline that slowed the spread of COVID quickly,” notes with undisguised satisfaction the commander of 2 CRPG, praising the health personnel who work in these remote regions “which are already difficult in normal times, in normal conditions; they did an incredible job to contain the few cases and the population was disciplined in relation to that and to understand this problem there.”

And the intervention of the Rangers of 2 CRPG, assistance in triage in health centres, patrols to inform the scattered people, awareness of the population “on the ice” with hunters and fishermen, and support to vulnerable people, made the difference.

... “The approach we took, 2 CRPG’s area of responsibility represents a territory that covers about 75% of Quebec, more than forty communities in remote areas, and remote areas mean no infrastructure, no road links, and remoteness. So it’s certain that the challenges were quite significant from the start. How do you command so many troops over such a large area from a distance. If someone had presented this problem to the Canadian Forces Military College, they would have been called a bit crazy,” says the commander [Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville].

Deploying Rangers in 28 communities, at a distance, with a command and control exercise while ensuring logistical, administrative and financial support, presented enormous challenges.

“The 2 CRPG normally has regular operations. Even if the Rangers are reservists, we’re not even talking about the Primary Reserve, we’re talking about reservists who are the third line, they are regularly called upon to intervene, they carry out search and rescue operations which are generally ad hoc. The complexity of the times involves several patrols, lasts several days, but it’s still ... something we know very well, that we master very well,” explains the commander.



A Ranger from 2 CRPG dons his personal protective equipment during Op LASER in Ivujivik.

“In Nunavik, we adapted to our civilian partners who had established a crisis cell in Kuujuaq, so we established a command and control in Kuujuaq which, from there, commanded the 14 patrols of Nunavik. On the Lower North Shore, it was a different model. It was a virtual model where our civilian partners preferred a command and control from Quebec City with stations in Sept-Îles and Blanc-Sablon,” he explains.

2 CRPG therefore ended up with three different command and control methods, while facing logistical challenges, such as providing personal protective equipment in twenty patrols while offering training for the wearing of this equipment remotely with its civilian partners.

“Each situation brought issues that the staff and personnel had to adapt to, be creative and find a way to accomplish the mission. The ‘creative sense’ was very, very much put to the test,” says the Commander of 2 CRPG.

An example given by Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville illustrates the particular problems of this operation. “Normally, all our procedures are designed to ensure that we are in contact with the individual. For example, when the Rangers are activated, there is an administrative verification process before the activation of the Ranger, to ensure that he is in good health, that he has no problems with his files, in short, all the medical and administrative procedures,” Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville explains. “Normally, this is done by having the person in front of you at his medical examination, his dental examination, the verification of the financial file, etc. But this time, it was done by the police. But this time, it was done over the phone, one by one, at a distance, and often the Ranger did not necessarily understand exactly what was being asked of him or the agreement he was being asked to give, whereas the activation of the Ranger requires free and informed consent on his part. That’s just one example of what we have to deal with [with] the Rangers, is that we have to adapt the guidelines to work at a distance and, in the case of a pandemic, that exacerbated all those tensions.”



Rangers visit elders during Op LASER in La Tabatière.

Nunavik

On April 3, 2020, 2 CRPG was first mandated to assist the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services (NRBHSS), which falls under the Quebec Ministry of Health and Social Services (MSSS). 2 CRPG responded to this request by deploying approximately 100 Rangers who are permanent residents of the fourteen affected communities in Nunavik.



A Ranger assembles a bed for a triage centre in Umiujaq as part of Op LASER.

Lower North Shore (LNS)

On April 17, 2020, 2 CRPG was mandated to assist the MSSS North Shore regional section. Its members are a local response force in their respective communities. They currently support nine communities: Kegaska, Harrington Harbour, Tête-à-la-Baleine, Chevery, Bonne-Espérance, Saint-Augustin, La Tabatière and Blanc-Sablon.

North Shore

On April 19, 2020, 2 CRPG received another mandate in response to a request from Aboriginal Services Canada (ASC) to support Innu communities on the North Coast. 2 CRPG members are currently employed in Nutashkuan (Natashquan), Ekuanitshit (Mingan), Unamen Shipu (La Romaine) and Pakua Shipi.

On April 30, 2020, Aboriginal Services Canada (ASC) increased its request to include the Naskapi community of Kawawachikamach, near Schefferville.

Mission Accomplished, Disengagement Process Begins

Operation LASER in Quebec's northern communities has now entered a disengagement process.

In partnership with the Government of Quebec, the Canadian Armed Forces have established transition criteria for the end of this operation.

"In the majority of our communities, we feel that our transition criteria have been met," said LCol Mainville.

As of June 6, the posture could be reduced to two Rangers per community, with reinforcement as needed.

On Friday, June 5, operations in Kawawachikamach with the Naskapi population outside Schefferville ceased, and as of June 12, the Canadian Armed Forces disengaged from the Lower North Shore, where the Government of Quebec considers that the work has been accomplished and that the transition criteria have been met.

“After this date, we are

awaiting a decision for Nunavik as well as for the communities on the North Shore where the military responded to a request from Aboriginal Services Canada,” says the commander of 2 CRPG, who is optimistic and expects a disengagement there as well by mid-June.



Rangers assemble a “vegetable box” in Harrington Harbour.

An operation in which 2 CRPG and its Rangers surpassed themselves

Thus will end an operation that will have changed the perception of the Rangers according to the commander of 2 CRPG: “Our Rangers do not have an end of service, a certain number of Rangers exceed 55 years and the Rangers do not have medical examinations”, confides LCol Mainville[,] who does not hide that one of his greatest fears was that many of them could not answer the call and maintain the operation.

But a pleasant surprise awaited the 2 CRPG commander: after more than “sixty days of operation, more than 250 Rangers were mobilized to support the operation,” and, he said today with relief, “I only had one Ranger who had a stomach ache and another who was evacuated for a heart problem.

“This is unprecedented in terms of Ranger deployment, the ability of the Rangers to deploy. The ability of the Rangers to respond in such numbers, over such a long period of time is going to be THE lesson learned of the institution: the Rangers want to help their communities and are ready to respond to the needs of their communities,” concludes, admiringly, the Commander of 2 CRPG who salutes his Rangers, his staff and the population of these regions for whom his respect and admiration are obvious.

National and community service

“The Canadian Armed Forces must reflect the diversity of the country we defend. We need a military that looks like Canada.”

Department of National Defence, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*
(2017)

Membership in the Canadian Rangers creates a sense of belonging, shared identity, and purpose on several levels. Sergeant Clarence Jason Jolly of the Nemaska patrol explained that the organization “has given me a sense of being part of the country. I’m involved at the local and provincial level, but now with the Rangers, it’s at the national level. I’m part of the CAF and I’m proud of it.” This sentiment is shared across the patrol group, and amongst Rangers across Canada.

Most of the Rangers’ stories are about experiences “on the land,” whether epic trips by snowmachine or dogsled, encounters with polar bears or other animals, survival stories, or recollections about traditional forms of life and subsistence. For Rangers, time on the land is more than simply travelling to new places, improving their navigation skills and marksmanship, or harvesting food to feed themselves and their families. It is also about social connections, a sense of identity, and spiritual replenishment. A Ranger once told me that what binds the diverse organization is a “common love for the land” – an emotional attachment that can mean different things to different people but is inextricably tied to a sense of place.

By encouraging individuals to patrol areas around their communities and to exercise their skills, Ranger service reinforces individual resilience, situated knowledge, and connectedness to place. Ranger Arnaituk Pauyungie-Caron of the Salluit patrol joined “to learn more cultural things like building an igloo and learning about the land and the trails.” Sergeant Betsy Epoo joined the Inukjuak patrol in 2001 because she “wanted to learn how to go out on the land. Sometimes I want to go alone and I didn’t always want to depend on other people. It helped a lot because I learned how to read a map and work the GPS.” Jobie Epoo from the same patrol had enrolled two years earlier and benefits from “the teamwork, the discipline, the training and the outings, because I got to learn how to do search and rescue, find my way around in difficult situations. It’s not just one thing for me, but being a part of the community. The Canadian Rangers are a special and paramount part of the community.”

Similar testimonies abound from across the province. Many Rangers emphasize their status as role models in their communities, where they are admired for their self-reliance, respectful conduct, confidence, and strength. “The Ranger Program has given me a lot of life experiences that are out of the ordinary and have taught me that I am a resilient person who can deal with adversity,” retired Ranger Darlene Jones of Blanc-Sablon explained. “The Rangers are a great part of a community and help individuals overcome personal challenges to make them better when they are called upon to help in the community.” Corporal Barbara Bolger of the same patrol recounted how the “Canadian Rangers has taught me lifesaving skills, to be structured, and to be a leader when the moment comes when you have to become a leader.” These skills have important real-world applications. Ranger Tommy Cain of the Tasiujaq patrol highlighted “the feeling of being useful when a search and rescue is activated ... [and] we go on the land to save someone’s life.” He recalled a specific incident when members of his patrol helped their counterparts from Aupaluk perform a search and rescue. “The mission was a success and the two missing persons were found and saved,” he recounted. “One of the two was unable to walk then. If the Canadian Rangers weren’t there to recover them, probably this person would not be there today.” Accordingly, Cain advocated teaching survival techniques to young people. “With the hard weather conditions in our area,” he explained, “knowing a good base of survival technique[s] can save a life and keep a person or their family alive.”



Veteran Nunavik Rangers honoured for long service: “It’s good to be able to help other people”

Sarah Rogers, *Nunatsiaq News*, 7 March 2016.



Paulusi Novalinga with a Junior Ranger Feb. 29 during a presentation honouring eight Rangers who have served with the organization since 1972.

Paulusi Novalinga prides himself on the number of lives he’s helped save over the years.

He can’t say how many, but 42 years as a Canadian Ranger has put him at the forefront of dozens — maybe hundreds — of search and rescue operations around his hometown of Puvirnituk, on Nunavik’s Hudson coast.

The 60-year-old corporal recalls one memorable story: it was during the 1980s and two local teenagers were travelling to a neighbouring community by snowmobile to visit friends. But they didn’t arrive on schedule.

The weather had deteriorated, so Canadian Rangers from Puvirnituk set out to find the two young men. This proved a difficult task; Novalinga said there were so many caribou tracks that any trace of the men’s snowmobile had been trampled over.

“We found them eventually, behind rocks and buried under snow, but they were still alive,” Novalinga said.

It was that rescue, and the many more that followed, which continue to remind Novalinga about why he’s stayed on with the Canadian Rangers, a group that’s considered the “eyes and ears” of the Canadian Armed Forces in northern and isolated communities.

There are roughly 5,000 Canadian Rangers in 200 communities across the country.

Novalinga and seven of his Ranger colleagues were honoured Feb. 29 for their 42 years of service with the organization.

Top brass from the Armed Forces’ Joint Task Force visited Puvirnituk last week to honour long-standing members from Puvirnituk and Akulivik, presenting them with the third clasp. In addition to Novalinga, the honourees included: Ranger Alasuak Alayco (Akulivik); Ranger Adamie Anautak (Akulivik); Ranger William

Nappatuk (Akulivik); Ranger Peter Ittukallak (Puvirnituk); Ranger Juanasi Tulugak (Puvirnituk); and Ranger Georges Nunga (Puvirnituk).

“It is a great honour for the Canadian Army to highlight your commitment to protecting Canadians and providing security in Northern Canada,” said Lieutenant-General Marquis Hainse, a commander with the Canadian Army, in a Feb. 29 release.

Today, Puvirnituk hosts a local contingent of 27 Rangers, seven of whom are women.

The motivation to serve his community and region began early for Novalinga, who was only 17 years old when he joined the Rangers.

At the time, Novalinga was a year shy of being eligible to join the Rangers. But he earned himself a reputation as a capable interpreter to his unilingual Inuktitut-speaking father, who was a sergeant with the Puvirnituk patrol in the early 1950s.

Along with his service in search and rescues, training and providing other support to the Canadian Army, Novalinga also serves as president of Nunavik’s Anguvigak Hunters and Trappers Association.

At home, the tradition has reached a third and even fourth generation: all three of Novalinga’s sons are Rangers, while his 17-year-old granddaughter is a Junior Ranger. (He has six children and 16 grandchildren.)

“It’s a family tradition,” he laughed.

“It’s good to be a Ranger, to be able to help other people,” Novalinga said. “Rangers are good citizens.”

When asked how long he [sic] plans to stay on as a Ranger, Novalinga said “as long as I can.”

“The more I think about it, I think I’m good where I am right now, to pass on my knowledge,” he said. “I like the action.”



Veteran Canadian Rangers Alasuak Alayco and William Nappatuk of Akulivik, along with Peter Ittukallak, Juanasi Tulugak, Georges Nunga and Cpl. Paulusie Novalinga of Puvirnituk were all honoured for their decades of service in early March 2016. Akulivik Ranger and honouree Adamie Anautak was absent.

On a collective scale, the Ranger organization also actively builds many of the characteristics associated with community resilience. A Ranger patrol provides a natural platform upon which to identify and discuss local needs and priorities, and to design solutions. In so doing, patrols bolster the self-reliance and adaptive capacities of their communities. Furthermore, the Rangers remain an essential bridge between community residents, the military, and the federal government more generally – an essential liaison role that ensures that as the CAF expands its footprint in remote regions, it does not crush local communities. Ranger Mathieu Chabot joined the Umiujaq patrol in 2018, having served previously for twenty years as a Primary Reservist. “I found an *esprit de corps* among the members of 2 CRPG, even a sense of belonging in a community of individuals who live far from the major urban centres and rural areas,” he explained. “My involvement in the Canadian Rangers has allowed me to better integrate the Inuit community of Umiujaq, even in my work in schools with the Junior Rangers Program.”

A sense of cultural well-being and vitality is connected to a notion of belonging, of feeling comfortable living in a community and region, and of being accepted for one’s sense of identity. Individual Rangers must feel that they are free to practise and celebrate their cultural traditions, beliefs, and values. In turn, a sense of cultural security or well-being allows them to acknowledge and respect cultural differences in others. The notion that

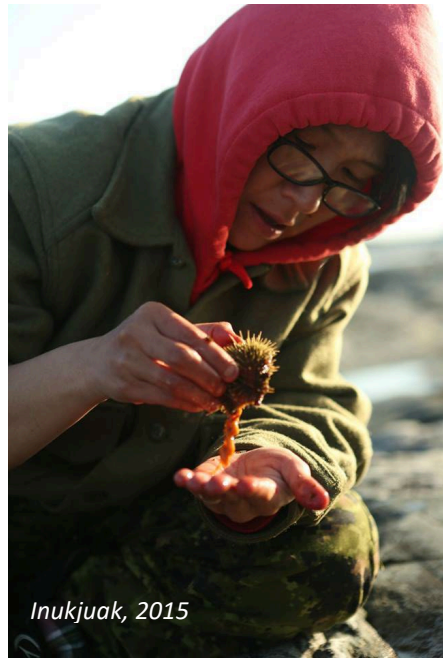


*The Puvirnituq patrol
enjoys a feast on the land*

Rangers are “trained upon enrollment,” and that the military values the cultural knowledge and training that the Rangers bring with them, serves as a source of positive affirmation of their identities. By enhancing the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge, facilitating access to cultural networks that allow individuals to gain on-the-land experience in their local environments, and providing material supports to land-based activities, Ranger service supports and enhances cultural well-being and vitality.

Rangers’ sense of social responsibility makes them significant community leaders. Patrols contribute to social networks, pride, a sense of purpose, a spirit of mutual assistance and cooperation, and people-place connections that animate their home communities. The Rangers also provide opportunities for learning, knowledge sharing, and problem solving. They make contributions in their official capacity as Rangers, as well as through their actions as community members who draw upon their Ranger training and networks in their everyday lives. Sergeant Michael Cameron from Salluit, who also serves as the local game warden, explained that Ranger service “has helped shape me into who I am today, giving me skills to work in day-to-day life that I cherish and the close bond it has brought to me within the patrol and the 2 CRPG family.”

The Rangers are neither a military nor an Indigenous *program* (as they are sometimes misidentified), but rather a subcomponent of the Reserves that embodies the benefits of leveraging the unique skill sets of Canadians from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds to support home defence and public safety. *Strong, Secure, Engaged* highlights that “building a Defence team composed of people with new perspectives and a broader range of cultural, linguistic, gender, age, and other unique attributes will contribute directly to efforts to develop a deeper understanding of our increasingly complex world, and to respond effectively to the challenges it presents.” Being able to mobilize the unique talents and skill sets of a diverse population is highly



Inukjuak, 2015

valuable, particularly in isolated communities where outside units have less familiarity with operational constraints related to environmental conditions and mobility.

The Rangers exemplify how a subcomponent of the Reserve Force can harness the benefits of diversity, developing local capabilities that both reflect and support the interests of local communities and peoples. For example, although Canada's defence policy lists Indigenous peoples as an "under-represented population within the Canadian Armed Forces," this does not reflect the situation in 2 CRPG. Through the Canadian Rangers, Indigenous people in Quebec's isolated northern and coastal communities serve in the CAF at a far higher rate per capita than Canadians do on average. These are important considerations, given the Government of Canada's strong focus on the importance of Indigenous leadership and the defence policy statement that "Indigenous communities are at the heart of Canada's North." Furthermore, throughout the province, individual Ranger patrols are highly representative of their communities' ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity. In Quebec, the Rangers are predominantly Aboriginal, with approximately forty-one percent of Rangers being Inuit, fourteen percent Cree, eight percent Innu, four percent Naskapi, two percent other, and thirty-one percent non-Aboriginal. Rangers in the AOR speak a variety of languages, including Inuktitut, English, French, Cree, Innu, and Naskapi.

The rates of female participation in the Rangers (and in elected leadership positions) demonstrate how the organization provides a work environment where women are welcomed, supported, and respected. There were 124 female Rangers in 2 CRPG as of December 2021, representing eighteen percent of the unit's strength. "In my situation, being a female Ranger has been a blessing for the female Junior Rangers," Corporal Barbara Bolger of Blanc-Sablon noted. "It gives them a female figure they can talk and relate to about things they are not comfortable talking to a male Ranger about. They also feel more



secure having both male and female Rangers in their presence. In the community, it is recognized and more encouraging for more females to get involved.”

Several women interviewed for this project explained that they joined the Rangers so they could serve as role models to inspire other women to become Rangers and set a positive example for all community members. Sarah Berthe joined the Kuujuaq patrol in January 2002 at twenty-one years of age. “I was young and a woman at that so it was pretty hard to live up to the rest of the patrol[']s expectations because they were expecting me to pull my share of the guys['] capabilities on the field training,” she explained. “Being involved with the Rangers and Junior Rangers has brought me so many life skills that I wouldn’t have known, like getting to go out on the land more, with the dangers and adventures that are out there, and to be able to give some of that knowledge to the Junior Rangers.” She now sees herself as a role model for others who do not fit the typical image of Canadians serving in the military, upholding “the idea that if I can be a Ranger as a female, and a quite petite one at that, [this] would give optimism for other woman” who are equally “capable of taking on the challenge both physically and mentally.”

Rather than substituting for family networks and pulling people away from their home communities, the Ranger organization reinforces them. Indeed, in some communities, the Ranger patrol directly builds upon family networks and offers another outlet for their collective energies. For many Rangers, service is a family affair. Sergeant Michael Cameron from Salluit joined in 1996 because he

had family serving in the Rangers and he “wanted to give back to my community.” He recalled many proud moments, but the proudest was when his son Putulik joined and Sergeant Cameron, as the patrol commander, “handed his uniform to him during a parade.” Corporal Maggie Assapak Nutaraluk, who has served with the Puvirnituk patrol since 2012, joined because “my grandfather was also a Ranger.... What I love most about being



*Sgt Michael Cameron of the
Salluit patrol*

*Junior Ranger training in
Saint-Augustin, 2016*



a Ranger is being able to make a difference in my community and getting out in the field with my fellow Rangers.”

Many Rangers highlight their work with the JCRs and other community youth as a key component of and contribution to community building. The Rangers teach young people new skills, such as first aid and Global Positioning System (GPS) use, how to live and travel on the land, and how to have a positive impact on the community. Furthermore, the JCR PHASE (“Promoting Healthy and Safe Experiences”) program addresses challenging issues surrounding harassment and abuse through community involvement, learning, and development. Utilizing culturally sensitive methods such as sharing circles that allow youth to share and express themselves, PHASE teaches JCRs about different forms of harassment (personal, racial, sexual, emotional), abuse (physical, sexual, neglect), substance abuse, and teenage suicide. The program aims to make JCRs feel safe and protected, while promoting “healing, justice, and [the] restoration of healthy human relations” in their communities.

It is telling that a growing number of Canadian Rangers (including many in leadership positions) were previously Junior Canadian Rangers. While the youth program is not formally intended as a recruiting tool, Rangers look to senior JCRs with strong land skills (or a dedicated interest in learning them), leadership qualities, reliability, and commitment as potential Rangers. There are many cases of former JCRs now serving as Rangers leading JCR patrols. For

example, Master Corporal Lisa Putulik, who is responsible for the JCR patrol in Quaqtaq, joined the Rangers in August 2017. “I was once in the JCR program and I had a good Canadian Ranger, Tukkuapik Pracey, who took care of us and ever since then I had wanted to be one,” she explained.

In the end, however, the JCRs is all about the youth learning in a positive and fun environment. Corporal Lizzie Amamatuak of Akulivik joined the Rangers in 2016 to help with the Junior Rangers, who “really like doing the activities such as sports, drills, traditional hunting and camping.” Ranger Judy Fequet of the Bonne-Espérance patrol was president of the local parents’ committee for a decade before joining the Rangers in June 2019. “I am proud to have become a Ranger because I like to contribute to my community,” she explained:

Over the course of ten years, I volunteered on Junior Ranger nights. I wanted to help out in any way I could, from learning to tie knots, geocaching, map and compass, as well as planning outings with the help of the other committee members. Every Tuesday night, I would receive a call from a Junior Ranger Patrol Leader informing me of what was happening on that night. I really enjoyed these nights and rarely missed it.

Seeing the smiles on the Junior Ranger faces every Tuesday is what makes me really proud and excited to be a part of this organization. Being a woman and being part of the Ranger and the Junior Ranger Patrol does make an impact on the girls. They ask me questions that I am sure they would not be comfortable asking a man. Not only that, but the Junior Rangers know that I



am an outdoors kind of person and I enjoy spending time at both my summer and winter cabins. I enjoy snow shoeing, camping, fishing and snowmobiling. I continue to encourage all teenagers, in particular the girls, to stay involved in the Junior Ranger Program as it has so much to offer them.

Having Rangers provide reliable support to youth is one component of building community-level confidence in government-backed programs, instilling a spirit of voluntarism, and building a strong base for future community leadership.

For the Rangers, building a long-term trusting relationship with communities and their civilian partners is critical to maintaining their operational capacity. The same is true for the JCR program, which benefits from essential links with municipal partners, regional health and social services boards, school boards, and other regional, provincial, and federal partners and organizations such as the Sûreté du Québec, Kativik Regional Police, and the Grand Council of the Crees. In 2021, the mayor of the Municipality of Gros-Mécatina wrote to Ranger Damian Buffitt of Mutton Bay (part of the Saint-Augustin patrol) thanking the Rangers for all their contributions to their communities and applauding the Junior Rangers for “how proud they are to help keep up the communities and to help our seniors.” JCRs are held up as “role models” amongst their peers, the mayor explained, and “the outings and survival techniques taught to our children is a must for the way of life on the Coast.” Around the same time, Mayor Darlene Rowsell Roberts, Administrator of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence Municipality, explained that:

The Rangers play a very important role within our municipality and our isolated communities. It gives me a greater sense of reassurance knowing they are there to help protect us, keep us safe and support us in times of emergencies. They also play an important role in terms of the Junior Rangers program, which is so positive and important towards the development of our youth. The Rangers and the Junior Rangers program are greatly appreciated and highly respected within our municipality.

You’ve been there to support us, among others, in terms of search and rescue, house fires, airport emergency measures and most recently, helping to provide services and to protect us with the Covid-19 pandemic.



JCR training in La Romaine, October 2016

Simply to say thank you for all your support and involvement in our communities. You are important in terms of our civil security plan as well as the social and cultural development aspect of our youth.

In short, Rangers and their communities take pride in the conduct of the members of a patrol, their general willingness to volunteer their time and efforts, and the various activities they conduct – from training military personnel from the south (which generates a great deal of pride amongst the Rangers) to leading community events.

The Canadian Rangers organization is built around the idea that individuals who retain cultural autonomy (and are not assimilated into a military culture at the expense of their own) bring special skills and value to the Canadian Armed Forces. Given the diversity of Quebec, 2 CRPG has successfully adopted a general definition of culture that is not derived from a single cultural group or people. Rangers and Ranger instructors regularly highlight how flexible, culturally sensitive training frameworks that accommodate different forms of delivery, and that are attuned to diverse audiences, are more effective than standardized curriculums. As Magali Vullierme highlighted in her doctoral research, northern communities' active support for the Canadian Rangers reflects how the organization is seen as a way to reinforce agency rather than

acting as a tool of assimilation of northern peoples into southern military norms. “Our success is a result of our mastery of a wide range of knowledge that goes well beyond a ‘strict’ framework of military notions, and by our ability to take the initiative,” Lieutenant-Colonel Mainville noted in 2021. This spirit explains the success of a unit made up of members with a deep knowledge of their natural, social, and cultural environments. Ranger Jobie Epoo, who has served in the Inukjuak patrol for twenty-two years, explained in an interview that “I have seen the changes since 1999 and they are very positive changes, especially between the headquarters and the community. I encourage people to be Canadian Rangers. It is a special feeling and it comes from the heart.”

Moving forward with purpose

In January 2021, the Army commander and acting chief of the defence staff, Lieutenant-General Wayne Eyre, announced plans to strengthen and grow the Canadian Rangers. He described the Rangers as a unique component of the Reserves that:

allow the CAF to maintain contact with Canadians in these communities, and they provide a critical and enduring presence on the ground. The [Canadian Rangers] are vital to routine surveillance, acting as guides, local cultural advisors, and interpreters when required. As part of the One Army team, the [Canadian Rangers] form the core of local liaison capacity in many locations, all while remaining immediately available to support local government or other agencies in times of need. The [Canadian Rangers] will continue to serve as Canada’s early warning and will be a key component in assuring the integrity of Canada’s sovereignty and our national resilience in remote locations, both by their enduring presence on the ground and also as integrated participants in Domestic and Sovereignty Operations.

In his strategy for modernizing the Canadian Army, Lieutenant-General Eyre emphasizes that the Rangers are fully integrated into the One Army team, which he envisages as a single operational entity. The comprehensive review of the Ranger organization that he has directed is intended to “ensure the long-term relevance and sustainability” of the Rangers to ensure that they remain credible to the CAF, to Canada’s allies and defence partners, and to the Canadian public.



This overview of the rich history of the Canadian Rangers offers important insights into why the organization has evolved into such a strong success story, and how it has forged strong links between the Canadian Armed Forces and the communities in which its members live. It also encourages us to look towards a future in which changes to the physical, human, and strategic environments may require revisiting how the Rangers are supported and what they are asked to do. How can the Canadian Armed Forces best employ the Rangers when new social and security challenges emerge – as the COVID-19 pandemic has shown? In his planning guidance for Canadian Ranger enhancement, Lieutenant-General Eyre anticipates that the Rangers “will assume an increasingly prominent role in continental defence.” What should their role be in this essential CAF mission, and what additional training and resources might be needed to maximize their effectiveness in this context?

Eyre also directed that the review of the Rangers “must not change the nature of the [Canadian Rangers] as a unique sub-component of the Reserve Force.” In short, there are no plans to convert the Rangers into Primary Reserve or Regular Force soldiers. Furthermore, the Army recognizes that any changes to the Ranger organization must take into account community involvement, the interactions between the Rangers and other government stakeholders in the communities in which they operate, and “the diversity of the environment and communities in which [Canadian Rangers] operate, ensuring policies and direction is sufficiently tailorable to local conditions.” This also means dealing with the impacts of climate change that are reshaping the operating environment in Canada. *Advancing with Purpose: The Canadian Army Modernization Strategy*, published in 2021, observes that:

The effects of climate change are perhaps most pronounced in the Arctic. Rising activity levels in Canada's Arctic by state and commercial actors raise the potential for safety and security-related challenges. These include search and rescue operations, response to natural or man-made disasters, and response to actions by states with interests in the Arctic. The Canadian Army must be ready to assist in addressing those challenges through exercises, cooperation with domestic partners, and by providing a physical presence when needed.

This is true of the Arctic and also for other northern and coastal regions. The Rangers, as part of the One Army team, will continue to bring their unique skills to the tasks that they perform within the military. They also ensure that people who live in these regions remain key players in the development and implementation of innovative, flexible, and responsible approaches that reflect the diversity of Quebec. The commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Canadian Rangers and the twenty-fifth anniversary of 2 CRPG is not only an appropriate time to highlight the exceptional work accomplished by the Rangers for more than seven decades, but also to apply lessons learned to an uncertain future in which the Rangers will certainly play an important role.



2 CRPG Commander's Vision

2 CRPG ensures a Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) presence in the Nord-du-Québec and Côte-Nord regions by being a key military and community player through its decisive actions and outreach activities. Its patrols are autonomous and able to conduct or support CAF operations as well as supervise the JCR Program within their community. Within the Canadian Army's 2nd Canadian Division, 2 CRPG acts as a centre of expertise for the planning and conduct of operations in its area of responsibility (AOR).

Source: 2 CRPG Operational Plan 2021-22

Annexes

Compiled by Magali Vullierme

Commanding Officers of 2 CRPG



LCol R. Chartrand, CD
1997-1999



LCol M. Couture, OMM, CD
1999-2002



LCol C. Bergeron, CD
2002-2003



Major C. Archambault, CD
2003-2006



LCol G. Lang, CD
2006-2010



LCol M. Chevarie, CD
2010-2013



LCol B. Plourde, CD
2013-2017



LCol B. Mainville, CD
2017-présent

Honorary Lieutenant-Colonels of 2 CRPG



HLCol Bernard Voyer
2007-2017



HLCol Geneviève Auclair, MSM
2020-present

Group Sergeant Majors



CWO G. Tanguay, CD
1997-1999



CWO R. Temple, MMM, CD
1999-2004



MWO S. Beauchesne, CD
2005-2006



CWO J.H.J.M. Themens, CD
2007-2013








CWO M. Proulx, CD
2013-2018



CWO M. Giard, CD
2018-present






Medal Recipients (by date of enrollment)





	<p>Rgr Jaaka, Amaamak Enlisted: 01-APR-1962 Kangiqsujaq CRP</p>	<p>MSS CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Kudluk, Jonassie Enlisted: 09-FEB-1964 Kangirsuk CRP</p>	<p>1992 Médaille de la Défense nationale, échelon argent, Armée de terre (FR) 2006 CD 3rd clasp 2016 CD 4th clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Gordon, Tommy Enlisted: 26-MAI-1965 Kuujuaq CRP</p>	<p>2007 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Anautaq Enlisted: 01-APR-1972 Akulivik CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>MCpl Ittukallak, Peter Enlisted: 01-APR-1972 Puvirnituk CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>




	Cpl Gordon, Sandy Enlisted: 24-MAR-1972 Kuujuuaq CRP	2014 CD 3 rd clasp
	Rgr Annanack, Johnny Enlisted: 25-MAR-1972 Kangiqsualujjuaq CRP	2014 CD 3 rd clasp
	Rgr Eetook, Marcussie Enlisted: 25-MAR-1972 Kangirsuk CRP	2017 CD 3 rd clasp
	Cpl Tulugak, Juanasi Enlisted: 01-APR-1972 Puvirnituk CRP	2014 CD 3 rd clasp
	Capt Foreman, Gordon Enlisted: 31-AUG-1973 Harrington Harbour CRP	2015 CD 3 rd clasp

	<p>Sgt Qinuajuak, Daniel Enlisted: 13-SEP- 1973 Akulivik CRP</p>	<p>2015 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>MCpl Tukkiapik, Simiunue Enlisted: 08-APR- 1974 Quaqtaq CRP</p>	<p>2016 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Cpl Annatok, Zacharias Enlisted: 10-APR- 1974 Quaqtaq CRP</p>	<p>2016 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>MCpl Arngak, Martin Enlisted: 06-APR- 1975 Kangiqsujuaq CRP</p>	<p>2020 MMM Member of the Order of Military Merit</p>
	<p>MCpl Qinuajuak, Markusi Enlisted: 25-MAY- 1981 Akulivik CRP</p>	<p>2010 MMM Member of the Order of Military Merit</p>

	<p>MCpl Scott, Martin Enlisted: 24-FEB- 1995 Aupaluk CRP</p>	<p>2015 MMM Member of the Order of Military Merit</p>
	<p>MCpl Annahatak, Noah Enlisted: 22-APR- 1998 Kangijsujuaq CRP</p>	<p>2003 SSM 2020 CD 1st clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Chabot, Mathieu Enlisted: 04-MAY- 1999 Umiujaq CRP</p>	<p>2013 General Campaign Star - SOUTH-WEST ASIA (GCS-SWA)</p>
	<p>Rgr Harvey, Carol Enlisted: 07-FEB- 2002 Natashquan CRP</p>	<p>1982 UNFICYP UN Peacekeeping Force Cyprus</p>
	<p>Cpl Aucoin, Bertrand Enlisted: 03-DEC- 2008 Îles-de-la- Madeleine CRP</p>	<p>2005 General Campaign Star - South West Asia (SEUL) 2006 Canadian Peacekeeping Service Medal (CPSM)</p>

	<p>Rgr Chiasson, Donald Enlisted: 30-JUL- 2010 Îles-de-la- Madeleine CRP</p>	<p>1983 - UN Disengagement Observation Force (UNDOF) 1996 NATO Medal for Former Yugoslavia (NATO-FY)</p>
	<p>Rgr Cooper, Sammy Enlisted: Kuujjuaq CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Peters, Johnny Enlisted: Kuujjuaq CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Novalinga, Paulusi Enlisted: Puvirnituk CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Novalinga Simon Enlisted: Puvirnituk CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>

	<p>MCpl Kulula, Jusipi Enlisted: Quaqtaq CRP</p>	<p>2014 Commander Canadian Army Commendation</p>
	<p>Rgr Alayco Alasuak Enlisted: Akulivik CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Cpl Nappatuk, William Enlisted: Akulivik CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Cpl Dereck Jeremy Einish</p>	<p>Commander Canadian Army Commendation</p>
	<p>MCpl David Swappie Enlisted: Schefferville CRP</p>	<p>Commander Canadian Army Commendation</p>

	<p>Sgt Michael Cameron Enlisted: Salluit CRP</p>	<p>2021 SSM Ranger 2011 CD 2013 Queen’s Diamond Jubilee (2012) 2021 Commander Canadian Army Commendation</p>
	<p>Rgr Yuliusie Lucassie Enlisted: Salluit CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>
	<p>Rgr Nunga Georges Enlisted: Puvirnituq CRP</p>	<p>2014 CD 3rd clasp</p>

Patrols of the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group

Akulivik Patrol

Akulivik is located on the north end of Hudson Bay and takes its name from the surrounding geography: a peninsula that juts into the bay evoking the shape of a kakivak (a traditional, trident-shaped spear used for fishing). The Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post on the site of today's Akulivik in 1922, and the Inuit then started to gradually settle in the surrounding area.

Population: 548

Canadian Rangers: 30

Junior Canadian Rangers: 20

Location: Latitude 60° 48' North - Longitude 78° 12' West

Aupaluk Patrol

The community is named after the colour of its ferruginous soil. Aupaluk is located on the northern reaches of the Labrador Trough, which is rich in iron deposits. There was even mining activity in the region in the late 1950s. Aupaluk is the first village in the Canadian Arctic to have been entirely designed by Inuit.

Population: 192

Canadian Rangers: 10

Junior Canadian Rangers: 18

Location: Latitude 59° 18' North - Longitude 69° 36' West

Blanc-Sablon Patrol

Blanc-Sablon is a pleasant coastal village located only a few kilometres from the Labrador border. Close to the Strait of Belle Isle, Blanc-Sablon is one of the best places in Quebec to see icebergs. It is a vibrant community that acts as the coast's eastern gatekeeper. Historically, Blanc-Sablon was an important fishing port.

Population: 1,258

Canadian Rangers: 35 (includes Rangers from the Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon and Bonne-Espérance communities)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 46

Location: Latitude 51° 25' North - Longitude 57° 08' West

Bonne-Espérance Patrol

The municipality of Bonne-Espérance is made up of the three fishing villages of St. Paul's River, Middle Bay, and Old Fort Bay.

St. Paul's River, population 468, is located on a serene bay sheltered by a cluster of islands, near the mouth of a world-class salmon-fishing river by the same name. The village is one of the oldest settlements on the Lower North Shore. The river was once known as Eskimo River, after the Inuit who lived near its mouth.

The tiny village of Middle Bay, population fifty-two, has an intriguing history. Basque fishermen from the Pyrenees Mountains between France and Spain crossed the Atlantic Ocean to fish cod and harpoon whales in the Strait of Belle Isle during the

sixteenth century. At Middle Bay, they built seasonal shelters onshore and sheds for rendering whale blubber into the oil that lit much of Europe.

The eastern extension of route 138 begins at Old Fort Bay. The community, with a population of 347, has a long and intriguing history and lively cultural traditions. Protected by offshore islands and steep surrounding hills, Old Fort provided a perfect port for early European fishing fleets. Jacques Cartier erected a cross west of Old Fort at Baie-des-Rochers during his first voyage to North America in 1534. In the seventeenth century, Old Fort may have been the site of a major battle between the Inuit and the Innu. The village probably takes its name from an early trading fort built in the area by Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche, who acquired extensive fishing and trading rights in 1702.

Population: 867

Canadian Rangers: (the Rangers of the municipality of Bonne-Espérance are part of the Blanc-Sablon patrol)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 35

Location: Latitude 51° 23' North - Longitude 57° 40' West

Chevery Patrol

Chevery is the youngest Lower North Shore village. It is nestled in a sandy bay near the mouth of the roaring Nétagamiou River. The village offers an incredible view of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Its location between the Nétagamiou and La Croix Rivers makes it an ideal spot for outdoor activities, hunting, and fishing.

Population: 350

Canadian Rangers: (Rangers from the Chevery community are part of the Harrington Harbour patrol)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 10

Location: Latitude 50° 28' North - Longitude 59° 36' West

Chisasibi Patrol

Chisasibi, whose name means “Great River” in Cree, is a vibrant young community that has continued to grow since its relocation from the island of Fort George in 1980-1981. The population comprises approximately 3,800 Cree, about 150 Inuit, and 300 non-Indigenous people who have decided to experience living and working in the North. It is located at the very end of the James Bay Road.

Population: 4,250

Canadian Rangers: 35

Junior Canadian Rangers: 37

Location: Latitude 53° 12' North - Longitude 78° 46' West

Eastmain Patrol

Eastmain is located on the eastern coast of James Bay and the southern shore of the Eastmain River. It is home to the regional association of Cree trappers, whose role is to support local Cree trappers in maintaining traditional practices. The Eastmain post was the only eastern coast trading post for most of the eighteenth century.

Population: 711

Canadian Rangers: 14

Junior Canadian Rangers: 10

Location: Latitude 52° 11' North - Longitude 78° 10' West

Harrington Harbour Patrol

Justly featured among the thirty most beautiful villages in Quebec, Harrington Harbour resembles a typical small Newfoundland fishing port. A characteristic walkway made of wooden boards crosses through the community, going beyond the picturesque wooden houses.

Population: 900

Canadian Rangers: 27 (includes Rangers from the Chevery and Tête-à-la-Baleine communities)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 25

Location: Latitude 50° 30' North - Longitude 59° 28' West

Havre-Saint-Pierre Patrol

Havre-Saint-Pierre was so named in honour of the patron saint of fishermen, Saint Pierre. In the middle of the twentieth century, a new industry developed when titanium mines were discovered forty-five kilometres north of the town. This industry grew, and titanium mining is currently the town's main economic activity.

Population: 3,634

Canadian Rangers: 36 (includes Rangers from the Mingan community)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 17

Location: Latitude 50° 14' North - Longitude 63° 36' West

Îles-de-la-Madeleine Patrol

The archipelago of the Îles-de-la-Madeleine is located in the middle of the Gulf of St. Lawrence or, more precisely, 215 kilometres from the Gaspé Peninsula, 105 kilometres from Prince Edward Island, and ninety-five kilometres from Cape Breton Island. The Island chain takes the shape of an extended fishhook stretching across a distance of sixty-five kilometres in a south-west/north-easterly direction, with a latitude close to those of La Malbaie (Charlevoix) and La Tuque (Mauricie). Islanders live in the Atlantic Time Zone, one hour ahead of mainland Québec. The archipelago comprises about a dozen islands, six of which are interconnected by long, thin sand dunes.

Population: 14,000

Canadian Rangers: 29

Junior Canadian Rangers: 0

Location: Latitude 47° 23' North - Longitude 61° 52' West

Inukjuak Patrol

Inukjuak is located on the north bank of the Innuksuak River, known for its turquoise water and turbulent rapids. A post office and a Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment were opened in 1935, a nursing station in 1947, and a school in 1951. In 1962, the co-operative store opened and, in 1980, Inukjuak was legally established as a municipality.

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Population: 1,735

Canadian Rangers: 28

Junior Canadian Rangers: 37

Location: Latitude 58° 27' North - Longitude 78° 06' West

Ivujivik Patrol

Roughly 2,000 kilometres north of Montreal, Ivujivik is Quebec's northernmost village. Nestled in a small, sandy cove, the village is surrounded by imposing cliffs that plunge into the tormented waters of Digges Sound, where the strong currents of Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait clash.

Population: 370

Canadian Rangers: 19

Junior Canadian Rangers: 19

Location: Latitude 62° 25' North - Longitude 77° 55' West

Kangiqsualujuaq Patrol

The construction of the village of Kangiqsualujuaq began in 1962 and, a few years later, all inhabitants lived in prefabricated houses. A school was built in 1963, as well as a co-operative store and government buildings. In 1980, Kangiqsualujuaq was legally established as a municipality.

Population: 767

Canadian Rangers: 27

Junior Canadian Rangers: 37

Location: Latitude 58° 41' North - Longitude 65° 57' West

Kangiqsujuaq Patrol

Kangiqsujuaq is located north of the Cape Smith belt, an area rich in mineralization. Wakeham Bay takes its name from Captain William Wakeham, who, in 1897, led an expedition to determine whether Hudson Strait was safe for navigation. In 1961, the settlement was renamed Sainte-Anne-de-Maricourt, until it officially readopted its Inuktitut name, Kangiqsujuaq, with its establishment as a municipality.

Population: 634

Canadian Rangers: 28

Junior Canadian Rangers: 23

Location: Latitude 61° 35' North - Longitude 71° 57' West

Kangirsuk Patrol

Kangirsuk means "the bay" in Inuktitut. In 1981, Kangirsuk was incorporated as a municipality. Not far from the village on Pamiok Island, archaeologists have discovered a stone foundation of what is believed to be a long house used by Vikings, who are said to have visited the area in the eleventh century.

Population: 489

Canadian Rangers: 22

Junior Canadian Rangers: 11

Location: Latitude 60° 01' North - Longitude 70° 01' West

Kawawachikamach Patrol

The Kawawachikamach reserve is located fifteen kilometres northeast of Schefferville, near Lac Matemace. Kawawachikamach is an Amerindian word meaning “windy lake” or “winding river turning into a large lake.” The Naskapi of Kawawachikamach have approximately 680 members, most of whom live in the village of Kawawachikamach.

Population: 849

Canadian Rangers: The Rangers from the community of Kawawachikamach are part of the Schefferville patrol

Junior Canadian Rangers: 53

Location: Latitude 55° 10' North - Longitude 66° 52' West

Kuujuaq Patrol

Kuujuaq, Nunavik's largest community, is located on the west shore of the Koksoak River. The construction of a US Air Force base (Crystal 1) in 1942 on the west shore of the Koksoak River, the site of today's settlement, and the occupation of the site by the American army between 1941 and 1945 sped up the development of the community. After the end of the Second World War, the United States turned the base over to the Canadian government.

Population: 2,336

Canadian Rangers: 37

Junior Canadian Rangers: 88

Location: Latitude 58° 06' North - Longitude 68° 24' West

Kuujuarapik Patrol

Kuujuarapik is nestled in golden sand dunes at the mouth of the Great Whale River. Kuujuarapik is Nunavik's southernmost village. It is also unique as it is a bicultural community of Inuit (Kuujuarapik) and Cree (Whapmagoostui). Ancestors of the Inuit, as well as Cree, have occupied the area for roughly 2,800 years.

Population: 603

Canadian Rangers: 26 (includes Rangers from the Whapmagoostui community)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 11

Location: Latitude 55° 17' North - Longitude 77° 45' West

Mingan Patrol

The community of Mingan is located on the edge of the St. Lawrence River, 200 kilometres to the east of Sept-Îles and twenty-eight kilometres to the west of Havre-Saint-Pierre. It covers a surface area of 18.13 square kilometres and is accessible by Route 138. Sixty-seven percent of the population is under thirty-five years of age. At the economic level, the community is working to develop the commercial fisheries sector.

Population: 421

Canadian Rangers: (Rangers from the Mingan community are part of the Havre-Saint-Pierre patrol)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 24

Location: Latitude 50° 18' North - Longitude 64° 02' West

Natashquan Patrol

Natashquan is located on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the reserve is situated 376 kilometres to the east of Sept-Îles and covers a surface area of 20.63 hectares. Seventy-four percent of the population is under thirty-five years of age. The main economic activities are associated with outfitting, commercial fisheries, and construction.

Population: 1,764

Canadian Rangers: 31 (includes Rangers from Aguanish and Pointe Parent)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 33

Location: Latitude 50° 11' North - Longitude 61° 49' West

Nemaska Patrol

The community of Nemaska is located west of Lake Champion, 240 kilometres northeast of Matagami, between Lake Mistassini and James Bay.

Population: 831 (2016)

Canadian Rangers: 16

Location: Latitude 51° 41' 07" North - Longitude 76° 15' 31" West

Puvirnituk Patrol

Two explanations are commonly given for the peculiar name of the Puvirnituk village. The first recounts that many years ago, migrating caribou attempted to cross the river, but many were swept downstream and drowned. Their carcasses, it seems, were washed up on shore, where they began to rot, producing a putrid odour. The other explanation of the site's name tells how the people living in the area were once the victims of a deadly epidemic. In the end, there was no one left to bury the dead bodies. When the corpses began to decompose, the air was filled with an awful stench.

Population: 1,532

Canadian Rangers: 32

Junior Canadian Rangers: 67

Location: Latitude 60° 02' North - Longitude 77° 17' West

Quaqtaq Patrol

The village of Quaqtaq is located on the eastern shore of Diana Bay, near Ungava Bay. Up until the early 1930s, the location was known as Nuvukutaaq (the long point). However, according to stories still told, a man who once came to the area to hunt beluga found live parasites in his faeces. His hunting companions began to call the place Quaqtaq (tapeworm), and the use of this new name spread rapidly.

Population: 333

Canadian Rangers: 22

Junior Canadian Rangers: 10

Location: Latitude 61° 02' North - Longitude 69° 38' West

Saint-Augustin Patrol

Saint-Augustin, one of the largest villages on the Lower North Shore, is located on the east bank of the St. Augustine River, across from the Innu community of Pakua

Shipi. Spread out across undulating hills, the village is striking with the sandy banks of the St. Augustine River in the foreground.

Population: 1,362

Canadian Rangers: 26 (includes Rangers from La Tabatière and Mutton Bay)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 30

Location: Latitude 51° 13' North - Longitude 58° 39' West

Salluit Patrol

Salluit stands at the far end of the narrow Sugluk Inlet, ten kilometres inland from Hudson Strait, hidden between high, rugged mountains rising close to 500 metres. An explanation for the name of this village recounts that, long ago, some Inuit were told the region abounded with wildlife. Yet when they arrived, they found almost nothing to eat and, as a result, suffered near starvation.

Population: 1,364

Canadian Rangers: 20

Junior Canadian Rangers: 18

Location: Latitude 62° 12' North - Longitude 75° 38' West

Schefferville Patrol

The city of Schefferville was born in 1947, when the first permanent prospecting facilities were built. The Iron Ore Company of Canada ceased activities in Schefferville in 1982, after which almost all of the city's citizens left. Schefferville takes its name from Bishop Lionel Scheffer, who served as the Vicar Apostolic of Labrador (1945-1966).

Population: 207

Canadian Rangers: 25 (includes Rangers from the Kawawachikamach and Matimekossh communities)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 9

Location: Latitude 55° 10' North - Longitude 66° 52' West

La Tabatière Patrol

The name Tabatière comes from the Aboriginal word tabaquen, meaning sorcerer. Innu who traded with settlers in La Tabatière usually consulted a sorcerer-soothsayer before heading on a hunting trip. Today, La Tabatière's fish plant is the largest on the Coast, processing crab, scallops, and shrimp.

Population: 499

Canadian Rangers: (Rangers from the La Tabatière community are part of the Saint-Augustin patrol)

Junior Canadian Rangers: 33

Location: Latitude 50° 49' North - Longitude 58° 57' West

Tasiujaq Patrol

Tasiujaq, which means "resembling a lake," actually refers to the whole of the basin formed by the lake. Leaf Basin is renowned for its high tides, which regularly exceed fifteen metres.

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Population: 256

Canadian Rangers: 24

Junior Canadian Rangers: 24

Location: Latitude 58° 42' North - Longitude 69° 56' West

Umiujaq Patrol

Located about 160 kilometres north of Kuujjuarapik, Umiujaq was established in 1986. In light of the La Grande hydro-electric project and the proposed Great Whale hydro-electric project, Inuit negotiated a clause into the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement that provided for the relocation of Inuit from Kuujjuarapik to Lac Guillaume-Delisle.

Population: 441

Canadian Rangers: 24

Junior Canadian Rangers: 24

Location: Latitude 56° 33' North - Longitude 76° 33' West

Unamen Shipu (La Romaine) Patrol

La Romaine, located at the mouth of the Olomane River, holds a small French-speaking population and a large Innu community known as Unamen Shipu. Unamen Shipu means red ochre, alluding to the reddish colour of spring's surface runoff. Today, many residents work in the lobster fishing industry and in private sport fishing camps.

Population: 976

Canadian Rangers: 10

Junior Canadian Rangers: 37

Location: Latitude 50° 13' North - Longitude 60° 40' West

Waskaganish Patrol

Waskaganish is sometimes considered to be the oldest Cree settlement. It was a meeting place for the Cree and Europeans to trade when the Hudson's Bay Company established its first trading post, Fort Charles, in 1670. Waskaganish, meaning "little house," dates back to the eighteenth century, when the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post became an outpost to Eastmain's more important establishment.

Population: 2,010

Canadian Rangers: 26

Junior Canadian Rangers: 17

Location: Latitude 51° 12' North - Longitude 78° 46' West

Wemindji Patrol

At the mouth of the Maquatua River lies Wemindji – "painted mountains." The name originates from the ochre found in the hills. This ochre was mixed with grease to make paint. This small community, once located on an island on Vieux-Comptoir River, was also called Painted Hills, Old Factory, and Vieux-Comptoir. In 1959, the village was moved toward the coast, where overall conditions were more favourable.

Population: 1,356

Canadian Rangers: 29

Junior Canadian Rangers: 20

Location: Latitude 52° 55' North - Longitude 78° 47' West

Whapmagoostui Patrol

Whapmagoostui ("Beluga River") is located at the northernmost part of the Cree territories in Quebec, at the mouth of the Great Whale River feeding into Hudson Bay. Whapmagoostui remains the only Cree community without access by land. Traditionally, northern Cree would go to the mouths of the Great and Small Whale Rivers in the summer to hunt for beluga, trade, and socialize.

Population: 720

Canadian Rangers: 0

Junior Canadian Rangers: 18

Location: Latitude 55° 15' North - Longitude 77° 45' West



2 CRPG Headquarters

As of 13 January 2022

Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu

Sgt Dominic Allard
Lt Margaret Amos
Cpl Shir Azizi
Capt Jérémie B. Robitaille
Sgt Philippe Beaupré
WO Steeve Belanger
WO Eric Benoit
Pte F Laurie Berichon
Cpl Carolane Bernier
Sgt Maxime Boucher
Cpl Yan Boucher
Sgt Maxime Bourdeau
Maj Philippe Branco
MCpl Marc-Andre Caron
Sgt Jonathan Carson
Capt Traian Constantin
Sgt David Courcy
MWO Patrick Cyr
Cpl Patrick Desloges
Sgt Maxime Despaties
Cpl Joanie Ducharme
WO Antoine Duff
Capt Manon Duguay
WO Daniel Dussault
Cpl Samuel Enright
WO Milton Estrada
MCpl Alexandra Faggion
Civ Amira Fayad
CWO Mathieu Giard
Lt Martin Gladu
Maj Nicolas Hilareguy
WO Isabelle Imbeault
Sgt Robinson Jasmin
Cpl Simon Ladouceur
Maj Benoit Lafleur
WO Marc Lalancette
WO Jocelyn Lamotte

MWO John Lawton
Maj Benjamin Leclerc
Cpl Marie-Claude Leduc
WO Gabriel Lemire
WO Serge Létourneau
LCol Benoit Mainville
MCpl Roger Martin
WO Neil McElligott
WO Sylvain Morel
Sgt Flickinger Oidi
WO Étienne Ouellet
Capt Julie Pagé
Cpl Olivier Potvin
WO Matthew Ramsay
MCpl Maxime Raymond
WO Nicolas Tessier
MCpl Hugo Tremblay
Capt Mario Tremblay
WO Demetrios Varelas
WO Marc-Antoine Vincent
Capt Jean-François Wehrung
WO Mischa White
WO William Wong
Sgt Louis-Philippe Yanakis
Capt Helene St-Louis

Val-Bélair

MWO Dany Boudreault
Sgt Jean-François Gagné
Sgt Alain Garnier
Cpl Bernard Guay Dumas
Sgt Pierre Lachance
WO Derrick Noonan
WO Martin Porlier
WO Steven Robertson
WO Sébastien St-Pierre
WO Martin Tremblay
Lt(N) Mathieu Vigneault

Canadian Rangers in 2 CRPG

As of 13 January 2022

Akulivik

Rgr Lucassie Angiyou
 MCpl Lizzie Amamatuaq
 Cpl William Nappatuk
 Rgr Robby Cruikshank
 Rgr Victoria Assapa
 Rgr Jimmy Alayco
 Cpl Napatsi Ivilla
 Rgr Joanassie
 Amamatuaq
 Rgr Stanley Iyaituk
 Rgr Caroline Alayco
 Rgr Lucy Aullaluk
 MCpl Markusie Adams
 Cpl Solomonie Alayco
 Rgr Joanassie Aliqu
 Rgr Lucassie Aullaluk
 Rgr Juanassie Qaqutuk
 MCpl Lucassie Qiluqi
 Rgr Simon Echalook
 Rgr Leena Alayco
 MCpl Markusi Qinuajuak
 Cpl Markusi Aullaluk
 Rgr Jimmy Ematuluk
 Sgt Daniel Qinuajuak
 Rgr Matewsie Qiluqi
 Rgr Alasuak Alayco

Aupaluk

Sgt George Eetook
 MCpl Lazarussie Grey
 Rgr Nancy Kauki
 MCpl Martin Scott
 Cpl Eva Grey
 Rgr Vallee Gordon
 Rgr Willie Angutinguak
 Rgr Harry Gordon

Blanc-Sablon

Sgt Warren Letto
 Cpl Martin Fequet
 Rgr Bryan Shattler
 Rgr Wilson Beaudoin
 Cpl Jeffrey Hobbs
 Rgr Shawn Lavallée
 Rgr Derek Driscoll
 Rgr Alexis Beaudoin

Rgr Gareth Fequet-Buckle
 Rgr Anthony Joncas
 MCpl Alphonse Beaudoin
 Rgr Eric Monger Jones
 Rgr Damon Etheridge-Fequet
 Rgr Gordon Etherridge
 MCpl Wayne Beaudoin
 Rgr Reginald Bolger
 Rgr Dany Gaudreault
 Cpl Barbara Bolger
 MCpl David Bolger
 Rgr Andy Lavallée
 Rgr Garry Etheridge
 MCpl Benny Dumas
 MCpl Jean-Guy Jones
 Rgr Stephen Woodford
 Rgr Daryl Hobbs
 MCpl Gino Beaudoin
 Cpl Trevor Chevalier
 Rgr Kimberley Buckle
 Cpl Ivan Etheridge
 Rgr Daniel Hobbs

Bonne-Espérance

MCpl Michel Fequet
 Rgr Ricky Thomas
 Rgr Dwight Anderson
 Rgr Angela Spingle
 Rgr Nathaniel Letto
 Rgr Keith Bilodeau
 Rgr Douglas Woodland
 Cpl Mitchell Griffin
 Rgr Joey Spingle
 Rgr Judy Ann Fequet
 Rgr Brendon Smith
 Rgr Linda Chevalier
 Rgr Darcy Fequet
 Rgr Brandon Fequet
 Rgr Colton Roberts
 Rgr Marsha Wellman
 MCpl Earl Spingle
 Rgr Dylan Bilodeau
 Cpl Kyle Bilodeau
 Rgr Rodney Thomas

MCpl Anthony Thomas
 Rgr Donovan Griffin
 Rgr Samantha Wellman
 Sgt Wayne Spingle
 Cpl Jason Bilodeau
 Rgr Shaun Griffin
 Rgr Tod Holt-Wellman
 MCpl Riess Bilodeau
 Rgr Wyatt Roberts
 Rgr Pierre Drudge
 Rgr Maurice Keats
 Rgr Sabrina Wellman
 MCpl Jared Rogers
 Cpl Gordie Buckle

Chisasibi

Rgr Warren Duff
 MCpl Lucas Spencer-Otter
 Sgt Alvin Cash
 MCpl John Stewart
 Rgr Curtis Tapiatic
 Rgr Roderick Pachano
 Cpl Marcel Wasipabano
 Rgr Frederick Duff
 Cpl Patrick Sealhunter
 MCpl John Sam
 MCpl Madeline Snowboy
 Cpl Christine Chewanish
 Cpl Raymond Snowboy
 Rgr Adrian Sam
 Rgr Rubin McNeely
 Rgr Derek Sealhunter
 MCpl James Snowboy
 Rgr Patrick Snowboy

Eastmain

Rgr Stella Snowboy
 Cpl Nancy Mayappo
 Rgr Jared Williams
 MCpl Richard Cheezo
 Rgr Amy Williams
 Rgr Toby Mayappo
 Rgr Christopher Weapenicappo-Stephen

Rgr Denis Moses
 Rgr Norman Jr. Cheezo
 MCpl Darryl Gilpin
 Rgr Misty Cheezo
 Sgt Norman Cheezo
 MCpl Jonathan Cheezo
 MCpl Andrea
 Mamianskum
 Rgr Duane Shanush
 Rgr Colin Shanush

Harrington Harbour

Cpl Dwayne Anderson
 Rgr Samuel Butt
 MCpl Colin Anderson
 Rgr Terry McKinnon
 MCpl Perry Anderson
 Rgr Jesse Rowsell
 Cpl Wesley Anderson
 Rgr Andrew Anderson
 MCpl Drew Mansbridge
 Rgr Mélanie Monger
 Rgr John Evans
 Rgr Agatha Shattler
 MCpl Rowena Osborne
 Capt Gordon Foreman
 MCpl Peter Waye
 Rgr Sylva Marcoux
 Rgr Clarence Cox
 Cpl Jamie Nadeau
 Rgr Lee Turgeon
 Rgr Merlin Osborne
 Rgr Joel Anderson
 Rgr Marco Marcoux
 Rgr Joey Anderson
 Lt Raymond Jones
 Rgr Terence Anderson
 MCpl Dean Strickland
 Sgt Daryl Ransom
 Rgr Chandra Nadeau
 MCpl Philip Osborne
 Rgr Wayne Foreman
 Rgr Ernie Waye
 Rgr Dusty Nadeau-
 Rowsell
 Cpl Ryan Green

Havre-Saint-Pierre

Rgr Jean-Philippe Doyle
 Lt Claude Picard
 Rgr Germain Louis

Rgr Daniel Noel
 Rgr André Pauzé
 Rgr Alexis Boudreau
 Rgr Johan Jomphe
 Rgr Donavan Boudreau
 MCpl Roxanne
 Boudreau
 Cpl Claude Prince
 Rgr Tommy Jomphe
 MCpl Joel Cormier
 Cpl Roland Bellefleur
 Rgr Uapukun
 Mestokosho-
 Mckenzie
 Rgr Nico Napess
 Rgr Gilles Noel
 Rgr Alex Jomphe
 Rgr Jonathan Thibeault
 Rgr Raymond Napess
 Rgr Jérôme Richard
 Rgr Pier-Luc Landry
 MCpl Florent Richard
 MCpl Tommy Boudreau
 MCpl Michel Thibeault
 Rgr Adam Desjardins
 Rgr Hubert Tremblay
 MCpl Olivier Richard
 Rgr André Charest
 Cpl Serge Picard
 Sgt Dollard Boudreau
 MCpl Charles
 Mestikosho
 Rgr Michèle Boudreau
 Rgr Timmy Lavallee
 Rgr David Boudreau
 Rgr Danny Napess
 Rgr Martin Noel
 Rgr Nicole Bellefleur
 Rgr Stephane Landry
 Rgr Mathieu Leclerc
 Cpl Danny Prince
 Rgr Mario Thériault
 Rgr Hugo Cormier

Îles de la Madeleine

Rgr Donald Chiasson
 MCpl Claude Vigneau
 Rgr Dominic Reid-
 Decoste
 Cpl Bruno Lapierre
 Rgr Manon Turbide

Rgr Nathalie Leblanc
 Rgr Jean-Louis LeBlanc
 Rgr Simon-Yves
 Bourgeois
 Rgr Guy Lapierre
 Rgr Arthur Gaudet
 Rgr Bertrand Aucoin
 Rgr Wayne Dickson
 Rgr Dany Gaudet
 Rgr Paul Dickson
 MCpl Alain Brodeur
 MCpl Nancy Boisselle
 Rgr Charles-William
 Bourgeois
 Rgr Patrick Lapierre
 Rgr Louis-Philippe
 Bourdon-Gill
 Rgr Paula Clarke
 Rgr Steve Bourgeois
 Rgr Pierre-Luc Richard
 Rgr Marc-Antoine Cyr
 Sgt Serge Chevarie
 Rgr Dany Turbide
 Cpl Gérald Lapierre
 Rgr Michel Bourgeois
 Rgr Rodrigue Dubé
 Rgr Guy Thériault
 MCpl Paul Hébert
 Rgr Simon Dumais St-
 Onge
 Cpl Rodrigue Lapierre
 MCpl Donald Leblanc

Inukjuak

Rgr Nullukie
 Oweetaluktuk
 Rgr Jobie Oweetaluktuk
 Rgr Davidee Mina
 MCpl Charlie Iqaluk
 Rgr Andrew Moorhouse
 Rgr Susie Kasudluak
 Rgr Gary Metuq
 Rgr Bobby Epoo
 Rgr Tamusie Kasudluak
 Rgr Alec Epoo
 Sgt Éric Kasudluak
 Rgr Elijassie Elijassiapik
 Rgr Charlie Naktairaluk
 Rgr Markusie Ohaituk
 Rgr John Nowra
 Rgr Simeonie Ohaituk

Rgr Simeonie
Nalukturuk
Cpl Elaissie Irqumia
Rgr Bobby Tukai
Rgr Charlie Eljassiapik
Rgr Levi Aculiak
MCpl Alan Palliser
Rgr Nancy Maina
Rgr Bobby Echalook
Rgr Megan Kasudluak
Cpl Johnny Nalukturuk
Palliser
Rgr Kitty Kritik
Rgr Robert Simard
Cpl Elizabeth Nalukturuk
Rgr Jobie Epoo
Rgr Menda Eljassiapik
Cpl Paul Palliser
MCpl Peter Nutaraluk-
Qumaluk
Rgr Johnny Echalook
MCpl Betsy Epoo
MCpl Davidie
Naqtairaaluk

Ivujivik

MCpl Elisapie
Lamoureux
Rgr Julia Qisiiq
MCpl Charlie Tarkirk
Rgr Henry Luuku
Sgt Daniel Jaaka
Cpl Jaaku Mangiuk
Rgr Louisa Tarkiasuk
Rgr Paula Angiyou

Kangiqsualujjuaq

Rgr Maggie Obed
Rgr Eva Ittulak
Rgr Johnny Annanack
Rgr Matthew Etok
Rgr George Thomassiah
MCpl Nancy Kooktook
Rgr Madeline Annanack
Cpl Jacob Angnatuk
Rgr Willie Angnatuk
Rgr Brendan Laroche
Rgr Elijah Imbeault
MCpl Joseph Annanack
Rgr Nik Jararuse
Rgr Lane Annanack

Rgr Joe Annanack
Cpl Aputiarjuk Ittulak
Rgr Nicolas Annanack
Rgr Lucassie Angnatuk
MCpl Sammy
Angnatwenuk
Rgr Adam Annanack
Rgr Shelly Annahatak
Cpl Mary Annanack
Rgr Vanita Weetaltuk
Rgr Stacey Annanack
Sgt Thomas Annanack
MCpl Sammy Etok
Rgr Kenny Angnatuk

Kangiqsujuuaq

Rgr Bobby Ilimasaut
Rgr Elena Alaku
MCpl Noah Annahatak
Rgr Willie Alaku
Rgr Markusi Qisiiq
Rgr Sandy Jaaka
Rgr Uttuqi Arnaituq
MCpl Lalie Sakiagak
Cpl Bobby Alaku
Sgt Juusipi Qisiiq
Rgr Kululak Alaku
Rgr Mary Anogak
MCpl Elaia Irniq
Rgr Jamie Kongiak Greig
Rgr Markusie
Amaamattuak
Cpl Jessica Qisiiq
MCpl Charlie Arngak
Rgr Elijah Qisiiq
Cpl Noah Anogak
Rgr Noah Uqittuq
Rgr Adamie Tuniq
Rgr Matthew Arngak
Rgr Saima Qumaaluk
Rgr Minnie Alaku

Kangirsuk

Rgr Katir Airo
MCpl Sammy Ooging
MCpl Zebedee
Annahatak
Sgt Tommy Kudluk
Rgr Allan Augiak
Rgr Willie Oovaout
Rgr Raymond Oningnak

Cpl Suzanna Onalik
Cpl Sheila Simigak
Rgr Janice Keleutak
Rgr Venesa Ribeiro
Rgr David Airo
Rgr Jonassie Kudluk
Rgr Marcussie Eetook
Cpl Tommy Annahatak
Rgr Elijah Simiunie
Cpl Stefan Chan
Rgr Elaia Annahatak
Cpl Peter Annahatak
Rgr Brian Takolik

Kuujuuaq

Rgr François Crepeau
Rgr Tommy Makiuk
Rgr Jeannie Makiuk
Rgr Eva Sequaluk
Rgr Leanna Angnatuk
Cpl Sandy Gordon
Rgr Lucy Johannes
MCpl Larry May
MCpl Jimmy Gordon
Rgr Idal Angnatuk
Cpl William Hubloo
Rgr Jacob Annahatak
MCpl Angma Angma
Rgr Sandy Clunas
Rgr Tommy Saunders
Rgr Mary Angnatuk
Cpl Sandy Tooma
Cpl Jonathan Epoo
Sgt Simeonie Berthe
MCpl Moses Angnatuk
Rgr Alena Stevenson
MCpl Sarah Berthe

Kuujuuarapik

Cpl Stanley George
Rgr Samson
Petagumskum
Rgr Sandy Petagumskum
Rgr Richard Ittoshat
Rgr Stephen George
Rgr Tommy Nivixie
Rgr Bobby
Petagumskum
Rgr John Ittoshat
MCpl Minnie Ittoshat
Rgr Cory Burlingham

MCpl Brian Jones
 Rgr WillieRichard
 Novalinga
 Rgr Rock Sheshamush
 Rgr Paul-Matthew
 Petagumskum
 Cpl Jeffrey
 Petagumskum
 Rgr Gordon Snowboy
 Rgr Sheila Gordon
 Rgr Alec Tuckatuck
 Cpl Michael Snowboy
 Cpl Silas Cookie
 Sgt Reggie Kitty

Natashquan

Rgr Eugène Kaltush
 Cpl Andy Rochette
 Rgr Nicolas Longuépée
 Sgt Alain Deraps
 Rgr Rolande Blais
 Rgr Athanase
 Mestokosho
 Rgr Euclide Blais
 Rgr Louis Déraps
 Cpl Reginald Wapistan
 Rgr Simon Hounsell
 Rgr Angie Duguay
 Rgr Jean Blais
 MCpl Philippe-Mathias
 Mestenapeo
 Rgr Roger Noël
 Rgr PaulayAnne Munger
 Nadeau
 Rgr Carol Harvey
 Cpl Olivier Hounsell
 Rgr Luc Mestokosho
 Rgr Bruno Courtois
 Rgr Gino Grégoire
 Rgr Marius Mestokosho-
 Bellefleur
 Rgr Richard Mark
 Rgr Sylvain Tanguay
 Rgr Laurent Mestokosho
 MCpl Henri Wapistan
 Rgr David Bergeron
 Rgr Rejean Blais
 Rgr Robin Mestenapeo
 MCpl Victor Deraps
 MCpl Eric Gallant
 Rgr Jeffrey Wapistan

Rgr Marcel Ishpatau
 Cpl Michaël Déraps
 Rgr Dan-Alexandre
 Ishpatao-Bellefleur
 Rgr Sylvestre
 Mestokosho
 MCpl Jean-Christophe
 Blais
 Rgr Alain Bellefleur

Nemaska

Rgr Marian Nyitrai
 Rgr John-Paul
 Wapachee
 Rgr Tyra Tanoush-
 Fleming
 Rgr Jackson Jolly
 Rgr Kenny Jolly
 Rgr Shayne Decoursay
 Cpl Shane James
 Rgr Renée Saganash
 Rgr Sandra Kiyla Trapper
 MCpl Joel George
 Rgr Candice Wapachee
 Rgr Noreen Wapachee
 Rgr Nicolas Carbonneau
 MCpl Neil Wapachee
 Rgr James Wapachee
 Sgt Clarence Jolly
 Cpl Sammy Matches
 MCpl Robert Capississit
 Rgr Richard-Philip Jolly
 Rgr Callum Morrow
 Cpl Terrance Wapachee

Puvirnituk

Rgr Paulusi Beaulne
 Cpl Juanasi Tulugak
 Sgt Jean-Marie Beaulne
 Rgr Inupak Ittukallak
 Cpl Levi Amarualik
 Rgr Paulusi Novalinga
 Rgr Elena Alasuak
 MCpl Mina Uqaituk
 Cpl Juani Beaulne
 Rgr Paulusi Kenuajuak
 Cpl Maggie Nutaraluk
 Rgr Sarah Amamatuak
 Rgr Josie Tulugak
 Rgr Sailasi Ittukallak
 Rgr James Napartuk

Rgr Mustafa Dedeci
 MCpl Michael
 Amamatuak
 Rgr Jimmy Tkalak
 Cpl Lindsay-Ann Uqaituk
 Rgr Simon Novalinga
 MCpl Markusie Assapa
 Rgr Suasie Irqumia
 Rgr Martha Aupaluk
 Rgr Eric Ittukallak
 MCpl Billy Palliser
 Cpl Nicolas Alasuak
 MCpl Peter Ittukallak
 Rgr Michael Irqumia
 Cpl Stevie Weetaltuk
 Qumaluk
 Rgr Muncy Novalinga

Quaqtaq

Cpl Zacharias Annatok
 Rgr Adamie Michaud
 MCpl Lisa Putulik
 Sgt Elijah Angnatuk
 MCpl Tommy Tukkiapik
 Cpl JohnnyDaniel
 Angnatuk
 Rgr Lizzie Kulula
 Rgr Jobie Aupaluk
 Rgr Lucy Angnatuk
 Rgr Putulik Kulula-Lance
 Rgr Bobby Deer
 Rgr Aaron Saunders
 Rgr Willie Jararusie
 Rgr Bobby Pootoolik
 Rgr Sammy Tukkiapik
 MCpl Jusipi Kulula
 MCpl Simiunie Tukkiapik
 Cpl Moses Tukkiapik
 Rgr Norman Arnatuk
Saint-Augustin
 Rgr Kathy Green
 Rgr Dereck McKinnon
 MCpl Bruno Lessard
 Rgr Corey Robertson
 Rgr Pierre Mestenapeo
 Rgr Taylor-David Chubbbs
 Shattler
 MCpl Damian Buffitt
 Cpl Karen Gallichon
 Rgr Brian Lalo
 Rgr Lorette Gallibois

Cpl Felix Fequet
 Rgr Michael Despres
 Cpl Zeno Lavallée
 Rgr Jean-Robert Mark
 Rgr Brett Marcoux
 MCpl Travis Green
 Sgt James McKinnon
 Rgr Lanny Robertson
 Rgr Martin Robertson
 Rgr Dominic Boland-
 Fequet
 Rgr Trevor Robertson-
 Green
 Rgr Christiana Gallichon
 Rgr Tyrone Boland
 Rgr Roger Lalo
 Rgr Jesse Maurice-
 McKinnon
 MCpl Serge Mestekosho
 Cpl Perry McKinnon
 Cpl Richard Morency
 Cpl Jean-Yves Courtois
 Rgr Geneva Robertson
 Rgr Lisette McKinnon
 MCpl Collin Robertson
 MCpl Fabian Kennedy
 Cpl Alexis Mestenameo
 MCpl Alfred Green
 Rgr François
 Mestenameo

Salluit

MCpl Putulik Cameron
 Rgr Vilisie Tayara
 Rgr Catherine Bishop
 Rgr Johnny Kadjulik
 Rgr Steven Walker
 Rgr Nuluki Ningiurluut
 Rgr Epervik Parr
 Cpl Charlie Pinguaqtuq
 Rgr Willie Alaku
 Rgr Pierre Lebreux
 MCpl Manuel-Pierre
 Cloutier
 Rgr Ealla Kaitaq
 Sgt Michael Cameron
 Rgr Arnaituk Pauyungie-
 Caron
 Cpl Daniel Kaitak

Schefferville

Rgr George Jean Pierre
 Sandy
 MCpl Marjolaine
 McKenzie-Picard
 Rgr Donat Pinette
 Rgr Lydia McKenzie
 MCpl Amanda Swappie
 MCpl Gervais Boudreau
 MCpl Noah Swappie
 Rgr Andy Dominique
 Rgr Gilles Huard
 Rgr Michael Ashini
 Rgr Louise
 Mameanskum
 Rgr Cheyenne Swappie
 Cpl Derek Einish
 Rgr Kevin Barclay
 Cpl Aaron Einish
 Rgr Lina McKenzie
 MCpl David Swappie
 Rgr Lawrence
 Mameanskum
 Cpl Sunny Joseph Félix
 Eric Lapierre
 Rgr Peter-Paul
 Mameanskum
 Cpl Aben Mokoush
 Rgr Alexandra McKenzie
 Rgr Donovan Ambroise
 Rgr Beau André
 Rgr Isaac Swappie
 MCpl Bobby McKenzie
 Rgr Shane Vollant-Einish
 Rgr Lynne McKenzie
 Rgr Sandy Shecanapish
 MCpl Moses Swappie
 Rgr Louise Shecanapish
 Rgr Trisha-Marie Bacon-
 Shecanapish
 Rgr Edward Einish
 Rgr Norman Chescappio

Tasiujaq

Cpl Lazarusie Angnatuk
 Rgr Tommy Cain
 Sgt Willie Angnatuk
 Cpl Mary Cain
 Rgr Ken Labbé
 Rgr Levina Kritik
 Rgr Johnny Munick

Rgr Tommy Annahatak
 Cpl MarkJaco Angnatuk
 Rgr Peter Angnatuk
 Rgr Norman Kritik
 MCpl Tommy Annanack
 Rgr Willie Cain
 MCpl Willie Berthe
 Rgr Allan Gordon
 Cpl Anita Munick

Umiujaq

Rgr Mathieu Chabot
 Rgr Johnny Kasudluak
 Rgr Simeonie Naluktuk
 Rgr Josie Tomic
 Rgr Michael Naluktuk
 MCpl Lucassie Tooktoo
 Rgr Mina Napartuk
 Pte(R) Joshua Sala
 Rgr Charlie Kumarluk
 Rgr Walter Crow
 Rgr Lucassie Tookalook
 Rgr Anisie Nivixie
 Rgr Alex Nivixie
 Rgr Putulik Tooktoo
 Rgr Tuami Weetaltuk
 Cpl Angusa Cookie

Unamen Shipu

Rgr Henri Mark
 Sgt Gaston Bellefleur
 Rgr Hubert Mark
 Rgr Jo-David Mark
 Rgr Omer Lalo
 Rgr Joseph Mestenameo
 Rgr Robert Bellefleur
 Rgr Jérémie Mark-
 Bellefleur
 Rgr Daniel Mark
 Rgr Dex-Miguel Jeremie
 Bellefleur
 Rgr Adelard Bellefleur
 Rgr Serge Marck
 Rgr Daniel Mark
 MCpl Dieudonné
 Uzubahimana
 Rgr Yan Mallec
 Rgr Jean Lalo
 MCpl Alexis Lalo
 Rgr Fabien Guillemette

Waskaganish

Rgr David Katapatuk
Rgr Merlin Whiskeychan
Rgr Gordon Weistche
Cpl Harry Erless
MCpl Jeremiah Hester
Rgr Norman Jolly
Rgr Patrice Ouimet
MCpl Munro Hester
Rgr Reggie Hester
Rgr Clayton Jolly
Rgr Joel Stephen
Rgr Bert Erless
Rgr Patricia Erless
Rgr Dinah Hester
Rgr Isaiah Blackned
Rgr Clint Diamond
Sgt William Hester
Cpl Rennie Salt
Cpl Kelly Diamond

Wemindji

Rgr Jeremy Matches
Cpl Brianna Linklater-
 Georgekish
Rgr David Atsynia
Rgr Dale Mark
Rgr Trevor Gilpin
Rgr Barry Minequakan
Rgr Cody Mark
Cpl Lindy Georgekish
Cpl Daniel
 Asquabaneskum
Rgr Aaron Ferris-
 Osborne
Rgr Leonard
 Asquabaneskum
Rgr Ronald Tomatuk
Rgr Vern Gilpin
Rgr Ashley Matches
Cpl Andy Atsynia
Rgr Wayne Morrison
MCpl Marcel
 Asquabaneskum
Rgr Konrad Jurgens
Rgr Arnold Georgekish

Rgr Corey
 Asquabaneskum
Rgr Stanley
 Shashaweskum
MCpl Derek Mark
Sgt Wilfred Georgekish
Rgr Ian Stewart

MCpl Léon
 Asquabaneskum
Cpl Henry Stewart
Rgr Tyler Stewart
MCpl Katherine
 Georgekish



73 | **Personnels-cadres militaires et civil**
Military and civilian personnel,
Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu & Val-Bélair, Québec

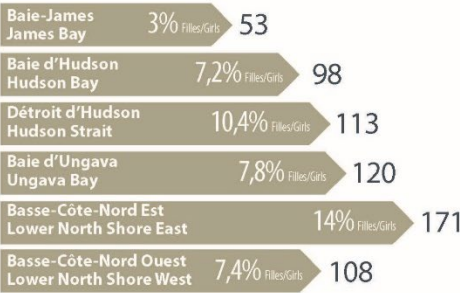
28 Patrouilles RC CR Patrols	35 Patrouilles RJC JCR Patrols	RC/CR 19 à/à 79 ans/years Le plus longtemps actif 56 ans Longest active 56 years
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LANGUES – LANGUAGES

Cree 10% | **English** 27% | **Français** 21% | **Innu** 3%
Inuktitut 37% | **Naskapi** 2%

RANGERS JUNIORS CANADIENS
CANADIAN JUNIOR RANGERS



2 CRPG "At a glance," 2020

Junior Canadian Rangers in 2 CRPG

As of 13 January 2022

Akulivik

Jr Sivuak Angiyou
Jr Alec Alayco
Jr Diane Amamatuak
Jr Christopher Angiyou
Jr Junior Peter
Qinuajuak
Jr Aisa Alayco
Jr Sam Alayco
Jr Louisa Lizzie Alayco
Jr Laly Aliqu
Jr Nunga (Shawn)
Aullaluk
Jr David Anauta
Jr Jessica Irumia
Jr Malisa Aullaluk
Jr Bobby Alayco
Jr Sakiriasi Amamatuak
Jr Lizzie Quara Angiyou
Jr Catherine Emily
Angiyou
Jr Jamisie Itee Aliqu
Jr Jacqueline Ivillaq
Jr Harry Qinuajuak
Jr Vanessa Qinuajuak
Jr Selena Aullaluk
Jr Benjamin Qaqutuk
Jr Shawn Qaqutuk
Jr Lazarusie Qinuajuak
Jr Willie Qaqutuk
Jr Lasajusie Amamatuak
Jr Kim Amamatuak

Aupaluk

Jr Annie Tracy Mucco
Jr Markusie (Nelson)
Angma
Jr Koby Kulula
Jr Daisy Lucassie
Jr Randy Augiak
Jr Aloupa Grey Eetook
Jr Conia Cain
Jr Sandy Lucassie
Jr Peter Daniel
Akpahatak
Jr Jason Onningnak
Jr Etua Ezekiel

Jr Felix Thomassiah
Jr Adamie Lucassie
Jr Amélia Grey
Jr Simon Kauki-
Angutinguak
Jr Gabriel Thomassiah
Jr Amanda Anna Sheila
Oninnak
Jr Gloria Forrest
Jr Johnny Kevin
Akpahatak
Jr Adamie Grey
Jr Nathan Onningnak
Jr Brianna Kulula
Jr Lorne Angutinguak

Blanc-Sablon

Sgt Natasha Theresa
Bolger
Jr Jeremy Rogers Jones
Jr Drew Pike
MCpl Shelby Woodford
Jr Julianna Hart-Hobbs
Jr Kara Harding-Jones
Jr Jayden Letemplier
Jr Andy Letemplier
Jr Kyle Jordan Jones
Jr Taya Purcell
Jr Jesse Rogers Jones
Jr Dustin Pike
Jr Alexandra Osborne
Jr Allie Marie Louise
Dumaresque
Jr Ryan Chislett-Hobbs
Jr Simon Buckle
Jr Rico Chisslet-Hobbs
Jr Nicholas Lamothe
Jr Kaelie Fequet
Jr Caitlin Purcell
Jr Paige Abby Griffin
Jr Tory Brad Letto
Jr Jayce Flynn
Jr Clarissa Blagdon
Jr Kayden Butt
Jr Mylie Strickland
Jr Hailey Woodford
Jr Tory Letto

Jr Jake Letto
Jr Cédrick Dubé
Jr Gracie Letto
Jr Carlie Faith Jones
Letemplier
Jr Jayden Dumaresque
Jr Sidnie Driscoll
Jr Tessa Chevalier
Jr Edouard Joncas
Jr Naomie Fequet
Jr Félix Dunn
Jr Andrew Samuel
Ryland

Bonne-Espérance

Jr Abigail Brianna Smith
Jr Landyn Buckle
Jr Evan Griffin
Jr Cole Thomas
Jr Sasha Lavallee
Jr Jacob Chevalier
Jr Jack Drudge
Jr Collin Goddard
Jr Aiden Griffin
Jr Austin Smith
Jr Samantha Roberts
Jr Samuel Spingle
Jr Sydney Roberts
Jr Jerzie Maurice-Keats
Jr Payton Roberts
Jr Noah Chevalier
Jr Juliana Roberts
Jr Sebastien Lavallee
Jr Sianna Lavallee
Jr Ava Maurice
Jr Lucas Roberts
Jr Miguel Keats-Griffin
Jr Mya O'Brien
Jr Mia Spingle
Jr Faith Spingle
Jr Hayden Alisha
McDonald
Jr Luca Bilodeau
Jr Hope Griffin
Jr Blake Goddard

Chevery

MCpl Mathis Perron
Sgt Zachary Turcotte
Cpl Jack Martin
Jr Bastien Perron
Jr Theo Strickland

Chisasibi

Jr Keyshawn Chakapash
Jr Juwanna Duff
Jr Nicholas-Shawn
Chakapash
Jr Walter Duff
Jr Jonah Bosum
Jr Ramona Wasipabano
Jr Nathaniel Mataham
Jr Gavin Cookish-
Mataham
Jr Hailie Snowboy
Jr Bianca House
Jr Matthew Denarius
Jr Bryson Bearskin
Jr Alexander Longchap

Eastmain

Jr Jayden Snowboy
Jr Winston Moses
Jr Sebastian Mason
Jr Keenan Gilpin
Jr Geneva Charmaine
Mason
Jr Joshua Dylan Moses
Jr Skyler Cheezo
Jr Liberty Cheezo
Jr Quincy Moses

Harrington Harbour

Jr Christian Loyer
Sgt Kayla Anderson
Jr Paige Anderson
MCpl Jada Roberts
Jr Miguel Maynard
Bobbitt-Anderson
Jr Evan Anderson
Jr Claire Foreman
Jr Zoe Ransom
Jr Olivia Anderson

Havre-Saint-Pierre

Sgt Océane Barriault
Jr Guillaume Cyr

Jr Léo Prince
Jr Felix Cormier
Jr Théo Cyr
Jr Eliot Coderre
Jr Karelle Thériault
Jr Jean-Philippe
Vigneault
Jr Joly-Ann Vigneault
Jr Dérek Quessy
Jr Olivier Prévereau
Jr Guillaume Prévereau
Jr Joanie Cormier
Jr Grégoire Cormier
Jr Léon Arseneault
Jr Léanne Lavallée
Jr Jonathan Prince
Jr Edouard Thériault
Jr Océanne Jomphe
Jr Mélodie Pelletier
Jr Taïma Noel Guay
Jr Sam Richard
Jr Louis Richard
Jr Arthur Cormier
Jr Charles-Antoine
Dionne
Jr Jayson Richard
Jr Émile Arseneault
Jr Philip Prince
Jr Leo Carbonneau
Jr Logan Jenniss
Jr Bastien Methot
Jr Antoine Cyr
Jr Lucas Lavallée
Jr Mathis Lavallée

Îles-de-la-Madeleine

Jr Mattéo Fournier
Jr Emile Gaudet
Jr Noémy Bourgeois
Leblanc
Jr Mégane Boudreau
Jr Axele Leblanc
Jr Mégane Chiasson
Jr Danyk Vigneau
Jr William Langford
Jr Lea Thériault
Jr Alexis Boudreau
Jr Aisha Boudreau
Jr Jeremy Poirier
Jr Océanne Leblanc
Jr Alifée Cummings

Jr Marilou Jomphe
Jr Noémie Aucoin
Jr Rosie Poirier
Jr Camil Martinet
Jr Alicia Boudreau

Inukjuak

Jr Minnie Inukpuk
Jr Junior Weetaluktuk
Jr Eddy Ohaituk
Weetaluktuk
Jr Anna Idlout
Jr Penina Alasuak
Jr Ashley Kasudluak
Jr Joanne Palliser
Jr Dora Epoo
Jr Juusi Amidlak
Jr Mary-Anne Kutchaka
Jr Nikuusie Latisha
Smiler
Jr Mary-Jane Qinuajuak
Jr Annie Lizzie Tuckatuck
Jr Aloupa Kokkinerik
Jr Louisa Berthe
Jr Krista Kingalik
Jr Dora Samisack
Jr Chris Metuq
Jr Steven Kasudluak
Jr Jasmine Kasudluak
Jr Dora Sarah Ohaituk
Jr Allison St-Cyr
Jr Anita Amidlak
Jr Becky Ainalik
Jr Jacob Ohaituk
Jr Jady Quissa
Jr Janina Kalai
Jr Akumalik
Oweetaluktuk
Jr Charlie Kasudluak
Jr Simon Aliqu
Jr Carolina
Oweetaluktuk
Jr Lucassie Mikey
Naktialuk
Jr Taliruapik Eljasialuk
Tooktoo
Jr Jusipi Inukpuk
Jr Tommy Kasudluak
Jr Elisapi Okituk
Jr Cathy Caitlyn
Kasudluak

Jr Abraham Napartuk
Jr Noah Palliser
Jr Johnny Moorhouse
Jr Annie
Jr Anika Oweetaluktuk
Jr Tom Mina

Ivujivik

Jr Johnny Uqitartuq
Mangiuk
Jr Lydia Audlaluk
Jr Nancy Qitsualuk
Jr Pamela Irnikajak
Kalingo
Jr Leah Qavavauk
Jr Annie Mark
Jr Audlaluk Qitsualuk
Jr Livia Iyaituk
Jr Eva Nauya
Jr Velesie Adams
Jr Salimuni Ainalik
Jr Mary Tarkiasuk
Jr Junaisie Audlaluk
Jr Matilda Naluiyuk
Jr Billy Paniingajak
Jr Etuk Alaku
Jr Siasi Padlayat
Jr Ainalik Qitsualuk
Jr Timothy Qitsualuk

Kangiqsualujjuaq

Jr Travis St-Aubin
Jr Steven Etok
Jr Willis Emudluk May
Jr Martha Tukkiapik
Jr Kesha Annanack
Jr Sukartai Annanack
Jr Annika Obed
Jr Sarina Annanack
Jr Thomas Baron
Jr Noel Tukkiapik
Jr Silas Annanack-
Snowball
Jr Melanie Annanack
Emak
Jr Elijah Angnatuk
Jr Sam Willie Snowball
Jr Jocelyn Etok
Jr Elena Keelan
Jr Itsaja Etok
Jr Louisa Etok

Jr Joshua Obed
Jr Susie Jane Karpik
Jr Tyler Annanack
Jr Alexa Nagle
Jr Trey Ducharme
Jr Jonathan Emudluk
Jr Eric Annanack
Jr Claude Annanack
Jr Stella Snowball
Jr Naomi Kooktook
Jr Roxanne Keelan
Jr Devon Imak

Kangiqsujuaq

Jr Alaku Qumaaluk
Jr Paulie Kiatainaq
Jr Tiivimasiu Qisiq
Jr Tukirqi Hannah Irniq
Jr Cecilia Irniq
Jr Amalie Alaku
Jr Piari Nappaaluk
Jr Steven Kiatainaq
Jr James Alaku
Jr Steven Nappaaluk
Jr Patrick Nappaaluk
Jr Tina Mifsud
Jr Steven Juugini Irniq
Jr Julie Qisiq
Jr Miriam Tertiluk
Jr Pasha Tuukka

Kangirsuk

Jr Ina Ina Iglyok
Sgt Manon
Chamberland
Jr Vincent Chamberland
Jr Kayla Tukkiapik
Jr Paka Martha Airo
Jr Victoria Hanna Airo
Jr Johnny Kooktook
Jr Lorne Lucassie
Jr Akpahatak Tagulik
Jr Mattusie Jeric
Thomassie
Jr Thomas Thomassie
Jr Jeannie Putulik
Jr Julia Lydia Oovaut

Kawawachikamach

Jr Diana Celine
Mameanskum

Jr Natasha Shecanapish
Jr William Pien
Jr John Lucien Willie
Luke Swappie
Jr Joseph Junior
Peastitute
Jr Shayna Shecanapish
Jr Felishia Pien-
Mameanskum
Jr Lola Shecanapish
Jr Johnny William
Peastitute-Therrien
Jr Liam Guanish
Jr Trinity Chemaganish
Jr Warren Dominique
Jr Aben Jr Mokoush
Swappie
Jr Tausha Dominique-
Shecanapish
Jr Shanika-Skye Einish
Jr Aidan-Malacti
Mameanskum
Jr Starla Swappie
Jr Alexavier-Tiger
Uniam-Osmond
Jr Steven-John Uniam-
Osmond
Jr Kiana Rose McKenzie
Jr Elayna Einish
Jr Frederick John
Chescappio
Jr Jaiden Galvin
Wabinacaboo
Jr Lucas Vollant
Jr Alyson Eunish-Tooma

Kuujuuaq

Jr Natasha Louise
Stanton Valade
Jr Matilda Kauki
Jr Axel Gordon
Jr Pasha Lauzon
Jr Keira Gadbois Hickey
Jr Billy Peters-Watt
Jr Jackie Jones Tukkiapik
Jr Tukai Augiak
Jr Greig Munick Etua-
Mark
Jr Etua Snowball Gordon
Jr Amy May
Jr Naina Angnatuk

Jr Kyle Unatweenuk
 Jr Aputi Unatweenuk
 Jr Christina Johannes
 Jr Marilyn Gordon
 Jr Angusaaruq Gordon
 Jr Mae Annanack
 Jr Joanna Gordon
 Jr Aiva Lingard
 Jr Amy Saunders
 Jr Jessie Savard
 Jr Looee Emataluk
 Jr Aannanack Annanack
 Jr Tommy Labranche
 Kleist
 Jr Elijah Richard Jean-
 Kauki
 Jr Rosa Tasse-Dion
 Jr Paul York
 Jr Louisa White
 Jr Olivia Valade
 Jr Annie Nassak
 Jr Maannaak Kooktook
 Jr Tuukka Angnatuk
 Jr Linda Saunders
 Jr Linda David
 Jr Saralynn Susie Joanna
 Gadbois
 Jr Matiusie Gordon
 Jr Travis Davies

Kuujuarapik

Jr Christopher Calvin
 Jr Veronica Sky Fleming
 Masty
 Jr Sally Winnie Fleming
 Horne
 Jr Alaku Kawapit
 Jr Jewel Caroline
 Napartuk
 Jr Alexander Calvin
 Jr Alex Boki Amittuk
 Jr Larry Gordon
 Jr Peter Crow
 Jr Josie-Sam Kumarluk
 Jr Oliver Fleming-Masty
 Jr Olivia Inukpuk
 Jr Alexa Masty
 Jr Jimmy Kawapit
 Jr Martin Connor
 Jr Amelia Tooktoo
 Jr Ghyslain Evans

Jr Joseph Evans
 Jr Rupert Weetaltuk
 Jr Roxanne Crow
 Tooktoo
 Jr Gavin Cookie
 Jr Remington Theodore
 Kanayuk

Lourdes-de-Blanc- Sablón

Jr Rebecca Strickland
 Jr Mia Thomas
 Cpl Karlie Keats
 Cpl Chloe Letemplier
 Jr Avery Gallichon
 Jr Amélie Beaudoin-Hart
 Jr Kamille Jones
 Jr Kylee Trimm
 Jr Logan Buckle
 Jr Emilie Dumas
 Jr Paige Joncas
 Jr Camile Dunn
 Jr William Keats
 Jr Noah Beaudoin-Hart
 Jr Jake Jones
 Jr Ava Lavallée
 Jr Claire Letto
 Jr Christian Dumas
 Jr Grace Purcell
 Jr Sofie Keats

Mingan

Jr Tshiuétin Basile-
 Vollant
 Jr Uasheshkun
 Blacksmith
 Jr Shanish Napess-
 Mestokosho
 Jr Meishu-Marley
 Bellefleur-Napess
 Jr Ethan Mestenapeo
 Jr Mikuan Malec
 Jr Mani-Mehann
 Malleck-Napess
 Jr Manikanet
 Mestokosho
 Jr Brian Bacon Riverin
 Jr Louis-Philippe
 Pietacho
 Jr Lucas Napess-
 Benjamin

Jr Oceane Mollen
 Jr Shawn-Nuen
 Mestokosho-Napish
 Jr Annick Michel-Mollen
 Jr Laiden Lalo-Vollant
 Jr Tammy Mestenapeo-
 Mestokosho
 Jr Edward Mestokosho
 Jr Nelly Wapess-Basile
 Jr Ryan Malleck-Regis
 Jr Leila-Maniten Mollen-
 Lalo
 Jr Hailey Lalo-Guanish
 Jr Noah Penashue
 Jr Yoan Penashue
 Jr Helena Rich-Napish

Natashquan

Jr Eloïse Mestenapé
 Jr Kelly-Ann Kaltush
 Jr Saku Malec
 Jr Océane Hounsell
 Jr Marie-Philippe
 Wapistan
 Jr Dale-Claven Wapistan
 Jr Victoria Wapistan
 Jr Marie-Soleil Hounsell
 Jr Mathieu Bédard
 Jr Charlie-Yves
 Mestenapeo
 Jr Sara-Kim Hounsell
 Jr Dylan Gallant
 Jr Sam-Antoine
 Wapistan
 Jr Nathan Lapierre
 Landry
 Jr Libby Wapistan
 Jr Sidney Tettaut
 Jr Elodie Duguay
 Jr Eloi-Shinipesht
 Wapistan
 Jr Russ-Tyler Lalo-Malec
 Jr Wayne Utshimass
 Ishpatau
 Jr Nathan Kaltush-
 Ishpatau
 Jr Chad-Emanuel Lalo
 Jr Adam-Curtis Kaltush
 Jr Sidney Tettaut
 Courtois
 Jr Loïc Mestokosho

Jr Lennon Wapistan
 Bellefleur
 Jr Adil-Malik Wapistan
 Jr Elianne Bellefleur-
 Regis
 Jr Jose Mestenapeo
 Jr Manian Maleck-
 Vollant
 Jr Aidan-Scott Maleck-
 Vollant

Nemaska

Jr Rory Henry-Felstead
 Jr Pherson Wapachee
 Jr Nigel Orr
 Jr Kimberly
 Metatawabin-Trapper
 Jr Andrew Kitchen
 Jr Elirus George
 Jr Lazarus Blackned
 Jr Landon Wapachee
 Jr Riley Diamond
 Jr Harmonny Jolly
 Jr Dion Cheezo
 Jr Meeyobin Neeposh
 Jr Justin Rabbitskin
 Jr Jayden Rabbitskin
 Jr Kylie Wapachee

Pakua Shipi

Jr Melly Kuess Rich
 Jr Nelly Lalo-Bellefleur
 Jr Océan Malleck-Rich
 Jr Megan Mani Pishum
 Mark Mestokosho
 Jr Mani-Theresa Rich
 Malleck
 Jr Nyssa-Jamie Bellefleur
 Jr Mika Tenegan
 Jr Ethan-Lester Napess
 Jr Gabriel Rich Malleck
 Jr Coralie-Shewin Mark
 Jr Maikan Mark-Malleck
 Jr Pierre Joshty
 Bellefleur
 Jr Mya-Alicia Lalo-
 Bellefleur
 Jr Dean-Michael Lalo
 Mark
 Jr Shatshitun Mark
 Mestokosho

Jr Nelly-Kate Poker
 Courtois
 Jr Tenegan-Mollen Pien-
 Shimun
 Jr Alex Shikuan
 Mestenapeo
 Jr Orion Malleck-Rich
 Jr Mark Louka-Penua
 Jr Aaron Malleck Vallée

Puvirnitug

Sgt Serge Novalinga
 Jr Maina Tullaugak
 Jr Anna Quara
 Jr Eliyassie Tukai
 Jr Douglas Tkalak
 Jr Connie Ittukallak
 Jr Steven Aupalu
 Jr Nooma-Mark
 Napartuk
 Jr Qaunaq Kuananack
 Jr Reba Novalinga
 Jr Cynthia Qinuajuak
 Jr Nitsman Ittukallak
 Jr Lucy Tkalak
 Jr Minnie Nina Ittukallak
 Jr Selaana Nellie Luuku
 Jr Lisa Nungak
 Jr Laina Novalinga
 Jr Atsaniq Ghalia
 Palliser-Powell
 Jr Serena Angiyou
 Jr Johnny Eliyassialuk
 Jr Leena Tulugak
 Jr Jacqueline Nutaraluk
 Jr Kaitlyn Tkalak
 Jr Caleb Cruikshank
 Jr Lucy Irqumiaq
 Kanayuk
 Jr Sivuak Tukai
 Jr Velezie Tulugak
 Jr Steve Quara
 Jr Novalinga Aliqu
 Jr Tunu Kuananack
 Jr Aida Qaqatuq
 Nappatuk
 Jr Noreen Tulugak
 Jr Anita
 Jr Kylian Soulière

Quaqtaq

Jr Celina Kauki
 Jr Ashley Tukkiapile
 Aloupa
 Jr Selena Puttayuk
 Jr Eva Papak Annatok
 Jr Noah Tukkiapik
 Jr Ajaguta Nakoolak
 Jr Louisa Ezekiel
 Jr Sandra Sikuliaq
 Puttayuk
 Jr Elisapie Angnatuk
 Jr Louisa Ezekiel
 Jr Alicia Angnatuk-
 Berzrouthko
 Jr David Angnatuk
 Jr Marcus Tukkiapik
 Jr Maki May Nassak
 Jr Noah Inumannaaq
 Ningiuruvik
 Jr Alissa Angnatuk
 Jr Apphia Kritik
 Jr Leslie Carrier
 Jr Jeremiah Putulik
 Jr Simon Puttayuk
 Jr John Davie Kaukai
 Jr Victor Kulula
 Jr Leslie Tukkiapik
 Jr Lally Tukkiapik
 Ningiuruvik
 Jr Sandy Jararuse

Saint-Augustin

Jr Maggie Gallibois-
 Driscoll
 Jr Sammie-Lacy
 Gallibois-Driscoll
 Jr Ethan Boland-Fequet
 Jr Kameron Driscoll
 Jr Jordan McKinnon
 Jr Kolin Driscoll
 Jr Gia Maurice
 Jr Beverly Cox
 Jr Sam Driscoll-
 McKinnon
 Jr Jaylyn Fequet
 Jr Jersey Driscoll-
 McKinnon
 Jr Nash Driscoll
 Jr Keathon Monger
 Jr Yoan Driscoll

Jr Jacob Shattler
 Jr Mason Kennedy-
 Spingle
 Jr Brayden Boland
 Shattler
 Jr Brooklynn Beaudoi
 Driscoll
 Jr Evan Campeau
 Jr Tamika Grace Fequet
 Jr Maddex Shattler
 Maurice
 Jr Kalea Driscoll
 Jr Cayden Anderson
 Jr Cole Martin-Driscoll
 Jr Brody Lavallée
 Jr Cruz Maurice

Salluit

Jr Ryan Quppa Alaku
 Saviakjuk
 Jr Pierre Lavigne
 Jr Tommy Papigatuk
 Jr Markusie Papigatuk
 Jaaka
 Jr Sailasie Alaku
 Jr Johnny Qarqangaryuk
 Okituk
 Jr Kaitak Akumalik
 Jr Sarah Kaitak
 Jr Uqittuk Ussuituayuk
 Jr Benjamin Cameron
 Papigatuk
 Jr Katsuak Kakayuk
 (Usuituayuk)
 Jr Joan Kaitak Cameron
 Papigatuk
 Sgt Susie Ilisituk
 Jr Pasha Saviadjuk
 Jr Dominick Saviadjuk
 Jr Irsutuk Yuliusie
 Jr Sherisse Pauyungie
 Jr Papigatuk Usuituayuk
 Jr Maata Keatainak
 Jr Sammy Kaitak
 Jr George Qavavau
 Jr Mosusie Kumakuluk
 Jr Kumakuluk Mususie
 Jr Alanna Papigatuk
 Jr Susie Qavavau
 Jr Johnny Nicholas
 Cameron

Jr Susie Saviadjuk
 Jr Elisapie Faith Okituk
 Jr Patrick Okituk
 Jr Qarganga Kakayuk

Schefferville
 Jr Simon McKenzie
 Jr Carolane Dominique
 Jr Stacey André-Guanish
 Jr Noémie Trépanier-
 Vachon
 Jr Hayden Gabriel-Ashini
 Jr Sarah-Maude
 McKenzie

Jr Potokuan Andre
 Jr Josh Dominique
 Joseph
 Jr Mani-Nuish André
 Jr Joe-Derek Aster-
 Ashine
 Jr Joëllie Aster
 Jr Ashley-Jones
 McKenzie-Nolin
 Jr Aaron Landon
 McKensie
 Jr Zanaïde Rose Joseph
 Fortin
 Jr Laurence McKenzie
 Jr Mathieu Volland-
 Napeu
 Jr Kaly-Ann Gregoire-
 Besnier
 Jr Amelie Dominique
 Fortin
 Jr Gabriel André-
 Gregoire
 Jr Katrina Grégoire
 Jr Charles-Étienne André

La Tabatière

Jr Blaire Marcoux
 Jr Ashton Boland
 Nadeau
 Jr Kaylie Bobbitt
 Jr Colby Gallichon
 Jr Brayden Mansbridge
 Jr Landon Robertson
 Jr Brooklynn Robertson
 Jr Caitlin Collier
 Jr Daniel Bobbitt-Organ
 Jr Jayden Drudge

Jr Nathaniel Mansbridge
 Jr Presley Marcoux
 Jr Rayn Robertson
 Jr Ethan Morency
 Jr Brent Maurice
 Jr Zoey Robertson
 Jr Ashton Boland-
 Nadeau
 Jr Ryder Bobbitt-Organ

Tasiujaq

Jr Daniel Cain
 Jr Zacharia Gordon

Tête-à-la-Baleine

Jr Chad Yoan Nadeau
 Jr Jacob Qitsualuk
 Jr Zoe Marcoux

Umiujaq

Jr Masta Sappa
 Jr Noriko Tooktoo
 Jr Henry Tumic
 Sgt Davidee Naluktuk
 Jr Parsa Tooktoo
 Jr Akulia Anowak
 Jr Selena Tooktoo
 Jr Danielle Miles
 Tooktoo
 Jr Joseph Alec Sala
 Jr Juanasie Tooktoo
 Jr Nathalie Nivixie
 Jr Alasie Nalaturak
 Jr Quentin Tooktoo
 Jr Joseph Naluktuk
 Jr Rimelia Aragutak
 Jr Lorita Tookalook
 Jr Jayvon Kingston

Unamen Shipu

Jr Kenric-Jonas Lalo
 Jr Pénélope Mestokosho
 Jr Ken Mestenapeo
 Jr Brad Malleck
 Jr Léo Pinette-Lalo
 Jr Collavan Penusi-
 Ishpatao
 Jr Mavrick Mark
 Jr Lily-Jane Malleck
 Jr Sarah-Anne Gabriel
 Jr Dylan Mark

Jr Marie Mestenapeo
 Jr Thomas Pinette
 Jr Tyrone-Mathieu
 Peters
 Jr Peters-Sebastian Rich
 Jr Okzanna-Rihanna
 Malleck-Bellefleur
 Jr Maimouna Kane
 Jr Aminata Kane
 Jr Mathis-Étienne
 Bellefleur
 Jr Ben Mark
 Jr Lolly-Anne Martin
 Jr Aliyah Pietacho-Mark

Waskaganish

Jr Joshua Blackned-
 Erless
 Jr Alexis Beauregard
 Jr Damien Stephen
 Jr Destiny Erless
 Jr Clarke Billy-Brendan
 House-Shecapiro

Jr Ashton James
 Stephen
 Jr Nayshawn Jacob
 Jr Phoenix Georgekish
 Jr Zephaniah Weistche
 Jr Gabriel Michael
 Johnny Monias-
 Whiskeychan
 Jr Landen Whiskeychan
 Jr Rayden Whiskeychan
 Jr Rylin Whiskeychan
 Jr Lucas Beauregard

Wemindji

Jr Conway Simeon
 Georgekish
 Jr Peter Atsynia
 Jr Dylan MacDonald
 Jr Ryan Jacobs-Robinson
 Jr Anna Asquabaneskum
 Jr Cassie Atsynia
 Jr Billie-Kaye Blackned
 Jr Riley Matches

Jr Brady Hughboy
 Jr Jayda Mark
 Jr Benjamin Atsynia

Whapmagoostui

Jr Landen-Gabriel
 Kawapit
 Jr Gerek George
 Jr Gilbert Dick
 Jr Calen-James Sandy
 Jr Travis Sandy
 Jr Jonah George
 Jr Tydus Kitty
 Jr Logan Georgekish
 Jr Charlie Niquanicappo-
 Weeltuk
 Jr Kaylen George-Dick
 Jr Trey Snowboy
 Jr Masty Napash
 Jr Naamon-Frank
 Petagumskum-Dick
 Jr Emilee-Lynn Napartuk
 Jr George Brady



JCR patrol in Akulivik, September 2016

About the Author

P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Ph.D., is Canada Research Chair (Tier 1) in the Study of the Canadian North and a Professor in the School for the Study of Canada at Trent University, Ontario, Canada. He is network lead of the North American and Arctic Defence and Security Network (NAADSN) and served as Honorary Lieutenant Colonel of 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (1 CRPG) from 2014-2020. Whitney has written or edited more than fifty books and more than one hundred academic articles and book chapters. His previous books on the Rangers include *The Canadian Rangers : A Living History* (2013), *Vigilans: The 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group* (2015), *The Canadian Armed Forces' Eyes, Ears, and Voice in Remote Regions: Selected Writings on the Canadian Rangers* (2022), and *The Canadian Rangers @ 75: Key Documents, 1947-2022* (2022). He is married with three children.



A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN RANGERS OF QUEBEC 2ND CANADIAN RANGER PATROL GROUP

P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER

with the assistance of Stéphane Roussel and Magali Vullierme

Formed on 24 November 1997, the 2nd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (2 CRPG) is the umbrella organization for the Canadian Rangers in Quebec. Often referred to as the “eyes and ears” of the Canadian Armed Forces in remote coastal and northern communities, this book celebrates the Canadian Rangers’ proud history of service in Quebec and their roles in exercising sovereignty, conducting and supporting domestic operations, and providing assistance to their communities.

The Canadian Rangers play a vital role within the Canadian Armed Forces, its members providing support for national security and operations within Canada. What is truly unique is that the Rangers come from all walks of life, but share a special knowledge of the diverse landscapes and the peoples who call the North their home.

For 75 years, the Canadian Rangers have provided services in times of natural disaster, to protect our Arctic and, most recently, during the pandemic. Its members consistently safeguard the public and show respect to the peoples who populate these lands.

From the Foreword by Her Excellency the Right Honourable Mary Simon, C.C., C.M.M., C.O.M., O.Q., C.D., Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada

