



Tariurmiutuakun Qanuq Atuutiviksaitlu Ilitchuriyaqput Ingilraan Inuvialuit Qulianginnin

**Learning About Marine Resources and Their Use Through
Inuvialuit Oral History**



**Inuvialuit Cultural
Resource Centre**

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Wesley Ovayuak stands on the tail of a beluga whale while eating *maktak*, ca. 1960s, Tuktoyaktuk. (Department of Information/NWT Archives/G-1979-023-1194)

**Report prepared for the Beaufort Sea Integrated Management
Planning Initiative (BSIMPI) Working Group**

**Funding provided by Fisheries and Oceans Canada
and the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre**

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With guidance from Billy Day, Andy Tardiff, Frank Pokiak, and Max Kotokak,
members of the Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group of the Beaufort Sea Integrated
Management Planning Initiative Working Group.



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ISUMAGIYAVUT

Ukuanik makpiraaliurapta isumagiyavut tamaita COPEkutigun Akuqtuyualuit (Catholic) minisitaitkutigunlu nipiliurmata quliaqlutik ingilraanik qulianik. Ilagilugitlu savaktuat COPEmi, apiqsuqtuatlu, inugiaktuatlu mumiktisiyuat savaqasiqtuatlu. Quyanainniirikputlu Katlit minisitait katitchivakpangmata qulianik Inuvialungnin inuusimiktigun. Quyagiyavut innaaluit inugiaktuat nipiliurmata ukiungani 1950mingaaniin qitiqqanun aglaan 1970it, ilisarvigiyavut savaaptingnun.

Quyanainni!

DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to all of the people who made the COPE and Oblate oral history tapes. That includes COPE staff, interviewers and the many translators who worked on the project. Thanks also to the Oblate priests who knew the importance of gathering Inuvialuit history. We are very grateful to the many elders that were interviewed between the 1950s to mid-1970s, and who we were able to learn from in this project.

Thank you!



People at East Whitefish Station, ca. 1940s. (Based on photo by Department of Information/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0001)

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Thank you to Dianne Michalak for producing the maps of named places, and to Don Cobb of DFO for making it possible to call upon Dianne's expertise. Richard Vladars of the Inuvialuit Land Administration provided some revised place names data files for the Husky Lakes area.

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COVER PHOTOGRAPHS

Top left hand corner: Wesley Ovayuak of Tuktoyaktuk stands on the tail of a beluga whale while eating *maktak*, ca. 1960s. (Based on photo by Department of Information/NWT Archives/G-1979-023-1194)

Top middle photograph: Robert Kuptana and Peter Esau skinning seals, July 1958. (Based on photo by © R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0260)

Top right hand photograph: Tim Lennie and Wallace Lucas skinning a polar bear. (Based on photo by © R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0335)

Background photograph: Water off the coast of Tuktoyaktuk. (Based on photo by John Poirier/Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre)

Raddi Koiksak, Felix Nuyaviak and Jim Cockney, ca. 1948-1956. (Based on Terrance Hunt/NWT Archives/N-1979-062-0064)






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SIVULLIRMI—INTRODUCTION

When people gathered together they told stories about the people before them. To hear them tell these stories one would think our ancestors were rich people never going hungry. Every bit of food they caught was stored away and nothing was wasted. Even the fish they caught, every bit of it they saved. They were scaled and dried into dryfish. The liver, eggs and gizzards were all cleaned, dried, and stored in bags of fish oil. This was very delicious and one could not stop eating once he started. How wealthy our people used to live in those days.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)

Inuvialuit oral history provides a fascinating way to learn about the role that marine resources have played in Inuvialuit subsistence in the past. Using quotes from oral history transcripts allows us to read the words of the people who lived the experiences we are learning from. Transcripts from two Inuvialuit oral history collections were reviewed for this report to see what could be learned about marine resources and their use within the southeastern Beaufort Sea. The study area included the coast from the Yukon/United States border in the west to the Franklin Bay area in the east (Map 1). Information was compiled on beluga and bowhead whales, some coastal birds, fish, polar bears and seals. The report is written for a general audience.

This information was requested by the Working Group of the Beaufort Sea Integrated Management Planning Initiative (BSIMPI). The objectives of BSIMPI are to make it easier to use integrated management planning for marine and coastal areas of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, to promote economic development, strong communities and a healthy marine environment (BSIMPI no date [a]). The BSIMPI Working Group makes decisions related to those objectives and draws from a body of knowledge on marine ecology, important habitats, resources and their use in coastal areas of southeastern Beaufort Sea.

This report is a first step by the BSIMPI Working Group in reviewing previously documented Inuvialuit knowledge to see what can be learned about marine resources and their use. The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) was asked to review and compile information from available transcripts of two large archival oral history collections. They are the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate collections that are housed at the NWT Archives in Yellowknife. Not all of the audiotapes from these collections have been translated or transcribed, so the review included available transcripts that related to Inuvialuit and the study area. This information can serve as a foundation for developing future projects on Inuvialuit knowledge of marine resources.

A benefit of using archival oral history is that it provides a view of resource use at a time when people depended more on the land and sea for survival. It provides information on areas that are not used as much today, and describes a wider range of resources than are now used.

Map 1
The Study Area

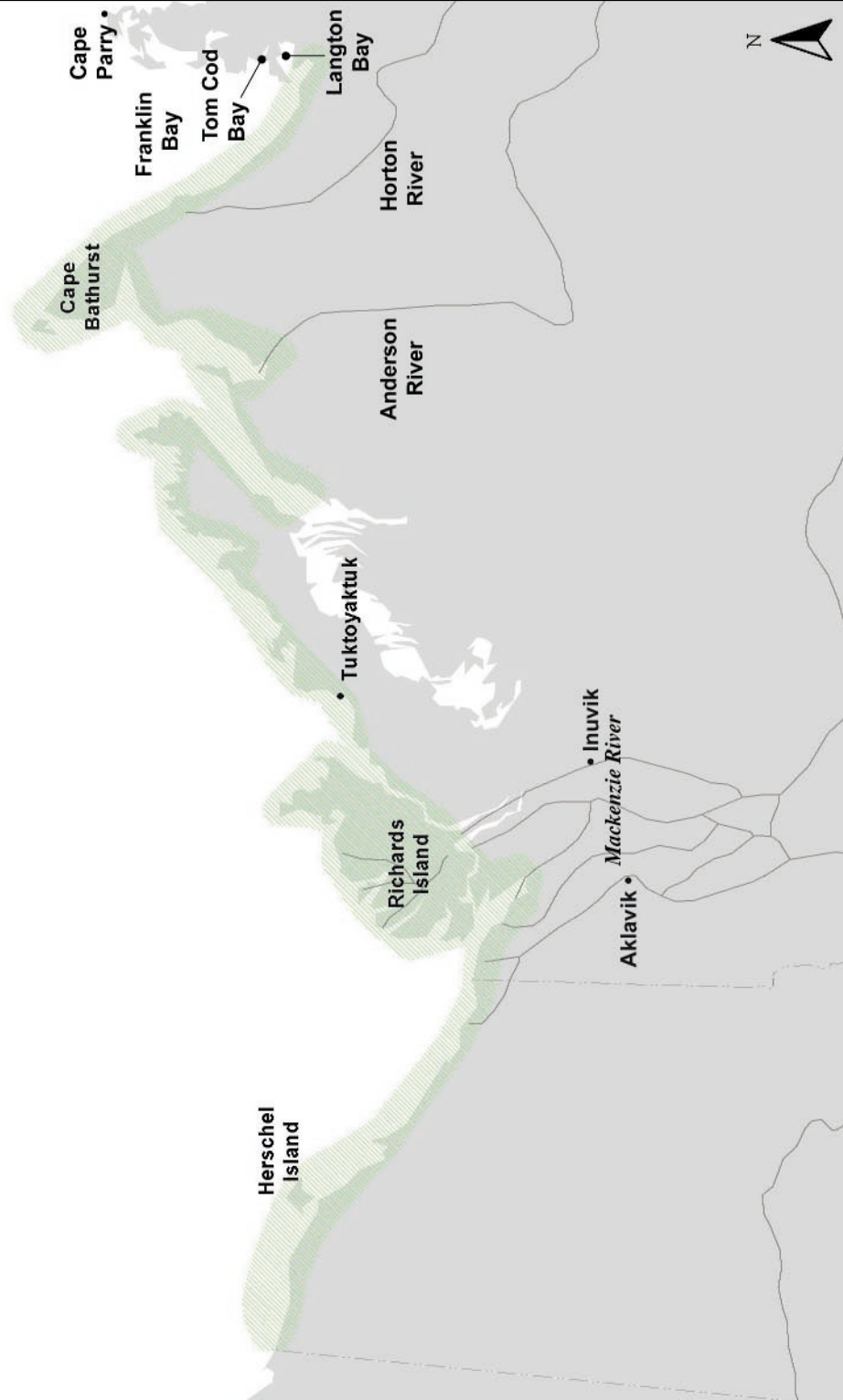
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

**TARIURMIUTUAKUN QANUQ
ATUUTIVIKSAILLU
ILITCHURIAQPUT
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
QULIANGINNIN:
LEARNING ABOUT
MARINE RESOURCES AND THEIR
USE THROUGH INUVIALUIT
ORAL HISTORY**

by Elisa Hart and Beverly Amos
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre



Beaufort Sea





BACKGROUND ON BSIMPI

The Oceans Act provides a framework for oceans management guided by the principles of sustainable development, the precautionary approach and integrated management (Fisheries and Oceans 2002). In 2002 Canada's Oceans Strategy was released which sets the policy direction and approach to modern oceans management.

In response to the Oceans Act, the Beaufort Sea Integrated Management Planning Initiative (BSIMPI) was established in 1999 with a goal of facilitating "integrated management planning for marine and coastal waters in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region" (BSIMPI no date [a]). A Senior Management Committee was formed with representation from the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC), the Fisheries Joint Management Committee (FJMC), the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), and a representative of industry which is the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP). The Committee's objective is to "guide development of an integrated management planning process for ocean-related activities in the Beaufort Sea." (BSIMPI no date [b]). A Working Group was formed to implement the collaborative process, and includes one representative from each of the organizations on the Senior Management Committee plus a representative from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. A Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group was formed and at present consists of Billy Day and Andy Tardiff of Inuvik, Frank Pokiak and Max Kotokak (alternate member) of Tuktoyaktuk.



Bearded seal. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

QANUQILIURUTAIT SAVAANGITIGUN— METHOD

A description of the oral history collections used in this project is provided below. The method used in gathering, reviewing, and compiling the information on marine resources and their use is described, as well as the role of the BSIMPI Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

The two archival collections described below are housed at the NWT Archives at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Heritage Centre) in Yellowknife.

Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) Oral History Fonds (NWT Archives N-1992-253)

The Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement Collection contains audio recordings that were made in the 1960s and 1970s by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and volunteers. The objective was to document the life histories and traditions of Inuvialuit, and to provide resource material for curriculum development and literacy.

Some elders were interviewed and some recorded their own stories. Nellie Cournoyea and Oblate priest, Father LeMeur organized the project. The collection includes about 500 recordings of Inuvialuit. There are transcripts for many of the recordings. Permission is required from the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre to use this oral history collection (NWT Archives no date).

According to Nellie Cournoyea (1997:7) the COPE collection represents;

...an integral body of cultural knowledge, history, and traditions gathered over a period of thirty years or more in a project involving more than 150 individuals. The information was recorded on tape and obtained orally in the Inuvialuktun language from elders whose lifestyles may have changed, but who had or have a living memory of a truly traditional past.



Nellie Cournoyea, 1970. (Courtesy of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation)



The Oblates of Mary Immaculate Fonds (NWT Archives N-1992-007)

This collection was created by priests belonging to the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, which was founded in France in 1815. Fathers LeMeur and Metayer did extensive work recording the culture and language of the Inuvialuit and Inuit from the Kugluktuk (formerly Coppermine) area. Other priests participated as well. Among the studies were genealogies, life histories, place names and linguistic research.

Many of the tapes and transcripts were of interviews done for a radio program produced by the priests. The program focussed on elders telling portions of their life stories, legends or singing songs. Most of the tape recordings were made between the 1950s and 1970s. The "Oblates" archival collection consists of 916 audio recordings, and transcripts of some of those recordings (Dunsmore 1993:1–2). The original material from this collection is at the R.C. Diocese Archives in St. Albert, Alberta.



Father LeMeur in the 1940s. (Photo by Fred Jackson/
NWT Archives/N-1979-004-0107)

Material at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

Duplicate tapes and some translations and transcriptions from the two oral history collections are held at ICRC in Inuvik. ICRC also has translations of the tapes that were made for use in the Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History Project, the Aulavik Oral History Project and the *Kitigaaryuit* Archaeological Inventory and Oral Traditions Project. ICRC has had additional translations made over the years with funding from Resources Wildlife and Economic Development (Government of the Northwest Territories) and Parks Canada.

The transcripts are in a variety of formats. Some paper copies were hand written, typed on a typewriter or on a computer. There are digital files of some transcripts. Many of the transcripts have not been verified for the spelling of Inuvialuktun words or for the quality of the translation.

THE INFORMATION SOUGHT

The transcripts were reviewed for information on the marine animals listed earlier, and we decided to include information on the cultural use of those animals. The information was to relate to the study area shown on Map 1. A list of topics of interest to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans was also provided and is shown in Appendix A.

A holistic presentation of Inuvialuit knowledge of marine resources from archival records would include an overview of the spiritual beliefs related to them, such as creation stories about the animals. Some of that information exists within the COPE and Oblate collections (see Nagy 1999a), but it was not within the scope of this project to do the retranslation and verification necessary to present it.



VERIFICATION

Verification of some of the information compiled from the transcripts was an important step and was done in the following ways:

Verification of the Spelling of Siglitun Words

The spelling of Inuvialuktun words is an issue of much debate amongst Inuvialuit. People became used to the spelling systems developed by the Anglican and Catholic missionaries, although the spellings were not always consistent. In the 1980s COPE developed a standardized spelling system for the three different dialects of Inuvialuktun—Siglitun, Uummarmiutun and Kangiryuarmiutun. It is the COPE system and the Siglit dialect that are used in this report (Lowe 2001). Not all Inuvialuit who provided input into this report agreed with the spelling of all the words presented in it.

Verification of the meaning and spelling of many Siglitun words was conducted by Beverly Amos, Language Specialist for the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre. Beverly, along with her mother Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik provided the dual and plural forms of Siglitun for a selection of words related to marine resources (see Appendix B).

To spell Inuvialuktun words and names Beverly needs to hear them pronounced. Given the volume of transcripts used for this report it was not possible for her to listen to all of the words by locating them on the audiotapes. As well, some of the tapes and transcripts could not be matched up. We were greatly assisted by David Nasogaluak of Tuktoyaktuk who pronounced most of the Inuvialuktun names and words in the report so that they could be spelled according to the COPE standardized spelling system. The members of the BSIMPI Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group also assisted in providing some pronunciations.

The Spelling of Peoples' Names

The Inuvialuit names for people found in the transcripts were left the way the families generally spell them today, rather than according to the COPE spelling system. It is peoples' preference to have their names spelled the way they are used to seeing them, and which are now their legal names.

Verification with Elders

It was not within the scope of this project to collect new information from elders, however a few elders were asked to help clarify information that we were uncertain of. They were Edgar Kotokak, Noah Felix, Gordon Aknaviak, Frank Cockney, David Nasogaluak and Persis Gruben of Tuktoyaktuk. Agnes Felix and Mabel Noksana assisted with interpretation.

The types of information verified were:

- the locations of some named places
- the Inuvialuktun names for some fish
- information related to the types of resources taken in different areas
- the identification of people in photographs

Verification of some information also took place with the BSIMPI Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group and is described in the following section.



QUYANAINNI TO THE ELDERS WHO HELPED US!



Top row from left: Persis Gruben, Edgar Kotokak, Agnes Nasogaluak Centre row from left: Dakota and David Nasogaluak, Gordon Aknaviak, Frank Cockney Bottom row from left: Noah and Agnes Felix, Mabel Noksana. It is always delightful to have interested young people like Dakota present when we are learning from elders. (Photos by Elisa Hart, except Agnes Nasogaluak which is by Beverly Amos)



THE ROLE OF THE BSIMPI TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE SUB-GROUP

A brief presentation was made to the entire BSIMPI Working Group to describe how the project would proceed. The next meeting was held with Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group consisting of Billy Day and Andy Tardiff of Inuvik, and Frank Pokiak of Tuktoyaktuk. Doug Chipertzak of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) attended, as did ICRC staff.

First Meeting

A short introductory report was presented to the Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group for their feedback. The report included:

- the project objectives
- the proposed study area
- the proposed phases of the project
- a description of the archival collections
- issues related to using the archival collection
- an inventory of the transcripts reviewed to that point
- a list of topics on marine resources from DFO that we were asked to keep in mind when reviewing the transcripts
- a list of the relevant information found within each transcript
- a brief summary of the types of information we were finding

The Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group members helped to sort out a number of issues. It was tempting to try and gather information from a wider geographic area, but it was decided that the focus should be on the coast from the Yukon/United States boundary to the east side of Cape Bathurst. This excluded Husky Lakes (Eskimo Lakes). The project would get too big otherwise and we needed to focus on the immediate information needs of the BSIMPI Working Group.



Left: Frank Pokiak, Doug Chipertzak, Beverly Amos, Elisa Hart, Andy Tardiff, Billy Day. Frank, Andy and Billy are with the BSIMPI Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group. Doug is with DFO, and Beverly and Elisa are with ICRC. (Pat Winfield, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre)



Additional Meetings

Additional meetings were held with all or some of the Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group members and Doug Chiperzak of DFO in March, April, August and October of 2003. Max Kotokak of Tuktoyaktuk, who is an alternate member of the Sub-Group attended the October meeting. The issues discussed included:

- the verification of some place names
- the dialect of Inuvialuktun to be used in the report
- verification of a list of Siglitun names for fish
- the identification of people in some archival photographs
- the layout for the report
- clarification of some Siglitun terms
- clarification of the meaning of some of the narratives
- removal of some sentences from the narratives that were confusing or inaccurate due to the translation
- the need to change the way some Siglitun words were spelled in the report

Final decisions on content and spelling were made by the authors.



Right: Doug Chiperzak, Frank Pokiak, Andy Tardiff and Billy Day use a fish chart to talk about the names for different fish in Siglitun. (Elisa Hart, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre)

QANUQILIURUTAIT NAATDJVINGANI— RESULTS

THE NARRATIVES

The COPE and Oblate collections relevant to the study area present a rich body of information on the lives and history of Inuvialuit. Most of the narratives (stories) tell of episodes in the history of the narrator (the speaker). Some information is presented in the order that it occurred, and some focuses on specific events such as an exciting hunt or a tragic occurrence. There are also fascinating stories about the "traditional" life lived long ago. There are many legends related to the people who always lived in this area, and some that were brought with those who moved here from Alaska. There are a few transcripts that focus on research topics like place names.

WORKING WITH THE TRANSCRIPTS

A list of the transcripts reviewed are provided in Appendix C, and amounted to approximately 2000 pages.

Challenges in Using the Archival Collections

Reading through the transcripts is a fascinating experience. However there are challenges in using them, and they are listed below.

Record of tape recordings translated or transcribed

There are thousands of pages of transcripts between the two collections and an up-to-date inventory is now being developed to show what has been translated or transcribed. Sorting through the transcripts required a lot of time because they were not all labeled using the same identification scheme. The result was that some cross-referencing between transcripts was required. Examples of variation in labeling included transcripts identified by:

- story number but not necessarily an accession number to indicate whether they were from the COPE or Oblate collection (e.g. Jim Wolki 051)
- the original file or identification number only (e.g. Frank Cockney 1-44-1)
- the title or story segment only (e.g. Joe Nasogaluak Stories - July 1940)

Duplication of transcripts

There was duplication in the transcripts as some stories had been translated up to three or four times by different translators. Determining the duplication of translations was made more difficult by the inconsistent labeling of the transcripts. Time was also needed to determine which translations were the most accurate for this report.

Editing of the transcripts

Some of the transcripts, especially those in the Oblate collection, were edited for use in radio programs and were sometimes written quite dramatically for an audience. The wording of the stories isn't always appropriate for our use. For example, a polar bear is sometimes referred to as "Mr. Nanuq". Some tapes will have to be retranslated so that the full content is known. This is important for documenting the Inuvialuktun terms and concepts related to this study.

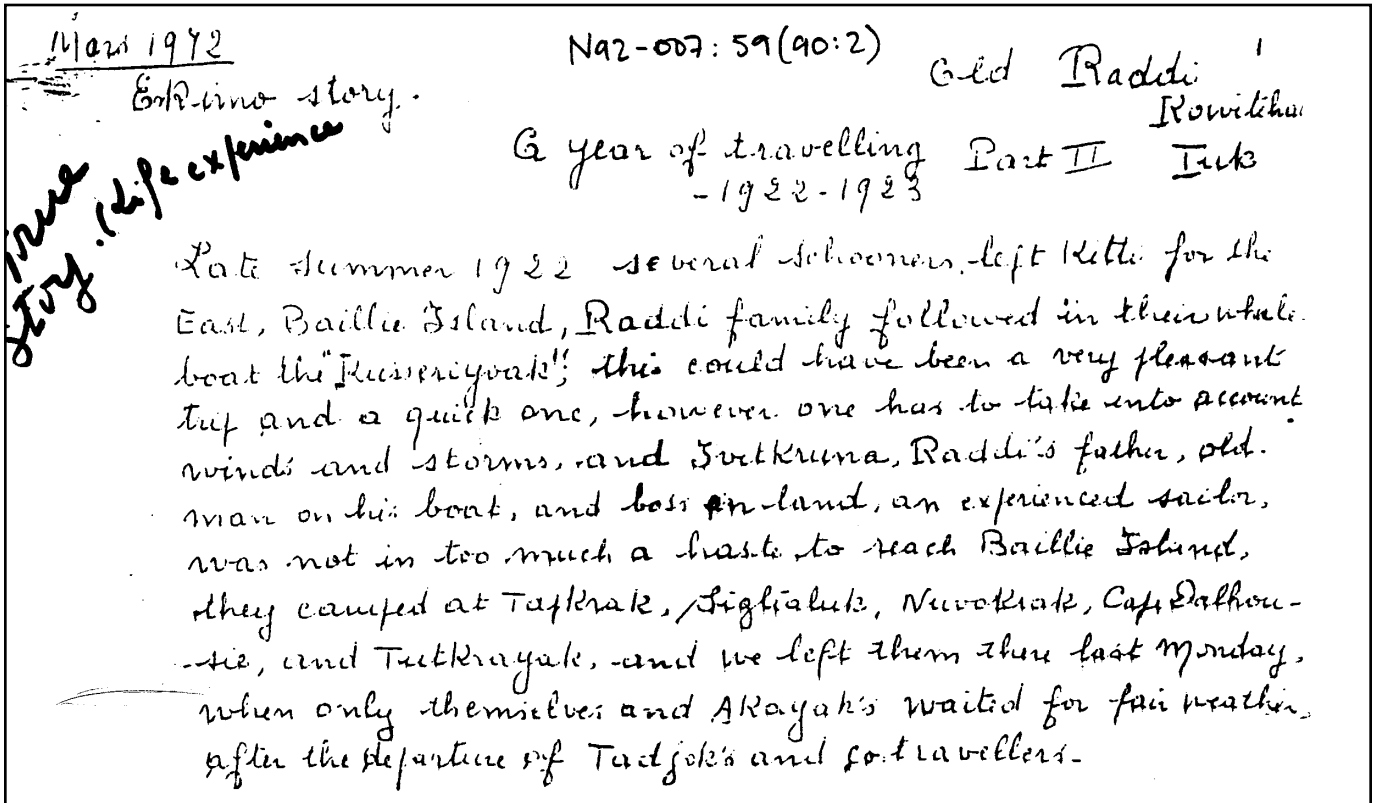


Spelling

The issue of spelling was discussed in the section "Verification of the Spelling of Siglitun Words." The implications of the variation in spelling within the transcripts added to the amount of time needed for the verification process because of the uncertainties about the locations of named places, figuring out peoples' names, and determining the meanings of words.

Readability of transcripts

Some of the hand written, photocopied transcripts are difficult to read and can be more time consuming to work through than typed transcripts.



An example of a hand written transcript in the Oblate collection. (Oblates of Mary Immaculate/NWT Archives/ N-1992-007: A year of travelling - 1922-1923 Part III)

Accuracy of the translations

There is variability in the quality of the translations. Many are good, but some are incomplete or unclear because the translators may not have understood the older and more detailed form of Siglitun. A comparison of two different translations of the same story showed that information in one transcript did not show up in another, and vice versa.

In some cases the wrong place name has been used in the text. This became obvious when descriptions of travels from one place to another didn't make sense geographically, or in terms of the resource said to be harvested at some places.



Ambiguities in content

There are a number of uncertainties within the content of the transcripts that limits their use in this study. Examples are provided below:

Month or year

In most transcripts elders recalled interesting events in their lives that weren't presented chronologically nor linked to month or year. However, some elders were very specific in providing an almost month by month account of activities over a series of years.

Place names

People do not always state the names of the places that they were referring to. This makes it difficult or impossible to tell from the transcripts alone where people were harvesting marine resources.

Resources harvested

It isn't always possible to tell from the transcripts the specific type of resource people were trying to get. Rather than saying they were going to fish for *anaakliit* (broad whitefish) they used a general term like *iqaluit* for any kind of fish. This is a normal way for people to refer to their activities, but limits the usefulness of the transcripts without doing further research.

Number of animals harvested

People rarely mentioned the numbers of animals they harvested except in exceptional circumstances.

THE USE AND EDITING OF NARRATIVES

The Narratives Selected

Narratives from the transcripts are used to illustrate what was learned about marine resources and their use. No more than four narratives were used to provide information on a particular subject, even though there were more to choose from.

Editing Narratives

The narratives were edited for readability. Square brackets [] were used to add words to clarify the meaning of the sentences. Square brackets with ellipses [...] were used when a word couldn't be understood on an audiotape. Square brackets with a question mark mean that the spelling of the word is not clear [?]. Round brackets with a question mark (?) mean that the translation isn't clear. Round brackets were used to provide additional information for the reader ().

Variation in the Spelling of the Same Words

In the first draft of the report the spelling of Inuvialuktun words was left the way they were found in the transcripts, and the COPE standardized spelling was put in brackets after them. The result was that there were sometimes up to three different spellings of the same word in the report (e.g. *muktuk*, *maktak*, *maktaa*). In some cases the variation in the spelling of a word was due to one being from the old form of Siglitun.



Another reason for variation in the same word is when an Inuvialuktun word is spelled with its English rather than Siglitun pronunciation. For example, muktuk has become the English way of spelling *maktak*. When the latter word is pronounced properly in Siglitun the "a" has a similar sound to the English "u". The Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group members requested that just one spelling of a word be shown, so the spellings were changed using the COPE standardized spelling system. Since this is a report on Inuvialuit culture the authors decided to use the Siglitun spelling *maktak* in its singular form throughout.

Readers should be aware that the narratives presented in this report are not identical to those found in the original written transcripts because they have been edited. If the narratives in this report are cited, the proper citation should include a reference to this document, for example:

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263) as found in Hart and Amos 2004.

Spelling of Place Names

The spelling of place names was a problem and made it difficult to know the location being referred to. The spelling of the names were revised if we were certain of the location and the correct pronunciation of the name. Fortunately the spelling of a list of several hundred place names from a place names project (Hart 1998 revised) were recently revised by Beverly Amos, so we used those. We were fortunate to have David Nasogaluak pronounce many of the place names for us so that they could be spelled according to the COPE standardized spelling system by Beverly Amos. The location of a few places could not be determined. A list of the traditional place names and their location are provided on maps in Appendix D.

PLACE NAME MAPS

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) kindly agreed to produce maps of traditional place names for this report (Appendix D). Dianne Michalak, Geomatician, Oceans Program (DFO) prepared the maps using a database of coordinates for the place names. Some manual editing was needed to fine tune the locations. The information on place names came from a project conducted with elders from Tuktoyaktuk and a few from Inuvik (Hart 1998 revised).

Place names from the Yukon coast were collected by Murielle Nagy during the Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History Project (Nagy 1994). A few of the Inuvialuit names from her map were changed from the Uummarmiutun spellings to the Siglitun ones.

INFORMATION ON MARINE RESOURCES

A short introduction on fish, some birds, seals, polar bears and whales is provided at the beginning of each section. Much of that information comes from scientific studies. Although this report was to focus on Inuvialuit knowledge as much as possible, few studies focusing on their knowledge of marine resources within the study area have been conducted. Those include Byers and Roberts (1994) work on Inuvialuit knowledge of the beluga whale, Raddi *et al.* (no date) on bowheads, Freeman and Stevenson (1995) and Freeman (1997) on the broad whitefish and Byers (1993) on char. Some Inuvialuit knowledge has been integrated into scientific studies on marine resources, but is presented more as local knowledge than as a specific component of the research.



Presenting the Results

Initially the information on marine resources was compiled in a table with the collection number, the speaker's name, the story title or file number, and a point form list of information on or related to marine resources that were in each transcript. For example:

- shot a lot of moulting geese in July
- got a few whales at Baillie Island
- in 1923 got as many as 40 belugas sailing amongst the ice floes
- at *Qilavittarvik* caught a lot of fish

The initial review of the transcripts showed that there was little detailed information on marine resources, such as their habitats, behaviour and numbers. Rather than documenting specific environmental information, the objectives of the COPE and Oblate collections focused on recording Inuvialuit culture, history and language.

We decided that it would be more useful for future research and more interesting for Inuvialuit to see the information presented in its narrative form, rather than presenting a list and summary of points extracted from the narratives. There is always a compromise in doing this as we had to decide how much of each narrative to present in order to maintain the context of a story, while keeping the length of the report in mind. Hopefully this document and the photographs within it can be used to promote discussion and further research on Inuvialuit knowledge of the nature and use of marine resources.

If photographs of marine resource use could not be found for the study area, then photographs from other parts of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region were used.

INUVALUIT INGILRAAN— BACKGROUND ON INUVALUIT

A brief description of the different groups of Inuvialuit, examples of regional variation in resource use, and the cultural changes that affected resource use are provided below. This helps to provide a context for the information on marine resources and their use by Inuvialuit that is presented in the rest of the report.

THE GROUPS OF INUVALUIT

Inuvialuit have lived in an area that is rich in resources such as fish, whales, caribou, seals, bears, landbirds and waterfowl. In the history book, *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit*, it says that they have lived there “for as long as they can remember” (Northwest Territories Education 1991:1). The distribution of animals varied throughout the area and also seasonally. The result was that “Each area had its own group of Inuvialuit. They would tend to stay within their area to camp and hunt. By doing so, they gradually gained expertise in their territory.” (Northwest Territories Education 1991:6).



The original photograph caption by Bishop Stringer says, "Pookik, wife and family." These are ancestors of the Pokiak family. The woman has one of the traditional hairstyles of the area and traditional design of skin parka that was later blended with Inupiat styles from Alaska. (Stringer Collection/with permission of the General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada/P7517-160)



Left to right: Little Jim Rogers, Lennie Iglangasuk, Big Jim Rogers, Emily Kailek, the oldest daughter of Jim and Ida Rogers, Ida Rogers, and Emily Iglangasuk (Lennie's mother). The photograph was taken between 1920 and 1931. (Fred Jackson/NWT Archives/N-1979-004-0240)

A number of groups of Inuvialuit are mentioned in the COPE and Oblate oral history transcripts reviewed for this report. The Tuyurmiut lived in the coastal area west of the Mackenzie Delta. Many Inupiat from Alaska began to arrive in that area as workers for the American whaling fleet in 1889, and later to trap once the market for baleen collapsed. The majority of Inupiat settled along this coast and also in the delta community of Aklavik, although a few also moved further east to the Cape Bathurst area. More detail on this is provided in Freeman *et al.* (1992).

The Kuukpangmiut had a settlement called *Kuukpak* on the east shore of Richards Island. The name translates to “big river” and refers to the Mackenzie River. It is thought that the village stopped being used by the late-eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Morrison 1997:34).

The Kitigaaryungmiut lived across the river from *Kuukpak* in the area called *Kitigaaryuit*. Their village of *Kitigaaryuk* (anglicized to Kittigazuit) was the location of the largest known gathering of Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. Up to 1000 people were reported to be there in July for the collective beluga whale hunt (McGhee 1974). Another gathering took place there for mid-winter festivities.

Nuwuraq (Atkinson Point) which was east along the coast from *Kitigaaryuit* was the main village of the Nuvurarmiut. At the tip of Cape Bathurst was *Avvaq*, the main village of the Avvarmiut. Each of these groups was distinct enough from the others that they had a slightly different way of speaking.



Atkinson Point was also a big town at that time, just like *Kitigaaryuk*. Also across from *Kitigaaryuit* was another big town called *Kuukpak*. They had the same language as we did but a little different, and they were so close to one another. The (language of the) people of (*Avvaq*) was also close to our language, but different also. The languages of *Kuukpak* people and *Kitigaaryuit* people and Atkinson Point people and Baillie Island people were a little different from one another.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)

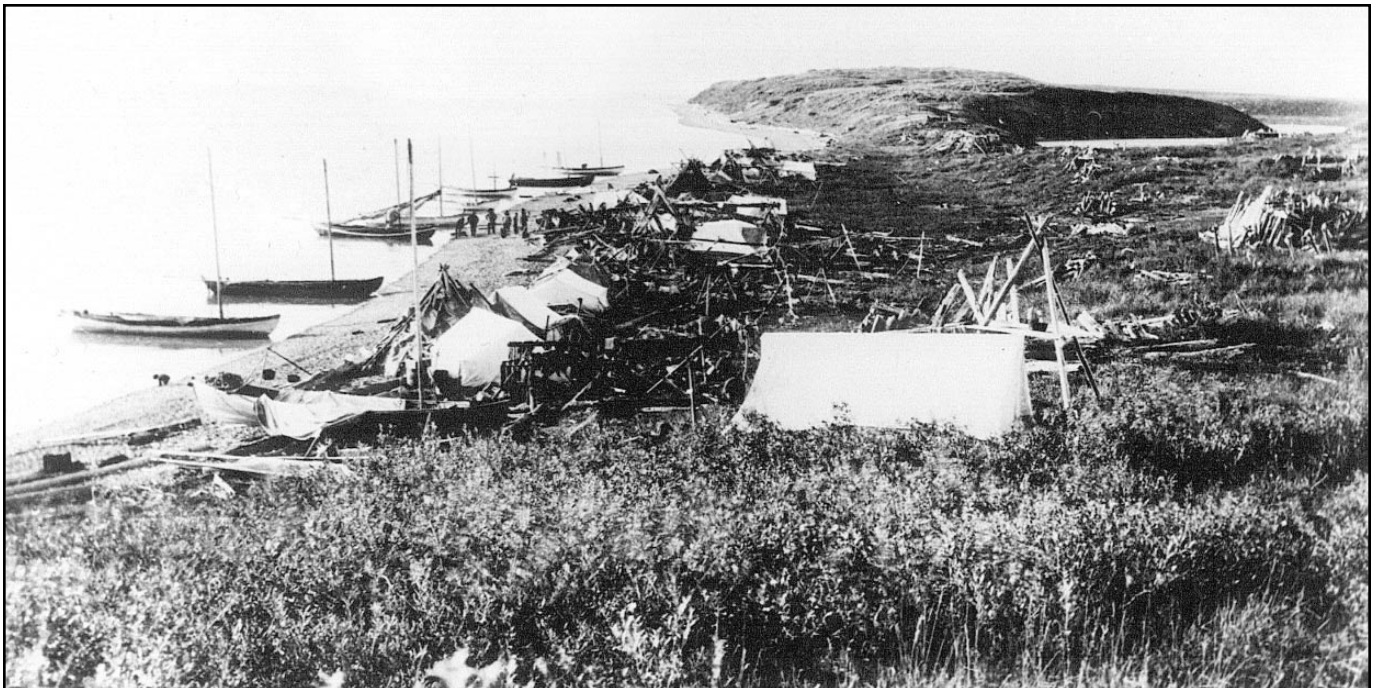
There were other groups in the past that seem to have disbanded for reasons that are not well understood. Examples are the Kuukpangmiut, the Imaryungmiut or Inuktuyuut of Imaryuk (Husky or Eskimo Lakes), and possibly the Igluluaryungmiut (?) of Franklin Bay. There may also have been a separate group at the Anderson River (Morrison 1990).

REGIONAL VARIATION IN RESOURCE USE

Inuvialuit followed a seasonal subsistence cycle of hunting, fishing and gathering.

In those days our ancestors didn't live by a clock. Perhaps only by the big one, the reliable one—the sun, *siqiniq*. Beasts of the land, fowl of the air, all the fish and whale and seal and all of life as regulated in a cycle. There was a time for working, a time for hunting, fishing and a time also for relaxation, for amusement and entertainment.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: A Long Time Ago Memories, 1-14-03)



The old village site of *Kitigaaryuk* which had the largest known gathering of people in the Arctic during the beluga whale hunt in July, ca 1900. (Stringer Collection/with permission of the General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada/ P7517-191)



Each group adapted their subsistence cycle to the availability of the animals in their area. The *Kitigaaryungmiut* lived in an area that was perfect for hunting beluga whales that entered the shallow, warm waters of the Mackenzie Estuary each summer.

Another period of the year when people got together, and a popular one I should say, is in July - the time of whale hunting. But then there was no time for games. It was hard work. This was done at *Kitigaaryuit*, at *Ukiivik* and *Avalliq*. No gun was used then, only (spears). After chasing the whales in shallow water, a herd of them, when grounded and the water receded, we (speared) them and pursued the wounded ones.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: A Long Time Ago Memories, 1-14-03)

Those that lived near deeper water like the *Tuyurmiut*, *Nuvurarmiu*t and *Avvarmiut* could hunt bowhead whales, and were closer to areas of open water in winter where seals and polar bears were more easily found.

Further east of *Tuktoyaktuk*, along the coast where the water is deeper, people used skin boats to hunt bowhead and beluga whales. They used spears with barbs, long lines and skin buoys...In about the centre of the line they used a disc about the size of a dinner plate to slow down the speared whale until it was too tired, then it was killed and towed to shore. *Atkinson Point*, [*Nuvuraq*] about 60 miles east of *Tuktoyaktuk* was the central place to hunt bowhead whales. The deep water there is right close to the shore.

Bertram Pokiak (1976:38-39)

I remember this year, when we were running short of grub, we moved to a place called *Kangiqtualuk*. This is inland from *Baillie Island*. After arriving there we found that there were some other families living there. They were also out of food. However, there was a lot of wood there and this is why the people tried to live there, close to wood, for it was hard to find wood along the coast. This was a good campsite for it was close to open water out on the sea. This was a good place, if people were able to go out and hunt seal, polar bear or *ugyuk* (bearded seal).

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, January–May 1921, I-1-12)

The various groups of Inuvialuit had a slightly different emphasis in the animals they hunted. A simple, but interesting example demonstrating regional differences in resource use is provided in a discussion of dog food by Frank Cockney;

...When we had visitors in the camp during the winter, my granddad always told him ahead of time, "When our visitors come, you make sure their dogs are well fed, or if they would prefer to feed the dogs themselves, you be with them. If the people are from the coast, that means the dogs are used to heavy meat, whale meat and seal



meat. Never underfeed or overfeed a dog. Also, the people from the Delta—their dogs are not used to heavy meat, for they are living on fish all the time. Always tell them if they're going to feed their dogs seal meat or whale meat, not to feed them too much, for this will cause the dogs to get sick.”

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-02)

CHANGING TIMES

Although some information was presented in the oral histories on the more traditional period, the majority of the oral history transcripts represent the time from 1900 to about the 1950s. This was a time of great change for Inuvialuit which was brought about by the presence of outsiders such as traders, American whalers, missionaries and others. A few of the changes are presented here and in the other sections of the report.

Among the most devastating impacts to Inuvialuit were a series of epidemics and chronic diseases that caused many deaths. Tragedy struck as many people in camps died within a short period of time. Felix Nuyaviak tells of an epidemic that hit *Kitigaaryuit* near the turn-of-the-century.



Traditional graves of driftwood logs at *Kitigaaryuit*, 1996. (Elisa Hart/Inuvialuit Social Development Program/R9-22-01)

I remember the time when the flu came on was during the whaling season. It hadn't been long after the flu arrived that the people began to die off. People died in their tents. People died while they were working on the whales. This was a dreadful sight. I remember it though I was very small...I remember there were so



many people dying that they quit bothering to make graves. At times they would just put two or three bodies together and pile logs over them.

It was a dreadful sight and a dreadful thing to think about at *Kitigaaryuit*, a place that had been so full of life and noise was now completely silent, for death was everywhere...People no longer went to *Kitigaaryuit* for there was fear of death all around the place. I remember in the evenings when it got dark it was absolutely quiet all over, people seemed to be afraid to speak...I remember a few older people who did survive, [they] used to remain at home and fish with fishnets while the younger people tried their best to whale. I also remember after the people died off, the few who remained got together and tried living together, for this was the only way they could survive.

Felix Nuyaviak (N01992-007:0261, as edited in Hart 1996)

Changes in economic focus resulted in changes in the seasonal cycle of activity. Trapping was emphasized and some food and supplies could be obtained from traders.



Lennie Iglangasuk's schooner the *Reindeer* with fox pelts hanging from the mast, 1929. (A. L. Fleming Collection/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-0293)

In those days I remember before freeze-up people used to get a few supplies such as tea and sugar to carry them through the winter and then their fishing season would start. Now in those days when people fished they made sure they had enough to last through the winter, or when they hunted for meat, any kind of meat, they made sure they stored it all away, as much as they could store. For in those days they thought that once the trapping season started, they would not have time to fish or hunt.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #1)



Some people continued to hunt and fish within their traditional territories. Felix Nuyaviak provides an example in telling about Mangilaaluk who was the first *ataniq*, or as elders say in English, the first chief of Tuktoyaktuk.

Mangilaaluk's land was *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*. He never wanted to leave. We would go to *Nalruriaq* to go beluga whale hunting. In July, we hunted beluga whales and returned to *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* in August to go fishing. Sometimes around August 3, Mangilaaluk would set his nets and we would begin fishing. We would make *qingniq* (storage pit) for fish and we never finished them in the winter. We never finished our fish. Others who run out of food would come to us to feed themselves and their dogs.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-253:0265)

Many Inuvialuit enjoyed the mobility that schooners provided in the summer and tried out new areas for hunting and trapping.

Many people visited us as in those days, many Eskimo owned their own schooner and they called very often to Baillie Island. I was not fortunate to own a schooner so I didn't go and follow them. They could move themselves having and owning a schooner. They could move from the coast and go any place they wanted.

Edward Kikoak (N-1992-007:0219)

As the heyday of white fox trapping subsided trading posts closed in places like Cape Bathurst (Baillie Island Post, Maitland Point and eventually Stanton), and people began moving to settlements like Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik. Caribou were also scarce in those days, and life could get a bit lonely without the usual families around to live and travel with. Many Inuvialuit had to make the difficult decision of whether to stay in the area they knew or move to the settlements. The possibility of employment also began to attract people there.

I'm going to tell you a story of our life in 1940. It was in March of that year we were trying to make a living in hunting out in the ice. My brother Phillip and I, my sister and brothers anyway, it must have been around the middle of March, 1940, (we) were getting a few bears. In fact we got five bears by the middle of March. Bob Cockney's family was with us.

In those days we had no groceries of the kind that one buys from a store, so naturally we were worried. Then Bob Cockney and I usually got together and would spend an evening talking of our future. How are we going to live in *Avvaq*? We had no stores to turn to in those days, there was no government also. All we had was icehouses. We would talk of moving somewhere because both of us were getting old and it was easy to get sick. Our children were many. Bob said to me "Where shall we go? Which way can we go? Maybe we should go west toward the delta or somewhere around *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* where they have a store now, and there are lot of fish and wood to burn." I said, "How can we? If we move away to where there is no meat to have like caribou, how can we stand it?" "There is a lot of fish", he said,



“and fish are good for the children at Tuk, also in the springtime you can go to the delta and hunt rats by canoe. In March when it opens they start trapping them. Then there is a lot of caribou just the other side of Aklavik, also lots of rats and fish to eat. Now since the price of rats went up they are rich people over there. Also they never suffer in want of white man stuff. There is also lots of reindeer meat which is cheap at twenty-five dollars a carcass, and when you work, they pay you one dollar an hour.”
Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: March 1940)

And finally they made the last move from the coast to the Delta. The Delta attracted them for various reasons. Perhaps a bit of loneliness and the main reason is there were no more stores around so they moved to the Delta and to Tuk.

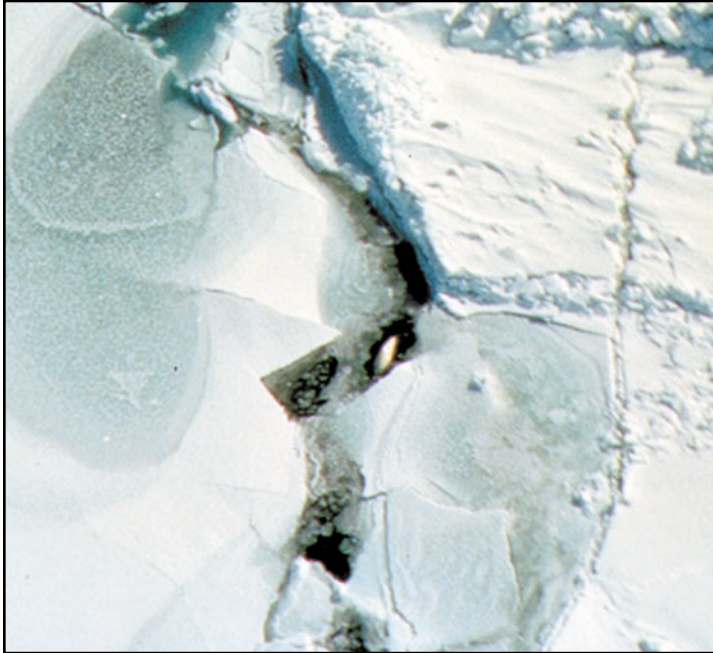
Edward Kikoak (N-1992-007:0219)



A group of Inuvialuit at Stanton (*Qikuliurvik*). Oblate priests established a mission there in 1937 and also traded some goods. The mission closed in 1953 and most people living in the area then moved to Tuktoyaktuk. Left to right: Two unidentified girls, Oksoasiak, two unidentified children, man behind is Noah Elias, unidentified man in white parka, behind him is Angus Elias, two unidentified children, man in front is likely Silas Palaiyuk, young man beside him may be Ralph Kimiksana, two unidentified young men, last three men are Bobby Chicksi, Edgar Kotokak and Philip Nogasak. (R. C. Diocese Archives)

There were many factors such as changes in the number of people hunting, changes in economic emphasis and in the areas people were living that affected the use of marine resources. A number of publications provide more detail on this period of change for Inuvialuit (e.g. Bockstoce 1986; Freeman *et al.* 1992; Morrison 1997; Nagy 1994 and 1999a; Northwest Territories Education 1991; Usher 1971).

QILALUGAQ—BELUGA WHALE



Inuvialuit oral tradition and archaeological remains at old village sites indicate that Inuvialuit have long relied on the *qilalugaq* or beluga whale for both food and materials. Beluga whales migrate from the Bering Sea by following leads between the landfast and pack ice. The migration begins in April and May and they swim along the north coast of Alaska following leads offshore all the way to the west coast of Banks Island. Then they swim south along the leads to Amundsen Gulf, arriving there in late May and June. The whales head southwest along the edge of the landfast ice of the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula moving towards the Mackenzie Estuary. They cannot enter the Estuary until a barrier of landfast ice breaks in late June or early July (Fraker 1979:28, Harwood and Smith 2002a:82).

A beluga in a lead. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO)

Belugas can be found in Kugmallit, East, West Mackenzie and Shallow Bays for the better part of July. The water in the Estuary is warmer and belugas use it to moult their skin. Inuvialuit reported that the whales also give birth and feed in the Estuary (Byers and Roberts 1994:2). Whales that are not in the Estuary can be found throughout the Beaufort Sea and Amundsen Gulf. They begin their migration back to the Bering Sea in late August and September (Harwood and Smith 2002a:82–83).

Although belugas were hunted at various locations along the coast, they were most intensively hunted near the mouth of the East Channel of the Mackenzie River. The masses of beluga bone found at ancient sites along the river attests to the importance of the whales to the Kitigaaryungmiut and Kuukpangmiut who lived there (Friesen and Arnold 1995).



Beluga remains at the *Kuukpak*. An old village site on the west bank of Richards Island. (Charles Arnold/Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre)



HUNTING AND PROCESSING WHALES

The largest known seasonal gathering of Inuvialuit took place in summer at the village of *Kitigaaryuk* and across the channel *Kuugaatchiaq*. In 1848 Richardson saw 200 men in kayaks (Richardson 1851:236), and it is estimated that about 1000 people gathered there each summer for the beluga hunt (Stefansson 1913:452). The hunt was important to the survival of the *Kitigaaryungmiut* through the winter. There were strict rules in camp during the whaling season.

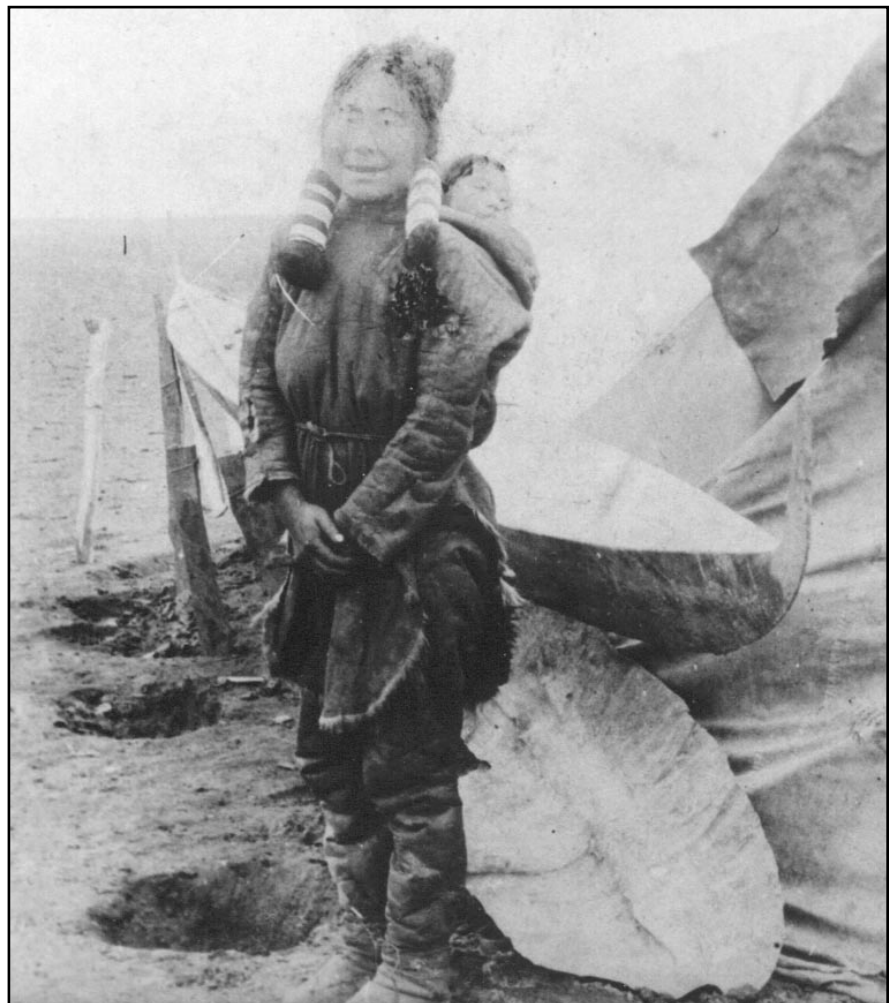
...Those that were sewing...were forbidden to sew when there was beluga whale hunting. They died very fast if they sewed pieces of moose skin, pieces of caribou skin or wolverine from inland.

Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)

Everyone was to remain quiet in camp during the whaling season, because the whales were thought to be sensitive to noise and might be frightened away.

...when they went down to the ocean the women became very quiet. Even the dogs, they tried not to let them make any noise at all. That's the way they used to spend their summers when the whale hunters went down to the sea.

Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)



A woman at *Kitigaaryuk* standing in front of a kayak. In Siglitun a kayak is spelled *qayaq* (singular), *qainnak* (for two), and *qainnat* (3 or more). (Stringer Collection, with the permission of the General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada/ P7517-166)



People eagerly awaited the arrival of the whales. Someone would go to a high point of land to watch for them.

Then there was this man by the name of Qilaukkaaluk, he would go very early in the morning to the sand hill (*Siuraryuaq*) to see where the whales were. In those days they had no binoculars like they do now. But this man had very good eyes, when he saw the whales were going in he would rush home while they (the hunters) were yet asleep. He would start waking them up. Flipping them with his parka, saying “your grub for the winter are going in, wake up.”

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: No. 1, 1-14-01)

A leader of the hunt was chosen. The hunters paddled a few kilometres north of the village to *Saapqavik* to wait for the whales to get close.

Long ago when I was a child, in the springtime at *Kitigaaryuk*, people would gather. I used to see lots of people when I started remembering. A lot of *qainnat* (skin boats) would gather together to go and wait for whale hunting at *Saapqavik*...While they waited, they would eat roasted food, waiting for the beluga whales and eating. When [the whales] came in [the] *qainnat* would form a line and very quietly start out. The leader in one *qayaq*...[directed] the [other] *qainnat*. When they started, one *qayaq* in front would motion to them to keep the *qainnat* in line. He would scold them that leader, “Your food is important. Stay in line. This is your food for the winter.”

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)

Hunters in their *qainnak* (kayaks), 1901. (Charles W. Mathers/National Archives of Canada C-5106)





Although noise was kept to a minimum in camp, hunters used loud noise to drive the whales into the shallows. This is described in the book *I, Nuligak* (Nuligak 1988:16):

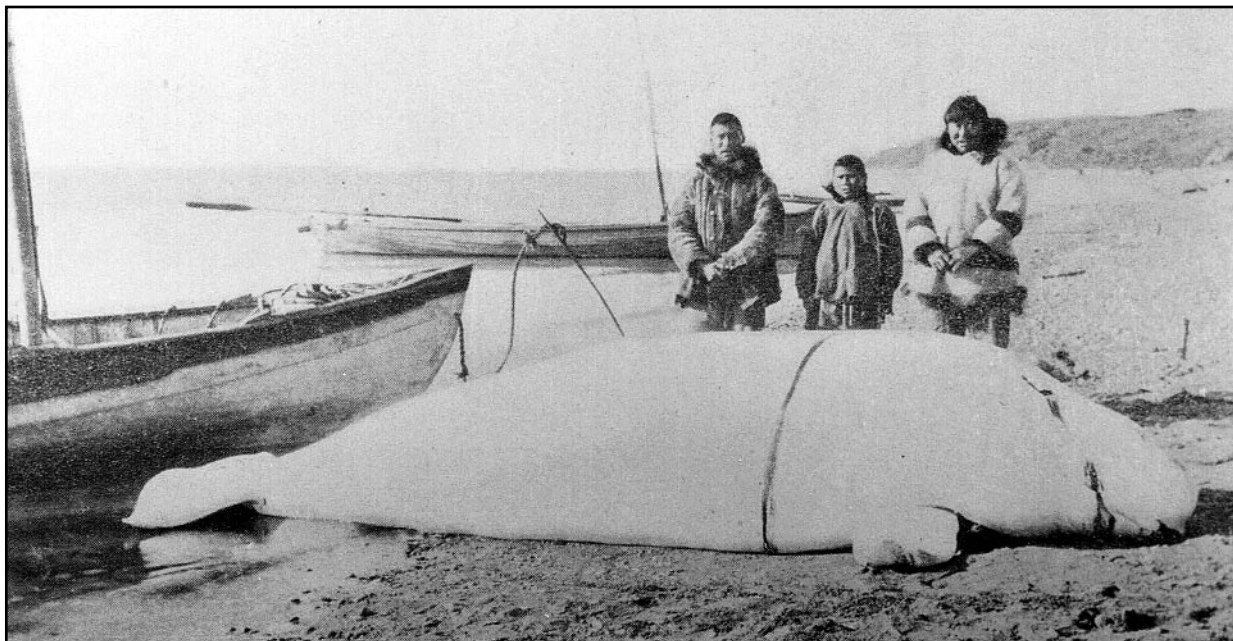
Then, on the leeward side of the shallows, they faced the belugas and paddled forward all abreast. With loud shouts they struck the water with the paddles, splashing it in great cascades. Panic-stricken at the noise, the whales threw themselves on the sandbanks in their efforts to flee.

The whales driven into the shallows could not escape and were killed with lances.

Now I remember that the whales were so many that the wake of the whales—or the water that they were pushing—would be quite a ways ahead of them. When they did get into shallow water and the water receded, this would leave the whales at least halfway out of the water. I remember the people used to get up there and just spear the whales, kill as many as they could kill. When they were through the people would chase the whales that got away. You can imagine how many whales were killed in one hunt. This was because they thought they would not get another chance like this.

I remember a man was coming home towing two whales with his *qayaq*. I will tell you how they did this. They blew air into the whales. First they plugged the holes which they had made with a spear when they made their kill. Once the whale was blown full of air, it floated up very high and made easy towing. So this was the kind of people I grew up to see in my young days.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)



Hunters with a large beluga whale at *Kitigaaryuk*. (Mason 1910)



Felix Nuyaviak gives us an idea of the number of whales each hunter might kill, and also that the hunt was sometimes delayed by bad weather.

Then they headed for the shallow waters where the water is so shallow that you can see the whales. There they would harpoon them and kill them. Some got two, others got three...

When the weather was bad and there were big waves the [hunters] didn't go out. Sometimes they would return home without hunting whales. On the way home, they would play around and race their *qainnat*. That was the time long ago.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)

Once the belugas were brought back there was a lot of work to do to process the whales into the parts used for food and other materials.

Then when they had brought them home they would cut them up [and hang] them up to dry. Making *uqsuq* [oil] and storing them in sealskin pokes. They made *atungak* by drying the [*atungaksaq*—layer of skin], and never cutting the hide that they would use for covering the *umiat* and *qainnat* [skin boats], or for their *iqaqliit* [waterproof soles]. I never saw them cooking *maktak* in those days as they do now. The only thing they cooked was the outer part, the *kaanniq* which they scraped off from the hide that they were going to dry for general use. [They] cooked this [mixed] together with dryfish and drymeat and put [it] away in a sealskin or stomach of a whale. They prepared these for the winter. So they call this "*kiniqtaun*", whale stomach filled with drymeat in it. "*Ulliagaq*"—*kaanniq* and drymeat they would call it the same, "*ulliagaq*". Stomach filled only with dryfish is called "*kiniqtaq*". Winter time is the time to eat these.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: Part 1, 1-14-01)



Butchered beluga whale products at *Nalruriaq* (East Whitefish Station). *Atungaksaq* is the layer of skin used to make waterproof soles. The prepared skin or *atungak* can be seen hanging over the rack near the centre of the photograph. (D. Wilkinson/NWT Archives/N-1979-051-347s)



Inuvialuit anticipated which whales would arrive first and used the parts for different purposes.

With the first killing they usually saved all the hides for general use, for *umiat* (skin boat covers) for *iqaqkliit* (waterproof soles) or *maktak* because...the younger whales are the ones that come in first. Later in the season the old and mature ones come which are cut up for the "*qingniq*" ice pit. That's how they were—our forefathers.

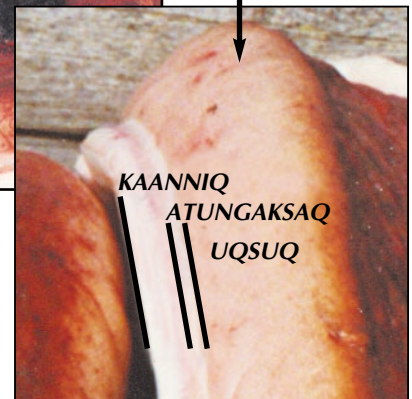
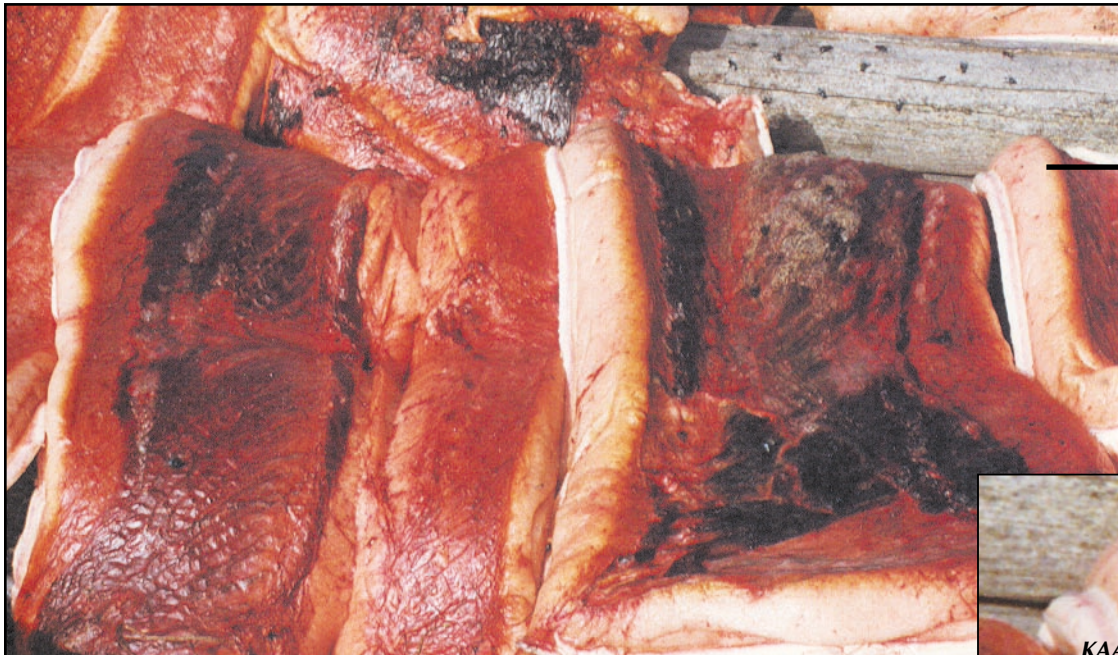
Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: Part 1, 1-14-01)

Qingnit (plural) or log-lined pits dug into the ground were used to store food until the end of the whaling season and also for the winter.

Taking them home they would cut them up to make drymeat, putting away the head and flippers and front flippers into a pit in the ground...

Then what they did after the whaling was over was take everything out of the pit. [They] wiped [it] carefully, dried it, [and] then took some of [the food] with them for their summer or fall fishing camps. Then they put all the rest back in the pit. [They] put some [food] in [whale] stomach pokes or in seal skin [pokes], which in some cases were almost as big as 45 gallons when filled. These lasted a long time. Then when it froze over they got their meat out of the pits, so that when the sun went down until the time it came back again, they didn't have to do any hunting but dance.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: Part 1, 1-14-01)



Siglitun words for the layers of beluga skin. The white layer is *kaanniq*, which is scraped off and eaten when people are going to use the next layer, the *atungaksaq*. That is a "grizzle-like" layer that is used to make *atungak*, waterproof skin for things like *qayaq* (kayak) covers or *iqaaqliit*—waterproof or water resistant boot soles. *Uqsuq* is the word for blubber and oil of whales, but also seals and fish. (Elisa Hart, Inuvialuit Social Development Program)

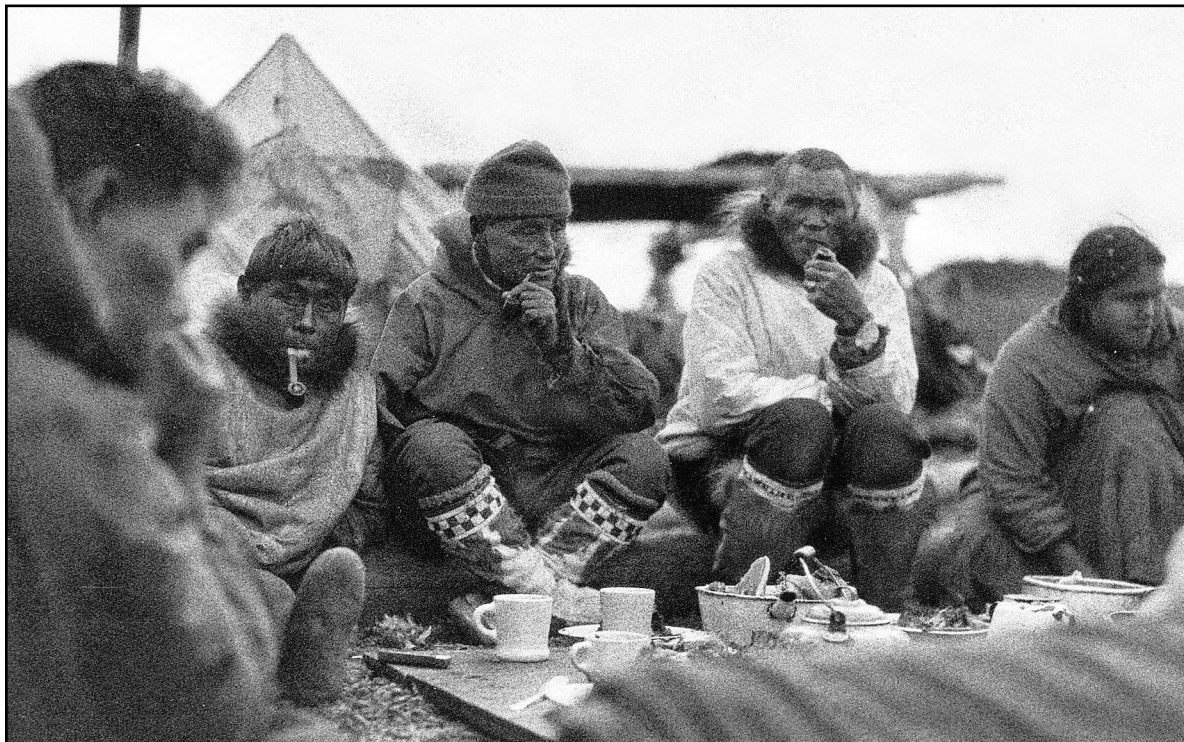


Frank Cockney describes how his grandfather maintained a *qingniq*. This may have taken place at Kendall Island.

During the whaling season he would dig a pit into which he put whale heads and tails and flippers until the pit was full. Now he covered this up with logs, side by side. These whale heads remained in there until just before freeze-up. By this time the flippers and whale heads and tails had aged. They were taken out. Then he got some grass or hay stacked up and he bailed all the water and oil out of the pit till it was dry. Then he got some nice thick willows which were clean, and put them in the bottom of the pit as flooring. Then he got the grass and hay and wiped the...sides of the pit clean of all blubber.

Now he got the heads and tails and flippers. These were washed clean, and then put back into the pit. The logs were put back and the cracks chinked with grass, and mud was put over this so water and snow would not go into it. He kept two or three heads out, handy for winter use. What had gone into the pit was for emergency use.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-01)



People at *Ukiivik* (Kendall Island) in 1935. Second from left is Harry Inukikġaq and fourth from left is Dennis Annaqtuq, Frank Cockney's grandfather. Beside Dennis is Jane Esau. (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-0200).



People really enjoyed the flavour of the food that was aged in *qingnit*.

There was blubber—fresh blubber, or blubber which had been aged, from fresh to as strong as they wanted. Our visitors usually sat at the table for at least a full hour, slowly eating and exchanging stories with each other. These days I will never forget. Now when they cut *quaq* (frozen meat) from the whale's head, which is called *niaquaq*, this has a different tang. The sides, from the neck and from the top—each section has a different tang to it, though it has been in the pit.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-14-02)

Numbers of Whales Needed Per Family

There is little information within the oral histories on the numbers of whales each hunter or family might need to get to last the winter. One example is provided of a family that is in a situation where they don't need to share.

Now we got four whales and my *dadak* said it was enough as we did not have to split or share with anyone. After we had all our *maktak* and whale meat all set we went back up to Aklavik.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-13)

Interviews done during a recent traditional knowledge study of beluga whales and whaling indicated that five or six whales was the usual number taken in the past, and perhaps reflects the number needed when sharing with others. Now hunters only need one or two (Byers and Roberts 1994:25).

Conservation Methods in Hunting

Interviews with Inuvialuit indicated that a traditional method of conservation was not hunting many beluga cows with calves (Byers and Roberts 1994:18). However a few were hunted because they tasted good.

Now if there was one more hunt to make my granny would tell him, “You make a good catch, but I want you to get one or two young whales, [grey] ones. These will not be for storing away. We will have a feast with these, showing our thanks for the catch we have received. We will have a feast until they are all gone.”

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-02)

It was an important belief that animals used for food should not be wasted (Byers and Roberts 1994:18). The following quote shows how utility and conservation prevented people from hunting more whales than women could process at one time.

She would always tell the people who were going out hunting, “Never catch too many at one time, for the women can't handle that many—and the weather is so hot the meat might spoil on us before we could get it prepared.”

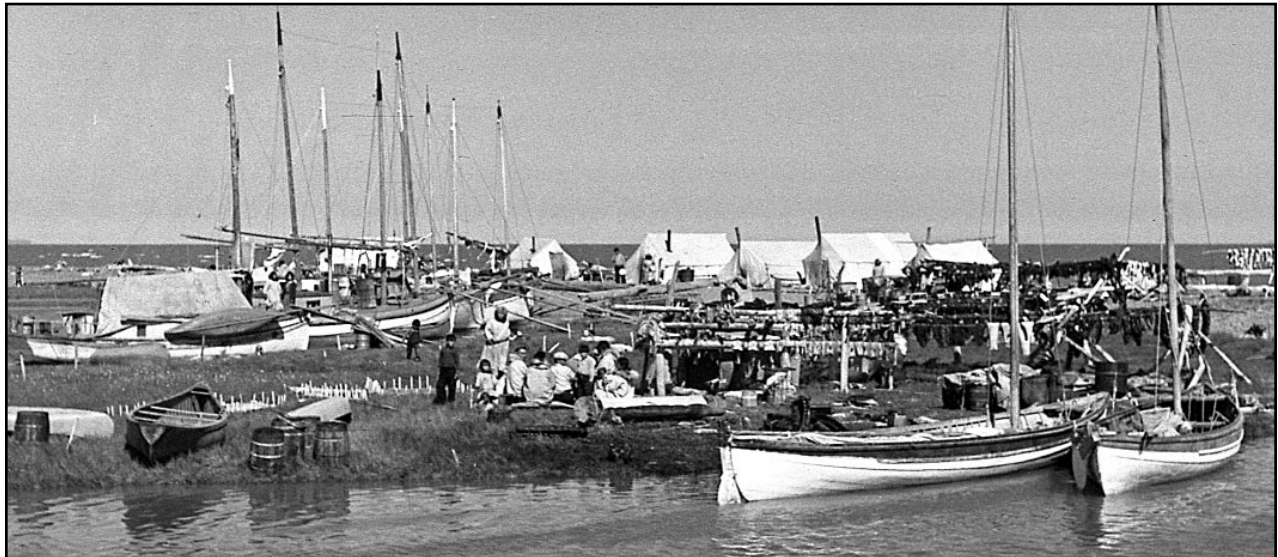
Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-02)



BELUGA HUNTING IN OTHER AREAS

Most of the information on beluga whaling that is in the COPE and Oblate oral histories relates to *Kitigaaryuit*. Whaling in other areas is mentioned only briefly.

Billy Day says that a lot of people used *Nalruriaq* (East Whitefish Station) for whaling from the 1930s to 1950s (2002:3). There are many stories within the oral histories that refer to people staying there, but little that describes whale hunting.



Nalruriaq in the 1940s. Note the *atungaksat* or layer of whale skin pegged out on the ground. (Based on Archibald Lang Fleming/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1082)

Whaling from Kendall and Pullen Island

Also mentioned are *Ukiivik* (Kendall Island) and *Avalliq/Avallialuk* (Pullen Island).

They traveled all over the land, towards *Ukiivik* when the caribou are good, and some would go to *Ukiivik* for whales. Some would go to *Avalliq*. There were a lot of people at *Kitigaaryuk* but some would go to *Avalliq* for whaling.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0268)



Ukiivik (Kendall Island) in 1935. (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-201)



Whaling from Tuktoyaktuk

The following quote mentions hunting whales out of Tuktoyaktuk, but the years are not provided.

I will tell about how it was in summer at *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*. In the summer *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* people would get some beluga whales. Because of the wind, they didn't do too well. They got 66 altogether, and then because of the wind they could hardly go out. Towards evening they got three beluga whales today, August 14...

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0265)



Wesley Ovuak stands on the tail of a beluga whale while eating *maktak*, ca. 1960s, Tuktoyaktuk. (Department of Information/NWT Archives/G-1979-023-1194)

Whaling from Baillie Island or Avvaq

The oral histories of people who lived in the Cape Bathurst area often mentions them going to Baillie Island or *Avvaq* to hunt belugas. However only a few details of hunting or numbers of whales taken are provided.

Then we went to Baillie Island in the spring for beluga whale hunting with a whaleboat. *Usuqqaq* was ahead and we followed with a sailboat. In 1923, we got 14 beluga whales. Sometimes we got 2 at once and sometimes 3.

Edward Kikoak (N-1992-007:0216)



Baillie Island post, also known as *Utqaluk*. (Canada. Dept. of Interior/NWT Archives/G-1979-001-0301)

Hunting in this area was less predictable than at *Kitigaaryuit* because the sea ice would sometimes come into shore and make whaling difficult or impossible. In some years the landfast ice did not go out.

I also remember that people weren't able to get many whales for there was too much ice. About September we knew that the ice was not leaving so we started journeying back to our winter settlement.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1917, 1-1-07)

In was in July that we arrived at Baillie Island and although we went out looking for whales we didn't have any luck as there was too much ice.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, April–November 1922, 1-1-16)

On at least one occasion a whale was found in the open water off of Cape Bathurst. It isn't clear whether the whale was entrapped there or if the whale could have escaped from the area through a lead in the ice.

My dad was always going out to the open ice spots to hunt seals. On one of these trips he got a whale and pulled it up on the ice with his dogs. This was one of those times we were able to have fresh *maktak*.

Mary Kailek (N-1992-253: A Long Time Ago)



Whaling at *Niaqunnaq*

There is little mention of whaling out of *Niaqunnaq* (West Whitefish Station) although it was an important place for people to get whales. Amos Tuma told of a year when no whales turned up there although they did east of the Delta. He did not state the year he was talking about.

Now I will tell you about another time at *Niaqunnaq*. Just as the people were getting ready to hunt whales at *Niaqunnaq*, I left to come back to Inuvik. Usually this is the place the whales come by when they first arrive. However, this summer the whales were plentiful at Whitefish Station (East Whitefish Station—*Nalruriaq*) and none around *Niaqunnaq*. It was reported that they were able to get a few whales at *Niaqunnaq*. As for the people at Whitefish Station, they were really getting whales.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #4)



Whales sometimes become entrapped in the ice as these did at Husky Lakes in 1989. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO)

Niaqunnaq and *Tapqaq* (Shingle Point) were important places for whaling, particularly in the days of schooners (Day 2002:3), but there is little mention of them in the COPE and Oblate oral histories. Extensive oral history research was done on those places for the Yukon North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History Project, and information on them can be found in the final project report and in the interview transcripts (Nagy 1994).

Further Verification Required

The following two statements require further verification or explanation from elders to fully understand their meaning. Rather than people settling in at one camp to whale, the first statement makes it sound as if they moved from one area to another. Both statements mention whaling from *umiat*, which is not well known in the context of beluga hunting in the days when skin boats were still in use.

...before the whaling season approached they would split up into three different whaling stations. Some would go west to Whitefish Station (*Niaqunnaq*), some would go to *Ukiivik*, and some would stay here at *Kitigaaryuit*.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)



CHANGES IN WHALING TECHNOLOGY

In a recent article, Billy Day described the four ways in which whaling has changed over the years (2002:1–3). His information on the changes in the boats used is presented along with descriptions found in the oral histories.

Kayaks

The use of kayaks in the beluga drive at *Kitigaaryuit* was described earlier. According to Billy;

Individual hunting of the beluga was not encouraged, but it was done at times if the need was there. When an individual went out with a *qayaq*, he would find a whale in shallow water and then would get in the whale's wake and stay right on top of the whale until he could harpoon it. The harpoon had a float and a large plate attached. This would really slow down the whale so that the hunter could spear it in the blowhole.

Billy Day (2002:2)



A man in a kayak with a whale boat in the background, 1910. (Hon. F. Oliver, Natural Resources of Canada/ National Archives of Canada/PA-19470)

Whale Boats

A second phase of whaling took place when whale boats replaced skin kayaks. Epidemics resulted in the deaths of many Inuvialuit, especially from the measles epidemic of 1902. A lower population meant that the large whale drives were not needed. The whale boats which were either left or traded by American whalers were used to hunt belugas (Day 2002:2).

At the end when there were fewer people, they quit using *qainnat* and began using whale boats. When they went hunting beluga whales with whale boats they would shoot them and then harpoon them. After a while they quit shooting them. They would wait for them to come up for air without chasing them, just waiting for them to come up for air, watching for the belugas to get closer...After they harpooned the beluga whale, they would drag it and tie the harpoon line to the boat and kill them. That is what they did.



Not so long ago they began using a seal skin balloon (*avataqpak*) to tie at the end of the line. When they harpooned the beluga whale they let the line go using a drag plate with a skin balloon. They would chase the beluga whale and when they caught up to it they grabbed the line and harpooned it again and then shot it.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)



Whale boats and schooners at *Nalruriaq* (East Whitefish Station), 1923. (Based on B.H. Serge, Natural Resources Canada/National Archives of Canada/PA-19313)

Even though the technology of beluga hunting was changing, knowledge of beluga behaviour was still important to a successful hunt. Although beluga calves were not hunted often, they knew how to get one when needed.

Later the whale boats were brought in for whaling. They would go to *Kitigaaryuit* and *Nalruriaq* (East Whitefish Station). They would go out sailing, and when they were at the schools they'd put down their sails and wait for the whales to come to them. Whales are very curious animals. If you waited quietly you'd be surprised [at] how much the whales played around the boat.

...in whaling in those days, the usual thing to do was to harpoon the baby whale first if you could because the mother wouldn't leave it. It kept coming back to it. Eventually the mother too was harpooned and killed.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #2)



Engines in Whale Boats and Schooners

The use of schooners with engines, and engines in whale boats marked a third phase of whaling. The engines were not very powerful. Since the boats were slow the hunters waited for the whales to get close and would sometimes shoot the whales to slow them down. If a whale sunk, Billy Day said that his grandfather would not start whaling again until he had retrieved it (Day 2002:2).

...they began to chase them using engines (boats with motors). They chased them using engines and then shot at them. When it (the whale) is dying they harpooned them. When it sank they left it and started on another one, chasing it using engines. When they caught up to it, they harpooned it and attached a float and then left it also to start on another one. When they caught up to it, they shot and killed it.

Some get three or four beluga whales nowadays with engines. Some can even get five beluga whales nowadays with engines. Long ago they used *qainnat* (kayaks) ...then boats with engines.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)



Schooners at Aklavik, ca. 1930. (Richard S. Finnie/National Archives of Canada/PA-172817)

When the whales arrived the people would go out sailing after them. When they were in the midst of the whales the sails were brought down quickly and the little motors that were in the whale boats were started. My grandparents' whale boat had a small 8 h.p. engine called a [?]. The whale hunters, after catching two or three whales would start back towing the whales on each side of the whaleboat.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-02)



Not everyone could afford whale boats and this sometimes caused hardship for people without the equipment to hunt whales.

As for ourselves we had to spend the whole summer at Baillie Island because we had no boat [and] no way of getting transported out. The only ones who had whale boats and smaller boats were the people from Anderson River and Avvaq.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d: Life Story, July 1919–April 1920)

Small Boats with Outboard Motors

A fourth phase includes the use aluminium boats with powerful engines (Day 2002:3). Prior to this there was also the use of freighter canoes with a small outboard engine. The use of smaller boats with outboard engines made whaling easier and more interesting.



Whale hunting from a freighter canoe, possibly at Tuktoyaktuk in the mid- 1960s to early 1970s. (Northwest Territories. Dept. of Information/NWT Archives/G-1979-023-1190)

Ever since we moved to Tuk in 1956 I have never missed a whaling season with the schooner. That was while my boat was in good running shape. Since I have no more use for the schooner I switched over to using a big canoe and outboard motor, and we still hunt every summer.

...At first when we used to go whaling with schooners, a lot of the people weren't interested in whaling. I guess that was because the schooners were too slow. Since we started using 20 foot canoes and outboard motors, a lot of [people] were going. Some of them would also [hunt] with 18 foot canoes although those are a little small for whaling.

When someone starts out, most everyone starts getting ready and excited to go whale hunting. This is because of the fast boats.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-37)



Diane Day about to harpoon a beluga from an aluminum boat. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO-1214)

The Use of Rifles

An interesting observation by Joe Nasogaluak tells of people beginning to use rifles to hunt belugas in 1942. It is believed that rifles were used before that date, so further investigation is required to determine exactly what he meant.

Then it was whaling season, in those days they were using harpoons. Felix got a whale in July 1941 with Mangilaaluk's whale boat and also Diamond was hunting with his also. My brother Philip and I along with Luke Miluksuk were using Old Man Rufus' whale boat in July 1941. We got two whales that summer. I saw a lot of people at *Nalruriaq* (Whitefish Station). People from the delta and around here were hunting whales with only harpoons and lances, they never used rifles. But then it was the coming year, in 1942 that the people started using rifles. It was during this season 1941, that the people at West Whitefish Station found out that the whales could be gotten much easier with rifles. So it was in 1942 that they adopted that way of hunting whales around here in Tuk.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Stories—July 1940)



The Use of Whale Nets

Nets were sometimes used to catch whales but are rarely mentioned in the oral histories. Billy Day explained that the nets had a 12 to 14" mesh (pers. com.).

Uncle Kimiksana and my dad also had nets set along the beach in the summer time. They had a big anchor set from the shore on which was tied a long line. This anchor also had a float. Once the net was ready to set they tied one end of it to the line and just pulled the other end and pulled from the beach out from the shore. They never used a skiff in those days. When they checked the net they just pulled the whale net ashore.

Mary Kailek (ISDP n.d.: A Long Time Ago)

It was in the month of July when the ice finally left and the people were able to go out hunting whales, right from the small island, I noticed for the first time that there were people setting nets—mind you, whale nets—this was something I had not seen before. Old Kaanniq (Duncan Cockney) was the one who owned the fishnet which was 20 fathoms long and it was 15 mesh size.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, June - November 1921, 1-1-14)



Cutting *maktak* off of a beluga. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:1249)



SELLING MAKTAK

A change in the use of whales was hunting them to sell to others. People with jobs couldn't always take the time off to go hunting and some people didn't have boats to hunt with.

One can hunt whales to sell the *maktak*, however if a family is not working where could they get the money to buy the *maktak*? We sold a whole beluga whale for maybe \$40 or close to \$60. At times it was hard to find buyers for the whales that you caught. There may be a few who are willing to buy a whole whale, but they would need to have a steady job in order to be able to do this.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253:0365)

EXCEPTIONAL YEARS FOR BELUGA

There is little mention of any variation in the number of whales arriving in the area from one year to the next, outside of bad ice years experienced around Baillie Island and *Avvaq*. An observation of a very good year for belugas was made by Amos Tuma. The year in the transcripts is 1974, but it isn't clear if he said the year or if the translator inserted it because it has been placed in brackets

Now I was told that there were a lot of whales down there that summer. Whenever there was calm weather and they went out, they always came back with a lot of whales.

They had three separate camps down there that past summer. There was a camp at *Ikinaaluk* and Whitefish Stations No. 1 and 2. We also heard that the Tuk people did really good for there were a lot of whales...and this summer there were more whales than before because I suppose, the ice opened up and made a way for the whales to come early.

It was said even in Paulatuk the people were doing good catching whales.

...it was reported that the people at Whitefish Station were able to get over sixty whales, and the people in the Tuk area too. It is not told just how many they got but they had all the *maktak* they needed.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #4)

GWICH'IN WHALING

Little has been written about Gwich'in going beluga whaling east of the Mackenzie Delta, and it is mentioned only in passing in the transcripts. Billy Day mentioned that the quote below refers to 1975 (pers. com.). Some Gwich'in from Fort McPherson and Aklavik went to the coast to hunt belugas, especially those with a mixed Inuvialuit and Gwich'in family (Andy Tardiff pers. com.).

Ever since the Game Department has started this whaling project, the Indians from Aklavik, Fort McPherson and Inuvik have been known to go out and hunt whales with the Game Department's outfit.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-13)



Starting to butcher a beluga whale. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:1250)

the shallows during the hunt. Hunters also knew that a beluga cow would not leave her calf, so to get both animals, they would kill the calf first. Another observation is that the cows and calves arrive in the estuary first.

The boats used to hunt whales changed over time. First were skin kayaks, then whale boats with sails, and later whale boats and schooners with sails and engines. Then came freighter canoes with outboard motors. Although not directly mentioned in the transcripts, people more recently began to use aluminium boats with a more powerful outboard motor. There were changes in the way the whales were killed as well.

Not everyone could afford the new equipment and some relied on friends or family for *maktak* and drymeat. Employment also had an impact on whaling as those with jobs couldn't always take the time to hunt and sometimes had to buy a whale or *maktak*.

Amos Tuma mentioned a year when for some reason belugas didn't go to *Niaqunnaq*. The year 1974 may have been exceptional in that there were plenty of belugas for everyone to hunt, possibly because of the ice going out early. The numbers of whales harvested is rarely mentioned.

SUMMARY

The information on beluga whaling attests to the importance of belugas to Inuvialuit. Most of the information on whaling relates to the traditional hunt at *Kitigaaryuk* when it was still a thriving village. East Whitefish Station (*Nalruriaq*), Kendall Island (*Ukiivik*), Pullen Island (*Avalliq*), and *Ikinaaluk* and *Tuktoyaktuk* are also mentioned. There is little information on whaling west of the Delta at *Shingle Point (Tapqaq)* or *West Whitefish Station (Niaqunnaq)*. Little information was provided on actual whaling at *Avvaq*, although many transcripts mention people going there or to *Baillie Island (Utqaluk)* for whaling. Because poor ice conditions could be encountered, whaling there was not as predictable as in the Mackenzie Estuary.

The transcripts have provided ample descriptions of the uses of beluga whales for food and materials. It is clear that people viewed the whales as being crucial to their survival through the winter, especially during the dark season when people didn't hunt but gathered for festivities.

Inuvialuit knowledge of beluga whale behaviour was touched on. The sensitivity of whales to noise was dealt with by establishing rules against making noise in whaling camps. However noise was used to drive whales into

ARVIQ—BOWHEAD WHALE

The bowhead whale or *arviq* is a baleen whale that can grow up to 21 m long and can weigh over 50,000 kg (110,230 lbs). The whales in the southeastern Beaufort Sea belong to the Bering Sea stock. Hundreds of bowheads migrate eastward along the north coast of Alaska in April and May, working their way through leads in the ice. By late May and early June they arrive off the west coast of Banks Island. They continue to follow leads down to Amundsen Gulf where there is usually open water (Martell *et al.* 1984:25, Harwood and Smith 2002a:83).



Bowhead whales. (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration/Department of Commerce/0842)

Bowheads rely mostly on tiny crustaceous zooplankton, and need to find areas where there is enough of this food to sustain their energy needs. By mid-August they are found in four or five areas where upwellings provide nutrients for zooplankton. The whales begin their migration back to the Bering Sea in September. They feed along the way at places like Franklin Bay, offshore of the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula, and the Yukon Coast (Harwood and Smith 2002a:83).

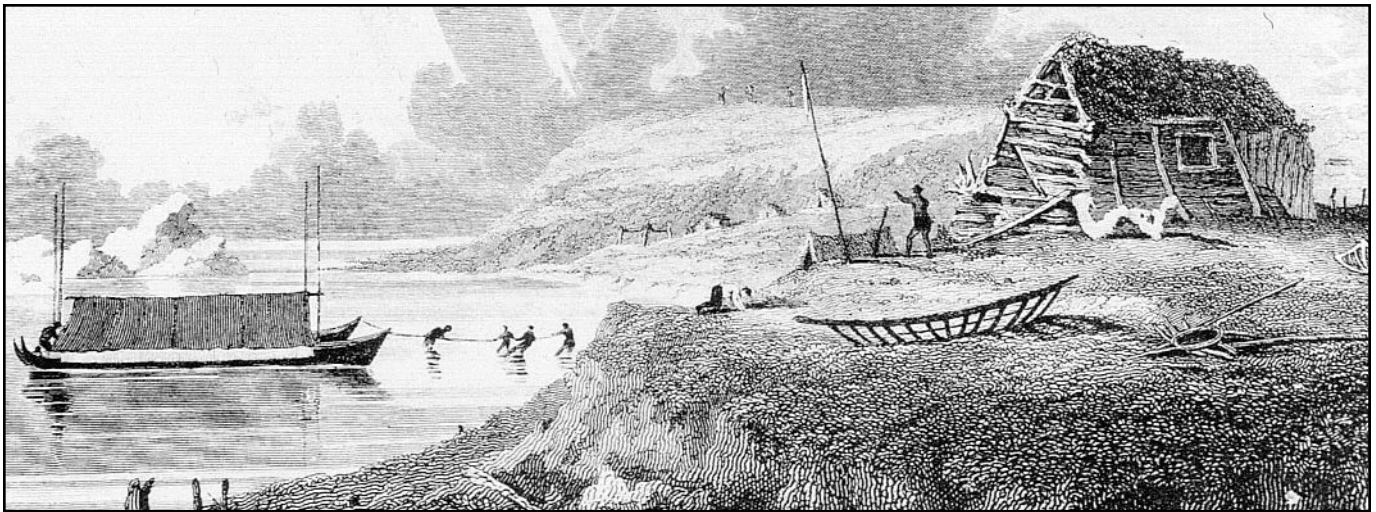
BOWHEAD WHALE HUNTERS

Inuvialuit such as the Tuyurmiat, Nuvurarmiut and Avvarmiut lived near deep water where bowhead whales could be found. Little is known about bowhead whaling by Inuvialuit and the extent to which each group hunted them is not fully understood. Sam Raddi and Nancy Weeks interviewed elders in each Inuvialuit community to learn about the traditional use of bowhead whales (Raddi *et al.* no date). Some of the results of that project are also summarized in Freeman *et al.* (1992). Raddi and Weeks learned about the important areas for bowhead whaling such as locations along the Alaska and Yukon coasts, Atkinson Point, Cape Bathurst and Baillie Island, and Whale Bluff.



David Morrison also compiled information on bowhead whaling for the Atkinson Point (*Nuvuraq*), Anderson River and Cape Bathurst areas based on the observations of explorers, traders and missionaries. John Richardson who visited *Nuvuraq* in 1826 noticed the skulls of 21 bowhead whales around the base of an "assembly room" or a *qadjgi* in Siglitun (Franklin 1971:215-217 in Morrison 1988:4). That did not mean that 21 bowheads were killed in a year, but likely meant that 21 skulls accumulated over the years were used in the structure.

In 1850 the explorer Robert M'Clure reported that there were about 100 people at *Nuvuraq* and they had killed three whales that year. They had enough blubber and whalebone to trade with people to the west (M'Clure 1969:87 in Morrison 1988:12). Cape Bathurst or most likely *Avvaq*, was described as a major location for whaling. It was reported that hunters generally got two



Nuvuraq as seen by John Richardson in 1826. (Based on Franklin 1971: Plate 23)

whales, and sometimes three, although some years none. Inuvialuit who used to go to Fort Anderson are reported to have killed one or sometimes two bowheads (Richardson 1851:267 and McFarlane 1905:730 in Morrison 1988:13). One elder interviewed by Raddi and Weeks said that the Anderson River people did not hunt bowheads (Raddi *et al.* no date).

Raddi and Weeks reported that there was a limit of four to five whales that could be killed each summer, and if more were killed then bad luck would befall the people. One elder said that four whales could feed 1000 people for one winter (Raddi *et al.* no date).



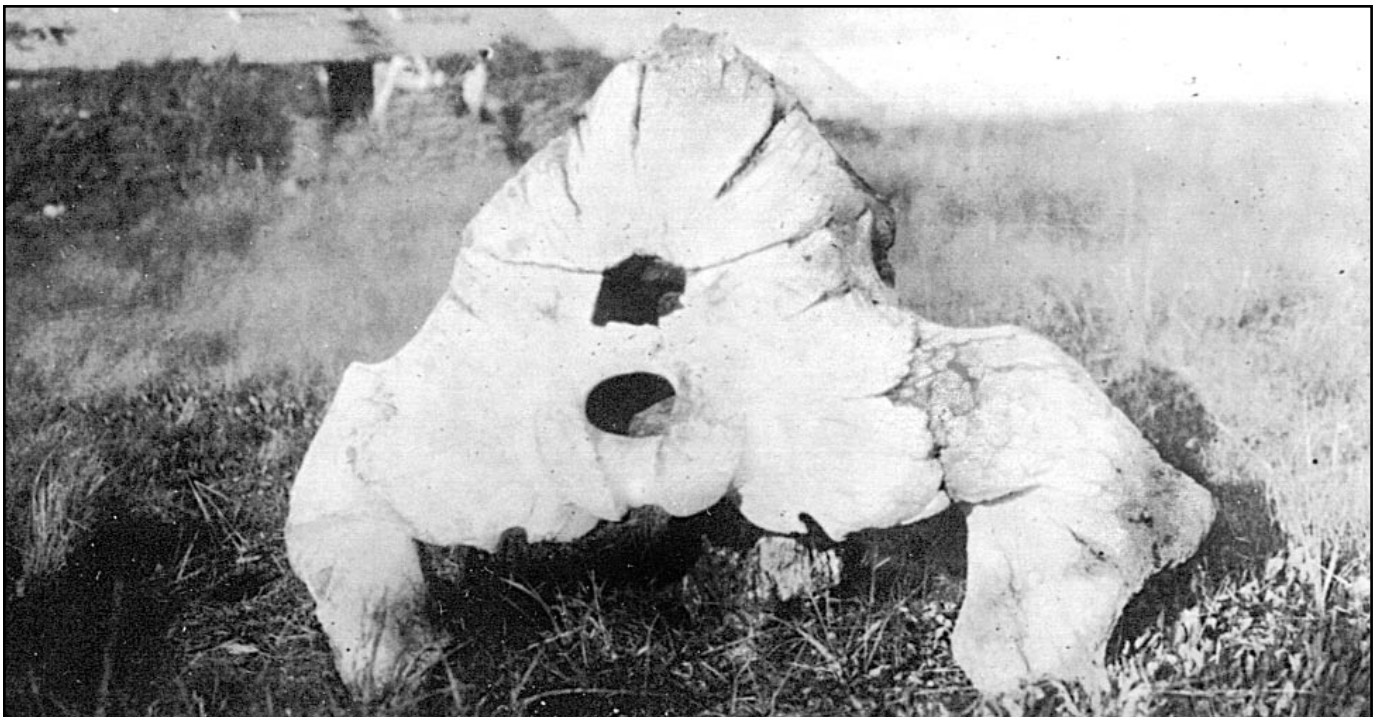
It didn't take many whales to provide enough food for the winter. It is estimated that a relatively small 25 ton bowhead is equivalent in weight

Even a young bowhead whale can provide an abundance of *maktak*. (Photographer unknown/ FJMC-DFO:1750)



to 43.5 beluga whales, and a 50 ton whale is equivalent to 87 belugas (McCartney 1980:527). A 25 ton whale provides approximately 18,597.6 kg (41,000 lbs) of meat, blubber, and organs (McCartney 1980:536). A bowhead provided an ample supply of black skinned *maktak*, as well as baleen, sinew, bones and other materials, all of which had many uses.

The preference by bowhead whale hunters across the Arctic for younger, smaller whales has been demonstrated (McCartney 1995). Among the reasons for selecting young whales is that their meat and *maktak* is softer (more tender?) and they are easier to work with (Kassam and Wainright Traditional Council 2001:15). Inuvialuit may also have preferred young whales. A caption on a photograph of whale skulls at Langton Bay taken in 1910, shows that the bowhead skulls were from young whales.



A close-up of a bowhead skull at Langton Bay in 1910. The caption said that there were numerous skulls, mostly from young whales, and it appeared that local hunters did not hunt adult bowheads. A caption on another photograph of a skull said that the skulls were there before white whalers came to the area. (R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada/PA-188068)

THE BOWHEAD HUNT

Bowhead whaling was done from a large skin-covered boat called an *umiaq*. Raddi *et al.* (no date) describe the crew as consisting of a captain (steersman?), four rowers and a harpooner who was a very strong man. The captain was usually the owner of the boat and was called the *umialik* (Stefansson 1914:168). Raddi *et al.* (no date) report that whales were hunted using harpoons and drag and float gear, and "songs of power" or *aqigoan* (as spelled in their report) were used to slow the animals down to make them easier to hunt.

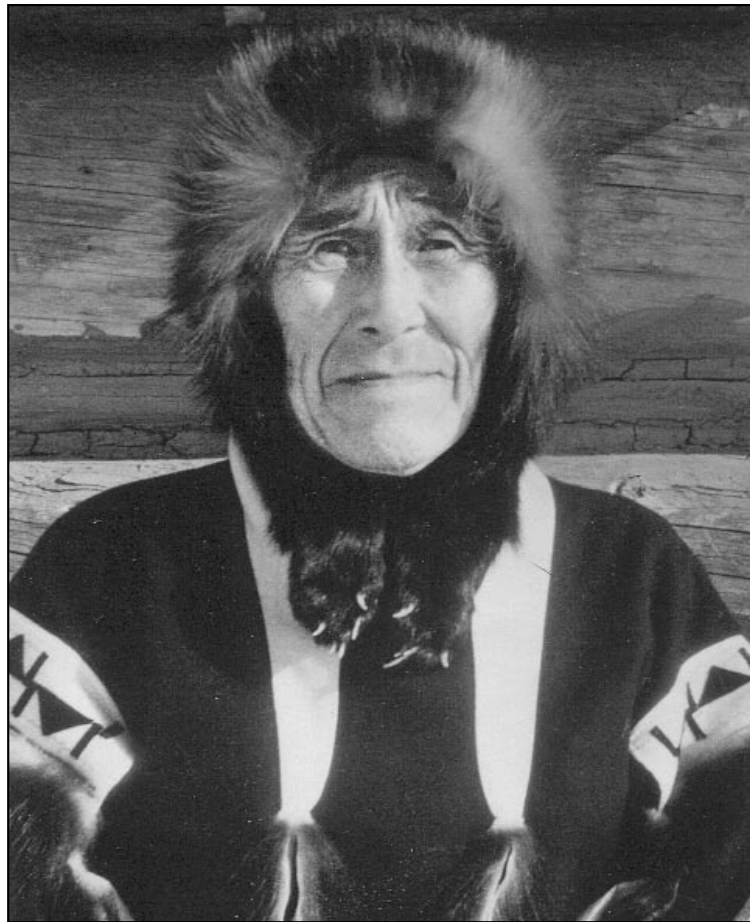
Hunting bowheads was said to take great skill and courage. Most of the descriptions of bowhead whaling found in the COPE and Oblate oral histories were provided by Felix Nuyaviak. Unfortunately some of the descriptions were not clearly translated and need to be redone before



being presented. It is also possible that the use of the word "spear" in the following narrative was supposed to be "harpoon".

...*Nuvuraq* (Atkinson Point) was a big area of land. That's where people hunted bowhead whales long ago with whale skin boats. Even at *Utqaluk* and also at *Igluk*, that has the English name Warren Point. At Warren Point, they hunted bowhead whales once in a while with a spear.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263)



Felix Nuyaviak. (Herbert Schwartz/NWT Archives/N-1979-071-0007)

People of *Nuvuraq* hunted bowhead whales in the summertime with skin boats. They harpooned them and they had an *illiviaq* (drag plate) for hunting bowheads. When the whale tired they chased it and harpooned it...When they killed it they dragged it by tying a towline to the flippers and dragged it backwards. They would travel home while singing songs and chanting. That is the way the people were.



Near *Qikiqtaryuk* (Herschel Island) at *Umiayuq*, they hunt bowheads, the Tuyurmiat. Without guns they would hunt the bowhead just with harpoons. They used an *avataqpak* (seal skin float) or an *illiviaq* (drag plate). My mother spoke of this. She spoke of Uingniq, he was the harpooner. It was rough water, after he harpooned it and the *avataqpak* went down with it, the water became oily for as far as you can see. When the bowhead came up, they wanted to be able to spot it. My mom spoke of this. They had power (by wearing an amulet) to make things weak so they could have an easier time when hunting (*aanarualgit*); they would do this to their hunting weapons. This works with medicine power. We called them special powers (*aanruyat*). Our people used special powers to make just about everything work.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0268)

At that time the whalers and the Inuvialuit hunted bowhead whales around *Nuvuraq* (Atkinson Point) with whale boats. From a long time ago they ate *maktak*. Niulummaaluk would always have *maktak* for he hunted the bowhead whale. He got two in one day at *Nuvuraq*.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007:0180A, Part 1)

I remember there were times when they used to go out whaling. They would get this *avataqpak*. This was a whale stomach dried and made into a float. This was filled with liquid blubber. It was then taken way out and when the whales were sighted, they would toss this over the side and break it, making an oil flow all over the surface of the water. This always seemed to work for the sea seemed to be very clear. Now this oil spread so far that when the whale came up it was much easier to spot it when it surfaced in this oil. This was the way they hunted a long time ago.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: Memories of the North, 1-14-02)



A bowhead whale as it might be seen by hunters in their *umiaq*. (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration /Department of Commerce /0854)



THE USE OF BOWHEAD WHALES

Unlike the information on belugas, there is little within the transcripts on how bowheads were used to make different types of food or other resources. The role of bowhead parts in trade is briefly mentioned.

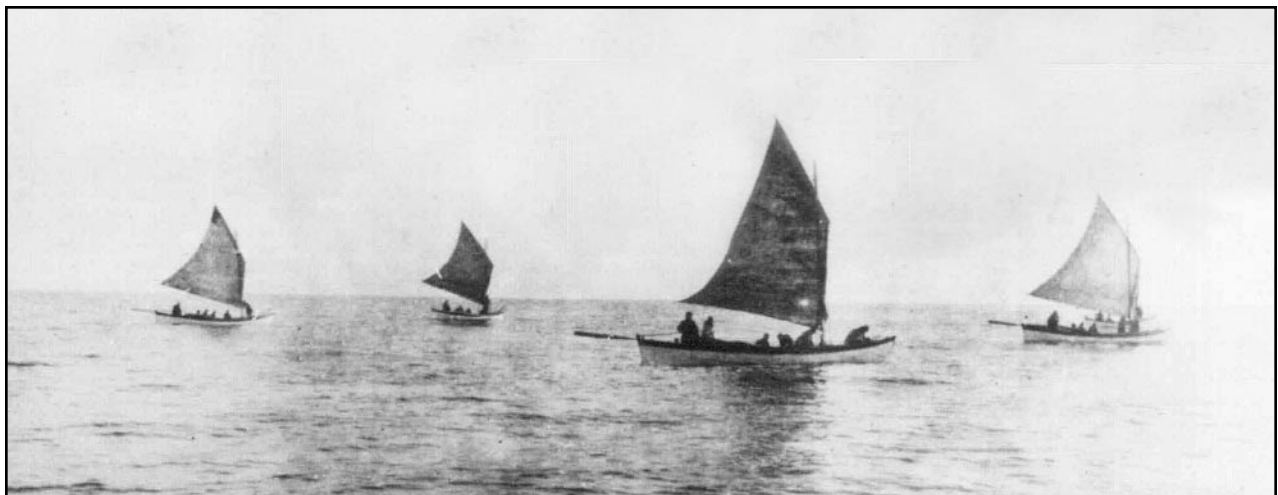
Those [people] that were hunting the bowhead whales, when they were finished, they went inland to trade with the ones that had caribou—the ones that had the skins. The people that had the bowhead whales...went to buy from the people that had caribou, those who had skins, for their warmth if it got cold.

Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)

The inland people referred to may have been the Imaryungmiut who lived at *Imaryuk*, the Husky/Eskimo Lakes area, and who hunted mostly caribou.

THE AMERICAN WHALING FLEET

American whalers arrived at Herschel Island in 1889 in search of bowhead whales. Those whalers were after baleen and also blubber that was rendered into oil. The southeastern Beaufort Sea was the last area that had not been over-harvested. In 1898 the whalers began overwintering at Herschel Island to extend the amount of time they could spend whaling the following summer. By 1914 the whalebone market crashed (Bockstoce 1986). The last commercial hunt was in 1921. Between 1849 to 1914, 18,684 whales from this stock were killed (Bockstoce 1986 in Harwood and Smith 2002a:80). A summary of the impact of commercial whaling on Inuvialuit whaling and consumption of bowhead *maktak* is outlined in Freeman *et al.* (1992).



Whale boats lowered for bowhead whale from *S.S. Herman* of San Francisco, off Whale Bluff, Franklin Bay, August 12, 1910. (Based on R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada/C23941)



The Use of Drift or Waste Whales

Attracting foxes and bears

The American whalers only wanted the blubber and baleen of the bowhead. Most discarded whale carcasses were set adrift and washed ashore. Others may have been left on shore intentionally for local people to use. Bowhead carcasses left by the whalers attracted polar bears and foxes and made good locations for hunting and trapping.

Now the ships that went out to hunt bowhead whales, all they took from the bowhead was the blubber and the baleen. Since the ships left all the meat on the beach, the men would come home with a lot of this whale meat and what blubber they could get off of it. Also, when they found this bowhead whale meat which had been brought ashore, after freeze-up this was where they had to go and set traps for the foxes would surround it, picking on the meat and bones. They were also able to get some polar bears which would come around the carcass.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)



Captain Fritz Wolki and Chief Mate Harry Slate of the schooner the Rosie H, cutting slabs of baleen (also called whalebone) from a bowhead whale. Franklin Bay, August 23, 1910. (Based on R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada/PA-188071)

This was in the winter of 1913 that there were a lot of polar bears around Booth Island and also white foxes. I guess this was because there were a lot of dead bowhead whales that had floated ashore.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #3)

Used for human food

People sometimes used drift whales for human food. Sarah Meyook (Nagy 1994:70) said that bowhead whale *maktak* is very thick and it won't spoil on a dead, grounded bowhead for years as long as the skin isn't cracked. Some elders told Raddi *et al.* (no date) that the part of a drift carcass of a whale that was in the water was safe to eat, and that such carcasses had saved people from starving. However, it was probably difficult to know if the meat was completely safe.

Now some of the young men had gone to *Kitigaaryuit* for supplies, like tobacco and matches, and had never shown up again. Their names were Situgatkak, Akauyaluk. The young men had also taken their wives along and just before getting to *Kitigaaryuit*, they had eaten bowhead whale meat which had gone bad and they died of it from poisoning.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: 3rd Series, Tape 6)



The use of drift whales as human food was also found in a legend about a giant. A summary of the legend begins with an evil giant walking into the ocean to investigate a ship. It was a whaling ship and he played with it by moving it to and fro. The sailors were terrified and the only thing they could think of to distract it was to throw barrels of rum and tobacco overboard. The giant ate all the tobacco and drank the rum and eventually slipped into the water and drowned.

Inuvialuit expected that at least one whale carcass abandoned by the whalers would wash ashore each summer or fall. The evil giant washed ashore in the form of a bowhead, somewhere in the area of Baillie Island. People looking for food ate from the carcass although they sensed that something was amiss. They got sick and died, and the population decreased to the point where there were no people and no communications east and west of that place (Felix Nuyaviak N-1992-007:0166).



A drift whale near Sachs Harbour. The carcass of an animal that has drifted to shore is called a *silu* in Siglitun. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:0325)

Used for dog food

Bowhead meat was also used by some Inuvialuit and white trappers to feed their dogs.

...they told us the news that there were a couple of white trappers living with Martin Anderson, and we were told that they had a supply of seal meat and blubber, for they were lucky that fall. They also had some bowhead whale meat which they were using for dog food, and we were told that these two trappers had only one dog between them.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, March–Sept. 1923, 1-18-01)



Trading *Maktak* for Caribou

Some whalers traded *maktak* and blubber with local people (Freeman *et al.* 1992:19). An example is provided of trading *maktak* for caribou hindquarters that the whalers wanted for food.

In those days I was a very young boy and I remember the bowhead whale hunters used to come from the Alaska side. At one time I remember when all our caribou hunters hauled nothing but hindquarters. They gave all the hindquarters they had to the bowhead whalers in exchange for the *maktak* from one whale.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Remembering Old Times-1)

INUVALUIT BOWHEAD WHALING IN THE 1920s

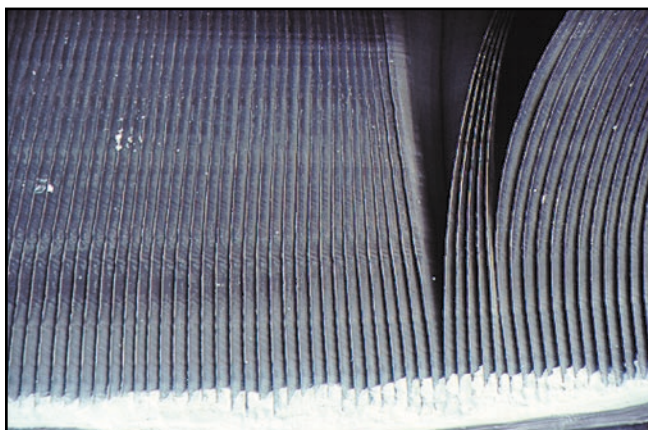
Some Inuvialuit continued to hunt bowhead whales, but from whaleboats rather than the old skin *umiak*. Whales were hunted for food, to make items to trade, and to attract animals to hunt and trap.

There was another couple that I knew. They had bought a boat and were able to kill two bowheads. They ordered a boat and when it arrived they paid for it with everything they had. They knew that if they were able to get a couple of bowheads that they would make a lot of money from the baleen—*sugqaq*. From this they were able to make beads and buttons and things they could sell.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)

We headed for *Kangik* and Baillie Island. We heard that Lennie got two bowheads...We had to stay a while at *Sanikpik* [?] to wait until the weather got warmer. Lennie had towed one whale to Baillie for the people there...Now Bob and Pinasin [?] had borrowed a big gun and harpoon from Lennie and were able to get another bowhead whale. Now they buried the carcass of one whale in the sand, and left one to rot in the sun. When the trapping season opened the foxes were gathered by the hundreds around the whale carcass. There were also a lot of polar bears. Foxes were at least \$165.00 a piece and everyone was able to get all the stuff they needed. (1913)

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Part 4)



Plates of baleen. Baleen was also called whalebone by commercial whalers, and *sugqat* in the Siglit dialect. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:0161)



Commercial whaling had diminished the bowhead population and Inuvialuit hunting was not very successful.

Now I remember in those days when we went to Baillie Island I was very small. The men would go out with their whaleboats and go hunting for bowhead whales but they never did get any while I was there.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #8)

Joe Nasogaluak recalled the last hunts in the 1920s.

Now in 1926 we were at Avvaq when a schooner came and it was Usuqqaq and Niulummaaluk. They had come from Kitigaaryuit and were lucky to get a bowhead whale. They had come with Donald Katagyuk's [?] boat. It was almost freeze-up in the fall when they came.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: Third Series, Part 5)

...They came to hunt bowhead whales. Sagvyuaq and Stattaq and a few others were going with a schooner owned by Piqtuqan. It had an engine and was going to tow the whaleboats. Aniqsuaq and Fred Wolki (Stattaq) had killed one as it was really calm and good weather. It is said that was the biggest whale to ever be caught as it was an old one, and it was to be the last that I recall. Since then I have never heard of anyone getting another. (Avvaq, 1926)

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: Part 5)

Although no bowheads were hunted by Inuvialuit for years, efforts to resume the hunt were realized in 1991 when a bowhead was killed off of *Tapqaq* (Shingle Point). Another was taken in 1996.

The whale from the successful 1996 bowhead hunt being butchered at Shingle Point (*Tapqaq*). (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:1733)



SUMMARY

The COPE and Oblate oral history transcripts reviewed provided no information on bowhead whale behaviour or ecology. We were provided with a few glimpses of the traditional whale hunt by Felix Nuyaviak. We learned about the importance of whale carcasses abandoned by the American whalers for attracting foxes and bears, and for use as both human and dog food. The last hunts of the early 19th century are mentioned.

TINGMIARYUIT, TINGMILUAQQAT, TINGMILUIT/TINGMILUVIIT —BIRDS, DUCKS, GEESE AND SWANS

An abundance of birds can be found along the southeastern Beaufort Sea coast. Geese, ducks, seabirds, and others use the area during their spring and fall migrations. Birds begin to arrive from various areas from April to early June, with some types feeding in the open water of ice leads. Some fly east along the Bering and Beaufort Sea coast. Many fly north along the Mackenzie Valley, with some branching off to the west to fly to the coast along the Anderson River. Others fly north up the Mackenzie River and fly either west or east along the coast. Others approach the Mackenzie Delta by flying over the Yukon interior. Many birds stop to rest and feed at the coast before departing for nesting grounds in places like Banks or Victoria Island or the Amundsen Gulf area (Martell *et al.* 1984:79-86, Dickson and Gilchrist 2001: 46-51, Bromley and Fehr 2002:45).



Migrating snow geese. (Gary M. Stolz/U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

Up to seventeen species of birds nest and raise their young in the area. Some ducks, geese, and other birds found in coastal areas played an important role in Inuvialuit subsistence. Some of those hunted today include the snow goose or white wavy (*kanguq*), the white-fronted goose or yellow-legs (called *tingmiaq* by many people and *nirliq* in the older form of Siglitun), brant (*nirlirnaq*), and the Canada goose (*uluagullik*). Ducks include widgeons, mallards, scoters, and pintails (North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004). In the past a wider range of birds were hunted such as the long-tailed or old-squaw duck (*ahaanliq*). Eggs of some birds were also eaten. Presented in the following section is information on the use of birds as found in the oral history transcripts reviewed.



HUNTING BIRDS

Birds were very important to Inuvialuit. They provided food, and materials for many things such as skins for clothing or bags, bones for needle cases, and feathers for arrows. Knowledge of where and when birds could be found in particular places was essential to Inuvialuit. For example glaucous gulls feed along coastal spits and barrier beaches. Moulting long-tailed ducks could be found in sheltered bays and spits or beaches. Some geese can be found grazing on grasses in low lying deltas. In some areas such as Kendall Island and the Anderson River mouth, the birds and eggs could be found in large numbers. The fall migration begins in late August and birds depart in smaller groups than the masses that arrive together in spring (Martell *et al.* 1984:79–86, Dickson and Gilchrist 2001:46–51, North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004).

Birds were hunted in various ways. In the more recent past they could be shot with a bow and blunt-nosed arrow which wouldn't pierce the skin. Some were hunted with a *qilavittautit* or bolas, and some netted and snared. Geese were herded and clubbed or shot when they were moulting. Gulls could be caught with bait on a stick. Eggs were also collected.

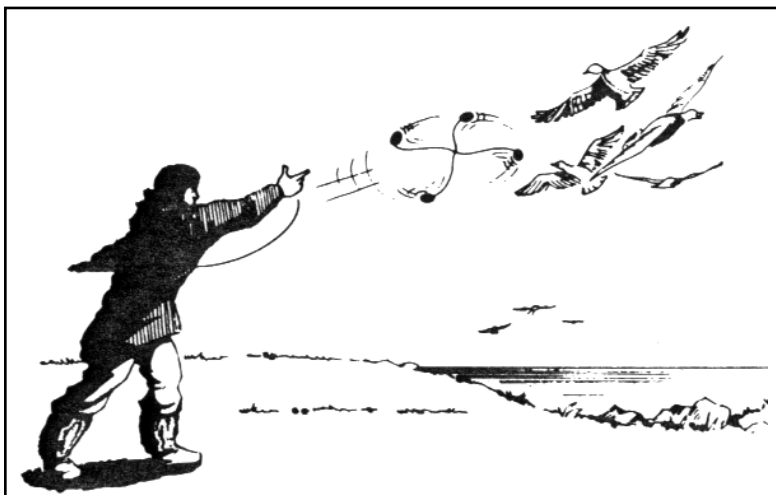
The Spring Hunt

Kuugyuasiaq (Mason River) area

The spring hunt has always been a much anticipated time. As the daylight increased and the weather got warmer, everyone looked forward to hunting and eating the fat geese and ducks that would soon arrive. People went to places where they knew the birds could be found. The use of the *qilavittautit* or bolas was described by Felix Nuyaviak:

Now I also remember how they used to hunt geese. They used to make this home made sling (*qilavittautit*), only there were about three or four thongs on it. Now at the end of this, on the handle side of the sling, they would put a piece of bright cloth so you could see it some a long ways. Now at the end of these three or four thongs, they put heavy lead, so that when the geese were flying by close, they threw this up in the air towards them. Now when this was tossed in the air, the pieces of lead would spread apart. Now when this sling happened to hit a goose, these pieces of lead tangled around the goose so it couldn't fly. It would come down and when it hit the ground it was dead as if it was shot with a gun.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.:
Memories of the North, 1-14-02)



The *qilavittautit* or bolas were used to hunt geese. Nuyaviak mentions the use of lead weights, and bones were also used. (Based on Wolf in Biewlaski *et al.* 1986:43)



Snow geese in flight. (Based on Dave Menke/ U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

Qilavittarvik, meaning a place where they hunt with *qilavittautit* or bolas, is located at the mouth of the Mason River (*Kuugyuasiaq*). It has long been an important place for hunting geese, especially the yellow legs or white-fronted goose. Shot guns eventually replaced the use of *qilavittautit*.

Spring time came and my dad went goose hunting. They went up to the mouth of the Anderson River (*Kuuk*) to the islands and hunted the first geese to arrive at *Qilavittarvik*.

They were so fat that when they are shot and fell to the ground, their stomachs would tear open. After we had enough for eating, we went home for awhile, then when the geese started heading for *Qilavittarvik*, we went hunting for them there.

They would bring along white man already made bullets. They also brought along buckshot (*savitqat*), gunpowder (*ikaaqqat*), black firing powder (*ingnirutiksatsat*) and empty refills (*qaryuuyaqtuutim puukuit*). The bullets they made worked better for them than the already made bullets so they dropped more geese this way. After they got enough geese and they were just a few flying by in a bunch, they called to them and when they came over and they couldn't double them if the bunch was small, they just let them fly by. They were so close sometimes that they could see their eyes but they let them fly by. This is because there wasn't enough in the bunch to get as many as they can with one shot. When a big bunch came along, they called to them and when they landed at the decoy, if they think they could get lot's, they would shoot once and get about 10.



A *tingmiaq/nirliq*, yellow legs or white-fronted goose. (Dave Menke/U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

They would shoot more but let most of them go by as there was more coming and some had brants mixed with the great bunches of geese. They were so many bunches of snow geese coming one after another that they were like clouds. They came in great numbers back then.

Tom Kimiksana (N-1992-253:0426B)

Joe Nasogaluak told of hunting at the mouth of the *Kuugyuasiaq* (Mason River) in 1917, and described how they stored ducks and geese.

After getting to *Kuugyuasiaq* we all settled down to spend the rest of the spring there...Although there were no moose and caribou, there were a lot of ptarmigan to snare. We lived mostly on ptarmigan until about May when the ducks finally came. People were able to get all the ducks they wanted.

...In those days we didn't have any icehouses. Now in the little bay there was always a lot of fresh ice which we carried up to the bank. We covered this with large rocks and boulders to keep it from melting. This was to be used for drinking water later on. The same thing was done to all the geese and ducks. We put them along the bank and covered them with rocks. In this way we were able to keep our meat for a long time.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: Life Story, 1917, 1-1-07)



A *tingmiaq/nirliq*, yellow legs or white-fronted goose landing. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)



Kugmallit Bay area

People stayed at camps spread out along the coast where geese and ducks were expected to fly over. The birds mentioned are the white-fronted goose or yellow legs (*tingmiaq*, *nirliq*) and the snow goose (*kanguq*).



Snow goose or *kanguq*. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

We used to spend the spring at *Ikinaaluk*, close to Whifefish Station (*Nalruriaq*). At times we would stay for two or three weeks. People would come from different places to hunt ducks...This was a holiday no one would ever miss, at least not us.

Now geese would be seen about the 16th or 17th or 18th of May. It depended on what the weather was like in the spring.

Also Charlie and his family would be at *Kitigaaryuit*, and he would go on to a different place before the ice got too rotten to travel on. From Tuk to *Naparutalik* and all the way along the shore would be different camps set up all over. Everyone was out for geese...We would stay until about June 3rd or 6th in our camp.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-30)

In May there were a few geese around, yellow legs we call, "speckle belly" and then by May 22, 1942 the white wavies really started flying by and right through Tuk. We did a lot of hunting then. But then there were no icehouses to put anything away.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: January 1942)

The North Slope area

An important place for spring goose hunting along the coast west of the Mackenzie Delta is *Yuruyaaq*. Further work is required to determine the primary type of goose hunted there as yellow legs (white-fronted goose, *tingmiat*, *nirliq*) and Canada geese (*uluagullit*) did not occur there in great numbers.

It's spring time when geese arrive south of the Herschel Island at place called *Yuruyaaq*, [it's] like an island. It is on the migration route for geese and this is where everybody came to hunt geese. Right before the real thaw of spring, they usually went before it really thawed, but there was always too much water. When they got enough geese to load their sled, they would come back. They put them in the icehouse, this is the way they fed on geese all winter at *Nigliknunik* [?]. There weren't too many Canada geese. Once in a while they would kill a few out that way, south of Herschel Island. Not too many yellow legs (...) either.

William Kuptana (N-1992-253:0091B in Nagy 1999b)



Collecting Eggs

Bird eggs were also collected, and many could be found at places like the Anderson River delta which is a major nesting ground. Shingle Point is also mentioned as a place to collect both gull and tern eggs.

We were going to spend the spring there (Anderson River). As the geese and ducks laid their eggs there, and to also be able to get ducks and geese to live on.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1916, 1-1-03)

Some place at Shingle Point my husband and Kayotuk were picking up eggs on a sandspit—seagull and arctic tern eggs. The terns were fighting over their eggs. My husband's head was sore that night [because] arctic terns had been pecking at his head.

Rosie Peeloolook (N-1992-253: Life Story in Alaska, 1-3-01)



Glaucus gull eggs. (Forest B. Lee /U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)



Eggs of the common eider or *gaugak*. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

Hunting Moulting Ducks and Geese

Large groups of ducks and geese go to the coast to moult each year from July to mid-August. Inuvialuit harvested the ducks by rounding them up and either clubbing them or using shot guns once they were available. Large numbers of ducks or geese could be taken in a short amount of time. Joe Nasogaluak told about rounding up moulting ducks at Maitland Point (Nunavialuk). They were likely *ahaanlit*, also known as long-tailed ducks or old-squaws.

We were stuck at Maitland Point (by ice)...After he arrived we gathered together and had a meeting about what we were going to do. For we had to do something...they planned that we would round up ducks.

After their plans were all fixed they decided that William Mangelana and myself would station ourselves at the place to which they would chase these ducks. So we had two *umiak* (large skin boats) and four canoes. Now in the bay there was a small creek and at the end of the creek there was a small lake. Mangelana and I were sent up to the end of the creek by a shortcut, a portage. We went up to the end of the creek and these old squaw ducks were being rounded up towards us. There were so many we couldn't see any water in the creek. Every bit of water was covered by



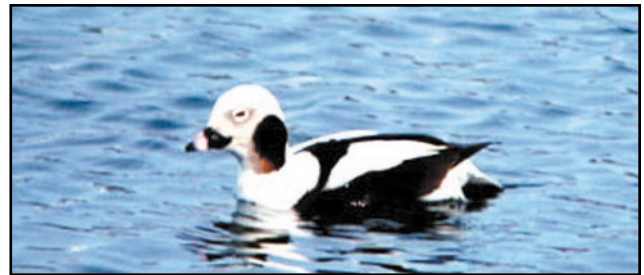
these ducks. As they came out of the water to go overland they had to pass me and Mangelana. We each had a club in our hand for we were told to start clubbing these ducks and killing them when they came to us. There were so many of them and with all the noise they were making I got scared and I turned around and started running. When the sun began to get low everyone was tired and so they stopped killing the ducks. Everyone was hungry and I tell you those ducks were delicious. I believe they were the fattest ducks I ever went through in my life. For when old squaw ducks are moulting they are at their fattest.

When the men started counting they would put twenty in one bundle and tie them around the necks. Now when the count was finally finished they totalled the sum to a little better than three thousand ducks. I want you to know how many there were, for they filled two of these *umiak*.

...Each family received an amount according to the size of his family—some two hundred, some two hundred and fifty.

After arriving at Baillie Island—there were no icehouses in those days so what we did was we dug in the sand as far down as we could and put all the ducks in and completely buried them with rocks. Now I want to tell you something else. When these ducks get a little old they are delicious, they're sweeter than ever.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:
Life Story, 1916, 1-1-03)



Ahaanliq or long-tailed duck. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

The Mason River (*Kuugyuasiaq*) was also a good place to hunt moulting geese. They were likely *tingmiat* (*nirlirit*, yellow legs, white-fronted geese). The hunting must have been much easier with the use of shot guns.

In July 1924, we spent the spring with other people at *Kuugyuasiaq*. The geese were moulting on the other side of *Kuugyuasiaq*. We all gathered there to wait for them to moult. A lot of people went there to wait for the ice to go. When the geese moulted, they would herd them. In two boats there was myself, my father, Niulummaaluk, Kimiksana, Billy Thrasher, Fred Carpenter/Atdjgaliaq, Sakiittuq, Kotokak, Inutiqak and Tapqaayuk who was from Alaska. He was waiting for the thaw at *Kuugyuasiaq*. I don't know where he had spent the winter. When we got to the moulted geese they began to shoot at them with shot guns and got quite a few. They got 600 geese. It was about the middle of July and the ice was about to leave from the coast.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0321)



A raft of *ahaanlit* (long-tailed ducks). (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

Using Nets or Snares

The following description of hunting ducks and geese needs to be clarified through further work with elders.

They would use nets also at nesting places using *itigaksiutit* (net to catch by the feet). In the late spring (*upinraaq*), they rounded them up, gathered them (*unguyaqtuq*). That is how they got a lot of geese. *Maliraaluit* (*ahaanlit* or long-tailed ducks?), they would do the same thing too. Gather them and kill them, put them in pits for the winter's food. That is the way our ancestors prepared food.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0268)

Hunting Gulls

Inuvialuit also harvested gulls (*nauyat*) to eat. These may have been glaucous gulls. Joe Nasogaluak told of hunting gulls at Maitland Point in September.

Now the men all had their shotguns ready outside of the house at the time for it was about this time of the year that the young gulls are really fat and often we would get all the young gulls we could to eat.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, June–Nov. 1921, 1-1-14)



Glaucous gulls in flight. (Don Dragoo/U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)



A New Way to Trap Geese and Swans

People were adaptable and did what was necessary to get the food they needed. This included using a new method to trap geese and swans that was introduced by a non-Inuvialuk.

Now the white man who came with us when we went to this island where the geese laid their eggs, showed us how we could catch them, for we were out of ammunition by then. He said to set our traps in their nests on top of the eggs, and this way we would be able to get geese to eat, as well as a few eggs. After we learned this we were able to set traps even in swan nests. Then we were able to eat some swans and geese.

Now the traps that were set were not right on top of the eggs, but on one side of the nest where the geese landed. Now they could not put stakes up to hold down the trap, so what they did was to stretch out a dog line between the nests, and to this dog line they skewered all the traps which were set by their chain.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1916, 1-1-03)

Other Uses for Birds

Birds were not just eaten. Eider and loon skins were sometimes used for clothing although caribou or seal skin was more common. Joe Nasogaluak reported having to use duck skins in the 1940s when no caribou could be found.

In those days there were no caribou, there was nothing else to make clothing with, so they started using the skins of loons and long-tailed ducks for pants, and sealskin parkas. Also in those days they had good icehouses and a lot of ducks.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: March 1940)

SUMMARY

The oral histories provide insights into the importance of geese and ducks to Inuvialuit. Geese are said to have arrived around mid-May and people in the Tuktoyaktuk coast area hunted them until early June.

Eggs were collected at the Anderson River and also at Shingle Point. Numerous moulting ducks were herded at *Nunavialuk* (Maitland Point) and geese in the *Kuugyuasiaq* (Mason River) area. In terms of harvest numbers, we learned that 3,000 long-tailed ducks were killed during one hunt, and were then distributed among the families participating. We learned that ducks were stored in rock or sand caches where the ducks were hunted, and they were considered delicious when aged. Little is mentioned about how geese or ducks were prepared other than aged geese were considered good tasting. The fall hunt for ducks and geese is important but was not mentioned in the transcripts reviewed. Fat young gulls are also reported as being eaten as were gull and tern eggs. The information on birds in the transcripts reviewed is limited as a number of other birds that were hunted such as a variety of ducks, loons and swans were not mentioned.

NANUQ—POLAR BEAR

Nannut (plural) or polar bears (*Ursus maritimus*) in the study area belong to the Southern Beaufort population and inhabit the area from Cape Bathurst west to Barrow, Alaska. A bit of overlap occurs with the Northern Beaufort population in the vicinity of the Cape Bathurst polynya (open water areas). The distribution of bears, and their primary prey seals, depends on the distribution of shore leads that run along the mainland coast, the locations of polynyas, multi-year ice, and patterns of freeze-up and break-up (Stirling 2002:64).

In summer bears move northward to stay with the multi-year ice where it is easier to hunt seals. In fall they move south towards the mainland coast so they will be able to hunt along shoreleads. These linear leads form at the juncture of the landfast and multi-year ice, and extend along the coast from Cape Bathurst to Barrow. Cracks and leads begin to show up in mid-November (Smith and Rigby 1981:24, Stirling 2002:64).

Some bears travel east towards Cape Bathurst to be near the Cape Bathurst polynya. The polynya or *uiniq* is an area of water that is open in winter and is surrounded by ice. A combination of factors keeps it open such as currents, upwellings of water, wind and tides. Open water in the form of leads or as a polynya is present in the area from January until break-up in May or June (Smith and Rigby 1981:24, Stirling 2002:5).

Bears are thought to frequent shoreleads and polynyas because more seals can be found there. They primarily hunt ringed seals, and fewer numbers of bearded seals. Polar bears will hunt seals at their breathing holes and also basking seals. The bears have been found to get a lot of nutritive value from fat young-of-the year pups which are born in April, and are relatively easy to hunt (Stirling *et al.* 1981:49, Stirling *et al.* 2002:68).

Bears build maternity dens from October to November. A few dens occur along the mainland coast or the outer islands north of the Mackenzie Delta and at Herschel Island. Recently, dens have been found mostly on multi-year ice. (North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004, Stirling 2002:67).



Nanuq or polar bear. (US Fish and Wildlife Service)



POLAR BEAR HUNTING

Polar bear hunting was and still is considered exciting and somewhat dangerous. Joe Nasogaluak relates this as he describes his first big year of hunting in 1927 in the Cape Bathurst area.

It was that year that I really started to hunt. I had a sister and brother and my dad to hunt for. I used to really enjoy hunting seals, and I used to get quite a few. I also used to get quite a few polar bears. I always found it exciting to be on the trail of a polar bear, or if you came to meet one just when you were not expecting to see one around. It makes your blood go and your heart beat fast, and all of a sudden you have a polar bear. I used to make sure everyone had some after I got home.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Part 6, Second Series, 1-1-31)



Joe Nasogaluak and Philip Nogasak, 1932. (Based on Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068:0332)

Polar bear hunting was taken very seriously and a young hunter's first kill was a significant event in his life.

One of the most important happenings in my life was when I shot my first polar bear. I was then 14 years old and shot the bear with a 25–20 calibre. I remember feeling very proud because not too many boys around those parts could shoot a bear.

Sam Raddi (N-1992-253: Life Story)



Although polar bears were generally hunted by men, women sometimes hunted them as well. Bessie Wolki told a story about the first time she killed a polar bear when she was only 12 years old. She killed a young bear with an axe. Unfortunately the transcript is hand written and difficult to read, so the audiotape should be retranslated (N-1992-007: Bear Hunting by a Girl).

Hunting with Dogs

Bear hunting was generally done with dogs that were trained to track and hold the bear at bay until the hunter could kill it. The bear was sometimes wounded using a bow and arrow, but killed with a spear or knife. This took great skill and courage. Once guns became available they made bear hunting a bit safer.

Well trained dogs were essential to a successful hunt. An example is provided by William Kuptana of Banks Island. Although that is not within the study area the method of hunting would likely be the same.

It could be two hunters on one dog team trying to get a polar bear. Often there would be no sunshine and very, very cold. Some people went polar bear hunting in the month of January. There was this man name Kullaq. He was a good hunter and he always got caribou and polar bear every time he went out hunting. His dogs weren't very fast travelers, but good trackers for polar bears. Every time his dogs stopped a polar bear they waited for their master. Then he would follow the tracks and arrive to his dogs that already had a polar bear cornered.

William Kuptana (N-1992-253:0366A in Nagy 1999b)



Dog team and sled heading out to the ice, Sachs Harbour area, 1958. (© R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002: 0159)



The role of dogs in polar bear hunting was explained by Jimmy Memogana.

Dogs then were very useful. Each dog will gallop after the bears. A bear can run a good deal faster than a man, but not nearly as fast as a dog, and within a few miles would catch up with him and bite him sharply in the heel, whereupon the bear turned around and tried to strike the dogs with his forepaw. But the agility of a dog is superior to that of a bear and if he has good footing he is certain to avoid the blows at him, and all of them made a howling and a snapping ring around the bear. It did not make any difference which dogs he faced, there would be another dog at his heels to bite him. (The) dogs never giving up, nipping his heels viciously, excited, setting up a great racket and keeping the bear so busy the men could come up to him [and] shoot their arrows first. Very often the bear having flesh wounds appeared to mistake them for dog bites, and then often redoubled efforts to catch the dogs...hunters would come closer and finish off the bear with the spear or knife... a dangerous game, but challenges taken manly, in those days it was a matter of death and life...food and shelter were a question of survival in the land of the Inuit...

Jimmy Memogana (N-1992-007: Polar Bear)

The skill of a successful bear hunter was much respected by others. Tom Kimiksana told about a hunter who managed to hunt bears from a moving sled with his gun.

As we were having tea, all of a sudden our dogs started to bark. As we turned around to look down that way there was a polar bear close by. The bear was going toward the land. Then Niulguna unanchored them...He wasn't gone long when I heard him shoot. It was a full moon outside and very bright at that time...As he was coming closer...he was hauling a polar bear on his sleigh as he had shot it while it was running. He shot it right in its head. He shot straight. I don't know how many times he got polar bears like that, chasing them with his dog team and catching up to them. From his sleigh he would shoot them without stopping or getting off. That winter, he really got a lot of polar bears there. (ca. 1940s).

Tom Kimiksana (N-1992-253: A Story, 1-60-04)



A polar bear on the sea ice. (Ardo X. Meyer/National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration /Department of Commerce)



Hunting Denning Bears

Denning polar bears were also hunted. An example of this type of hunting is provided from the Banks Island area by William Kuptana.

Sometimes towards spring they would be gone all day while there were very cold temperatures. Sometimes they returned with a polar bear and then sometimes they came back with nothing. The polar bears are able to hear for great distances when it is very cold outside. When they came across their dens, they would get them. They let their dogs find them. The people looking for dens used dogs to find them. They also used white fox paws for scent and bait so the dogs could find the polar bear dens. The polar bear have houses in the snow that is on the land. When they found it, they dug in to check and see if there was anything inside. After they found out if there was something in there, the one that found it from the group would urinate on top the house (den—*apitchivik*) to leave a scent. This was because they often got lost long ago. This was the time even before they heard about missionaries that they would often lose the dens.

Then when they found it they attached their knife to their pole. They made a handle for the knife with their wooden pole and wrapped it with string. Then they made a hole on top (of) the den (and) then widened it. I saw when the old timer's went to dens a very long time ago. I saw a lot of them at dens and they would go by land to



William Kuptana wearing polar bear pants, March 1958.
(© R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002:0136)



look for them and when they found a den, they wrapped their knives and then began to make a hole with it. There were about five people together. One person made the hole with his knife and the others would be at a distance because they thought they might be caught unexpectedly. The one that is making the hole would be at the back. But the ones with the knives would be at the edge of the hole. Then they would stab it just around the feet. Then when its feet are cut up and it is still, they tried to see it (the bear). When they saw it, they stabbed at it and that is how they killed it, by stabbing it with a knife. Then when they thought it was dead and it stopped trying, they made the hole wider and that is how they find out if it is really dead. Then if it is dead, they made the hole big and took the knives off of the pole and fixed the hole to its size and pulled it out with rope. Then after they got it out, they cut it up and even cut up the hide. Then they cut it up and divided it.

William Kuptana (N-1992-007:0232)

The following story tells of hunting bears in a den using a rifle.

There was a little bit of wind coming from the land so I cut a big chunk of ice, I set the trap, and anchored the dogs. As I anchored the dogs, the dogs kept squirming, jerking and they wanted to go towards the land. I do not know what it was so I took a glance occasionally and the sky was very clear but I could not see anything. I told Richard, I don't know what these dogs are smelling, as I could not see anything towards the land.

As soon as I let go of the anchor the dogs turned off to the coast and started towards the land. So I wanted to find out what they were after. I just let them go and when they came to the land they kept right on going to the top. We went quite a ways and we came to a snowbank, and there was a hole of a polar bear, and it was freshly opened by a bear. The dogs wanted to go to it right away but I anchored the dogs... I told him (Richard Dick) I'm going to wait at the den but he didn't come and he stayed behind. At the very top there was another hole open which was the air hole. When I climbed to the top, I looked down and there was a polar bear looking at me through the hole, so I shot it. I thought that there was only one. I put another shell in anyway, but there was another bear still looking at me, so I shot it again, and I knelt down to take a good look through the hole, and there were two polar bears dead.

While I was looking, another polar bear stuck his head out directly behind the first one. I hollered to Richard, there must be three bears in this den so I waited for the third polar bear to stick his head out and I shot it. A polar bear with two big cubs, the cubs appear to be about a year old. They had made a hole to rest and that is how I found them. It was early in the afternoon it was around two o'clock so we headed home because we had to skin the bears before they froze.

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007:0068-0069)



Using Bait to Catch Bears

Apparently bears were also hunted using spring bait. The audiotapes of the following two transcripts need to be reviewed to figure out what kind of bait hunting they are talking about. The term "spring bait" is used and could refer to a piece of sharpened, folded baleen that is wrapped with fat and then frozen. Once eaten it uncoils and pierces the animal's stomach. The animal dies or is in such pain that it can be easily tracked and killed.

Now I was able to get a little over three hundred foxes with my seven traps before Christmas. My stepfather and I had one team. Mr. Fry had another and Paniksuk had another. Our three teams of dogs never went hungry. We were able to get polar bear. Not only shoot them but we got them with spring bait (*isibyuraq*). We had all we needed. We never had to bother hunting seals for dog food. The only time my stepfather went out to shoot or hook a seal was when he wanted to have some for our own use at home.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #10)

Placing bait at a bear den is mentioned by Tom Kimiksana. Although the description is not clear in the transcript, bears were also hunted by chiselling a hole in the ice, putting bait in it and having the bait attached to a shot gun (*pitiksilukhtutik*). When the bear took the bait it would get shot in the head (Jim Wolki, N-1992-007:0051). Although the description isn't clear, the following information from Tom Kimiksana may refer to this.

...we tracked down the bear that got hit in the leg. The bear den was opened and the bear was going to grab the bait, but got hurt (shot?) on its [leg]. It went quite a distance off and it stopped to lick its sore leg.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-04)

KNOWING WHERE TO FIND BEARS

In terms of the movements of bears, hunters knew when bears would be migrating to good hunting areas at the beginning of winter. Although no information in the transcripts was found about migrations near the mainland, Charlie Gruben provided an example from the Blue Fox Harbour area of Banks Island in 1942.

I didn't really know about the coast at the time. There were quite a few polar bears traveling during the first part of November. Raddi, Abraham Carpenter, and Jim Cockney all went out. I didn't want to get left behind so I went out with [my] dogteam. There was eight inches of ice. I started traveling east as I had good dogs [at] that time. The polar bears were coming from the east and traveling south. The ice must have been moving as my dogs fell through. I got kind of scared and I figured that those guys knew better than I did. They were hunting [a] few seals and waiting around for polar bears.

Charlie Gruben (N1-992-007:0894A in Nagy 1999b)



Hunters knew that polar bears were likely to be found at polynyas (open water areas) in winter as that is where seals were most easily found. The Cape Bathurst polynya was an important place for both seal and bear hunting.



A polar bear on an ice floe. (Captain Budd Christman/ National Oceanic and Atmospheric Service/anim 0007)

I would always go along with Niulurana (Tom Chicksi) when he goes to the open water or anywhere. At the open water we would see polar bears. He was older than me and I would follow along behind him. The open water was sometimes fast on one side. As we were hunting seals, we caught about two. Then all of a sudden, across from us, a polar bear showed up from where the cold stream was coming from.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-04)

FLUCTUATING NUMBERS OF BEARS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF POLAR BEAR MEAT

Inuvialuit hunted polar bears for both their meat and skins, depending on the value of the hides. During years when leads or polynyas did not open up in the winter and there were few seals to hunt, Inuvialuit in the Cape Bathurst area counted on polar bear meat. This was also a bad situation for bears as there was little food for them to eat, and they turned into the primary animal hunted over the winter. A shortage of bears is mentioned in a story from 1900 when there was little open water (Joe Nasogaluak N-1992-007:0188). More of that story is presented later in this section. Joe Nasogaluak also reported that in 1910 there was little open water, few seals, but lots of polar bears which were used for meat.

I remember the men had to hunt polar bears as there were hardly any seals because of the weather, and there was hardly any open water, and there were lots of bears. Most everyone lived on straight polar bear meat all winter. Some would get an odd seal now and then from seal holes. This was in 1910 and I was just a scared kid....

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)



Amos Tuma also told of an abundance of bears in 1910 in the Franklin Bay area.

Now I want to say that as winter came there were a lot of polar bears in those days. Whenever someone went up a hill, they could spot polar bears all along the coast. White foxes were plentiful in those days. Whenever we had killed a bear and skinned it, the place where we had done the skinning and cleaning, the next day you could go out and spot white foxes running all over.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #1)



Tim Lennie and Wallace Lucas skinning polar bear, March 1959. (© R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1992-002:0335)

People at Cape Bathurst also had a hard time during the winter of 1922–1923 because of bad ice conditions. There was little food at the post to trade for, and seals, foxes and bears were scarce.

That winter there was to be no food for us to eat. The ship didn't come in the summer so everything was hard to get. They also didn't catch very many fish. The few people and elders that were there were running out of food. 1922 was the year we suffered from lack of food. Those at *Kitigaaryuit*, *Qikiqtaryuk* and *Iqalulik* (?) must



have had food to eat. The ocean was very rough that winter. We suffered a lot as we had none, others were better off than we were. It was even difficult to get polar bears and seals we could only get through breathing holes in the ice. The ice was so rough that the cracks didn't open up all winter. We stayed on there for awhile but there still were very few white foxes.

...The people would walk and hunt for polar bear but couldn't get any because the ice on the ocean didn't have any openings. They call this *piilauyuq tariuq*. This was in 1923. Because the ice didn't have any open areas, we couldn't do anything. We would travel down to the seal's breathing holes but they had all gone. At that time, the old people (*innait*) didn't camp out overnight so we followed their ways and didn't camp out. That winter, all the people of Baillie Island (*Utqaluk*) had nothing. Here, we didn't know about their hardships. Even the Hudson's Bay manager ran out of flour due to the fact that the ship couldn't make it in that summer. We couldn't do much about it. The few bullets we did have were kept in reserve.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0182)

Jim Wolki told of an abundance of bears during the winter of 1972–1973.

In the time of my youth, long time ago, I heard the old timers, wise men in their own environment and conditions of life, speaking of good and bad years around Baillie Island. They reported that years favoured with westerly winds, one could make an easy life, as open water was abundant, therefore seals [were] also abundant and available. Westerly winds also provided young ice, and good road for the polar bear and also good hunting. This year confirmed such words of wisdom, learned from observations. Though during my numerous years at [...] and [...] I never witnessed such an amount and number of polar bears. I did have many good hunting years...However, Fred and Sandy, my sons, as did the other hunters who went to Baillie Island, reported polar bear presence, visits, tracks all over...No need to search for them they were all around, on ice, on shore, along the coast etc...even spending some time sliding on the hillside...a very exceptional year indeed as my son Fred described it, relating his experience at Whale Bluff, *Kuuruq*. He never saw so many bears yet...Going up the hill behind the cabin, to scan the horizon, he spotted sometimes up to 5 or 6...Of course being so many on the same hunting area, they are not a bit afraid at all, not frightened.

...Yes indeed this winter was the year of polar bear, and Sandy as well as the other trappers would confirm this statement north of Tuk, Baillie, even Horton River, Cape Parry...all over.

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007: Polar Bear)



HARVEST NUMBERS

The number of polar bear skins a hunter has is mentioned a few times within the transcripts. This may give us an idea of the numbers of bears harvested by a hunter, or at least a minimum number, if it can be assumed that hunters did not store skins from one year to the next or obtained any through trade or sale with other hunters. The following account is from 1910, a year when there were a lot of bears around but hardly any seals.

Now in those days polar bears skins were a real good price, for they could sell them to the ships that came after open water. I remember men would go out every day to hunt, and they got lots of bears. There was no limit to what you could get. Everyone was out for them.

Now my mom and dad used to tell me stories about them. There were thirteen families there at the time. Now way out there was open water, and the bears were always at the open patch preying on seals, and also on the beaches were some old dead bowhead whales which the ships had left. The bears also were always around them.

Sometimes the men would come home with three or four bears. Everyone was tired of bear meat. Even the dogs refused to eat it. Of course they were fat and not hungry as there was lots of meat.

Now not far from Whale Bluff is where the hunters used to go early in the morning. They would be gone all day and night and be back very early in the morning. The hunters always divided the kill amongst the whole camp. My dad said all the men killed 126 polar bears.

...Now in the spring when the men hung all the bear skins outside at Baillie Island, it was as if someone had put a shade under the sun.

....Now the next year the bears' price was to drop.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)

The numbers of bears taken by a hunter is also related through the observations of Frank Cockney and Charlie Gruben. The years they are referring to are not provided.

Now one spring my wife and I were trapping up at *Nuvuraq*, and I remember Jim Wolki and his family were at Umingmak Harbour—it's now called North Star Harbour. We went by their place and he had all his polar bear skins laid out. I guess to make sure they were real dry. This was before there was a quota. He had 17 polar bear skins.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-30)



I had 1000 fox skins and 17 polar bear skins. They are good for nothing when you have nothing to eat. We had lots of money on the boat, but when you can't spend it, it's good for nothing.

Charlie Gruben (N-1992-007:0894A)

Now every one of them looked up to Pukiq (Pokiak) as the chief for he was the best hunter. He had 15 bears, Anikina (Anaqiina) had 14, Bob (Bob Cockney—Nuligaq?) 7, Alingnaq 15, Kegatak (Kotokak - Qutukkaq?) 10, Nauyavak (?) 5, Kayuk (?) 14, Inukiqłak (?) 10, Ulaqpana (?) 5, Angusinauq 6, Payudli (?) 6, Taulana 13.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)

LOCATIONS OF POLAR BEAR HUNTS

We know from the above stories that one of the primary areas for hunting polar bears was off the east coast of Cape Bathurst, particularly around Whale Bluff (*Kuuruq*). Other locations are mentioned in the transcripts such as Maitland Point, Pullen and Herschel Island.

Kuuruq (Whale Bluff) to Baillie Island to Horton River, lot of polar bears all along the area, even the open water is so close, the thin ice is right to the bluff. They even climb the bluff and slide down, the polar bears.

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007:0056-0059)



Jim and Bessie Wolki (Based on Bessie Wolki/ISDP BW-35)

Now Kotokak was able to kill a bear that was eating from our fish pile, for whenever the west wind came up at that time the ice always went out and there would be open water. This was why there were always a lot of polar bears around Maitland Point.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Nov. 1921 - April 1922, 1-1-15)

The month of February the men were going down to the open water at Pullen and sometimes they would kill a few polar bears.

Joe Nasogaluak: (ISDP n.d.: 1942 [Continued])



We often saw a lot of polar bears near Herschel Island when we reached the ice. Boy! Lots of bears! Big bulls...all of them.

Michael Amos (78A in Nagy 1999b)

Hunting bears and seals from *Nurraarvik* at Cape Bathurst is mentioned.

That time in January of 1917 we wintered at a place called *Sikuliilaaluk*. There were many white foxes that year and people were getting a lot. White foxes had rabies and it spread to the dogs. This was in January of 1917 that we lost dogs to rabies. My dad and Mangilana went down to *Nurraarvik* on the coast to trap, this was in January. We wintered there at *Sikuliilaaluk*. We ate only polar bears and seals.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0177)

THE USE OF POLAR BEARS

It was mentioned earlier in the transcripts that bears were used for meat, and also skins for trade. Skins were also used as mattresses in the old days, and for skin clothing.

...I'm always scared of bears because they are dangerous. Yet the men would hunt them with their bear dogs. In those days, the hides weren't worth anything, except to be used for mattresses or fur pants and mitts. That is the skin from young bears. We would throw away the skin from the older bears—they were too heavy to haul.

Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Part 3)

A local market for polar bears skins took off when more traders and visitors came to the area and wanted to purchase them. The price in 1917 seems very low.

...Now I remember at that time the price of polar bear was very cheap. A large polar bear hide would bring in as much as \$15.00 or \$10.00 for a small one.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1917, 1-1-07)

Sometimes skins were traded for supplies rather than sold for money

The Department of Transport saw the bear skins on deck and were looking at them. They asked my husband if he would sell the skins. My husband said, "yes." They wanted them as they were raw skins. They came back with a truck load of food cases, that was for the bear skins. They wanted more bear skins and we had some dried skins. We traded them with fuel oil and every possible food you could think of, right to fresh eggs.

Persis Gruben (N-1992-007:0894A in Nagy 1999b)



Joe Nasogaluak told of a live cub being sold to a trader in 1910.

Now he had a polar bear cub and he sold it to Peters (Captain Peterson) and it had grown pretty big and was hard to handle. They put it in a tarpaulin with only its head sticking out, and put it in the ship.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)



Polar bear cubs. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

NON-HUNTING ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN HUMANS AND POLAR BEARS

There are quite a few stories in the oral history transcripts about encounters between Inuvialuit and polar bears that did not take place while hunting. Bears were sometimes a threat to peoples' safety when they wandered into camp. They also ate or spoiled food in caches, and occasionally stole a hunter's kill. In some cases the bears were found to be in poor condition. Below is part of a story about a starving bear that came into camp in 1923.

It was early morning when the dog that was in the entrance started to bark. They were all in bed yet. Tanaummiq, his wife and their two adopted children were sleeping on the floor in the tent's addition. When Tanaummiq was getting up he said, "I wish it is a polar bear out there." For they had no meat to eat...

...They said it was a huge bear that was starving and very skinny. They couldn't do anything...He gave it one shot and it dropped dead. They now had meat, even though it wasn't fat but it was big.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0177)



Joe Nasogaluak gives us an insight into a traditional belief about bears that are in poor condition, are unable to hunt, and become very dangerous to people.

I had entered the house when they were telling stories so I told them that a polar bear was out there and that Ayaqak had shot it but he had only one bullet. I didn't even grab for my gun but told them instead.

When they ran out, my father grabbed his gun and over there the polar bear was panting away. He went to it and shot it. Ayaqak couldn't find his bullets because he was in a hurry, and afterwards he said that his bullets were just right there where they could be easily spotted. He was so concerned that the polar bear might eat a person. All this time the polar bear was very, very skinny and just as dangerous. Even his skin was stuck to his bones, it was so starving. Here there were so many seals on the sea. The polar bear couldn't get any seal and that is why it was so skinny. The elders said that when a hunter is supposed to get the bear and also those that are barked at by dogs, these are the bears that are unable to ever hunt again. Then they become very skinny to the point of starvation. This is what the old timers spoke about. Even when a seal comes up the breathing hole, the seal is startled and goes back down. The old timers say this is what happens to polar bears that were supposed to be caught by a hunter but escaped. From a very long time ago we call them *kayaaniq*. Those that are very skinny even though there are a lot of seals around. They are very able and have good eyesight and have their teeth yet. Something happens and they can no longer hunt for seal. They say they become jumpy when a person misses it and it can no longer get food. This is what the old timers say. The bears become very hungry and skinny and are very dangerous. The people didn't even try to eat it. They just used it for the dogs.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0322)

Another traditional belief is that people should not talk about some animals because those animals can hear what is being said about them. Sections of a longer story are presented below to illustrate this point. The story has likely served as a lesson to people over the years, that talking boastfully about bears can lead to trouble. It takes place near Whale Bluff in 1900.

It is told that Nauyavak was a proud man. Well he was [a] big, strong, agile man. He used to chase polar bears and spear them. He had a small axe that looked new but was kind of old that he got from a white man. One night he sharpened his little axe, I guess he got a file from a whaling ship. He really liked his axe. When he had the little axe for a weapon he was not afraid of polar bears. It is said that one night he spoke and said, "My axe is very sharp now, a polar bear should come along. If it comes it would be very good." And there were no polar bears that winter. His wife told him that he should not speak of



animals that way. They can hear you. Well, we have heard this, that you must not speak of animals such as beluga whales, polar bears and killer whales. They can hear just as well as people. When you speak about them, they can hear you. Well, you must not speak very much about all animals. Nauyavak didn't heed these words for his axe was very sharp and he felt proud. He was saying that a polar bear should come.

... Tasugana was cooking and she heard the sound of something making noise on the snow. She thought that some sled had arrived. She was going out to see what was happening and she met up with the dogs at the door. In those days the dogs were never tied up. She was going to check out the doorway when she came face to face with the polar bear. She and the polar bear were right up close to each others noses.



A polar bear on land. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

And Nauyavak was saying earlier that a polar bear should come for he had a little axe. I saw Tasugana when she was old and she was a tiny woman. She said the polar bears nose was cold. She ran inside the snowhouse and climbed onto the bed. Even the dogs ran inside. Right behind them the polar bear entered the porch. Another polar bear came in right behind the first. Nauyavak grabbed for his axe but then still another polar bear came in. There was three polar bears now and they could hear more outside. He had asked for a polar bear to come! Two then went outside and one was left inside the porch. They could still hear others making noises as they walked on the snow. Five polar bears had come to them.



...Angusinauq got his gun ready and went outside. They were attacking the dogs. They had already gotten one. By this time it was getting daylight towards morning. Angusinauq killed all three bears. Five bears had come during the night because Nauyavak had said he wanted the polar bear to come. He didn't even use his little axe, it was too small. Animals can hear when spoken of, even the polar bears. That is the way it is if you speak of the polar bear.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253:0184B, 187B [?])

Despite the threat of danger posed by polar bears, it seems that a human death from bear attacks was unknown.

We have never heard of or seen an Eskimo being eaten by a bear.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Part 2 [Second Series], 1-1-27)

Bears and Food Caches

Sometimes bears would break into caches of food that had been left by Inuvialuit. This was serious for people who were counting on this food for future use. The following event told by Joe Nasogaluak took place in September of 1921 at *Tutqayaaq* near Maitland Point.

Not wanting to get everyone excited I said, "There's a bear down at our oil barrels and it looks like he had already turned one barrel over." Even as I watched, I saw him pick something up like a gunny sack and toss it aside. As I told everyone that the polar bear was down at the blubber barrels, they ran out.

...Now everyone grabbed for their guns but all that were handy were shotguns, but these were no good for a polar bear. I had always kept my short rifle handy and loaded. I was able to reach for it when I saw that my dad already had it in his hand. I told my dad "Give me my rifle." However, my dad said he wanted to go down and shoot the bear. My dad went straight down to the polar bear and getting right up to it, almost poking him in the head, he shot it. The polar bear stretched out dead. He had already spilled the whale gut which contained the oil and blubber for winter use of Ulukpan and his family. How we did not see the bear approaching earlier...I do not know. When they skinned the bear, it was very fat, and now we also had some polar bear meat for our use.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story: June 1921 to November 1921, I-I-14)

Another example of bears eating peoples' food comes from a camp located somewhere near either Maitland Point or the mouth of the Anderson River.

...we had to go overland to where we had our fish cached. We had a stage. After arriving there, Niulummaaluk and I saw two polar bears. They were eating fish from our stage. Looking in our sleighs we found that Niulummaaluk had forgotten to take his rifle. The bears had just finished eating. They had also spotted one whale



stomach which was filled with blubber. Once in a while the younger bear cub, which was about a year old, would stand up on his hind legs and the mother was stretched out on the ice, for now they were full.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, November 21 to April 1922, 1-1-15)

Bears Taking a Hunter's Kill

When hunters killed a seal they sometimes had to leave it on the ice while they went to get their dog team to use to haul the seal home. There was always a chance that a bear get it before the hunters returned.

After arriving at the seal meat, we saw that there was a small polar bear cub eating from it. Before we could get close enough for a shot, the young cub took off through the thin ice, his dogs also went through. Now we began trying to get his dogs out of the water. How long it took us I do not know. However, when we got them out two of the dogs had frozen to death in the icy water and now we only had four dogs left.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, January 1921 to May 1921, 1-1-02)



A polar bear eating a seal. (Dave Olsen/U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

It seems that sometimes the reverse situation occurred when hunters would take a seal from a bear.

In the afternoon, the dogs started running on [the] ice and we saw another great big polar bear! He was feeding on seal and then he started walking, looked once in a while. He didn't feel like running. It took a long time for him to go out of sight. We took his seal, all the blubber had been taken out of the meat by the bear.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007:0039A in Nagy 1999b)



SUMMARY

Through the oral histories we have read about the importance of polar bear hunting to Inuvialuit and the significance of young hunters getting their first bear. The area most often referred to for polar bear hunting is the coast of Cape Bathurst, especially the east coast where people camped in winter to be close to the Cape Bathurst polynya. The polynya was a place where seals could be found, which also attracted the bears. West winds helped to open up the water and make for good hunting.

Other areas mentioned for polar bear hunting are the east coast of Cape Bathurst around Maitland Point, and Pullen and Herschel Islands. People hunted bears with dogs, or hunted bears in their dens. Bears were also hunted using bait, but more information is needed to fully understand how that was done. Hunters were aware of the seasonal migration of bears and could intercept them along the coast.

The numbers of bears in an area can fluctuate some years. In 1910 they were abundant and also during the winter of 1972–73. There may have been a shortage of bears in 1900, and they along with foxes and seals were scarce in the winter of 1922–23.

The uses for bears mentioned in the transcripts were for meat and skins for mattresses and later for sale or trade. The sale of one live bear cub is mentioned. Most surprising was the dependence on polar bear meat in 1910 at Cape Bathurst when there were few seals because of the lack of open water areas in the sea ice in winter.



Polar bears. (Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development /GNWT)

The number of polar bear skins a hunter or group had is mentioned a few times. If it is correct to assume that the number of skins is equivalent to the number of bears harvested in a winter, then people at *Avvaq* harvested at least 126 bear skins in 1910.

There are numerous stories of encounters between polar bears and people, particularly when bears wandered into camps. The bears were sometimes found to be in poor condition. Bears also got into peoples' caches of food and sometimes stole a hunter's kill.

NATCHIQ, UGYUK AND AIVIQ— RINGED SEAL, BEARDED SEAL AND WALRUS

The two most common seals in the study area are the *natchiq* or ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) and the *ugyuk* or bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*). The *qasigiaq* is mentioned in the Siglit dictionary (Lowe 2001:107) as being a spotted seal (*Phoca largha*) or a harbour seal (*Phoca vitulina*). It was not mentioned in the oral history transcripts reviewed and is rarely seen in the study area. Further research with elders is required to learn more about this animal.

NATCHIQ—RINGED SEAL

The ringed seal is the most numerous seal and the most abundant marine mammal in the Arctic. An adult male ringed seal weighs about 47 kg (104 lbs). The landfast ice in bays and along coastlines are reported to be the preferred habitat of adult breeding seals in winter and spring. They use their claws to scrape away ice to keep breathing holes open in winter.



A ringed seal or *natchiq*. (Darren Andriashek/FJMC-DFO:0979)

subadults more vulnerable to predation by polar bears and people (Martell 1984:28, Stirling *et al.* 1981:45, Stirling 2001:67–68).

Ringed seals establish resting and birth lairs in landfast ice by scraping out snow or using a natural cavity. Pups are born in March and early April. A number of lairs might be found in the same area. Within the study area it was found that ringed seals were most commonly found off the Yukon coast and the in the area of Wood Bay, Cape Bathurst and Franklin Bay (Stirling *et al.* 1982:15, Martell 1984:29, North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004).

In May and early June ringed seals haul out on the ice and moult and reduce feeding. During the open water period of summer seals migrate along the Beaufort and northwest Alaskan coasts. Aggregations of seals occur at this time especially off the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula and hundreds are reported around Herschel Island in August and September (Martell 1984:28–29, North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004).

In the fall, mostly young ringed seals migrate west through the Beaufort Sea with some going as far as 3500 km to the Russian coast. On the way they pass through areas where they

Concentrations of seals can be found in areas where breathing holes and lairs can be built in pressure ridges and snow in areas such as the Mackenzie Estuary, and Franklin and Liverpool Bays. Adults actively keep subadults out of their territory. This results in subadults living in areas with less stable ice such as polynyas and shoreleads. Living in those locations combined with their lack of experience can make the



Now while we were travelling, getting close to Maitland Point we were stuck. However, after getting to Maitland Point the ice came in, making it impossible for us to travel any further. By this time we were running out of food. Now the men were able to go out on the ice flow and get [ringed] seal and *ugyuk*. They were lucky at times for they would often come back with a good catch. However it didn't last long for there were a lot of families travelling together.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1917, 1-1-07)

In the fall when the daylight got shorter, the people went to the coast to get seals and blubber. They would fill up six skin bags with blubber and that would be enough. Even woman and young boys would hunt seals. Just as long as they could pull up a seal. It must have been in 1900, people were along the coast at *Siuri*, east of Whale Bluff—quite close. They wintered there and they said it never had open water. They hunted seals there. When they got enough, they went home. One family would fill six seal bags for the winter

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007:0184)



Skinning a bearded seal near Whale Bluff, 1910. (R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada /C-35442)

Now we were in January 1923. When we went out hunting in the seal holes we always came home with two or three, but the families being so many, they did not last very long. There was Raddi's family, Kotokak's family, Peterson's, myself and my parents. In those days when we brought home the seal meat it was equally divided among all the families, so you can tell why it didn't last very long.



can find food. Within the study area these include places like the Horton River mouth, deep water areas with upwellings off the east coast of Cape Bathurst, the shelf-break zone off the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula, and off of King and Sabine Points in the Yukon (Harwood and Smith 2002b:2, 5; North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004).

UGYUK—BEARDED SEAL

Bearded seals are less numerous but were prized by hunters for their large size and yield of blubber and meat. They can weigh up to 318 kg (700 lbs). Bearded seals were also valued for their thick skin. They are solitary and prefer rather shallow water (25–75 m) because they feed on or near the bottom of the sea. They can be found near leads and will follow the movements of the ice edge in winter and spring. They have also been found in areas of landfast ice with ringed seals.



A bearded seal pup. (National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Association)

Bearded seals give birth to pups on the ice from mid-March to early May. Both bearded and ringed seals haul out on the ice in June to moult. Pups are born in birth lairs on landfast ice in March and early April. During the open water period in summer they are known to be found around Herschel and Baillie Islands, Liverpool and Franklin Bays and Nicholson Island (Stirling *et al.* 1982:19).

AIVIQ—WALRUS



A walrus seen at Herschel Island. (Courtesy of Andy Tardiff)

a walrus within the study area that could be detected from the current translations was a possible walrus or dead walrus near Cape Bathurst.

The *aiviq* or walrus (*Odobenus rosmarus*) is rarely seen in the area. Edgar Kotokak, an 85 year old elder said that he had only seen one walrus in his life, and it was a dead one that drifted to shore somewhere near Cape Bathurst (pers. com.). Andy Tardiff of Inuvik saw one on Herschel Island and the photograph he took of it is shown below (pers. com.).

Walruses are mentioned only a few times in the oral history transcripts that were reviewed. They were mentioned in relation to stories of elders who lived in Alaska and Banks or Victoria Island. The only account of observing

It is important to know that some researchers, translators and elders have mistakenly referred to a bearded seal by the English word "walrus". When working with elders it is best to use the respective Inuvialuktun words "*ugyuk*" and "*aiviq*" along with a photograph so that confusion does not occur.



THE USE OF SEALS

Food and Fuel for People

Seals were an important source of food, fuel, and skins. This was particularly the case for Inuvialuit living around Cape Bathurst because belugas were not hunted as much there as they were around the Mackenzie Estuary. Also, bowhead whale hunting ended in 1926 and caribou were scarce. People relied on seals, fish and polar bears to get through the winter, and in later years also used food and supplies they got from trading posts.

...Niulummaaluk came to (Maitland Point). We spent the winter there trapping. We would make trips to Anderson (River). We didn't suffer much that year. We ate white man food. As I was growing up there I didn't suffer much. There weren't very many people around then. Some were at the river and some eastward. We didn't eat caribou, just fish and seal and polar bear once in a while from Baillie Island.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007:0192)

We wintered at *Sikuliilaaluk*. We ate just polar bear and seal. I didn't hunt yet then. Towards spring after January ended, we continued staying there in February. Just us and Payuk and Mangilana families stayed there.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007:0188-0189)



Seal blubber or oil was needed for lamps. (© R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0112)

Seal hunting was kept up steadily through winter as quite a few seals were needed if there were a number of families to feed.



It was lucky we were able to get seals. Wood was scarce and we could use the blubber for heat. We would put two small sticks of wood in the stove and put a layer of blubber across them. Thus (with) the blubber (we) always had to take it easy, even with wood, for even wood was scarce and hard to find. This was a tough winter.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: November 1922-March 1923, I-I-17)

Not all seals that were shot were considered safe for people to eat even if they were low on food as Jim Wolki once was.

We traveled a little way (and) we saw two [...] seals. We had nothing... "...I'll go to the first seal. If I can't (kill it) I'll try the other if it doesn't go down." I went to the other and got the seal...It was big seal but it looked like it was sick, skinny with no blubber. We didn't eat out of the seal, we were afraid to eat it. We just gave our dogs a little bit of blubber

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007:0043B in Nagy 1999b)

Seal meat could be eaten fresh, frozen, boiled, and was also aged. A seal skin container called an *avataqpak* was used to store food.

In those days they used to skin the seal with all the blubber on and cut up the meat and use the skin to put the meat in, and they'd bury the meat in the sand to age it. That's really delicious food, and we used to eat a lot of aged food. We used to get a lot of fish then too.

Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Part 3)

People long ago hunted for real survival. They put the seal skin away and dried the meat. Some seals were buried in the land for dog food. When fall time came around they were dug up and the meat was always well preserved. They were in an ice pit.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0128A)

Perhaps after a long winter of seal meat people needed a change.

When one gets tired of this seal meat, he can hardly eat it even though there is lots.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #1)

Non-Food Uses for Seals

Seals had many other uses besides food and fuel. For example, their skins were used for clothing, and bearded seal skin could be used to make thick lines and skins to cover boats.

Seal skins had many uses (at) that time—*qayaq*, skin balloons for storing food, and waterproof shoes.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0130)

People long ago never had things like rubber boots, they just use the seal skin boots. Some women would make long ones, like the white man's hip wader. Women at that time were very good sewers. They would sew seal skin shoes, oil them and hang them



outside. They were oiled every so often till all the stitches were sealed. Those shoes will never get wet after they're ready.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0128)

Now my granddad had gone to get our *umiaq* which had been taken all apart. The six *ugyuk* skins had been taken off and rolled up and the frames all stocked so they wouldn't break.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)

In the daytime the door was left open and the cold never came in. Only at night they would cover it. There was one window on top made with bearded seal intestines. The *igluyaryuit*/sod houses didn't have stoves, just lamps and they are warm even at night.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0250-0257)



Bearded seal. (National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Association)

Seal blubber could also be used as bait in fox traps.

...when it froze-up we did some seal hunting, getting one now and then. The open water was really close, and in the month of November we set a few traps...I got quite a few for the first time in 1943. I was using the blubber of a male seal which they call coal oil seal (or gasoline seal—the oil of an *ayulaq*, a rutting male)...Before I was using old rotten fish for bait, but this time when I got a coal oil seal I used the blubber for bait like I used to at *Avvaq*. I got eight white foxes.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 1942 [Continued])

Trading or Selling Seal Skins

We learn from Silas Kangeana that preparing seal skins was a lot of hard work. This may refer to the time when he was living in Alaska.

Finally warm weather came. I went hunting seals often. The hunters got about four or five seals a hunt from the seal's hole in the ice. I skinned them. I even tried seal meat. I went walking of course, travelling, to visit John Olsen, the trader, and I sold everything that I had (for) what would seem today as a ridiculous rate or price. Seventy-five cents for the hide and fifty cents for the seal meat, and a \$1.75 for one whole seal. [I] remember how much work goes into scraping the skin, shaving the seal hair, the hide, for rope. Oh, I did my share of work I must say—7 days to prepare the skins.

Silas Kangeana (N-1992-007:0204)



Non-Inuvialuit Use of Seals

Missionaries, police, traders and non-Inuvialuit trappers in the area hunted or traded for seals for food and dog food. Sometimes when supplies ran low, Inuvialuit traded with white trappers to acquire seal meat and blubber.

Now when Etagiak and them arrived, they told us the news that there were a couple of white trappers living with Martin Anderson and we were told that they had a supply of shotgun shells and also had a supply of flour and tea. They also had a good supply of seal meat and blubber, for they were lucky that fall. They also had some bowhead whale meat which they were using for dog food, and we were told that these two trappers had only one dog between them. So my dad, Raddi and Etagiak, started for (Cape) Dalhousie where the white trappers lived. My dad was thinking that he could trade with furs for some supplies.

...How many days my dad stayed I do not remember. However, when he returned we were very happy. For he had managed to trade all his fur for three bags of flour, sugar and tea. Also he bought a double barrelled shotgun along with some ammunition for it. How lucky we were, for we were rich again and we were able to get a few fish every day. He had also bought some seal blubber and meat, and thus we stayed on at the mouth of (the Anderson River?).

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, March - Sept. 1923, 1-1-18)

Inuvialuit also sold, traded or gave seals to non-Inuvialuit who needed it for human food, dog food and fuel.

People would feed their dogs mostly fish and seal meat in those days. While we were there (Maitland Point) we gave those policemen fat seal meat which was already frozen. I think they took about five seals at that time. Right there we took home about two seals from (Maitland Point) to (Stanton). I think it was in 1937 when we spent the winter there.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d: A Story,1-60-02)



A winter supply of seals for the RCMP at Sachs Harbour, September 1958. The seals were used for dog food. Bags of coal are piled on the left. (©R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0299)



We spent Christmas at Baillie Island then. It was a lucky thing that Billy Thrasher, who was staying with his stepfather at the time, had managed to get quite a few seals that fall. He was able to share some of his blubber with the Bay manager so that he could use it for heat, and they themselves also used it for food, and it also kept their dogs alive.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Nov. 1922 - March 1923, 1-1-17)

SEAL HUNTING

Breathing Hole Sealing

In winter Inuvialuit hunted seals at breathing holes and at the ice edge at areas of open water. Breathing hole sealing is described by William Kuptana.

When they hunted seals, they only used one dog and their harpoon and piece of skin to stand on...It might be seal or white fox maybe caribou. The hunters always had a pack sack on their backs...anywhere they go seal hunting. Sometimes they didn't get any seals. A whole day would pass and sometimes they did get something. As soon as the seal came to breath, the hunter harpooned it right away. The people really suffered lots them days. Still when it got longer daylight, it was nice and bright. They used a piece of thin, very thin caribou horn skin and used that for the seals breathing hole. The strand sometimes was from a piece of strand...thin like hair. They would put that inside the seals breathing hole and wait. When the seal was coming up for air, the thin strand began to move around. Then it was time to throw the harpoon inside the breathing hole.

...You have to know what you're doing, (so as) not to alarm the seal when it is coming up for air.

William Kuptana (N-1992-253:0368 in Nagy 1999b)

People sometimes had to travel a long distance out onto the sea ice to look for breathing holes.

...1918 [was] the year we spent the winter in *Kangiqtualuk*. I remember the times when people used to go out hunting for seals and polar bears. They would have to go away out and look for seal holes.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1918, 1-1-08)

Hunting beyond the landfast ice could be dangerous. The wind and currents could cause the ice to move and hunters might find themselves set adrift with no safe passage back to land. Mangilaaluk and some other hunters found themselves in this situation. An excerpt from their story is provided below to show the dangers of hunting:



This is how Mangilaaluk told the story of his unfortunate and forced journey on the ice...One morning of a beautiful cold day, Mangilaaluk, after looking at the horizon, could discern plenty of dark and black clouds. This meant a good open water (area), and around Baillie Island an opportunity to kill some seals and perhaps, if luck is with you, some polar bear. He was in a very good mood and decided to go hunting in the open water, walking. He started along and soon he heard footsteps. He was followed and reached by a friend of his...Two neighbours Siturana, Ulaqpana's son and Chikchak also joined them on the ice.

What the Eskimo hunter fear(s) the most suddenly happened and took them by surprise so they constantly surveyed the horizon. The ice pack was on the move, and at a fast speed already cutting them off from the land and drifting God knows where. As it often happens along Baillie Island and the coast line in the sea, wind soon became gales. There was a strong east wind and... (the) violence of the wind, break(ing) of waves, grinding ice against ice, all combined in weakening and crumbling their ice raft. In the blizzard and blinding snowstorm—tense, afraid, dreading the worst—Siturana couldn't even shed a tear. On and on they wandered at the mercy and rage of wind and the ice flow of which the state was getting smaller and smaller. They jumped on bigger ones passing by, always the three men following Mangilaaluk's lead...

...Pointing ahead with his hands, all intently and aghast, stared at what seemed like land, very high land, a hill perhaps. But this wasn't land. It was a huge iceberg spinning, coming their way. An iceberg with upright and stiff sides. What would happen to them now?

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: Mangalook [Mangilaaluk] and His Adventures on Ice, 1-14-04)

Another comment by Felix Nuyaviak shows the concern that hunters had about becoming adrift on the pack ice.

Then there is the seal which was used to make their *qainnat* and *iqaqliit* [waterproof boots], hunted when the days got longer through their breathing hole. I don't know of anyone hunting in the open water because there wasn't any guns just bow and arrows. When they are hunting seal in the spring they go out and camp in snow houses, making sure that they won't get drifted out. You can usually see a pole out at their camp where they hang up the dog harnesses and rawhide ropes. Those were the people I caught as I remember.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #1, 1-14-01)



Seals along an ice lead.
(Lois Harwood/FJMC-DFO:
0993)

Hunting at Open Water in Winter

In the section of this report on polar bears, we learned about the importance of the open water areas in winter for hunting both seals and bears. A description of seal hunting in 1921 is provided by Joe Nasogaluak. His story shows the importance of seal meat and gives us an insight into how quickly ice conditions can change. We also get an idea of the number of seals that were hunted and the labour involved in simply getting seals back to camp.

Now in January, about the 14th or 15th the sun would start coming up. It would appear and then go right back down. The days were very short. We had a *qayaq* which he had borrowed from his old brother Tanaummiq. This was a real *qayaq* made out of skin. We took our dogs along with us and went out to the open sea. Before reaching the open sea, we arrived at a wide crack in the ice. We were lucky, the sun was just coming up and it seemed the whole crack was covered with seals.

We knew that at home none of our folks had any meat—no food of any kind. When a seal would come up not too far from us he would say “Okay” and I would shoot it. He would then get in the *qayaq* and go and get the seal. After he brought it back we would pull it up on the ice. He was very slow, but I myself did not know how to use the *qayaq* so I did the shooting and he hauled in the seals and soon it was dark.

We loaded some seal meat on after dark. Before we started home we made a count and we had killed twenty-eight seals. After arriving home the next morning we moved our tent to a small sandspit. This little sandspit was called *Tuapagyuk*.



After fixing up the tent and putting snow blocks around it we started out to haul some seal meat. Mangilana had six dogs. After arriving out there we saw that the ice that had blown away had returned and the crack where we had hunted seals was frozen over but was very thin...

Now we started hauling our meat, knowing that we had to get it all hauled in case some more bears arrived. It took us three days to haul all the meat in and then we returned to *Kangiqlualuk*. Now our folks at least had some seal meat.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, January–May 1921, 1-1-12)



Above: Seals loaded on a sled at the floe edge, Banks Island, 1958. (© R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002:0245)

Below: A bearded seal swimming in the water. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:1193)



Hunters shot seals and retrieved them using a grappling hook or *manaq*. This was used to retrieve seals in the water.

...it was getting dark and dangerous as the ice was cracking up. Then we camped and slept. When it was getting daylight towards the morning, we heard the ice piling up from inside the snowhouse. Then the next day the wind was down and two open leads were very close. I went to (one) and those two went to the other. We wanted to hunt seal with (a) *manaq*. I got three and quit, the two others had shot two seals.

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007:0039A in Nagy 1999b)

Hunters knew that when the wind blew from certain areas it would open up leads where seals could be hunted. I am not certain of the location that the following quote applies to.

[In] those days, the people used to hunt seals during the winter when the ice cracked open about 10 miles out from the shore. Every time the east wind blew, the ice would crack open and the men would go out [with] their *qayaq* on a sleigh and hunt the seals on the open water.

Sam Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Life Story)



Using Seal Nets

The use of seal nets is mentioned in a number of the oral history transcripts. I am not sure of the type of nets they were using in all of the examples provided below. In 1914 an Inuvialuit woman said that the nets were once made of braided sinew of caribou or beluga (Stefansson 1919:350). It is possible that two different types of nets were used over the years. One is described by Nelson (1982:59) as a net about 5' square that was placed horizontally under a breathing hole. The seals couldn't see the nets in the dark and would get tangled in it and drown.

The following day Billy Thrasher went to the ice searching for seal holes and to set up a net, a seal net in an *aglu*. I asked him if I could join him. I wanted to learn the method of catching seals that way. We did find a hole and we set a net. On our next visit we were rewarded. One seal got entangled in the net and drowned. As we were using only blubber for our lamps, this seal provided us with plenty of it.

Raddi Koiksak (N-1992-007: Travels in the Arctic, Old Days and Now)

Nelson (1982:59) describes a net that was set vertically under the ice. This was a larger net (8' square) and sometimes two might be placed side by side. The following example of using a seal net is provided by Fred (Jake) Jacobson. Fred was not Inuvialuit but moved to the area in 1910 and stayed there for the rest of his life.

...he (Fritz Wolki) was running short of meat and short of dog food. So he sent this Mangilana out on (the) ice to set a seal net. The seal net is twice the size of HBC...blanket. ...You see you take the seal net and tie a small chunk of ice on each corner. Then push the net through the seal hole—to the main seal hole, and with a crooked stick...and the chunks of ice will float against the ice to keep the seal net spread underneath the ice. With a crooked stick in one corner this way, and another corner that way, another corner that way. In the middle you have a dog chain with a sliver in (?). When the seal gets in the net, it will spin around and that's a rope—keep on spinning and then they might break the rope. That's why they use a chain, dog chain...

Fred (Jake) Jacobson (N-1992-007:0088)

Two more examples of people using nets are provided below. I am not sure what type of nets they were using. We need to learn more about the use of seals nets from Inuvialuit elders.

...after Christmas we went to a place called *Tuapagyuk*. We were going to see if we could have any luck with seal hunting. We were lucky and were able to get an odd seal now and then. We set seal nets too. It was hard, and I was also able to get one polar bear. It too was very poor. (1923)

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Part 2 [Second Series], 1-1-27)

(At) that time there was this Inuvialuk named William Mangilan. He had set three seal net's somewhere out on the ice. It was in the month of February. He went to check his three seal nets.

Jim Wolki (N-1992-007:0085)



The Unpredictable Nature of Seal Hunting

Seal hunting was not always predictable. If the polynya didn't form or the shore leads didn't open up then there were fewer seals to hunt. Hunters had to resort to breathing hole sealing which was very hard work and likely didn't yield as many seals. Also, if the ice didn't go out the summer before then there would be few food supplies left to trade for at the Baillie Island Hudson's Bay Company post. In the section of this report on polar bears the years 1910, 1922 and 1923 were years when few seals could be found.

Regardless of the method used for seal hunting, there were no guarantees that seals would be found.

Now at last Christmas arrived, and they were running short of food on the ship. New Years came around and they would go out and try to hunt seals in the seal holes but they didn't have much luck. Even when they found open ice cracks they didn't get any seals and at last spring was coming.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #9)



Geddes Wolki with a load of seals. (©ISDP/Bessie Wolki Collection/19)

Locations of Seal Hunts

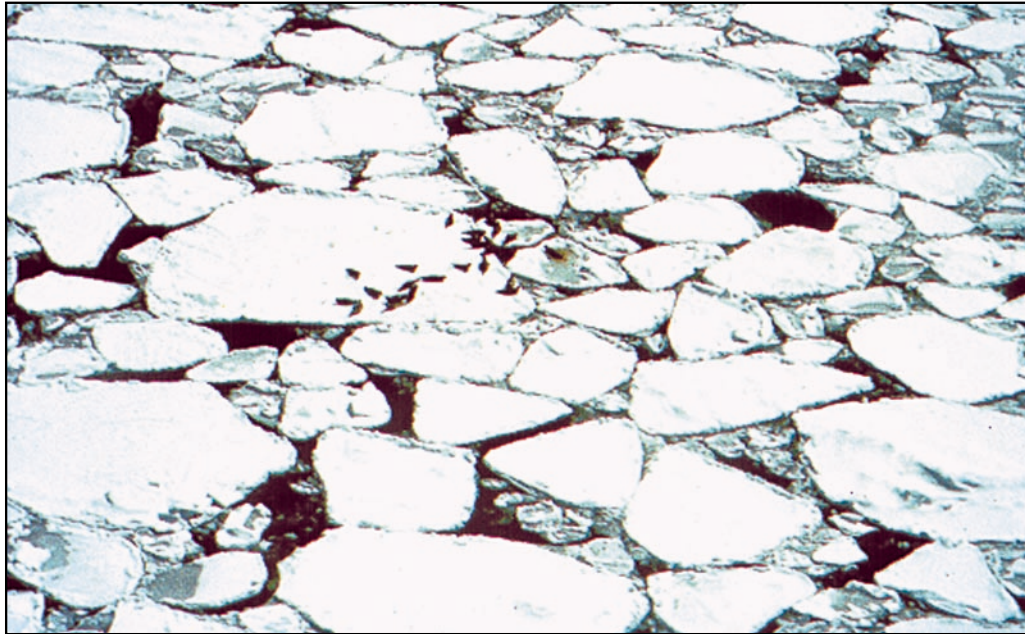
In the previous section seal hunting off the coast of Cape Bathurst was mentioned in the Baillie Islands and Whale Bluff areas as they were in the vicinity of the Cape Bathurst polynya. A few other areas where seal hunting took place were mentioned in the transcripts. Seal hunting could be productive off the west side of Cape Bathurst in Wood Bay, out from Maitland Point and the Mason River.

Now about the end of May, in the first part of June, people were able to go out and hunt seals. Now in those days the ice stayed in for a long time. However, the water that came down to *Kuugyuasiaq* was very thick and muddy, and we would go a way out to the open spot and were able to hunt seals. I remember I myself got one seal, and when all the hunters returned home, the total kill was six.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1918, 1-1-08)



Bearded seals (*ugyuit* – plural) can be found around Nicholson Island (*Qikiqtaryuuyaq*) on broken ice, and Inuvialuit living around Cape Bathurst often hunted them there (Edgar Kotokak pers. com.). Tom Kimiksana tells about going there from Stanton (*Qikuliruwik*) and then onto *Singiit* to hunt seals. We are not sure if that is the area called *Singiit* in Liverpool Bay. He notes the difference in behaviour between bearded and ringed seals.



Seals on pans of ice. (Lois Harwood/FJMC-DFO:0992)

When the ice went and when the ice broke, it came back. We would look with binoculars toward the ice and then we started to see an *ugyuk*. It was on top of the floating ice. The east wind had drifted them in near *Qikiqtaryuuyaq* (Nicholson Island) and we could see them down there. Then we went and tried to get *ugyuit* (from Stanton).

...There were three adults there, *Alignaq*, *Silautchiaq* and myself, went to (*Singiit?*) to pitch a tent...the *ugyuit* were close by, almost reaching us as they were swimming inside the harbour. So we got one *ugyuk* inside the harbour as we were staying there. Also it was very shallow right inside the harbour. That night the horizon got very foggy. The next day it got clear and the weather got really good again. So I pushed out again to hunt some more. As we pushed out again there were *ugyuit* all over where we could see...Wherever you looked they were very close by...I think we got about five *ugyuit* at that time. Then we loaded our boat and went home.

In spring we kept hunting *ugyuit* and we got about thirty...We also hunted seals, but they always go under water too quick and they weren't like *ugyuit*. Seals are too easy to frighten, but *ugyuit* are hard to frighten and you can easily sneak up to them, quietly paddling closer to them. You could almost run into them. When they got used



to us they would just take a look at us and fall asleep again. As they got used to seeing the same thing they just lay back and fell asleep. After we finished hunting *ugyuit* in spring we stayed there at Stanton.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story,1-60-05)

Within the oral history transcripts there are not as many references to seal hunting outside of the Cape Bathurst area. Cape Dalhousie is mentioned as being a place to find a lot of seals.

On our way coming (from *Avvaq* to *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*) we got two seals and there were many *ugyuit* around Cape Dalhousie, but we had so much on board we hardly hunted.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.(a): March 1940)

Felix Nuyaviak describes how people at Atkinson and Warren Point on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula used to count on seals in the days when people gathered at *Kitigaaryuk* (the village at *Kitigaaryuit*). The time he refers to would be before 1900.

I caught a lot of the old timers when I was small at *Kitigaaryuk* when they congregated. There were so many that there would be people all along the coast right to Baillie Island. There were people around Atkinson Point and Warren Point depending on sealing mostly, using the hides for *kamngit* (boots) and *iqaqhiit* (waterproof boots). [They were] mostly hunting through the breathing holes in the ice.

Felix Nuyaviak: (ISDP n.d.: #1, I-14-I)

Long ago they say the *Kitigaaryuit* people would go to *Nuvuraq* to look for seals to make balloons (*avataqpak*) and seal skin boots. Sometimes in summer they would use row boats to go to *Nuvuraq* to hunt seal—after they made drymeat, dryfish and *maktak* at *Kitigaaryuit*. At that time they had pits where they stored whale heads and *maktak* and over them they would put the whale oil in them. When the oil turned to liquid the bugs would not get at them. The people would go to *Nuvuraq* in the summer, and after freeze-up the people would go out on the ice to hunt seals. They had no nets so they would wait at the seal holes with a harpoon with a long drag line.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0130)

There are a few comments about seal hunting from people who were living in Tuktoyaktuk. The open leads in winter were not that close to Tuktoyaktuk, so hunters went further along the coast to places like Toker Point or to the outer islands.

We lived in *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* through December, having lots of fish. At Christmas time the people had games and races. My brothers Philip and Paul were trapping towards Pullen Island, and once in while they would bring home some seals and we would have some meat then.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Stories, July 1940)



We lived in *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* through December, having lots of fish. At Christmas time the people had games and races. My brothers Philip and Paul were trapping towards Pullen Island, and once in while they would bring home some seals and we would have some meat then.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Stories - July 1940)

That fall in the open water at *Nunasuaq* "Toker Point" I got a seal, and then close to home at Tuk I would get a seal now and then. So by the end of November the open water went way out so we never cared for it anymore. (1942)

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 1942 [Continued])

Frank Cockney tells of his grandfather hunting basking seals in spring out of *Ukiivik* (Kendall Island).

Once we got home to our camp (at *Ukiivik*) he would wait a few days until the water began to show along the shore. Then he would either go out hunting ducks, or go out to the sea and look for seal holes. Often he would find seals which had come up through the holes to sun themselves. Sometimes he would come home with one or two or sometimes three.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-2)

It is possible that the *Kitigaaryungmiut* and *Kuukpangmiut* who lived near the mouth of the Mackenzie River didn't need or desire much seal meat, because they had an abundance of meat and oil from beluga whales. The following statement by Mami Mamayauq who was of *Kuukpangmiut* ancestry attests to this. It is difficult to know if she was overstating the case to make the point that seals weren't so important to the people there. *Kiglavak* is likely what is called Kidluit Bay on topographic maps.

Up to (*Kiglavak*), they did not know about seals. They didn't even eat seal meat at all. Beluga whale was just like eating seals for them.

Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)

SUMMARY

Seals were important for supplying food for both humans and dogs. They also provided fuel for lamps, and skins were used for things like boat covers and waterproof boots. Seals were also sold or traded to non-Inuvialuit like the RCMP and white trappers. In one case Inuvialuit who were experiencing a shortage of food managed to get some seals through trade with white trappers. Not all seals were considered healthy enough to eat. One that appeared sick was used only sparingly for the dogs during a time when there was little food available for them.

The information in the transcripts reviewed shows the importance of seals to Inuvialuit living in the Cape Bathurst area. Hunting took place along the coast of Franklin Bay at places like Whale Bluff which are close to open water in winter. Maitland Point or Nicholson Island are also



mentioned as places for sealing in that area. *Nuvuraq* (Atkinson Point), Warren and Toker Points on the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula were good to hunt out of, as were Pullen and Kendall Islands in the outer Mackenzie Estuary.

Understanding the wind was an important aspect of a hunter's knowledge. Hunting on pack ice was dangerous and hunters were aware of the affect of the winds in causing the ice to break apart. They also understood that winds from certain directions would open or close open water areas in winter.

Hunters could not always count on finding seals. During winters like 1910 or 1922–23, few leads or open water areas occurred which resulted in few seals to hunt. During one winter seals could not be found even though there was open water around.

We learned that bearded seals were considered easier to hunt than ringed seals because they aren't as easily frightened.


In terms of the numbers of seals people needed to harvest, we learned that one family required six seal skin storage bags of meat for the winter. I do not know how many seals were needed to fill up each bag. Examples of harvest numbers are 4 to 6 six seals during one hunt and 28 for another. The latter was at the ice edge. It is sometimes difficult to determine the hunting method used in some of the stories because the transcript will say something general like, "I went out on the ice looking for seal holes." Initially I assumed that referred to breathing hole sealing, but in some cases it referred to hunting basking seals.



Peter Esau hauling seals home, Banks Island, June 1958. (©R.C. Knights/NWT Archives/N-1993-002-0256)

IQALUIT—FISH

Although the Southeastern Beaufort Sea is said to have fewer species of fish than elsewhere in the Arctic, it has an abundant variety that are harvested by Inuvialuit. This is due in part to the diversity of habitats that are available for fish like freshwater lakes, rivers and streams, brackish and slightly warmer nearshore coastal waters, and colder offshore waters (North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004). These areas provide habitat for freshwater fish, for anadromous fish that spend part of their lives in both fresh and brackish water, and for fish that occur only in salt water. The many bays and inlets along the coast provide a winter habitat for fish because of a layer of fresh water that sits under the ice. These habitats and the life cycles of the fish, particularly freshwater and anadromous fish, have made them a relatively dependable, accessible and integral part of Inuvialuit subsistence. A selection of the fish harvested are provided in the following table.

	SIGLITUN WORDS FOR A SELECTION OF <i>FISH</i> Singular form from Lowe (2001). Dual and plural forms by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik, and David Nasogaluak of Tuktoyaktuk.	
COMMON NAMES	SCIENTIFIC NAME	SIGLITUN—SINGULAR, DUAL, PLURAL
fish of any kind		iqaluk, iqalluk, iqaluit
broad whitefish	<i>Coregonus nasus</i>	anaakliiq, anaakliik, anaakliit
least cisco, lake herring	<i>Coregonus sardinella</i>	iqalusaaq, iqalusaak, iqalusaat
humpback or lake whitefish, crooked back	<i>Coregonus clupeformis</i>	pikuktuuq, pikuktuuk, pikuktuut
arctic cisco, herring	<i>Coregonus autumnalis</i>	qaaktaq, qaaktak, qaaktat
inconnu, coney	<i>Stenodus leucichthys</i>	siiraq, siiqqak, siiqqat
pacific herring, blue herring	<i>Clupea harengus pallasi</i>	piqquaqtitaq, piqquaqtitak, piqquaqtitat
lake trout—brackish water	<i>Salvelinus namaycush</i>	iqaluaqpak, iqaluaqpaak, iqaluaqpait

continued...



lake trout—fresh water	<i>Salvelinus namaycush</i>	singayuriaq, singayuriak, singayuriat
char—dolly varden, arctic char	<i>Salvelinus alpinus or malma</i>	iqalukpik, iqalukpiik, iqalukpiit
sculpin, bullhead	<i>Cottidea sp.</i>	kanayuq, kanatdjuk, kanatdjut or kanayuq, kanayuk, kanayuit
sucker	<i>Catostomus sp.</i>	milugiaq, milugiak, milugiat
northern pike, jackfish	<i>Esox lucius</i>	siulik, siullak, siulgit
tom (arctic) cod	<i>Boreogadus saida</i>	uugaq, uukkak, uukkat
rock (saffron) cod	<i>Arctogadus glacialis</i>	uugavik, uugaviik, uugaviit
flounder (starry flounder)	<i>Platichthys stellatus</i>	nataarnaq, nataarnak, nataarnat
loche, burbot	<i>Lota lota</i>	tiktaaliq, tiktaalik, tiktaaliit
arctic grayling	<i>Thymallus arcticus</i>	sulukpaugaq, sulukpaukak, sulukpait
small fish in seal stomachs	<i>not verified</i>	iqalugaq, iqalukkak, iqalukkat

Of all the marine resources researched through the COPE and Oblate archival oral histories, learning about fish is the most difficult. Although Inuvialuit caught a variety of fish, they are often referred to in the transcripts as *iqaluit*, which is a generic term for any kind of fish. On occasion herring is mentioned which could mean *qaaktat* (plural for arctic cisco) or *piqquaqtitat* (plural for pacific or blue herring). The term whitefish is sometimes used, but could mean *anaakliit* or *pikuktuut* (broad whitefish or crooked back/lake whitefish), although it is generally used for broad whitefish. Some verification of the names for fish mentioned in the report was done with Edgar Kotokak, Noah Felix, David Nasogaluak, Frank Cockney, and Gordon Aknaviak of Tuktoyaktuk, and later with Billy Day, Andy Tardiff and Frank Pokiak of the BSIMPI Traditional Knowledge Sub-Group.



Anaakliit, broad whitefish (top two) and arctic cisco qaaktaq (bottom). (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:016)



FISHING THROUGH THE YEAR

Inuvialuit have always had fish as a staple part of their diet and were also used extensively for dog food. Fishing took place through most of the year, but the peak periods were after the whaling season in late summer and into fall. It was important that people got enough fish to last through the winter.

Those people, our forefathers, were never stuck ever. Even though they had no firearms. When and if they were getting short of anything, they would go to fishing places all along the coast and try and pull through the winter by fishing.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #1, 1-14-01)

In those days Mangilaaluk would be fishing all fall right up until freeze-up...People from around the surrounding area close to Tuk would come to Tuk for the Christmas holidays and they would have enough to eat, including their dogs. Usually the warm weather was here before the fish ran out and then we would be going out to Husky Lakes for trout.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #2)



Children with fish in net, Horton River 1930s. (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-0210)

Back in those days if a man was a poor fisherman he ran out even before Christmas. Those who were good had fish right until springtime when they would be able to hunt seals.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: Third Series, 1-32-02)



Occasionally Inuvialuit did not manage to get enough fish to last the winter. The winter of 1922–23 was particularly hard because the supply ship couldn't get to Baillie Island to drop off supplies the summer before. Leads didn't appear in the ice that winter and seals were hard to find as were polar bears and foxes. People couldn't get any fish.

...we returned to Maitland Point and since all the people were having a hard time, we decided to get together. We took what little belongings we had and our tents, and we went to a little place called *Tuqpalauq*, and there the families got together and pitched up all their tents as close together as possible using snow blocks on the sides to keep the heat in.

We did not have very much, and now we were out of fish because that fall we could not get any. I believe it was a lucky thing that we were able to get a couple of seals now and then.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Nov. 1922–March 1923, 1-1-17)

Fishing was also a focus after the winter festivities or *qaiwitdjvik* which people gathered for during the sunless days of winter. Felix Nuyaviak tells us that after the gathering people left for their fishing places again which extended into spring.

After doing this for some time, when the sun rose they played *nauligaaq* (harpoon/dart game) or *papigaaq* as it is called, as the ending game. When all is over, they parted to return to their fishing spots at *Tuktuuyaqtuuq*, *Qiniqsiq*, *Paaraaluk*, *Siglialuk* and *Qaaqturviaryuk*. They would go to gather food.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-253:0247-0249B)

When the games were finally over, the people would gather all their gear and go out to their favourite fishing places. By this I mean hooking under the ice, for it was believed in those days that the fish came back when the sun comes back up. Now the people would fish, hooking under the ice right until spring came.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d: Memories of the North, 1-14-02)

So when the sun comes back families would be going to their hunting grounds once again. Now fishing is their occupation. Going to fishing places like "*Imaryuk*" (Husky Lakes) or down along the coast fishing for coney.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #1, 1-14-01)

...People from the surrounding area close to Tuk would come to Tuk for the Christmas holidays and they would have enough to eat including their dogs. Usually the warm weather is here before the fish run out and then we would be going out to Husky Lakes for trout.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #2)



Inuvialuit also fished in spring. One of the main spring fishing places was *Imaryuk* (Husky or Eskimo Lakes), but as it is out of our study area I have not provided examples of fishing there in this section.

Now we all moved to the mouth of *Kuuk* (Anderson River) and it was almost breakup and he wanted to hook for coney. First they took the *umiaq* over and put it together and we moved the boat built by granddad and *Tayaqpan* and *Ulaqpan* and my dad...Now after open water they were able to get a lot of herring and made them into dryfish.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: 3rd Series, Tape 6)

FISH RUNS

Inuvialuit knowledge of the timing of the fish runs was essential to catching the amount of fish they needed for the winter.

Now when I first moved to Tuk (*Tuktuuyaqtuuq*), Eddie Gruben used to help me by giving me advice. He said while the fish and herring are running, that's the time to get them, even if it's a time when we won't need them. For once the run is over we won't get any until next season. The same time with trapping time—we all have to go by seasons for fishing and trapping. I can't say I'll catch herring later when I need them. By then there will be nothing, as the fish and game don't wait for our time.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-28)

Now in Tuk right after open water is the herring run, and the whitefish run, and the whales come in about the same time. After the whaling season there's (a) herring run in August, and just before freeze-up another herring run, and these are big ones, and real fat too at that.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-30)

Top to bottom: A *piqqaqtitaq*, also known as blue herring or Pacific herring. An *iqalusaaq*, also known as lake herring or least cisco. A *qaaktaq* also known as herring or arctic cisco. (Pete Cott, Department of Fisheries and Oceans)





In those days it froze-up early. People from Banksland tried to go then but I think they didn't make it because of freeze-up. And then after that I started fishing again. It was after freeze-up on a Sunday, I had set two nets instead of going to church. I sure caught enough fish, "conies" in fact, there were so many fish that each time we looked at one and set it we would start looking at the other one. We usually got over 30 right away. My boy David and I, he was still small but able to help, all afternoon we did that until it got dark, without even stopping to eat. We had been getting over 200 conies, some were big. People, after they came from church, seeing so much fish we got, started chiselling all around us setting nets too. It was towards the end of September, and that was the end of the main run.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: January 1942)

...we stopped at Maitland Point on our way to Anderson River. For there it was that the herring fish would start running about the middle of September and we would be able to get all the fish we wanted.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: July 1919–April 1920, 1-1-09)

FISHING TECHNIQUES

Net Fishing

Fishing with a gill net is an efficient way to get a lot of fish at once, especially during fish runs. In times past nets were made of a variety of material like caribou sinew, willow bark, and bowhead sinew (Morrison 2000:6, Pokiak 1989:38).

That time, our ancestors used to have sinew for fishnets with the sinew from beluga whales.

Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)



Mami Mamayauq sewing skins, 1912. (R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada/C-023640)



Bertram Pokiak reported that caribou sinew nets were not left in overnight as they absorbed too much water (Pokiak 1989:38).

Making fish nets was a skill passed on from one generation to the next. Net gauges made out of material like antler were used (Morrison 1988:44). Tom Kimiksana told about learning to make a fish net.

So we started spending the winter at *Qikuliurvik* (Stanton). My dad worked for Father (priest) at the time. He fished in the winter at the mouth of *Kuuk* (Anderson River). He had two nets set under the ice so he would load the sled full with big conies and whitefish. We spent the winter there and in the evenings when there wasn't much to do, my dad would make a real fishnet by weaving it together. I helped him and he taught me, well we all know that when we grow up we are going to use them and that is why he taught us how to make nets. When he stopped for a while I would sit in his seat and continue making the net. Then when I got tired I would leave it. From old nets he would make nets to catch ptarmigan in a small creek (*kuugaaluk*) which led up to a lake and across to where the bush country was.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-03)



Netted fish in a boat, Horton River, 1930s. (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-0211)



Setting a fishnet through holes in the ice in June using curved willow tent poles, ca. 1910. (R.M. Anderson/National Archives of Canada/PA-188078)

Nets were about a metre wide and their length depended on what it was made from and how it would be used. Stone sinkers and bark floats were used to keep them in place (Morrison 2000:6–7). Cotton and linen twine and eventually nylon replaced the more traditional materials used to make nets. Nets were and still are used in open water and are also set under the ice in winter.

...when I used to go with him he used to have a fishnet under the ice in a big lake. This big lake can be found in between *Ukiivik* and *Qimialuk*. However, it is closer to *Qimialuk* than to our place. It is five or six miles from *Qimialuk*.

Also where we were at *Qimialuk* there was a river coming out of a big lake. We would stay there for a couple of days in order to see all the nets. For a while we were back home and running our other traplines, the ice in the nets would get very thick. Only after we had been through fixing and cleaning nets, then we would start on our trapline from there.

He also had two nets in this big lake. This big lake was called *Kuuligyuaq*. Before going home we would look at these nets again, and this would be for the fresh fish. There were jackfish, loche, crookedbacks and whitefish.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: I-44-05)



Pikuktuuq, lake whitefish/crooked back.
(L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:419)

Nets were an important tool for getting the amount of fish needed for winter.

Anybody can set a net during the summer and get a few fish every day. But this is just for your daily living and your family. You catch the fish run in the fall, and in a week's time you can get enough fish to last you through the winter.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-31)



Sweep Netting

Seining, sweep netting or "sweeping" (*qaaqtuq*) as it is called locally was also done. Sweeping involves moving a net through water and catches almost everything that can't get through the size of the mesh used. Little information on sweeping has been documented for Inuvialuit. A report by Reverend Whittaker says that a number of nets would be joined together (Morrison 2000:6). Sweeping could be very productive. Edward Kikoak provides examples of the numbers of fish caught by sweeping at Baillie Island. Elder Edgar Kotokak verified that the type of herring caught there are *qaaktat* (arctic cisco).

I think that Baillie is a good place for living. In October I went travelling inland and always came back home with some caribous or moose. Fishing is good also, especially in July. Sweeping will give us up to 8,000 to 10,000 fish, mostly herring and winter was very good also seals.

Edward Kikoak (N-1992-007: My Life at Baillie Island)



Baillie Island post being flooded during a storm, ca. 1929. The post was built on a sandspit known as *Utqaluk* (stopping place). Inuvialuit used to fish there for *qaaktat* (arctic cisco, locally called herring). (R. C. Diocese Archives/ L. T. Burwash)

Hook and Line

Jigging, locally known as "jiggling" or "hooking" (*aulatdjiyiniq*) is a method of fishing through the ice. This took place after freeze-up in the fall and through to spring.

Long ago they didn't worry too much. They'd go jigging and make lots of holes, and they would make an open fire and have tea and enjoy life. They'd make holes just outside of any old point and jiggle and stay for a few days. They'd feed their dogs real good. This they would do in the fall.

Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Part 2)



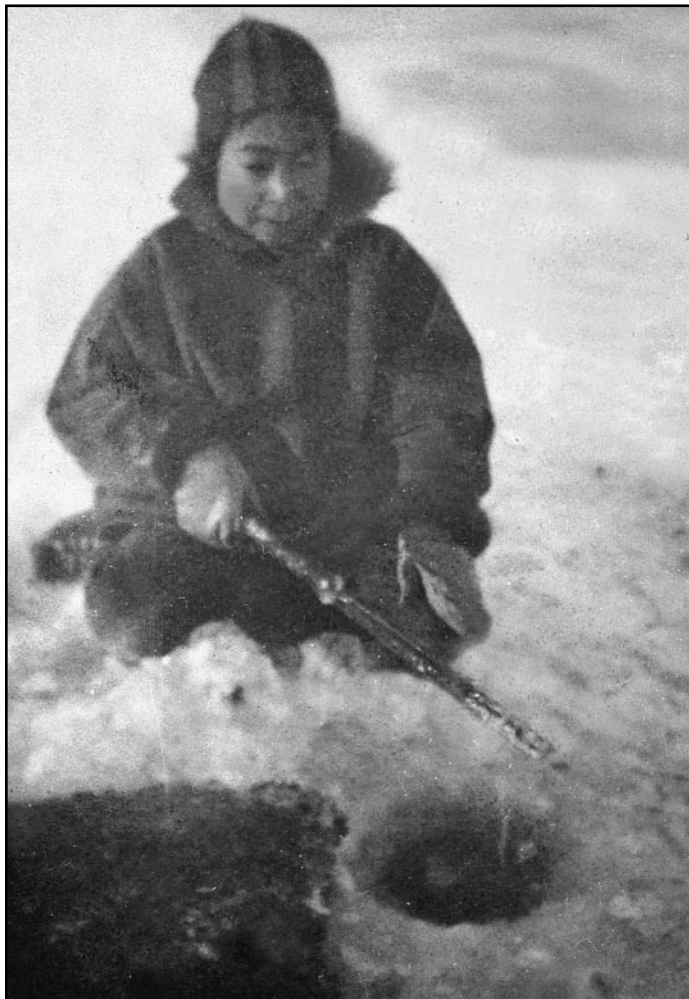
Jiggling is done by suspending a line with a hook from a handle, generally made of wood. In earlier times the line was made of caribou sinew and fishhook shanks and barbs of bone, antler or sometimes copper. Some shanks had shell or a bead that served as both hook and bait (Morrison 2000:6, 18). The materials used changed over time as more metal was used.

[During] that time, the men had already started using rifles: 30-06 calibre, 25-20, 30-30 calibre shot guns and so forth. When they fished, they used fish nets bought from the store made of linen twine and cotton twine. Also, they fished through the ice with hooks made of bones. On top of that, they used empty rifle shells with wire hooks, welded with melted lead. With these, they hunted rock and tom cod.

Sam Raddi (N-1992-253: Life Story)

Now my granny had a song to sing again and she did. And now as she put her hook in the ice hole she said to her hook, "Now get us a fish." She had jiggled a few strokes when she pulled up a coney. Now she started catching coney and once in a while she would get a loche. We had lots of fish. (Anderson River)

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: 3rd Series, Part 5)



Other Methods of Catching Fish

There were a number of other methods for catching fish in the past, but little information is available on them. There must have been a number of locations that were suitable for getting fish with a fish spear or *kakivak*. Elder Ralph Kimiksana told of a creek off of the Mason River where people used to spear char and it was called *Kakivakturvik*, meaning something like "place for using fish spear?" (Hart 1998 revised). According to the history book *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit* (1991:24) fish traps or weirs of rock could be built, or traps of driftwood or willow. A fish trap made of willows is also reported (Pokiak1989:38).

"Looking Joe" hooking for fish, ca. 1930s. (Jack and Kay Wood/NWT Archives/N-1988-041-0467)



PREPARING AND STORING FISH

Preparing Fish

Fish were prepared in a number of ways for people to eat. They were dried and smoked, perhaps boiled, aged in pits in summer, and cooked over a fire and baked.

When people gathered together they told stories about the people before them. To hear them tell these stories one would think our ancestors were rich people never going hungry. Every bit of food they caught was stored away and nothing was wasted. Even the fish they caught, every bit of it they saved. They were scaled and dried into dryfish. The liver, eggs and gizzards were all cleaned, dried, and stored in bags of fish oil. This was very delicious and one could not stop eating once he started. How wealthy our people used to live in those days.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life History #8)

We used to watch granny making dryfish and cleaning the fish guts. She used to clean the fish gizzards and thread them. Nothing was ever wasted in those days.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: 3rd Series, Part 5)

Storage in Seal Skin Bags

Some fish was stored in an *avataqpak* or seal skin bag.

The fish was dried and put in fish oil (generally whale oil) in the seal skin bags. Even the gizzards were smoked and put away. Usually the heads were cooked and eaten. They are very delicious, and the broth is very rich.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Childhood Memories)

They also put fish in seal balloons, berries, *maktak* and cooked *maktak*. Also what they call *kilitat* (thin whale dry meat strips) they cut into bite size and put in the whale stomach bags to preserve. They would also put yellow berries, cranberries, and blue berries in whale stomachs; all together till the bag was really full; then they freeze them. During the winter months they would enjoy their preserves of berries, dry fish and dry meat.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0128)

Fish are also mentioned as being stored in a bag made of a seal stomach. Further verification is required to determine if it really was a stomach or a seal skin bag or *avataqpak* as mentioned above.

After we spent some time there we moved on to *Qilavittarvik*. It was summer and there were plenty of fish around. My dad made about three big seal stomach balloons (*avataqpait*) at that time. My parents got a lot of fish then. They filled one up with a lot of arctic char.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-01)



Fish Pits

Fish were stored and aged in pits dug into the ground and covered with logs (Inuvialuit Pitqusiit 1991:24). Frank Cockney talks about his grandfather making *nuvuyat* or hangfish.



Iqalukpik, Dolly Varden char. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)

He also had a large pit which was filled with fish. Just before freeze-up he got some sticks which he sharpened at the end. Now he threw out fish from the pit, at least to the depth of the first foot. These fish were cleaned and he put a stick through them and hung them up to freeze. And now he processed again, bringing out more fish. Each set of fish he took out, and it was hung in a separate place so he knew which had the strongest tang to the taste.

In the wintertime when the trappers came by our camp, he would ask them what kind of fish they would like to have. Most of the old timers would also say, “the best that you have” which meant the fish at the bottom with the strongest taste.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-1)

Joe Nasogaluak tells of storing fish caught at Maitland Point before moving onto the Anderson River mouth for winter.

Now October was here at last. We put our whaleboats back in the water and started for Anderson River. Before leaving we made small pits and put all our fish in them and then we had to gather logs to cover our fish with. Now our journey started for Anderson River. It was the 3rd of October.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, June–Nov. 1921, 1-1-14)

Frank Cockney also described another way in which his grandfather had fish stored for winter use.

The fish were stacked one on top of the other, or like a dryfish bundle. Each set of fish weighed at least fifty pounds, and were frozen together. This was so that he could pick up one pile of frozen fish and not have them all fall apart. They also made very good frozen fish for eating.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-1)

Loss of Cached Fish

Even though Inuvialuit worked hard to get their winter supply of fish, nature did not always cooperate and their supply was lost.



At the end of September, on the 3rd of October, the biggest west wind came up that I had ever known. The west wind brought a big flood and high water. The high water completely washed away every fish we had stored, along with all the meat we had.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1918, 1-1-08)

Right up to Christmas just one person got one fox. All along the coast to Baillie Island there were no white foxes that year in 1919, right to the year '20. What few foxes there were had gathered at (Maitland Point) where the fish were in pits. Even wolverine went there. Some people got wolverine. Myself, I didn't get any.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-007: 0192A Part 2)

NON-FOOD USES FOR FISH

Fish were used for things other than food. Long ago their skins were used for things like bags, windows, and skin boat covers.

The people would also go to Husky Lakes to hook for trout. They would skin the trout and use the skins for *qainnat* (kayaks). They sewed them together and used them for *qainnat* skins. The people who did not have seal skin did this.

Johnny Ruben (N-1992-253:0130)

FISH FOR DOG FOOD

It was necessary for Inuvialuit to catch a lot of fish during the days when dog teams were in use. Before trapping people only had one to three dogs at most that would be used to help pull sleds and pack gear in summer. Once the trapping era began people used more dogs and required a lot more fish for dog food.

I remember long ago there wasn't too much trapping at all. Some that trap, would only have one maybe, which was made out of driftwood, some they say that had a lot would have five wooden traps. Nowadays, it sure change(d). Now they can have 100 traps or more. Some have less than that. But it sure change(d) with ski-dogs that can make them hunt more effectively. We usually did a lot of fishing and hunting for our dogs when Mangilaaluk was alive—using nets here in Tuk.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: #2)

Although we had a lot of dogs we never ran out of fish for dog food all winter. My granddad would get a lot of geese and eggs to take home. My granddad always had two teams of dogs. One trip he would use one team and return home, and then would leave the next day with the other team which were well rested.

Frank Cockney (N1992-007:0347)

Fish were also sold to organizations like the Hudson's Bay Company for dog food.



The people were good to us and there was a lot of fish too. I wasn't worried anymore and the dryfish was being sold too for dog (food). A fifty pound bale was fifteen dollars at the Bay.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: March 1940)

SELLING FISH

Some Inuvialuit began earning an income by selling fish to organizations like the RCMP, Hudson's Bay Company, churches and the government. Fish were sold frozen or as dryfish.

Now we used to fish for coney which we were able to sell to the government after they had a big icehouse built in one of the pingos. We would receive a cheque at times for as much as \$50.00. There was Billy, Opie and me. There was also a few others who were fishing. Now we had our families to feed, and some people used to have a lot of dogs, so at times we did not have much fish left to sell.

Frank Cockney (N-1992-253: 1-44-28)



Tuktoyaktuk ca. 1940–49. (Archibald L. Fleming/NWT Archives/N-1979-050-1224)

July finished, we are into August, and moving my house up higher, and a little bigger, and also putting a porch on it. Also making dry fish for sale, it was for the police, and the Bay was buying it from us also. About fifty whitefish to a bale, it would be about fifty pounds which was selling for 12 to 13 dollars. A lot of work, but we were buying grub for it which otherwise we did not have.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: January 1942)

Catching Fish for a Mink Ranch

Donald Kaglik tells of working for Slim Semmler by catching fish for the Semmler's mink ranch.

My dad was hanging nets (in August)...we went fishing for Slim [Semmler]. My dad, Uncle Albert Oliver and my cousin Elijah and I went to Whitefish Station for ten days...We went for a visit to Kiglavak Bay...We left the next day and came back to



Whitefish. We pulled up the nets and headed back to Slim's at *Napuuyak*. We had over 6000 fish.

The following summer I worked again for Slim on the mink ranch. He had about 700 mink. It was September while working at *Napuuyak* that George Harry came with his dad's boat *Ukiivik*, and we went to Kendall Island to fish for Slim.

George and I ran six bundles of nets and we had an 18 foot plywood canoe and other boys had a 20 foot and a 9 h.p. heavy duty kicker.

...They had their nets set on the island...We were there for eight days and we started back...The next day we put 2000 fish in the icehouse (at Slim's) and it started to drip so we left the rest out. We had better than 7,000 fish all told.

Donald Kaglik (N-1992-253: Life Story, # 14)

PLACES TO FISH

Given the problems of identifying the types of fish referred to in the oral history transcripts the information on fish below is presented according to where fish were caught rather than by fish type.

Avvaq* and *Utqaluk

Edward Kikoak mentioned in a quote presented in the section on sweep netting that many qaaktat (arctic cisco, locally called herring) could be caught around the spit at Baillie Island (*Utqalug*).

Towards the end of the year Kikoaks were at *Avvaq*. That is across from *Utqaluk*. Kikoak's, Tanaummiq and Anikina used to stay there. They used to get a lot of fish. They made an icehouse there, Kotokak and them. When I was young I used to stay with Kotokak...They smoked fish and dried fish of all kinds.

Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d.: Part 3)

I often wonder why at *Avvaq* there is no other species of fish, only herring.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Part 6 [Second Series], 1-1-31)

Maitland Point

There are a number of references to fishing at Maitland Point which is on the east side of Cape Bathurst. The Inuvialuktun name for this place is *Tutqayaaq* (Joe Nasogaluak, ISDP n.d.: June–November 1921, 1-1-14). As mentioned earlier, the herring run began there in mid-September.

...we decided to go to Maitland Point where we would fish until September before taking the whaleboats to Anderson River to have them pulled up for the winter...and so we made camp at Maitland Point and started fishing. This was in the month of September 1923.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: March–Sept. 1923, 1-1-18)



Mason River

People also fished in the fall at the Mason River (*Kuugyuasiaq*), and near the river mouth is a place called *Qilavittarvik*. According to elder Edgar Kotokak of Tuktoyaktuk the fish caught there were *qaaqtat* (arctic cisco).

We were fishing that fall at (*Qilavittarvik*) then just before freeze-up they took us all down towards *Avvaq*. (1912)

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: by Joe Nasogaluak, 1-32-03)

Now it was September and my dad wanted to go where we could fish for herring for winter use. People all over fished for herring in those days and aged them for later use. Everyone had plenty of them for the winter for food as well as for dog food. Nowadays we don't see too much of that around.

...we got to a placed called *Qilavittarvik* and we decided to stay there and fish.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, Part 4 [Second Series], 1-1-29)

After getting to *Kuugyuasiaq* we all settled down we all settled down to spend the rest of the spring there...

...Not very far from there was a little creek which opened up early and I remember people setting nets there and they would get a few herring. Herring fish were running in the spring and were plentiful at that time.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, 1917, 1-1-07)

...In the springtime we went down across from *Qilavittarvik* where the old smoke house was situated. I remember when they went there to do some fishing. We spent our summer there along with Kotokak, my granddad, also my parents. They were always together at that time. They would make a lot of dryfish at the smoke house. (1930s)

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-01)



Anderson River

Apparently the Anderson River was a good place to get coney (inconnu or *siqqat*). Elder Edgar Kotokak said that other fish that could be caught there are *milugiat* (suckers), *siulgit* (jackfish), *anaakliit* (broad whitefish), *sulukpait* (grayling) and *tiktaaliit* (loche). All of the Siglitun names for fish presented above were in their plural form.



Siulik, northern pike/jackfish. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:412)

We went by Anderson River and we saw two families there who were hooking for coney, as it was still too early for geese and ducks...Now after open water they were able to get a lot of herring and made them into dryfish.

Joe Nasogaluak (N-1992-253: Tape 3, 3rd Series)

After we spent the winter there, and when it was spring we would go to the *Kuuk* (Anderson River) to hook for fish. That was just before the geese arrived...At *Kuuk* we ran into people that were jigging for fish. They had caught a lot of conies and they were pulling them out. The conies were very big in size. There we spent the spring where people hook for fish.

Tom Kimiksana (ISDP n.d.: A Story, 1-60-04)

Tom Cod Bay

Although it is just out of the study area, Tom Cod Bay is mentioned as a wintering place and good place to get tom cod (*uukkat* pl.). Tom Cod Bay or *Uukkiqpik* is shown on Map 1. Elder Edgar Kotokak said that tom cod could also be caught on the ocean side of Baillie Island and that some people are allergic to it and can't eat it.

Now after the family arrived at *Uukkiqpik*, after making one camp in a snowhouse, the people that were living there had stacks and stacks of tomcod. Soon Charlie's wife and kids were all hooking. In one day they caught enough tomcods to make a sled load.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #10)



The Coast between Atkinson Point and Tuktoyaktuk

People fished at various places along the coast of the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula. Already mentioned were places like *Paaraaluk*, *Siglialuk*, *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* (Tuktoyaktuk), *Qiniqsiq* and *Nalruriaq* (Whitefish Station). Joe Nasogaluak also mentions fishing for "fresh water herring" at *Iqalusaaq* which is an inland lake.

...my husband and his dad went to *Igluk* to fish...That summer at *Igluk* we dried a lot of whitefish.

Ivy Raddi (ISDP n.d: Part 1)

So we kept on and when we got to *Igluk* "Warren Point"...from there we kept on after we were told that there were lots of people at *Paaraaluk*. When we got there, there were lots of people fishing through the ice.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: by Joe Nasogaluak, 1-32-03)

There were fewer people there (at Tuktoyaktuk) than at *Kitigaaryuit* and *Nuvuraq* and Baillie Island. There were fewer people at *Tuktuuyaqtuuq* because it was just a fishing spot in the summertime. Those that didn't hunt beluga whales would fish there and make dryfish too—long ago.

Felix Nuyaviak (N-1992-007:0263A, Part 2)

So when July finished and it was into August we started fishing again, the people were fishing too. So in August, I made a pit and put some fish away...In October I started fishing again under the ice catching some conies. I had more nets this time. Then the trapping season is around again in November...We lived in Tuk through December, having lots of fish. At Christmas time the people had games and races...

It was mostly myself, Taulana, Umoak and Father Franche who were fishing under the ice in those days, long before it was time to go to Husky Lakes. This was in December of 1941.

Some days when there is a storm we didn't look at the nets. Day after day we looked at our nets, getting some great big conies, piling them on stages. We didn't have caribou or reindeer meat but we had seal meat, ptarmigan and fish. This is the story of the year 1941.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Stories - July 1940)

...Beginning in January 1942, I was fishing the whole winter up to now...I spent the winter doing nothing except fish and a little bit of trapping...All winter I was getting fish, lots of conies. And in the lakes too, we got all the whitefish and fresh water herring at "*Iqalusaaq*" fish lake.



In April I went to Husky Lakes to fish with my wife. We spent two nights and caught five trout...People were catching a lot of trout then. In those days there were lots of fish then, not like now.

August finished and we're into September 1942, we were hunting ptarmigan now since there is so much about this time of the year. Also we made fish pits because Tuk had so many fish. The people of Tuk, usually some would go away a short ways and put up fish for the coming winter.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: January 1942)



Iqaluaqpak, lake trout that live in brackish water like Husky Lakes. (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:1575)

Fishing at *Kangianiq*

Raddi Koiksak tells of getting to *Kangianiq* in time for the herring run.

My dad asked me to accompany him to *Kangianiq* where he wanted to spend the winter. In order to get ready and to benefit from the fish migration, especially herrings, it was high time for us to be on the move again and prepare our winter.

...We settled in and busied ourselves fishing. This occupied us several hours each day, at time of the herring run one or two nets can occupy a fisherman visiting and revisiting steadily.

...Late in the fall the weather turned miserable, wind and wind, even gales all the time and blowing from the east in such period we feel depressed, the water is low, less fish and the ocean is very rough especially out of *Kangianiq*, at the point the weather prevented us then to go anywhere.

Raddi Koiksak (N-1992-007: Travels in the Arctic,
in the old days and now)



Fishing near *Kitigaaryuit*

Amos Tuma mentions fishing at *Kitigaaryuit*.

At that time I want to tell you that Thomas Umauq was also staying there at *Kitigaaryuit*. So we began to build ourselves a house after my stepfather had made a blueprint...Now after I had my house finished I was to build a pit for my fish. I fished most of that summer until I had the pit filled and soon we had to build an icehouse also.

Amos Tuma (N-1992-253: Life Story, #1)



Rainbow smelt in a net. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC and DFO:235)

Fishing at *Singiryuaq*

Mami Mamayauq told of fishing for smelt and loche at *Singiryuaq* or Holmes Creek which isn't too far upriver from *Kitigaaryuit*. Noah Felix and David Nasogaluak of Tuktoyaktuk said that the name for smelt was *itquarnat*. It has not been included in the fish list at the beginning of this section because we have not verified the name against a photograph of a smelt.



Tiktaaliq, loche. (L.W. Dahlke/FJMC-DFO:347)



After that, they began to make lots of dry meat, and they dried their skins up, the skins that they will be wearing for winter clothing. They set their fishnets for smelts (*itquarnat?*) and they put hooks out to be swallowed by the [loche]. The people that lived in *Singiryuaq* (Holmes Creek), that's what they often did. They also set their fishnets in the lakes for whitefish. I came upon those people that were living like that. After they had become warm with those clothing that they had got, when it wasn't sunny outside anymore they went to *Kitigaaryuit* again.

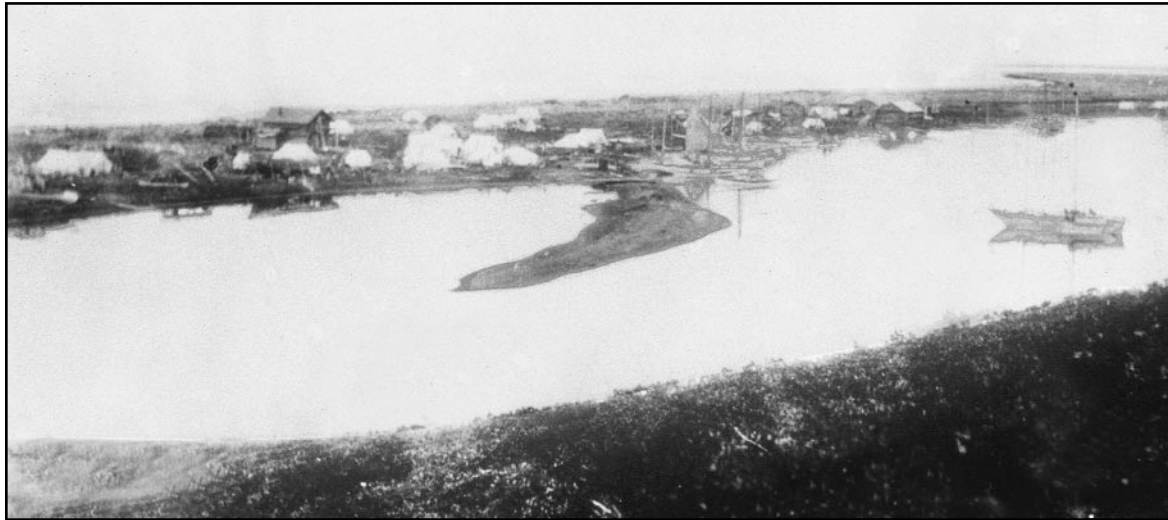
Mami Mamayauq (73B in Nagy 1999b)

Fishing at Shingle Point

Joe Nasogaluak also mentions fishing out of Shingle Point.

We spent the spring waiting for the thaw at Shingle Point. We had our tent pitched up outside of old [Old Kaanniq's] place. We were able to get a few ducks and geese that spring while we were there. Often William Kuptana and I would stay up at night when everyone else went to sleep and we would go hunting. We always managed to get some geese and ducks. There was also a lot of fish I remember.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: Life Story, June 1921 to Nov. 1921, 1-1-14)



Shingle Point. (R.C. Diocese Archives)

Uncertain Location

In the story of the life of Avauttuq, Felix Nuyaviak says that Avauttuq went inland to *Tapqaryuaq* (east of Tuktoyaktuk) to fish during summer and fall.

They went to *Tapqaryuaq* and spent the summer and fall fishing.

Felix Nuyaviak (ISDP n.d.: The Story of Avaotuk's Life with Raddi [Koiksak])



SUMMARY

It is clear from the transcripts that coastal areas provide an abundant and varied supply of fish for Inuvialuit. Fish were a staple part of the diet, and as Felix Nuyaviak said the people were never stuck if they could go to fishing places along the coast and pull through the winter (Felix Nuyaviak ISDP n.d.: #1, 1-14-01). However fish are the most difficult resource to learn about through the oral history transcripts. One reason is that the narrators didn't always use specific words for the type of fish they were catching. They often used the general term *iqaluit* which could mean fish of any kind. There is also more than one kind of whitefish in the area (broad and lake/crooked back), but the general term "whitefish" is most commonly used. In a traditional knowledge study on the broad whitefish, Freeman and Stevenson (1995) found that "whitefish" generally refers to the broad whitefish, but we can't be certain of this for all of its occurrences in the transcripts. Also, the word "herring" is generally used although there are different local English names related to herring (e.g. herring, big-eyed herring, blue herring), and the first two are ciscos.

Many Inuvialuit would be able to read the transcripts and know the type of fish that are being referred to based on the location and time of year (if stated). Verification of some of the information was conducted with elders Edgar Kotokak, Gordon Aknaviak, Noah Felix, David Nasogaluak, and Frank Cockney. A vast amount of time would be needed to go through the transcripts and/or audiotapes to verify the information further. In some cases the original audiotape needs to be listened to so that a translator can hear the type of fish spoken of.

Within the transcripts the fish most commonly referred to are coney, whitefish, *qaaktaq* (arctic cisco, also called herring), and *iqalusaaq* (least cisco). Char, jackfish, smelt, crooked backs (lake whitefish), rock and tom cod were referred to at least once. During the verification process elders referred to a wider variety of fish being used than are mentioned in the transcripts. For example, Edgar Kotokak used to catch suckers (*milugiat*), sculpins (*kanayuit*) and more. He also mentioned coney of different colours (blue tinged) coming from the Mason and Anderson Rivers. The information in the transcripts is far from complete but can serve as background material on which traditional knowledge studies of various fish can be built.



Sulukpaukak (dual spelling for arctic grayling). (Photographer unknown/FJMC-DFO:562)



We learned that fishing was done throughout most of the year, but the most intensive fishing was done in late summer through fall when people got in a supply of fish to last the winter. Fishing began again after the arrival of the sun and again in spring. Successful fishing required knowledge of fish habitats and the timing of the fish runs. Although fish runs were mentioned in the transcripts, it is sometimes difficult to attribute the runs to specific types of fish because of the general terminology used for them. The most important runs seemed to be for herring (some could be arctic cisco), coney and whitefish.

The information on the locations of fishing places is patchy because people didn't always say where they were. Sometimes it is difficult to tell from the spelling provided for a place. I was not familiar with a few of the places, and we could not or did not confirm the locations through the verification process (see Appendix D). Some of the places mentioned were Baillie Island (*Utqaluk*), Maitland Point and *Qilavittarvik* near the Mason River for *qaaktat* (arctic cisco). *Kangianiq* and Tuktoyaktuk are mentioned for herring, and Tuktoyaktuk and *Igluk* for whitefish. Tuktoyaktuk and the Anderson River are places to fish for coney, and the Mason River and possibly Anderson River for char. Holmes Creek or *Singiryuaq* may be the location referred to for smelt and loche. Lakes possibly on *Qimialuk* and *Ukiivik* were good for jackfish, crooked back (lake whitefish) and whitefish (broad whitefish?). *Iqalusaaq* is a lake for getting "fresh water herring" (least cisco). Although out of the study area, Tom Cod Bay was a good place for cod (*uukkat* pl.). Husky Lakes (Eskimo Lakes, *Imaryuk*) is also out of the study area, but is mentioned a few times as a place to fish for trout in spring. *Siglialuk*, *Paaraaluk*, *Qiniqsiq*, *Qaaqturviaryuk* (Lucas Point) and Shingle Point are said to be places where people went to fish, but the type of fish were not mentioned.

One of the questions asked by DFO (Appendix A) was about the number of people at the fishing locations. This would vary depending on the time of year. A number of families may gather at a place where fish were running, but they would spread out in winter to fishing places that could sustain a smaller number of people.

The impact of the weather on fish was mentioned when east winds were said to cause low water and less fish in the *Kangianiq* area. The winter of 1922–23 was hard on Inuvialuit living in the Cape Bathurst area because they couldn't get any fish that fall to put away for winter. Further oral history and possibly archival research is needed to determine why they couldn't get any fish. It may have been due to bad ice conditions that summer and fall that also kept them from getting seals and polar bears in the winter.

There were few insights into fishing technology such as the use of nets, hook and line fishing or how and where fish traps were used. We were provided with an example of the high yields of 8–10,000 herring obtained through sweep netting, and that up to 200 coney were caught in a day through nets set under the ice. Some information was provided on the storage and aging of fish in pits and in seal skin bags, but little about processing fish.

The presence of organizations like the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP, government and churches created a commercial market for fish. Thousands of fish are said to have been caught for a mink ranch. More information on the sale of broad whitefish can be found in the results of the traditional knowledge study done by Freeman and Stevenson (1995).

Dog food was one of the primary uses for fish. The need for fish for dog food was greatest during the trapping era when many dog teams were used. Some interesting comparisons have recently been presented that show the difference in the amount of fish harvested in the 1950s



when people still had lots of dog teams, and 1988 when there were far fewer. The mid-range of the annual harvest by Inuvialuit in terms of weight of fish was estimated at 534,000 kg (Freeman 1997) for the 1950s. In 1988 295,000 kg of whitefish were harvested by Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, and Dene and Metis of Tsiigehtchic, Fort McPherson and Fort Good Hope (Treble and Reist 1997 in North/South Consultants and Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre 2004). Peter Usher (2002:22) also provides a comparison of the numbers of marine and anadromous fish harvested between 1960–65 (400,000 kg) to 1988–97 (92,034 kg).

There was little mention of Inuvialuit use of shellfish or other types of marine animals not already discussed in other parts of this report. There was some reference to these in transcripts from Victoria Island which is outside of the study area. There was no indication of the quality of the water (salty, fresh, clear, muddy) and its effect on fish.

NAIGLILAAARUTAIT— SUMMARY

The objectives for gathering the oral histories within the COPE and Oblate Oral History collections were to document and preserve information on Inuvialuit culture, history and language from those Inuvialuit who lived a more traditional life. Accordingly, the oral histories provided considerable information on the crucial role that marine resources played in Inuvialuit culture and subsistence from about 1900 to the 1970s. The collections provide little biological data on the behaviour and ecology of marine resources since this was not the original purpose for the collections. As well, some of the richness and detail about the environment could have been lost in the translation of the older and more detailed form of the Inuvialuktun dialects, as was spoken by most Inuvialuit providing the oral histories. Most of these translations were done for the enjoyment of a general reader and for use in schools, and may have had some details about marine resources removed to improve the flow of the stories.

SOME KEY POINTS PRESENTED IN THE TRANSCRIPTS

Although a summary of the results related to marine resources was provided at the end of each section of the report, some additional observations are provided below.

Limitations in Geographical Coverage within the Study Area

The information in the oral history transcripts reviewed was mostly from *Kitigaaryuit* at the mouth of the Mackenzie River along the coast to the eastern shores of Cape Bathurst. There is little specific information on marine resource use from the area west of the Mackenzie Delta. Information is available on marine resources for Banks and Victoria Islands, but they were not the subject of this report.

The Shifting Use of Marine Resources in Changing Times

The oral histories provided some information on the "traditional" precontact period before the influence of traders, American whalers, missionaries and other outsiders. Examples of stories from that time are the collective beluga whale hunt at *Kitigaaryuit* and the bowhead hunt at *Nuvuraq*. However, most of the oral histories focus on the years between 1900 to the 1950s. That was a time of great change for Inuvialuit, and that change is reflected in a shifting emphasis on the use of certain marine resources. For example, the people living around Cape Bathurst no longer had regular access to bowhead whale *maktak* and meat once the American whalers were gone, and after the last local hunt took place in 1926. Caribou became scarce all along the coast, especially for those living in the Tuktoyaktuk area. Inuvialuit had to adapt to these changes. When one type of food became scarce another had to fill the gap.

I spent the winter doing nothing except fish and a little bit of trapping...We never had any way of getting any caribou meat that year. Although we had some seal meat, and rat meat when its time for ratting.

Joe Nasogaluak (ISDP n.d.: January 1942)



Changes also occurred as Inuvialuit began replacing some traditional foods and materials with food and supplies obtained from trading posts. The change in economic focus to trapping resulted in more fish and seals being used to feed larger dog teams. Fish and/or seals were also needed to feed the dog teams of traders, RCMP and missionaries. The result was that the subsistence cycle of hunting and fishing changed over time as Inuvialuit adapted to changing social and environmental conditions.

The Importance and Unpredictability of Open Water Areas in Winter

One of the main themes in the oral histories was the importance of open water areas such as polynyas or leads for Inuvialuit who needed seals for oil and food to last through the winter. Those areas were also important for hunting bears, as the bears used the same areas for hunting seals. There were years when little or no open water occurred which resulted in hardship for Inuvialuit. This happened for at least part of the winters of 1899–1900 or 1900–1901, and 1909–1910 or 1910–1911, and 1922–23.

Fluctuating Numbers of Polar Bears, Seals and Whales

Years noted in the transcripts for which the numbers or availability of animals fluctuated from the norm are listed below.

- 1900—fewer polar bears (at least for part of the winter)
- 1910—fewer seals but lots of bears (and foxes)
- 1922–23—fewer seals and polar bears, couldn't get fish in the fall (fewer foxes)
- 1972–73—more polar bears
- 1974 (?)—lots of belugas
- year undetermined—fewer seals although lots of open water

Belugas were said to be plentiful in 1974, but the year needs to be verified by listening to the audiotape. The year is placed in brackets in the transcript and I am not sure if the speaker said the year or if it was added later by the translator.

Polar Bears as Food

The extensive use of polar bears for food during years when other resources were not available has rarely been discussed in the literature. It was reported that during the winter of 1910 people relied on polar bears for food in the Cape Bathurst area because there was little open water for hunting seals. Based on the number of skins seen at one camp, it was reported that a minimum of 126 bears were killed in the Cape Bathurst area that winter.

Harvesting Locations

Even though information on the habitats of the marine resources were not mentioned in detail in the oral histories, places that Inuvialuit travelled to for hunting and fishing were provided. This information might be used to infer habitat patterns.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As mentioned earlier, the objectives of the COPE and Oblate oral history collections were focused on documenting Inuvialuit culture, history and language. They were not focused on documenting knowledge of marine resources. As with most research, the questions



asked shape the information obtained. To learn more about Inuvialuit knowledge of marine resources projects are needed with interviews that focus on the subjects of interest. There are many avenues for future research (see Appendix A). Examples include:

- fishing technologies such as the use of various types of nets, jigging (jiggling), types of fish traps, fish spears and any other method used in the past
- traditional methods of food preparation and storage
- animal habitats and behaviour
- fluctuations in numbers of animals
- types of sea ice and its influence on marine resources
- the influence of water quality on marine resources (e.g. muddy water from spring run-off)
- learning more about spiritual beliefs related to the animals and their use

The Importance of Translation

Good quality translations are essential for accurate and fully utilizable research results. Translating, which means writing in one language what is heard in another, is not always a straight forward process. Good translations require strong language skills in the dialect spoken, as elders often use an older and more detailed form of their language than is in common use today. When a translator is working on an audiotape they may not understand what some of the old words mean. This can also apply to interpreters during interviews. For example, they may not know that in Siglitun the word *atungaksat* refers to a certain layer of beluga whale skin, or that *igluyuaryuit* is the term for old semi-subterranean houses.

It is important for translators to know what action to take when they encounter difficult words. Those hiring them should provide guidelines outlining the steps to take. It is best if the translator can research the words by contacting elders to find out what the words mean. This is better than guessing at them or leaving them out of the transcript. This additional work adds to the time and cost needed to do good translations. Translators need to be trained to use the COPE standardized spelling system.

Developing Terminology Lists in Inuvialuktun

When doing research related to Inuvialuit knowledge of resources, it is important to develop a list of terms in the dialect of Inuvialuktun you are working in, as well as English. If you are dealing with wildlife it is also important to include and verify the scientific names for each animal. State the dialect the words belong to because the meaning of words can vary from one dialect to another. If using word lists found in other reports or resources, verify the list before using it to make sure you are not carrying forward any errors in it. A verified word list provides a common frame of reference between speakers and non-speakers of Inuvialuktun, and can help save a lot of confusion. It would have made our verification process easier if we had a more comprehensive word list along with good quality diagnostic photographs of animals such as the different types of fish.

Further Research to Determine Years that Events Took Place

Further archival, literature and oral historical research could be used to determine the winters that open water didn't occur (eg. 1899–1900 or 1900–1901). To find this information, researchers could review documents such as; Hudson's Bay Company records, books and articles written by Company staff, government records, newspapers of the day, the letters and journals of missionaries and explorers, or journals kept by Inuvialuit.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK WITH THE COPE AND OBLATE ORAL HISTORY COLLECTIONS

Working extensively with the COPE and Oblate oral history collection has given us a deep appreciation and respect for the people who made this collection a reality. A vast amount of work has gone into the translations that exist today. Future work that needs to be done with the collections is listed below:

- complete inventory and database of all existing transcripts
- determine which audiotapes have yet to be translated
- cross-reference the catalogue numbers for the tapes and transcripts
- review of the translations by a language specialist to see which need re-translation
- develop guidelines for translators to ensure consistent treatment of translation difficulties such as uncertainties over spelling or understanding words in the old form of the language

CONCLUSION

The COPE and Oblate oral history collections are a valuable resource for the documentation of Inuvialuit culture, history and language. Through the oral histories we heard the voices of the elders of yesterday tell how important the animals of the land and sea were to their survival and their cultural identity. It is a belief that is still voiced by elders and younger Inuvialuit today who are now in the position of ensuring that the land, sea and animals are protected for future generations of Inuvialuit.

The land, the animals, the waters, the whales, and the fish were very important to our ancestors and still are to us. Even during the negotiations for our land claim-settlement, our elders told us that the land and waters had looked after them for centuries and would look after us for many more if we looked after our environment.

Billy Day (2002: 1)



A man with a freshly caught beluga whale at the Horton River, 1935. (Charles Rowan/NWT Archives/N-1991-068-0209)



Right: Butchering a whale, ca. 1990s (FJMC-DFO:1250)



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APPENDIX A: TOPICS OF INTEREST PROVIDED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES AND OCEANS

The list below was provided by Doug Chipertzak of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans as topics to keep in mind when reviewing the transcripts. Initially there were topics on the use of sea-ice for travel and ecological observations about the sea, but these were not developed because they were outside the scope of this project which focuses on a selection of marine animals. The results of the project showed that very little of the information within the transcripts related specifically to the topics below because learning about them was not the objective for collecting the COPE or Oblate oral histories.

1. Information relating to where people fish, such as:

- Location
- Type of fish
- Season—if in winter, thickness of ice
- Why the area is good for those fish
- How fresh/salty is the water
- How clear is the water
- Method of fishing
- How many people fish there (popularity of site)
- Other fish there
- Do people use clams or other animals from the ocean

2. Beluga use of the area:

- When they arrive
- What is their behaviour
- Information about their calves
- What are they feeding on
- How clear is the water
- Observations on how many belugas are seen while hunting
- Observations on how sensitive belugas are to boats, noise, rifles etc.
- When belugas are scared away, how long before they come back

3. Bowhead whales:

- When do they come
- Where do they like to feed
- How do they respond to humans
- How many are seen
- When do they leave
- Do they have calves
- What conditions are likely to bring them close to shore

4. Seabirds

- When do ducks, geese, seabirds arrive
- When do ducks, geese, seabirds leave
- Where are ducks, geese, or seabirds hunted
- When are they hunted
- Accounts of breeding, moulting or feeding areas
- Accounts of abundance—high, low



5. Polar Bears

- Presence or absence of polar bears
- Denning of polar bears
- Hunting
- Condition of the animals
- Relationships with ice or seals

6. Seals

- Type of seals
- Other animals associated with seals
- Ice, break-up, freeze-up, etc.
- Areas where hunted—how far offshore
- Areas of abundance
- Odd behaviour
- Food items
- Things seen around a seal hole
- Condition, blubber, skinny, problems with fur, healthy etc.
- Size/condition of pups
- Abundance of pups



APPENDIX B: A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO MARINE RESOURCES AND THEIR USE

Lists of Siglitun words related to marine resources and their use are provided in the following tables. They can be used for developing terminology lists for future research projects and also used in educational units on marine resources. The words are mostly from the Siglit dictionary and are spelled according to the COPE standardized spelling system (Lowe 2001). Beverly Amos, Language Specialist of the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik provided the dual and plural forms for many words. David Nasogaluak of Tuktoyaktuk provided the pronunciation of many words so they could be written. The words for types of fish were provided on pages 103 and 104.

There are often a number of ways of saying the same thing in Inuvialuktun. For example, in the table on fish names on page 103 we list the plural for least cisco (lake herring) as *iqalusaat*. That means three or more of them, but not many. For many of them you would say *iqalusaakaluit*. The single, dual and plural words for actions like “making dryfish” refers to the number of people involved. One person making dryfish is *pipsiliuqtuaq*, two people making dryfish are *pipsiliuqtuak*, and three or more people making dryfish are *pipsiliuqtuat*. Even when speaking the same dialect, Inuvialuit who grew up in different areas may say words a bit differently.


 SIGLITUN WORDS FOR SOME <i>MARINE MAMMALS</i>		
Singular form from Lowe (2001). Dual and plural forms by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik.		
COMMON NAMES	SCIENTIFIC NAME	SIGLITUN—SINGULAR, DUAL, PLURAL
bearded seal	<i>Erignathus barbatus</i>	ugyuk, ugyuuk, ugyuit
beluga whale	<i>Delphinapterus leucas</i>	qilalugaq, qilalukkak, qilalukkat
bowhead whale	<i>Balaena mysticetus</i>	arviq, arviik, arviit
killer whale	<i>Orchinus orca</i>	aarlu, aarluuk, aarluit
polar bear	<i>Ursus maritimus</i>	nanuq, nannuk, nannut
ringed seal	<i>Phoca hispida</i>	natchiq, natchiik, natchiit
seal of some type	?	qasigiaq, qasigiak, qasigiat
walrus	<i>Odobenus rosmarus</i>	aiviq, aivvak, aivrit

Photo credit: Ian Sterling(FJMC-DFO:0980)



 SIGLITUN WORDS FOR A SELECTION OF <i>BIRDS</i>		
Singular form from Lowe (2001). Dual and plural forms by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik.		
COMMON NAMES	SCIENTIFIC NAME	SIGLITUN—SINGULAR, DUAL, PLURAL
birds		tingmiaryuk, tingmiaryuuk, tingmiaryuit
ducks		tingmiluaraq, tingmiluaqqak, tingmiluaqqat
large birds like geese and swans		tingmiluk, tingmiluuk, tingmiluit or older words—tingmiluvik, tingmiluviik, tingmiluviit
long-tailed duck/ oldsquaw	<i>Clangula hyemalis</i>	ahaanliq, ahaanlik, ahaanlit
king eider	<i>Somateria spectabilis</i>	qaugaq, qaukkak, qaugait
male king eider	<i>Somateria spectabilis</i>	qingalik, qingallak, qingalgit
teal (green winged?)	<i>Anas sp.</i>	saviligaaluk, saviligaaluuk, saviligaaluit
lesser snow goose, waxies	<i>Chen caerulescens</i>	kanguq, kannguk, kanngut
greater white-fronted goose, yellow legs	<i>Anser albifrons</i>	tingmiaq, tingmiak, tingmiat or older words—nirliq, nirliik, nirlirit
Canada goose	<i>Branta canadensis</i>	uluagullik, uluagulliik, uluagullit
black brant	<i>Branta bernicla</i>	nirlirnaq, nirlirnak, nirlirnat
red-throated loon	<i>Gavia stellata</i>	qaqsauq, qaqsauk, qaqsaut
yellow-billed loon	<i>Gavia adamsii</i>	tuullik, tuulliik, tuullit
gull—general term		nauyaq, nautdjak, nautdjat or nauyaq, nauyak, nauyat
swan (tundra)	<i>Cygnus columbianus</i>	qugyuk, qugyuuk, qugyuit



A SELECTION OF WORDS RELATED TO BELUGA OR BOWHEAD *WHALES AND WHALING*

ENGLISH MEANING	SIGLITUN	SOURCE
bowhead whale	arviq	Lowe 2001
baleen (in mouth of bowhead whale)	suqqaq	Lowe 2001
beluga whale	qilalugaq	Lowe 2001
young bowhead whale	arvaaq	Lowe 2001
blow-hole of whale	puiyaraun	Lowe 2001
bowhead whale hunting	arviactuaq	Beverly Amos, Agnes Nasogaluak
got a bowhead whale	arviqtuaq	Lowe 2001
attached a line to a whale	ipiusiqtuaq	Lowe 2001
line used to tow a whale	ipiusiun	Lowe 2001
young beluga whale (dark grey)	naalungiaq	Beverly Amos, Agnes Nasogaluak
beluga whale hunting	qilalukkiactuaq	Beverly Amos, Agnes Nasogaluak
got a beluga whale	qilalugaqtuaq	Lowe 2001
holes made in a beluga whale to inflate it (between flesh and blubber)	tuutak	Lowe 2001
butcher whales (cut up for various uses)	avguqługu	Lowe 2001
whale oil/blubber (also for seal blubber/oil and oil of fish)	uqsuq	Lowe 2001
beluga/bowhead maktak (often muktuk in English)	maktak (singular), maktaak (dual), maktait (plural)	Lowe 2001, Beverly Amos

continued...



aged maktak	tibliqsiq	Lowe 2001
whale meat	qilalukkam niqaa	Lowe 2001
blubber used in stove (whale and seal)	siqpan	Beverly Amos—ICRC, Agnes Nasogaluak
cooked maktak	igayaq	Beverly Amos—ICRC, Agnes Nasogaluak
raw maktak	uilaq	Beverly Amos—ICRC, Agnes Nasogaluak
dried whale meat (any dried meat)	mipku	Beverly Amos—ICRC, Agnes Nasogaluak



**A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO
*POLAR BEARS***

ENGLISH MEANING	SIGLITUN	SOURCE
polar bear cub	nanuaraaluk	Lowe 2001
young polar bear	nanuaq	Lowe 2001
polar bear den	apitchiq/apitchivik	Lowe 2001
polar bear skin (the entire hide)	nannum amra	Beverly Amos, ICRC
piece of polar bear skin	nanusuk	Lowe 2001
piece of polar bear skin used to rub runners (of a sled)	nanuun	Lowe 2001
got eaten by a polar bear	nanurnigaa	Lowe 2001
polar bear hunting	nanniaqtuaq	Beverly Amos, ICRC
got a polar bear	nannuktuaq	Lowe 2001



**A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO
*SEALS***

ENGLISH MEANING	SIGLITUN	SOURCE
seal on top of the ice	uktaq	Lowe 2001
seal's breathing hole	aglu	Lowe 2001
hunting seal at breathing holes	aglusiuqtuaq	Beverly Amos, ICRC
seal that has remained small and skinny	anguyuniq	Lowe 2001
rutting male seal	ayulaq	Lowe 2001
got a seal	natchiqtuaq	Lowe 2001
sleeps on its back in the water	qavaqtuaq/niviqtuaq	Lowe 2001
rear flipper of seal	siitquq	Lowe 2001
fore flipper of seal	taliruq	Lowe 2001
seal fat (strip of fat used to make oil)	nuuk/uqsuraaq	Lowe 2001
sealskin float	avataqpak/puptan	Lowe 2001
bag made from whole animal skin—usually seal	avataqpak	Lowe 2001



A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO *FISHING*

Singular form from Lowe (2001). Dual and plural forms by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre and Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik. Ideas for words to present came from *Iqaluit*, an educational unit on fishing developed by Rose Marie Kirby (1994).

ENGLISH	SIGLITUN
<i>FISHING AND FISHING EQUIPMENT</i>	
<p>fisherman</p> <p>fish spear, leister</p> <p>harpoon for fish</p> <p>jigging/jiggling/hooking</p> <p>jiggling rod</p> <p>piece of wood used to pull up fishing line</p> <p>fishing line</p> <p>line for fishing rod</p> <p>net line</p> <p>fish hook</p> <p>rock barricade (weir)</p> <p>hook left in water (also grappling iron— a four pronged hook with line attached for retrieving seals)</p> <p>fishnet</p> <p>material for fish net</p> <p>long piece of wood used to push fish net into ocean</p> <p>netting needle</p>	<p>iqalliqiyi, iqalliqiyik, iqalliqiyit</p> <p>kakivak, kakivaak, kakivait</p> <p>kapuun, kapuutik, kapuutit</p> <p>aulatdjiyiniq (is jigging—aulatdjiyuaq)</p> <p>aulatdjun, aulatdjutik, aulatdjutit</p> <p>kubyam ayautaa</p> <p>ipiutaq, ipiuttak, ipiuttat</p> <p>iqaluksiutim ipiutaa</p> <p>kubyam ipiutaa</p> <p>niksik, niksiik, niksiit</p> <p>sappun, sapputik, sapputit</p> <p>manaq, mannak, mannat</p> <p>kubyaq, kubyak, kubyat</p> <p>kubyaksaq, kubyaksaak, kubyaksat</p> <p>kaimutaq, kaimuttak, kaimuutat</p> <p>nuvuyaun, nuvuyautik, nuvuyautat</p>

continued...



sinkers	kiviyaun, kiviyaunik, kiviyaunit
fishing rod	iqaluksiun, iqaluksiunik, iqaluksiunit
sweeping/seining	qaaqtuq
sweep net	qaaqtuun, qaaqtunik, qaaqtunit
float	puktan, puktunik, puktunit
anchor	kisaq, kisaak, kitsat
weights	uqumailitaq, uqumailittak, uqumailittat
fish pit	iqaluusiqpikisaq,
rack for drying fish	qimirun, qimirunik, qimirunit
cache (type of pit in ground)	qingniq, qingnik, qingnit
went fishing	iqalliaqtuaq, iqalliaqtuak, iqalliaqtuat
set a net	kubiyiqtuaq, kubiyiqtuak, kubiyiqtuat
caught something in a net	kubyaqtuaq, kubyaqtuak, kubyaqtuat
fishes with a net	kubyaqtuqtuaq, kubyaqtuqtuak, kubyaqtuqtuat
made a fishnet	kubiyuqtuaq, kubiyuqtuak, kubiyuqtuat
is catching and piling up fish	iqalliyuaq, iqalliyuak, iqalliyuat
is fishing	iqaluksiuqtuaq, iqaluksiuqtuak, iqaluksiuqtuat
caught a fish	iqaluktuaq, iqaluktuak, iqaluktuat
fillets fish	tiyayuaq, tiyayuak, tiyayuat
is working on fish	iqalliqiyuaq, iqalliqiyuak, iqalliqiyuat
smokes a fish	isiqsiiyuaq, isiqsiiyuak, isiqsiiyuat
is making dryfish	pipsiliuqtuaq, pipsiliuqtuak, pipsiliuqtuat
took the eggs out of a fish	suvaqsiyuaq, suvaqsiyuak, suvaqsiyuat



<i>PARTS OF A FISH</i>	
<p>fish scale</p> <p>fish that has scales</p> <p>gills of fish</p> <p>tail of fish</p> <p>fins</p> <p>head</p> <p>gall bladder</p> <p>fish eggs</p> <p>fishbone, backbone</p>	<p>kapisiq, kapisik, kapiiit</p> <p>kapisilik, kapisillak, kapisilgit</p> <p>masik, masiik, masiit</p> <p>papiruq, papiqquk, papiqqut</p> <p>suluk, suluuk, suluiit</p> <p>niaquq, niaqquk, niaquit</p> <p>sungaq, sunngak, sunngat</p> <p>suvak, suvvak, suvait</p> <p>kuyapigaq, kuyapikkak, kuyapikkat</p>
<i>FISH AS FOOD</i>	
<p>frozen fish (or meat)</p> <p>dryfish</p> <p>smoked fish</p> <p>smokes fish</p> <p>boiled</p> <p>aged fish</p> <p>dry fish in oil</p> <p>hung and smoked fish</p> <p>fish hung on stick</p> <p>guttled</p>	<p>quaq, quak, quat</p> <p>pipsi, pipsik, pipsit</p> <p>isiqtaq, isiqtak, isiqtat</p> <p>isiqsiiyuaq, isiqsiiyuak, isiqsiiyuat</p> <p>yuratitaq</p> <p>tipaaqtuq, tipaaqtuk, tipaaqtut</p> <p>uqsurmiutaq, uqsurmiuttak, uqsurmiuttat</p> <p>pautchiaq, pautchiak, pautchiat</p> <p>nivinngaqttaq, nivinngaqtak, nivinngaqtat</p> <p>iluiqtaq, iluiqtak, iluiqtat</p>




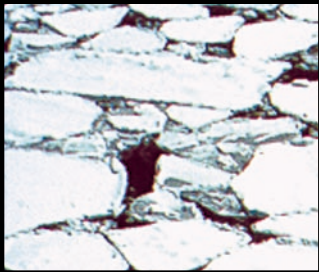
 <h3 style="text-align: center;">SIGLITUN WORDS FOR <i>WATER BODIES</i></h3> <p style="text-align: center;">Singular form from Lowe (2001). Dual and plural forms by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and Agnes Nasogaluak of Inuvik.</p>	
ENGLISH	SINGULAR, DUAL, PLURAL
sea, ocean (also salt) river lake pond	tariuq, tariuk, tariut kuuk, kuukkak, kuukkat tasiq, tatchik, tatchit tasiraq, tasiqqak, tasiqqat

Photo credit: John Poirier (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre)

 <h3 style="text-align: center;">A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO <i>ICE</i></h3>		
ENGLISH	SIGLITUN	SOURCE
ice	siku	Lowe 2001
ice that has begun to melt and although solid is spongy (and dangerous)	illagauyaq	Lowe 2001
candle ice	illauyiniq	Lowe 2001
ice chunks or snow one melts for water	immaksiat	Lowe 2001
piled ice	ivunrit	Lowe 2001
rough ice	ivvuit	Lowe 2001
slushy and sticky top of salt-water ice; water-soaked ground in springtime	misaliraq	Lowe 2001



glare ice	quasaq	Lowe 2001
slush ice	quna/misak	Lowe 2001
small broken pieces of ice	sikualiraq	Lowe 2001
thin ice on water body	sikuaq	Lowe 2001
became covered with ice (lake, river, sea)	sikuaqtuaq	Lowe 2001
young ice	sikuliaq	Lowe 2001
young ice is forming	sikuliagaa	Lowe 2001
newly formed ice	sikuliaraq	Lowe 2001
the sound of ice breaking up	siquqpalluktuaq/ ivuuqpalluktuaq	Lowe 2001
shore ice or landfast ice (solid part between shore and crack that usually opens during winter) land fast ice	tuglu	Lowe 2001
is free of ice	tuvaiqtuaq	Lowe 2001
broken off (ice on the shore)	tuvaiyaqtuaq	Lowe 2001
shorefast ice; landlocked ice	tuvaq	Lowe 2001
came into shore (of ice)	tuvvaktuaq	Lowe 2001
carried him away (of broken-off ice)	tuvaiyautiyaa/ tuvairutiyaa	Lowe 2001
travelling on young ice	sikuliami aulayuaq	Beverly Amos, ICRC
crack in ice that doesn't close in winter/crack	aayuraq/quppaq	Lowe 2001
open water or lead	uiniq	Lowe 2001
lake ice (fresh water ice)	tachim sikua	Beverly Amos, ICRC
ocean ice (salt water ice or salty ice)	tarium sikua	Beverly Amos, ICRC



A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO

WIND—from Lowe 2001

ENGLISH	SIGLITUN
wind	anuri
is windy	anuqliqtuaq
is getting windy	anuqqaksimaakiqtuaq
there is little wind	anurikittuq
there is no wind	anuraunngituq
is no longer windy	anuraiqtuq
there is a nice breeze	anuqsariktuaq
head wind	adjgu
fair wind	uqu
north wind	kanangnaq
east wind	nigiq
south wind	pingangnaq
west wind	ungalaq
travels against the wind	adjguraqtuaq
travelled fair wind	uqunmuktuaq
sound produced by a strong wind	iktuk
windbreak	uquutaq
windscreen	adjguilitaq



A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO **WAVES**—from Lowe 2001

ENGLISH	SIGLITUN
sea is calm (no waves)	malgiqtuaq
breaking wave	malik
tidal wave	malikpak
there are small waves on the sea	malaalaqiyuaq
small waves are starting to form	malliariktuaq
waves are rough	malliqtuaq
is rocking, swaying in the waves	malliuqtuaq
wind causes waves to be rough	anuri malliurnaqtuq
whitecap	qagaaq
there are whitecaps	qagaaqtuaq
ocean breaker	qaggaq
ocean waves can be heard breaking on shore	qaggaqpalktuq
waves are breaking on the shore	tagyaarnilaqiyuaq
ocean swells can be heard breaking on shore	tagyaarniqpalktuq

Photo credit: Michael Van Woert (National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Association)



A SELECTION OF SIGLITUN WORDS RELATED TO *CURRENTS*—from Lowe 2001

ENGLISH	SIGLITUN
current	sarvaq
went with the current	sarvaqsiqtuaq
something drifting in current	sarvaqtaq
has current (of river)	sarvaqtuaq
has strong current (of river)	sarvariktuaq
is calm (of current); makes no eddies	qamanruyuq
tide is low	imailarnigaa
tide is coming in	ulisimaakiqtuaq
land is covered by flood tide (especially in fall time when strong west wind is blowing)	uliqpaktuaq
was nearly overtaken by high tide	ulutilrayaugaa
was overtaken by high tide	ulutiyaq
mark left by high water	uliniq



APPENDIX C: LIST OF TRANSCRIPTS REVIEWED IN THE COPE AND OBLATE ORAL HISTORY COLLECTIONS

An up-to-date inventory of the transcripts from the COPE collection (N-1992-253) and the Oblate collection (N-1992-007) is being worked on by ICRC and the NWT Archives. For now, the transcripts reviewed for this report are listed on the following pages.

How the Transcripts are Referenced in the Report

a) Transcripts of COPE audiotapes that are bound under the title *Inuvialuit Oral History Project* (no date), are referenced by the organization and story name (e.g. ISDP n.d.: Memories of Yesterday). Digital files for these specific transcripts have not been located. However, some of the audiotapes that the stories are on have been translated for other projects.

b) Transcripts of COPE audiotapes that were translated by the Inuvialuit Education Foundation. They are in binders at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC) and are referenced by accession number and story title. (e.g. N-1992-253: Life Story). There are digital files for these transcripts at the NWT Archives and ICRC.

c) Translations produced by ICRC in 1999 for either the COPE or Oblate collections are referenced by accession number and story number (e.g. N-1992-153:0346 or N-1992-007:0321).

d) Transcripts from the COPE collection that have the original file number but are not cross-referenced to a story number (e.g. N-1992-253:1-14-1).

e) Original transcripts from the Oblate collection found in files at the NWT Archives. They are referenced by accession number and the story name or file number (e.g. Edward Kikoak [N-1992-007: My Life at Baillie Island])

f) Transcripts from the COPE or Oblate collections that were produced for the Aulavik Oral History Project. They are referenced by speaker, story number, and the report they are found in which is Nagy 1999b (e.g. Jim Wolki [N-1992-253:0091B in Nagy 1999b]).

g) During the Aulavik Oral History Project, Murielle Nagy found a number of audiotapes in the communities which may be part of the Oblate collection. The stories were assigned a number by Nagy and are referenced in this report by speaker, number assigned by Nagy, and the reference to Nagy's report (e.g. Mami Mamayauq [73a in Nagy 1999b])."

Permission must be received from the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre for use of the COPE collection transcripts and audiotapes.

The transcripts listed below may contain information on marine resources that were not included in the report because; they were from outside the study area, they focused on aspects of marine resources not dealt with in-depth in this report (e.g. legends and spirituality), or were additional examples that were not needed. The spelling of names and words are as shown in the original documents.



The Transcripts Reviewed

a) COPE transcripts (N-1992-253) - in *Inuvialuit Oral Histories Project*

The information below is presented and spelled as found in the Table of Contents.

File Name	Author	Title
#2	Felix Nuyaviak	#2 by Felix Nuyaviak
1-1-01	Joe Nasogaluak	A Long Time Ago. Part 1: The Flying Shaman
1-1-02	Joe Nasogaluak	A Long Time Ago. Part 2: The Flying Shaman
1-1-03	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: 1916
1-1-07	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: 1917
1-1-08	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: 1918
1-1-09	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: July 1919 to April 1920
1-1-10	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: April 1920 to October 1920
1-1-11	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: October 1920 to January 1921
1-1-12	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: January 1921 to May 1921
1-1-13	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: May 1921 to June 1921
1-1-14	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: June 1921 to November 1921
1-1-15	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: November 1921 to April 1922
1-1-16	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: April 1922 to November 1922
1-1-17	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: November 1922 to March 1923
1-1-18	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: March 1923 to September 1923
1-1-19	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: September 1923 to June 1924
1-1-26	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: Part 1 (Second Series)
1-1-27	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: Part 2 (Second Series)
1-1-28	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: Part 3 (Second Series)
1-1-29	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: Part 4 (Second Series)
1-1-31	Joe Nasogaluak	Life Story: Part 6 (Second Series)
1-14-01	Felix Nuyaviak	#1 by Felix Nuyaviak
1-14-02	Felix Nuyaviak	Memories of the North
1-14-03	Felix Nuyaviak	"A Long Time Ago" Memories by F. Nuyaviak
1-14-04	Felix Nuyaviak	Mangalook and His Adventures on Ice
1-24-01	Guy Holagak	Interview with Guy Holagak
1-25-01	Agnes Nanogak	Old Woman and Crow
1-25-03	Agnes Nanogak	People Who Don't Return
1-29	Ida Aleekuk	Life Story
1-3-01	Rosie Peeloolook	Life Story in Alaska
1-3-01SIT	Rebecca Chicksi	Life Story in Alaska
1-32-01	Joe Nasogaluak	Third Series
1-32-02	Joe Nasogaluak	Third Series
1-32-03	Joe Nasogaluak	By Joe Nasogaluak
1-32-04	Joe Nasogaluak	By Joe Nasogaluak
1-47-05	Agnes Nanogak	People of the River
1-47-06	Agnes Nanogak	The Successful Hunter
1-6-01	Bessie Wolki and Ivy Raddi	A Long Time Ago
1-60-01	Tom Kimiksana	A Story
1-60-02	Tom Kimiksana	A Story
1-60-03	Tom Kimiksana	A Story
1-60-04	Tom Kimiksana	A Story
1-60-05	Tom Kimiksana	A Story
1-60-06	Tom Kimiksana	A Story



Radio Programs

File Name	Author	Title
Tape 6	Joe Nasogaluak	3rd Series
Mar 1940	Joe Nasogaluak	March 1940
Stories	Joe Nasogaluak	Stories - July 1940
Jan 1942	Joe Nasogaluak	January 1942
1942	Joe Nasogaluak	1942 (Continued)
119	Lizzie Stewart	Life Story (Aklavik)
Avaotuk	F. Nuyaviak and Raddi Kowichuk	The Story of Avaotuk's Life
Banks	Agnes Nanogak	Somewhere Around Banks Island
Beggarwh	Donald Kaglik	The Beggar Who Found the Ruler's Daughter
Children	Agnes Nanogak	Children Playing Out
Famous	Agnes Nanogak	Man Famous With Kayak
Grandma	Agnes Nanogak	Grandmother
Ikpik	Agnes Nanogak	Ikpik People
In. Lan	Mark Emerak	In The Land
Kudlik	Agnes Nanogak	Kudlik (Stone Lamp)
Life.sto	Mary Kailek	A Long Time Ago
Long.tim	Guy Hologak	Long Time Ago
Life.sto	Mary Kailek	A Long Time Ago: Moon Story
No.wif	Guy Hologak	Man Who Had No Wife
Owlptarm	Agnes Nanogak	The Owl and the Ptarmigan
Part 1	Ivy Raddi	Part 1
Part 2	Ivy Raddi	Part 2
Part 3	Ivy Raddi	Part 3
People.sur	Mark Emerak	How People Survived Long Ago
Pokiak	Randy Pokiak	Randy Pokiak from Tuktoyaktuk
Rogers	Jim Rogers	Life Story in Delta
Sandhill	Agnes Nanogak	Sandhill Crane
Shortold	Raddi Kowichuk and Felix Nuyaviak	Short Old Time Stories
Siksik	Agnes Nanogak	Siksik and Oopik Legend
Spring	Mark Emerak	Long Ago in Spring (Holman Island)
Starvati	Mark Emerak	Starvation
Travel)	Agnes Nanogak	People Travelling Together
Twolemm	Agnes Nanogak	Two Lemmings
Walrus	Agnes Nanogak	Walrus Hunting
White.peo	Mark Emerak	When White People Started Coming
White.2	Mark Emerak	I Will Tell You About the White People
Wives	Agnes Nanogak	A Man With Two Wives
Worm	Agnes Nanogak	The Worm Who Took My Husband
Young	Agnes Nanogak	The Young Girls

b) COPE transcripts (N-1992-253)—by Inuvialuit Education Foundation

Guy Holagak	Story of Stabbing of People
Donald Kaglik	The Beggar Who Found the Ruler's Daughter (I-22-8 to 11) The Beggar Who Strayed



Chop - Chop - Chop
The Lone Survivor
The Princess Who Married the Shaman
Puneshualuk - Who Became a Great Hunter
The Rulers Who Became Stars
The Boy and His Grandmother From the Weasel Tribe
The Legend of the Moon Child
The Woman Who Went to the Moon
Life Story, Part #1
Life Story, Part #2
Life Story, Part #3
Life Story, Part #4
Life Story, Part #5
Life Story, Part #6
Life Story, Part #7
Life Story, Part #8
Life Story, Part #9
Life Story, Part #10
Life Story, Part #11
Life Story, Part #12
Life Story, Part #13
Life Story, Part #14
Life Story, Part #15
Life Story, Part #16
Life Story, Part #17
Life Story, Part #18
Life Story, Part #19
Life Story, Part #20
Life Story, Part #21
Life Story, Part #22
Life Story, Part #23
Life Story, Part #24
Life Story, Part #25
Life Story, Part #26

Agnes Nigiyok

Akak's Hanging
The Family Hunting
How I Lived
Lifestyle Long Ago
Orphan and Grandmother
When We Got Shipwrecked
Untitled - Part #1
Untitled - Part #2
Untitled - Part #3
Untitled - Part #4
Untitled - Part #5
Untitled - Part #6
When I Was Young

Kenneth Peeloolook (Life Story - Part 4 missing)
A Murder Story at Herschel Island



Legend of the Revenge
Story about Shuvak (Nagaruktuk)
A True Story from Point Barrow
Beginning of the Eskimo People
Eskimo Camp and Life at That Time
Kenneth Peeloolook & Felix Nuyaviak
Kotzebue
Life Story - Part 1
Life Story - Part 2
Life Story - Part 3
Life Story - Part 5
Life Story - Part 6
Life Story - Part 7
Life Story - Part 8
Life Story - Part 9
Life Story - Part 10
Life Story - Part 11
Life Story - Part 12
Life Story - Part 13
Life Story - Part 14
Life Story - Part 15
Life Story - Part 16
Life Story - Part 17

Sam Raddi

Life Story
Sup-tak-ti Faith Healer

Charlie Smith

The Man Who Had Big Heels
The First Herd of Caribou
A Hunter Drifted On Ice
The Flying Drum
The Hunter and the Enchanted Hare
The Goose Girl of Rock Point
The Head
The Hunter Who Lost His Wife
The Jackfish Girl and the Beaver
The Jealous Uncle
The Kuskokwin River Ghost
A Giant Who Packed a Mountain Out to Sea
The Mystery of the River or The Seven Brothers
The First Pot Latch
How the Raven Got a Wife
Ghost of the Reindeer Man
The Seal
How The Seal and the Walrus Began
The Hunter and the Sinrock Ghost
The Sun and the Moon - How They Came About
The Blind Man and The Loon
The Frozen Giant of Wales
Eskimo Trek Eastward, No. 1
Eskimo Trek Eastward, No. 2



Untitled
 The White Whale and The Killer Whale
 The Wicked Brother
 The Girl Who Would Not Marry or The Wolf People

Amos Tuma Long Time Ago Story - Hunting Bears
 Potolegayuk and Tikileagak
 Remembering Old Times - 1 (file name Remember - 1)
 Remembering Old Times - 2 (file name Reminisc - 2)
 Childhood Memories
 Folklore Story
 Life Story, Part #1
 Life Story, Part #2
 Life Story, Part #3
 Life Story, Part #4
 Life Story, Part #5
 Life Story, Part #6
 Life Story, Part #7
 Life Story, Part #8
 Life Story, Part #9
 Life Story, Part #10
 Life Story, Part #11
 Life Story, Part #12
 Life Story, Part #13

c) COPE (N-1992-253) and Oblate (N-1992-007) transcripts of audiotapes translated in 1999 by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, and those produced for the Aulavik Oral History Project in the mid to late 1990s (Nagy 1999b). The latter transcripts are indicated by (*).

Oblate Collection

N-1992-007:0028-0029	Rachel Selamio
N-1992-007:0031	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0033	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0035A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0037A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0039A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0040	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0041A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0043B*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0045B*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0045-0046	B. Lennie, P. Adam, I. Raddi
N-1992-0047-0048	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0048A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0049B *	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0049-0050	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0051	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0052A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0053	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0054B*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0055-0059	Jim Wolki



N-1992-007:0060-0069	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0082	Bessie Wolki
N-1992-007:0083-0084	Bessie Wolki
N-1992-007:0085-0087	Paul Adam/Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0088	Jack Jacobson
N-1992-007:0092-0094	Bessie Andreason
N-1992-007:0105-0118	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-007:0118-0120	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-007:0121	Persis Gruben
N-1992-007:0123	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-007:0128A-0129B	Katie Roland
N-1992-007:0130	Bertram Pokiak
N-1992-007:0139-0142	Billy Jacobson
N-1992-007:0151	Jimmy Jacobson
N-1992-007:0152-0154	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-007-0167-0168 B	Sam Raddi
N-1992-007-0168-0173	Mami Mamayauk
N-1992-007-0174 A	Owen Allen
N-1992-007-0175 B	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-007-0177 A	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-007:0178-0190	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-007:0192-0196	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-007:0197-0198	Joe Nasogaluak, Raddi Koiksak
N-1992-007:0199	Silas Kangedana
N-1992-007:0202-0213	Silas Kangedana
N-1992-007:0214-0216	Silas Kangedana
N-1992-007:0219-?	Edward Kikoak
N-1992-007:0222?-224	Annie Emaghok, Bessie Andreason
N-1992-007:0225	Bessie Andreason
N-1992-007:0227-0234	William Kuptana
N-1992-007:0237-0238	William Kuptana
N-1992-007:0244	Felix Nuyaviak, Bob Cockney
N-1992-007:0247-0249	Felix Nuyaviak, Bob Cockney
N-1992-007:0250?-257	Felix Nuyaviak
N-1992-253:0258-0264	Raddi Koiksak, Felix Nuyaviak
N-1992-007:0263-0266?	Felix Nuyaviak
N-1992-007:0268	Felix Nuyaviak
N-1992-007:0274-0275B	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-007:0285-0292	Raddi Koiksak
N-1992-007:0304B-0305A	Raddi Kowichuk
N-1992-007:0306A-0307B	Raddi Kowichuk, Ivy Raddi
N-1992-007:0330-0331	Joe Nasogaluak, Susie Qablusiaq
N-1992-007:0331-0334	Felix Nuyaviak, Edward Lennie
N-1992-007:0351-0352	Frank Cockney
N-1992-007:0362-0365	Frank Cockney
N-1992-007:0877-0879?	Mami Mamayauq
N-1992-007:0883	Mami Mamayauq
N-1992-007:0886	Bob Cockney
N-1992-007:0894A	Persis and Charlie Gruben



COPE Collection

N-1992-253:0021	Edward Arey
N-1992-253:0029	Mary Kailek
N-1992-253:030A*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0061-0063	Buster Kailek
N-1992-253:0084A*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0090A*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0091B*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0095B*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0106A*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0108B*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0110A*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0112B*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0114*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0114B*	Morris Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0125	Rosie Albert
N-1992-253:0126	Bertha Ruben
N-1993-253:128-132	Johnny Ruben
N-1992-253:0132	Charlie Smith
N-1992-253:0135A*	Susie Tiktalik
N-1992-253:0135B *	Susie Tiktalik
N-1992-253:0136A*	Susie Tiktalik
N-1992-253:0141A*	Jim Wolki
N-1992-007:0182B	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-253:0196A*	Amos Tumma
N-1992-253:0213-0219B*	Susie Tiktalik
N-1992-253:0213B*	Susie Tiktalik
N-1992-253:0231-0233	Mark Noksana
N-1992-253:0236	Jim Wolki
N-1992-253:0249A-0254A	Sarah Kuptana
N-1992-253:0274	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-253:0278	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-253:0279	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-253:0280	Donald Kaglik
N-1992-253:0281-0286	Agnes Nigiyok
N-1992-253:0289-0293	Agnes Goose Nanogak
N-1992-253:0294-0296	Persis Gruben
N-1992-253:0299A*	Persis Gruben
N-1992-253:0303B*	Persis Gruben
N-1992-253:0311A-0312B	Persis Gruben
N-1992-253:0320*	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-253:0322 *	Joe Nasogaluak
N-1992-253:0323-0325	Laura Lucas
N-1992-253:0326*	Agnes Niriyuq
N-1992-253:0331-0332*	Mabel Stefansson
N-1992-0335-0340	Alice Aknoayak
N-1992-253:0347-0354*	Frank Cockney
N-1992-253:0355-0369*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0366-0370*	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0372A*	Bessie Lennie
N-1992-253:0373B*	Bessie Lennie



N-1992-253:0374B*	Bessie Lennie
N-1992-253:0375A*	Bessie Lennie
N-1992-253:0376A*	Bessie Lennie
N-1992-253:0377B*	Bessie Lennie
N-1992-253:0378A*	Agnes Nanogak
N-1992-253:0379A*	Agnes Nanogak
N-1992-253:0381A*	Agnes Nanogak
N-1992-253:0382A*	Agnes Nanogak
N-1992-0253-0396A	William Kuptana
N-1992-253:0434	Ivy Raddi
N-1992-253:0661	

d) COPE transcripts (N-1992-253) – Original transcripts in files at the NWT Archives.

Frank Cockney	I-44-1 to 38
Joe Nasogaluak	Third Series (also typed as "3rd"). Some transcripts are then labeled Tape 1, 2 or 3 and then "Tape" is replaced by "Part" 4 or 5
Joe Nasogaluak	1-32-2 to 1-32-4

e) Oblate transcripts (N-1992-007) at the NWT Archives

There are more transcripts in the Archives than these, but some have been listed by story number elsewhere in this Appendix.

Unknown	The Story of Saonertok
Unknown	Murder and Vengeance at Husky Lakes
Unknown	Arluk, The Powerful Medicine Man (Story from Diomedes Island, AK)
Unknown	Kunnuksayukak, the maker of snowstorms
Unknown	Wolverine and Porcupine (Krabvik and Illatkrosek)
Unknown	Two Mice and a Brown Bear
Unknown	Napgak and Tertak
Bessie Andreason	Time of Trial and Sorrow
Edward Kikoak	My Life on Baillie Island
Raddi Koiksak	Krattayan (illegible)
Raddi Koiksak	Inuktuyut
Raddi Koiksak	Travels in the Arctic, in the old days and now
Raddi Koiksak	A Tragic Seal Hunt
Jimmy Memorana	An Eventful Bear Hunt
Joe Nasogaluak	Adam Naoyovak
Felix Nuyaviak	Time of Disruption and Dispersion Among Coastal Eskimo
Sam Raddi	Snowknife - Storm
Bessie Wolki	Bear Hunting A Girl

f) Transcripts reviewed from Nagy 1999b that could not yet be assigned to the Oblate Collection

Aulavik 73A	Mami Mamayauq
Aulavik 73B	Mami Mamayauq
Aulavik 74A	Mark Emerak
Aulavik 74B	Mark Emerak
Aulavik 75A	Mark Emerak



Aulavik 75B	Mark Emerak
Aulavik 76A	Mark Emerak
Aulavik 76B	Mark Emerak
Aulavik 77A	Sam Oliktoak, Flossie Papidluk
Aulavik 78A	Michael Amos



APPENDIX D: MAPS OF TRADITIONALLY NAMED PLACES IN THE STUDY AREA

Inuvialuktun place names mentioned in the text are provided on the following maps if their location could be determined. They are presented along with all other documented Inuvialuktun place names that are available for those areas. The names give readers an idea of the extent of land use in areas that are not used as much today. There were likely many more named places in the past.



Whale boats and schooners at *Nalruriaq* (East Whitefish Station), 1923. (Based on B.H. Serge, Natural Resources Canada/National Archives of Canada/PA-19313)

Place Names Documentation

The place names provided on the following maps come from two projects. Most of the names were documented for the Tuktoyaktuk Traditional Knowledge Project conducted by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre during the early to mid-1990s with funding from the Northern Oil and Gas Action Program (NOGAP) (Hart 1998 revised). The principal investigator was Elisa Hart and co-researcher/interpreters for the place names component of the project were Laura Etagiak Orchard, Noah and Agnes Felix, Naudia Lennie, Charles Komeak, Agnes Gruben White, Lena Anikina, and Lillian Elias. Many elders in Tuktoyaktuk provided the place names.

Many of the names on Map A of the area west of Mackenzie Delta were documented during the North Slope Inuvialuit Oral History Project, by Murielle Nagy (1994) and local co-researcher/interpreters like Agnes Gruben White and Renie Arey. Elders from Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik were involved in that project.

Dianne Michalak of Fisheries and Oceans Canada prepared the maps for this report, with most locations (except Map A) coming from a place names database (Hart 1998 revised). Some of the names were manually revised after the verification process with elders.



Spelling of Place Names in the Text and on Maps

When possible, most of the place names in this report were revised so they were spelled according to the COPE standardized spelling system (Lowe 2001). Verification of spelling was done by Beverly Amos with the assistance of her father David Nasogaluak. David pronounced many of the names so that Beverly could hear them and spell them. A few places mentioned in the transcripts could not be located, so the names were spelled as found. It was not within the scope of this project to listen to each audiotape to listen to every place name mentioned.

Duplicate Place Names

Duplicate place names occur for land or water features. For example, *Tapqaq* means a sandspit (Shingle Point, Topkak Point), *Nuvuk* is a point of land (ie. Cape Dalhousie, Observation Point), and *Kuuk* means a river (Horton and Anderson River). A number of lakes have the same name (eg. *Iqalusaaq*) because the same kind of fish occur there.

Inuvialuktun (Siglitun) Place Names on the Maps

Siglitun place names mentioned in the transcripts are shown in the table below along with the map they are found on. If the location is unknown then a (?) is placed after the name.

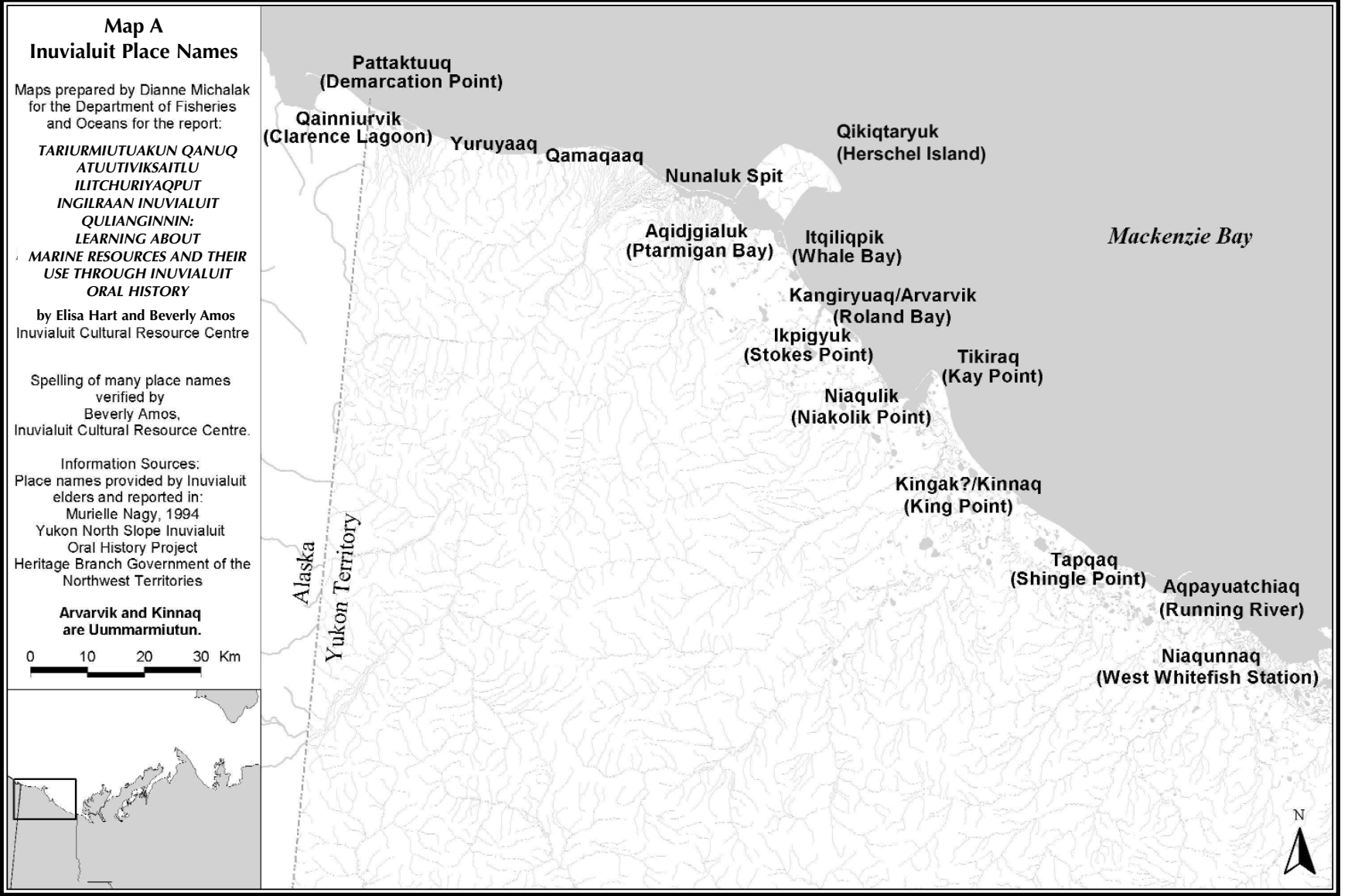
Aklavik (Akłarvik)	Map 1, page 2
Avalliq/Avallialuk (Pullen Island)	Map B
Avvaq (tip of Cape Bathurst)	Map L
Baillie Island (see Utqaluq)	Map L
Igluk	Map I
Ikinaaluk	Map F
Inuvik (Inuuviq)	Map 1, page 2
Iqalusaaq	Map F and L
Igluligyuaq (Pelly Island)	Map B
Imaryuk (Husky/Eskimo Lakes)	Map N
Itqiliqpik (Whale Bay)	Map A
Kakivakturvik	Map K
Kangianiq	Map F
Kangik (Cape Bathurst area)	?
Kangiqlualuk	Map L
Kiglavak (Kidluit Bay)	Map E
Kitigaaryuit	Map D
Kitigaaryuk	Map D
Kuuruq (Whale Bluff)	Map L
Kuugyuasiaq (Mason River)	Map M
Kuuk (Anderson River)	Map K
Kuukpak	Map D
Kuuligyuaq (not shown, but in Richards Island area)	Map 1, page 2
Niaqulik (Niakolik Point)	Map A
Nalruriaq (Whitefish Station East)	Map F
Naparutalik	Map F
Napuuyaq (not shown, but near Aklavik)	Map 1, page 2
Niaqunnaq (West Whitefish Station)	Map A
Nunasuaq	Map H
Nunavialuk (Maitland Point)	Map M

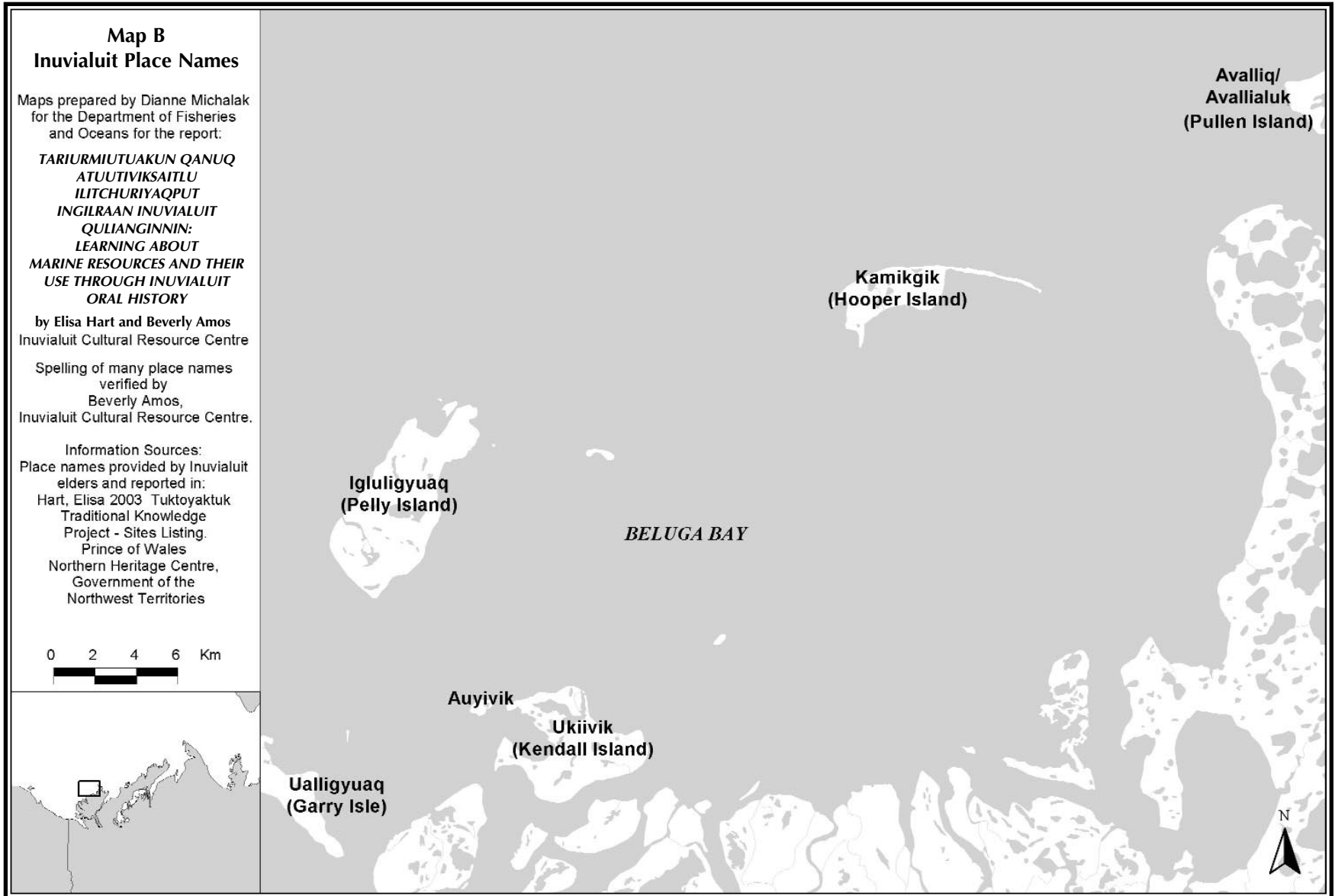


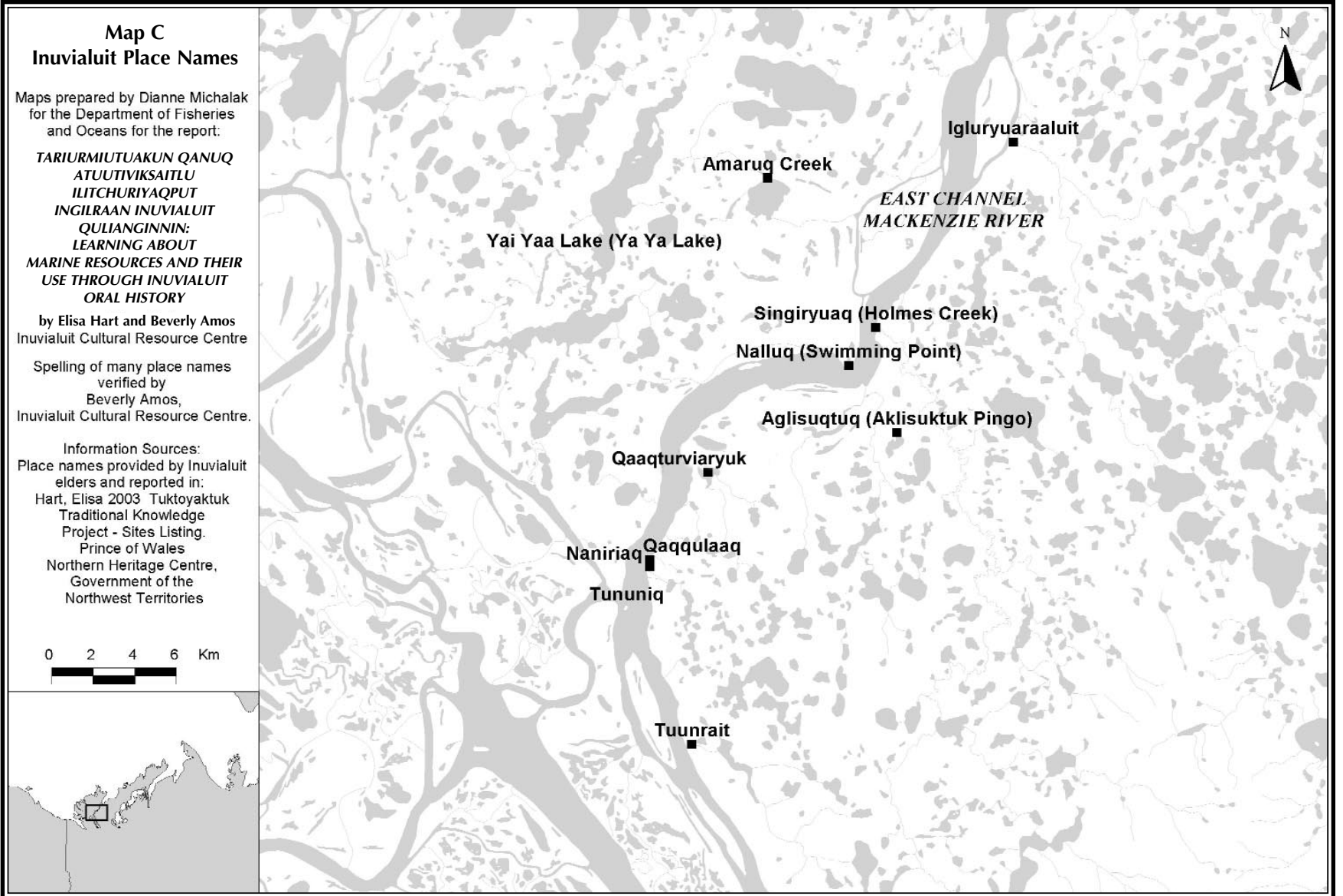
Nurraarvik	Map L
Nuvuraq (Atkinson Point)	Map J
Papigaaq	Map D
Paaraluk	Map H
Qaaqturviaryuk (near Lucas Point)	Map C
Qikiqtaryuuyaq (Nicholson Island)	Map K
Qikiqtaryuk (Herschel Island)	Map A
Qikuliurvik (Stanton)	Map K
Qilavittarvik	Map K and M
Qimialuk (not shown, but in Richards Island area)	Map 1, page 2
Qiniqsiq	Map F
Saapqavik	Map D
Sanikpik (may be wrong spelling and name)	?
Siglialuk	Map I
Sikuliilaaluk	Map L
Singiit (not sure if not the Singiit in Husky Lakes)	Map N
Singiryuaq (Holmes Creek)	Map C
Siuraryuaq	Map D
Siuri (near Whale Bluff)	?
Tapqaq (Shingle Point)	Map A
Taqpaaq near Tuktuuyaqtuuq	Map G
Taqpalaq (should be on coast on Map L)	?
Tapqaryuaq (uncertain—could be Tapqalugyuaq)	Map H?
Tikiraq (Kay Point)	Map A
Tuktuuyaqtuuq (Tuktoyaktuk)	Map G
Tutqayaaq	Map M
Ukiivik (Kendall Island)	Map B
Ukkipik (Tom Cod Bay)	Map 1, page 2
Umiayuq (somewhere on Yukon coast?)	Map A?
Utqaluk (Baillie Island—HBC Post on sandspit)	Map L
Warren Point	Map I
Yuruyaaq	Map A



***Tuktuuyaqtuuq (Tuktoyaktuk) (ca. 1940–49.
(Archibald L. Fleming /NWTArchives/ N-1979-050-1224)***







**Map C
Inuvialuit Place Names**

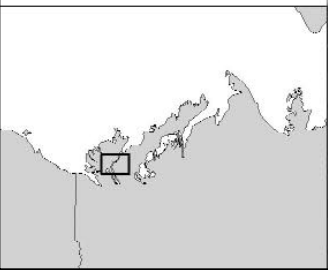
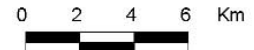
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

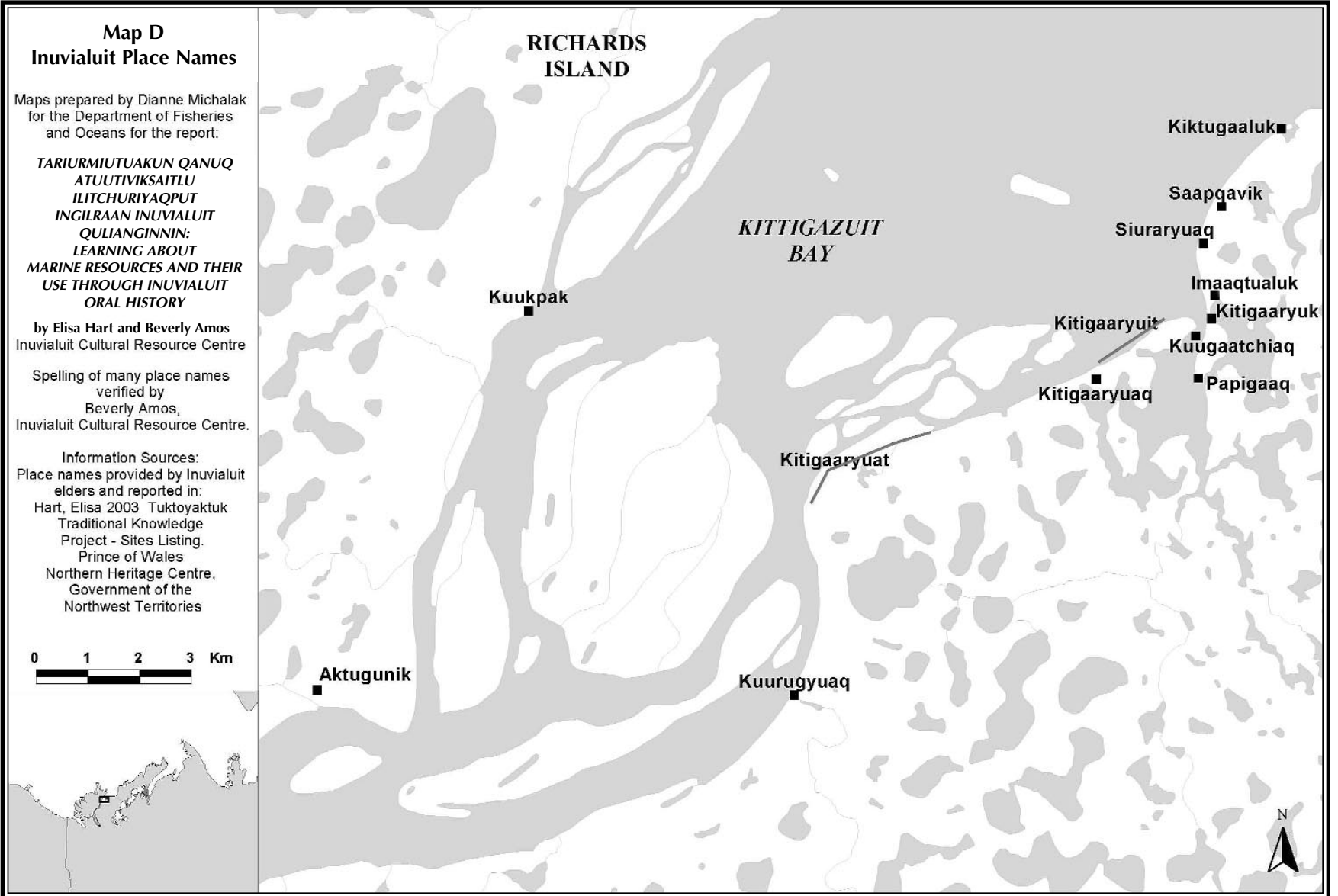
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ATUUTIVIKSAILTU
ILITCHURIYAQPOT
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
QULIANGINNIN:
LEARNING ABOUT
MARINE RESOURCES AND THEIR
USE THROUGH INUVIALUIT
ORAL HISTORY*

by Elisa Hart and Beverly Amos
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

Spelling of many place names verified by
Beverly Amos,
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre.

Information Sources:
Place names provided by Inuvialuit elders and reported in:
Hart, Elisa 2003 Tuktoyaktuk Traditional Knowledge Project - Sites Listing. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Government of the Northwest Territories







**Map E
Inuvialuit Place Names**

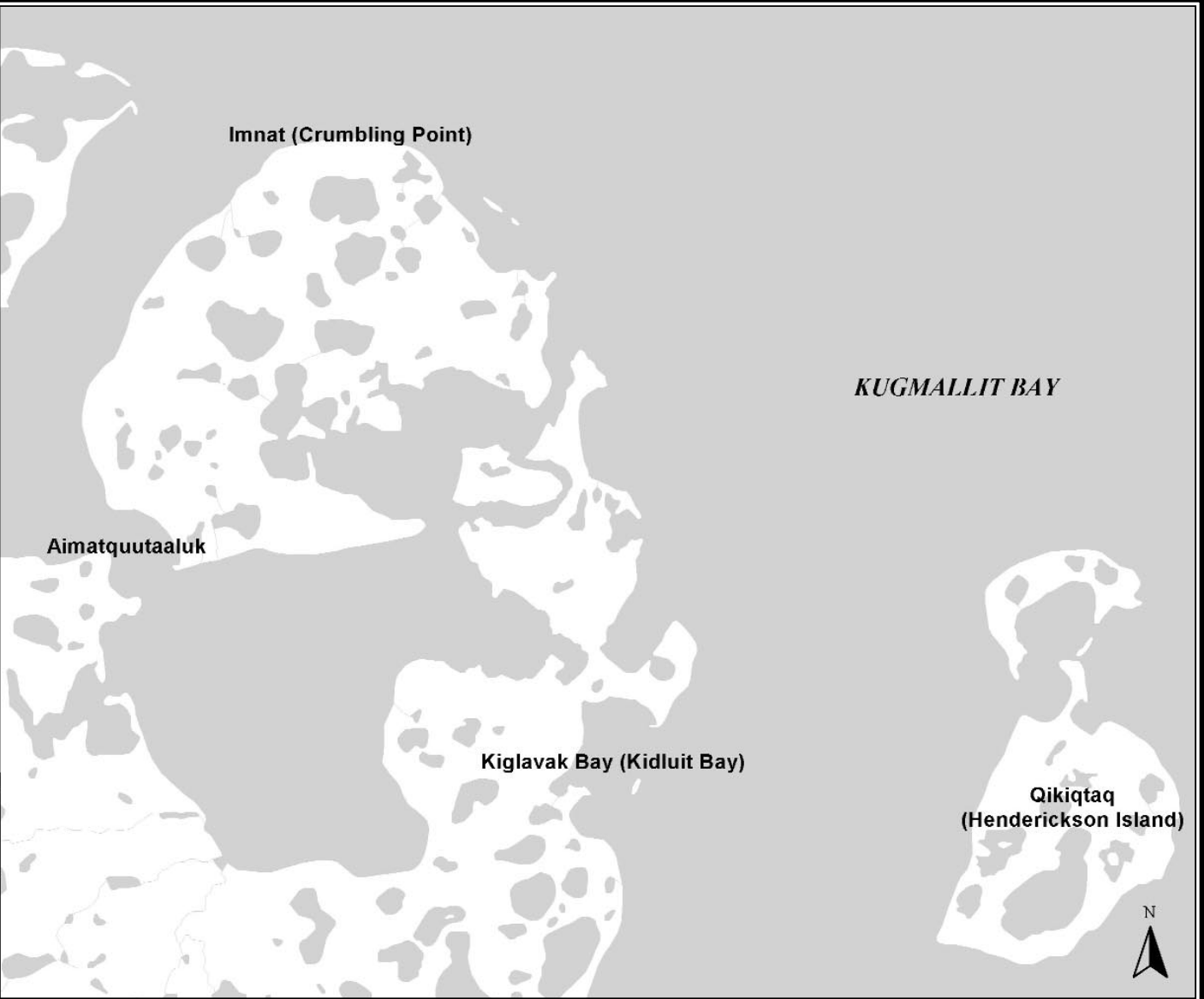
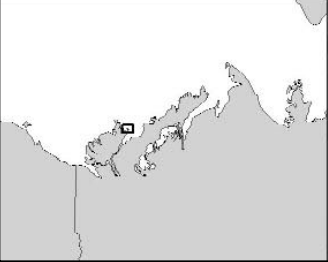
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

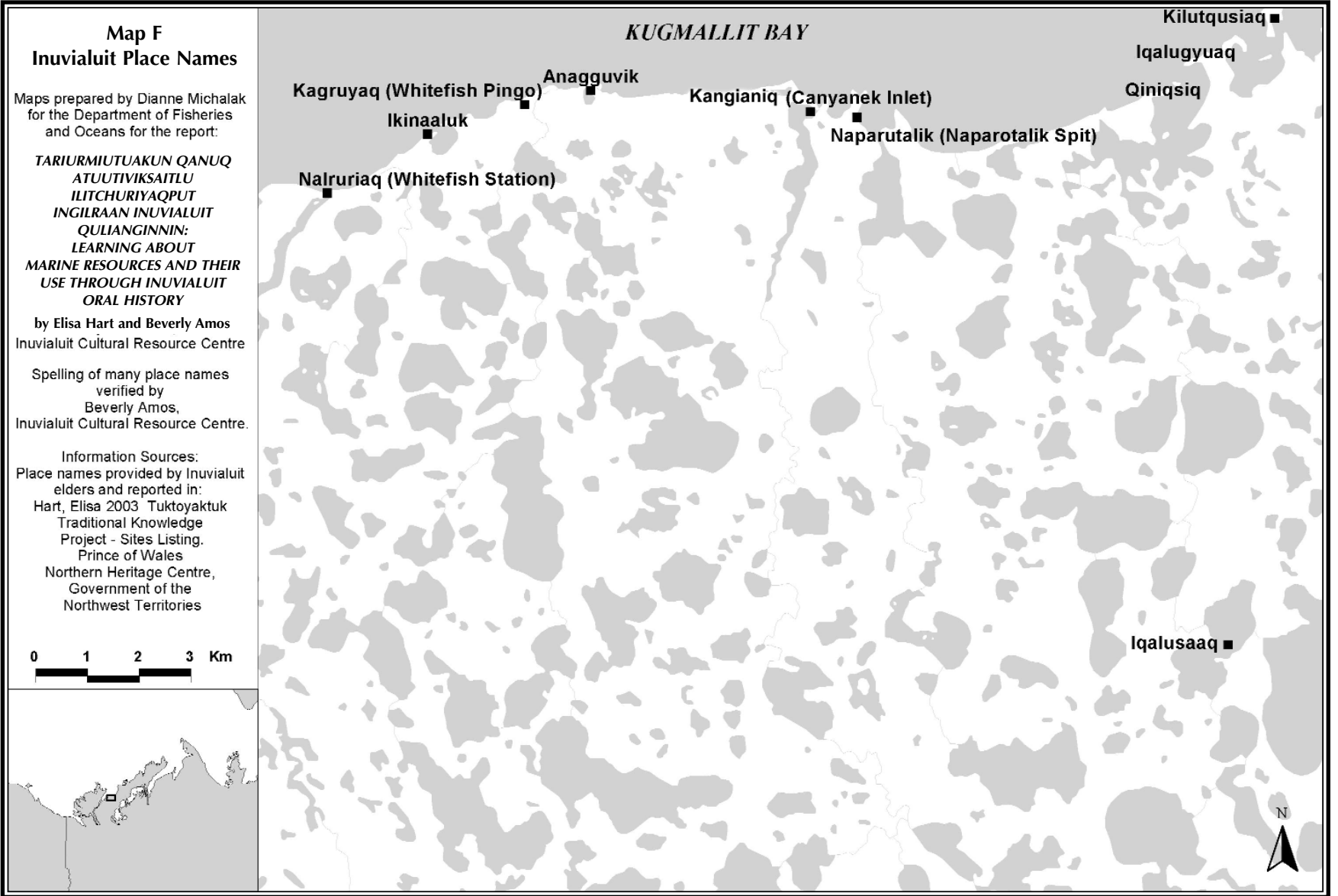
*TARIURMIUTUAKUN QANUQ
ATUUTIVIKSAILU
ILITCHURIYAQPUT
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
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Map G Inuvialuit Place Names

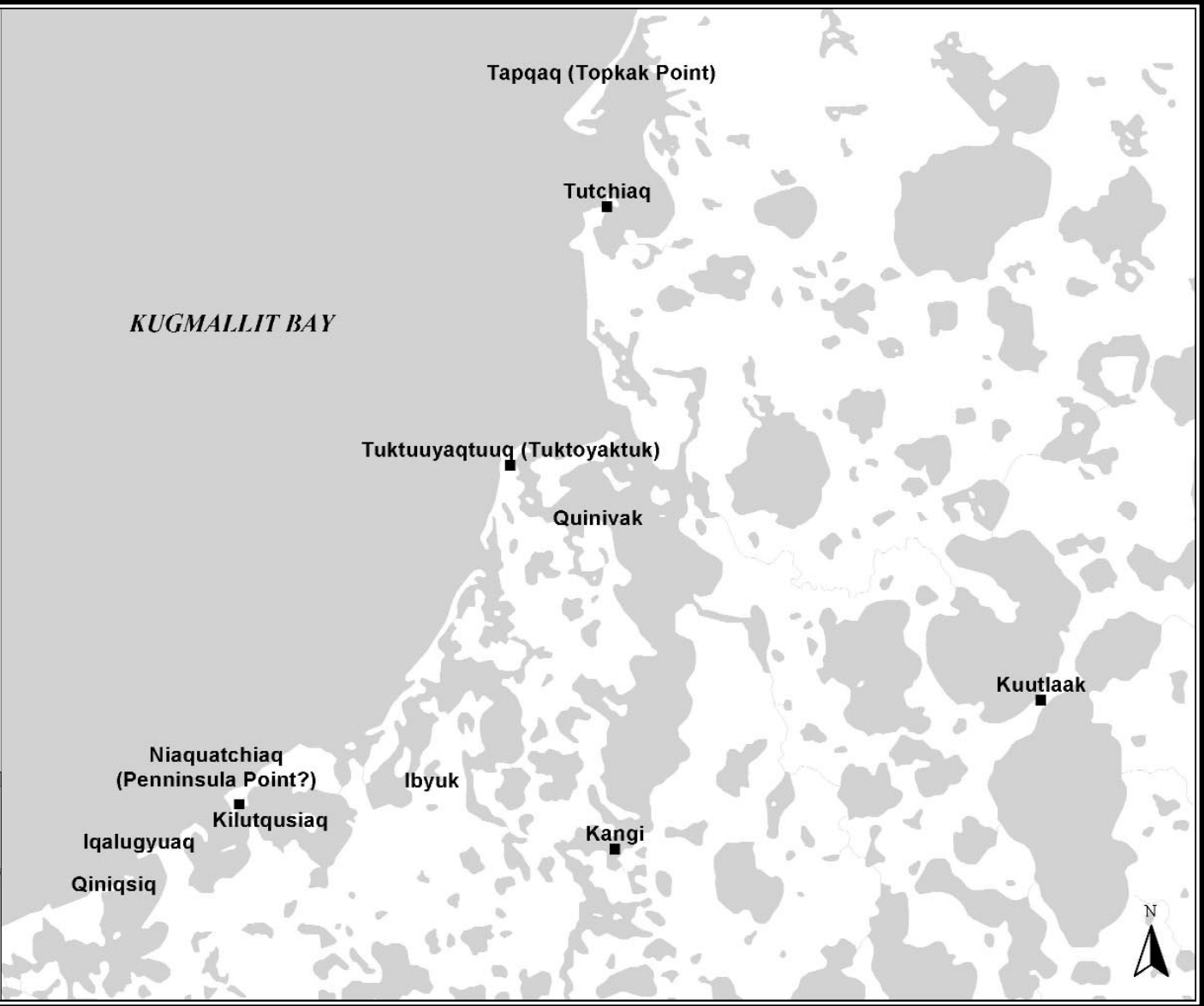
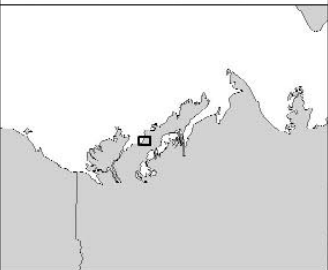
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

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Map H Inuvialuit Place Names

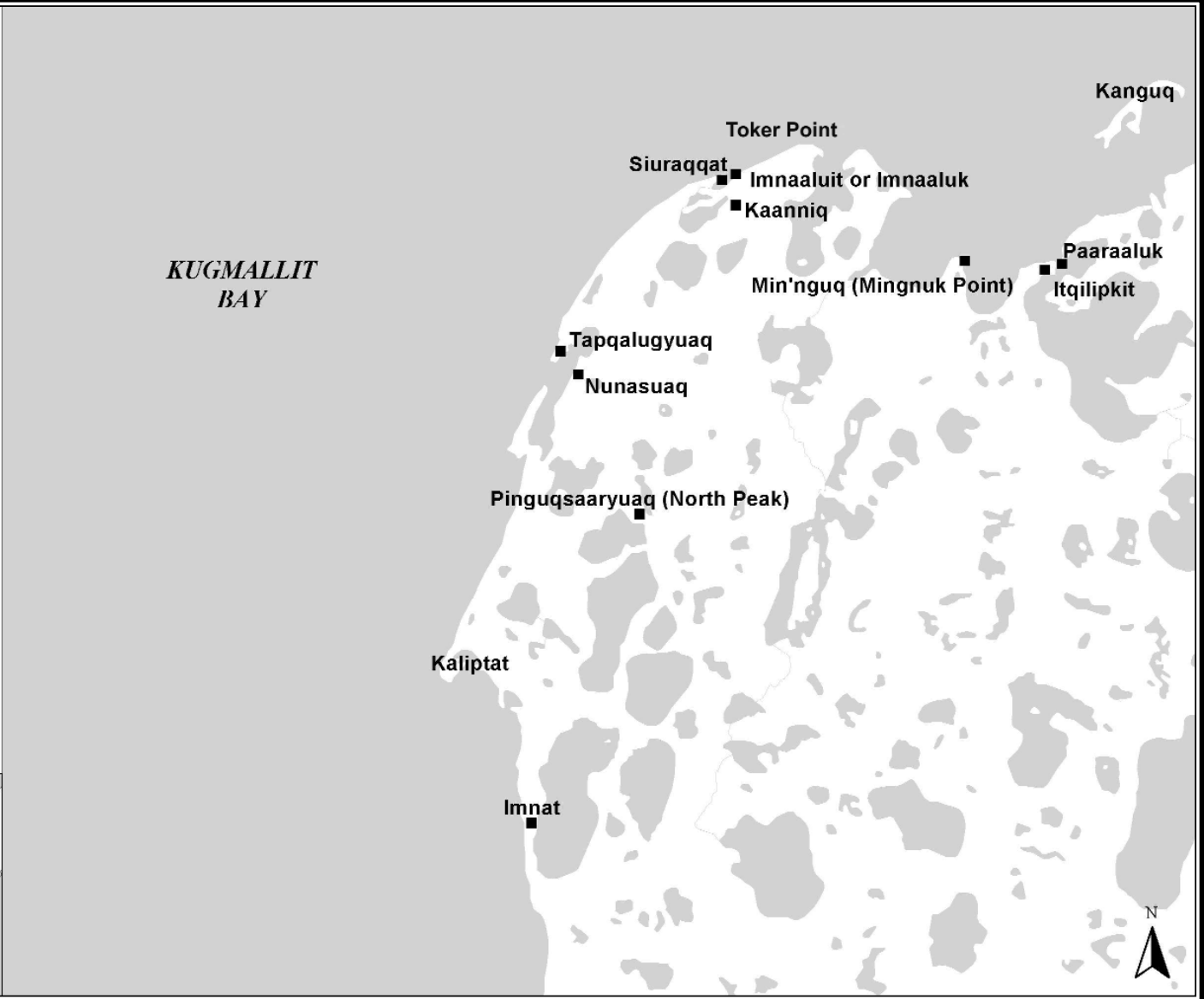
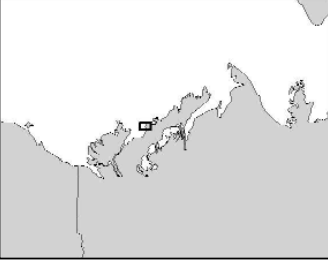
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

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Map I Inuvialuit Place Names

Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

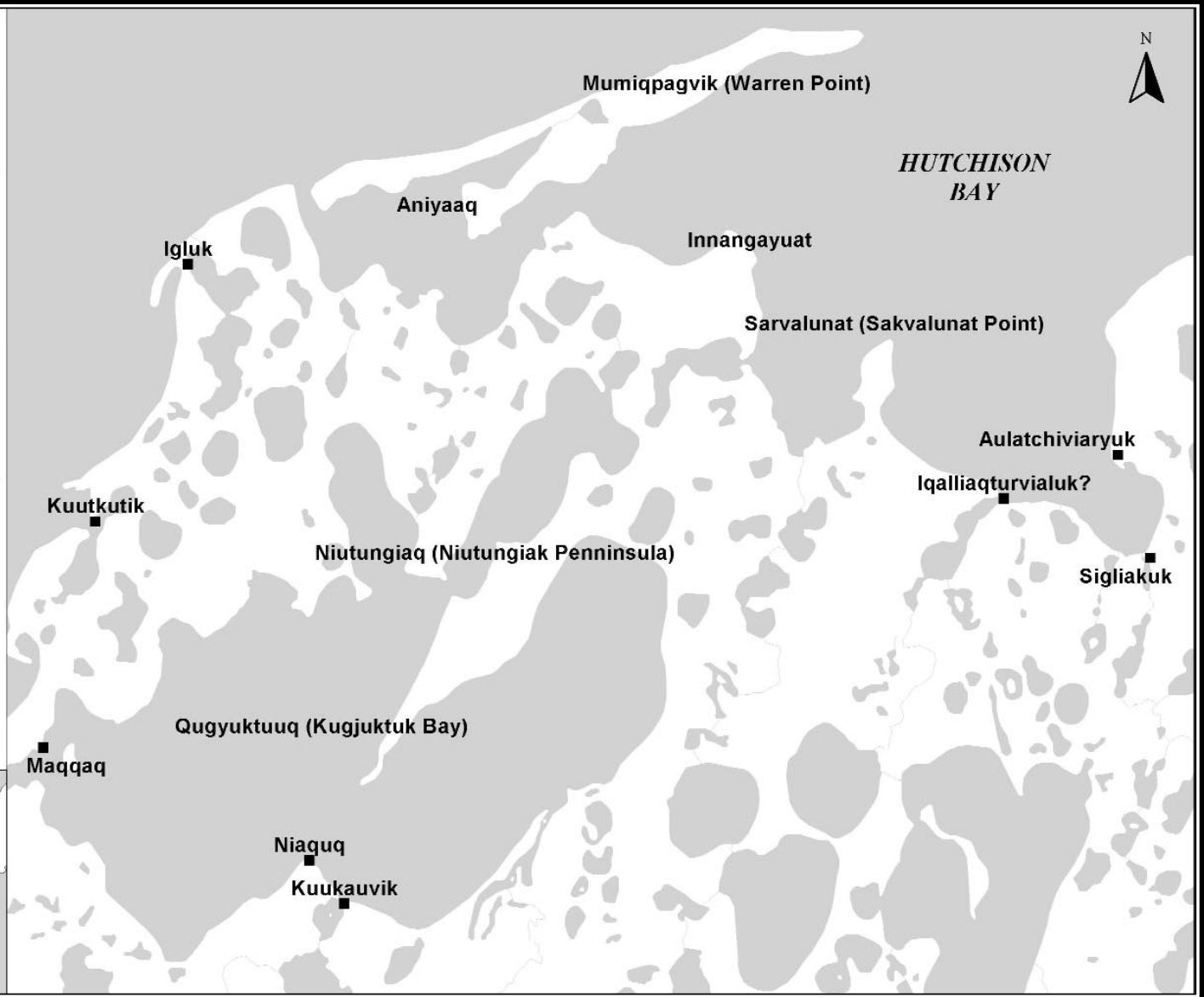
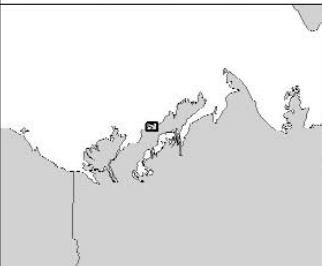
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**Map J
Inuvialuit Place Names**

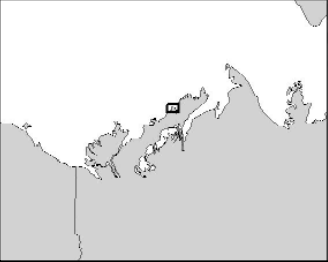
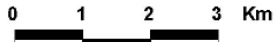
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for the Department of Fisheries
and Oceans for the report:

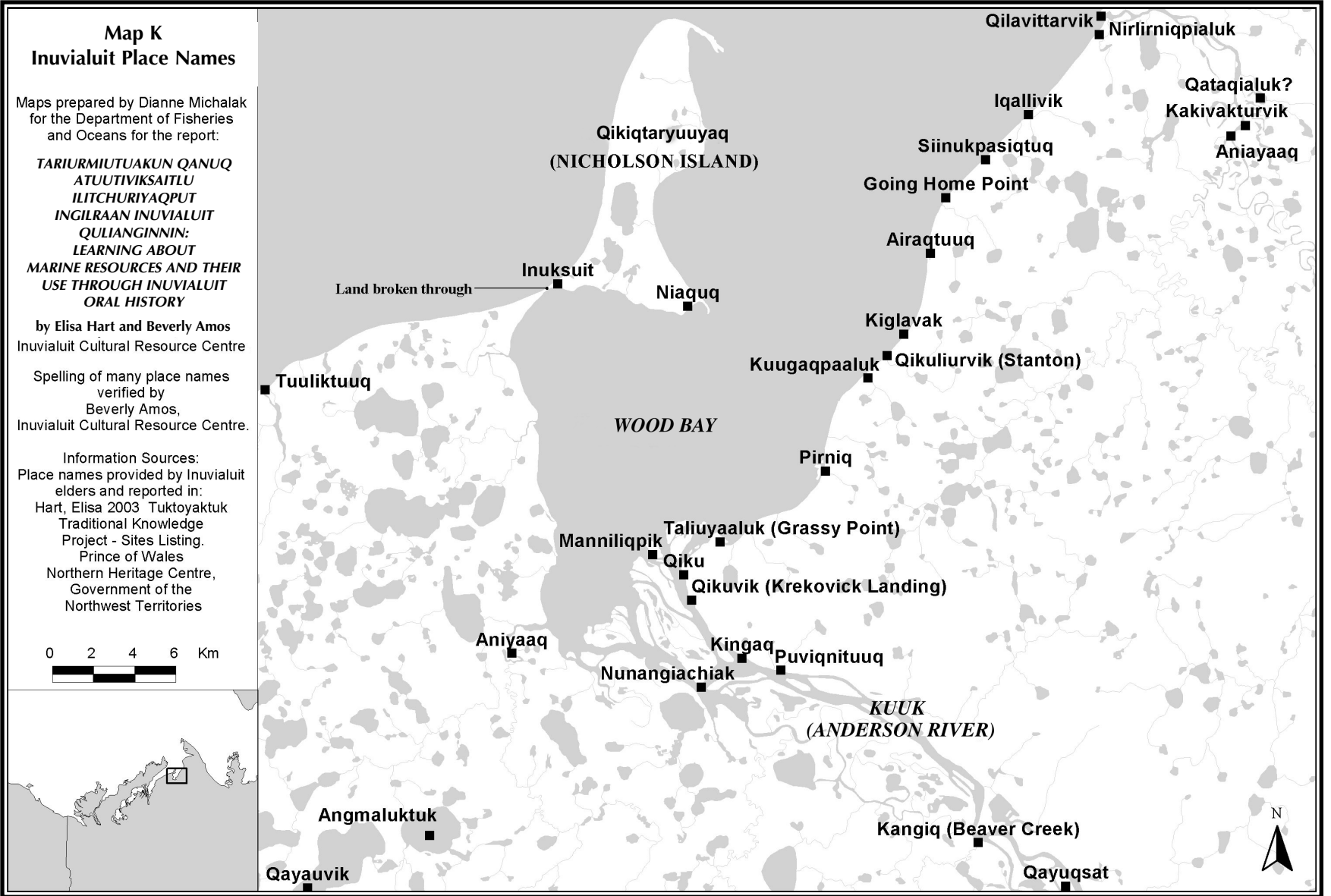
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Northwest Territories





**Map K
Inuvialuit Place Names**

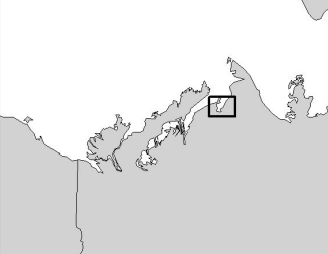
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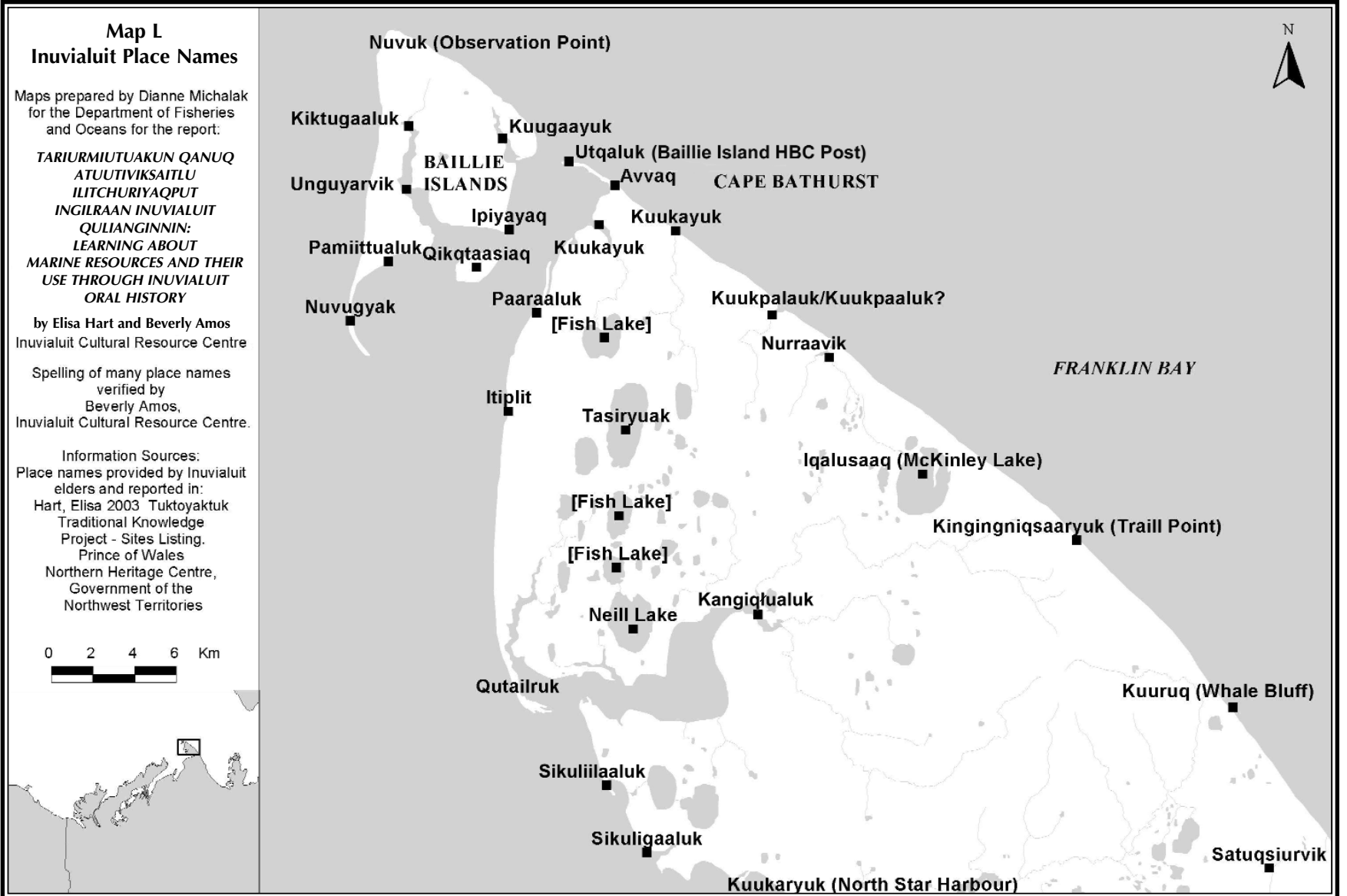
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elders and reported in:
Hart, Elisa 2003 Tuktoyaktuk
Traditional Knowledge
Project - Sites Listing.
Prince of Wales
Northern Heritage Centre,
Government of the
Northwest Territories





**Map L
Inuvialuit Place Names**

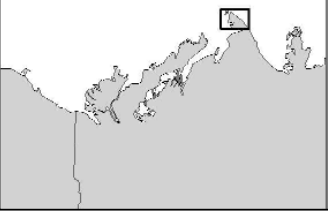
Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

*TARIURMIUTUAKUN QANUQ
ATUUTIVIKSAILLU
ILITCHURIYAQPUP
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
QULIANGINNIN:
LEARNING ABOUT
MARINE RESOURCES AND THEIR
USE THROUGH INUVIALUIT
ORAL HISTORY*

by Elisa Hart and Beverly Amos
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

Spelling of many place names verified by Beverly Amos, Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre.

Information Sources:
Place names provided by Inuvialuit elders and reported in:
Hart, Elisa 2003 Tuktoyaktuk Traditional Knowledge Project - Sites Listing. Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Government of the Northwest Territories







**Map N
Inuvialuit Place Names**

Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak
for the Department of Fisheries
and Oceans for the report:

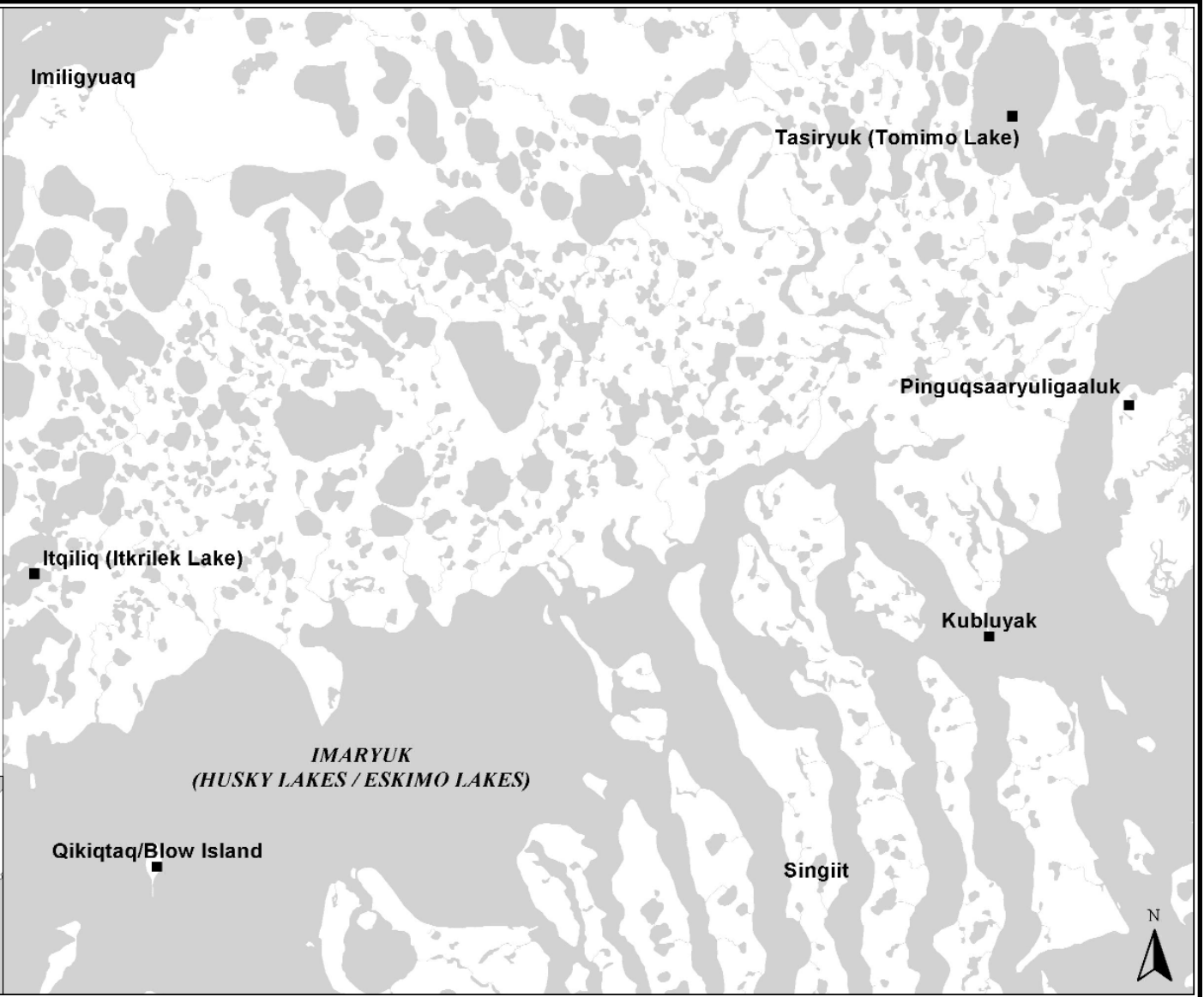
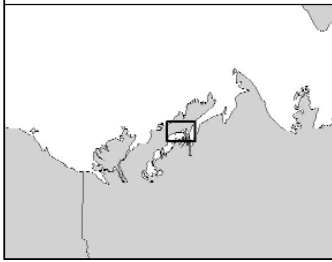
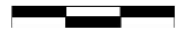
*TARIURMIUTUAKUN QANUQ
ATUUTIVIKSAILLU
ILITCHURIYAQPUP
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
QULIANGINNIN:
LEARNING ABOUT
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ORAL HISTORY*

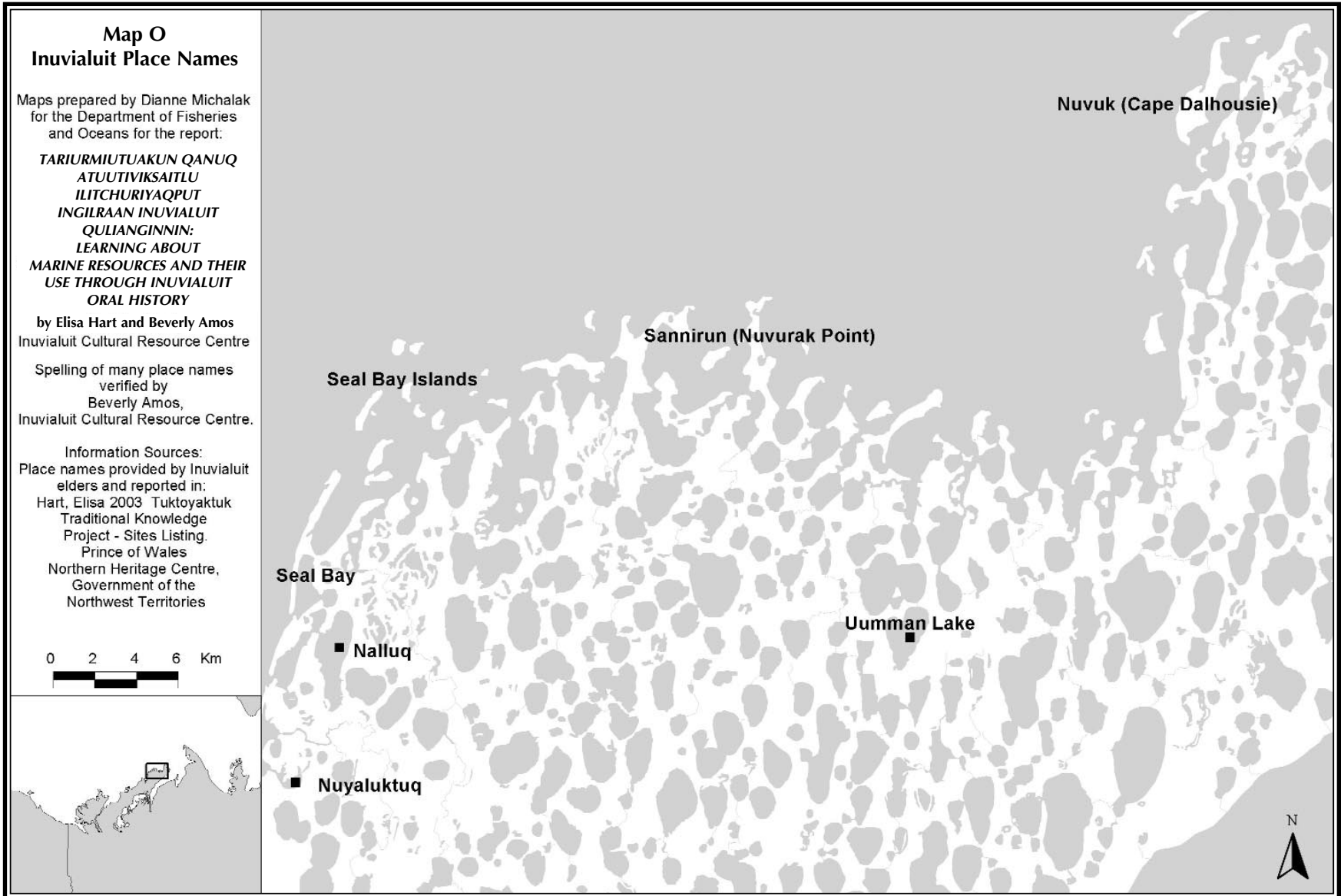
by Elisa Hart and Beverly Amos
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

Spelling of many place names
verified by
Beverly Amos,
Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre.

Information Sources:
Place names provided by Inuvialuit
elders and reported in:
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Traditional Knowledge
Project - Sites Listing.
Prince of Wales
Northern Heritage Centre,
Government of the
Northwest Territories

0 2 4 6 Km







Map P Inuvialuit Place Names

Maps prepared by Dianne Michalak for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for the report:

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ATUUTIVIKSAILLU
ILITCHURIAQPOT
INGILRAAN INUVIALUIT
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