# Ukkusiksalik

## Life At The Old HBC Post, Tasiujaq



Prepared for Parks Canada 2010–11 Contract No. 45277475 by David F. Pelly dpelly@sympatico.ca

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### Introduction

"This project is oriented around conducting oral history through on site interviews with Inuit at the former HBC Post located in Ukkusiksalik National Park. The interviews will document life at the post and its operation through the last remaining Inuit residents of that site. ... The oral histories collected will illustrate, from the Inuit perspective, what it meant to live at the HBC Post and will be used to interpret the human history of the park."

(Terms of Reference – Contract No. 45277475 dated May 2010)

When this project was first conceived, the above statement defined the objective as originally envisaged. However, as events unfolded, some of the key informants were unable to participate in the field camp. Robert Tatty passed away. Jerome Tattuinee had major heart surgery. Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce was not well enough to travel. The field trip to Ukkusiksalik National Park continued in any case, with necessarily modified objectives, and involved just one elder/informant: Annie Tatty, widow of the late Robert Tatty. Nonetheless, the one lengthy interview thus recorded added significantly to the historical record.

Fortunately, an amount of research had been conducted previously with a very similar focus – life at the old HBC Post – so the contractor is able to construct a reasonable picture of this perspective. The following report draws on previous work significantly, bringing together in one place all of the recorded history of the Ukkusiksalik HBC trading post, using older oral-history interviews dating back to 1986, and archival research, as well as the interview with Annie Tatty completed in 2010.

The contractor wishes to thank Parks Canada for this opportunity to synthesize previous work into a more complete account of the history of the Ukkusiksalik HBC Post at Tasiujaq. He also wishes to acknowledge all of the informants who have contributed to this work over the years, each of whom is credited in the following pages. In every case, their family members too have assisted with the work by supporting, translating and encouraging the story-telling.

## **Annie Tatty**

## **A Narrative Synthesis**

#### Interview Conducted July 26, 2010 at Tasiujaq, Ukkusiksalik [Wager Bay]



Photo by Micheline Manseau

[Text in italics is the direct translation of Annie's words, as edited. Text not italicized is the editor's synthesis of what she said between quotes.]

I was born April 7<sup>th</sup> 1929, near Naujaat [Repulse Bay] at Qasigiaqsiarvik point. I was adopted. My [adopted] father's name was Joseph Kakak. My [adopted] mother's name was Paula Angnaujuq.

We lived here in Ukkusiksalik, at Piqsimaniq, when I was a child. But we did come to this area [to the HBC post at Tasiujaq] when we went to go buy supplies.

During those visits, I remember seeing Tuinnaq [Mrs. Bruce] helping her father, Iqungajuq, in the trading post. And I recall seeing Robert Tatty, although I did not know he was my future husband. *Inuit use to make plans who is who that will marry*.

I really liked living here. Because it is beautiful in Ukkusiksalik. Maybe because I was a child, it has always seemed to be beautiful at that time. We were usually alone but when we have some other people around for a while, we [would] play with rocks because the only toys that we can play with were rocks. I remember [Octave] Sivaniqtoq. He was older than us but he would look after us. We use to play with him along with his younger brother.

People came from other camps as well but they would leave right away. When I was a child, I remember Nilaulaaq and Anaruaq coming to our camp. We were usually alone. My father always tried to be where there were fewer people around because the food could run out early if there were too many people.

We would walk inland during the summer when the caribou skins are just right to make as qulittaqs and atigi (caribou skin parkas). We would travel inland to hunt caribou. We would cache the meat so that they can go get them in winter time. When the month of August is over, in September, the fur of the caribou is much thicker. So they would not really hunt caribou. But they did catch them for food or for dog food. But maybe they would start hunting seals because they would have to use the qulliq to make water, boiled meat and tea. In September they would cache the seal meat. Sometimes it gets too rotten so it becomes food for the dogs, the cached meats were for the dogs. The ringed seals and the caribou were hunted more often. They were the ones that were hunted the most during the summer or in winter.

We would travel where the seals were closer to hunt and we would have a camp there, at Tikiraarjuk. We had a huge iglu, [so big] we had to use four qulliqs.

The animals that we eat were the only food that we had at that time so we had to keep on moving in order to survive.

In the winter we would have to have oil for the qulliq to keep us warm inside our iglu. Because we did not have any refrigerator in the summertime, when they catch many ringed seals, we would take the skins off the seal and dry them, and put the fat inside the dried skin and cache them, so in winter time they would pick that cached seal fat so we can use the fat for our qulliqs. The qulliq was the only thing that can make heat either in summertime or winter.

Just as I was born, Inuit started to get primus stoves, the forerunner to the Coleman stove, called *siurjuk* in Inuktitut. To get one, we had to sell fox skins at the trading post. My father went to both the HBC post here at Tasiujaq and to Repulse Bay.

When it was springtime/summer they use to catch many fish, with those fish spears and sometimes we would use nets – the ones that Inuit made. The trading post had the right

kind of rope/string to make the nets. *My father would make the nets*. *Tatty's mother use to make the nets*. *When it was summer we would fish anywhere where we were. They would dry the fish or cache them*.

\* \* \*

Several years later: In Repulse Bay, the Anaruaq family had many children. We were living where they call the area Pitiktarvik. I left my mother and father. They told me I was going to Anaruaq's family to take care of their daughter and their children but their plan was so that I can get closer to the area where he [Tatty] would pick me up and I did not know about this. Maybe when I was 14 years old [actually 15, nearly 16]. I was pretty young. It would be pretty young for Qallunaat [white men] but Inuit used to get married young I guess.

Tatty and his father Iqungajuq picked me up from Anaruaq's by dog team, and brought me here, to Tasiujaq. At first, *I was uncomfortable, because I never have been without my parents before and I was homesick for quite a while. They treated me very well, but I did not want to leave my father and mother. We were six of us living there. Because two of the children had died.* 

In March [1945] I came here and maybe in August we moved out. I never came back here [until 1978]. We went to Repulse Bay to pick up some supplies. We were picking up some supplies for this trading post. The ship was going there to bring supplies so we were waiting for the ship and sometimes that area [Repulse Bay] gets sea ice/multi-year ice; even when it is summertime the sea ice/multi-year ice would go into the bay. Because there was so much ice inside the bay, the ship was late. I think it was in September we started to travel back here, but our boat was not hard wood. The side of the boat was peeling off and it started cracking. It could not travel farther. Also we did not have a motor. The whole family was there. Umiijarvik is where we went onto the land. We were heading back here when that happened. When we went on the land all of us went on the land. As we finished putting up the tent, because it was fall it was getting cold, so we put all the supplies near the tent to provide shelter. The supplies made the tent warmer all through the winter.

During the winter at Umiijarvik, Tatty went back by dog team to the post because he had to fill out some forms for the HBC. The post at Tasiujaq was almost empty. It had only few things, supplies left.

We moved to Quinijulik, more inland in Umiijarvik area, when the winter came and we had an iglu there. We were in Umiijarvik area when the lake started to freeze over. They took out a big chunk of ice and melt it to make a sod house.

My son Kakak [John Tatty] was born the next spring, on June 7, 1946. We were at Quinijulik when he was born. Tatty's mother [Toota] just fixed up the bed where the baby would go, when it is out, because she figured that I was embarrassed to have a baby. When they left me alone, I had a baby. When I was finally alone I gave birth. We were in the tent and as soon as they heard a baby crying, they went right inside the tent, Tuinnaq and her mother [Toota].

When the month of June came we finally started to travel to Repulse Bay, when Anaruaq and Mary Autu's father picked us up. When he [Kakak] was still a small baby.

Anaruaq and I think it was Sangikti who picked us up [from the post in Repulse Bay]. Sangikti is a relative of Sivaniqtoq. We went to the islands [in Repulse Bay]. We were in Repulse Bay when the summer came and we were still there when it was winter. When the next summer came, we were picked up and went to Coral Harbour [by] Qajaarjuaq, Tagaaq's father. Tuinnaq was in Coral Harbour – she already got picked up earlier. We went to Aqiarungnaq area. The land was beautiful but the people seemed to be very poor on food and anything. We had cached meat of walrus [to eat] but there was no caribou. Also the store bought foods, like flour, we hardly had any, so in the morning we would have very small bannock to eat. When it was winter, we finally went to the post in Coral Harbour to buy some food. We were in Agiarungnag through out the summer when nobody went to buy some food. We finally went to the post in the winter - that is when we finally had enough food. That was the only time that it was hard for me in life. When we try to eat, because our food supply was very small, we were not eating anytime because we had to eat very little – this was at that time. Long ago we had pilot biscuits, bannock and crackers; ever since I started to remember we had those kind of food, also jams and butter. Ever since when I was a child, when I started remembering things, we had those kinds of food. When I moved to this area, those were our food at that time. When we were running out of those foods, I was not used to not having those. When it was winter time, the post could start trading polar bear skins and fox furs, they went to the post to buy food supplies.

I was in Agiarungnag when I became ill from TB [tuberculosis]. I had to go to Brandon and I was there about four years. My family moved to Coral Harbour when I was away. I had Satu and Kalluk in Aqiarungnaq area, also Angutianuk (Peter) was not even a year old when I went away with him. When we were there [Brandon] he turned a year old. Kakak [John] was raised by his grandmother, Toota. He [John] was about five years old when she [Toota] passed away. I was still away on medical when she [Toota] died. Kakak [John] called his grandparents mother and father – he thought they were his real parents. He was just five years old when they passed away. When I went home [to Coral Harbour] I had Simeonie. He would have had a younger sibling – we had to carry rocks to the tents when we were putting them up. I did not know I was pregnant at that time, so I was carrying these heavy rocks when we were putting up the tent. That is when I had a miscarriage. The baby that I miscarried was a boy as well. After that I had Pudjuut. We were still in Coral Harbour when I had him. When my husband went to Rankin Inlet to work at the mine, he went there to work in the spring and all of us followed him in the summer. That year in the winter time I gave birth to Dorothy in December 1959. From all my children, Dorothy is in the middle from all the siblings.

#### **Return to Ukkusiksalik 1978**

We were here for two years and we went back to Rankin Inlet in 1980. We came on Tatty's big [Peterhead] boat in August 1978. First Maqtanaaq and Ukaliq came here. And we came here as well: including several children, Bill, Phebian, George & Shauna. Tatty wanted to come back here. We heard about polar bear hunters, those white people from America, if they were to come here to hunt polar bears he [Tatty] wanted to make money because the mine was closed at that time in Rankin Inlet. He needed a job. We have some pictures of the polar bear hunters that went hunting in this area. In the winter when the spring was near, he guided them at Nuvukliit area. I think there were two white people.

John Tatty [Kakak] drove from Rankin Inlet with the sportshunters by snowmobile.

*There are pictures of them. You could tell it was cold, cold winter – they have all their thick caribou parkas.* 

Even though only the one pair of sportshunters came, Tatty wanted to stay on at Ukkusiksalik. *Maybe because this is where he grew up and it is beautiful and rich with animals. There are seals, caribous and fish up in lakes.* 

They lived at the old HBC post. The Tatty family stayed in the larger building at the back, known by the HBC as the "Native house." The Ukaliq family stayed in the old store, the smaller building on the west side of the site. *Kaluk's [Paul] family came here with us at the same time* – they stayed in the old manager's house, the two-storey building to the east. *When the Kaluk [Paul] family went home to Rankin Inlet, Kakak's [John] family came here to live with us.* At this time, the generators were moved to the old manager's house, the porch of that building was shifted over to the old store, and John Tatty's family lived in that porch. Robert and Annie Tatty continued to live in the old "Native house," with Simeoni's family (wife Minnie and young daughter Dorothy) living upstairs in the loft.

During the summer we would go buy food supplies, but people from Rankin Inlet would travel to where we were [and bring food for us].

We did get many fox skins. We have some pictures – the fox skins are hanging. They caught many foxes. The fox skins are easy to clean but the wolf skins are harder to clean because they are very thin. I did not have any help.

There was lots of food from the land here at that time.

There was not any muskox around. But we heard there were muskox up further but we never did see any muskox here.

People mostly from Repulse Bay used to visit. People who went hunting to this area. They knew they can fill up there gas from here, so they used to come here to hunt. If Tatty did not get ill – he was ill for a while – we would have stayed there longer. When he got ill, we went to Rankin Inlet and right after we went to Rankin Inlet, he went away for medical – he had to have surgery. He was ill and I also told him our children have to go to school as well. He started to think that I was homesick so we went home.

After two years we have stayed here, we never did come back here.

Tatty was born in that area when they were in a tent. Then they moved into that building, the one in the middle. There were some people that lived in Ukkusiksalik area, they used to bring fox skins to trade for food [and other] supplies. That building that had more room, people sometimes sleep over night there, when they went there to buy some supplies. The people who bring fox skins here.

#### A National Park

I do not really remember when, but we started to hear that they wanted the area to become a National Park. I think it was few years after we moved back to Rankin Inlet, that is when we started to hear they wanted it to become a Park. We were hesitant at first because the people from Repulse Bay come here to hunt animals as well as Rankin Inlet people. They hunt animals here when they want to hunt anytime. That is why they did not want it to become a National Park. Because it is a hunting ground for the Inuit they thought if it becomes a National Park they would have to stop hunting in that area.

Tatty and I wanted the buildings. We asked for them because they were just going to burn them down. Just before we came back here, that summer we came here, I think at that time we ask for them. It was either in 1977 or 1978.

Once Tatty [and others] understood that National Park status would not impede Inuit subsistence hunting, the resistance to establishment of the park diminished.

Also we did not come here very often anymore.

But at least he wanted money from them because the buildings were to be burned down and we have stopped them from burning them down. Because he was born here and was raised here. This was his home.

\* \* \*

[Talking about own experiences in Ukkusiksalik, Annie makes it clear that she prefers the area around Tikiraarjuk and Piqsimaniq, where her own family lived when she was young.]

We used to live in Tikiraarjuk area. When we were there, we were living near the lake and we use to go seal hunting down to the sea ice. When they were hunting seals, this one guy caught a seal so he was traveling to the land to bring his catch to us. Of course he was traveling by dog team, and his dogs started to eat the seal that he was bringing to us. So all the people were running after the dogs to try to stop them from eating it. I was trying to follow them but I was too slow and small. I think it was [Octave] Sivaniqtoq who was bringing the seal that he caught.

We used to camp on the sea ice [near] Tikiraarjuk. We would have our tent put up and we would have an iglu. At that time myself and another little girl – her name was Kikiak – we were playing seal hunters. When they seal hunt, when the seal goes up in the hole to breathe, they stab them with their harpoons. So when we were playing, I was playing with my father's harpoon. I accidentally pushed it inside a seal hole and it was gone. He did not have any other harpoon. It was our only harpoon. I really wanted it back and started crying even when my father said we will have another harpoon – it is replaceable. My mother and father told me I had accidentally lost the harpoon, so my father will catch a beautiful seal pup just for me to have beautiful kamiks [seal skin boots]. I stopped crying because I will get beautiful kamiks. I guess they could not stop me from crying, that is why they told me I was going to get beautiful kamiks if he catches a seal pup. I think they would never get angry at me. They were getting old and they never did have a child of their own and at that time I was their only small child so I guess they loved me very much.

My biological mother, when she had a baby girl, they let her die. I guess long ago they used to do that. Long ago the women were not to be listened to, that is what I have heard. A newborn baby girl was killed [before], so when they have another child, and I was a girl, my adopted mother just took me and now here I am thanks to her. Long ago the women were not to be listened to, that is what I have heard.

Long ago, when there were no [trading] posts, all the women and men were going through hardship when it was winter. They stayed in an iglu. They would have to have seal fat or other fat to make their iglu warm. If the qulliq does not have any oil, they would not drink or have anything to eat, because they do not have any fat to light up the qulliq to boil anything. If the qulliq is not lit, the iglu would be very cold inside. The Inuit before us were going through hardship.

During the springtime, when the sea ice is not that useable, and the ringed seals skins are no longer beautiful and the furs are shedding, when they just started to have newer furs, they used to try and catch many seals that are shedding, to get more seal fat, for the dog food, and for the skin. When they are shedding, the skin becomes thicker. They would take the skin off of the seal whole, and dry the skin that has fur, and half of the skin that does not have fur, dry it also. And they would sew them up to make a tent. They used to try and catch many seals that time of the year. The skin that has a fur would be in the back of the tent. The part of the skin that does not have a fur will be in the front. They would even take the front flipper of the seals and skin them and dry them and sew them together. Every part of the seal would be used. Back then the women were so good at making everything. My mother made a tent with seal skin when I started to remember. I was pretty big [when] she made a tent. When it was put up, it was pretty big. When you touch it, you would feel like it was pinning you and pulling you. I did not like the tent. When it was fall, the weather was pretty bad, blizzard, and the wind was pretty strong. Those kinds of tent are very calm when you are inside. When those kind of tents are put up, they are very nice because they are very calm even when it was very windy. If you go into a tent like this [modern canvas] one, it would be moving from the wind. They are very nice during the fall, also in the spring, and they are much warmer than these tents. But I did not like touching the tent because the shape – if they had known about these [modern] kind of tents, they would have probably make them like that.

Those woman from long ago use to do everything but us we cannot do anything what they used to do.

## **Interview with Annie Tatty**

Interviewers: Shauna Tatty, David Pelly and Carol Nanordluk Transcribed and translated by Dolly Mablik

#### AT-10-07-26-HBP

00:03:20 Shauna: When were you born?

00:03:24 Annie: I was born April 7<sup>th</sup> 1929.

00:03:34 Shauna: And who were your parents?

00:03:38 Annie: I was adopted so my fathers name was Joseph Kakak.

00:03:50 Shauna: She was adopted her dad was Juusipi Kakak, what about your mother what was her name?

00:03:58 Annie: My mothers name was Paulie Angnaujuq, my mistake her name was Paula.

00:04:05 Shauna: They were the ones that have adopted you? Annie: Yes.

00:04:07 Shauna: Yea those were the people who adopted her.

00:04:14 Shauna: And where were you born?

00:04:16 Annie: Near Naujaat (Repulse Bay) in Qasigiaqsiarvik point.

00:04:33 Shauna: The people who adopted you were they living in that area as well?

00:04:37 Annie: Yes I guess they were in a same area.

00:04:41 Shauna: They were in a same area.

00:04:45 Shauna: Did you grew up there? Annie: Yes I grew up there also in Naujaat (Repulse Bay) and anywhere near that area also in Ukkusiksalik area.

00:04:56 Shauna: How old were you, how long were you living in that area?

00:05:04 Annie: I do not know we did not know about the years at that time.

00:05:08 Shauna: Yea she was there for quite a while around that Repulse area and middle closer to here but not like. Carol: Near Piqsiminiq.

00:05:19 Shauna: But back then they did not know years and stuff so she will not know. 00:05:23 Annie: We did not even had any calendars at that time.

00:05:38 Shauna: What do you remember, when did you started to remember when you first came to Ukkusiksalik?

00:05:45 Annie: We did live here in Ukkusiksalik area in Kangiq&uarjuk where they call Piqsimaniq most of the time we did live in Kangiq&uarjuk area and near that area.

00:5:58 Shauna: Were you a teenager/young adult at that time?

00:05:59 Annie: That was the time when I was a child.

00:06:00 Shauna: When she was a child she remembers being down at (David: Piqsimaniq?) Shauna: Yea quite a bit.

00:06:07 Annie: But we did come to this area (to the post) when we went to go buy supplies.

00:06:09 Shauna: They use to come here to go buy some stuff at the post.

00:06:16 Shauna: You do remember when you went to go buy some supplies when you were a child? Annie: Yes.

00:06:32 Shauna: When you started to come to the post did Iqungajuq was already in charge, who was in charge when you started coming here to buy supplies?

00:06:40 Annie: Yes it was Iqungajuq his/her daughter was a cashier along with Tuinnaq. Shauna: What about Tuinnaq? Annie: He was helping me at the post.

00:06:49 Shauna: She remembers Tuinnaq helping out at the post and she would come here.

00:06:57 Shauna: Is that how you met my father?

00:07:01 Annie: Yes I have seen him but I did not know what he was doing.

00:07:06 Shauna: She would remember seeing him but she never cared to like she never make a contact with him.

00:07:11 Annie: I was never told he was my husband to be because the Inuit use to make plans who is who that will marry.

00:07:23 Shauna: Inuit use to tell like ahead of time like she was not told.

00:07:41 Shauna: Do you have anything to say about how you use to live how was it living in that area I mean how was it when you were growing up I mean what do you use to do living there?

00:07:55 Annie: I really like living here.

00:07:57 Shauna: She remembers being happy all the time over down there.

00:08:01 Annie: Because it is beautiful in Ukkusiksalik.

00:08:04 Shauna: Why it is make you happy?

00:08:09 Annie: I do not know for instance it is spring time now and it is beautiful maybe because I was a child it has always seem to be beautiful at that time.

00:08:15 Shauna: Just being a child I guess just nice seenary and being able to play. Did you ever play with anyone/anything else?

00:08:25 Annie: Sometimes because we were usually alone but when we have some other people around for a while yes we did walk around and play with rocks because the only toys that we can play with were rocks.

00:08:35 Shauna: She just remembers playing with rocks and stuff and there was not many people though but once in a while there would be people.

00:08:42 Annie: We would sometimes see small birds around and other things (animals?) 00:08:48 Shauna: Do you remember who were other children that you use to play with? 00:08:54 Annie: Yes I do long ago I do remember Sivanertok he was older than us but he would look after us as well as we use to play with him along with his younger brother. 00:09:08 Shauna: She remembers them coming and babysitting them for a while and

playing with them.

00:09:20 Shauna: Do you remember any other families?

00:09:23 Annie: Yes also my daughter Veronica Maniilaqs father they use to live with us in that area.

00:09:31 Shauna: Veronica Maniilaqs father.

00:09:35 Annie: Yes I do recognize that picture.

00:09:36 Shauna: Yea she said she recognizes that.

00:09:40 Annie: I think he was much older than us I do not really know but he use to play with us.

00:09:46 Shauna: He was a little older but she remembers playing with him.

00:09:50 David: Is he still alive? Shauna: No.

00:09:53 Shauna: I wonder when he have passed away? Annie: What? Shauna: When did he pass away?

00:09:58 Carol: In 1990something. Annie: We did heard when he passed away.

00:10:19 Annie: That is when we have already move to Rankin Inlet when he passed away. Carol: Yes.

00:10:27 Shauna: These stories that were told are here as well.

00:10:44 Shauna: Were there other families that came to your camp when you were living there?

00:10:48 Annie: Yes there were people that came from other camps as well but they would leave right away.

00:10:55 Shauna: Do you remember who they were?

00:10:57 Annie: Also my brother/cousin Jacqueline's adopted father Nilaulaaq because they could not have children of their own they did not have children of their own.

00:11:02 Shauna: Remembers Nilaulaaq coming too they had no children.

00:11:09 Annie: Also my brother/cousin Anaruaq he was my brother/cousin when he got married they use to come to our camp.

00:11:19 Shauna: When she was down there they would come in and stay with them for a while.

00:11:26 Shauna: Do you remember when you were a child who use to come to the camp?

00:11:33 Annie: When I was a child that is who I remember coming to our camp but yea those are the people.

00:11:44 Shauna: She just remembers those.

00:11:45 Annie: There were different people that would come to the camp/post also Sivanertok's father no his mother.

00:11:51 Shauna: Sivanertok's parents mother would come and visit their camp.

00:12:08 Shauna: Was there always enough food when you were living there, you never did ran out of food? Annie: Yes.

00:12:16 Annie: My father did always try to be where there are fewer people around because the food can ran out early if there were too many people and the food was always enough for the people.

00:12:38 Shauna: Can you talk about when, how, where was the hunting area was what did they eat something like that? Carol: Was it in winter? Shauna: Was it in winter or when was it?

00:12:55 Annie: I do not know what year it was. Shauna: Or was it in summer?

00:13:04 Annie: We would walk inland during the summer when the caribou skins are just right to make as Qulittaqs/Atigi (caribou skin parkas?) we would travel inland to hunt caribous also we would cache the meat so that they can go get them in winter time.

00:13:21 Shauna: They always went when the caribou skin was nice out on the land for a walk to get all the caribou to make the clothing and than bury the caribou so they could get it in the winter.

00:13:35 Annie: When they caught a caribou they would get all the meat the meat that can be eaten would all be taken.

00:13:52 Shauna: What was the time of the year?

00:13:54 Annie: Probably around August 11<sup>th</sup>.

00:14:04 Shauna: Also when the month of August was over what animal did you start hunting?

00:14:09 Annie: When the month of August is over in September the fur of the caribou are much thicker so they would not really hunt caribous but they did catch them for food

or for dog food but maybe they would start hunting seals because they would have to use the Qulliq the Inuit Qulliq to make water boiled meat and tea.

00:14:32 Shauna: What would you do with the ringed seals would you cached them? 00:14:39 Annie: In September they would cached the seal meat the seal meat sometimes get too rotten so they become food for the dogs, the cached meats were for the dogs.

00:15:01 Shauna: After hunting for the ringed seals what would they start hunting?

00:15:09 Annie: The ringed seals and the caribous were hunted more often they were the ones that were hunted the most during the summer or in winter.

00:15:23 Shauna: Were you close to the ringed seal hunting grounds or would you have to travel far to hunt seals?

00:15:32 Annie: We would travel where the seals were closer to hunt and we would have a camp there.

00:15:42 Shauna: Where is this area what is the place called?

00:15:46 Annie: The area is called Tikiraarjuk Shauna: In Tikiraarjuk area? Annie: Yes.

00:15:51 Annie: We had a huge Igloo (cabin?) at the lake and it was pretty big.

00:16:01 Annie: And there was a rope there where people can play games.

00:16:09 Annie: Also when they went to go get the cached caribou meat the rear end of the meat we would put them inside because they were cached they are pretty heavy we would hang them to thaw them.

00:16:27 Annie: In our huge Igloo (cabin?) we had to use four Qulliqs (NOTE: I can't understand what she is saying on this part.)

00:16:42 Shauna: Where is this cabin? Annie: In Tikiraarjuk.

00:16:50 Shauna: Was there a cabin there?

00:16:52 Annie: No we had an Igloo. We did not know if the Inuit live in a cabin back then.

00:17:08 Shauna: Back then there was never a cabin. Annie: We had only tents and we had to make Igloos.

00:17:18 Shauna: Do you remember how old you were when you move out of the area? 00:17:25 Annie: We did not know about the years but I do remember after we left this area we would go to Repulse Bay.

00:17:33 Shauna: They would always go back to Repulse Bay from those campgrounds I guess.

00:17:39 Annie: Because the animals do travel for instance we would travel where the animals are we would camp where the animals are we would not stay in one area during the spring we would not stay in one area for the whole year but once in a long while we did stay in one area.

00:18:05 Annie: The animals that we eat were the only food that we had at that time so we had to keep on moving in order to survive. Either if its caribou or ringed seal.

00:18:25 Annie: Because we did not have any refrigerator in the summertime when they catch many ringed seals because in the winter we would have to have oil for the Qulliq to keep us warm inside our Igloo so we would take the skins off the seal and dry them and they would start putting the fat inside the dried skin and cached them so in winter time they would pick that cached seal fat so we can use the fat for our Qulliqs.

00:18:52 Shauna: In the summertime they would catch lots of seals they would just empty the seal skin right out and put all the fat in there and bury it so that they can pick it up in the winter so they have heat for the winter.

00:19:07 Annie: Because the Qulliq was the only thing that can make heat either in summertime or winter, when I was born that is when they started to have Coleman stoves but they had to save the Naptha or something that is useful for the Coleman stove but they did use them for emergency.

00:19:30 Shauna: When she was born she remembers there was Coleman stoves but they could not use them much because of the shortage of gas the only time they would use it was emergency if they needed heat so they mostly use the Qulliq.

00:19:45 Annie: Those other kind of Coleman stoves. 00:19:59 Carol: They call them in Inuktitut Ittutuu? Annie: Yes Iktutuu (other type of Coleman stove).

00:20:18 Annie: When it cannot lit again we would have to make a hole on that thing. 00:20:41 Annie: Also we started to have this stove what we call Siurjuk the tank of it is rounder and there is a better bottom to put on the ground because they are quieter we call them Siurjuk.

00:21:26 Shauna: Did your father hunt foxes as well?

00:21:31 Annie: Yes we can only buy Coleman stoves and other things from the trading post only from the fox skins.

00:21:48 Shauna: Did they bring sealskins as well to the trading posts? Annie: No only the fox skins.

00:22:02 Shauna: Did he go to Repulse Bay to sell some skins as well or just to this post? Annie: You mean sealskins?

00:22:07 Shauna: The fox skins. Annie: Yes they use to sell foxes skin. Shawna: Just to this post? Annie: No also to Repulse Bay they did bring foxes skins where there were trading posts.

00:22:16 Shauna: Did you bring foe skins there and here as well? Annie: Yes. Where ever they are close to.

00:22:32 Shauna: Did you go fishing as well?

00:22:35 Annie: Yes when it is springtime/summer they use to catch many fish they would dry them or cache them.

00:22:40 Shauna: How did you catch fish? Annie: With those fish spears and sometimes we would use nets the ones that Inuit made.

00:22:52 Shauna: What did you use as a yarn/rope?

00:22:56 Annie: Those ropes that are used to make nets. Shauna: The trading posts did have those kinds of ropes? Annie: Yes.

00:23:07 Shauna: Who would make the nets? Annie: My father would make the nets. 00:23:13 Annie: Here Tatty's mother use to make the nets. Those nets. Shauna: Would she sell them? Annie: No she made them for her family to use.

00:23:34 Shauna: Where did you go fishing to?

00:23:39 Annie: When it was summer we would fish anywhere where we were.

00:23:44 Shauna: Did you catch fish all the time when you were trying to catch fish? Annie: Yes.

00:24:13 Shauna: Can you talk about when you and my father (Robert Tatty) got together how did it started?

00:24:19 Annie: What? Shauna: When did you two got together and how?

00:24:25 Annie: When we were in Repulse Bay the Anaruaq family had many children this is community of Repulse Bay we were living where they call the area Pitiktarvik I left my mother and father they told me I was going to Anaruaqs family to go take care of

their daughter and their children but their plan was so that I can get closer to the area where he (Tatty) would pick me up and I did not know about this.

00:25:24 Annie: Even when my parents were close to that area they did not even let me go see them we just came to this area.

00:25:37 Shauna: How old do you think you were at that time?

00:25:41 Annie: I do not know maybe when I was 14 years old I do not know I did not know about how old I was at that time.

00:25:48 Shauna: You were pretty young at that time? Annie: Yes I was pretty young, yes it would be pretty young for Qallunaaqs (white man) but us Inuit use to get married young I guess.

00:26:08 Shauna: Did my father (Tatty) had someone with him when he picked you up or was he alone?

00:26:13 Annie: Him and his father Iqungajuq picked me up.

00:26:18 Shauna: How did they pick you up? Annie: The only transport was to travel through the dog team.

00:26:26 Shauna: Where did they take you? Annie: To the post here.

00:26:32 Shauna: How was it when you first came here? Annie: I did not like it because was uncomfortable.

00:26:42 Shauna: You did not know them well? Annie: Yes I did not know them well, the only time I saw them was when they went to buy supplies. And maybe when they have just finish hunting seals they would travel through where we were and I would see them sometimes but we never did live with them in the same area.

00:27:18 Shauna: When you came to their camp what happen after you came here? 00:27:25 Annie: They did not want him to go alone when he is hunting caribou or ringed seals I did come along with him and I did not do anything when he was hunting. 00:27:42 Shauna: When you first came here did they (parents) let you go out on the land/sea ice alone?

00:27:47 Annie: Yes maybe he was a good hunter we would hunt caribous and seals. 00:27:54 Shauna: Were you and my father (Tatty) alone when you were hunting?

00:28:04 Annie: And your uncle (Tattuiniq) was a child he would sometimes travel/hunt along with us.

00:28:19 Shauna: He is couple years than my father (Tatty) he (Tattuiniq) did not have a wife yet at that time? Annie: Yes he was still a child he was still small at that time.

00:28:45 Shauna: How did Tootaa and Iqungajuq treated you? Annie: They were good to me. Shauna: They made you feel welcome? Annie: Yes.

00:29:01 Shauna: Even when you felt uncomfortable when did you start feeling comfortable living with them?

00:29:08 Annie: I do not know. Shauna: Did it take a while to felt comfortable? Annie: Yes I did not like it because I never have been without my parents before and I was homesick for quite a while.

00:29:19 Shauna: She remembers she was not very comfortable for a while because she was so use to with her dad all the time.

00:29:26 Annie: And they treated me very well. But I did not want to leave my father and mother.

00:29:42 Shauna: Were you uncomfortable because of you leaving your parents not moving with those people? Annie: Yes.

00:30:00 Shauna: What about the other wife of Iqungajuq was she there, maybe her name was Niaqukittuq, was she there?

00:30:11 Annie: No she started to live in Repulse Bay because Utuqqaaluk (maybe an old man?) made her his wife.

00:30:29 Shauna: Who were living there when you first moved with them? Annie: Only that family was there. Shauna: They were my father (Robert Tatty), Tattuiniq, Toota and Iqungajuq also Avaqsaa?

00:30:44 Annie: No Avaqsaa was already married. Shauna: Really? Annie: Yes her name is Piujuq Susie Angutialuk.

00:31:12 Annie: We were six of us living there. Because two of the children that had died.

00:31:20 Shauna: What was their names/who were they? Annie: That Satu's who she/he was named after. Shauna: Who were their parents? Annie: Anaruaq's first daughter and Avaqsaaq's child.

00:31:37 Annie: And Tautunngiq had a daughter –in-law Qalluittuq (Kabvitok?) mother the family Qapluituq (Kabvitiok?) and Tootoo's mothers son.

00:31:54 Shauna: Did he died when you were living there, or before you move there? Annie: When I was still a child that is when he died. Their graves are up there.

00:32:37 Shauna: How long have you been living here?

00:32:44 Annie: I do not know but I have heard about it but I might be wrong I heard they first started building buildings in 1912 I might be wrong about this but I think I have heard about it.

00:32:57 Shauna: I mean how long have you live here? Annie: Who me? Shauna: You. 00:33:03 Annie: What is the question again?

00:33:07 Carol: How long have you live here when you married Robert Tatty?

00:33:12 Annie: In March I came here and maybe in August we moved out that is when I have never came back here.

00:33:22 Shauna: You were living here for only few months, and where did you two go? 00:33:26 Annie: We went to Repulse Bay to pick up some supplies. Shauna: You went to Repulse Bay to go buy some supplies? Annie: We were picking up some supplies for this trading post. Shauna: So you just move to Repulse Bay at that time?

00:33:43 Annie: Yes because the ship was going there to bring supplies so we were waiting for the ship and sometimes that area (Repulse Bay's bay) does get sea ice/multi-year ice even when it is summertime the sea ice/multi-year ice would go into the bay because there were many ice inside the bay the ship was late I think it was in September we started traveled back here but our boat was not hard wood the side of the boat was peeling off and it started cracking also we did not have any motor.

00:34:14 Shauna: You and my father (Tatty) were alone? Annie: No the whole family was there.

00:34:30 Annie: I saw it on the map Umiijarvik is where we went onto the land. 00:34:45 Shauna: Where you traveling there or heading back here? Annie: We were heading back here when that happened.

00:34:51 Shauna: The boat was wrecked? Annie: Yes it broke/it could not travel farther. 00:35:04 Shauna: My father (Tatty) he has told him (David) that you all have put all the supplies in that boat onto the land?

00:35:09 Annie: Yes when we went on the land all of us went on the land as we finish putting up the tent because it was fall it was getting cold we put all the supplies near the tent to make shelter that is the supplies made the tent warmer.

00:35:28 Shauna: How long were you there when you first went on the land? Annie: all through the winter.

00:35:35 Annie: When the month of June came we finally started to travel to Repulse Bay also there were people picking us up.

00:35:41 Shauna: Who went to pick you up? Annie: Anaruaq and Mary Autu's father picked us up.

00:36:04 Shauna: And that was the end of the post here?

00:36:10 Annie: Yes because it was almost empty it had only few things/stuffs/supplies like very few flours left and other few stuffs as well.

00:36:17 Shauna: And you did not return to this post?

00:36:19 Annie: Yes your father (Tatty) went back to the post to fill out some kind of forms.

00:36:26 Shauna: My father (Tatty) and who came back here?

00:36:33 Annie: I think it was Mary Autu's father.

00:36:44 Annie: He had someone helping him but I forgot who it was.

00:36:49 Shauna: When did he came back here and how? Annie: Who? Shauna: From Repulse Bay to here did they travel through the dog team? Annie: Yes by dog team.

00:37:09 Shauna: Did they come back here after you went to Repulse Bay after you were picked up where you were did you go to Repulse Bay then my father (Tatty) finally went back here?

00:37:21 Annie: Yes I think he went back here at that time to write some papers/forms. 00:37:25 Shauna: When did he come back here to write some papers/forms when you were stuck where you were or when you were in Repulse Bay?

00:37:29 Annie: When we were picked up from Repulse Bay wait I forgot.

00:37:39 Shauna: Were you stuck at the area when he (Tatty) went here to make the paper works? Annie: Yes we were at the area where we were stuck when he had help he finally went to this area to take care of the paper works.

00:37:52 Annie: I think he did not bring anything to the post.

00:38:01 Annie: Even our stuffs along with our radio/record player/cassette player and all the records/tapes and the shelf we left everything to that building know we will return.

00:38:27 Shauna: They know it was in 1946 when the boat that you were using was wrecked in Umiijarvik. Annie: Yes.

00:38:41 Shauna: You were only 7 years old, no she was born in 1929.

00:38:51 Shauna: When you moved with them you were 17 years old. Annie: What? Shauna: You were 17 years old at that time. Annie: Really? Shauna: When you were in Umijarvik area.

00:39:01 Shauna: Does that make sense? Annie: We did not know any years at that time. We did not even know about the months as well.

00:39:16 Shauna: They know that event happened in 1946. Annie: Really? Shauna: You did not have any children at that time? Annie: No.

00:39:27 Shauna: What year was John born?

00:39:30 Annie: When the winter came we were traveling by the boat in the summer and when winter came it was in July no it was in June when he was born. Shauna: In June you got pregnant or? Annie: He was born in June.

00:39:51 Shauna: You were 17 years old when you had John. Annie: Really? 00:40:01 Shauna: Where was John born?

00:40:03 Annie: He was born in Quinijulik area it is written on the maps no it was in Umiijarvik area but we were more inland in Umiijarvik area.

00:40:17 Shauna: Did you have any help when you were in labor?

00:40:21 Annie: His mother (Toota) just fix up the bed where the baby would go to when it is out because she figures that I was embarrassed to have a baby when they left me alone I had a baby. When I was finally alone I gave birth.

00:40:52 Annie: We were in the tent and as soon as they heard a baby crying they went right inside the tent.

00:41:01 Shauna: Who went inside the tent? Annie: The mother and daughter Tuinnaq and her mother (Toota).

00:41:15 Shauna: You were pregnant when you were traveling on the boat? Annie: Yes probably I was.

00:41:22 Annie: Yes I was told I was pregnant and I did not know I was pregnant.

00:41:44 Shauna: Was he (John) still a small baby after you got stuck traveling on a boat? Annie: What? Shauna: You had to go onto the land because your boat got stuck/wrecked was Kakak (John) was still a small baby?

00:41:58 Annie: Yes, we were at Quinijulik when he was born. We moved to Quinijulik area when the winter came and we had an Igloo there but when we were in Umijarvik area when the lake started to freeze over they took out a big chunk of ice and melt it to make a sod house this was before I had a child.

00:42:32 Shauna: After your boat was wrecked when did you have a child?

00:42:41 Annie: I think it was in September we got stuck after that I gave birth in June. 00:42:53 Shauna: Was Kakak (John) born in 1947? Annie: In 1946. Shauna: If it was in 1946 that is the year your boat was wrecked. Annie: Yes that was the time. I do not really know when because in 1945 we got married.

00:43:20 Shauna: And right after when it is winter you got pregnant? Annie: 1945-46 right after we got married a year later I gave birth.

00:43:47 Shauna: If we have known the year John was born it would have been easier to know when is when. Annie: Who? Shauna: Kakak's (John). Annie: Kakaks birthday/place? Shauna: Yes.

00:43:56 Annie: He was born in Quinijulik area on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of June.

00:44:10 Shauna: In 1966 no. Annie: In 1946. Shauna: In 1946?

00:44:23 Annie: Our boat was wrecked right after we got married in 1945 in that summer we traveled up there and we got stuck.

00:44:45 Shauna: You think it was in 1945 when your boat was wrecked? Annie: Yes. 00:44:56 Annie: We traveled to Repulse Bay in August and we got stuck when we were traveling back home.

00:45:22 Shauna: Were you living here only few months when that happened? Annie: Yes.

00:45:34 Shauna: My father (Tatty) I guess he was wrong with the years in 1945. Annie: Yes he gets confuse sometimes.

00:45:44 Shauna: He (David) said we all do get confuse sometimes. Annie: That is right. 00:45:47 Annie: I think he was worse than me. Shauna: He (David) said men are like that.

00:46:50 Shauna: When Kakak (John) was a baby when did you get picked up from Repulse Bay.

00:47:02 Annie: When Kakak was a baby. Shauna: How old was he? Annie: When he was still a small baby.

00:47:11 Shauna: Where did you go when you got picked up and who picked you up? 00:47:16 Annie: My cousin/brother Anaruaq and I think it was Sangikti who picked us up. Shauna: Who? Annie: Sangikti. He is a relative of Sivanertok.

00:47:34 Carol: I think it is Victor Tungilik is it? Annie: Yes that person.

00:47:42 Shauna: When you got picked up where do you go? Annie: We went to the islands (Harbour Island?).

00:47:53 Shauna: How long where you there (Harbour Island?)

00:47:58 Annie: We were in Repulse Bay when the summer came and we were still there when it is winter and when the next summer came we were picked up and went to Coral Harbour.

00:48:16 Shauna: Who picked you up from Coral Harbour? Annie: Qajaarjuaq picked us up Tagaaq's father. Shauna: Who? Annie: Tagaaq's father.

00:48:28 Shauna: Who went to Coral Harbour? Annie: Tuinnaq was in Coral Harbour she already got picked up earlier.

00:48:41 Shauna: You all went to Coral Harbour at the same time? Annie: Yes.

00:48:53 Annie: We went to Aqiarungnaq area.

00:49:19 Shauna: That was a big change for the family when you move to another area? 00:49:22 Annie: Yes. Shauna: You did not like it? Annie: The land was beautiful but the people seem to get very poor on food and anything.

00:49:40 Annie: We had cached meat of walrus but there was no caribou.

00:49:52 Annie: Also the store bought foods like flour we hardly have any so in the morning we would have very small bannock to eat.

00:50:05 Annie: When it was winter we finally went to the post in Coral Harbour to go buy some food.

00:50:14 Shauna: You were on the land and went to Coral Harbour?

00:50:21 Annie: We were in Aqiarungnaq when we were picked up from Repulse Bay through out the summer nobody went to go buy some food so we finally went to the post in the winter that is when we finally had enough food.

00:50:45 Annie: That was the only time that it was hard for me in life.

00:51:04 Annie: When we try to eat because our food supply was very small we were not eating anytime because we had to eat very little this was at that time.

00:51:22 Shauna: Because you had enough food all the time when you were living here? Annie: Yes we were use to food when we were here.

00:51:33 Annie: Long ago we had pilot biscuits, bannock and crackers ever since I started to remember we had those kind of food also jams and butter.

00:51:48 Shauna: When you moved here? Annie: No ever since when I was a child when I started remembering things we had those kinds of food and when I moved to this area those were our food at that time and when we were running out of those food I was not use to not having those.

00:52:08 Shauna: How long was it when you hardly have anything like that?

00:52:12 Annie: When it was winter time and when the post can start trading polar bear hide/skins and fox furs for money they went to the post to go buy food supplies.

00:52:30 Shauna: Where did you go from there?

00:52:34 Annie: I was in Aqiarungnaq when I became ill from TB (tuberculosis) I had to go to Winnipeg no to Brandon and I was there about maybe four years.

00:52:51 Annie: My family moved to Coral Harbour when I was away.

00:53:04 Shauna: The family went to Coral Harbour to follow Tuinnaq? Annie: Yes.

00:53:14 Shauna: How many children, was Kakak (John) only child at that time? Annie: No we had Satuk (Angelina) as well at that time and Kalluk.

00:53:29 Shauna: Were they all in Coral Harbour? Annie: Yes but we were living in Aqiarungnaq area when I went away.

00:53:58 Annie: I had Satu and Kalluk in Aqiarungnaq area also Angutianuk Peter was not even a year old when I went away with him.

00:54:13 Shauna: You traveled with him when you went to the hospital (in Brandon)? Annie: When we were there (Brandon) he turned a year old.

00:54:23 Shauna: My father (Tatty) Kakak (John) and Satu (Angeline) they all stayed? 00:54:28 Annie: Yes and Kaluk as well. Shauna: And Kalluk?

00:54:36 Annie: Kakak (John) was raised by his grandmother (Toota).

00:54:50 Shauna: She (Toota) raised John? Annie: Yes and he (John) was about five years old when she (Toota) passed away.

00:55:08 Shauna: Were you back from the hospital when she (Toota) died? Annie: No I was still away on medical when she (Toota) died.

00:55:19 Annie: Kakak (John) called his grandparents mother and father he thought they were his real parents and he was just five years old when they passed away.

00:55:49 Shauna: When you came home from the hospital where did you go home to, to my father (Tatty)?

00:55:55 Annie: I went home to Coral Harbour.

00:56:02 Shauna: How long did you live in Coral Harbour?

00:56:05 Annie: I forgot how long, when I went home I had Simeonie. Shauna: Was he born in Coral Harbour? Annie: Yes and he would have a younger sibling we have to carry rocks to the tents when we are putting them up I did not know I was pregnant at that time so I was carrying these heavy rocks when we were putting up the tent that is when I had a miscarriage.

00:56:39 Annie: The baby that I miscarried was a boy as well. After that I had Pudjuut. 00:56:51 Shauna: Were you still in Coral Harbour when you had him? Annie: Yes we were still in Coral Harbour when I had him.

00:57:03 Annie: When he (Tatty) went to Ranking Inlet for mining he went there to work at the mine and when it was summer we all followed him that year in the winter time I gave birth to Dorothy.

00:57:18 Annie: From all my children Dorothy is in the middle from all the siblings. 00:57:29 Shauna: Was Dorothy born in Rankin Inlet? Annie: Yes when we first move to

Rankin Inlet. Shauna: What year was she born in 19? Annie: In 1959. 00:57:43 Shauna: Were you pregnant when you were still there? Annie: When I was still in Coral Harbour I became pregnant with her. Shauna: Where was she born in Rankin?

Annie: She was born in Rankin Inlet. She was born on the month of December.

00:58:08 Shauna: You move to Rankin Inlet when my father (Tatty) went there to work? Annie: Yes when he started working. Shauna: Did he go there alone first than? Annie: Yes. He went there to work in the spring and all of us we followed him in the summer. 00:58:36 Shauna: And ever since that time you permanently move here? Annie: Yes. Shauna: And when you came back here once is that the only time you came back here? Annie: Yes that was the only time we went here (Ukkusiksalik?).

00:58:55 Shauna: He wants to have a break.

00:59:02 Shauna: He wants to talk about the time when you came back here once when you were living in Rankin Inlet. Annie: Ok. Shauna: After you have move to Rankin Inlet you traveled here once he wants to talk about it later.

#### Part two of interviewing Annie Tatty.

00:59:39 Shauna: Last night what did you talked about when he (David) wanted you to stop talking about for today? Annie: I forgot what it was. Shauna: He wanted her to remember but she forgot.

01:00:03 Shauna: Yes it was about the wrecked boat we already talked about that earlier. 01:00:28 Shauna: He is going to interview you about the time when you came back here around 1970's.

01:00:36 Shauna: When did you come back here for a while?

01:00:39 Annie: I do not really remember when but I know we were here for two years and we went back to Rankin Inlet in 1980.

01:00:47 Shauna: In1977, maybe it was in 78? Annie: I think it was in 78.

01:00:57 Annie: You were three years old? Shauna: When I was three years old she said.

01:01:04 Shauna: What month was it? Annie: I forgot the month when we came here.

01:01:14 Shauna: Did we travel through a boat? Annie: Yes we did. Shauna: Did we travel on my fathers (Tatty) big boat, when did we traveled here?

01:01:23 Annie: I think it was in August or it was in September but I am sure it was in August.

01:01:43 Shauna: He (David) wants to know why you come back here around 1978?

01:01:50 Annie: Tatty wanted to come back here we have heard about the polar bear hunters those white people from America if they were to come here to hunt polar bears he (Tatty) wanted to make money because the mine was closed at that time in Rankin Inlet he needed a job.

01:02:29 Shauna: Did he guide any sports hunters?

01:02:32 Annie: Yes we have some pictures of the polar bear hunters that went hunting in this area.

01:02:45 Shauna: Why did he bring the whole family here, who were here the whole family?

01:02:51 Annie: First Maqtanaaq and Ukaliq came here. And we came here as well. 01:03:08 Shauna: We were only three of us me you and my father (Tatty)? Annie: No. Shawna: Oh Bill, Phebian and George were with us?

01:03:16 Shauna: Bill, Phebian, George, me my mom and dad and than Jim, Maqtinaa and two of their boys and two of their girls.

01:03:40 Shauna: Us the children you thought it was going to be great for us I mean how do I say this? Annie: You seem to be very happy here. Yes you were very happy here.

01:04:03 Shauna: My father (Tatty) did he go out on the land with the white people/sports hunters right after we moved here?

01:04:11 Annie: In the winter when the spring was near. He guide them at Nuvuk&I area. 01:04:28 Shauna: How many were they? Annie: I think there were two white people.

01:04:28 Shauna: How many were they? Annie: I think there were two white people. 01:04:38 Shauna: How did they get here? Annie: They traveled through the snowmobile.

01:04:38 Shauha: How did they get here? Annie: They traveled through the showhoble. 01:04:45 Shauha: They traveled from Rankin Inlet? Annie: Yes. Shauha: Who traveled with them through the snowmobile to here? Annie: I forgot who took them here it was Kakak (John).

01:05:05 Shauna: Was this in the summertime? Annie: It was in winter. They traveled through the snowmobile so it was in winter.

01:05:11 Shauna: This was when it was very cold? Annie: Yes. Shauna: Yea there's pictures of them in a cold you could tell it was cold, cold winter with the thick caribou they have all their thick caribou parkas.

01:05:25 Shauna: You have a picture of them they were wearing caribou clothing those white people and my father (Tatty).

01:05:35 Shauna: And that was the only time he guided caribou hunters? Annie: Yes they were polar bear hunters. Shauna: And there were no other sport hunters to guide after that? Annie: No there was not.

01:05:51 Shauna: And you stayed even after they left? Annie: Yes. Shauna: Why did we stay here? Annie: Your father (Tatty) wanted to stay here.

01:06:09 Shauna: Why did he (Tatty) want to stay here for a while? Annie: Maybe because this is where he grew up and it is beautiful and rich with animals.

01:06:20 Annie: There are seals, caribous and fish up in lakes.

01:06:38 Shauna: Which building did we stay in? Annie: The one that is the biggest the one in the middle.

01:06:45 Shauna: What about the Ukaliqs family? Annie: The one that use to be the post/store. Shauna: The one that is furthest? Annie: Yes the one that is closer to the mountain.

01:07:24 Shauna: Did Ukaliqs family lived here, is this where the mountains are? David: Yes.

01:07:28 Annie: The porch of this building was taken off and it was put here instead. 01:07:47 Shauna: When was this building used? Annie: Kalluk and Sally use to live there. Shauna: When did they come here? Annie: They moved to this area at the same time as us.

01:08:07 Shauna: Were all the building used? Annie: Yes.

01:08:24 Shauna: When we move here did they take the porch off that other building right away?

01:08:28 Annie: No they did not move it right away but when Kakak (John) and his family came and we did not came here with them it was Kaluks (Paul) family that came here with us at the same time.

01:08:48 Shauna: And the Kakak's (John) family moved in?

01:08:51 Annie: Yes when Kaluk (Paul) family went home to Rankin Inlet Kakaks (John) family came here to live with us.

01:09:02 Shauna: Did Kakaks (Johns) family moved in here or to this building? 01:09:06 Annie: The generators were moved to this building and Kakaks (Johns) family started to live in this porch. 01:09:23 Shauna: You and my father (Tatty) were living in this building? Annie: Yes.

01:09:30 Shauna: Simeonie's family they were living upstairs? Annie: Yes.

01:09:43 Shauna: This building was a trading post. Annie: Yes it was a trading post.

01:10:01 Shauna: The building was built like this when it was first built. Annie: Really?

Shauna: Do you remember the way it was? The windows are fixed up this way now. Annie: I think I knew of it when it was like this.

01:10:19 Shauna: You move here when it was the way it is now? Annie: Yes.

01:10:27 Shauna: Maybe it was built that way? Annie: Yes.

01:10:37 Shauna: When you first got together with my father (Tatty) how was the building look like?

01:10:43 Annie: I think it was the way it is I do not know. Did it changed? Shauna: It was built like this. Annie: I do remember how it was it is the way it is now. Shauna: Were the building like this? Annie: No the way it is now.

01:11:16 Shauna: This was the trading post house (staff house?). Annie: Really?

01:11:24 Annie: Tatty was born in there.

01:11:32 Annie: The building that is the furthest? Shauna: Yes over here yes.

01:11:56 Shauna: Did Toota gave birth in that building alone?

01:12:00 Annie: I do not know I have never heard about it. Shauna: You just heard about that he was born there? Annie: Yes.

01:12:11 Annie: Maybe those white people were there hi father as well I do not really know and I do not know who she was with when she gave birth.

01:12:25 Shauna: The building that is closest to the water? Annie: Yes. Shauna: They say the inside of the building was like this way.

01:12:37 Shauna: There were two white men living here this is their bed their table. The generators are here now. Annie: Really?

01:12:50 Shauna: Did you see the shelves there? Annie: Yes. Shauna: They are still there. Annie: This building was their office as well as home.

01:13:26 Shauna: When we were there how long were we there I mean did you think that we were going to live there for a long time?

01:13:37 Annie: Yes if he did not get ill and he was ill for a while we would have stayed there longer.

01:13:46 Annie: When he got ill we went to Rankin Inlet and right after we went to Rankin Inlet he went away for medical he had to have surgery.

01:13:53 Shauna: Did he still want to live here when you left the area? Annie: Yes. 01:13:56 Shauna: How did you go home I mean why did you go home when he still

wanted to stay here? 01:14:03 Annie: He was pretty ill at times. Shauna: Did he finally listen to you? Annie: What? Shauna: Did he listen to you? Annie: Yes he was ill and I also told him our children have to go to school as well.

01:14:22 Annie: When he started to think that I was homesick so we went home.

01:14:42 Shauna: When did we come back, how many summers did we stay here?

01:14:51 Annie: During the summer we came here we still stayed here in winter and the summer came but we did go buy some food supplies to Rankin Inlet that summer and it was winter again and the when it was summer time we came back to Rankin Inlet. 01:15:19 Shauna: When I was 19 years old I finally graduated I have never failed my grades. Annie: I have to be strict with you when you were in school.

01:15:39 Shauna: We came back to Rankin Inlet I 1980? Annie: Yes.

01:15:47 Shauna: Did they go to Rankin Inlet to go buy food supply? Annie: Yes. 01:15:51 Shauna: Who was the one who would go to Rankin Inlet to go buy food supplies? Annie: During the summer we would go buy food supplies but people from Rankin Inlet would travel to where we were.

01:15:58 Shauna: We all went, did we go to Rankin Inlet once to go buy food supply? Annie: Yes the next summer after we moved there we went to go buy food supplies. 00:16:15 Annie: The people who traveled there were also bringing some wolf skins and wolverine skins as well.

00:16:34 Shauna: What about the fox skins/furs did we buy any? Annie: I do not think they were interested in fox skins/furs yes we also got some fox skins/furs there is a drying area there. Yes we did get many fox skins and we have some pictures and the fox skins/furs are hanging yes they did caught many foxes.

01:17:00 Shauna: Did you clean those fox skins? Annie: Yes.

01:17:06 Shauna: Was it a lot of work for you and did you have any help cleaning them up? Annie: No I did not have any help.

01:17:14 Annie: The fox skins are easy to clean but the wolf skins are harder to clean because they are very thin.

01:17:27 Annie: Because the skin of the wolf is very thin.

01:17:38 Shauna: It was not hard to get food on the land? Annie: What? Shauna: The caribous and other animals were not hard to get when we were living here? Annie: Yes. Shauna: Was there a lot of food here? Annie: Yes.

01:17:52 Shauna: Was there any muskox around this are at that time? Annie: No there was not any muskox around. But we have heard there were muskoxs up further but we never did see any muskox here.

01:18:23 Shauna: Was there any other visitors that came here?

01:18:27 Annie: Yes the people mostly from Repulse Bay that use to visit.

01:18:31 Shauna: Who were they? Annie: People who went hunting to this area.

01:18:42 Annie: Because they know they can fill up there gas from here so they use to come here to hunt.

01:18:48 Shauna: When did the Pilakapsi's family came here? We have a picture of them. Was it long ago?

01:18:55 Annie: That was when the Sila Lodge. Shauna: Oh yes. Annie: When the Sila Lodge was first open.

01:19:02 Annie: They were cleaning up the areas. Shauna: That is when we no longer live here? Annie: Yes.

01:19:36 Carol: They were here to clean up the land? Annie: Yes. Shauna: My father (Tatty)? Annie: No Pilakapsi and maybe Kakak (John) maybe Tukturjuk was there to help.

01:19:59 Shauna: When we move out of this area in 1980 we never did came back?

01:20:05 Annie: After two years we have stayed here we never did come back here.

01:20:21 Shauna: He (David) thinks that my father (Tatty) thinks that building still is his house. Annie: Yes. Shauna: That building.

01:20:29 Annie: But he was born in that area when they were in a tent and when they moved into that building they did live in that building when they were here the building that is the one in the middle.

01:20:52 Shauna: When he was younger? Annie: I guess when he was still a baby.

01:21:00 Annie: There were some people that live in Ukkusiksalik area they use to bring fox skins to trade for food/stuffs yea there were people coming to this area who went here to go buy some supplies.

01:21:17 Annie: That building that have more room people sometimes sleep over night there when they went there to go buy some supplies if they were going to stay for the night also the people from Ukkusiksalik would come to this area. Shauna: The Inuit? Annie: Yes the Inuit who went shopping to the post. The people who bring fox skins here.

01:21:50 Shauna: When you went home to Rankin Inlet were you informed that this area would become a National Park, when did they start talking about the area that it would become a National Park?

01:22:00 Annie: I do not really remember when but we started to hear that they wanted the area to become a National Park.

01:22:05 Shauna: Was it when we were still living here?

01:22:09 Shauna: How long was it after we have move to Rankin Inlet? Annie: We move back to Rankin Inlet in 1980 I do not really remember when. Shauna: Was it just after we move back to Rankin Inlet or later? Annie: It was right after we move back to Rankin Inlet, is this about when they want the area to become a Park? Shauna: Yes. Annie: I think it was few years after we move back to Rankin Inlet they wanted the area to become a National Park that is what we start to hear they wanted it to become a Park. Shauna: Was it when we were living there? Annie: No after we came back to Rankin Inlet.

01:22:46 Shauna: What did you and my father (Tatty) thought about it when you first heard they wanted the area to become a National Park?

01:22:51 Annie: We were hesitant at first because the people from Repulse Bay did come here to hunt animals as well as Rankin Inlet people they hunt animals here when they want to hunt anytime that is why they did not want it to become a National Park and these old buildings the person Eric's girlfriend Paula's father was a manager/chairman when Tatty and I wanted the buildings we ask him and he was happy that we ask for them because they were just going to burn them down they were going to burn them down and maybe it cost too much to do that he said he was happy we want the buildings. 01:23:44 Shauna: When did you ask for the buildings?

01:23:47 Annie: Just before we came back here at that summer we came here. Carol: Was it around 1977? Annie: I think at that time we ask for them. It was either in 1977 or 1978. 01:25:11 Shauna: He (Tatty) was not happy about it when they wanted the area to become a Park because he thought they would stop hunting here? Annie: Yes.

01:25:28 Annie: Because it is a hunting ground for the Inuit they thought if it becomes a National Park they would have to stop hunting in that area.

01:25:50 Shauna: When he understood that they can still hunt in that area he did not mind if it becomes a park? Annie: Yes also we did not come here very often anymore.

01:26:12 Annie: Our son Phebian he still comes here to hunt.

01:26:21 Annie: The fish here are beautiful/delicious as well and Peter use to come here but he moved away.

01:26:39 Shauna: Did my father (Tatty) did not mind when it became a National Park? Annie: Yes. Shauna: He did not mind at all? 01:26:48 Annie: But at least he wanted money from them because the buildings were to be burned down and we have stopped them from burning them down.

01:27:14 Annie: Because he was born here and was raised here this was his home.

01:27:26 Shauna: Was he able to get little bit of money? Annie: Yes.

01:27:43 Shauna: What did he think about that what it is called those buildings that were built where we have landed when we were traveling through the airplane what did he think of those buildings when they first were built?

01:27:54 Annie: What? Shauna: The buildings (Sila Lodge) where we have landed when we first came here what did he think of those buildings when they first built them?

01:28:01 Annie: I think he did not mind of the buildings because he never really was at that area.

01:28:09 Annie: When it seem the Parks Canada would not stop the hunting in that area he was no longer hesitant.

01:28:20 Annie: Because this area is a good hunting ground for the Inuit they wanted them to be careful when they are here, how can I explain it well. Shauna: How they have to keep the area clean? Annie: Yes I mean the animals do ran-off if they hear things and when they do not really care when they are in sight for instance be good to the animals it is hard to explain to be careful around the animals.

01:28:50 Shauna: Who was told about this? Annie: The people who wanted to go there, also not to stop the Inuit from hunting in that area.

01:29:08 Shauna: How do I say this? Annie: If the Inuit were not going to stop hunting. 01:29:20 Shauna: Because the Inuit were also helping maybe he (Tatty) did no longer worry if it's a park? Annie: Yes he (Tatty) did not really mind about that area (Sila Lodge).

01:29:33 Shauna: Maybe because it was owned by the Inuit?

01:29:35 Annie: Yes maybe he was thinking this part of the area was his own land because he grew up there.

01:29:47 Annie: And because the Inuit were at that area most of the time when they were hunting any person use to go there.

01:30:12: Annie: And the baby ringed seal pups have very beautiful furs also the meats are very tasteful.

01:30:24 Annie: Also the fish there are tasty when we moved to Rankin Inlet everything seem to be awful.

01:30:36 Annie: Even the baby ringed seal pups furs seem not that beautiful, the fish as well, I do not know we were so use to this area everything seemed to be so different when we move to Rankin Inlet.

01:31:04 Shauna: Because this area here is beautiful. Annie: To me it is not.

01:31:12 Annie: I did not want to move to this area so I do not really like this area, this little area.

01:31:24 Shauna: Where is the area that you mostly like?

01:31:26 Annie: I like the area in Ukkusiksalik where it is close to the sea over at Sarvak area I really like that area now. Shauna: Where is the area? Carol: Is it near Piqsimaniq? Annie: Yes it is closer to here but near the Piqsimaniq area.

01:31:43 Shauna: Did my father (Tatty) like this area? Annie: What? Shauna: You like that area and my father like this area? Annie: No we use to go here just to buy food supplies I guess we did not really like this area because it is way too inside the inlet.

01:31:58 Carol: Do you like the Tikirarjuaq area better? Annie: What? Carol: Do you like the Tikirarjuaq area better? Annie: We would stay at the Piqsimaniq area and we go back to Tikirarjuaq area we move go back and forth. Shauna: Of all those area did you like the Piqsimaniq area the most? Annie: Maybe Tikirarjuaq area all through that area I do really like the areas that I like area Piqsimaniq, Qapluujait, Qaungna no not Qaungna it is Ikpigjuaq area. Carol: Ikpigjuaq area? Annie: Yes.

01:32:29 The areas Kaniq&uarjuk, Piqsimaniq and Qapluijat they area at the mountainous/rocky area no one can live in those areas also Ikpigjuaq area it is also very high/mountainous area there is an area there that is not mountainous/high area my mother and the family use to get many fish that were on the land from the low tide.

01:32:56 Shauna: The land here? David: This is Piqsimaniq and this is Tikiraarjuk.

01:33:05 Annie: Yes we did stay in the area of Tikiraarjuk as well. Shauna: Did you like

the whole area here? Annie: Yes this whole area is beautiful but not this area.

01:33:32 Annie: This lake is a big lake and it is called Qamanaaluk.

01:33:49 Carol: Is this up there? Annie: Yes it is up there.

01:34:04 Shauna: Do you have any other stories of this area (Ukkusiksalik)?

01:34:13 Annie: I do but it would not make sense.

01:34:19 Shauna: I mean if you have any other stories to tell. Carol: Either when you were living here or there anything that you want to tell a story.

01:34:26 When we were in Tiki did I say earlier that we use to live in Tikiraarjuk area anyways when we were there we were living near the lake and we use to go seal hunting down to the sea ice when they were hunting seals this one guy caught a seal so he was traveling to the land to bring his catch to us of course he was traveling on the dog team and his dogs started to eat the seal that he was bringing to us so all the people/Inuit were running after the dogs to try to stop them fromeating it.

01:35:02 Carol: Do you remember who the person was? Annie: I think it was Sivanertok (Octave Sivanertok) who was bringing the seal that he caught.

01:35:18 Shauna: Were you all running after the dogs? Annie: Yes all the older people were running after them.

01:35:31 Shauna: Where you young or a child? Annie: I was still a child at that time. 01:35:37 Annie: I was trying to follow them but I was too slow and small.

01:35:58 Shauna: What else can you tell us if you have any other stories to tell. Annie: I have many stories to tell but they are all silly like that story.

01:36:07 Shauna: They are good to hear as well.

01:36:10 Annie: Also we use to camp on the sea ice of I forgot the lands name that is further upon Tikiraarjuk area we use to camp on the sea ice we would have our tent put up and we would have an Igloo I think we did have an Igloo at that time myself and another little girl we were playing seal hunters when they seal hunt near the seal holes when the seal goes up on the hole to breathe they stab them with their harpoons so when we were playing I was playing my fathers harpoon I accidentally push it inside a seal hole and it was gone he did not have any other harpoons or something that can be made of a harpoon.

01:36:57 Shauna: Who was the person that you were playing with?

01:36:59 Annie: Veronica Maniilaqs late older sister her name was Kikiak.

01:37:17 Annie: It was our only harpoon I really want it back and start crying even when my father said we will have another harpoon it is replaceable.

01:37:36 Annie: My mother and father told me I have accidentally lost the harpoon my father will caught a beautiful seal pup just for me to have beautiful Kamik (seal skin boots) he paid for the harpoon that I have lost inside the seal hole my father said he will caught a beautiful seal pup and I finally stopped crying.

01:38:06 Annie: I stop crying because I will get beautiful Kamiks.

01:38:15 Annie: I guess they could not stop me from crying that is why they told me I was going to get beautiful Kamiks if he catches a seal pup.

01:38:20 Shauna: That is good that they did not get mad at you for losing it. Annie: I think they would never get angry at me.

01:38:26 Annie: I guess they let me do pretty much of everything I wanted to do that is why I do not really know why.

01:38:38 Annie: They were getting old and they never did have a child of their own and at that time I was their only small child so I guess they loved me very much.

01:38:46 Shauna: They did not have children of their own?

01:38:48 Annie: My older brother was there but he was much older than me and I was their small child.

01:39:01 Annie: My biological mother when she had a baby girl they let her die I guess long ago they use to do that or I do not really know maybe because it was her husband I do not really know.

01:39:31 Annie: Long ago the woman were not to be listened to that is what I have heard, that newborn baby girl was killed so when they have another child I was a girl so my adopted mother just took me and now here I am thanks to her.

01:39:58 Carol: Was it because they did not want to have many children?

01:40:01 Annie: I guess the reason was the girls were much useless at that time because they would have to hunt seals and other animals traveling on the dog team it was very hard for the people they would hunt even in the middle of the winter also they use to starve. They would sometimes starve to death if the woman were too many I guess they were thinking they will not help them if they go hunting, I guess the reason why they did not want to have too many children because they could go hungry. That is how it was also the woman are very good sewers they can make warm Qulittaqs (caribou parka). 01:40:57 Annie: Because long time ago if you were a woman you would not get away with anything.

01:41:16 Shauna: The Inuit before your time use to do that? Annie: Those Inuit before us. 01:41:23 Annie: Once I have seen this lady that was beaten by her husband and she slept over night at our Igloo and they were just camping there for the night.

01:41:43 Annie: I remembered that I was crying because I was scared so my mother told them to get out.

01:41:50 Shauna: Were they staying in a tent? Annie: They were in an Igloo.

01:41:59 Shauna: Do you remember who they were? Annie: Sivanertok's (Octave) mother was beaten by her husband and he was Sivanertok's step father.

01:42:14 Annie: That was my first time to see adults fighting so I was pretty scared. 01:42:37 Shauna: Do we have anything to talk about, do you think that is all you have to talk about, do you have anything else to say? Carol: Do you have anything else to say? 01:43:02 Annie: Does he want to stop now? Shauna: No if you have any other stories he would love to hear about them. Annie: Ok. Carol: We just want to hear if you have anything else to say. 01:43:13 Shauna: He is very thankful that you gave him good information I mean you gave all that information and it is helping a lot.

01:43:20 Annie: Long, long time ago before there were any buildings I know was born when there was a post before that long ago when there were no posts maybe there were few but all the women and men were going through hardship when it was winter they stayed in an Igloo they would have to have seal fat or other fat to make their Igloo warm if the Qulliq does not have any oil they would not drink or have anything to eat because they do not have any fat to light up the Qulliq to boil anything because the Qulliq was the only thing that can be lighten up to make all this.

01:44:13 Annie: And if the Qulliq is not lighten up the Igloo would be very cold inside the Inuit before us were going through hardship.

01:44:29 Annie: Also during the summer in the middle of summer when everything becomes rotten they would hunt ringed seals no in the springtime when the sea ice is not that usable and the ringed seals skins are no longer beautiful and the furs are shedding when they just started to have newer furs they use to try and caught many seals that are shedding to get more seal fat also for the dog food and the skin of that ringed seal when they are shedding because the skin becomes thicker they would take the skin off of the seal whole and dry the skin that has fur and half of the skin that does not have a fur dry it also and they would sew them up to make a tent.

01:45:16 Carol: The ones that have shedding furs? Annie: Yes the furs that are shedding. When the old furs are shedding.

01:45:37 Annie: They use to try and caught many seals that time of the year.

01:45:47 Shauna: One would be used for something else and the other skin would be made into a tent?

01:45:51 Annie: The skin that has a fur would be in the back of the tent. Shauna: Inside of the tent? Annie: Yes when it was sewed as a tent on the back of this is Qilu and this is a door the one that has a fur would be the back of the tent and the part of the skin that does not have a fur will be in the front.

01:46:16 Annie: They would even take the front flipper of the seals and skinned them and dry them and sew them together.

01:46:27 Annie: Every part of the seal would be used. Back then the women were so good at making everything.

01:46:48 Annie: My mother made a tent with seals skin when I started to remember because I was pretty big she made a tent and when it was put up it was pretty big and when you touch you would feel like it was pinning you and pulling you (NOTE: When you touch something that is rough you'd feel like your clothing pinned and pulled.) I did not like the tent.

01:47:09 Annie: When it was fall the weather was pretty bad blizzard and the wind was pretty strong those kinds of tent are very calm when you are inside when those kind of tents are put up they are very nice because they are very calm even when it was very windy but if you go into a tent like this one it would be moving from the wind.

01:47:38 Annie: They are very nice during the fall also in the spring and they are much warmer than these tents.

01:47:50 Annie: But I did not like touching the tent because the shape is like this, if they have known about these kind of tents they would have probably make them like that.

01:48:15 Annie: Also they use to make Qajaq (Kayak) those Qajaqs one person can ride them, what did they do to make them move? Carol: The ones that have handle? Annie: What? Carol: The handle? Annie: Maybe the paddle? Carol: Yes. Annie: They use to use seal skin to make a small boat/Qajaq.

01:48:46 Shauna: Did you have Qajaq (Kayak) as well? Annie: No.

01:48:53 Annie: But the late Tagornak who just recently died few years ago his father use to have Qajaq (Kayak) I have seen one that was made.

01:49:09 Annie: Inuit use to catch ringed seals and bearded seals traveling with those Qajaqs (Kayak) they were so good at hunting.

01:49:18 Annie: The width is pretty thin those Qajaqs he probably knows the Qajaq (Kayak). Also the woman would clean the sealskin and sew it up and it would become a Qajaq (Kayak). Those woman from long ago use to do everything but us we cannot do anything what they use to do.

01:49:46 Annie: When I started to remember some people did have a house and I did not think about it was pretty hard we had tents and Igloo and I never did mind if we did not have a house that was a building.

01:50:17 Annie: And I was born when they started to have this kind of tent.

01:50:33 Shauna: Did you say those were better than these? Annie: What? Shauna: The tents. Carol: The tents that were made from long ago were they a lot better than the tents today? Annie: Yes from the tents today? Carol: Yes. Annie: And they do not leak when it is raining.

01:50:53 Annie: Sometimes these tents do get wet nowadays everything seem to be getting bad (the making of the things that are not as good as they use to be) and expensive.

01:51:05 Annie: And they break so easily as well. The people who works they do not make much money as everything are getting expensive I do not know.

01:51:25 Annie: If you want to stop it is fine with me. Shauna: He is just happy to hear many things it is fine with him if everything is fine with you. Annie: He can still ask me some questions if he wants to I can talk about it if he asks something.

01:50:50 Shauna: He is thankful that you told him about the stories that you have.

01:51:57 Annie: I have heard stories about people starving but I have never seen it myself.

01:52:24 Shauna: We have come here to hear about Ukkusiksalik and he is thankful that you can tell these stories.

01:52:31 Carol: I think he wanted to hear about when they were playing and had a knife. Annie: Yes.

01:52:47 Shauna: They use a real knife? Annie: What, those big knife we call them Pana. They would face the Pana this way if they slip they would stab themselves.

01:53:04 Shauna: Did anyone ever die playing that game? Annie: I do not think so. Shauna: They were so good at everything? Annie: Yes they were so good if they move like this because they had every part of their body stretched they would go round and round they can accidentally stab themselves also their arms and legs were stretched out. 01:53:43 Annie: It is like those gymnastic things they go round and round.

01:53:54 Annie: I think they it is called Ujauttaqtuq but I forgot the rope has different names Ak&ungiqtaqtuq, Ujauttaqtuq and Qariqtaqtuq and it is one rope they call it when the shape of the rope is put up how it was put up.

01:54:19 Annie: Those were Inuit games, they use to play/challenge some of them were so good at playing/challenging the games even they try their best to win and when they win they would have nothing to win.

01:54:35 Carol: Have you heard anything about for instance they put the barrels of 45 gallons on top of each other and jump as high as they can?

01:54:49 Annie: Yes I have never seen or heard of that kind of game jumping over barrels but Mariano Aupilaarjuks wife's (Mary) father he was good at anything he use to jump pretty high/far and he was good at anything her (Mary) father and he was not that big he would jump very high/far, Inuit use to play anything challenging each other and they even use to challenge hitting each others head and they did not even black out. 01:55:36 Annie: There is a land name after these games it is called Ak&ungiqtautitalik that is where they use to challenge each other with these games.

01:56:30 Shauna: These are Francis Qapuq's parents. Annie: What? Shauna: Qapuqs parents. Annie: Really? Shauna: They were here in Ukkusiksalik as well. Annie: Really yea people use to live in Ukkusiksalik area but they did not live much near Tasiujaq area. 01:56:52 Annie: The land before Sarvak area people did not live much up there but they did live across the Ukkusiksalik and around this area as well.

01:57:12 Annie: Qapuqs late older sister/brother I think it was in Tinittuqtuq area she/he drowned at that area. I know her/his name but I cannot remember it. Shauna: He had heard about that one before. Annie: Ok.

01:57:44 Carol: Have you ever heard something bad happen at the water pool? Annie: No but the big boat was stuck when it hit some rocks I guess they were traveling through that area when it had a strong current and Tatty's family were still on that boat and the part of the boat underneath was broken and started floating their boat did not fill up with water that is the only incident that I have heard about that area.

01:58:40 Shauna: He (David) have heard from Tuinnaq that there were two people murdered in this area. Annie: Really? Shauna: Tuinnag have talked about that one I mean he was telling that story to him (David). Annie: Really?

David Pelly: Is that it, thank you.

#### **Consent Forms – Annie Tatty, 2010**

Consent Form: Ukkusiksalik National Park - 2010 Elders Traditional Knowledge Project

Name of Interviewee: <u>Annie Tatty</u> Name of Interviewer: David Pelly Name of Interpreter: Lizzie Tanyak Date: April 22, 2010 Location: Rankin Inlet, Nunavut

The 2010 Elders Traditional Knowledge Project is being undertaken by Parks Canada, in order that the informants may record their traditional knowledge of the area surrounding of the HBC Post in Ukkusiksalik National Park. Interviews will be recorded.

I do not wish to place any restriction on the use of the information given in this interview:  $\leq l_{or} \leq l_{o}$  (initial)

OR

I wish to place the following restrictions on the use of the information given in this interview:

I specifically grant/refine (strike one) the interviewer permission to use the information given in this interview in any future works or writings authored by the interviewer, including for example magazine articles and books:  $\leq \sigma - c_{0}$  (initial)

I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview will remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions.

I consent to being identified in publications using the information given in this interview:  $\frac{\sqrt{2}}{\sqrt{2}}$  (initial)

I agree to take part in the 2010 Elders Traditional Knowledge Project according to the conditions stated above.

Signature of Informant:  $\checkmark \sigma c \cap$ 

Signature of Witness/Interpreter: hTanah

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## **Field Report**

### Ukkusiksalik HBC Post Oral-History Project 2010

July 24 – 27, 2010

Tasiujaq, Ukkusiksalik

**HBC Post**, Wager Bay

The stated objective of this project was to collect oral-history through on-site interviews with Inuit at the former HBC Post, in order to document life at the post and its operation, thereby to supplement the record of the Park's human history.

Much information of this nature was previously gathered during oral-history interviews in 1986, '91, '92 and '96 conducted by the undersigned. Many, indeed most, of those informants have by now passed away. However, it was Parks Canada's intent that the current project might capture new details from informants not included in the previous interviews.

With this in mind, the initial plan was for three members of the family (plus the respective spouses) which lived at the HBC Post for the years 1925-46 to visit the Post during the summer of 2010 in order to trigger memories and facilitate the recording of interviews. In the event, one of the elders, Robert Tatty, passed away during the preceding winter, and the other two were unable to travel due to the condition of their health. Nevertheless, the project proceeded, with Annie Tatty – widow of Robert Tatty, who was born at the Post in 1927 – as the only elder/informant, even though she herself is personally more attached to the outer reaches of Wager Bay. Her strongest connection to the HBC site at Tusiujaq results from the period in the late 1970s when Robert Tatty took his family back to live there for two winters. Other members of her family were invited to accompany her to the field camp.

#### **Participants**

The following people were present in the camp near the old HBC Post at Tasiujaq (Ford Lake):

Family: Annie Tatty (Robert Tatty's widow) Shawna Dias Tatty (Annie's daughter) Simeoni Tatty (Annie's son) Minnie Tatty (Simeoni's wife) Support: Carol Nanordluk (interpreter, research asst.) David Tuktudjuk (camp management) Mary Tuktudjuk (camp management) Reed-Kelly Tuktudjuk (camp helper) Ray-Curtis Tuktudjuk (camp helper) Gary Mouland (Parks Canada) Micheline Manseau (Parks Canada) Kristy Frampton (Parks Canada) David Pelly (researcher, historian) Eric Ayalik Pelly (camp helper)

#### **Outcomes**

As per the original objective, a recorded interview was conducted with Annie Tatty, the only one of the anticipated informants who was, in the end, able to participate. Two hours of her recollections were recorded. The digital file was retained by Carol Nanordluk, for return to Repulse Bay, where it is to be transcribed and translated. Annie was pleased to provide her stories and memories, and she certainly added to the historical record. This in itself was a worthwhile result of the project, and as close as anyone could come to achieving the original objective, given the circumstances.

In addition to this, brief notes were made of casual comments from other family members during a visit to the old HBC buildings at Tasiujaq.

The synthesis of all the above will be provided in the Final Report for the project.

In view of the diminished participation by elders, Parks Canada staff present shifted objectives somewhat, to place added emphasis on the importance of fostering a sense of connection to the Park among members of the families whose roots lie within its geographic limits. This was certainly accomplished among those members of the Tatty family who were present.

It is unclear to the undersigned to what extent this field trip was intended to contribute to the broader Inuit Knowledge Project underway at Parks Canada, but as events unfolded this too became part of the field camp's objective and some efforts were directed toward this purpose. The undersigned was not involved in this aspect of the field camp's activities.

Similarly, some efforts were made to stabilize the condition of the old HBC buildings.

### **Observations & Recommendations**

The undersigned respectfully submits the following thoughts for the consideration of Parks Canada staff:

- An oral-history "camp" is far more effective if there is a group of elder informants. That was the intention this time, to be sure, but the way events unfolded prevented it. The experience of this summer underlines the importance of planning for all contingencies in this regard.
- It is important to identify all of the underlying objectives for a field camp well in advance, so that measured judgments on how to proceed can be made in the event (as happened this year) the circumstances of a field camp change at a relatively late stage in the planning.
- The oral-history of Ukkusiksalik is now effectively documented in its entirety. It appears unlikely that much of any significance can be added in this manner to the historical record for the human history of the Park area.
- There are a few individuals still alive, with childhood connections to the Park area, who could be individually interviewed in order to record their personal stories and recollections eg. Jerome Tattuinee, Pie Sanertanut although this is not likely to add significantly to our understanding of the human history of the Park area.
- The one major source which remains untapped, whence information might be added to our understanding of the human history, is the HBC Archives in Winnipeg. A listing of relevant documents was prepared by the undersigned during the research project in 1992, but to date, presumably, a thorough examination of these documents has not been undertaken.
- Future field camps in Ukkusiksalik might best be focused on the objective of reconnecting family members to the Park area, and documenting their impressions as a group of the Park's environment. This may possibly blend well with the ongoing work of the Inuit Knowledge Project.
- A human history of the Park area both the old HBC Post and the larger extent of Wager Bay itself could now be prepared, with very little additional research.
- The family members accompanying Annie Tatty for this field camp showed a great deal of interest in the previous interviews conducted with other Ukkusiksalingmiut informants, and asked whether this material could be made more widely available. Parks Canada might now consider preparing a volume to present the human history of Ukkusiksalik, drawing heavily on the accumulated interviews and using what additional research can be readily completed in various historical records.

### Life at the old HBC Post, Tasiujaq

Francis Kaput was born in 1930 near Ukkusiksalik, at Qamanaaluk, more than 80 years ago. As an adult, he moved to Rankin Inlet. Reminiscing in the 1990s, Kaput claimed that "Inuit always lived in that area, long, long before our time." It is impossible to argue with him. Nobody knows when the first person walked on the shores of Ukkusiksalik. The reality is that perhaps 4000 years ago – no one can know for sure – the first group of Paeleo-Eskimos moved onto the land around Ukkusiksalik. Whoever it was, and whenever it was, they were presumably attracted by the bountiful wildlife that provided their food and raw material for everything from clothing to harpoons.

In 1742, when the first *qallunaat* (white men) sailed into Ukkusiksalik – and named it Wager Inlet (now Wager Bay), after the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wager – they encountered Inuit. A skilful Arctic navigator, drawing on his experience with the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Christopher Middleton's instructions from the Admiralty were to search for the Northwest Passage (and included advice on how to conduct himself should he encounter any Japanese shipping). That is the beginning of the area's documented history. The oral history, however, goes back further, albeit without the same precision for dates.

There are general impressions of an early people coming and going through the area of Wager Bay, and the archaeological evidence found to date supports this suggestion back approximately 1000 years. Inuit, and possibly their Tuniit predecessors, survived around Ukkusiksalik as a mobile people. As Mary Nuvak, an elder in Chesterfield Inlet whose family had roots in Ukkusiksalik, said: "People used to travel to survive, to hunt, so people did not live there all the time. People had to move to survive."

The late Felix Kopak explained this necessity, which no doubt defined life here and elsewhere for millennia. "There would be times when game would be plentiful, and other times there would be nothing. It fluctuated. At that time [pre-contact], animals were our only source of livelihood, so what we did was hunt all the time. Our elders used to tell us that when the game got scarce, it was not that they were going extinct, it was just that they had gathered in another land – seal or caribou or what have you. They were not *here* because they were *there*, in another place. The ones before us used to say that if they [the animals] are not in the immediate area that does not mean that this land is not good for anything. They used to say that the animals will come back to this place again, sometime in the future."

No doubt, Inuit who lived around Ukkusiksalik maintained a centuries-old pattern of mobility. Elders who grew up there in the 1920s and '30s, who are in effect only one generation removed from a pre-contact lifestyle, have shed some light on the patterns followed by their forefathers.

In the winter months, the *Ukkusiksalingmiut*, the Inuit of Wager Bay, seem to have gathered into two loosely associated groups. Each group reflects a somewhat

distinct lifestyle. One was located not far from the mouth of the inlet, near Nuvukliit, where an open water polynya facilitated the seal-hunt. In earlier times, the seals' meat, skin and oil were all absolutely essential for the Ukkusiksalingmiut wintering at Nuvukliit.

A second group was located farther inland, to the west, around Qamanaaluk [Brown Lake], where caribou and musk-ox sustained them through the winter. The late Guy Amarok of Chesterfield Inlet, referring to his people's lifestyle, pointed on the map to an area 100km northwest of Qamanaaluk, an area he called Kugajuk and said: "In the wintertime we moved up to where other people were living. I remember that we were eating musk-ox for food. There were musk-ox in that area. We traveled by dog-team." Others told stories of men going caribou hunting in that direction.

This is not to suggest that the two groups – centred around Qamanaaluk and Nuvukliit respectively – did not intermingle. They did, probably often. People from the more inland group sometimes moved down to the fruitful seal-hunting location during the winter. And the more seal-dependent people from closer to the coast occasionally came inland in search of caribou, most often in summer. This pattern of mobility was in place before the permanent arrival of *qallunaat* in Ukkusiksalik.

The Hudson's Bay Company's schooner *Fort Chesterfield* sailed into Wager Bay in the summer of 1925, looking for a suitable site to establish a new trading post. On the shores of this long inlet, the crew met nine families of Inuit, apparently living in semipermanent camps around the main body of Wager Bay. Temporarily halted by the reversing falls at the head of the inlet, until it became clear that during slack water it could be navigated by the schooner, they eventually entered the small lake above the falls. Inuit called this lake Tasiujaq. On the shores of that lake were a few more Inuit families, including a man who would become central to the HBC history in Ukkusiksalik. Iqungajuq and his brothers had arrived from Repulse Bay in advance of the *Fort Chesterfield*, by prior arrangement, to help with the establishment of a new post. Together, they built the future trading post, beside Tasiujaq (named Ford Lake by the HBC), at the western extremity of Wager Bay.

It was a time of expansion for the HBC. Posts were already operating at Baker Lake, to the south, and at both Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay along the Hudson Bay coast. The people who lived around Ukkusiksalik were certainly well aware of this access to trade goods. The new post at Tasiujaq was not principally for them. The HBC had in mind to attract the people from farther inland, the country near the Back River, extending down to the river mouth in Chantrey Inlet, 250 kilometres to the northwest of Tasiujaq. By coincidence, this area around the Back River's mouth was also known by Inuit as Ukkusiksalik. And the travel route between the two Ukkusiksaliks was already well established.

This, the real motive for establishing the new post, is revealed in an earlier letter from the District Manager to the Fur Trade Commissioner dated 5 February 1925.

I am forwarding you requisitions and plans of a new Post to be erected at the extreme west end of Wager Inlet.

The object in establishing a Post in this quarter is not so much for the purpose of developing the country, but to prevent the majority of the Eskimos hunting between Wager Inlet, Backs River and northwards to the Arctic coast, from trading at [Revillon Frères'] Baker Lake Post.

From the strategic position in which Revillon's Post is situated at Baker Lake, there is a great possibility in the future of their managing to gain a good footing in this particular sphere, unless we endeavour to cut off the Backs River and Arctic coast trade from them.

W.R. Mitchell

On September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1925, the *Fort Chesterfield* was alongside the bank at Tasiujaq unloading material for construction of the new trading post at Wager Bay.



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Jimmy Thom (the H.B.C. Manager assigned to the new post) with his "wife" Toota and their baby daughter, along with Iqungajuq (later known as Wager Dick) and his three brothers [Ipkarnaq (also Samson), Siulluk (also Deaf Johnny), Talituq (also Tami Taqaugaq)] all traveled from Repulse Bay to Wager Bay by boat, where they met the *Fort Chesterfield* and began building the new post. The youngest of the people in the group at Tasiujaq on that day, a small baby, grew up to be highly regarded elder in the community of Coral Harbour: Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce. At the time of writing (2011) she is still alive, having contributed much to our knowledge of the history at Tasiujaq.

"We went to Wager Bay. Toota and Jimmy Thom, Iqungajuq and Niaqukituq, and Iqungajuq's brothers. They started building houses and the Hudson's Bay post. Iqungajuq's mother went along too.

"My mother was Toota. My real father was Jimmy Thom. First of all Iqungajuq and Toota were husband and wife; they had one child [a daughter Avaqsaq]. Kupak and Niaqukituq were another couple. When Kupak, the husband of Niaqukituq, died, Iqungajuq went to get Niaqukituq. That's how Iqungajuq and Toota separated. That's how Toota ended up with that white man, the Bay manager [Jimmy Thom]. My real father was Jimmy Thom. I have heard that my real father left when I was a year old.<sup>1</sup> My Inuit father was Iqungajuq." Iqungajuq came to be known by other HBC men as Wager Dick or sometimes Native Dick.

When the schooner sailed a week later, leaving Jimmy Thom in charge of the new post, with the assistance of Sam Voisey as clerk, the post journal records that the house was boarded up all but the roof, and the store was floored. With the help of local Inuit, and the incentive offered by the arrival of winter's first snowfall that week, construction moved along quickly. As hospitable as it may seem today, in the autumn of 1925 it must have felt the most desolate place on Earth to the early traders.

Their story is recorded in detail in the daily entries to the post journal; the mundane routine, the good humour, the pain, and the joy are all there. The five-room, uninsulated house in which the two traders lived was 30' x 18', the nearby store slightly smaller. Around them were the tents or iglus, depending on the season, of the few Inuit families who attached themselves to the post. Scattered through the journals are the names of visitors: Attak, Keeluk, Kaffee, Sicsak, Kaumokauk, Kudlo, Nugjook, Eelanak, Inooksitwayook, and the list goes on. Others who remained more permanently close by were usually assigned anglicized names by the traders, thus the journal records Dick and Samson and Deaf Johnny.

Even as the traders settled into routine over that first winter of 1925-26, mindful of their ultimate purpose in establishing the new post, they were not long in laying plans for a trip toward the Back River country. With Iqungajuq leading the way, the small party loaded up two sleds and set out over unknown territory in early February 1926, the coldest time of year. They were gone just over a month, but eventually found some camps near the mouth of the Hayes River, just to the east of the Back River. Here, with Iqungajuq's assistance, they announced the establishment of a new trading post just five days away. The traders returned to the relative comfort of their Tasiujaq house, optimistic that the Inuit from the north would be along in the spring with a supply of fox to trade.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> When Jimmy Thom left in the autumn of 1926, he left behind a coin for his daughter. See the story of "The Coin" following this paper.

On March 16, 1926, the trader wrote in the post journal: "Sik-Sak and Keemalliauckjo arrived in p.m. Keemalliauckjo is the first of the natives from Hayes River," adjacent to the mouth of the Back River, on the Arctic coast, 250 km to the northwest of Tasiujaq. This is the first recorded instance of Inuit from that distant heartland of undeveloped territory – seen from the HBC perspective – traveling the long established route down to Ukkusiksalik in order to trade their fox skins.

Mrs. Bruce, although of course she does not remember that first winter, the time of Jimmy Thom as manager, does remember some of the later managers and clerks. Her mother worked for many of them as cook and dishwasher. As a little girl called Tuinnaq, a derivative from the word for "looks like a doll," she had free run of the house and store, although initially her family lived in a tent on a slight rise behind the buildings. "I used to come through here for a bath – the white man would give me a bath," recalled Mrs. Bruce standing in the kitchen door of the traders' house. Much of the contents of that house remained familiar to her, although she found many things had been displaced, when she visited it 70 years later in 1996.

On Sunday, November 6th, 1927, an entry in the post journal records the arrival of a child. In itself, that seems insignificant enough. But, as the history of Wager Bay unfolds, that child became a central player.

-10 Clear with decrease in wind. The wind blew so strong last night that driven snow was forced thru' the window frames of both bedrooms and kitchen. Also a pile of lumber flooring was scattered about like matches. During the early hours of the morning native Dick's wife Tootah gave birth to a boy. The boy was called Tatty.

Tatty's real father was W.E. "Buster" Brown, post manager for 1926-27, who two years later returned to Wager Bay when the HBC decided to try using tractors to deliver trade goods up to the northern coast, a project which never bore any useful fruit.

Standing outside her childhood home, Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce pointed across the water to the east, to a giant boulder overlooking the bay where a young man, Amitnaq, laid the dead body of one of his dogs, a measure of respect for his late father and the dogs that had carried him and his mother to safety at Tasiujaq after his father's death. Just south of that, along the hillside, is another grave, where Samson Ipkarnaq buried his young wife within a year of the post's establishment, before the couple had been "married" long enough to produce any children. Then Mrs. Bruce turned to look toward the north end of a ridge lying alongside the post, where a pile of large stones stood out against the horizon – her grandmother Arnnagruluk's grave. Iqungajuq and his brothers entombed their mother there, protected from marauding animals by the huge stones. Mrs. Bruce visualized visitors, Inuit from far away, walking into the post from that direction during the summer or by dog-team during the winter. One of those she remembered was Siksaaq, a Netsilik man who some years earlier was lucky to escape with his life from a famous boat accident at the mouth of Wager Bay. Siksaaq's death a few years later provides one of the many spiritual stories of the Ukkusiksalingmiut. His son, Francis Kaput, who spent his later life in Rankin Inlet, described his father as from Netsilik originally, and said the family moved gradually south to the Chesterfield Inlet region. In that process, they spent several years around Wager Bay. In the late 1930s, they were living near Qamanaaluk when, in need of food for his family, Siksaaq set out for the post at Tasiujaq. Mrs. Bruce, by then a teenager helping with the work at the "store," remembers his visit.

"Siksaaq's family was owing too much to the store in Naujat [Repulse Bay], so they couldn't buy from the store in Tasiujaq. So our family, Iqungajuq's family, had to supply some food for Siksaaq. We were doing it out of love. It was all from our own supplies. So we gave a little bit of food to them. And he was going back to his family. He was walking at that time. He got to Kapik [one of his sons] in Qamanaaluk and after Kapik's he walked to Kreelak [his oldest son<sup>2</sup>]. He never got there.

"He was not found until the snow melted the following spring, and we figure that he had built an iglu. Some say he was attacked by a polar bear."

Kreelak's son Guy Amarok, who was six or seven years old at the time, remembers his grandfather's death. "The story behind that was he was taken by evil spirits. People looked for him for a long, long time. What had happened was he had built an iglu. But he was pulled off the bed. His feet were on the high part [sleeping platform] and his body was on the floor, but he was pulled down and killed by spirits. There was nobody else in that area. My grandfather was an *angagok* [a shaman]. It looks like he was killed by another *angagok*'s spirit."

Siksaaq's youngest son, Francis Kaput, confirmed the involvement of shamanism in his father's death. "He didn't die of starvation. He didn't die because of illness. Nobody attacked him or anything. I can recall in those days, there were medicines and shamans. I remember, when we walked from Chesterfield Inlet, the first night when we got to where my brother Kreelak was staying [near Qamanaaluk], early in the morning, I heard him [my father] say when he was getting ready to go out hunting again, 'I'm tired of being around Ukkusiksalik and I'm tired of these demons, the shamans trying to get at me. Next time I see this person again I'm just going to give up and not even fight back.' It was Udlut's wife's brother that was always after him; I guess he was a shaman. That's what my father was telling my older brother. I guess that's what got him, a demon or a shaman. I guess he never fought back, like he told my brother. That following winter, that's when he never came back.

"I can only assume that, after what I heard from him, saying that he was tired of these demons and shamans trying to get at him and if they tried him again, he was just not going to fight back. I can only assume that that's what got him. My mother knew

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is actually conflicting information as to whether Kreelak or Kapik was the oldest son. They were probably close in age and almost certainly were the two oldest of Siksaaq's five sons: Kreelak, Kapik, Okpik, Taparti, and Kaput.

too, that some day this would happen. I assume that this is what happened." There is no doubt in either Kaput's or Amarok's mind about what happened.

The next winter, after the body had been found, young Guy Amarok remembers traveling past that place. He fell off the sled and when he looked up a giant raven-like bird was coming toward him. No one else saw the bird, but he remained convinced to the end that "it was associated with that particular incident," the death of his grandfather, Siksaaq.

In some ways, incidents like this one were simply taken in stride by people in the area, and life at the post went on as usual. Mrs. Bruce has a lot of happy memories. "When we were children, we would fish for those small ugly fish that come out from under the rocks. We used to look for sik-siks [ground squirrels] and pick berries. We never used to be bored, even though there weren't that many people living in that area." And some special events stick in her mind. "I remember when they used to have square dances. Tommy was really good at the accordion. Even though he had an injured arm, he was really good at playing accordion." She recalls one Christmas when, for some reason, her family was not at the post but was camped at Tinittuqtuq out in the main body of the inlet. But the post manager did not forget her – "I remember when it was Christmas, the Bay manager sent me a little doll and candies with the doll." Nevertheless, she often wishes she knew more of what happened during those years at Tasiujaq. It was all recorded, she remembers, in a diary kept by her father Iqungajuq, but that diary has been lost.

She recalled people from out in Wager Bay coming to trade fox skins, and also people coming overland from Back River. "I remember people came from Back River, those people with those wooden sunglasses that they made. I was wondering what kind of people they were, because that was the first time I saw people like that. They seemed different people. Their dialect was different from ours. How they dressed was different from us."

Life at the post beside Tasiujaq consisted mainly of this trade for the next few years. A new manager and clerk arrived almost every summer on the annual supply ship<sup>3</sup> and the expanding family of Iqungajuq became an ever more permanent fixture. By the early 1930s, that family consisted of Iqungajuq, his two wives Niaqukituq and Toota, and all the children: two girls Avaqsaq and Tuinnaq, and three boys, Tatty, Tattuinee and Napayok.

"I can't remember what really happened between Toota and Niaqukituq. I remember Niaqukituq's mother came to the post to tell Niaqukituq that since Toota was first to live with Iqungajuq, that Niaqukituq should leave them. That's how Niaqukituq got separated from Iqungajuq. He didn't live with Niaqukituq after that. People knew Niaqukituq's mother – her name was Qatani – as a wise person. Qatani came to the post and told Niaqukituq that she should leave Iqungajuq, so Toota and Iqungajuq could live together again. And that she should give up one of her sons, and that's how Tattuinee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See list of HBC managers and clerks at the end of this paper.

was adopted by Iqungajuq and Toota." His real mother was Niaqukituq and his real father was the trader Joseph L. Ford, manager at Tasiujaq 1929-31. Tattuinee was born on March 15, 1932.

The post journals are a telling mix of comments on engines, the first airplanes, and the introduction of short-wave radios, with observations on fish, caribou (called "deer" by the traders), and seals caught, the weather, and the local natives. Almost without knowing, the journal-keepers left us a vivid picture of their life and a record of historic detail that increases its impact with the passing of time.

In 1929 an Inuk from the Back River came to the post to trade. He brought with him news of a dying man. This must not have been so noteworthy to the trader, but something about the tale made him record it in the post journal. It is impossible for us to know for sure, but considering the area, the time, and the established history of British exploration during the 19th century, this little entry might well be an important, heretofore lost clue. It is dated Friday, November 29th, 1929.

Eelanak (from nr. mouth Back River) stated a native who was dying told his relatives how he came across a beacon [rock cairn] a few years ago. He looked into the base of same and found some books which he tore apart and practically destroyed them all, his guilty conscience must have worried him, as this was absolutely the first time he ever mentioned anything to any natives about his find. I asked Eelanak to try and bring some of the pieces if he could get any into the post when he comes in in the spring.

There is a record that Eelanak returned the next May, but no further mention of the papers. News of Eelanak's death reached the post early in 1931, and with him passed any hope of that clue becoming truly meaningful in the search for answers to the Franklin mystery.

For the most part, however, the journals are more personal than far reaching in importance. They paint the mosaic of life at Ukkusiksalik's remote HBC trading post.

**December 3rd, 1928**: Slightly overcast - no wind. Samson off to traps in a.m. Sicsak in with some fish. Men hauling water and feeding dogs. At office work.

**October 7th, 1929**: Fine sunny day, moderate west wind. Staff employed at office work. Attukta arrived in this evening to report that his wife died five days ago. According to native Dick the old lady strangled herself to death. Apparently she has been very ill for some time and had given up hopes of recovering and wanted to die, so, while her husband was away from camp she ordered the children out of the tent and committed the deed. Wonderful display of Aurora tonight.

**November 4th, 1929**: Visibility very poor today - cold north west wind changing to north towards evening. J. Spence [clerk] with natives Dick & Sutoni left this

morning to set some traps up by Kauminalook. Self employed compiling records from Outfit 256 and making out last months forms. Lamps have to be lighted at four o'clock. The last few days are really the first winter days we have had, frost showing on windows and doors and generally feeling wintry, especially when one wakes up in the morning.

**December 25th, 1929**: Dull and overcast, calm, snowing a little. Had all the natives in tonight, gave them a feed and presents, after which they enjoyed themselves dancing for the rest of the evening. The music was supplied by native Tommy on a five dollar accordion. Everyone enjoyed themselves. Ipooyauak and Enukshuk, being Back's River natives and as Dick would say "First time see'em Christmas" were greatly amused and no doubt it made an effect upon them.

January 13th, 1931: Keeluk has now had a young wife bestowed upon him, she is Samson's wife's eldest girl and needless to say Keeluk is all tickled up the back - and elsewhere, I suppose.

As 1932 passes, the journal notes that the local Inuit have been without food much of the time, and that only one, Samson [Ipkarnaq], has come into the post to trade. Foxes are scarce. Spirits are low.

**January 4th, 1933**: Natives Deaf Johnny, Angatingweak, Sutoxi, & Nowya arrived at post this evening and they all were in a sorry plight with frost-bite, hunger & tiredness. The majority of their dogs had died on them through lack of food and they had but seven dogs amongst them when they arrived here. None of these natives had any [fox] fur [to trade].

**January 7th, 1933**: *Gave the natives a dance tonight to cheer them up, as they all seem very downhearted & miserable owing to the scarcity of fur.* 

March 27th, 1933: Still no signs of any natives arriving, so I guess they are getting very little fur.

**April 4th, 1933**: It is time some natives were showing up to trade. They must be getting very little fur, if such is the case the longer they stay away the better.

**April 9th, 1933**: Native Tommy & wife arrived in A.M. He had 1 fox. Wager Inlet this year is beyond the pale. It is enough to make any self-respecting trader feel like a rest cure patient at a Health Spa.

**May 10th, 1933**: Natives Arngnawa & Nowya with wives and family arrived at post tonight 12 P.M. They bring in the same story which we have been hearing all winter – absolutely no fur in the country.

**May 31st, 1933**: *This brings to a close Outfit 263, one of the poorest fur years since this post was established, and it is with absolutely no regrets from either member of staff that we write `finis' to this most disastrous outfit.*<sup>4</sup>

This "disastrous outfit" produced only \$1,216.22 profit, barely half of the previous year's profit. It is not surprising then, that the decision was made by HBC superiors to withdraw the staff from Wager Inlet. What is surprising is that no record of that decision has survived in the journal. The last complete entry is on Saturday, August 26th, 1933. The next day's entry seems to have been interrupted in midstream, after only the usual opening line about the weather. Did the summer supply ship come into view just as the manager, W.A. Heslop, was catching up his journal? Did he run out to meet it, only to learn that he was being transferred? The ship's log of the *Fort Severn* notes her arrival in Tasiujaq at the Wager Bay Post at 11:56am on the 28th, whereupon she "commenced loading Wager supplies" which process finished on the 30th in time for the ship to sail at 12:45pm, with the manager and his journal embarked.

Tatty recalled this event quite clearly, even though he was a young boy, "not old enough to work yet. I remember when the manager left. He asked my father to take over the post. I remember the little open putt-putt boat the manager came to get us in from our camp down the lake. We moved into the small HBC house [actually the warehouse originally] then."

His older sister, Tuinnaq (Mrs. Bruce), also recalled the day. "Iqungajuq didn't want to take over because he didn't know what to do. When my family and I were at Qamanaaluk fishing, some people came to us and asked Iqungajuq if he could take over. That ship came to Tasiujaq and those people came to us in their little boat. He really didn't want to take over, but they told him as long as you write down everything that is sold – they persuaded him."

"When that ship stopped going to Ukkusiksalik," continued Mrs. Bruce, "Iqungajuq used to go to Chesterfield by Peterhead boat to get supplies for the store. One time he went to Repulse Bay by dog team to get more supplies for the store. I don't remember how many times he went to Repulse Bay or Chesterfield Inlet to get more supplies." On these occasions, it was left to Tuinnaq to operate the trading post, to conduct the trade, even though she was no more than a young teenager.

"We used small pieces of wood [HBC tokens], used them as money. I would write down in Inuktitut things that were sold or traded. I really didn't like trading because some people weren't happy. Some people would bundle up the fox fur and I wouldn't realize that they had rips or holes in them if they were all bundled up like that. The main things they wanted to get were bullets, flour, tobacco, lard, tea, things like that. They weren't expensive at that time. I learned to write and read by myself. When I was a little girl, I had memorized a song, a chorus, and someone gave me words to that song

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> All of the above excerpts from the Post Journals are from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives B492 a/1 to a/10.

and I started reading it [in syllabics] by what I had memorized. I learned to read by myself."

Iqungajuq served in this position as ad hoc manager of the Tasiujaq post most ably. He did an admirable job, with the help of his whole family. All his inventory and trading records were carefully written in Inuktitut syllabics. He managed to turn a profit with very little support from his remote supervisors, who were duly impressed. The Company provided him with trading supplies and some coal to heat his house in return for his service. A small commission on his trading profits was left to accumulate for him at the Repulse Bay post. Once or twice a year he would make the trek out to this closest point of civilization to bring in the skins he had collected from other hunters, and to restock his outfit. Tatty frequently made these trips with his father, a young boy quickly learning to be a man. "When my father and I went out – hunting, or trapping, or to Repulse – we left my two older sisters in charge of the trading."

Hunters came to the post in summer, by foot from inland or by sail from down the Inlet, to get bullets, tea and tobacco on credit, which they would pay back in skins during the coming winter. All winter long occasional hunters came by dog team to turn in their skins. "It was a happy time when lots of people came," recalled Tatty.

In the early 1940s, HBC trader Bill Robinson made a spring trip from the Repulse Bay post to visit Iqungajuq at Tasiujaq. His observations offer another perspective on the life at the post with an Inuit manager. "The warehouse consisted of one huge room with a back porch. It resembled an immense igloo with a snow tunnel entrance. At one end of the room two double beds were placed end to end. Dick and his family seated themselves on one bed while his brother and family sat on the other. Individual caribou-hide sleeping bags were placed on the bare mattresses, marking each member's allotted spot on this giant substitute snow bench. An overturned packing box and a wooden bench along one wall completed the furnishings in the room. A Primus stove and seal-oil lamp shared the surface of the packing box. Other than the seal-oil lamp, no heating arrangements existed. This was Dick's summer quarters. During the cold days of winter the families lived in a couple of cozy igloos."

Since the departure of a Company Manager in 1933, Iqungajuq had turned Wager Inlet into a small but consistently profitable operation. He was a man who could find his way simultaneously in two different worlds. He took his responsibilities to the Company seriously, kept his records straight, and never provided a problem for his distant supervisors in Repulse Bay. Yet he maintained the values and traditions of his own heritage within his family structure. He was admired by all who came to know him.

In his annual report dated May 31, 1944, at the close of Outfit 274, Repulse Bay manager D. Drysdale summed up the state of the Wager Inlet trade and the valuable contribution made by Iqungajuq.

Dick will not be here with his results till August or early part of September. Last year it was September 22nd before he got here, so he is liable to be just as late this year, since his boat engine is in very bad repair, and he has to sail most of the time.

Dick brought me an Inventory of his stock taken sometime in February. He thought he would get another fifty foxes at the most from Back River natives in the later part of April or early in May. I sincerely hope he managed to get them, but I am doubtful as fur seems to be pretty scarce this year. I always stress the point about debts, and no doubt he has often been told about this. He is a pretty careful old fellow and I am sure doing best he can. And no doubt when fur is scarce he has a hard time saying NO to anyone who comes to ask for a few pounds of tobacco or tea.

Last fall he had a very narrow escape somewhere in Wager Bay, got caught in a very bad gale which wrecked his old motor boat and he had a very hard time keeping the Peterhead off the rocks. But he says the Peterhead is still in sailing condition – but says the bottom is getting pretty soft and won't stand a rough sea.

These proved to be prophetic words.

In the meanwhile, it was time for Tatty, nearly 18, to have a wife. Accordingly, in March of 1945, on one of their resupply trips by dog team to Repulse Bay, Iqungajuq and Tatty picked up his betrothed from Anaruaq's family camp. "I was pretty young," recalled an elderly Annie Tatty, who was 15, just a month shy of her 16<sup>th</sup> birthday at that time. "It would be pretty young for *qallunaat*, but Inuit used to get married young. Inuit used to make plans who is who that will marry." Annie's adopted parents (her mother died in childbirth), Joseph Kakak and Paula Angnaujuq, had not shared their plan with her. She grew up in Ukkusiksalik, near Piqsimaniq, and had visited the post at Tasiujaq on a number of occasions. She remembered seeing Iqungajuq, and Tuinnaq, and even Tatty. But "I did not know he was my future husband." So in the spring of 1945, as best she could, she settled into her new life with Tatty's family. "I was uncomfortable, because I never have been without my parents before and I was homesick for quite a while. They treated me very well, but I did not want to leave my father and mother."

That summer, the whole family set out by boat for Repulse Bay, to get the year's supplies. The HBC had promised that a new boat would come in on the annual supply ship – reason enough, it seems, for the whole family to make the trip. But the ship was late. They waited patiently in Repulse Bay. That trading post too was nearly out of supplies. Finally the ship came in, with supplies but no new boat for Iqungajuq. The family had no choice but to head home in the old, rotting boat. As Annie Tatty recalls it, "our boat was not hard wood. The side of the boat was peeling off and it started cracking. Also we did not have a motor." Travel conditions were less than ideal. It was already September; sea ice was forming.

"We tried to go back to Wager in the old boat, loaded with our supplies, but it was already freezing and the ice severely damaged the boat," recalled Robert Tatty 40 years later. "We tried to axe a way through the ice. But eventually it was frozen in and we had to abandon it." They were about half way down Roes Welcome Sound toward the inlet, at a place Inuit call Umijarvik.

His older sister, Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce was also there. "The ice was scraping on the sides of the boat. My parents got scared so we landed on shore and got our supplies on land. So our boat wasn't wrecked. We came to the beach before it really got wrecked. We got our supplies on land. We had to put our tents in that area where we beached and we spent the winter there. It was already icing up. The ice was getting thick. It was really cold. When we got to shore Iqungajuq built a house with ice blocks. It was really nice to live in that ice house for a while because we could see through [the walls]. But when winter came, we built an iglu and moved into it." The ice house became the trading post, with walls the height of a man, with the boat's sail spread over as a roof, and the supplies neatly piled inside. That incident changed the course of history. The family had planned to stay at Tasiujaq, with the thought that Tatty would take over as manager of the store. But Iqungajuq simply resumed his trading from a new location.

"We had more business there than before at Tasiujaq," recalled Tatty. "There was a lot of fox that year. But that was the end of the HBC in Ukkusiksalik. During that winter I went back to the Wager post to do an inventory and to pick up the remaining supplies."

"We had left our dog team in Ukkusiksalik," recalled Mrs. Bruce. "Agulaq was going to look after them. But he was too old to look after them properly. Siudluq, when we were going to Repulse Bay, he left for Chesterfield Inlet at the same time. If Siudluq had looked after the dogs instead of Agulaq, they would have survived. Tatty went back to Tasiujaq [from Umiijarvik] that winter. He was quite young then. He was riding with Angutinguaq on one dog team. He was planning to get [our] dogs and come back [to Umiijarvik] and get the family and then go back to Tasiujaq. But the dogs weren't being fed, so they starved. We didn't have a dog team any more because they starved. I think they brought a few things but not that many, because it was winter and it was quite far from where we were camping [at Umiijarvik].

"My mother, Toota, really wanted to go back to the post because she was thinking that the *qallunaat* might think that Inuit don't really try hard to do things that they are told to do. But Iqungajuq and Toota really didn't have one mind about going back, [they] sort of disagreed."

That was the end of the trading post at Tasiujaq. The next spring, the first born of the next generation in the Tatty family was born at Umiijarvik. Of course, Annie Tatty remembers it well.

"My son Kakak [John Tatty] was born the next spring, on June 7, 1946. We were at Quinijulik [just inland from the coast at Umiijarvik] when he was born. Tatty's mother [Toota] just fixed up the bed where the baby would go, when it is out, because she figured that I was embarrassed to have a baby. When they left me alone, I had a baby. When I was finally alone I gave birth. We were in the tent and as soon as they heard a baby crying, they went right inside the tent, Tuinnaq and her mother [Toota]."

Later that month, "we finally started to travel to Repulse Bay, when Anaruaq and Mary Autu's father picked us up. When he [Kakak] was still a small baby. Anaruaq and I think it was Sangikti who picked us up [from the post in Repulse Bay]. We went to the islands [in Repulse Bay]. We were in Repulse Bay when the summer came and we were still there when it was winter. When the next summer came, we were picked up and went to Coral Harbour<sup>5</sup> [by] Qajaarjuaq, Tagaaq's father. Tuinnaq was in Coral Harbour – she already got picked up earlier [by Mikitok Bruce]. We went to Aqiarungnaq area. The land was beautiful but the people seemed to be very poor on food and anything. When it was winter, we finally went to the post in Coral Harbour to buy some food."

After the demise of the HBC post at Tasiujaq in 1946, the inland people, near the Back River, turned to the northern coast for their trade, mostly in Gjoa Haven according to Robert Tatty. The few families still living in Wager Bay at the time remained for some years more, and journeyed up to Repulse Bay to trade their fox pelts. However, their numbers dwindled, as people were drawn into the developing communities of Repulse Bay and Chesterfield Inlet. In 1968, the last family maintaining a more or less traditional lifestyle on the shores of Wager Bay abandoned their camp and moved into Repulse Bay.

Meanwhile, the old buildings at Tasiujaq stood unattended, left but not forgotten. Robert Tatty harboured a dream for many years, to move his family back there. In his mind, it was still home. "He was born here and was raised here," said his wife Annie Tatty, during a visit to Tasiujaq the year after her husband passed away. "This was his home."

Finally, in the late 1970s, his dream came true. He loaded some of his family and an array of supplies onto his Peterhead boat in Rankin Inlet – where he and Annie had raised their family since 1959 – and they headed north to Ukkusiksalik. She remembers it well.

"Tatty wanted to come back here. We heard about polar bear hunters, those white people from America, if they were to come here to hunt polar bears he [Tatty] wanted to make money because the mine was closed at that time in Rankin Inlet. He needed a job. We have some pictures of the polar bear hunters that went hunting in this area. In the winter when the spring was near, he guided them at Nuvukliit area. I think there were two white people. There are pictures of them. You could tell it was cold, cold winter – they have all their thick caribou parkas."

They lived at the old HBC post from the summer of 1978 until the summer of 1980. Tatty and his wife stayed in the larger building at the back, known by the HBC as the "Native house." Others came with them. The Ukaliq family stayed in the old store, the smaller building on the west side of the site. "Kaluk's [son Paul's] family came here

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This is actually referring to Duke of York Bay, on Southampton Island, where Coral Harbour is also (now) located.

with us at the same time" – they stayed in the old manager's house, the building to the east. "When the Kaluk family went home to Rankin Inlet, Kakak's [son John's] family came here to live with us." At this time, the generators were moved to the old manager's house, the porch of that building was shifted over to the old store, and John Tatty's family lived in that porch. Robert and Annie Tatty continued to live in the old "Native house," with Simeoni's family (wife Minnie and young daughter Dorothy) living upstairs in the loft. Food from the land was abundant. Life, it seemed, was good. Tatty was back at his true home.

"During the summer we would go buy food supplies, but people from Rankin Inlet would travel to where we were [and bring food for us]. We got many fox skins. We have some pictures – the fox skins are hanging. They caught many foxes. The fox skins are easy to clean but the wolf skins are harder to clean because they are very thin. I did not have any help. People mostly from Repulse Bay used to visit. People who went hunting to this area. They knew they can fill up their gas from here, so they used to come here to hunt.

"If Tatty did not get ill – he was ill for a while – we would have stayed there longer. When he got ill, we went to Rankin Inlet and right after we went to Rankin Inlet, he went away for medical – he had to have surgery. He was ill and I also told him our children have to go to school as well. He started to think that I was homesick so we went home. After two years we have stayed here, we never did come back here," said Annie, with a hint of sadness, sitting on the shores of Tasiujaq the year after her husband had died. In 1980, Robert Tatty moved his family back to Rankin Inlet, and was never to return again.

With that, the long and storied history of the HBC buildings at Tasiujaq came to an end, 55 years after their hasty construction started in the autumn of 1925. All three soon began to decay, and may one day return to nature. But the stories of the lives which unfolded in those buildings are, fortunately, preserved.

\* \* \*

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# HBC Managers and Clerks at Tasiujaq

<u>Outfit<sup>6</sup></u>	<u>Years<sup>7</sup></u>	Manager	<u>Clerk</u>
256	1925-26	J.A. (Jimmy) Thom	Sam Voisey
257	1926-27	W.E. (Buster) Brown <sup>8</sup>	H. McHardy
258	1927-28	H. Leith	H. McHardy
259	1928-29	Archie Hunter	J. Spence
260	1929-30	J.L. Ford	J. Spence
261	1930-31	J.L. Ford	N. Irvin
262	1931-32	J.F.G. Wynne	N. Irvin
263	1932-33	W.A. Heslop	A. Paterson
264	1933 <sup>9</sup>	W.A. Heslop	A. Paterson
	1933-45	Iqungajuq (aka Wager Dick)	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Outfit (similar to today's use of "fiscal year") ended each year on May 31<sup>st</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The term of the manager/clerk did not exactly coincide with the Outfit, in reality. Normally the new manager and /or clerk arrived on the supply ship (*Fort Chesterfield* or *Fort Severn*) in late August, and the departing manager and/or clerk left on the same vessel, so the period of overlap for purposes of a "turn-over" was no more than a few days.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> W.E. "Buster" Brown also returned as Manager of the tractor transport project over the winter of 1928-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> These two left on the *Fort Severn* on August 30, 1933 – the end of a *qallunaat* presence at the trading post in Tasiujaq. Iqungajuq took over upon their departure.

## The Coin

When Jimmy Thom left from Tasiujaq in the fall of 1926, he gave an old British coin to Toota for his daughter Tuinnaq. It was a coin, he said, that he had inherited from an old lady in Britain, about the size of today's \$2 coin, but the colour of a penny. He said, if Tuinnaq ever needed money, she could sell that coin and she would have enough money to live. She kept it for year, through moves to various camps and eventually into Snafu, by Coral Harbour. In the early 1960s when her only son Louie was taken away by authorities for school in Churchill (against his parents' will), his mother Tuinnaq sent the coin with the young boy, in case he needed money. She was so worried about him and loved him so much, it was all she could think to do. As she recalls, it seemed the time was right to use the coin she had held onto for about 35 years.

Shortly after Louie Bruce arrived in Churchill, the coin was taken from him, and the family never saw it again.

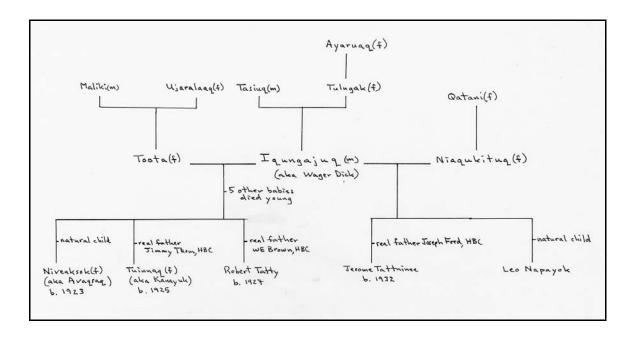
Some years later, the family found a broach in a jeweller's shop down south, with a sculpted image of St. George slaying the dragon, similar to the embossment on the coin. During her 1996 visit to Tasiujaq, Tuinnaq wore it proudly as a memory of the coin which her father Jimmy Thom gave to her. It is the symbolic value that she has always treasured, as a link with her past.

## Genealogy Associated with the HBC Post

The intent here is to display graphically the current understanding of the relationships and ancestral connections among people associated with the old HBC Post at Tasiujaq. It may be imperfect – in some cases contradictory information has been recorded – but this is an attempt to present what appears to be the most likely correct account.

Note: in the family tree diagrams below, (m) indicates that the person is male, and (f) indicates that the person is female.

The man at the centre of so much of the history of the HBC post at Tasiujaq is Iqungajuq, also known as Wager Dick. This family tree shows his ancestry, and that of his two wives, Toota and Niaqukituq, as well as the two women's children, all of whom were either fathered by or adopted by Iqungajuq, as indicated.

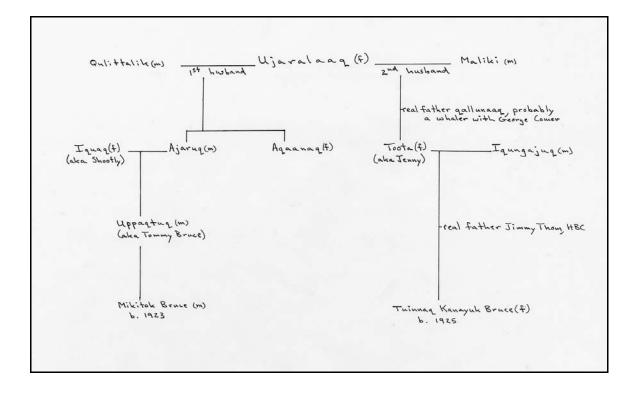


According to Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce's oral testimony, the mother of Iqungajuq and his three brothers [Ipkarnaq (also Samson), Siulluk (also Deaf Johnny), Talituq (also Tami Taqaugaq)] was named Arnnagruluk (aka Tulugak).

Maliki and Qulittalik traded wives at some point. At first Maliki was with Natsiq and Qulittalik was with Ujaralaaq. (See the next family tree diagram.) For a story of Maliki and Ujaralaaq, see the 1996 interview with Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce elsewhere in this volume. According to her, Aivilingmiut in these days tried to partner within their group, mostly to avoid Netsilingmiut whom they feared.

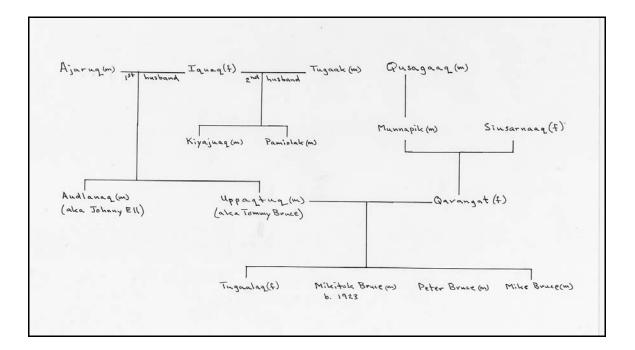
In keeping with this practise, Tuinnaq was betrothed to Mikitok Bruce. When she was in Repulse Bay, the year after the HBC post at Ukkusiksalik closed, Joe Curley and Mikitok arrived there by dog team to "pick her up." It was the spring of 1947, when she was 22. They took her to Duke of York Bay on Southampton Island (north of present day Coral Harbour). Iqungajuq and Toota followed in the summer. Not long after, Toota died at Duke of York Bay (probably of TB). The combined families lived there for about six years, and then moved to Snafu, on the outskirts of what is now Coral Harbour.

Tuinnaq (Kanayuk) and Mikitok Bruce actually share an ancestor, Ujaralaaq, as demonstrated in this family tree diagram.



Iquaq, shown here as Mikitok's paternal grandmother, is the well known woman from George Comer's days as a whaling captain in Hudson Bay. Comer called her Shoofly. In the whaling records her Inuktitut name is given as Nivisinaaq.

Iquaq (Shoofly) had two sons with her first husband, Ajaruq. The second of those, Uppaqtuq, was given the name Tommy Bruce by the whalers. When he was just two years old, his father Ajaruq committed suicide, tortured by his own past which included witnessing a horrible multiple murder and being required by his step-mother to execute his father. This complete story appears in the 1996 interview with Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce elsewhere in this volume. Iquaq, the renowned Shoofly, had four sons by two different husbands. The details of some of her descendants and thus Mikitok Bruce's (and his siblings') ancestry are provided in this family tree.



# **Archival Photographs**

#### **National Archives - Ottawa**

Six photos, credited to L.T. Burwash, catalogued under "Arctic Explorations" in the Indian & Northern Affairs Collection, all dated May 1926. [Note: this month is wrong, the event actually occurred in September 1925.]

PA 99323 Fort Chesterfield alongside the bank at Wager Inlet.



PA 99324 Hudson's Bay Co. establishing in Wager Inlet.



PA 99326 Fort Chesterfield alongside the bank at Wager Inlet.



PA 99327 Fort Chesterfield alongside the bank at Wager Inlet.



- PA 99329 After the hunt near Wager Inlet.
- PA 99331 Making camp near Wager Inlet.

### **HBC** Archives – Winnipeg

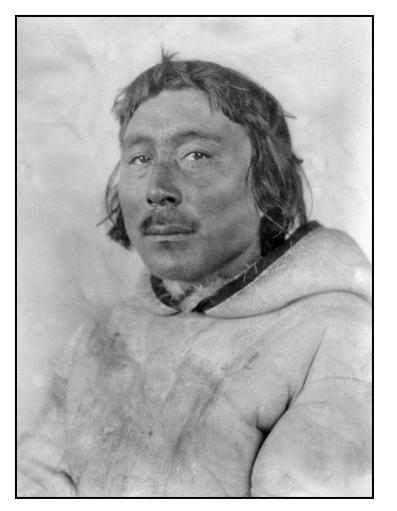
HBCA RG7/RBL E/114 Twelve wallet-size B&W photos taken in 1956 of the buildings at the HBC post at Tasiujaq (Ford Lake), including:

- the original "store"
- the "native house"
- the oil shed
- a plane on skis
- an overview showing the three main buildings

## HBCA 987/363-W-3

- Two R.C.A.F. photos (see National Air Photo Library below)
- One photo credited to J.L. Ford (Post Manager at Wager Inlet beginning 1929) of a man in a boat near the Reversing Falls.

HBCA 1976/128/28, negative number N9300, Photographer: Hilton E. George



Iqungajuq

## National Air Photo Library - Booth St., Ottawa

RCAF A2875-33

• Two aerial photos of the H.B.C. Post and surroundings, looking north, taken sometime in the 1930s or 1940s.

## **HBC** Archival Material

#### **Documents**

The following is an annotated list of documents in the HBC Archives pertaining to Wager Bay.

B239/z/10 fos.47-50d dated 21 June 1838. Churchill Post census indicating a total of 663 Inuit including some from Wager Bay.

A92/19/71 fos.50-62, dated 5 February 1925. A letter from District Manager W.R. Mitchell to the Fur Trade Commissioner in Winnipeg, regarding the proposal to establish a post at Wager, including plans for the proposed buildings at Wager Inlet Post.

A92/19/78 fos.101-115, dated 26 September 1925. A report by L.A. Learmonth regarding a trip around the Chesterfield Section during the summer of 1925, including the establishing of Wager Inlet Post.

A92/19/84 fos.526-545, dated 7 February 1926.

L.A. Learmonth's report on development in the Chesterfield Section, including the rationale behind establishing the Wager Post, and some discussion regarding competition from Revillon Frères, and a proposal to expand toward the Arctic coast.

A92/19/84 fos.546-549, dated 16 February 1926.

A letter from L.A. Learmonth, a general report, including plans for a winter trip to Wager via Baker Lake.

B492 a/1 to a/10, dated 1925-33. Ten volumes of post journals from Wager Bay Post.

RG3/22E/1 dated 30 December 1926.

A letter from W.E. Brown, manager at Wager, to L.A. Learmonth in Chesterfield Inlet, largely about the "tractor" project, with a rich commentary on life at Wager Bay.

RG3/22E/2 dated 31 December 1927.

A letter from H. Leith, manager at Wager, with a report by M. McHardy, clerk, to L.A. Learmonth giving details of the loss of the "coast boat".

RG3/4A/7 dated 23 May 1929. A letter with the "correct" native names for several posts, including Wager.

RG3/35/1 Post Ledger 1932/33.

RG3 Series 20D/1 Ship's Log of Fort Severn.

An entry on 28 August 1933 records the ship's arrival at the Wager Inlet Post, whereupon she "commenced loading Wager supplies" and departed on 30 August 1933.

RG3 Series 2/8 dated 28 November 1933.

Annual Report from Nelson River District Manager to the Fur Trade Commissioner. Virtually no mention of Wager, except the tables indicating comparison of annual profits for the last two years.

RG3 Series 2/9 dated 16 November 1934.

Annual Report from Nelson River District Manager to the Fur Trade Commissioner. Notes that Wager Inlet stock was brought down to Churchill during summer 1933, for distribution. Indicates no inventory left at Wager at close of Outfit 264 (1933/34).

RG3 Series 73A/18 Annual Reports, Nelson River District. Reference to Wager Bay in the Annual Report from Repulse Bay, dated 31 May 1944.

G7/6(8) Plans and records of the buildings at Wager, including details of construction and site survey.

G7/5(13) Duplicate of G7/6(8) above.

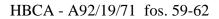
RG7/RBL E/114 Duplicate of above, plus a reference to "Native House" replacing "Tractor Depot".

RG7/RBL B/38 Duplicate of above.

G1/319 Hand-drawn map of Keewatin with notations suggesting posts, originally part of a letter from L.A. Learmonth (A92/19/84 above).

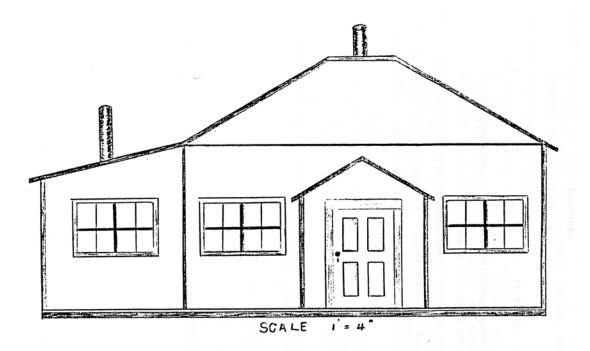
"The Barrens" (Search File) - miscellaneous information.

## **Drawings**

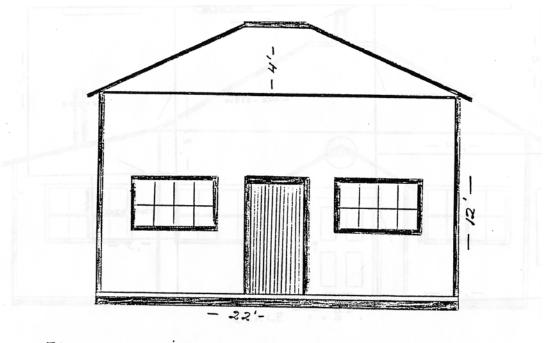


Plans for proposed buildings at Wager Bay, 1925:

- 1. Front Elevation Wager River House
- 2. Plan of Wager River Dwelling House
- 3. Front Elevation Wager River Store & Warehouse
- 4. Plan of Wager River Store & Warehouse



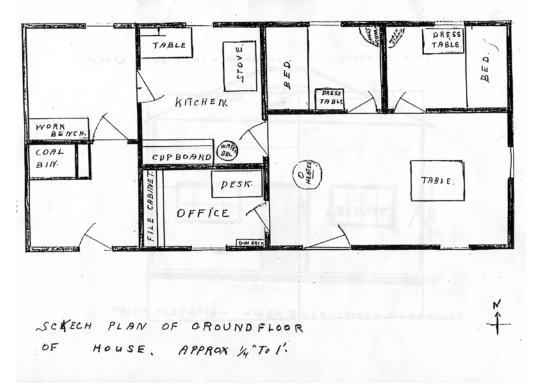
FRONT ELEVATION. WAGER RIVER HOUSE.



FRONT ELEVATION. WAGER RIVER STORES WAREHOUSE

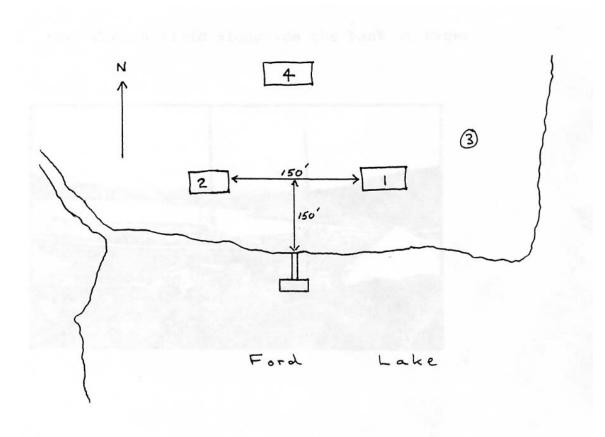
## H.B.C.A. - RG3/22E/1

Sketch Plan of groundfloor of House (after renovation by W.E. Brown, Mgr., 1926-27)



H.B.C.A. - G7/6(8)

Sketch layout plan of the buildings at the Tasiujaq post.



- 1. 1925: dwelling house, 20' x 26', 2 storey, 4 rooms, with gas lamp and coal stove.
- 2. 1925: store and warehouse, 20' x 26', 1 storey, 2 rooms, no light or heat.
- 3. 1926: toilet, 5' x 5'.
- 4. 1928: tractor depot, 28' x 15', single storey, 2 rooms, plus loft. (later referred to as "Native house".)

# **Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce's Observations**

# Notes From a Walk-About – August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1996

### Manager's House

- They mainly used the kitchen door the front door was used less often.
- A glass cabinet, now in the back shed of the store, was in the kitchen of the manager's house, against the south wall.
- The flour bin, now in the back shed of the store, was in the kitchen also against the south wall. She has particularly fond memories of this item.
- A stove, now outside in the pile 15 metres north of the kitchen window, was in the northeast corner of the kitchen.
- There was a water barrel in the kitchen, against the east wall, beside the stove. On the barrel was the word WATER, which the traders used to teach her the English letters. "Water" was one of her first English words, she remembers.
- There was a small table in the northwest corner of the kitchen.
- There was a dining table in the east half of the main room in the manager's house.
- The old desk in the office was there, as is.
- The linoleum on the office floor is the same as she remembers.
- The lamp on top of the desk was not here then they used only old kerosene lamp.
- The shelves and towel racks in the manager's bedroom do not look familiar to her.
- The radio, used for sending/receiving morse code, was on a table against the east wall of the main room, by the window.
- Foxes used to be skinned and cleaned in the workshop beside the manager's house, in the springtime, having been stored, frozen, over the winter. This routine changed after Iqungajuq took over as manager, when they began to store and clean the fox skins in the back shed of the store.

#### Store

- They used to enter by a door on the east side into the attached back shed.
- Goods arriving on the ship were brought into the store itself through the main, wider door, and then stored in the back half of the store itself.

- There was a window in the west wall of the back shed.
- There used to be a door from the shed through into the back of the store.
- There were three steps up to the front door, outside.
- Inside, there were shelves [for the trade goods] on the north and east walls and half of the west wall of the store. There is a bit of shelving left, on the north wall (western half), from the trading days. Shelving in the back half of the store is original.
- "It seems like this place was bigger, and now it seems smaller."
- Dried fox skins were hung in the attic of the store, waiting for shipping out, when they were baled and wrapped in burlap sacks, with a large stamp applied to each bale.
- There was a removable ladder up to the trap door which opened into the attic.
- Some other supplies (eg. flour) were also kept in the attic.
- On the ceiling in the back half of the store, there is writing on wooden planks, reading "Wagner (*sic*) Inlet."

## **1996 Interview**

## **Informant: Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce**



Interviewer: David F. Pelly Interpreter: Manitok Thompson Date of Interview: 7 August 1996 Location during Interview: Tasiujaq Home community of informant: Coral Harbour Translator/Transcriber: Veronica Dewar

Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce has signed the consent form and understands that the information provided will be made public.

Tuinnaq Kanayuk Bruce (called Tuinnaq when she was young, now called Kanayuk in her hometown, and married to Mikitok Bruce) grew up at the HBC post at Tasiujaq at the head of Wager Bay. Her mother was Toota. Her father was the HBC trader Jimmy Thom. When Thom left in 1926, Toota and her baby daughter Tuinnaq were left with Iqungajuq, also known as Wager Dick. The connection goes back further: Wager Dick's father, Tasiuq, and Toota's father, Maliki, had worked together previously for the whalers. This is where Mrs. Bruce picks up her story: Mrs. Bruce: There was Tasiuq and Maliki used to be Inuit helpers on a ship. Tasiuq was Iqungajuq's father. Maliki was his nephew. Okay? There were these people on the ship, one name Henry the cook, I'm not sure who the other guy was, but he was the leader. Maliki and Ujaralaaq had two *qallunaat* with them and their guide was from Netsilik -- I think his name was Ikusik. I think they sailed from Cape Fullerton.

Yup. When they sailed from Cape Fullerton, they went by dogteam up north. I think there was one dogteam or two - I'm not sure. I guess they were close to Wager Bay, but the rest didn't know -- just the guy from Ukkusiksalik (mouth of the Back River) and apparently their dogs got hungry along the way and they found some caches along the way because their guide knew where there was caches of fish and they got some food from the cache. They said that the fish were cleaned very neatly and prepared very neatly, even the cheeks of the fish were skewered. That's where they got their dog food from.

Q. Did they stop here along the way or...?

A. I'm not sure if they stopped here in this lake or where they travelled through. That was before there was any settlement here or people here [at the HBC post], even before my mother was born.

Can I talk about the others? Yup, after they got the food from the cache, perhaps the camp was close by. They were kind of nervous or scared of getting murdered to go to a camp so they brought along guns -- even the woman was given a gun, pistols.

But apparently the Ukkusiksalingmiut were a lot more friendlier than Netsilingmiut and they were very nice and friendly. The first people they met anyways.

After staying there for awhile, they paid or traded for the food, perhaps with other items that they got. And they left from this area [to go] farther north.

Perhaps they camped along the way and they encountered another camp and the people in the camp were expecting their relatives to come in from hunting. There was a child with two dogs on a leash who came to meet them. When the kid came closer to the sled, the dogs in the sled got nervous because they did not recognize the other dogs, and the kid let go of the dogs and the dogs took off back to the camp. Even though the kid was surrounded by dogsled, he just stood there when he realized that he was not supposed to meet these people, and the people put him on the sled.

When the two dogs came back to the camp, the people at the camp became nervous because they knew that these guys that came in were strangers. And right away, you can see the two men preparing themselves. At that time people didn't approach a camp right away. You stopped not too close to the camps, at that time, because you didn't want to approach a stranger's camp, so they have lots of room to move in either direction when something strange happened. There were two men getting themselves prepared and ready. Apparently they were readying their weapons for killing. The Netsilik man knew right away the two men wanted to kill.

As the two men approached the sled, the other man who had a weapon apparently started to stoop down right away. The people that just arrived by sled stood by the sled and the qablunaaqs stood still as well and watched those two men who were coming towards them.

The Netsilik man was given a pistol by the qablunaaq leader that was already loaded. He was going to fight with the man approaching.

One of the men who came from the camp was stooped down and coming towards the Netsilik man, as soon as he stepped aside to challenge the man who wants to fight because the rest of the men with the dogteams had guns as well. When the man from the camped stooped down to fight, the Netsilik man also stooped down.

And the other man from the camp was just standing further away and the other man came to fight and the Netsilik man said go ahead and kill me. As soon as the man from the camp harms him, the other man would shoot him. Back then whenever they were challenging each other they used to stoop down to fight. Whenever the man from the camp would strike the other man, caribou hair would fly off because it was being cut by the knife.

That's the way they fought. And so this went on for awhile -- they would back away and charge again. After backing away, the man charged the other man again. He looked at the men with the dogteams and when he saw the child on the sled he stood up very quickly -- I guess he thought the child was dead.

And when he stood up, the people in the sled beckoned the child to go to the camp people and they took him home without anything else happening and the people on the dogsled went on their way farther without camping there.

I guess they overnighted somewhere and after that they met some more people at a camp, so they went to the camp (but not too close to the camp) and spent the night there again because those people were not as vicious as the first camp.

And in that camp there were kids playing around the iglu -- going in and out and the strangers didn't seem to bother them and they spent the day there. Apparently one of the qablunaaq men (the leader) lost his knife, and he couldn't find it anywhere - someone had taken it - and the man said that if he didn't find his knife, he would kill someone. And my grandmother, who was travelling with the dogteam got very scared -- she figured that if the man kills someone, they would all start fighting. She was also easily scared. So the man said he would kill someone if he didn't find his knife. My grandmother told of the lost knife and someone returned the knife right away. After spending the night there, they were packing to continue their journey and one of the men starting shaking. Either he wanted to kill someone or they weren't sure what was wrong with him. He was in the porch of my grandmother's -- she didn't quite know what was the matter with the man.

So they took off on their journey and it was spring time and very warm after leaving the boats in the winter. And the person named Henry would walk all over the place looking for something. He went off a distance and he found something because ships used to get lost up north.

Some people might remember somewhere around Gjoa Haven's shores he found a grave and apparently someone made a cairn or an inuksuk beside the grave and someone put papers in between the grave and he found them. When he found the papers it said that the doctor of the ship had died from sickness.

Apparently they had some sort of plastic inside the letter.

Henry and others would walk around and search all the time and they also found a shoulder part of a human being in a pot, but they couldn't figure out whether it was a skeletal remains of a person that died from hunger or whether the guy was murdered or not and they didn't find any other letter saying what he died of.

And apparently one of the men, Henry, found money or coins that was stashed away for someone to find.

My grandfather walked and search around with them and he found something buried underneath the moss or earth but he didn't tell the others knowing that he would have to dig it out so he didn't tell the white men about it.

My grandfather was sorry later on for not telling the others because he figured there might have been valuable stuff in there.

I'll go back to the story about the finds. Apparently Henry was always talking and he was very loud -- this is about the grave and the letters in the grave that he found. Apparently, when he found the grave with the letters, you could hear him shouting from quite far away because he was so happy he found the letters and the money tucked in between the grave. I think the letters and the money were contained in the same bag.

Apparently, the other qablunaaq person, who was the leader, seemed to be embarrassed about Henry's action and his loudness.

From the location of the find, they left for lower ground and Henry wore caribou clothing all this time and didn't want to get rid of them and apparently he got on to a ship wearing caribou clothing from the time he put them on.

I'm not really familiar what happened to them on their way back to the boat. But, I've heard stories told about the time they arrived back to the ship. Apparently, Henry was talking very loudly as usual and very excited and he wore his caribou clothing all this time.

Apparently, my mother was born after they had returned to the ship, I guess her father is the qablunaaq leader.

They didn't find a lost ship but they found a grave with letters and money.

Q. Did they take the letter back with them?

A. They probably kept it and brought it back to their homeland.

I'm not really familiar with the story about people searching for the lost ship and what route they took and so on, but they had Inuit guides as well.

I think that was Ujaralaaq or her adopted father who use to tell the stories. She was not quite old enough when her father died. Maybe my grandmother use to tell stories about this to my mother after my grandfather passed away.

My grandfather passed away and my grandmother probably told my mother these stories to keep her occupied. I think too that my grandmother was very good at telling stories.

My mother probably was like my grandmother -- that's why she used to tell me these stories.

Q. During the time of the trading post here, during the time when the *qallunaaq* traders were here, the first part when traders were here before they all left -- in the journal they wrote, one of them wrote that an Inuk came from Ukkusiksalik [Back River] and told them he had found some papers under some stones up on the coast. They wrote that in the journal. He never brought the papers here. I'm wondering if you remember hearing about that one.

A. I have seen them. Nauja has seen them along with me. There was this inuksuk and a rock on top and there is a writing on the rock and it's up there. It's quite a ways up there somewhere. I can't remember exactly where. My mother thought maybe Henry wrote it.

I haven't heard about letters in the paper. Maybe they're lying. Maybe they wrote in the daily journal -- I see. Maybe the Inuit people, because they couldn't read them, didn't bother or didn't care about them. For sure, because they're not important when you can't understand them. I haven't heard about that other part of the story you told. Maybe my mother never heard of it.

Q. That's a fantastic story, the first one, the main one -- very interesting.

A. And this old lady named Annaqtuusi didn't have anyone to care for her so my parents looked after her because her son was murdered by Ukusiksalingmiut. This guy by the name of Ilatnaq found his body. Apparently Ilatnaq looked after Annaqtuusi but after Ilatnaq passed away, Amitnaaq and Katlaq left.

Annaqtuusi was being looked after by my parents and she told us a story one time. Apparently two priests went up north and when they were up north they were mistreated.

The people told the priests to leave and they left with an Inuk but I don't know who the Inuk is. They packed up and were leaving and they got murdered right after they packed up. Apparently one priest was running away but they shot him anyways.

One of the priests shouted something, but they don't know what he said and there was another man out somewhere hunting caribou, not knowing what was happening. And the priest shouted so loud, there was an echo that scared the caribou away.

He was from down south, Qiuraarjuk. I think he's from Igloolik or Ammituq area or from the Tununiq area or from Pond Inlet. I'm not sure which community he was from.

Q. How do you know?

A. I've heard of it.

I have also heard about Annaqtuusi's son and how he was murdered.

Q. Just as a matter of interest, while were on this, there is a lady living in Baker Lake with the name Annaqtuusi. It's not the same one but I wonder if there's any connection?

A. I think they are related.

This woman Annaqtuusi had one child, a son [Ukpitaujaq] -- no, apparently she had a daughter as well same age as my mother. There were differents camps here and there. Annaqtuusi and Ilatnaq lived in one camp and Itirijuk lived in another camp. Itirijuk was a young man and he would come and visit the other camps to Ukpitaujaq's.

Apparently, Itirijuk use to come to camp quite often because Annaqtuusi's son was getting married and because Itirijuk was interested in the woman.

Itirijuk would be very nice to Annaqtuusi's son because apparently he was "seeing" his wife.

So Itirijuk asked Annaqtuusi's son to go with him and get supplies from Gjoa Haven.

I guess Annaqtuusi's son wasn't very smart. I guess because he was much younger than Iturijuk. So Iturijuk told Annaqtuusi's son to pack up saying they will be leaving at a certain day and meet him at a certain area.

So they left and camped the first day, and in the morning Ukpitaujaq, the son of Annaqtuusi, was getting his sled runners ready.

And Iturijuk shot him.

When he shot him, he just left him where he was. I think I'm telling it wrong. Sorry, I'm not telling it right. When they were on their way back from trading.

Q. After they traded?

A. And Itirijuk went home after he shot Ukpitaujaq, after they traded.

Because Itirijuk was so bad that he pretended to write him a letter and send him a jacknife and something else he had bought from the traders.

But in the meantime Ilatnaq had already found the dead body.

Ilatnaq didn't know how to break the bad news to Annaqtuusi, the boy's mother, and said that he found a dead body and he wanted his wife and the mother of the dead man to come with him to check the body out.

Ilatnaq's wife is named Katlaq.

Q. What was the relationship with Annaqtuusi.

A. I'm not sure what the relationship was.

Because she didn't have a husband. And Annaqtuusi recognized her dead son -and she thought that the person that went trading with him sent him a jacknife and a letter.

When Annaqtuusi recognized her dead son, she got really mad at Iturijuk. Ilatnaq was quite well known by the qablunaaq people because he was close friends of them. They didn't touch the body and reported it to the RCMP.

So the RCMP went to question Itirijuk and Itirijuk's father told him "I have always told you not to be like this."

I guess it was known that he wanted the woman.

And Itirijuk was arrested.

He must have died in jail. It was told that he became a shaman, but I don't know how. And there were stories going around where apparently whenever they lock him up or chain him, the chains or locks fall off from him.

It was probably not true.

But Annaqtuusi said that if she ever sees Itirijuk again, she would carry a heavy club, and she would club him.

I don't blame her.

Annaqtuusi was taken by Taparti's family to be cared for by the nuns in Chesterfield Inlet.

Q. From here?

A. Somewhere from here. Because Taparti's family moved to Chesterfield area at that time.

Q. How did Annaqtuusi get here, because Ilatnaq is the one who died.

A. I'm not sure how Annaqtuusi got here but I know that she was being looked after by a family named Arnalukitaq. But she was always hungry with that family and was not happy with them, so she was brought over to our family to be taken care of.

Q. Where were Arnalukitaq's family living?

A. They lived around Qamanikuluk and Qamanaaluk area. And camps area Nuvukliit.

Q. Did Annaqtuusi come to this area before Katlaq and the 13 year old boy?

A. After. Arnaluktitaq. Maurice's grandfather's grandfather Siksaaq got lost around this area and died.

Q. That's it?

A. Yeah.

Q. Okay there was -- didn't you write down another ...

A. Do you want me to tell the story now? Siatsiaq from Aivilik and Ujarasugjualuk - his name was just Ujarasugjuk, but he was so proud that they called him Ujarasugjualuk.

Siatsiaq was from Aivilik and he came to Netsilik and they built a big iglu and when Netsilik people see people from Aivilik they would want to challenge them. They started building a big iglu to have a game of fighting or challenging.

Ujarasugjualuk wanted to challenge Siatsiaq to be his takutsaq, which means that he wanted to fight him by punching him. So they can look at each other in the eye whenever they will challenge each other.

That's what Siatsiaq said when he was going to be a challenger. He was happy. His wife had just passed away and he wanted to feel pain and he wanted someone to feel pain as well.

After they built a big iglu and on one side of the iglu were people from Aivilik and on the other side were the people from Netsilik, they put snow blocks in between with women and men from Netsilik and women and men from Aivilik sitting on the opposite sides. These two men were going to fight in the middle.

Because Siatsiaq was so anxious that he would hide behind his people and he watched what his challenger wanted to do.

The challenger on the floor stood up and looked for his opponent and he would sniff at the direction of Siatsiaq and he said "If there is an adult ready over there, come down and fight me".

Siatsiaq pretended that he didn't want to fight. In fact he really wanted to fight. And Ujarasugjuk said "All I ever fight and challenge are children. If there is an adult ready up there come and fight me."

Ujarasugjuk called the adults in the audience children because he thought he was very powerful and they weren't.

So Siatsiaq went to the middle of the floor and Ujarasukjuk was very happy. Ujarasukjuk was to have the first punch, so he punched Siatsiaq on the shoulder. They did this for awhile and Siatsiaq was feeling pain from being punched and he had a dislocated shoulder. So he stopped punching and he challenged Ujarasukjuk to punch him on the head instead. So they started punching each other again. Netsilngimiut punch their opponents with the first knuckle, whereas Aivilik people use the part where the finger joins the hand.

Ujarasugjuk punched the other guy very hard and dislocated his finger. Aivilik people knew that if an opponent uses this certain finger, the opponent's finger will get dislocated and they will weaken.

After punching each other like that for awhile, Ujarasugjuk got knocked out. Even though Ujarasugjuk never said he was hurt, you can tell he was weakened and couldn't fight anymore. Ujarasugjuk got up and asked Siatsiaq "Did you punch me?" but would not fight back at Siatsiaq and just took his punches because he was halfways unconsicious and Siatsiaq would punch him over and over again.

I should have said this before but I'll tell you now. When Siatsiaq dislocated his shoulder the first time the Netsilingmiut women would cheer loudly and started singing Ajaja songs because they were happy, but when Ujarasugjuk got knocked out all Aivilik women started singing ajaja songs.

So Ujarasugjuk was getting weaker all this time and couldn't fight back and would just say "Did you punch me?" So his son went over to the middle of the floor and said that he can't fight back and took him off the floor because his son knew that the only time he would feel his consciousness is when he touched the snow on the floor.

My mother and Qugnuliq were outside the iglu looking at this performance through a hole in the top of the big iglu.

And what happened was, Ujarasugjuk was taken home as well as Siatsiaq and they had to challenge each other again in the morning to see who would get up first and whoever wakes up first had to go and see the other, that was the tradition. Siatsiaq got up and went to Ujarasugjuk's iglu. He found him sleeping and his wife said to him "Your challenger is in." Ujarasugjuk tried to get up. During the night he also had vomitted and was unable to do anything. He was badly hurt.

He was okay for the winter but in the springtime he died. He probably died of brain damage.

My mother was watching the whole performance and she said whenever Ujarasugjuk fell down, his pants would balloon up and would deflate.

Q. This happened somewhere in Aivilik?

A. I think so I'm not sure exactly the name of the camp, I wasn't told.

Siatsiaq is Ango's younger brother, Ekwalaak's father, I think, Kaludjak's grandfather.

#### **Qulittalik and Ajaruq's story**

- Qulittalik: "person with a coat"
- his wife was Ujaralaaq
- Qulittalik (m) and Ujaralaaq had two children: a son Ajaruq and a daughter Aqaanaq
- there was another couple: Maliki (m) and Natsiq (f)
- the men traded wives, so now we have:
- Qulittalik with Natsiq
- Maliki with Ujaralaaq

- Ajaruq stayed with his father; Ajaruq is the father of John Ayaruaq who wrote his autobiography, published by DIAND in 1968 (see vol. of Wager Bay oral history transcripts 1992).

Qulittalik and his younger brother were hunting and encountered a Netsilingmiut man also with his younger brother -- the four of them started crawling toward a bearded seal. The older Netsilingmiut man was crawling behind the other three. Somehow he crept up behind Qulittalik and sneakily pulled the trigger on Qulittalik's rifle. The shot killed the younger Netsilingmiut brother and wounded Qulittalik's brother. The older Netsilingmiut man blamed Qulittalik for this and attacked him, trying to kill him, but failed. So instead he used his shamanistic powers to make Qulittalik lose his mind. He got crazy, and even tried to ill his other brothers.

Later Qulittalik, his new wife Natsiq, and his son Ajaruq left from Iriptaqtuq (south shore of Wager Bay), headed inland toward Tasiujaq. Ajaruq remained very attached to his father. Along with them travelled two of Qulittalik's brothers, their wives, and one small child (a girl) about four years old. They saw some caribou beside Tasiujaq, just west of where the HBC post was later built. Qulittalik went hunting and came back, with no caribou and no explanation. At that point the others started to think he was becoming strange, because they knew he was actually a very capable hunter.

After this unsuccessful hunt, they made camp, built two iglus. Natsiq had a miscarriage that night so Qulittalik built a little annex on one side of their iglu for her to be alone in there, in accordance with the custom. Later that night he started to fix his rifle. They were relaxing in the iglu; the younger brother was lying down with his head on his wife's lap. Qulittalik fired his rifle, hitting his brother and just nicking the young wife. The brother did not die, however. Then Qulittalik grabbed his snow knife and went toward them. The young wife took her ulu and tried to defend them, and she could have been successful if she had managed to cut him over the eyes, but she missed. Qulittalik stabbed them both with the snow knife.

Natsiq, confined in the annex, heard all this but did not know what to do. We know about this today because Ajaruq was there and he survived. Qulittalik began to butcher the two bodies: his brother and his sister-in-law, and he said to his son, Ajaruq: "I've just killed two wolves; you go tell my younger brother." But Ajaruq was too

anxious to use this opportunity to get out, so his father suspected something and stopped him.

Qulittalik went to the other iglu the next morning. His brother was icing his sled runners. Qulittalik stabbed his younger brother. The little four-year-old girl, who was watching, ran to the iglu. Qulittalik followed and stabbed both the little girl and the mother, with his snow knife. He started eating them like animals. He saw them as animals, because he had lost his mind.

Then Qulittalik went back to his iglu and asked his wife to come out. After that, he never slept. When, later, Qulittalik went out of the iglu, Natsiq said to Ajaruq: "I'm going to make your father sleep, and you're going to kill him." [She had that special power. There are two kinds of powers that some people had back then: (1) ability to hide behind even a very small rock, and (2) ability to put people to sleep.]

After several days, Qulittalik became tired, lay down and went into a deep sleep. Natsiq gave the sign to Ajaruq to take the snow knife out from under Qulittalik's bed and to stab Qulittalik in the chest. The boy started crying. [Remember, he was so attached to his father.] Natsiq whispered "We must, or we will be killed and eaten like the others, and no one will know what happened to the others." The boy continued to cry, but nonetheless he did it -- he stabbed his father.

Qulittalik felt the knife going into him and grabbed it with both hands. Natsiq said "Pull the knife!" Ajaruq did and cut both his father's hands. All this was very difficult for Ajaruq, because he was so attached to his father.

Afterwards, Ajaruq made a little sled out of a caribou skin. Natsiq was very skinny, having spent several days starving in the iglu annex. Natsiq kept saying "Just leave me here to die. Go on yourself to tell everyone what happened." But Ajaruq did not listen to her; he just kept dragging her, sitting on the caribou skin, for miles and miles. Later, when he stopped for a rest, she insisted he must go on alone. They cried together. Then he left, but she said as he left that her wish for him was that he would find a seal on top of the ice - one that had lost its hole - far enough away that it would be too late for him to turn back to her, but soon enough to save him.

He found a seal, killed it, and the sight of the blood made the faces of all those his father had killed appear before him. But he ate some seal and continued on toward Iriptaqtuq. As he approached, he was afraid to face the people and thought of killing himself; he actually tried but failed.

When he arrived in camp at Iriptaqtuq, Ajaruq found his real mother Ujaralaaq and her husband Maliki. They believed his story, but others camped there thought maybe he did all the killing, since he was the only one to survive. But he was telling the truth, his mother could tell. She said "This child was brought up with love all around him, and could not have done that."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> After finishing the above story, Mrs. Bruce looked straight at me and said: "I am saying the same words to you that Ajaruq said to his mother when he told this story. It is not a legend. It is a true story." The precise story, as recorded above, was passed from Ajaruq to his mother Ujaralaaq to her daughter Toota to her daughter Tuinnaq, who told me through translation by her daughter Manitok.