Paddling with the Ancestors:
Elders' Perspectives on the Construction and Use of the Caribou Skin Qajaq

By
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Shawn L. Charlebois

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

Master of Arts

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Abstract

Paddling with the Ancestors

Elders' Perspectives on caribou skin qajaq construction and use.

The Harvaqtuurmiut have used the caribou skin qajaq since time immemorial, its sleek bow and elegant design splitting the waves of inland waterways in an effort to harvest caribou, fish and birds. By refining and developing the qajaq over countless years, the Harvaqtuurmiut have developed a device which has allowed them to survive in a continually challenging environment. The geographic location of the Harvaqtuurmiut has led them to create an original qajaq style and shape, in turn making it a unique part of Baker Lake culture.

This thesis will illustrate the historical and contemporary importance of the caribou skin qajaq to the Harvaqtuurmiut, as seen in the care, time and belief entailed in its creation and use. By focusing primarily on the oral historical accounts of Elders this report will show how the Baker Lake community uses traditional qajaq knowledge to maintain or reintroduce traditional cultural practices. By applying the concepts associated with qajaq construction and use, which combines the analysis of social, cultural and spiritual components, this project will illustrate the potential benefits to Inuit and Non-Inuit communities alike. More specifically, this thesis will be of value to Aboriginal and Inuit groups, agencies, bands and cultural centres interested in restoring

traditional values and beliefs and in strengthening Aboriginal identity.

Acknowlegements

I would like to thank the Creator for allowing me to stay healthy in body, mind and spirit, for without my health I could not have been able to successfully complete this challenging project. I would also like to give thanks to my soulmate, Trudy Smith, who gave me strength, support and love when I needed it the most. Thank you for all the countless hours that you spent reading and correcting thesis drafts. Although you may disagree, I could not have completed this project without you. Also, a special thanks to my loving parents and family, especially for those late night calls just to tell me how proud you were of me. Even though I did not seem grateful at the time I now relize that you were the ones who instilled the desire to grow, learn and succeed. Thank You.

Thank you very much to the people of Baker Lake, especially David Webster, Lucy Evo, Sam Itkilik and the Elders. You made my stay in the community a positive and wonderful experience. I gained an understanding of Inuit culture which could not have been found anywhere else on the planet. You opened your arms and your hearts and accepted me.

Other people who have provided continual support for this project are Fred Shore, William Koolage, Chris Trott, Jill Oakes and Kenneth Lister. Their knowledge and input have allowed me to

explore refreshing concepts and ideas about oral historical knowledge and the caribou skin qajaq. I would also like to give a special thanks to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives staff for their help in finding materials which added substance to this topic. I would also like to thank all my friends. You know who you are!

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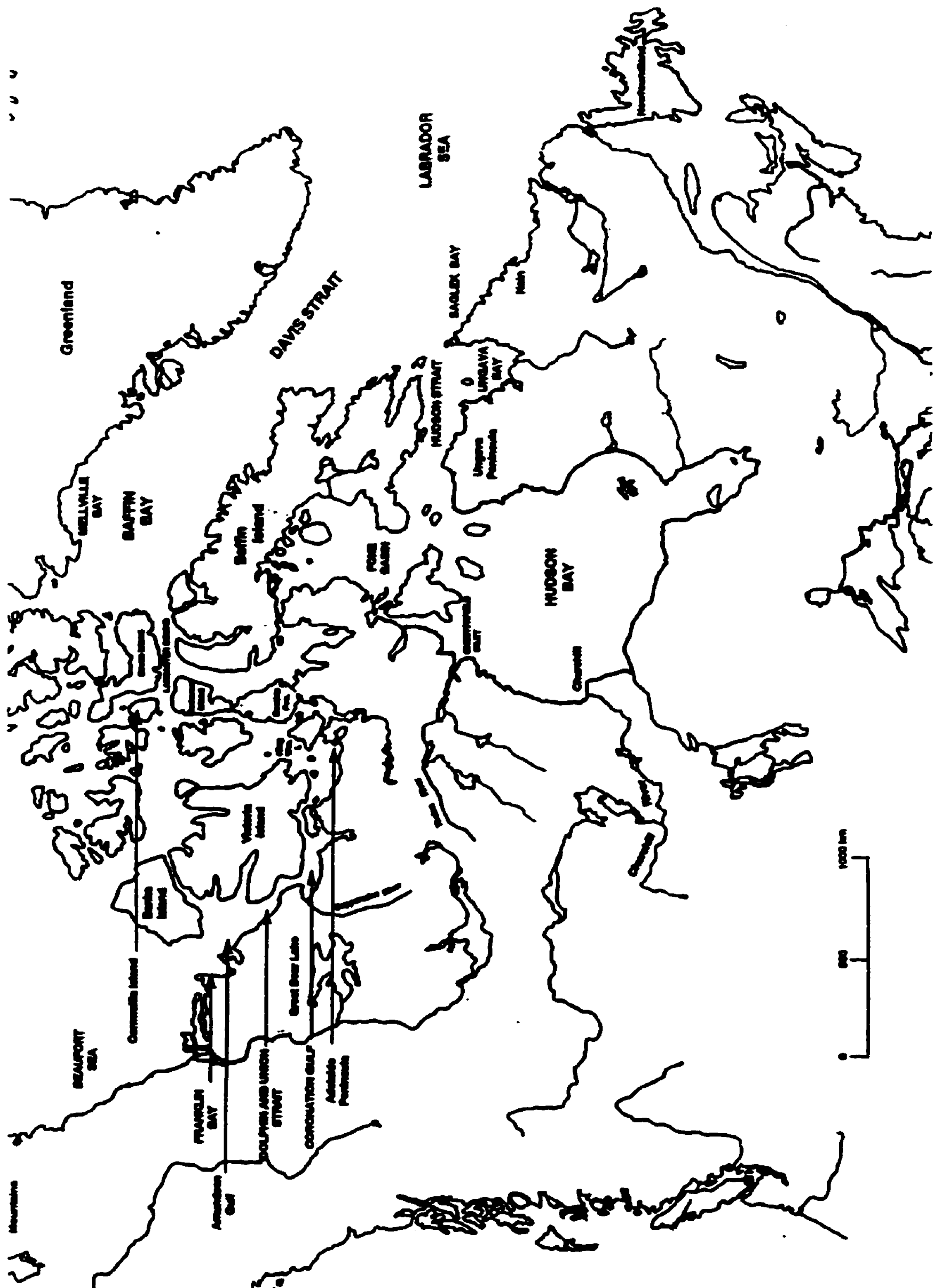
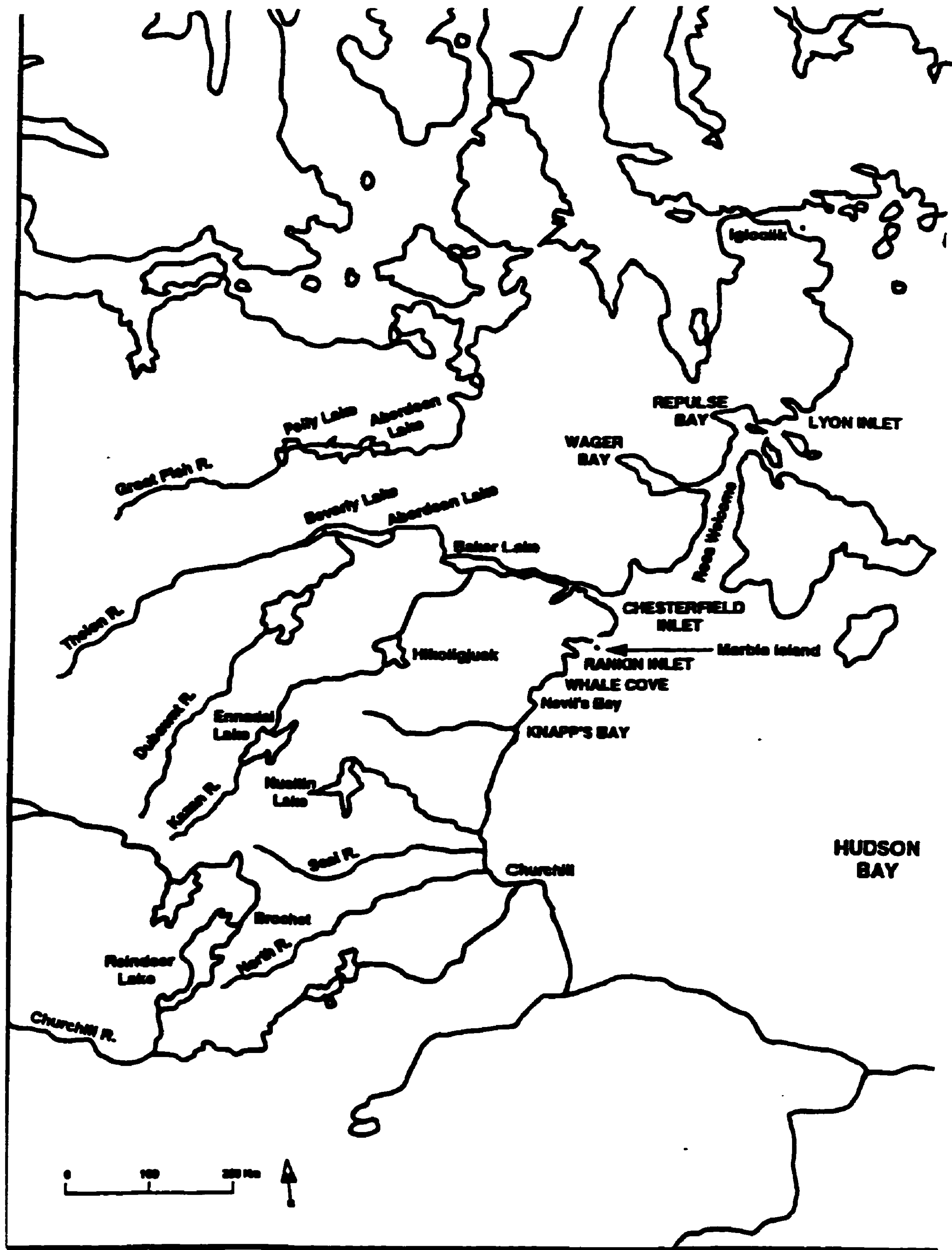


Map of the North American Arctic
(Fossett 1995, p.21)



Map of West Hudson Bay
(Fossett 1995, p.96)

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview

The central Canadian Arctic is a continually challenging environment; a place where access to everyday necessities such as food, shelter and clothing is predicated on an unquestionable respect for the land and water (Alerk, Kingilik, Piryuaq, Taipanak, Tiktaalaaq, Tunguaq and Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998). The Qamanittuaqmiut (Inuit who live in Baker Lake), who traditionally lived throughout the Keewatin district, have been able to exist and flourish because of their skill, knowledge and understanding of their surroundings (Hoffman 1976, p.69). As a direct result of this environmental awareness, the Elders, who were consulted for this research project and who now live in Baker Lake (Qamanittuaq), have observed or participated in the development and use of a wide variety of instruments and techniques in an effort to harvest Arctic resources. One of the most important and successful historical instruments ever witnessed or used by these people is the caribou skin qajaq.

The Elders suggested that prior to the 1960s the caribou skin qajaq played an extremely important role within "Caribou Inuit" social and cultural life. Its light weight and superb maneuverability united the Inuit with the water, with the animals and with their neighbors. The caribou skin qajaq supplied the hunter with a craft to spear migrating caribou while they were

passing through inland lakes and rivers, the time when they were most vulnerable. The caribou skin qajaq would also be used by the hunter to catch fish and moulting birds (Arima 1975, p.147-153; Birket-Smith 1929, p.110-111; Boas 1972, p.93-94; Jenness 1993, p.411; Nelson 1975, p.306; Roberts & Shackelton 1983, p.133, 138-139; Symington 1965, p.50; Tyrrell 1897, p.167).

Traditional caribou skin qajaq construction and use was, and still is, an extremely important aspect of Qamanittuaqmiut identity. By recording the oral history of Baker Lake Elders, who possess a wealth of information relating to this subject, I have aided the community in its efforts to preserve oral traditional information which might have otherwise been lost. It is my hope, as well as the hope of other researchers such as Hattie Mannik (1993, 1998) and Eugene Arima (1975), that this material will not only be beneficial to me, but also be of value to Aboriginal groups, agencies, bands and cultural centres interested in restoring traditional values and beliefs in order to strengthen Aboriginal identity.

1.2 Purpose of the Investigation

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the contemporary significance of the qajaq in Baker Lake Inuit identity and to critique the academic context of caribou skin qajaqs. By focusing primarily on oral historical documentation this study has addressed how the present Baker Lake population perceive and

relate to traditional caribou skin qajaq knowledge within a social, spiritual and cultural context.

1.3 Objectives of the Investigation

My overall research objectives are:

a) to aid the community of Baker Lake in its attempts to record and preserve the oral accounts of Elders in regards to caribou skin qajaq construction and use,

b) to identify and survey the members of the Qamanittuaqmiut population who are interested in maintaining traditional caribou skin qajaq knowledge as a way of regaining or strengthening Inuit identity, and

c) to examine the pressures which promote the idea of "standardization" of qajaq design and use and in turn inhibit the reintroduction or maintenance of traditional knowledge.

1.4 Justification for the Investigation

Baker Lake is a unique community which consists of nine distinct "Caribou Inuit" groups which have inhabited the Keewatin district since time immemorial. The opportunity to interact directly with people who have used, or seen people use, caribou skin qajaqs to hunt or fish is much greater in Baker Lake than in many other Inuit communities within the Canadian Arctic. During my research the community had access to the knowledge of one hundred people over the age of sixty. Although all of these people are not

recognized as "True Elders*" many of them are still very knowledgable. It was through the "True Elders" that I was able to collect original, non-published information pertaining to caribou skin qajaq construction and use. Also, since many of the Elders that I worked with are much older than sixty it was a priority of this researcher, as well as the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre, to record and preserve any of their personal oral accounts.

With the continual growth of environmental problems and increased interest in eco-tourism, Western culture has grasped at environmentally friendly ways to enjoy nature. The qajaq has been adopted by many people as a way to experience the outdoors without damaging an already battered world. However, contemporary qajaq construction companies such as Dagger and Perception, to name a few, are making millions of dollars from an Inuit technology while very little credit, if any, has been given to

---

* For the sake of clarity I must examine the term "Elder" within a Baker Lake context. When asked how many Elders lived in Baker Lake, David Webster stated that there were 100 people over the age of 60 living in the community. However, he was quick to suggest that there exists a local definition of an Elder. According to David, the major difference between an elderly person and an Elder was broken down to one question: Who lived on the land? David explained that there were many older people who lived in the community but most of them have spent the majority of their lives in Baker Lake. Only a few people like Tiktaalaaq, Piryuaq and Tunguaq have lived on the land for the majority of their lives. The role of Elders within the Baker Lake community in regards to the reintroduction and maintenance of traditional knowledge will be examined in greater detail later.

It is uncertain who created this definition. It would be either David Webster's own interpretation of what an Elder is or a definition held by the entire community, including the Hamlet office and Elders' Council.

those people who originally developed and used the qajaq (Ernerk 1998, p.A9).

Researcher, Eugene Arima, has carefully focused on the construction of a caribou skin qajaq in his 1975 publication "A Contextual Study Of The Caribou Eskimo Kayak." Within this text, Arima provided in-depth, step-by-step instructions on how to build a "traditional" Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq. He also provided information which wove the qajaq into the historical, ecological, social and ideational aspects of Baker Lake Inuit life.

My study is designed to complement Arima's study by addressing questions that deal with the role of the caribou skin qajaq within a Baker Lake Inuit world view. Also, since 1966, when Arima undertook fieldwork in Baker Lake, much has changed. Many of the people who had traditional caribou skin qajaq knowledge have passed away and the concern that important Inuit cultural information will be lost forever is great.

1.5 Parameters of the Investigation

This thesis includes information based on the oral accounts of six Baker Lake Elders and one non-Inuk man by the name of David Webster. David's experience and knowledge relating to the Elders and local Inuit oral and material culture is acknowledged and respected by members of the community.

The time periods which have been explored during this study have been determined by the memories, experiences and stories of those people interviewed. The interviews were held

between June 16, 1998 and July 2, 1998. Valuable pictorial, oral accounts, video and written materials have been collected from the Hudson's Bay Company Achives, the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. The majority of this information was used outside of this thesis in an attempt to gain a better understanding of Inuit and European life in the central Canadian Arctic. Some of the information has been incorporated into this work.

1.6 Limitations of the Investigation

This research project has been greatly affected by cultural limitations such as language, gender and my necessarily limited understanding of Qamanittuaqmiut culture. Firstly, although the majority of the population of Baker Lake speak English, the Elders that I worked with spoke only Inuktitut. This could have posed a serious problem if it were not for Sam Itkilik, a resident of Baker Lake, who is fluent in both English and Inuktitut. This made the job much easier. It should also be noted that Jimmy Taipanak, Sam Itkilik and the other Elders came from different geographical Inuit groups and although they now live in the same community, there were still obvious differences in word use and definition. Also, many of the words which were used in response to my interview questions were old terms which Sam was unable to confidently translate or comprehend. There is no doubt in my mind that important information was lost in the translations.

Secondly, as a male researcher, I had to maintain sensitivity to the fact that much of the traditional caribou skin qajaq knowledge was held by women. Although my gender did not seem to interfere with my interviews I am unable to definitely say that it did not effect the women's responses.

Two other limitations that I faced as a researcher are the location of the community and funding. These two obstacles are, in my opinion, the most difficult to avoid and, in practical terms, the most important to overcome. The amount of time that I was able to spend in the community of Baker Lake was limited to only five weeks.

1.7 Chapter Summary

By working with the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre I was able to interact with six community Elders who possed knowledge relating to the creation and use of the caribou skin qajaq. During this time I was able to record, and later reflect upon, their oral accounts and successfully address my research objectives.

Chapter Two: Methodology and Method

2.1 Methodology

> Oral history is a modern research technique for preserving knowledge of historical events as recounted by participants. It involves the tape recording of an interview with a knowledgeable person, someone who knows whereof he or she speaks from personal participation or observation, about a subject of historical interest.
>
> (Baum 1977, p.5)

In this study, I used an oral-historical research methodology to gather descriptions of traditional caribou skin qajaq construction and use by the Qamanittuaqmiut. This methodology was chosen because it allowed me to aid the community in its attempts to explore and preserve valuable oral traditional knowledge before it was lost. This methodology was also selected as a way to examine unique personal accounts and to build upon previous academic caribou skin qajaq studies.

2.2 Examination of Oral Historical Research

Historically, Aboriginal peoples of North America have used complex oral accounts to educate and explain important historical and cultural events. Although certain cultural components, such as songs, geographical information and group discussions were sometimes recorded on pieces of bark or hide, the majority of the information was passed from person to person through personal experience, story or myth (Crowe 1992, p.28-29,

31; Cruikshank 1989, p.25-26, 29-30; Fienup-Riordan 1994, p.205-220; Hart 1995, p.3-5; Mannik 1998; Schenck 1996, p.242-243; Webster 1998, p.4; Wuttunee 1996).

However, it has been suggested in the writtings of Arima (1976), Brown & Viberrt (1996), Cruikshank (1990) and Henige (1982) that in many instances these oral historical accounts have been unjustly subjected to intense examination and scrutiny by academics who question the reliability and accuracy of oral accounts and continually compare them to the "legitimacy" of European based written sources. Arima, in his 1976 article "An Assessment of the Reliability of Informant Recall ," strongly supports the use of oral historical research and strongly believes in the accountability of an individual's memory in relation to accurately explaining historical events. An example which shows how oral account are dismissed by some academics can be found in Henige's 1982 text *Oral Historiography.*

> I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever.
>
> (Lowie quoted in Henige 1982, p.7).

This Eurocentric bias, in my opinion, maintains the idea that oral historical accounts from Aboriginal peoples cannot be as truthful as written accounts. The implication is that Aboriginal peoples of the Americas could not have successfully recorded their own history prior to the arrival of European explorers.

I strongly believe, as do other researchers such as Arima (1976), Cruikshank (1990), Hart (1995), Riewe (1991), Vansina (1985) and Wuttunee (1997) that oral accounts add to the depth and clarity of a topic; it is through these songs, stories, and myths that a researcher is able to see the faces within history, rather than merely the "facts."

An example which clearly shows the ability of Aboriginal peoples to maintain and record important cultural information can be found within Theresa Schenck's article "William W. Warren's History of the Ojibway People: Tradition, History, and Context." Schenck explores one man's attempt in the late 1840's and early 1850's to blend traditional oral Ojibway practices with that of a written European style. Since Warren was half Ojibway, he strongly felt that he was qualified, more so than non-Aboriginal missionaries and travelers, to explore and record Ojibway life. Warren's intention was to record and preserve important cultural components by listening to the stories and experiences of Ojibway Elders (Schenck 1996, p.244-245). Warren states that his study was an ...

> account of the principal events which have occurred to the Ojibway within the past five centuries, as obtained from the lips of their old men and chiefs who are the repositories of the traditions of the tribe.
>
> (Warren quoted in Schenck 1996, p.243)

During the 1840s and early 1850s, accounts about Aboriginal peoples were shrouded in European bias, ethnocentrism and stereotypical image. Missionaries, traders and explorers

witnessed and recorded Ojibway practices but were unable, or unwilling, to truly understand what they saw and heard (Larocque 1988, p.199-203). Warren's work is unique because it is an early account of Ojibway life written by a man who saw himself as Ojibway. His insights into Ojibway culture clarifies, expands upon and discredits many of the earlier European observations of his people (Schenck 1996, p.243-245). Warren was aware that during his attempt to create an honest description of Ojibway culture he would encounter many exaggerated or fictitious stories. To avoid the possibility of recording inaccurate information Warren saw the need to work with many people from several different communities. This newspaper article, which is from the *Minnesota Democrat*, 11 February 1851, explains how William Warren conducted his research.

> In order to arrive at the truth of a fact obtained of an Indian, respecting their past history, a person must go from one old man to another of different villages or sections of the tribe, and obtain the version of each: if they all agree in the main fact, even if they disagree in the details, you can then be certain that the circumstances had happened and that the tale has a substantial origin.
>
> (Minnesota Democrat, 11 February 1851, quoted in Schenck 1996, p.245)

Warren promotes the idea that his style of information gathering is more likely to be successful, in terms of accuracy, than that of other ethnographic reports which were conducted by

European representatives, such as missionaries and traders. However, Schenck suggests that Warren strays from his previous research methods and relies heavily on his own interpretations of Ojibway culture. It is important to remember that Warren is only half Ojibway and that he spent several years with his non-Aboriginal father. It is possible that while in his father's care Warren adopted many of the racist, biased attitudes that non-Aboriginal peoples had towards Aboriginal populations. Schenck gives examples of how Warren's choice of word and thought place him in a position of superiority over his Ojibway relatives.

> They are a fast-disappearing "red race of North America." The bones of their ancestors are sprinkled through soil on which our homesteads are now erected. We owe them sympathy and attention now, before their traditions fall into total oblivion.
>
> (Warren quoted in Schenck 1996, p.245)

In a time when Aboriginal peoples are attempting to reclaim their cultural identity, such historic works as William Warren's "History of the Ojibway People" affect the ways in which Ojibway people perceive themselves. Schenck agrees that Warren's accounts are extremely valuable and helpful. However, she feels that his work should not be taken at face value; rather it should be subjected to critical reflection and interpretation in order to create as valid and honest an understanding of Ojibway life as possible. It must be remembered that, as with any other researcher, historical or contemporary, Warren's understanding of the world was

determined by his own life experiences. These experiences, which blended European and Ojibway thought, greatly affected the ways in which he perceived the Ojibway people. Schenck strongly suggests that the reader look at these accounts in a critical way keeping in mind that Warren's own interpretations are present (Schenck 1996, p.254-255).

Schenck uses Warren's written accounts in her attempt to reveal the powerful position in which researchers can find themselves. She shows that the ramifications of a researcher's actions, in this case the recording of historical Ojibway life, can have a major effect in determining the direction in which a culture travels. Slight modifications to a researcher's observations, which may be seen as insignificant at the time and which may be done consciously or unconsiously, can have a major detrimental impact when determining the reliability of the source. At times, it may be impossible for the researcher to be aware of the results of his or her actions. William Warren probably never thought that his works would be used by contemporary Ojibway peoples as an educational written account; an account which is seen to contain "accurate traditional" information. If he had been aware of the future of his book he might have recorded the accounts of the Elders in greater detail and made an attempt at suppressing his own interpretations.

After conducting my fieldwork and attempting to compile and organize the information for this thesis I can relate to Warren's personal challenges when working with the Ojibway. In his attempt to record historical information, very much like my attempt to record the knowledge of Baker Lake Elders, Warren placed himself

in the margins of historical practice. This margin, which encompassed a written oral history, could easily be seen as an oxymoron. However, it is interesting to note that over a century later I was faced with many of the same challenges.

Warren's research techniques clearly show that oral historical research can play a critical role in the collection and preservation of Aboriginal culture. It is interesting to note that although European scholars viewed Warren's "interview" techniques as a new method of research, these techniques had been practiced among the Ojibway people for millenia.

In the 1940s, a man by the name of Allan Nevins designed and began to implement new ways in which European scholars could conduct interviews. With significant advancements in audio technology, Nevins felt that historians could use tape-recorders to collect and preserve important oral historical accounts. With an increase in demand by scholars for these new interview techniques and the desire to develop and promote his oral historical research, Nevins established the Oral History Research office at Columbia University. During this time, Nevins' primary goal "was to interview prominent Americans about their role in and observations on American history and life." Nevins hoped to record valuable information which he thought was being lost at an alarming rate due to technological advancements such as the telephone (Neuenschwander 1975, p.7-8).

Neuenschwander suggests in his 1975 text *Oral History As A Teaching Approach*, that by the mid-1960s the public and academic demand for skills relating to oral historical research had

become so large that a national organization was founded to promote and develop the interview technique. In addition to the creation of this national organization, Neuenschwander states that it was at this time that a noticeable shift took place in the types of people being sought after by historians to be interviewed. While university programs still focused their oral historical research on prominent people, emerging projects began to seek out people of ethnic, minority and regional cultural groups in order to gather oral historical information from a "grass roots" level (Neuenschwander 1975, p. 8).

Oral historical research blossomed from the 1940s to the 1970s. Vansina suggests that this growth may be tied into the fact that historians wanted to break away from the overly used and abused historical field and explore new areas of research. In other cases, Vansina states, it was simply a reflection of the times. History, like the third world, needed to be decolonized, to be allowed to grow and to incorporate all avenues of knowledge, especially oral accounts (Vansina 1967, p.57-82). Whatever the reason, scholars such as Arima, Cruikshank, Hart, Riewe and Vansina see that oral historical research is a valuable way to collect and preserve cultural information.

Oral historical research can be, and has been, applied to a broad range of areas within the social and physical sciences; for example, it is used in genealogical research, development in Aboriginal self-government, wildlife management and geographical research. By incorporating personal accounts, through direct or indirect experiences, a researcher is able to explore

possible areas which may add or subtract credibility and clarity to a study (Epstein and Mendelsohn 1978, p.1-11; Riewe 1991, p.287-299; Fienup-Riordan 1994, p. 193-215).

An example of how oral traditional environmental knowledge aids geographical research can be found in Marc G. Stevenson's 1996 article "Indigenous Knowledge in Environmental Assessment." Stevenson discusses how federal environmental guidelines require developers to consider the "traditional knowledge" of Aboriginal peoples in an effort to better understand the effects of environmental, economic and social change within northern projects. By using indigenous knowledge, companies such as BHP Diamonds Inc. at Lac de Grans in the Northwest Territories have gained increased understanding of how diamond mining would negatively affect the northern environment. By incorporating this in-depth traditional knowledge about the land, water and air, Aboriginal people have aided in the development of mining projects which have lessened the effects of mining on the land and communities of the area (Stevenson 1996, p. 278, 284-285).

2.3 Methods

In order to gain historical information relating to the creation and use of the caribou skin qajaq by the Caribou Inuit of the Keewatin district, I examined archival, museum and library materials. However, I was quick to learn that these materials covered only a limited portion of the history pertaining to the

caribou skin qajaq, Baker Lake and the diverse Inuit population which now live there.

Under the direction of David Webster, the Manager of the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre, members of the Baker Lake Elders Council, as well as local Inuit, I was able to conduct several interviews which added to this study. By strongly supporting a collaborative based research method, which gave the community a loud and powerful voice over the way in which material was gathered and the direction which this project took, I gained the respect and support of the community and was able to gain access to the experiences of those people who knew the most about the construction and use of caribou skin qajaqs, the Elders. By incorporating these interviews, I was able to give a place to Aboriginal opinion and to add testimony to work already done. As a result of this interaction I was able to gather "new" information pertaining to caribou skin qajaq production and use which might never have been recorded in an academic setting. Also, by recording this information I have been able to help the community in their efforts to preserve historical Inuit information for future generations. Since this project was collaborative based, all of the information which was gathered was returned to the community. Copies of the audio cassettes, which held the voices and stories of the Elders, photographs of the Elders, as well as "tourist" photographs, a bound "community" document, which contained a compilation of all the interviews, consent forms and Elders photographs, as well as my thesis were given to the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre for public display and use. Individually

bound "books," containing interviews and photographs, were given to each Elder which included only his/her interview and the photos taken of him/her. It should be noted that the interviews were recorded on micro-audio cassettes but for the benefit of the Inuit Heritage Centre they were transferred onto regular sized 60 minute cassettes.

During these interviews I asked the participants if they had any personal stories, historical accounts, technical information, historical photographs or traditional knowledge which they felt was relevant to this study and should be preserved for future generations. Throughout my stay I worked closely with several Inuit Elders ranging in age from 65 to the mid-90s. Their names were: Jimmy Taipanak* who originally came from the Ellice (Inuktitut name is Koonayuk) and Perry River Area; Barnabas Piryuaq, a 72 year old Qairngnirmiut Elder who was born across from Qikiktauyaq which is located near the Kazan River; Emily Alerk, a 66 year old Qairngnirmiut Elder who was born near Sugarloaf, just west of the mouth of the Kazan River; Ada Kingilik, a 65 year old Akilinirmiut Elder who was born near Akiliniq but was brought up in the Akiliniq (Beverly Lake) area; David Tiktaalaaq, a 74 year old Harvaqtuurmiut Elder who was born near Ittimniq, which is located on the Kazan River; and Luke Tunguaq, a 71 year old Harvaqtuurmiut Elder who was also born on the Kazan River. Mr. Tunguaq, who has a wealth of traditional

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*Jimmy Taipanak stated that he was born before birth dates were recorded. His birth certificate stated that he was born in 1919 but Taipanak states that he was born earlier than that.

knowledge pertaining to caribou skin qajaq construction and use, is recognized as an expert by the local Heritage Centre as well as the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. I also interviewed David Webster who moved to Baker Lake in 1965 and has played an important role in the preservation and presentation of Inuit culture. He has been an active representative to federal and provincial governmental organizations in regards to Inuit cultural development. David was also the acting Editor for *Inuktitut* magazine. He is currently acting as the Manager of the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre.

The interviews were recorded in the homes of the participants, within the "Elder's Room" which is located in the Inuit Heritage Centre or in the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation studio. The information which was shared during these interviews was recorded on a Sony micro-audio tape recorder and transcribed into English. My intention was to translate this information into Inuktitut but I was unable to do this because of financial constraints.

The Baker Lake Inuit Cultural Centre contains historical material, such as archaeological artifacts, caribou skin qajaqs, maps, archival photographs, as well as recorded oral accounts. Although the majority of this historical material was not incorporated into my thesis it still played a valuable role in my understanding of the Elders' interviews.

Documentaries from the National Film Board, as well as from the Netsilik Series and the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation have also been informally used to increase my understanding of

Baker Lake Inuit culture. In addition, I have also gathered information from personal communications with people who have knowledge pertaining to caribou skin qajaq use and construction such as Dr. Harold "Buster" Welch (Fresh Water Institute, University of Manitoba), Dr. Rick Riewe (Dept. of Zoology, University of Manitoba), Dr. Jillian Oakes (Dept. of Native Studies, University of Manitoba), David Webster (Manager of Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre, Baker Lake, NT), Andrew Stewart (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario) and Kenneth Lister (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario).

Material from the following archives and libraries have been explored:

Hudson's Bay Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; University of Manitoba Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba; University of Winnipeg Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Centennial Public Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Pembina Trail Public Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Aboriginal Peoples Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Materials from the following museums have been examined: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Churchill Eskimo Museum, Churchill, Manitoba; Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg, Manitoba, as well as the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre, Baker Lake, N.T.

2.4 Chapter Summary

During my fieldwork an oral historical research methodology was used to gather information from the Elders. By relying on a collaborative relationship, which supported strong community voice and involvement, I was able to aid the commnunity in its efforts to record cultural information. This chapter also examines the historical development of oral historical research.

Chapter Three: Baker Lake (Qamanittuaq)

3.1 The Baker Lake Environment

The community of Baker Lake, or Qamanittuaq as it is known by its Inuit population, is located 333 kilometers west of the Hudson Bay, approximately 1500 kilometers north of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and 266 kilometers south of the Arctic Circle. This community, which is situated in the Keewatin District, is recognized as the only inland Inuit settlement in the Nunavut Territory. The community of Baker Lake sits adjacent to the lake from which it received its name. This lake, which is 100 kilometers long and 25 to 33 kilometers wide, receives large volumes of water from two major rivers in the Keewatin District, the Kazan and the Thelon. The Kazan River flows northward from the northern Saskatchewan border for 850 kilometers to its opening at Baker Lake and then drains through Chesterfield Inlet into Hudson Bay. The Thelon River flows east of Great Slave Lake and the northern Saskatchewan border for 900 kilometers across the Mackenzie and Keewatin districts and into Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet and then into the Hudson Bay. Both of these rivers play an extremely important role in the cultural development of the "Caribou Inuit." It is through these rivers that the large herds of migrating caribou cross in an effort to reach their calving and wintering grounds (Beal 1968, P.205-207; Stevenson 1967, P.1-3; Vallee 1967, p.7-8; NWT Data Book 1987, P.104; Tagoona 1991, P.20).

Baker Lake is situated on flat tundra, 160 kilometers north of the treeline. Due to shallow soil, boggy ground and harsh weather the only trees which can be found in the surrounding areas are dwarf willows which rarely exceed two feet in height. Permafrost also plays a major role in the difficult growing conditions. Poor drainage and frozen ground make it difficult for plant life to grow and thrive. However, in the short summers, lichens, mosses and a variety of flowers grow exceedingly well (Birket-Smith 1933, p.111-112; NWT Data Book 1987, p.104; Stevenson 1967, p.1-3; Vallee 1967, p.7-8).

Climatic conditions for the region consist of long cold winters and short cool summers. Temperatures range from –30 to –37 degrees Celsius in January, to 5.6 to 15.7 degrees Celsius in July (NWT Data Book 1987, p.104).

3.2 The "Caribou Inuit"

"Caribou Inuit" are unique among Eskimoan societies, solely because of their complete dependency on an inland species, such as the Barren Ground Caribou (*Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*). Other inland species, such as freshwater fish, birds and musk- ox were also important to the central Inuit, but their role in everyday life was not as crucial as the caribou. Birket-Smith (1929) suggests that the "Caribou Inuit" can be divided into five cultural groups*: "the Quernermiut, Harvaqtormiut, Hauneqtomiut,

*It should be noted that the spelling used by Birket-Smith (1929), Vallee (1967) and Hoffman (1976) to describe the "Caribou Inuit,"

the Interior Padlimiut and the Coastal Padlimiut" (Birket-Smith, quoted in Vallee 1967, p.21). Vallee and Hoffman add to Birket-Smith's "Caribou Inuit" grouping by incorporating the Utkuhikhalingmiut and the Hailingnayokmiut (Hoffman 1976, p.69; Vallee 1967, p.21). However, the Elders' council of Baker Lake has actually clarified the above reports and concluded that there are nine distinct Inuit groups which now live in the community of Baker Lake (See definition section).

In Eugene Arima's 1994 article "Caribou and Iglulik Inuit Kayaks," a suggestion has been made that it was not until the later part of the 19th century that Caribou Inuit inhabited inland areas year round. Prior to this, Arima states, the caribou Inuit were very much coastal peoples, relying heavily on marine mammals such as whales and seal. He implies that this geographical movement from the coastal areas to the inland areas was the result of increased access to European supplies as a result of the whaling trade. Access to ammunition allowed Caribou Inuit to harvest inland migratory caribou with greater success throughout the year (Arima 1994, p.193-194).

Vallee argues in his 1967 text, *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin,* that this specific cultural division of Inuit groups is necessary in order to disassemble the misleading generic term of "Caribou Eskimo." This phrase, "Caribou Eskimo," implies to the reader that each Inuit group, living in the Keewatin area, shared the same social and cultural components. Although

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as well as the areas in which they hunted and lived are different from those listed by the Elders of Baker Lake.

this may be the case in many aspects, Vallee suggests that the Keewatin Inuit were extremely culturally diverse, having different languages, religious beliefs and social and cultural habits. However, archaeological evidence, in the form of tent rings, grave sites and bone artifacts found near Baker Lake implies that the majority of Keewatin Inuit can trace their origins to the Thule culture, which migrated into the Keewatin barren grounds approximately 1000 years ago (Beal 1968, p.49-51; Birket-Smith 1929, p.5-12, 127-132; Hoffman 1976, p.69; NWT Data Book 1987, p.104; Vallee 1967, p.20-23).

3.3 Early European Exploration of Chesterfield Inlet and Baker Lake

It has been stated in the text, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870* (Ruggles 1991), that there were
three main reasons why the Hudson's Bay Company wished to explore, map and occupy inland travel routes; these reasons were "the hope of drawing an increasing number of Indians from the northwest across to Churchill, the possibility of finding ore and the general desire to be acquainted with the hinterland of the factory" (Ruggles 1991, p.42). This inland travel would hopefully establish new Hudson's Bay Company posts, resulting in extensive trade with inland Inuit groups. Fox fur, caribou meat and hides, as well as copper were high on the Hudson's Bay Company list of

potential trade goods (Hearne 1958, p.213-215, Symington 1965, p.43).

As a result of this desire to establish new trade connections with inland Inuit groups, many Hudson's Bay Company ships were sent north from Fort Prince of Wales in the late 1740s, 1750s and early 1760s in an effort to find waterways into the northern interior. Although the desire to find the North-West Passage was no longer the primary focus of the Company, the post was still deeply devoted to northern slooping voyages. On July 13th 1762, the sloop Churchill, captained by William Christopher, and the cutter Strivewell, captained by Moses Norton, arrived at the area where the Thelon and Dubawnt Rivers empty into Baker Lake. It was at this time that they named the lake after Sir William Baker and his brother Richard Baker (Christopher 1762, HBCA B.42/a/58; NWT Data Book 1987, p.104; Stevenson 1967, p.2).

Christopher and Norton continued to explore Baker Lake until the 12th of August. In total, this expedition traveled two hundred and thirty miles into Chesterfield Inlet. Neither captain made any observation which would suggest to the Hudson's Bay Company Committee that there was a water outlet which would allow a ship to travel further to the west (Rich 1958, p. 628). On the 13th of August, both ships began their return journey to Fort Prince of Wales in order to report their findings. They arrived back at the Fort on August 26, 1762 (HBCA B.42/a/58).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American whalers wintered in the Hudson Bay where they traded goods with visiting Inuit groups from the Baker Lake area. Prior to the arrival

of trade goods in this area it was suggested that these Inuit groups rarely visited the Arctic coast. In an attempt to gather whale oil, sperm oil and baleen, American whalers became the first Europeans to establish informal "commercial contacts" with the Keewatin Inuit. Although the Hudson's Bay Company successfully traveled to Baker Lake as early as the eighteenth century, it was not until 1909 that the company saw the potential benefits of trading with inland Inuit groups (Beal 1968, p.156-159; NWT Data Book 1987, p.104; Stevenson 1967, p.2).

With an increased demand for white fox furs, the Hudson's Bay Company officially opened a permanent trading post at Baker Lake in 1916. This post was situated on Okpiktooyuk Island on the south side of Baker Lake and adjacent to the mouth of the Kazan River. Independent trading posts, such as Revillon Freres Company, which also sought to gain profit from Inuit-supplied fox furs, were soon bought out by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1936, all Hudson's Bay Company buildings were moved from Okpiktooyuk Island by dog team to the present day Baker Lake location. In 1927, Roman Catholic and Anglican missions were established in the Baker Lake area (Stevenson 1967, p.1-3; Vallee 1967, p.24-25).

In the 1920s and early 1930s, an intensive and successful European trapping network was established in the Baker Lake area. With this system securely in place, increased numbers of Europeans migrated into the area to work and live. During this time, many surrounding Inuit groups also moved their settlements closer to the Baker Lake community in the hopes that they could

trade their goods and obtain supplies. Seeing the possibility for problems, the RCMP installed a temporary unit in the community of Baker Lake in the early 1920s. It was not until 1938, however, that a permanent RCMP post was opened (Stevenson 1967, p.2; Vallee 1967; p.24).

During the following twenty to twenty-five years, the community of Baker Lake continued to grow. With the arrival of the Canadian military in 1946 and the introduction of project "Muskox," life in Baker Lake changed dramatically. After the Second World War American paranoia of foreign invasion and Canadian concern for sovereignty increased. To remove these concerns, military testing designed to see if Canadian forces could endure the difficult environmental conditions of the Arctic, began. Forty-six men and eleven snowmobiles traveled 5000 kilometers from Churchill to Baker Lake, Perry River, Cambridge Bay, Fort Nelson and down to Grande Prairie, Alberta. As a result of operation "Muskox" the community of Baker Lake received a 4000 foot airstrip and an air traffic unit. Prior to this airstrip, all aircraft arriving at Baker Lake were equipped with floatation devices and landed on the lake. In 1948, the Meteorological Branch of the Department of Transport received control of the airstrip and adjoining flight control buildings (Stevenson 1967, p.3; Vallee 1967, p.25-26; Beal 1968, p.654; NWT Data Book 1987, p.104).

In the 1920s, Caribou Inuit populations in the Keewatin area were decimated by disease and starvation. These problems, which continued well into the 1950s, caused many "Caribou Inuit" to move, or to be relocated by governmental agencies to

settlements such as Baker Lake, Gjoa Haven, Whale Cove, Rankin Inlet and Arviat. In order to rectify some of these problems the Department of National Health and Welfare built a four bedroom nursing station in the community. In 1957, the Federal Day School was built and in 1963 Baker Lake became the Keewatin headquarters for the RCMP (Stevenson 1967, p.3; Tagoona 1991, p.20-29; Vallee 1967, p.49-58).

During this time the relationships between Inuit and European cultures became more intertwined. Inuit populations were leaving their traditional ways of life in order to take up residency within or near European cultural centers, such as Baker Lake. Although hunting and fishing remained an important part of Inuit life and identity, people began to rely more on foreign goods brought in from southern places. As a result of this new reliance a transition from a traditional Inuit economy, which promoted trade and the sharing of goods, to that of a western capitalist economic system, which concentrated on the exchange of money for goods, took place. This change forced many Inuit into a position where they found themselves struggling for survival. Unemployment and government subsidies now played a major role in the development of Inuit identity and culture (NWT Data Book 1987, p.104; Vallee 1967, p.33-58).

3.4 Chapter Summary

The desire to expand into the central Arctic by the Hudson's Bay Company led to the development of the community of Baker Lake.

As a result of this foreign invasion Inuit populations began to rely heavily upon European goods and Inuit lifestyles began to change. Today the community of Baker Lake consists of nine distinct Inuit groups.

Chapter Four: The Caribou and the People

4.1 The Barren Ground Caribou and its Role Within Caribou Inuit Culture

> To [the inland Eskimo] the caribou occupies at least the same position as the seal and walrus to their kinsmen [the coastal Eskimo], or as the bison of the past to the Plains Indians. The caribou is the pivot around which all life turns. When it fails, the mechanism of culture comes to a stop and hunger and cold are the consequence for the tribe which, relying upon it, have created an almost incredibly one-sided culture. And yet...this culture is the only one that has made these regions habitable.
>
> (Birket-Smith quoted in Symington 1965, p.69)

Traditionally, a hunter's job of providing food and shelter for his family and community during the winter months was no easy task. Darkness, bitter cold temperatures and strong northern winds made obtaining resources on the land and water extremely difficult and hazardous. Summer, however, provided hunters with longer, warmer days which thawed the sheets of impenetrable ice that had blanketed inland lakes and rivers during the winter months; hunters now had opportunities to use qajaqs. With a qajaq a hunter had access to an environment which teamed with a variety of aquatic life, migratory birds and caribou. For the well-prepared qajaq hunter it was a time of plenty, a time to accumulate oil, meat, hides and furs to carry his family and community through the following winter months. The qajaq also allowed the hunter to

acquire much sought after trade goods, such as caribou furs, which he would later bring to the Hudson's Bay Company posts in exchange for such things as ammunition, flour and sugar (Arima 1975, p.175-179; Crowe 1992, p.58-59; Piryuaq 1998; Roberts and Shackleton 1983, p.133; Symington 1965, p.32-36, 50-51).

Ducks, geese, hares, fish, fox, musk-ox and ptarmigan also played an important role in the lives of the Inuit living in the central Canadian area, supplying them with food and skins for trade. However, no animal other than the Barren Ground Caribou could have supplied Aboriginal, and later European peoples, with the material needed to survive and thrive in the cold Canadian north, for only the caribou has unique hollowed hair which provided insulation against the Arctic cold (Arima 1975, p.179-181; Oakes & Riewe 1995, p.18-20; Oakes, Wilkens, Riewe, Kelker, & Forest 1995, p.83-84, 89).

During the months of September and October, the fur of the caribou is at the proper length to make clothing. Since caribou clothing and footwear are essential for survival during the cold winter months, it is very important for peoples living in the Arctic to obtain large amounts of caribou skins (Hearne 1958, p.213-215, Symington 1965, p.43).

Samuel Hearne, through his observations during his Northern Ocean journey, originally noted with the following statement.

August 31st, 1770.

> The deer's hair being now of a proper length for clothing, it was necessary, according to the custom, to procure as

> many of their skins, while in season, as would make a suit of warm clothing for the Winter and as each grown person requires the prime parts of from eight to eleven of those skins (in proportion to their size) to make a complete suit......
>
> (Hearne 1958, p.98)

After the months of September and October, the hides are no longer as effective in the making of winter clothing. This is due to the looseness and length of the hair as well as the questionable physical state of the caribou during this time since in the months of November and December, the caribou are recovering from the effects of the rutting season. Their fatigued state often leaves them thin and susceptible to worms and warble flies (Arima 1975, p.177-178; Symington 1965, p.39-40; Riewe 1997, personal communication).

4.2 The Caribou Skin Qajaq

As mentioned above, caribou hides were at their best during the months of September and October. However, in an attempt to keep themselves fed the Caribou Inuit began to harvest caribou by qajaq as soon as the herds began to migrate. It was during this time that qajaq hunters, family and friends came together at seasonal river crossings, such as Piqqiq on the Kazan River, to collect these vital Arctic resources.

There were two seasonal caribou migration cycles which took place every year. In the Spring , roughly around the end of April or early May, Inuit left their winter snow-houses and erected

caribou skin tents. It was at this time that entire families, including children, set out to find migrating caribou; which were moving from the boreal forests to the tundra. When the caribou were killed their skins were used for tents, qajaq covers and waterproof summer boots. During this time ice fishing and trapping were major activities (Hoffman 1976, p.73).

The most important caribou migration took place in late August, September and October. During this time large numbers of caribou gathered together and moved from the Barrens to the north to mate. As a result of summer grazing the caribou were fat and their fur was in prime condition for making winter clothing. The caribou were now in perfect shape to be hunted by the Inuit. Hoffman states, "because of these two factors, the caribou were more valuable and desirable during fall than any other time of year" (Hoffman 1976, p.70). It is interesting to note that all camp activities were directed toward the harvesting and caching of caribou. During this time fishing and trapping were no longer done by the men.

Migrating caribou herds tended to cross rivers at or near the same place every year. These river crossing areas would then be used seasonally by the Inuit and recognized as traditional hunting and camping areas. Since the herds consisted of so many animals it did not take long for well prepared hunting parties to meet their quota of meat and fur. Although many hours were spent harvesting caribou the majority of the community's time was dedicated to skinning and gutting the animals, as well as building caches (Hoffman 1976, p.70).

The dictionary defines "kayak" as "an Eskimo canoe made of a skin-covered frame with a small opening and propelled by a double-bladed paddle." Although the underlining sentiment of this definition is true, it does not illustrate in any way the importance of the qajaq to the Caribou Inuit. I understood that the dictionary cannot present the complexities of a word in such a brief form; however, it is interesting to note how non-Inuit culture perceives and presents such an important Aboriginal device. If the definition were to explore the social and cultural importance of a qajaq, it might need to examine how the boat was often a literal extension of the hunter. This extension enabled him to get close enough to Arctic resources to increase his probabilities of a successful kill with short range hunting devices. The definition could also be expanded upon to show how the qajaq helped to sew the fabric of community life together by uniting groups of people in an attempt to strengthen and support Inuit development and growth.

According to Arima the length of a caribou skin qajaq ranged from 17 to 28 feet. They were 15 to 24 inches wide and 71/2 to 12 inches in height. Although these qajaqs varyed in size and shape, they did share a recognizable pattern; such things as a long rising bow, low stern, wide flat deck and narrower bottom as well as a tilted cockpit hoop for easy entry and water displacement (Arima 1990, p.187). Arima states,

> [The qajaq] may be described as typically narrow and proportinally long, sharp-ended in top outlines and low-sided, with the manhole just aft of amidships. The hull bottom may be round .... Framework construction is of wood, sometimes supplemented with bone, pegged and

> lashed together. The wooden framework was composed of two main gunwale planks ... [which were attached] ... to the end horns, numerous [curved] ribs and [straight] cross beams, a single deck batten, and seven stringers below including the central "keelson." Covering was of dehaired caribou skins or ringed seal skins. The skins of the cover were dehaired and stretched wet over the framework to dry on drum-tight without ripples. The kayaker was seated about 1 1/2 feet behind the midpoint of the length, excluding the end horns.
>
> The caribou Eskimo kayak designer sought speed mainly by means of a narrow hull to reduce resistance to passage through water ... length was increased to reduce draft and attendant water resistance. A lower limit to reduce width was set, of course, by the need to accomodate the kayaker's hips.
>
> Light weight was a design principle followed for both speed and ease of portage. Framework pieces were made as thin and light as possible while retaining requisite strength.
>
> For directional control and the overriding of waves, the front was made to ride higher in the water than the rear.
>
> (Arima 1975, p.38-39, 100, 102)

The caribou skin qajaq was not a toy. It was an important, complex device which was used only by skilled hunters. When in use these boats would be strategically placed at seasonal caribou migration areas and hidden from the sight of the oncoming herds. During this time the qajaq hunters would wait for the caribou to pass where the hunters were hiding and for them to commit themselves to the river. It was at this time that the hunters would paddle out and spear the swimming animals. The dead or dying animals would then be collected by either the hunter or other community members who were in their boats or waiting on shore.

The qajaq hunters would then return to the hunt (Arima 1975, p.147-153). During our interview Luke Tunguaq said,

> Shawn: [Luke] could you explain how caribou were hunted by qajaq?
>
> Luke: If the current was going left to right the qajaq would be on the left hand side. When they (qajaq hunters) were going to go across now there would be a qajaq on the lower end of the current ... and this [style of hunting] would also depend on the number of qajaqs. For example, three people using qajaqs would start spreading out in the three directions ... the three main directions of the current. The reason was they always began hunting from the lower end of the current because if they began following the caribou at the same direction as the current they wouldn't be able to catch up with the caribou ... because the caribou would go with the current and the qajaq would also try to catch up ...using the current as an ally. When the caribou was swimming against the current the people using the qajaq would have an easier time catching up to the caribou because the caribou would be getting tired easily. When the caribou was swimming across the current ... when there was a number of caribou on the water they would gather ... [the qajaq hunters would] herd them into one big area they would approach the caribou and by using the ... once they reached the caribou they would use their paddle as a guide ... they would lay the paddle on the back of the caribou ... and since the caribou won't run away from the other caribou its only going to stay close to the other caribou and they use that as a guide and harpoon the rest of the caribou. I have never seen it but my dad and my grandpa use to tell me how they used to do it.
>
> The Inuit would be on the other side of the river opposite the caribou and they used to really hide from the caribou as much as possible and they didn't have to move the qajaq. The people ... if the caribou were over here and this was the river ... the people would be on the other side and they would take extreme care in locating exactly where the

caribou would be. Just by looking at the caribou ... when they noticed without even ... for example, if the caribou was trying to cross the Inuit would .... only when they knew for sure that they were going to reach the caribou would they attempt to chase the caribou ... even if it meant ... if the caribou was trying to cross back to the opposite side of the river they would be able to catch the caribou that was trying to head back to the other side of the river. It would be a near perfect system where the qajaq would be located at the low end of the current. It was a system where it related to animal calls and the people would never speak a word when they knew that the herd was coming.

Shawn: When the caribou was killed how was it brought back to shore?

Luke: Any effective method was useful. For example, the chin area .... they would tie either the antler or the chin area and hook it to the qajaq. They were really well taught ... the people, that is the Inuit, ... my ancestors ... how to tie braided stuff. Those guys were really the experts. So, I figure that they were really effective in bringing them to land.

Shawn: When the caribou was brought to shore what was done with it?

Luke: There would be tons of uses for the caribou. So, once it got to the land everything was gutted and nothing would be wasted, including the tendons beneath the skin. Everything was being prepared for the various uses for the coming year.

(Tunguaq quoted in
Charlebois 1998, p.5-7, 14-15)

To better examine and illustrate the caribou skin qajaq within an academic context researcher Eugene Arima has traveled to communities such as Baker Lake in an effort to observe and record the ways in which qajaqs were made and used. By using a

participant observation and oral historical approach, Arima was able to work closely with the Elders* who lived in the community. Upon completion of this fieldwork Arima returned a finished Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq to the National Museum of Canada for display. Upon his return Arima published the text *A Contextual Study Of The Caribou Eskimo Qajaq*. This text contains drawings, photographs and text explaining the procedures used to make Kanayuq's and Tunguaq's Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq.

It should be noted that Arima's 1975 text, which comprises of 244 pages, includes very few Inuit quotes. When Arima does make reference to their experiences and teachings he tends to limit their voice to only a few words. However, of the 19 quotes found in this text from European explorers, such as Tyrrell and Graham, prominent anthropologists such as Boas, Birket-Smith and Rasmussen, ship's captains such as George Lyons and missionaries such as Joseph Lofthouse, greater amounts of unedited representation is evident. In the majority of cases, the quotes from European sources exceed a paragraph in length. By doing this I feel that Inuit voices and experiences are not placed in the forefront of this text, where, in my opinion, they should be. However, to be fair to Arima it must be noted that although he did not add lengthy Inuit quotes he did use local oral information, which was gathered from knowledgeable Elders. Ken Lister feels that this qajaq

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*Kanayuq and Tunguaq were the main qajaq makers and informants. To see the list of other Elders who participated in the creation of this project refer to page 4-5 in Arima's 1975 text.

construction project gave the Inuit Elders a tool to teach young Inuit, including Tunguaq, about qajaq construction.

It is very important to me, as well as to the Elders and to the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre, that we include the oral historical knowledge which was gathered during my fieldwork into this research project, regardless of the length of the quotes. According to Wuttunee (1996), Oakes (1997), Riewe (1997) and Webster (1998) many academic accounts which attempt to explain Inuit or Aboriginal life limit the voices and experiences of the Elders. This limitation creates a document which relies primarily on the visual perceptions of the foreign observers. I agree with their statements and feel that Luke Tunguaq's quote adds depth and clarity to academic examinations of Caribou Inuit life. Also, by referring to the interview tapes, which allow you to hear the actual voices of the Elders, you can easily sense their excitement when explaining how qajaqs were historically made and used. Through these oral accounts a deep sense of respect for ancestral knowledge is expressed by the Elders and conveyed to the listener. It is an honor for me to have been able to create this study in which to place the words of the Elders.

I do not oppose Arima's selection of foreign observers and their ethnological observations. I do call into question Arima's lack of Inuit representation in his text. It would be possible to present an argument that Arima's entire text is based on the accounts and observations of Baker Lake Elders and that there is a solid representation of Inuit voice. I would challenge this statement, for the Elders' oral accounts and knowledge have been screened and

subjected to revision by Arima for this publication. Subsequently, I feel that this text has removed the power from the Inuit Elders to present and teach how a qajaq was made, used and perceived by Inuit culture. This power was held by Arima who then created a static template of how a qajaq should be made, used and perceived.

In my attempt to expand upon previous qajaq studies I will not duplicate a study which has already been done. Arima's observations and explanations of how to build this qajaq are based on several visits to Baker Lake, countless hours of working closely with the Elders in their homes and on the land, previous oral historical experience and access to Arctic materials worldwide. Given the limitations of space, I will not attempt to depict and analyse Arima's vast work in the present paper. However, I feel that my research has generated many "new" questions in regards to caribou skin qajaq research. Much has changed in the community of Baker Lake since Arima's visits in the 1960s. Many of the people who held qajaq knowledge at that time have since passed away, leaving a new generation of Inuit who see the caribou skin qajaq as "foreign" because they have never paddled one or seen one being used. The following section consists of Elders' quotes which have made me question many of Arima's observations and comments pertaining to the creation of the Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq.

4.3 Philosophical Perceptions Relating to Caribou Skin Qajaq Construction and Use

> Shawn: [Luke Tunguaq] how did you learn about qajaqs?
>
> Luke: By watching. I have never seen anybody make a qajaq and sew a qajaq together. The time that my dad had a qajaq it was already completed by Siksigaq.
>
> (Luke Tunguaq quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.3)
>
> Shawn: (David Tiktaalaaq) can you explain how a qajaq was built?
>
> David: I have never seen anybody build a qajaq but by ... not imagining but by ...
>
> Shawn: ... visualizing *...
>
> Dave: ...[yes by] visualizing, me and Tunguaq built a qajaq last year.
>
> (David Tiktaalaaq quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.3)

These two Elders from the community of Baker Lake are recognized as being extremely knowledgeable about the construction and use of the Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq. In fact, Luke

* One may argue that the term "visualizing" is in fact my term and not David Tiktaalaaq's. I strongly believe that this is not the case. Although the term "visualizing" was suggested by me when Tiktaalaaq was "lost for words" I made the conscious effort to make Sam Itkilik confirm that this was infact the word he wanted to use. I was reassured by Sam that this was the word Tiktaalaaq wanted to say.

Tunguaq* is one of the people credited with the creation of the Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq which now sits in storage at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. In 1997, this qajaq was brought out of storage and exhibited in the museum's Water Craft display. Also, when David Webster wished to have a Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq made for the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre he asked Luke and David to make the boat. With the aid of Ada Kingilik and Emily Alerk, a Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq was made and is now an integral part of the Centre's display.

By reading the quotes above, one may suggest that neither man has had actual experience in building a "traditional" caribou skin qajaq. However, both of these men are incredibly knowledgeable about qajaqs. The thing that I find interesting is that regardless of what the quotes say, both Elders have been visited on numerous occasions by scholars and Inuit youth in an effort to gain insight into the ways of the past. Eugene Arima worked very closely with Luke Tunguaq. All this attention suggests to me that both men are highly respected by the community, as well as by academic institutions.

As a result of these quotes certain questions manifest themselves. The first question is: Does Arima see or present Kanayuq and Tunguaq's 1960s Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq as something which exhibits all the attributes of Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq identity or does he recognize their qajaq as the product of two individuals' interpretations of what a caribou skin qajaq should look like? The

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Ken Lister told me that it was during this construction project that Tunguaq was able to learn about qajaq construction from Kanayuq.

second question is: Does Arima limit the role an individual's choice plays when explaining how the caribou skin qajaq was made?

These questions can be addressed by reflecting upon the materials which I recorded in my 1998 interviews, as well as from the works of Knud Rasmussen, Marie Fracoise Guédon and many others. Since Luke Tunguaq and David Tiktaalaaq state that they have never seen anyone make a qajaq*, it is very interesting to note that they were still able to make a qajaq which was recognized and accepted as "traditional" by the local Inuit Heritage Centre and the Museum of Civilization. It is reasonable to infer from this that in historic times other Inuit may have used this "visualization" technique to make qajaqs, in turn creating individual, specialized qajaqs which would not fall into the "standard" parameters of other Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaqs*.

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*I understand that as a result of the incorporation of foreign trade goods, such as the rifle and motorized boat, the qajaq, which was very time consuming and difficult to make, disappeared from the Central Arctic. It should also be noted that large numbers of Inuit died as a result of foreign illness such as tuberculosis. This may be why these men have never seen a caribou skin qajaq being made (Arima 1975, p.217-221; Stevenson 1997, p.280-81; Trott 1999, Personal communication).

An interesting question arose when Tunguaq stated that he has never seen a qajaq being built before. How could this be? Arima states in his 1975 text that Tunguaq worked as an apprentice under Kanayuq when the Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq was being built. Tunguaq's words are puzzling.

Ken Lister suggested to me in an e-mail (August 1999) that as a result of this discrepancy in Tunguaq's words the issue of "visualization" should be left as an unanswered question. However, he forgets that David Tiktaalaaq also used a similar "visualization" technique; and since Tiktaalaaq did

With comments like the ones above, and others which will be explored later, I find it difficult to fully accept the rigid descriptions and measurements found in Arima's qajaq observations. The "fixing" of the 1965 Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq into sets of measurements (blueprints) may be in response to European encroachment and the ensuing need for European definition. Since it was impossible for explorers and researchers to observe all Inuit people with all of their qajaqs we must use the oral histories of the Elders to add depth and clarity to their accounts. When I conducted my interviews it was disconcerting that Tiktaalaaq and Tunguaq would not give me a specific answer when asked "how did you know to make the qajaq that way." They suggested and stated by "visualizing it," I assume like an artist would do prior to carving. I now see that I asked the question with the hopes of getting an answer with a specific beginning and end like Arima did in his 1965 study. With an answer like "by visualizing" you open a Pandora's box of artistic freedom and philosophical discourse as to why the person made it that particular way.

Now, do these oral histories only represent the Elders' immediate family and friendly contacts or do their stories encompass all of the accounts and experiences of all Inuit groups? I find the first one a little more acceptable because during my

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not participate in Arima's qajaq project I can continue with my arguement. (In order for this argument to be better understood one would have to go back to the interview material of Luke Tunguaq and David Tiktaalaaq. Since I am unable to do this I would encourage future researchers to take up the task.)

interview with Barnabas Piryuaq he told me that while living on the land he was not in contact with many other people, Inuit or European. It was only when they had furs to trade that they moved to an area where there were many other people. Also, during our talk, when asked, "Have you ever seen anybody using a qajaq?" he stated that he saw one qajaq hunter who was at a caribou crossing site hunting alone. So, it would then be possible that this individual hunter could have been isolated from other qajaq hunters long enough to allow his own interpretation or imagination to flower in turn, possibly creating a qajaq which held the majority of the Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq design but was "different" in some way. If this were true we could argue that it was possible that Harvaqtuurmiut society was speckled with qajaqs which displayed personal choice of shape, size and use.

In the 1994 article "Dene Ways and the Ethnographer's Culture," written by Marie Fracoise Guédon, the idea of Aboriginal material culture being displayed as static is challenged. While traveling with a Dene family Guédon wished to find information relating to technological tradition and the ways in which this knowledge was shared. She came to the realization that every time she asked a question the women she was with
would respond by saying "That's the way I do it." At no time did these women suggest that there was one particular way of doing anything. They did imply that one should carefully watch a skilled person to learn, which is exactly how Tunguaq and Tiktaalaaq were brought up. When focusing on the Dene patterns used for moccasin tanning and embroidery, Guédon thought that there would be

limited variation in style and technique. She states that she was wrong. Guédon gives an example of these differences within one family.

> I use moose brains, and I add fish heads, works better that way. My sister, she puts soap, no fish.' Her daughter insisted on baking soda: ' My auntie (father's sister) showed us that way; me, little bit different.' D.'s sister explained 'I use brown soap, animal brain.' Hearing this, D. remarked she used moose brain, or any animal brain, 'folds skin with baking powder, all that wet is gone, really soft and white.
>
> (Guédon 1994, p.49-50)

During this outing Guédon observed that there were "five different patterns for four sisters and their mother." She continues by stating that this form of individual variation in regards to hunting and trapping techniques was also prevalent among Dene males (Guédon 1994, 50).

As in Guédon's case, at no time did the Elders that I worked with say or suggest that "this is the way a caribou skin qajaq should be made or used." They always stated that this was the way "my father did it" or "my uncle." The only thing that was equally shared by all the Elders was the respect for the caribou skin qajaq. They understood that if their ancestors did not know how to make the qajaq or use them, they themselves would not be here today.

The Elders have told me that a qajaq's construction, design and use are subject to change for the following reasons: with the geographical area for which the qajaq is to be used; the animal

resources which are to be harvested; and the amount of qajaq building materials which have been gathered and saved. Each of these reasons will determine what the qajaq will look like and how the qajaq will be used. However, there are examples in the oral accounts which suggest that an individual has had the creative freedom to produce a qajaq which looks and performs differently when compared to other qajaqs. The following story, which was told to me by Jimmy Taipanak, supports this idea.

> Jimmy: I have an uncle named Angulaalik, one of the first clerks for the Hudson's Bay, one of the Inuit people had a qajaq that was ... that he made to his liking and that I remember seeing as [a] very fast qajaq. Angulaalik was the one who was keeping the caribou from going to the land using his qajaq (laugh).
>
> Shawn: So that was his job all the time. He never really hunted ... he just kept them [caribou] from going to shore?
>
> Jimmy: Yes. That was always his responsibility, the guy with the qajaq. His resposibility was to keep the caribou from going to the land so that my dad's father in law, Angulaalik, could hunt the caribou on the caribou crossing.
>
> Shawn: Do you know why that boat was faster then the other boats?
>
> Jimmy: It was shorter and the area where they would sit down was.... The width was really narrow.
>
> (Taipanak quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.15)

Even though Taipanak is Kihlirnirmiut and the other informants are Harvaqtuurmiut he is the only research participant who has actually made and used a caribou skin qajaq. His early account of Angulaalik, using a qajaq that he made to his liking in order to be more successful in keeping the caribou from going to the land, strongly supports the idea that on occasion qajaq makers modified "traditional" qajaqs by incorporating their own interpretation of what a caribou skin qajaq should look and respond like. It is interesting to note that while telling this story Jimmy laughed and saw this "unique" qajaq story as funny. Since the harvesting of caribou by qajaq at the seasonal crossing places was so important to Inuit group dynamics and survival, Angulaalik's qajaq was not seen as "non-traditional" and therefore excluded from the activity, but quite the opposite. Angulaalik's qajaq was seen as very valuable and thus placed within a specific role within that cultural group; he was soon seen as the best person for that particular job. Jimmy's example illustrates a division of task and labour within the caribou hunt. With this type of positive support from a community for successful variations, there would be no reason for qajaq makers, if they chose, not to alter the construction and design of a caribou skin qajaq. The following quote from Guédon also supports the idea that material culture is not static and that the ways in which people perceive material culture is constantly changing.

> Knowledge is spurred by inventiveness. Technological knowledge is ever tested, never taken for granted, and always actively pursued and remembered.
>
> (Guédon 1994, p. 49)

I feel that a qajaq maker would not take uncalculated risks when constructing a boat. Resources, such as wood, hides and the qajaq maker's time were extremely valuable and a person would not jeopardize his own survival, or the survival of his family and community just to express his desire to be artistic. During the qajaq making process the hunter would have to take into account a combination of factors, such as the function of the qajaq, personal needs (weight, height, age and strength of the person) and personal preference. When altering a qajaq the maker would probably have had a good idea of how the boat was going to look and react before the alterations were attempted.

The rigidity of qajaq construction and use presented in Arima's 1975 text attempts to preserve and explain how and why a caribou skin qajaq was made. Although Arima's methods were acceptable at the time, I strongly believe that his study makes it impossible
for contemporary readers to gain a full understanding of what the qajaq is. One reason for this difficulty is that Arima has removed the Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq from the cultural situ needed to explain what that object meant to the individual or family.

Arima mentions in his text that he was aware that there was ample room for individual choice within the realm of qajaq construction. In fact, he suggests that the qajaq which was built by Kanayuq and Tunguaq did not fall within previous qajaq parameters. However, I feel that by producing a set of qajaq drawings Arima has created a standard by which other caribou skin qajaqs will be compared. A standard which may mislead researchers to think that caribou skin qajaqs must meet specific dimensions or qualifications in order for it to be recognized as an authentic piece of Inuit material culture. I believe that by creating these drawings Arima has frozen the qajaq in time, in turn, making it static. I also feel that these drawings elevate a personal construction of an object to the level of cultural standard. This preserved form of Inuit life then removes the power from the Inuit to decide how a "traditional" qajaq looked or should look. By assigning European based measurements to an object, Arima limits that object's role within that specific culture. By doing this he also limits the ways in which academics perceive and view the cultural object being presented within the study.

In order to avoid the perpetuation of this form of thinking, scholars must step away from the idea that ethnographic studies, such as Arima's, can be seen as a complete representation.of an object or philosophy within a specific culture. It should be argued that this study is but one person's interpretation of that object or philosophy.

Thus far, academic material which explores the Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq ignores many of the other ways in which

Inuit creativity could have influenced qajaq shape and use; for example, the qajaq within Inuit spirituality. Birket-Smith suggested that the Caribou Eskimo which he encountered were "sober in thought" and seemed to be void of the spiritual components which dealt closely with the resources they collected (Birket-Smith quoted in Arima 1975, p.191). Rasmussen stated that the "Caribou Eskimo [were] among the least given to formally expressed fantasy" (Rasmussen quoted in Arima 1975, p.191). Arima, working with Ramussen's comment, stated the following,

> [the] Caribou Eskimo did not pretend that their qajaq was alive nor did they surround its manufacture and use with magico-religious beliefs. Any such beliefs occurring in hunting performed with the qajaq were associated with the animals pursued rather than with the craft. Even the amulets known elsewhere for protection against capsize and which one might expect with the narrow tippy Caribou Eskimo qajaq were absent.
>
> (Arima 1975, p.191)

I have a difficult time accepting Arima's comment that the Caribou Inuit saw their qajaqs as inanimate objects void of any connection to religious belief or practice. An example which challanges Arima's comment can be found in Rasmussen's 1930 text *Observations On The Intellectual Culture Of the Caribou Eskimos*. Although this Inuk is Padlermiut, Rasmussen states that "these stories are common to all the Caribou Eskimos" (Rasmussen 1930, p.79-83). Rasmussen's record states,

> In the olden days, things were very different from what

> they are now. Everything had a soul, everything was more alive. When a caribou had been eaten, the meat grew again on the bones. Only one had to be careful not to crush or break any of the bones.There were no sledges in those days. The houses were alive, and could be moved with everything in them, and the people as well, from one place to another. They rose up with a rushing noise into the air and flew to the spot where the people wanted to go. In those days also, newly drifted snow would burn.
> There was life to all things. Snow shovels could go about by themselves, could move from one place to another without having to be carried. This is why we now, when in solitary places, never dare to stick a snow shovel in the snow. We are afraid lest it should come alive and go off on its own. So we always lay snow shovels down in the snow, so that they do not stand up. Thus all things were alive in the olden days.
>
> (Aqikhivik quoted in Rasmussen 1930, p.82-83)

Spirituality was the foundation on which Inuit society was built and functioned. The interaction with the spirits or the spirit world allowed an individual to live well with his/her environment, with the animals, birds and fish, as well as with his/her neighbors. Since spirituality was incorporated into so many avenues of Inuit life, it is possible that spiritual intervention, either through dream or trance, influenced a Inuk in regards to the methods used for making, using or storing a qajaq. It is very difficult to argue that qajaq design and use was exempt from Inuit religious life because spirituality played such an important role in the survival of the culture. So many other cultural objects had taboos and spiritual practices associated with them, such as the snow shovel, why would an important object such as the qajaq be excluded?

The above quote by Aqikhivik supports the idea that historically there was an important, complex relationship between objects, the Caribou Inuit and the spiritual realm. However, it must be pointed out that this story, which supports my argument and challenges Arima's, is the account of one Padlermiut. If I were to accept Rasmussen's statement, that "these stories are common to all the Caribou Eskimos," I would be generalizing and in turn defeating my own case which supports individual interpretation and representation of culture.

The difficulty facing me when trying to determine whether or not the Caribou Inuit connected any spiritual ideas with the qajaq is immeasurable. Foreign religious influence has taken an obvious hold on the lives of the Inuit now living in the Central Arctic. I believe that any person has the ability to have a "spiritual experience" which could affect the ways in which they create, perceive or perpetuate material culture. Francois Guédon states,

> [people] draw on a common pool of tradition, ultimately they cannot rely on anything but their own visions and their individual intimate experiences. Shared knowledge, or formal elements, are used as markers or sign posts rather than as a closed framework.
>
> (Guédon 1994, p.58)

With discussions like the one above I want to force the reader to challenge him/herself and to attempt to remove the romantic and constricted notions associated with Aboriginal culture. By pursuing this ideological balance we can create a

discourse which challenges many of the stereotypes which are found throughout academic texts, such as Arima's comment; "[the] Caribou Eskimo did not pretend that their qajaq was alive nor did they surround its manufacture and use with magico-religious beliefs." Texts from Birket-Smith, Rasmussen and Arima may be accurate when describing Inuit culture; however, they may also be inaccurate. As cutural researchers we must read through their works with this in mind.

4.4 Misplacing the Caribou Skin Qajaq

Once again I am faced with the question of whether or not I should illustrate the complexities associated with the "loss" of the qajaq in Caribou Inuit culture in the present paper? I could retell the same academic and foreign historical stories which explore how the importation of manufactured boats and outboard motors by the Hudson's Bay Company quickly replaced the caribou skin qajaq. I could also describe how the introduction of the rifle changed the ways in which Central Inuit hunted the caribou. But I will not do so here, for Arima does a thorough job covering these issues*. As stated before, I do not intend to duplicate previous arguments in regards to qajaq studies. I wish to explore new avenues and force discussion pertaining to the qajaq in different directions. However, I do want to add to Arima's study by quoting the Elders.

*Arima 1975, p.217-221

Shawn: When did people stop using qajaqs?

Jimmy: We stopped using qajaqs on a daily basis when rifles and guns came around and when we started moving to communities.

(Taipanak 1998 quoted in Charlebois, p.20)

Shawn: When did people stop using qajaqs?

David: Soon as those Elders passed away they stopped using qajaqs.

(Tiktaalaaq 1998 quoted in Charlebois, p.9)

Shawn: When did people stop using qajaqs?

Ada: When I was born in 1934, as far as I can remember, they didn't use the qajaq but in other areas they were probably still using the qajaq but when I was growing up I do not recall any qajaqs that were being used. I have never really seen those traditional qajaqs but I was brought up in the Hudson's Bay Post or the white people came in to ... I started using the [manufactured] boats.

(Kingilik 1998 quoted in Charlebois, p.11)

The following discourse explores the possible ways in which foreign anthropological paradigms have affected the Harvaqtuurmiut interpretation of what a caribou skin qajaq is or should be. The development of this discussion has raised many philosophical questions within me concerning the moral and ethical responsibilities of Aboriginal communities and

ethnographic researchers in regards to the ways material culture is perceived and presented.

Robert Paine states, in his 1998 article "Anthropology & The 'Sin' of Essentialism?," that the oppressive ethnographic techniques used by early anthropologists are strongly under criticism and are now being revised. These techniques, which removed the ability and right of Aboriginal peoples to define who and what they were and "bestowed construct of 'aboriginality'," are now shifting to a system which recognizes the intrinsic right of an individual or community to establish their own ideas of how they should be presented and seen (Paine 1998, p.1-5, 11).

> We [the white] quite unselfconsciously assumed we were the measure of all things. That was how we approached them. And suddenly I saw not only that we weren't the measure of all things, but that there was no measure.
>
> (W.H.R. Rivers quoted in Paine 1998, p.10-11)

Anthropologists are beginning to realize that cultural objects, which were removed and studied by academic institutions or placed on display in museums, should not have been presented as incontestable representations of those objects within an entire culture; these objects really represented one person's interpretation of how that object should be made and used within a particular culture. One may argue that, theoretically at least, anthropologists are returning to an Aboriginal worldview or paradigm which

promotes individual difference and personal choice (Paine 1998, p.1-11).

Paine continues to state that as a result of the duration in which these ethnographic techniques were forced on Aboriginal culture, Aboriginal peoples are now having a difficult, if not impossible time, reintroducing the world views, or traditional techniques which were used prior to European academic contact. As a result of this foreign academic conditioning Aboriginal communities who wish to preserve, create or display cultural objects or practices are possibly doing so in such a way as to perpetuate the potentially harmful, constrictive European anthropological "standard." Many Aboriginal communities who wish to create museums or heritage centres feel that they are breaking away from the anthropological regime which strangled and suppressed their Aboriginal growth and development. Theoretically speaking, Aboriginal peoples who wish to reintroduce or maintain "traditional" practices are in many cases no better off than when foreign powers controlled the ways in which segments of their culture were categorized and displayed (Paine 1998, p.1-11).

This way of thinking has placed me in an ethical predicament and I do not know how to avoid it. I strongly believe that the majority of policies and techniques, which have been forced on First Nations and Inuit by Western institutions, are morally and ethically wrong[*]. As a white middle class researcher, I

[*] "There were still other outstanding examples of how government sought to keep First Nations in a state of wardship, regulating all

will never truly understand the evils which have been thrust upon Aboriginal peoples in Canada. However, I am very sympathetic and I will strive for positive change.

It should also be noted that I strongly support the notion that each community should be responsible for deciding the ways in which their cultural objects are to be gathered, preserved, presented and interpreted. I am in full support of the idea that oral historical information and the voice of Elders should be recognized as equal to that of written historical foreign sources. However, and this is where my ethical dilemma starts, I agree with Paine when he suggests that in an attempt to reintroduce or maintain traditional knowledge many Aboriginal communities are using Western scientific methods which do not support many of their cultural ideas or goals. I feel that by bringing this idea to the attention of the community I am once again perpetuating a harmful anthropological system which removes the control from the community to identify their culture and heritage. I create a system which places the people in the role of students and myself in the role as a teacher. This is unacceptable.

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aspects of existence on and off the reserve. One was the amendment of 1884 banning the celebration of the potlatch on the grounds that it was a corrupt and destructive ceremony. Not dropped from the books until 1951, this amendment resulted in many Aboriginal people going to jail. The government ban did not take into account that the potlatch was a social and cultural heart of the Pacific Coast tribes" (DINA 1997, p. 82). For another example refer to J.R. Miller's article "Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools" which can be found in J. Brown & E. Vibert's 1996 text *Reading Beyond Words*.

4.5 Chapter Summary

Historically the caribou skin qajaq, used in conjunction with other tools, allowed the hunter to increase his chances of successfully killing a caribou during their seasonal migrations. However, as a result of foreign technological encroachment, the qajaq has all but disappeared from the Canadian Arctic.

Chapter Five: The Importance of Traditional Qajaq Knowledge

5.1 The Role of Elders Within the Community of Baker Lake

The term "Elder" has found its way into the minds, mouths and hearts of many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples throughout Canada. Academic institutions, governmental and foreign community agencies, to name but a few, have begun to recognize the benefits which can be obtained by accessing the knowledge and experiences that these special people possess. Although this understanding is relatively new in "mainstream" society, the belief that Elders are powerful, educated people who deserve our attention and respect has been well known and accepted within Aboriginal culture for many years. But what does the term "Elder" really mean?

In Rachel A. Qitsualik's 1998 newspaper article "What, exactly, is an elder?," this question has been addressed and challenged. Qitsualik begins by stating the following.

> The problem of identifying "elderhood" is an interesting (and amusing) one, since the very methodology of identification and classification is a specialty of Western culture. Now that Inuit are adopting this methodology and trying to apply it to their own culture, they find it exceedingly difficult. They are finding themselves in the same

> pickle as missionaries and anthropologists
> who have, in the past, attempted to qualify
> aspects of Inuit culture.
>
> (Qitsualik 1998, p.12)

Qitsualik's comment fits nicely into this study because it compliments both Paine's and my argument that Western anthropological paradigms have been integrated deeply into the minds of the Inuit and affect the ways in which they perceive themselves and their culture. I feel that Qitsualik accentuates the argument by presenting an Inuk's perspective of the problems associated with the use of foreign scientific "standards." Qitsualik feels that the community is forced to identify and list the properties of the item which is being studied. When the identification process is completed, if this is possible, "an item is [then] no more than the sum of its parts." It is at this time that the scientific method is thought to be completed (Qitsualik 1998, p.12).

Qitsualik continues by stressing the difficulties which must be faced by Inuit when trying to identify and define important cultural components, such as an Elder. The Elder component is so deeply rooted within Inuit culture, Qitsualik argues, that it could be easily compared to that of a beating heart within a living body. To me this analogy means that all aspects of community life should pass through the realm of the Elders, very much like the blood passing through the chambers of a heart. I see it as a realm where people are strengthened by teachings which encompass a holistic worldview, which in turn attempts to create a sense of understanding between the Elders, the individual, the community

and the environment. I do not see this style of teaching as polar but rather as a cyclical style of learning, where the students become the Elders and continue the teachings (Qitsualik 1998, p.12).

Qitsualik does not wish to dismiss those benefits which have entered the Arctic as a result of studies which have relied heavily upon the implementation of Western Scientific Methods. However, she does wish to stress that many of the traditional components of Inuit culture, such as Elders, cannot be integrated successfully into this way of thinking. She notes that the "Inuit embraced the fruits of such methodology, but not the methodology itself" (Qitsualik 1998, p.13).

I find this last comment very interesting, for Qitsualik suggests that the Inuit can consciously decide what to accept and what to reject in regards to foreign practices and ideas. I do not think it is that easy. I feel that notions such as the western scientific method seep into the minds of unsuspecting people through "harmless" devices such as television and radio. My question is, can an individual consciously choose and preserve a specific traditional method of understanding when there is a continual bombardment of foreign ideas? I think that the only way in which an individual can choose a specific method of thinking is if that person has been trained or conditioned to recognize at least two different methodological forms. In many instances Inuit people have not received training to recognize these differences.

With a comparison to the emotion "love" Qitsualik continues by stating that the western scientific method, which is relied upon now by many people to determine the definition of an

Elder is incapable of defining such complex ideas. Further to this, she lists many properties which might be associated with "love" to stress her point. She states, "[love] is an emotion; it is a form of affection, it is always focused on someone or something; it is accompanied by outward displays; it is common to humanity." She concludes her example by suggesting that many more properties can be added to this list but the more that you add to the list the further away you get from the "true feel" of what "love" is (Qitsualik 1998, p.13).

Since Qitsualik's example successfully shows, in a simple and clear way, how the western scientific method is incapable of explaining many things in Inuit culture, I was eager to substitute the idea of "love" with that of the caribou skin qajaq. I came up with an "accurate" list, by Western scientific measurements or standards, which illustrates the materials, abilities and experiences needed to build and use a caribou skin qajaq effectively.

Qajaq Creation List

- Wood (either driftwood or wood from the treeline)
- Caribou skins
- Caribou sinew
- Water
- Fish oil
- Bone and antler
- Bone, antler or steel tools (mouth or hand drill, needles or other tools.)
- Countless years of traditional knowledge
- An understanding of caribou migration patterns
- The ability to use a qajaq without killing yourself
- The respect of the community to aid the hunter in the qajaq's construction and use.

In my opinion this list portrays the qajaq in a way that is void of all feeling and life, the qajaq becomes cold and sterile. I feel that by looking at the qajaq this way I am unable to see the positive or negative experiences which would have surrounded the creation and use of this important cultural tool. Although this list is extremely simple I feel that it proves a very important point. When an object is removed from its specific cultural environment and presented outside of that specific cultural environment, either geographically or chronologically, it is impossible for the observer to truly understand the significance of that object (Baxandall 1991, p.34). The list that I created, regardless of how simple it is shows us that we are unable to gain an understanding of the creation and use of qajaq in caribou Inuit culture. The object is too deeply integrated and rooted into the activities and experiences of everyday life.

My point, which is shared by Qitsualik, is that the idea that all cultural components can be successfully woven into the western scientific methodology is false. I believe that cultural components, such as the caribou skin qajaq or Elders and their role within Aboriginal culture, cannot be fully categorized or understood by anyone other than the person who is directly involved. Since I have been conditioned by my culture to place all things within the parameters of the western scientific method I am unable to give an example of a way in which an individual could perceive an object or activity differently. Although I am unable to fully grasp the construct of a non-western scientific method, I still recognize that other methods exists.

Through my own experiences I have learned that the term "Elder" does not hold any one single definition. Its definition is complex and is explained and understood differently within each community and by each person. However, I learned that Elders are *ajunngi-* capable; and not *ayuq-* incapable. Regardless of definition, Aboriginal and Inuit communities are looking to Elders for guidance and direction. By drawing on the personal experience and knowledge of Elders, a community has a better chance of removing the grip of foreign control and, in turn, increasing their success when maintaining or reintroducing forms of traditional knowledge and/or traditional practice. Elders possess enough knowledge and experience to play an enormous part in the political, social, cultural and spiritual development of a community. Qitsualik states,

> Each elder was an expert at something, acknowledged by the group as having exceptional knowledge in one or more areas.
>
> (Qitsualik 1998, p.13)

As the above quote suggests, Elders may only have an enriched understanding of a limited number of cultural topics or practices. Since the demands and needs of the community may focus on an area which is not the Elder's specialty, the Elders must work together and pool their knowledge. In many cases the Elder will direct the person with questions to someone who is best suited

to address it. This happened to me often during my stay in Baker Lake.

Qitsualik also compares the Elders in a community to that of a living library, a resource, which often consists of the Elder population in their totality and from which adults and children can gather knowledge as needed. She makes it clear in her article that age has nothing to do with becoming an Elder. It just happens to be that by the time someone has obtained enough knowledge and experience to share, the individual has become much older (Qitsualik 1998, p.13). It should be noted that in some instances the "Elders" that are approached by people or by academic institutions may be chronologically older but no better qualified or knowledgeable than the average person.

> Being an Inuit elder means more than being old. Inuit have always known how to distinguish between the ordinary aged and those who are true elders.
>
> (Qitsualik 1998. P12)

To gain a better understanding of historical information, people quickly turn to the Elders for guidance and help. When information was shared it was rarely questioned for there was an understanding that to question an Elder was to be foolish. "Why would you question someone who knows more than you?" Qitsualik says. Since the Arctic could be a very dangerous place there is no time for debate; when an Elder tells you something you

had better listen, and this is considered giving respect (Qitsualik 1998, p.13).

To gather information from the Elders today is much more difficult than it was in the past because these knowledgeable people are passing away at an alarming rate. They are dying before they have an opportunity to share their wisdom with those who wish to learn. For example, prior to my arrival into Baker Lake I attempted to contact other Arctic communities in the hopes of finding Elders who had qajaq knowledge. To my horror, communities such as Iglulik and Pangnirtung stated that I was too late to record oral histories relating to qajaq construction and use for all the knowledgeable Elders had died. Baker Lake still has several people who are regarded as Elders with this knowledge. That is why I had to go.

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of who the Elders were and what they did in the community of Baker Lake I scheduled an interview with David Webster, the Manager of the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre. I chose David because he has worked very closely with them on several projects for the last three decades. The first question of my interview with David was "What role do the Elders play in the community of Baker Lake?" With this question I quickly learned about the group dynamics of the community.

When answering my question David seemed to recognize two different levels of "Elders" in the community. The first level relates to those people who are chronologically old but have lived the majority of thier lives in a European constructed community.

Although this first level is comprised of people over the age of sixty, they are not recognized as "True Elders." The second level relates to those people who have spent the majority of their lives living and surviving on the land outside the boundaries of the European communities. During our interview David stated that in the community, as of June 23, 1998, there were one hundred people over the age of sixty. However, of these one hundred people there were only a handful of people who were recognized as "True Elders," people who actually lived on the land (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998). It seemed to me that the Elders of the community, regardless of whether or not they lived on the land or in the community, worked together in the hopes of educating and bettering the lives of the younger people.

Our interview showed me that the role of the Elder in the community was complex and difficult to explain. David told me that since the majority of his time was spent dealing with the cultural aspects of the community his involvement with the Elders was usually within that context. At this level, he stated, focus was on the protection and preservation of Inuit culture, either through the creation of the Heritage Centre, taking photographs of the Elders, gathering oral accounts, collecting artifacts or artwork from outside agencies, or going out on the land in an effort to create Heritage Sites (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.1).

In the past, people interested in going to Baker Lake to conduct research usually went through the Hamlet Council. Academics would submit their research plans and wait for the Hamlet Council to decide if it was in the community's best interest

to support the project. The researchers request would be shared with the Elders and a decision would be made. On many occasions the Hamlet Council would suggest that the researcher contact the Elders directly. The only difficulty that I can see with this is that the majority of the Elders speak Inuktitut and not English (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.1).

Today, the Inuit Heritage Centre has relieved this responsibility from the Hamlet Council; however, the Elders still decide if the person's project is conducive to positive cultural growth and preservation. It seemed to me that the Elders hold considerable power when it comes to making community related decisions. David stated,

> I remember when I was working on the Heritage Centre here and the Historic Sites with my Elders Committee, I went to the mayor [David Tagoona] a few times and asked for things. The Mayor just laughed at me and said Dave you know you get what ever the hell you want because if I say no to you I'm saying no to the Elders, and I won't.' So, the Elders have a lot of power like that. So, we pretty well get our way because if the Elders want it we get it.
>
> (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.10-11)

5.2 The Importance of the Caribou Skin Qajaq to Inuk Identity

Previous qajaq studies were done in a time when many Elders were still alive who remember making, using or seeing qajaqs. However, this study is different. With the passage of time,

the majority of the Elders who had this information have passed away leaving a generation of Inuit to develop their own perceptions of the qajaq. As a result of this change, scholars have begun to redirect their academic focus and to ask the remaining Elders much more personal questions in an effort to gain an even deeper understanding of a specific topic or object. During my interviews I kept this in mind and asked questions accordingly. The first question that I asked was "Even though you haven't ever used a qajaq are qajaqs still important to you? Why?" This question was directed to all the Elders I worked with except David Webster.

When asked, all of the Elders did the same thing; they sat silently and thought about the question. I found this very obvious and interesting. The second question that I asked them was "Do you think it is important to teach the younger people about qajaqs?" Once again the Elders sat silently before they answered. Their contemplation about these two questions in particular was different than the ways in which they thought about the other questions that I subsequently asked.

I seriously think that these two questions were the most important and interesting in my interview. The reason I feel this way is because very few scholars have asked this style of question before to the Elders of Baker Lake. The answers that I gathered were coming from the last generation of people who truly lived on and off the land in the central Canadian Arctic*.

*It should be noted that although they still participated in trade with outside organizations such as the Hudson's Bay Company, their contact with these groups was minimal compared to other Inuit in the region.

The words of the Elders, which are quoted below, come from the hearts of a generation of people who say what they mean and mean what they say. I could see in their faces that they were concerned that this knowledge would not be preserved and learned by the younger Inuit living in the community. This concern, as well as the ways in which it was dealt with, will be examined later.

Since these words are personal I will not make any editorial changes to them. Here is what the Elders said,

> It is very, very important to me not to forget
> the use of the qajaq because our ancestors
> used to get meat by using the qajaq. Even today,
> you could still go out on the land (cough) ...
> it has no motor and the only thing you could end
> up doing is .... If you make a qajaq you got
> everything with you. Where as today we have
> motors.
> It is very important to remember our fore-fathers
> way of making the qajaq. It is our Inuit tradition.
> So it is important not to forget the building of the
> qajaq.
> Yes. It is very, very important again for the students,
> even the people who are in their forties to learn how to
> make the qajaq. It is our Inuit tradition. So for the Inuit
> kids to learn it is very, very important.
>
> (Taipanak quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.20)

> Yes. It is very important. Even if our fathers were
> not using the qajaq I don't think that I would
> be alive today. So it is very important.
> Yes. It is very important to teach the younger
> generations the use of qajaqs because... when
> their ancestors were born the only thing that they
> survived on was caribou skin, caribou tools and
> qajaqs. I can't figure out how we would be living

today if it wasn't for the caribou tools and accessories.
It is very important for the Inuit to learn the use of
Inuit culture.
I can still visualize how my dad was brought up
by the use of the caribou skins and qajaqs ...even
today the use of the caribou material has to be brought
down from one generation to the next. It is really
important that the younger generation learn as much
as possible [be]cause as they get older ... an older
person ... it starts to get ...when they are around
65 [or] 75, I realize now that it has to be passed down
[be]cause everything starts to get hard.

(Piryuaq quoted in
Charlebois 1998, p.11-12)

It's still important to me. Back then, even when the (?)
were really high, people used to use the qajaq. Whereas
today we use [manufactured] boats now but people get
stranded on the land. It is important that people learn about
it. There used to be some really good people that knew how
to use the qajaq.

(Alerk quoted in
Charlebois 1998, p.7-8)

Yes. Qajaqs are really important and not too long ago
they were using them for survival. When they moved inland
... The only time that they used to leave their qajaq was
when they went inland to hunt meat, caribou.

(Tiktaalaaq quoted in
Charlebois 1998, p.9)

It is very important. Our ancestors used to use it so it is
very important for me.
Yes. It's right on to teach the younger generation because

> in the future there could suddenly be some important uses for the qajaq. It is important for the younger generation to learn it.
>
> (Kingilik quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.10)

> Yes. It is very important to me. It would be more important to me if I knew the whole knowledge of all aspects of qajaq.
> Our forefathers survived on qajaq and bow and arrow alone so it is very important to me.
> It is very important to me that the younger generation learn it because once you ... I would like to see them get experience because when you don't have the experience on learning it ... it is extremely difficult to build one so its very important for the younger generation to learn.
>
> (Tunguaq quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.16)

From these quotes it is clear that the qajaq still plays an important role in the cultural identity of the Elders. The connection to this object is still very strong and the desire for the younger generation to learn about it is great. Another example which illustrates the importance of the qajaq can be seen within the development of the Inuit Heritage Centre. David Webster and the Elder's Committee tried to decide what objects should be displayed for the best reflection of Caribou Inuit culture. They decided that caribou skin qajaqs played such an intricate role in Inuit life that they had to be on display. The interesting thing is that the community already had a skin boat in their possession but David Webster and the Elders felt that the caribou skin qajaq needed

more representaion within the Heritage Center so they decided to have another one built. The first qajaq that the community already had was a Back River caribou skin qajaq which had been made by Innakatsik twelve to fifteen years ago. David Webster stated that this qajaq, which was suspended from the ceiling of the local hockey rink, is one of the only Back River qajaqs in existence and the Elders were very proud to be able to place it on display in this new facility. It was at this time that Tunguaq, Tiktaalaaq, Kingilik and Alerk made the Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq which is now on display at the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre. It is interesting to see how much space these two boats take up within the Inuit Heritage Centre (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.6).

Also, the local Inuit Heritage Centre, in an attempt to illustrate the use of the qajaq in historic times, commissioned a well known Winnipeg artist by the name of Clarence Tillineus to paint a scene which showed caribou hunting by qajaq at Piqqiq, a traditional river crossing area. The Elders must have felt that this painting would allow the local youth to see how the boats were traditionally used. In my opinion the caribou skin qajaq is still recognized as a very important segment of Baker Lake Inuit culture. If the qajaq was not that important why would the Elders and David Webster have another caribou skin qajaq built? Why would the Inuit Heritage Centre dedicate so much valuable space to them?

5.3 The Role of Elders as Teachers

It saddened me to see and hear that a large percentage of the younger people are not really interested in the ways of the past. Although some younger people are still being taught the skills and techniques needed to successfully hunt and fish, the relationship and interest pertaining to things of the past, such as the caribou skin qajaq, seem not to be there. The concern of the Elders in regards to this lack of interest was touched upon during my interview with David Webster.

One day while on the land with the Elder Barnabas Piryuaq, the concern that traditional knowledge was being lost came up. Barnabas stated,

> ..when I die all my knowledge is going to go with me, because the kids today don't listen. Inuit had an oral tradition for thousands of years where they would listen to their Grandfathers [and Grandmothers], and their Fathers and their Mothers and so on, and they would pass it on to their kids. It was easy in the old days. When they were in an iglu or a tent and there was a blizzard outside, say in the winter, and the kids had nothing to do, so they would listen. Nowadays, the kids don't listen because times are changing and they got their own interests, hockey, Nintendo and all kinds of things.
> With a bigger community too it's not like the old days when it was just a small family group, but they got their friends. The oral tradition is not like it was years ago.
>
> (Piryuaq quoted in Webster 1998, p.4).

In order to understand the role of the Elders as teachers, the definition of an Elder must be expanded upon. One of the major characteristics of an Elder, in my opinion, is the ability to recognize a problem and to propose a solution which will hopefully rectify it. This solution may sometimes incorporate a practice or belief which is foreign or uncomfortable to the Elder, but in the hopes of an answer they will endure and support it for the interest of the community. An example of this came about when David and Barnabas were on the land. As mentioned in Piryuaq's quote, the way in which the younger Inuit population recognize and process information is much different now than it was in the past. With this in mind Piryuaq stated the following,

> The kids today like the concrete things, like to see something, and the things they could touch. If there were a museum in Baker [Lake] and I put my knowledge in the museum, even when I pass away my knowledge is still there and the youth will learn. We should have a museum.
>
> (Piryuaq quoted in Webster 1998, p4)

The suggestion to build a museum, an idea which I think was seen as non-traditional and possibly non-Inuit by Piryuaq, was nonetheless supported strongly by the other Elders of the community*. However, during their discussions about the museum they made it very clear that they did not care about tourists or visitors. They were only interested in preserving their traditional

* Due to my short stay in the community I was unable to ask the other Elders how they viewed the Inuit Heritage Centre.

knowledge and culture for the community youth. The only concern that the Elders had was that none of them possessed the governmental knowledge needed to raise the funds for such a project. Since David Webster was familiar with governmental fundraising he was asked by the Elders to help. This was just one of David Webster's many museum related jobs (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.5).

While waiting for responses from outside funding agencies, David attempted to gain a better understanding of what materials should go into this Heritage Centre. On several occasions, workshops were organized which brought the Elders of the community together. It was during these times that up to sixty Elders began to teach. They discussed and illustrated what life was like in the old days, how many of them lived and survived on and off the land and water. Also, during these gatherings they explored and explained the cultural make-up of the Keewatin area. David stated that the Elders did not want a museum which explored the history of the entire Inuit population but rather a museum which explored only the Baker Lake Inuit. Their intention was to create a place which would show the nine Inuit groups and explain their cultural differences and similarities. Cultural components which were recognized by the Elders as mandatory for Inuit survival were also explored. Stories, tools and experiences dealing with the caribou and the use of the caribou skin qajaq played a significant part within these traditional teaching sessions (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.4-5).

It took six years for the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre to be created. During this time David Webster and the Elders met continuously in the community and on the land in order to gather, present and preserve traditional knowledge. It was understood by all of the Elders that if this task was not done properly the youth would lose this information forever (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.4).

It seems to me that the loss of interest by the younger people about the many aspects of traditional knowledge has seriously changed the role of the Elders as teachers. Through my observations I was able to see that this museum, regardless of how "untraditional" some people may say it is, is just another way of bridging the generation gap between the Elders and youth. The intention of the Elders is the same as it has been for millennia, to educate, and the only thing that has really changed is the way in which the information is presented and even that still has major remnants of an older teaching style. For example, I was informed that the Elders had decided that the layout of the Heritage Centre should follow a cyclical story guideline. The displays are set up in such a way as to illustrate a chronological timeline of the use of the caribou in Inuit life. A visitor would begin his/her tour by starting with the display which showed the harvesting of the caribou, butchering and then the use of the caribou to make tools and clothing (Webster quoted in Charlebois 1998, p.5). It seemed to me that the Elders, in their attempt to create this Centre, were unable or unwilling to remove many of the teaching styles which

were associated with the old ways. Whether or not the younger people are aware of this I am uncertain

In an attempt to encourage the old way of teaching, David Webster and the Elders decided to create a room which would only be used by the Elders. This room housed many historical photographs and pieces of artwork depicting Inuit life. During my stay I was invited to a viewing of the film *Amarook's Song* (Gerjstad & Kreelak 1998) which was a documentary illustrating the life of Quinaugnaq. This documentary also covered many other facets of Baker Lake life, ranging from Quinaugnaq on the land teaching to the development of educational programs in the local school for students. Although this was the only community event which took place in this room during my stay I am sure that it was created to provide a place for workshops and teaching sessions. I feel that this room could very much be an educational staging point from which the Elders and youth go out onto the land.

The Elders, in conjunction with David Webster, the Inuit Heritage Centre, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and the Hamlet Council, are making a valiant effort to preserve and share their traditional knowledge in ways which more closely cater to the interests and wants of the younger people. The Elders are encouraging development of cultural projects which see traditional practices and stories take form in written text, music CD's, as well as on computer CD and video. Many of these formats, I assume, are foreign to the Elders but this does not seem to stop them. They realize that they need to incorporate teaching styles which will hopefully rectify the problem of the youth not being interested in

the old ways. Their solutions, I think, incorporate practices which are not well understood from a technical viewpoint, and possibly uncomfortable to the Elders but, as mentioned earlier, in the hopes of solving the problems they embrace the new technologies as much as necessary for the sake of the community.

One thing that I noticed in the community was that the older people that I dealt with all referred to the qajaq at the Heritage Centre as the "Harvaqtuurmiut caribou skin qajaq that Tunguaq and Tiktaalaaq made." It seemed to me that these older people were totally aware of the individualistic characteristics and stories associated with that particular qajaq. The Elders were assigning both a group and individual difference. This is exactly what I am striving for, a return to this form of understanding and thinking. However, it is the perspectives of the younger Inuit children and the outsiders that I am concerned about. How do they see the qajaq and how will they see or present the qajaq when all of the Elders are gone? This is where I think that the notions surrounding "standardization" of material culture can be a major problem*.

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*Barnabas Peryouar told David Webster that the Heritage Centre has to be created for the Inuit children and not for the tourists. With this said, one may argue that the community does not care how outsiders see the materials presented there. However, many of the Inuit children now living in Baker Lake have been conditioned by the same television programs as tourists coming into the community have been. In many cases their perceptions are the same. The Heritage Centre must take this into account.

5.4 Chapter Summary

The Elders in the community of Baker Lake feel that Inuit traditional knowledge is being lost at an alarming rate due to increased foreign pressures. To rectify this problem different organizations, such as the Hamlet Council, Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and the Inuit Heritage Centre, have pulled together in an effort to record, preserve and present traditional Inuit objects and practices. Under the direction on the Elders this campaign has been successful.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The traditional caribou skin qajaq has all but disappeared from the central Canadian Arctic. Commercially made canoes with outboard motors have become the primary transport for Harvaqtuurmiut hunters. Today the old style skin-covered qajaqs are more likely to be seen in museum exhibits than in Arctic waters. However, this does not diminish the significance of the qajaq as an important component of Harvaqtuurmiut ingenuity and identity. In fact, this scarcity of the traditional caribou skin qajaq, as well as the ages of the people who once saw or used them, underlines the immediate need to research and record the use and importance of this tool.

Historically, the possession of a qajaq was a source of pride to the hunter that owned it; it showed that he was able to aquire the raw materials needed to build it, as well as unite the community to aid in its construction and use. For an individual family and the entire community, the caribou skin qajaq was a social and cultural necessity, since a successful hunter shared with those who were hungry.

Once again the qajaq is being called upon by the Harvaqturmiut to meet the needs and demands of the community. Its purpose is to be a symbol of Inuit creative expression and cultural life. Although caribou skin qajaqs are no longer used to hunt caribou, they are still revered with pride and respect. Also, the caribou skin qajaq is as a link to the past; a link which allows the Elders to educate the young people about traditional knowledge

and practices. However, the rate at which qajaq related information is being shared and absorbed is much too slow and many of the Elders are dying before they have an opportunity to speak. The goal of the community, and of this research project, is to save this valuable cultural information before it is lost forever.

While working with David Webster and the Elders, my belief in an oral historical research methodology was strongly reaffirmed. Again and again the Elders stated that since time immemorial information has been passed on from person to person and from generation to generation through oral accounts. With such support from the Elders it was an easy choice for me to continue working from an oral historical research methodology. It should also be noted that for many years, David Webster and Lucy Evo have used a similar formal style to gather traditional information from the Elders in the hopes of presenting it in such a way as to stimulate young minds to learn about their culture. However, the reality of the situation is quite different; the Elders are aware of the lack of interest among the youth of their community in learning about local traditional knowledge. For the Elders this is a major concern which needs immediate attention.

The hopes of the Elders rest upon the idea that this lack of interest will pass in time and that wiser and older Inuit will have the desire to learn about the old ways. That is why the community pushed so hard for the creation of the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre. The Elders felt that if they could build a structure which housed and protected their knowledge there was less chance of it being forgotten, and that in time this traditional knowledge could

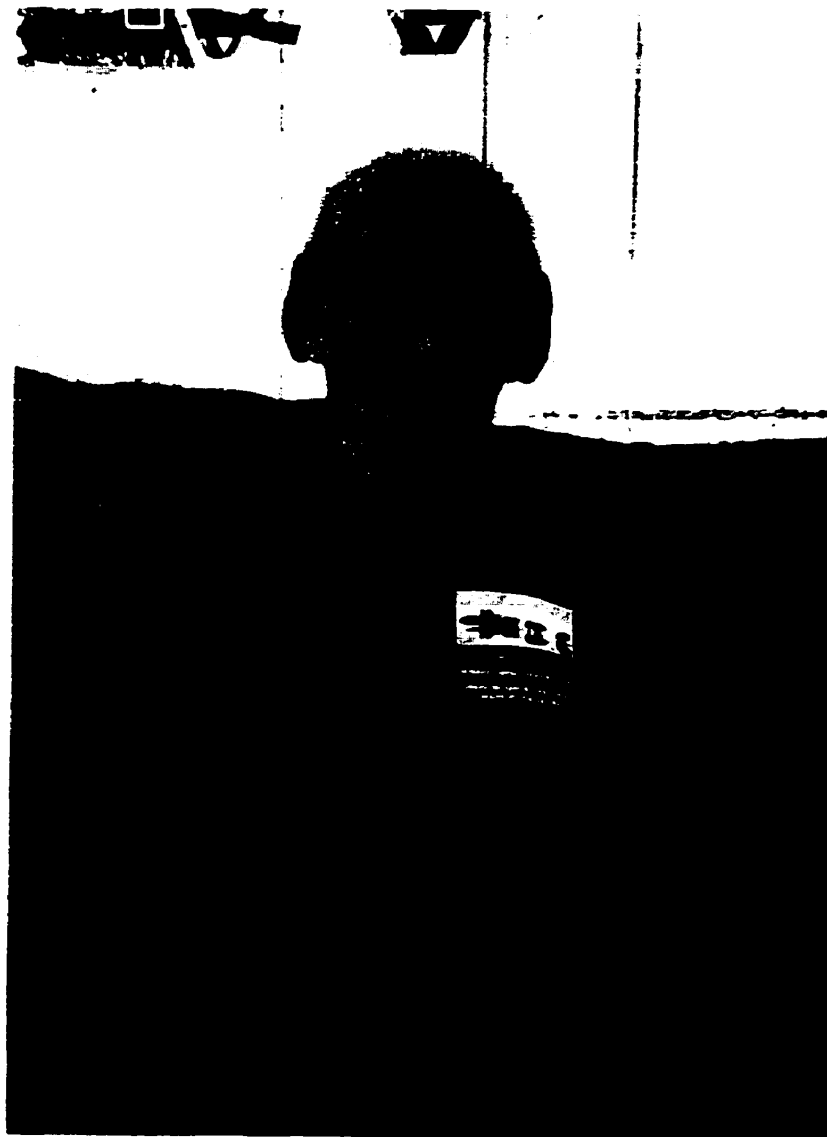
be relearned. However, the organization of this building presents several challenges for the community, especially the Elders. The questions that surround a structure such as this include: What cultural components best represent "Caribou Inuit" culture? And how should these components be presented?

David Webster, Lucy Evo and the rest of the staff of the Heritage Centre are faced with the enormous task of continuously reinventing the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Centre. They cannot allow the Centre to become a "white elephant" and its contents to become idealized and irrelevent to contemporary life. It is the responsibility of the staff and the Elders to create a system which is continually challenging the minds and imagination of the youth. However, the Heritage Centre is working against the clock, since many of the people who retain this information are dying. When the Elders who possess firsthand knowledge of traditional ways are gone, they cannot be replaced.

Traditional Inuit knowledge can be incorporated into an infinite number of Arctic and global studies. As a result of an understanding of the importance of this knowledge university departments, such as the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba, have begun to develop a deeper respect and understanding for historic and contemporary Inuit knowledge and world views. David Webster told me that as a result of a lack of respect by academic institutions many Arctic communities, such as Baker Lake, are pressing their rights to control what information is shared and with whom (Webster 1998). In instances where communities do support and accept academic studies, such as with

my project, a wealth of knowledge can be collected and preserved. I feel that the acceptance of a researcher by a community is a very special responsibility. It is an invitation to learn about people, the environment and yourself in a way that encourages you to blend traditional knowledge and academic knowledge together in the hopes of removing misinformation from the lips, minds and pages of those people who write history. If this responsibility is taken seriously and prepared for properly, the community and academic institution will benefit and gain a better understanding of life in the Arctic.

Appendix A:



(Jimmy Taipanak, June 16 1998)

INTERVIEW #1

Tape #: One (1)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: Jimmy Taipanak
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: June 16 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. The home of Jimmy Taipanak
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *What is your English and Inuktitut name?*

Jimmy: My English name is Jimmy and my Inuktitut name is Taipanak.

Shawn: *What were your parents names?*

Jimmy: My dad's name was John Taipanak. I got a son with the same name John Taipanak living in Rankin. [Jimmy did not speak of his mother].

Shawn: *What is your wife's name?*

Jimmy: My first wife's name was (Phone rings) Unga. My second wife, who I am living with now, is named Anne Pikla.

Shawn: *Did you have any brothers or sisters?*

Jimmy: My older brother's name is Pangnaqta; and I have a brother named Miniggaaq. My younger brother is Miniggaaq. As well as my sister Aulayuq (phone rings). My youngest brother is Okalitaa. I've got two younger brothers but they passed away.

Shawn: *How many children do you have?*

Jimmy: I've got three kids from my first wife. Two of them are living in Cambridge Bay, one passed away. And with Annie [At this point Jimmy began to become emotional, voice cracking) ... our oldest son passed away. So I got right now... my oldest son, with Annie, is John Taipanak. He is living in Rankin [Inlet], and my second oldest son is Gibson. He is

living Whale Cove. Kitty and Helen were adopted by a family in Cambridge Bay. We [Jimmy and Annie] had 10 kids and as I mentioned earlier one of our kids passed away. So I have 9 kids with Annie.

Shawn: *The reason I asked [these questions] was in 10 or 20 years hen somebody reads this report they will know exactly who the interview is with. They will be able to know who lived before you and who lived after you. It makes it clear. When younger people are reading this they will know exactly who I am talking with.*

Jimmy: Ummm.

Shawn: *How old are you?*

Jimmy: Two years old (laugh). I have a birth certificate but this one is not accurate. I am not sure how old I am. I was born before our birth dates were recorded.

Shawn: *Where do you come from?*

Jimmy: I was born at Ellice River [Inuktitut name is Koonayuk]. I grew up on Ellice River and Perry River area.

Shawn: *What are the name of the people at the Perry River area. For example, the Padlirmiut, Harvaqtuurmiut ...?*

Jimmy: There was no particular name, but on the side of Garry [Lake], north of it, that is where I grew up. The people there that were called Padlirmiut* were around the Garry Lake area. There is no particular tribe or area that I came from.

Shawn: *Have you ever seen people using qajaqs?*

---

*Padlirmiut are from the Arviat area. The people that lived around Garry Lake are Hanningayuqmiut. Lucy Evo and David Webster informed me that since Jimmy Taipanak came from the Ellice River and Perry River area he would be Kihlirnirmiut.

Jimmy: I have seen people, that are now passed away at Ellice River, chasing caribou in an area where they had a caribou crossing area up that river.

Shawn: *Do you remember the name of the crossing?*

Jimmy: It is called Koonayuk. [Sam Itkilik, my interpreter, stated that this is the general inuktitut term referring to the entire Ellice river.]

Shawn: *When were they using them; at what time do you remember?*

Jimmy: During the (cough) springtime when the ... there was no particular date or time. During the time when the herd was crossing the river they would get their qajaqs to go to the caribou.

Shawn: *How would they use them [the qajaqs]?*

Jimmy: They use to use a system where my dad use to be on the qajaq and use the harpoon to get the caribou. Where as the rest of the people were on the land keeping the caribou from going to the land. It was a system where my dad, who was on the qajaq, could get to the caribou.

Shawn: *How did you learn about qajaqs?*

Sam: How to make them?

Shawn: *Ya, how to make them?*

Jimmy: From my Dad.

Shawn: *From your Dad?*

Jimmy: Yes. I learned to make the qajaq from my Dad. Watching my Dad.

Shawn: *Could you explain how to build a qajaq?*

Jimmy: First we use to collect the wood. There were different, what do you call them ... like specialties in

making the wood together and putting the formation of the qajaq together.

Shawn: *Tying the pieces of wood together?*

Jimmy: Yes.

At this time Jimmy bent down and picked up the wooden qajaq model, which I bought from him, and began to explain how a traditional caribou skin qajaq was built.

Jimmy: We start off with the front of the qajaq, I don't know how to explain this, and we design the sides here.

Shawn: *The top part right here, pointing to the bow, and then the gunwales.*

Jimmy: This is the frame we begin to use and before we put the back of the qajaq on we measure these two.

Shawn: *The top divider right behind the cockpit and the one immediately after.*

Jimmy: From there we begin to put these on, the dividers, for the front of the first half of the qajaq. Then the other dividers, the ones that are on the back of the qajaq, are put on. [However], before this [the dividers] goes on we still have to measure.

At this point Sam asks Jimmy to clarify what has to be measured.

Jimmy: When the frame is completed on the bottom, what do you call this, this one is the third one that goes on.

Shawn: *Ok. So, the nose of the qajaq is put on first. The reason I am saying this again is so that I can remember when I am writing it out. So the nose goes on first. The two gunwales. Then the two dividers which are immediately behind the cockpit. Then the three dividers in the front of the qajaq, the bow. Then the third and forth divider is attached to the stern. The main keel is next; and then the two pieces of wood from the bow to the stern, between*

the gunwales and the keel (both of them). Then the cockpit.

Sam asks Jimmy to clarify and expand.

Jimmy: This one goes on after, and these are [put] on.

Shawn: *So, the support piece of wood that goes over the stern dividers, and then the bow support, which goes over the bridge dividers,then ...*

Jimmy: The cockpit.

Shawn: *Then the cockpit. The front lift of the cockpit. Then the back of the cockpit and then the hoop. Then the tail is put on.*

Sam asks Jimmy if my understanding is correct.

Sam: I think that I am translating it wrong.

Shawn: *Are you? Try again.*

Sam attempts to clarify by asking Jimmy to expand upon the qajaq construction.

Jimmy: Actually, these are the first two that I work on.

Shawn: *So, the bow point and the stern point go on first. Ok. Then everything is done in the same manner.*

Jimmy: Yes. As I explained. After these ones are completed the top bit is put on here. In this form.

Sam asks Jimmy to clarify the qajaqs construction again. Sam then asks me, "what do you call this design [part]?"

Shawn: *Um, I ...*

Jimmy: After I design the front of the bow I put the support on for the cockpit. The front of the cockpit. As well as the one that is going to be behind our backs.

Shawn: *This part goes on first? Lets call it the piece of wood that impales the front of the cockpit. I will remember that way. Then this part?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Then the front flat perpendicular part which is in the front of the cockpit. Then the smaller perpendicular part, which is half the height of the front one, is directly behind the cockpit, and then the hoop. Ok.*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Where did you get the wood to build the qajaq?*

Jimmy: From the treeline. We use to go travel at the river to collect wood to make the qajaq and to make sleds. It [treeline] was passed Garry Lake; which is the approximate level of the treeline.

Shawn: *How many skins were used to cover the qajaq?*

At this point I asked Sam if he could tell Jimmy that we could take a break at any time. Jimmy agreed and we stopped the interview for tea. The break length was approximately 10 – 15 min. At this time the tape recorder was turned off.

While sitting Jimmy went and got his wallet to show us his birth certificate. Jimmy's birth certificate stated that he was born in 1919 in Cambridge Bay. He was registered on August 25th 1947. I turned the tape recorder back on to record Jimmy's birth certificate information. After this we immediately continued with the interview.

After reading this, I asked Jimmy if he was younger or older then what the certificate stated?

Sam: (Laugh).

Jimmy: I was born in Ellice River, but on this record it says Cambridge Bay. This record is stating that I was born later but I was born earlier then 1919.

Shawn: *The last question I asked before our break was ... How many caribou skins were used to cover the qajaq?*

Jimmy: Three [caribou] bulls and one caribou for extra material. We used the caribou bull (cough) ... [we cut] the skin right up to the neck.

Shawn: *So, it was three caribou bulls plus one extra one for any other [repairs, problems]....*

Shawn: *What did you use to hold the wood together [qajaq frame]?*

Jimmy: Using a caribou bow drill and we would use caribou bull skins, cut up into pieces. The skins would be cut into pieces. We would work on getting the caribou [skins] flexible, but not so [flexible] that it won't dry up but to make it flexible to use for ... to put the bow together.

Jimmy explains that the caribou skins must be kept moist or damp at all time. If the caribou skins are allowed to dry they would become brittle and eventually deteriorate; separating at the seams. Hence leaving the qajaq unusable.

Shawn: *Like these. [In order] to tie all the pieces of wood together?*

At this point, I referred to the model qajaq frame which clearly shows how pieces of wood were latched together with caribou sinew. It must be noted, however, that the sinew used by Jimmy for this qajaq model is artificial and mass produced. This material, which was bought, I assume, at the Northern Store, is used by artists because it is easy to obtain and demands very little, or no maintenance.

Jimmy: Yes. We would sew it rather ....

Shawn: *So, you wouldn't use sinew from the back [of the caribou]. It would be pieces of caribou skin.*

Jimmy: Yes, caribou skin.

Shawn: *[Caribou skins cut into] long strips?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Would you soak them [the strips] in water to get them nice and flexible?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *I didn't know that. I always thought sinew was used.*

Jimmy: We would use that skin to put the frame together.

Shawn: *How long did it take to make a qajaq?*

Jimmy: I can talk in general terms [be]cause we would try to complete the qajaq by the time ... when the time the herd comes. So it took a number of days. It would take approximately 10 days to complete one; that is after putting the frame together and putting the skins in the water to stretch it.

Shawn: *Soak it [the caribou skins] to get nice and soft. Then cut it. Then stretch it and then tie it.*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Were any pieces of antler used like nails [to hold the wood frame together] ... to go into the holes?*

Jimmy: We would sometimes use the caribou [antler] as a nail. I mean, to keep the frame held together tightly, or rather sturdy. So that the qajaq can be sturdy built.

Shawn: *So you would use small pieces of antler or bone. Would it be antler or bone?*

Jimmy: We would cut the antler in half and drill into the frame.

Shawn: *So you would use antler for nails; they were about an inch long?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *I'm just making sure I have the right size. Were the women responsible for sewing the hide or did men help?*

Jimmy: There would be two ladies working on ... or sewing the skin together. They would sew on the top of the qajaq frame. One doing the front half and the other lady doing the other half. But when those are completed, both halves are completed, the cockpit area would be sewed together by the man.

Shawn: *Why would it [the cockpit] be sewed together by the man?*

Jimmy: It [the cockpit] is the mans design and he would make the cockpit to his liking.

Shawn: *So, he would do the sewing too?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Could you explain how the caribou were hunted by qajaq?*

Sam: I referred to the term "hunting" but Jimmy is saying that they did not use to hunt them ... [Jimmy states that] they use to wait until they went to the river, where the herd was crossing, and the qajaqs would be waiting on the beach for the men to use them.

Shawn: *So, when the caribou went into the water the men would jump into their qajaqs, paddle out beside them, and spear them with their spears?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *When a caribou was killed how was it brought to shore?*

Jimmy: We use to tie up the antler of the caribou on the side of the cockpit with the string and bring it to the land. While we just tie up the antlers to the cockpit and bring the ... like the caribou would be towed to the land.

Shawn: *What would happen to the caribou when it was brought to land?*

Jimmy: We use to cut the caribou, skin it rather. The meat would be used to ... dried caribou.

Shawn: *Would you just bring it [caribou] to shore and the go out and try getting another caribou. Would you jump back into yourqajaqs and paddle out and try getting another caribou orwould you do all your hunting and then bring them all to shore?*

Jimmy: We would try and catch as many caribou as possible. When they are around the river we would bring the caribou to the land and skin it and use it for dry meat. So all the ones we tried to catch, that were on the river, were brought to the shore.

Shawn: *Would there usually be one qajaqer or would there be more then one man with a qajaq in one community or one group?*

Jimmy: Depending on the number of qajaqs ... usually there would be two, three, or four in a particular area and the ones that don't have qajaqs would be surrounding the shore to keep the caribou from coming to the shore.

Shawn: *After the qajaqs were used were they brought up on shore and put into ... what happened to the qajaq after they were used for hunting?*

Jimmy: I don't know if you have seen those stands for qajaqs. One would set aside four rocks; two sets each ... each side consisting of two rocks formed in a "V" shape.

Shawn: *Like that? (At this point I held the heels of my hands together so that my hands formed a "V".*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *How long would the skins last. Would they be replaced every year or would they last for one year, two years ...?*

Jimmy: On average the skins would last approximately two to three years. Extreme care would be taken to a

particular area of land [which contained] wet soil. When we were going to leave [the qajaq] for the winter we would make sure it was in a gravel that was not to dry.

Shawn: *Would you dig down and put it in [the ground] and cover it?*

Jimmy: We would try to avoid putting any soil into the cockpit, but the rest of the qajaq would be covered with soil.

Sam clarifies that in Jimmy's dialect the "soil" that he is talking about is called "Tuapak". Since Sam does not share this same language he states that he is unable to understand and explain the characteristics of this form of soil.

At this point I asked if Jimmy would like to stop for the day. Jimmy stated that he could continue with the interview after tea.

*** SIDE TWO: Continuation of Interview. Reset tape-recorder counter to 000.

Shawn: *How did the men learn to use qajaqs. Did they practice when they were young?*

Jimmy: It was just our life style. You know how we have training on the job these days. It would be something like that. We would help build the ... as we were growing up we would help build the qajaq and help the Elders build the qajaq.

Shawn: *So, just from when you were really young and by the time you were old enough to hunt you would already know?*

Jimmy: The forefathers ... like it was a daily lifestyle and the qajaq was the only tool during the summer that we use to use and people would watch us build it on a daily bases.

Shawn: *You just learned from watching?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *When hunting caribou [from qajaqs] was it safe or were there any dangers that could happen?*

Jimmy: To a certain extent there use to be ... we never use to go alone by qajaq. If somebody tipped over there would be other qajaqs handy, on the look out. Soon as it [qajaq] tips people would come over and help using what ever means to bring the qajaq back up.

Shawn: *Were there any dangers from the caribou when they were being hunted?*

Jimmy: I really don't know. I was taught the "know how" and most of the time when we hunted [with] the qajaq it was a calm, calm day. On the river you don't get many waves.

Shawn: *Do you know how to swim. Did your parents know how to swim?*

Jimmy: On ponds and lakes they use to swim as well as me. It came naturally. Even the people before them new how to swim.

Shawn: *So, when the qajaq tipped over could they swim back to shore or did they stay with the qajaq and wait until somebody came to rescue them?*

Jimmy: Even if we knew how to swim ... when the qajaq tipped over we wouldn't just leave the qajaq behind because the material was so scarce. So we had to wait until help arrived.

Shawn: *Were qajaqs ever used for fishing?*

Jimmy: I don't know. When I was younger I use to catch fish using a kakivaq, fish spear, and I would slide the fish into the front of the qajaq by the cockpit.

Shawn: *Would you be in the qajaq itself and fish off the side?*

Jimmy: Yes. Once I catch it I pulled it up and slided it between my legs.

Shawn: *That is new to me!*

Jimmy: There was one time I was using a ... I was in a pretty deep area, I was fishing using a fish spear one time ... I was lucky to have a nice long handle on the fish spear ... so one time I tipped over and I used the handle to get back up (laugh). I never heard of other people using fish spears, but personally I used that method before.

Shawn: *Would you just tie the kakivaq here on the front of the qajaq? (pointing to where the caribou spears and paddle are tied on the model)*

Once again Jimmy uses the qajaq model to explain to me where he would place the kakivaq.

Jimmy: I would place the kakivaq on the front half of the qajaq, diagonally.

Shawn: *So, it would run, the part that you would hold with your hand, beside the cockpit and the forked part would be out on the side?*

Jimmy: The fish catching part would be beside the cockpit and the handle would be out. The front half, in front of the cockpit there, would be a safety or rather a holder for the paddle and harpoons. This area (at this point Sam states that he is unable to clearly explain what Jimmy is talking about.) I would leave it [the kakivaq] here. The paddle would be in this manner so the qajaq would not tip over.

Shawn: *The first string loop immediately after the cockpit would be where you would put the kakivaq through. The part that would be used to catch the fish would be back here, behind the cockpit, with the handle right beside the cockpit hole so you could just grab it and turn it from inside. The paddle would be used to balance the qajaq.*

Jimmy: Yes. When I took the head of the harpoon I would use the ... instead of aiming straight down to the

side of the qajaq I would aim more towards the front to get the fish with the spear.

Shawn: *[You would have to have] good eyes.*

Jimmy: (Laugh) I use to have really good eyes back then and when the boat tipped over I could just leave the qajaq and go to the land. There use to be another qajaq, [which was] owned by Haungaaq, on land where I would be able to retrieve the qajaq [the one that had tipped over] (laugh).

Shawn: *Is that something that was practiced a lot, or was it just in your case ... where there would be a qajaq on land in case the person had to swim to shore ... then they would paddle back out to get the qajaq that flipped over?*

Jimmy: I use to take care of the boats. The boats that were on land belong[ed] to some other person in my case.

Shawn: *Were qajaqs ever used for hunting birds?*

Jimmy: We use to use the qajaq to guide birds to the land, but we didn't use [the] qajaq to kill birds.

Shawn: *Not even with "bolas" (Inuktitut name: qilamitaut)?*

Jimmy: No. Only on an island did we use to use the things called qilamitaut. The one with the ... a type of tool to hunt geese.

Shawn: *Same as "bolas". What we call "bolas".*

Shawn: *Do you remember any qajaq games?*

Jimmy: I never saw any games being played. There is not much to do after we caught the caribou. There was really no games to play with the qajaq. I have an uncle named Angulaalik, one of the first clerks for the Hudson's Bay, one of the Inuit people had a qajaq that was ... that he made to his liking and that I remember seeing as [a] really fast qajaq. Angulaalik was the one who was keeping the

caribou from going to the land using his qajaq (laugh).

Shawn: *So that was his job all the time. He never really hunted ... he just kept them [caribou] from going to shore?*

Jimmy: Yes. That was always his responsibility, the guy with the fast qajaq. His responsibility was to keep the caribou from going to the land so that my dad's father in law, Angulaalik, could hunt the caribou on the caribou crossing.

Shawn: *Do you know why that boat was faster then the other boats. Was it shorter?*

Jimmy: I have explained earlier that it was shorter and the area where they would sit down was ... the width was really narrow.

At this point I asked Jimmy if the qajaq model [that I bought from him] was accurate. "Did it look the same way a big one would look?"

Jimmy: Yes. That is a miniature, exact qajaq frame.

Shawn: *Great (laugh).*

Jimmy: The only time you can make them [a qajaq] is during the spring time. You can't make them during the winter or otherwise it will break. It was to cold (pause). If I had good eyes and even if it took ten days I would have completed a large qajaq. The actual size qajaq.

Shawn: *Then I would have had to figure out where to get the money to buy it and get it back to Winnipeg. I would have to store it in my small one bedroom apartment (laugh).*

Jimmy: (laugh). The soft wood for the frame is the best material to use. When there is no, what do you call it, ... when the woods not broken, warped or something.

I really do not understand what is being said or explained here.

Jimmy: These kind of woods, I don't know what you call them, this material, are the best materials to use for the framing .... [be]cause when it softens it doesn't absorb the moisture as much. Without using the branches here [the qajaq ribs] these are the best materials to use ... could be this material [the wood which was used for qajaq model frame].

Shawn: *The main wood that is used for the qajaq frame you could use for the ribs, as well as, the cockpit hoop?*

Jimmy: This particular qajaq ... this wood material is preferred; not without using any branches.

Shawn: *If there was extra wood of this kind (pointing to the qajaq frame) you wouldn't use branches for ribs?*

Jimmy: Yes. I have made a qajaq, a little bit larger then this and put skin on when I was in Cambridge Bay. When I got to Baker [Lake] I put the skin on, and the skin kept drying when it was hanging.

Shawn: *Which is a problem they are having now in the Baker Lake [Inuit] Heritage Centre. The skin on the Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq is drying and splitting.*

Jimmy: The ones that were made in the Heritage Centre have narrow ... the rear half is more narrow and the front half is wider then the rear.
When we completed the [qajaq] frame, without the skin on, we put it on water to find out if it is level. That is how we find out if it is going to level to one side or not.

Shawn: *How would you split the wood?*

Jimmy: Using a traditional ... the edge of the antler would be used to cut the [wood] pieces in half. When we were going to make a qajaq we would use the end of the ... sharp point of the antler to ....

Shawn: *The point of the antler?*

Jimmy: Yes. To cut the wood in half.

Shawn: *Would it [the antler] be sharpened?*

Jimmy: We would use metal to ... put it on the edge of the antler and, you know how they have the saw cut up ...

Shawn: *The jagged teeth?*

Jimmy: Yes. We would use that ... keep that area sharpened. [In order] to cut the wood in half.

Shawn: *How long would it be?*

Jimmy: About ...

Shawn: *The saw blade is that long?*

Jimmy: About an inch.

Shawn: *About an inch. How long would the antler handle be?*

Jimmy: About a foot and a half to two feet [long]. We would also cut that antler in half by using a hammer to split it in half ...

Shawn: *And then you would attach the blade to the end [of the antler] and use that end like a saw?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Jimmy: The qajaq is not a toy to Inuit. We have to take extreme care of these [qajaq] and I figure I have covered everything about the qajaq.

Sam stated to Jimmy that I had a few more questions about the qajaq.

Shawn: *Do you want to answer the rest of the questions tonight or can I come back tomorrow?*

Jimmy: As long as the days don't get to far ahead ... before I forget about all the information about the qajaq.

Shawn: *How about tomorrow night?*

Jimmy: Yes. It is all right to come back tomorrow.

At this point we ended for the evening. After I turned the tape recorder off Jimmy said that qajaqs, in his area, had no specific length. All qajaq sizes were different and there was no accepted way to measure. The individual designed the length of the qajaq in relation to their own personal preference.

*** **Day Two**: June 17th 1998.

Shawn: *Can I take some photographs after the interview?*

Jimmy: Yes.

Shawn: *Were inuksuit (plural of inukshuk) used to herd caribou into the water so qajaq hunters could kill them?*

Jimmy: There is no inuksuit going to the caribou crossing area, but on lakes and ponds there is a system where they put up the inukshuk so that the caribou can get to the water on the lake or pond.

Shawn: *There were no inuksuit used at caribou crossings because they would scare them [caribou] away?*

Jimmy: The caribou cross the caribou crossing by instinct and they know the traditional route of crossing the river. The first ... the caribou trails are so old that the caribou ... there are marks on the land where the caribou crosses. The caribou crossings follow the traditional trail.

Shawn: *Was there any time, that you can remember, that they [the caribou] didn't pass on the traditional paths?*

Jimmy: I do not remember a time where a caribou went on a separate trail. The caribou, traditionally, use the caribou crossing area. I can't recall any other myths of guiding the trail ... guiding the caribou to a particular spot. Sometimes when we walked by the river ... those times when they are not using the

caribou crossing ..... [The] caribou crossing river [area] is when a particular point of the river, or the point going across the river, and [the caribou} find the closest area to cross the river.

Shawn: *Have you ever done, or see, a cache which contained repair pieces for qajaqs. For example, wood, skin or antler?*

Jimmy: I have never come across a caribou cache [which contained repair pieces]. The only ones I have seen were the "V" shaped stones that we were talking about yesterday; the stands for the qajaq.

Shawn: *When did people stop using qajaqs (Sam expanded upon the question by stating: "When did people stop using qajaqs on a daily bases?")*

Jimmy: We stopped using qajaqs on a daily bases when rifles and guns came around and when we started moving to communities.

Shawn: *Do you remember any rituals or ceremonies performed before, during or after a qajaq hunt?*

Although this question was placed in my questionaire before the last three questions I felt that a private, personal question, such as this, should be asked after the Interviewee is relaxed and comfortable. Not at the beginning of the interview. If this question was asked earlier I feel that there was a higher chance that I would not get an answer. This question was important to me because Jimmy is the only interviewee who was trained as a Shaman at one time (Mannik 1998, p. 42-43).

Jimmy: (Cough). We would try to have the qajaq not have any shadow on the ground. As well, we kept the caribou skin tent camouflaged to the land in the caribou crossing area. [This was done] so that the caribou won't see them [the tent].

Shawn: *When you tried to stop the qajaq from having a shadow was it when it was in the rocks holding it (qajaq "V" stand) or when it was on shore after you were finished hunting?*

Jimmy: It would be in an area where the caribou wouldn't be able to see it, but it would be right along the beach and [we would] have it camouflaged. When we saw the caribou crossing we would run to the qajaq and start chasing.

Shawn: *What would happen if the caribou saw the tent. Or what would happen if the qajaq had a shadow?*

Jimmy: It was a near perfect system where the caribou had no choice but to go across the caribou crossing. So even if they [caribou] saw the qajaq and the tent it would be camouflaged that the caribou would go ahead and cross the river.

Shawn: *What would happen if ... then why was there a concern about having a shadow?*

Jimmy: The qajaq would be visible but the tent would be camouflaged. Even if the caribou saw the qajaq they would cross anyway.

Shawn: *But if they saw the tent they wouldn't?*

Jimmy: (Phone rings) The caribou would be ... the tents would be so camouflaged that the caribou wouldn't even be concerned about the tent. Now days we have canvas tents so I don't know how they [caribou] would react.

Shawn: *Are qajaqs still important to you?*

Jimmy: It is very, very important to me not to forget the use of the qajaq because our ancestors used to get meat by using the qajaq. Even today, you could still go out on to the land (cough) ... it has no motor and the only thing you could end up doing is .... If you make a qajaq you got everything with you. Where as today we have motors.
It is very important to remember our forefathers way of making the qajaq. It is our Inuit tradition. So it is important not to forget the building of the qajaq.

Shawn: *Do you think that it is important to teach the younger people about qajaqs. [For example] how to build them?*

Jimmy: Yes. It is very, very important again for the students, and even the people who are in their forties to learn how to make the qajaq. It is our Inuit tradition. So for Inuit kids to learn it is very, very important.

Shawn: *That is all I have for questions. Is there anything else you would like to say?*

Jimmy: One of the things I would like to say is about the use of the bow and arrow. You wouldn't use the bow and arrow on the caribou crossing river, but you would use the bow and arrow as well on a lake. I also want it to be recorded because even in the winter it was the only weapon to get food.

Shawn: *Would you like to talk about that today. You can tell me anything you would like. It will all be recorded on paper [and tape] and given back [to you and your community].*

Jimmy: It's up to you.

Shawn: *I don't have any questions but I would love to hear.*

Jimmy: On land, during the summer, two people would build inuksuit and one person would be at a distance. The lone person would be herding a caribou toward the two people who just completed building the inuksuit. When the signal was given to herd the caribou toward the inuksuit the lone person would begin herding the caribou toward the inuksuit.

When we were at a location where we could be hidden from the caribou my dad would dig into the ground, and the space in there [the hole] would be approximately 4 feet long, three feet wide and four feet high, and when the right time approached my dad would spear the caribou using a harpoon. The caribou would run away after it was speared but it would die right away from it's wounds. It was usually wounded around the heart. When it got

> wounded around the rear end it would be laying on the ground for a number of hours before it died.

After Jimmy's story I took some photographs.

Appendix B:

(David Webster, June 23 1998)

INTERVIEW #2

Tape #: Three (3)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: David Webster
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: June 23 1998.
Place: Elders' Room in the Baker Lake Heritage Centre. Nunavut.
Interpreter: N/A

Shawn: *What role do the Elders play in the community of Baker Lake?*

David: The Elders play more of an advisory role because the Hamlet Council represents all the people of Baker Lake; [the Council]make major decisions on airports and things like that, so they don't consult the Elders to much on that. On things like the Justice Committee ... if someone commits an offense and its not enough to send them to jail then the Justice Committee meet and they decide on what they should do with the person and generally its community work and they have Elders on that committee. Mostly the Elders are involved in cultural things, on preserving and protecting their culture. Now maybe they do other things, but I've always been involved with the Elders on that so thats what I know most. I've always worked with them on culture. That to me is the main thing.

Shawn: *So, if outside organizations come into the community to do anything with Inuit culture they always have to speak with the Elders?*

David: Yes. Generally if an outside organization wanted to come in [the community] they would write a letter to Hamlet and say, we want to come in to work on culture or something. So the Hamlet Council would say ... they would give advise, they would say, get in touch with the Elders, or what ever. Now, they would say, get in touch with the Inuit Heritage Centre. They will help you. Ya, they would involve the Elders on that.

Shawn: *What role did the Elders play in the creation of the Heritage Centre?*

David: OK. That's a long story. I moved to Baker [Lake] in 1965 and then I had five kids. In 1983, we moved to Ottawa so the kids could get an education. I was in Ottawa with Indian and Northern Affairs, but about six or seven, I don't know how many years ago, maybe seven or eight, I don't know, Parks Canada came to me and said, "Would you be interested in being seconded to Parks to work on two National Historic Sites in the Arctic." They said, "We don't have any National Historic Sites," and they wanted a couple. So, I asked them, "Where are you looking at?" They said, "We are interested in Arviat and Baker Lake." Well, I did live in Arviat too for five years and I lived in Baker for a long time, so I said ya, I would be interested. But I told them that I will only go over two Parks if they leave me alone and let me do it my way and my speed, which is the communities speed. I didn't want it tied up in any bureaucracy or people telling me that I have a dead line or anything. I just said if you leave me alone I'll do it. So they did. They were very, very good.
I came up to Baker and Arviat every second month. I would spend a week in Arviat and a week in Baker. I formed an Elders' Advisory Committee on the advice of Mayor David Tagoona. The Elders' Advisory Committee was an Elder from each [geographical Inuit] group, like Harvaqtuurmiut, one Padlirmiut, one Ukkuhiksalingmiut and so on. That way if you have just one group they would choose their [geographical] area and the others didn't have a chance. So, this was to reach consensus with a group of Elders representing all the groups living in town here.
So, I didn't have a deadline with Parks [Canada]. We just took our time. When I would come into Baker Lake we would meet with the Elders' Advisory Committee and talk about special places on the land, and they [Elders] would talk [about] places all over the area, Back River, the Thelon, everywhere. We [would] just talk about places for a whole year and then at the end of the year they said, "Baker Lake is a unique community. It is the only

inland Inuit community in Canada. We are Caribou Inuit and without a fall caribou crossing we wouldn't exist. We depend on the fall caribou crossing for skins, for clothes. Thats the best time of year to get skins for clothing. The fall skins are the best; and the fall caribou crossing is important for skins. Also, to get meat to cache for the winter. Without clothing and food we wouldn't live. We wouldn't exist today if it wasn't for the fall caribou crossing." So they [Elders] said, "there are a lot of crossings around Baker [Lake] but one of the main ones is on the Kazan River. So they said, " To commemorate our history to the rest of Canada, and the world, we would like to choose the Fall caribou crossing on the Kazan."

So, everyone agreed on that and that's fine. So, my next question to them was "Would you like to do research there or not?" They [Elders] said yes. But in Arviat we've had so many of these "ologists" people. Anthropologists, Archaeologists, all these "ologists", and they generally like to work alone. They don't involve the community at all. But times are changing. They said [the "ologists"] that they would like to [work on this research project] but we must involve Elders and we must involve the youth; to train them. So that they would learn. So, we did. We started research in the Summer. For about three summers, or even four summers, we did research on the Kazan. Archaeological surveys, place names and what have you; we involved the Elders. The Archaeologists really enjoyed that because Archaeologists sometimes come up and work alone. They see a pile of rocks and it means nothing to them. With the Elders there they would tell the Archaeologists "see that pile of rocks, there is a legend behind that" or "in that tent ring this family lived there." So, it made it come alive for the Archaeologists and they really enjoyed it. We found a lot of artifacts, which the Elders told us that we mustn't touch but take pictures, but don't touch them or take them.

Five or six years ago it became a National Historic Site. I think a year ago, or a year and a half ago, the Historic Sites Monument Board of Canada recognized this as a National Historic Site. It took

five years to do but we now have a National Historic Site on the Kazan. What was your question?

Shawn: *That is a pretty good answer so far.*

Shawn: *What role did the Elders play in the creation of the Heritage Centre?*

David: Oh, in the Heritage Centre. OK, I'm getting to that now. With Piqqiq on the Kazan, the Elders were getting really excited about the archaeological work. [An Elder by the name of] Barnabas Piryuaq said, "When I die all my knowledge is going to go with me, because the kids today don't listen." Inuit had an oral tradition for thousands of years where they would listen to their Grandfathers [and Grandmothers], and their Fathers and their Mothers and so on, and they would pass it on to their kids. It was easy in the old days. When they were in an iglu or a tent and there was a blizzard outside, say in the winter, and the kids had nothing to do, so they would listen. Now days, the kids don't listen because times are changing and they got their own interests, hockey, Nintendo and all kinds of things. With a
bigger community too its not like the old days when it was just a small family group, but they got their friends. The oral tradition is not like it was years ago. So, like Piryuaq was saying, when he dies all his knowledge is gone. But he said, "The kids today like the concrete things, like to see something, and things they could touch," and he said, that if there were a museum in Baker [Lake] and he put his knowledge in the museum, even when he passes away his knowledge is still there and the youth will learn.
We [Barnabas and David] were having tea late one night and he said, "We should have a museum in Baker Lake." They [the Elders] never mention visitors to Baker ... they were interested in preserving their culture for youth; to learn from. Thats how it started six years ago. I guess.

On the Kazan [River] we had a lot of workshops with the Elders*. One was for three days and there was about sixty Elders who came and they told us what they would like to see in their museum. What they said was, they didn't want the history of the entire Inuit, but they wanted to start with the history of the Baker Lake Inuit, the different groups, they said. To show the difference between the different groups, explain the different groups.
We had another workshop for five days, and we had meetings over the years. So, the Elders said that it's their culture and they said what they wanted in the Heritage Centre. And then we have those words that the Elders turned into a story line and had exhibits drawn up and then we showed the Elders the pictures and a little model we made. They made suggestions, what have you .... So, the Elders asked for it, and they designed the inside. They were the driving force behind it.

Shawn: *Where did you get the majority of the artifacts, prints and drawings?*

David: OK. Just one more thing on the Elders. The Elders, with the Heritage Centre, said that they had knowledge all about their culture but the can't do a museum, because they don't know how to deal with government. They don't know where to get the money. They [Elders] said, "We have knowledge but we can't do it." They said to me, " You have knowledge, government and getting funds, things like that ... but I [David] can't do it alone. They [Elders] said if I work with them and I have my knowledge and they have their knowledge, and we put it together, then we can do it. But either one alone couldn't. So thats what we did; we worked together to get this [Heritage Centre] done. And where did we get the artifacts?
A lot of the things were made in here by the people in town, Elders. The igloo, the caribou skin tent, and the qajaqs ... the two qajaqs, clothing ... it was all made locally, mostly by Elders. The Elders wanted to see older things because a lot of the things they

*These workshops were held in the community of Baker Lake.

made they have in their homes anyway, like the ulu, stretcher and scraper. They wanted to see older things. So, we loaned [reclaimed] a lot of the items, artifacts from the Canadian Museum of Civilization. And a lot of the old art [is] from the Winnipeg Art Gallery and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. (pause) I guess thats where we ... and the art again, we got a lot of art, thirteen drawings, from the McDonalds Stewart Art Centre in Guelph (pause). We had William Noah paint an oil painting on caching a Caribou. We had prints that were in the Hamlet office that we borrowed, or took, for the museum here. We got them from all over the place.

Shawn: *Who made the two qajaqs in the Heritage Centre?*

David: When I was with Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa someone told me that there is no Back River Qajaq in existence anywhere in the world. So I thought that we should have one made. I asked, this was maybe ten or even twelve ... or even longer ... say twelve or even fifteen years ago, Innakatsik, [who was living] in Baker Lake ... he was from the Back River and he was very good at [making] qajaqs. We asked him if he would make one, and he did. When he was finished he said, "What do I do with it?" I said I don't know. We just had it made. We just stored it. Then Hamlet put it up in the arena. Just hanging from the ceiling for a quite a number of years, ten years or so. That one [qajaq] was made by Innakatsik, who died shortly after. I took it from the arena and we have it here now in the Heritage Centre. The other one, the Kazan River qajaq ... we got money from Human Resources and asked Luke Tunguaq [and David Tiktaalaaq] to make one. They took about eight months because they used wood ... we made it the traditional way with wood from the treeline. All the nails are bone and antler. So, we have a Kazan River qajaq. We have the two; [the] Back River and Kazan [River].

Shawn: *So, the role that you played in the development of the [Heritage] Centre was basically financial. Getting money from agencies for the Elders ... writing proposals?*

David: Ya. It was more then just financial. It was being a lot with the Elders and deciding what goes in and knowing where to get the artifacts, art, the photos for the archives. We wanted to be accurate in our photos. We just didn't choose any photo ... we have one photo enlarged, which is thirty feet by eight feet. We just didn't choose any photo, we wanted a photo of a Qairngnirmiut qajaq. So, we did a lot of research for artifacts, photos and dealing with the Elders on how the exhibit goes. So, it wasn't just raising money. Then it was ... who to ... when we had the money who to get to build the exhibit and get together a team. As you know Shawn the last week I got a really good team, six people to come in for the last week. It was like a jigsaw puzzle and I had all the pieces; and then the last week they brought other pieces of the jigsaw puzzle in and the last week we worked straight sixteen hours a day for a ... even on weekends, just to put the pieces together for the grand opening on June 3 [1998]. It was more to it then just getting money because if I just had the money nothing would be done. We had to get things from the museums ... put the team together. It was, I guess, the hardest job I ever had in my life. When I started, [on] September second, I had no budget. My budget was zero, even for my own salary, zero. So, I had to get that all in place and there is no sense building a heritage centre, like we have now ... we opened three weeks ago ..., and then its like a white elephant, if you just have it. How do you get money for the heat and lights, staff and operations? So, I had to set up money for the future. We got money from Parks Canada and Indian and Northern Affairs. The Indian Northern Affairs money is continued ... it will never be cut, it goes on for ever and thats what I was told and I believe that. I don't think there will be a problem. And money from Parks Canada, which will go on for ... we are guaranteed for fifteen years and then we will reach another agreement after fifteen [years]. So, I had to look after not only getting the money but make sure we had future funding. For the lights and the heat the Hamlet are picking up that because I had terrific Hamlet support. So we are OK for many years in funding.

Shawn: *What is the future of the [Heritage] Centre. What plans do you have?*

David: We don't want the Centre just to be a ... now that we are finished, just sit here and wait for visitors to come in and show them around. We want to always be working on projects. One major project is to add an addition on, within two years, of a collections room so that we could start repatriating a lot of the artifacts and get it to keep. Instead of just loaning. The collections room would be humidity controlled, temperature controlled and the proper shelving, workroom, what have you. Thats a major project. Another project we are working on is ... I have been working on a book on Inuit history for five years, that will be launched, hopefully, on April first [1999]. I was just the chair person of the committee. Its not my book. It was funded by Parks Canada and I was the chair of the committee, but there were six Inuit on it from all across the North West Territories. So the Inuit gave a 100% of the input of what goes into the book. We had researchers dig up the material ... and its been a long project, for five years, but that will be launched here next April, and that is going to be "the Book" on Inuit culture.
We are also working on another book, coming out next spring, about Baker Lake Inuit. We are also working on a CD ROM, which will be much like the book, but it will be on CD ROM. We are also releasing, in the fall, another compact disk of traditional Inuit music. We released volume one on June third [1998] (Webster & Owingayak 1998). Again working with the Elders. It was much like the start of the Centre in the fall. My wife [Sally Qimmiu'naaq Webster] went to visit Tallerook, an Elder in Baker, and they were all singing. Tallerook and her two daughters were all singing. So, Sally phoned me and said to come down. So I went down to the house and Tallerook was saying that when she passes away all of her knowledge on singing, because she is very interested in that traditional music, will be lost. She said, "Is there some way you can help us preserve it?" Thats when Sally said, "Why not do a CD." We came up with that idea and

it was my job to find the money and help them organize it. We did, and when the museum opened, or the Heritage Centre opened, we had volume one released. We also released on that day a book of twenty-six oral histories of Baker Lake Inuit and my job again there, was to raise the money for the book (Mannik 1998). Which cost a hell of a lot of money. We also released a video on the life story of Quinaugnaq, Amarok's Song (Gerjstad & Kreelak 1998). So, we are always involved in projects like that.

Another project that we started working on ... was to do a professional job ... the Elders again suggested this, they had a meeting last night about it, they want to choose a legend and have it acted out on video. They don't want a "Mickey Mouse" job, they want a really professional job done. So, my job again, is to help them organize it and come up with the money, which I found yesterday. Canada Council, I talked to them, and they said that they could fund up to $50,000. Well, we won't need $50,000, we could do it for $20,000 or $25,000. We will be always working on projects like that. We are working on another project to get the Fifth Thule Expedition [photographs] (Rasmussen 1930). In the 20's they passed through Baker Lake and Arviat and they took a ... how many pictures was it ... umm, umm, a couple of hundred pictures I think they have photos. Half of them are from, I think, no 180, ya, because 90 are from Baker and 90 are from Arviat. We are having a chap from Parks Canada come in soon, July 11th, and we are going to work on ... they want $5,000 for those 180 photos ... so we are going to work on getting all those photos. When we do, after Christmas, in that Art Gallery Room, our little addition, we are going to have those drawing taken out and we are going to have a Fifth Thule Expedition photo exhibit.

There are always projects like books, CDs, videos and we are also starting a photo collection. We are taking pictures now of Elders. We hope to get a good scanner and a really good printer so that we can scan all the photos, of our collection, into the computer. Then if a local person said they want that picture because thats their Great Grandfather, or

something, then we can give them a printed copy, or whatever.
There is all kinds of projects that we will be involved in. We want to make it a ... not just ... like I said ... sit here and wait for visitors, but all kinds of activities. We want to get involved in archaeological surveys, and all kinds of projects like that. Lucy [Evo] is working on another project too. That ... as language change, like the English language, we are coming out with words like micro-chip, and all these things, and metric system. So, the Inuit Inuktitut is changing too, where there is new terms coming out. A lot of the old ones [words] are not being used because they don't use them anymore, like words for parts of a caribou skin tent or tent ring. Only the Elders know these words. The youth have never heard them before. If an Elder said the word they wouldn't know what it meant because they are just not used in their language anymore. So, we are making a collection of these words that are not used anymore with the Elders. They will be included in the book and CD ROM.

Shawn: *Approximately how many Elders are in Baker Lake?*

David: We are taking pictures of them now and we have a list right here (at this point David picks up the list) ... there are one hundred. We are taking people over sixty [years of age]. So, there are one hundred Elders over sixty.

Shawn: *One hundred Elders over sixty; thats incredible considering that most communities don't have any [Elders] left.*

David: Yes. There is one hundred Elders over sixty. Now, sixty is not old; but there are very few Elders who have lived the life on the land. Like Peter Aasivaaryuk, Tiktaalaaq, and Piryuaq and Tallerook ... a few others that really lived the life. A lot of other Elders moved into Baker Lake, say in the late 50s or so, they are Elders now but they were brought up so many years in Baker they don't, you know, they didn't live the life that Tiktaalaaq and

Tallerook and those [people] lived. There are very few that actually lived the life on the land.

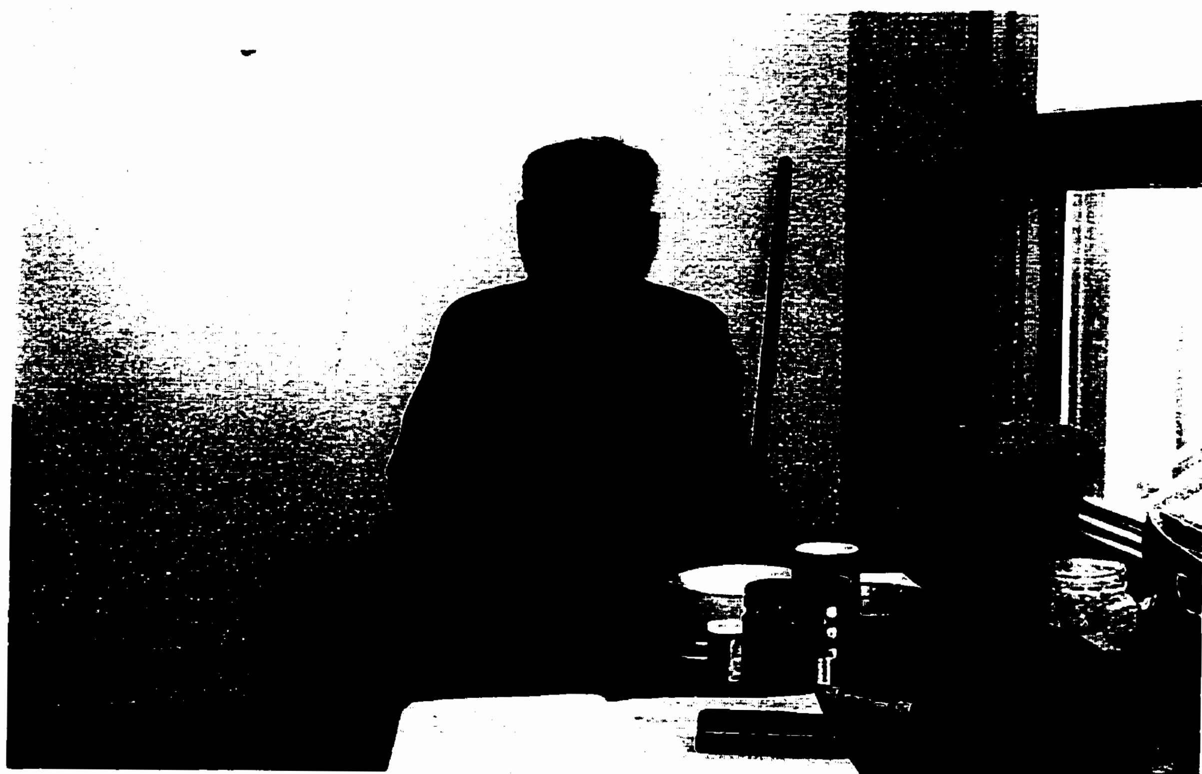
Shawn: *Thats all the questions that I have. Do you have anything else to add?*

David: No. Just that it was 65 when I moved up here and I have always worked, mostly, with Elders on cultural projects. I've been involved with a lot of cultural projects over the years. I enjoyed working with the Elders because it stays out of politics. The Elders too have a lot of power. I remember when I was working on the Heritage Centre here and the Historic Sites with my Elders Committee, I went to the Mayor [David Tagoona] a few times and asked for things. The Mayor just laughed at me and said, "Dave you know you get what ever the hell you want because if I say no to you I'm saying no to the Elders, and I won't." So, the Elders have a lot of power like that. So, we pretty well get our way because if the Elders want it we get it.
I enjoy working with them. They are not political and we always reach decisions by consensus. There's is no arguments. If someone disagrees they say so nicely. Theres no fight or anything and we just reach decisions quietly. Its a pleasure working with the Elders.

Shawn: *Great. Thank You.*

At this point I asked David if we could step outside so I could take his picture.

Appendix C:



(Barnabas Piryuaq, June 24 1998)

INTERVIEW #3

Tape #: Four(4)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: Barnabas Piryuaq
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: June 24 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. The home of Barnabas Piryuaq
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *The first grouping of questions are designed to allow people from future generations to understand exactly who you are. What is your name. Your English name and your Inuktitut name?*

Barnabas: Barnabas Piryuaq.

Shawn: *What were your parents names?*

Barnabas: My dad's name was Amarook and my mother's name was Kigyougalik.

Shawn: *What is your wife's name?*

Barnabas: My wife's name is Inukpaaluk.

Shawn: *Did you have any brothers or sisters. If so, what were their names?*

Barnabas: I have had a lot of older brothers that have passed away and a lot of younger brothers that passed away. Younger sisters that passed away and I have two sisters living in Baker Lake. One of my sisters is Johnny Parker's wife and her name is Qaqsauq; and a younger sister by the name of Natchialuk, Mike Hughson wife, and her kids are adults now.

Shawn: *Do you have any children?*

Barnabas: My youngest kid has ... I now have two kids.

Shawn: *What are their names?*

Barnabas: 1) Simngaq [passed away]
2) Simgak [passed away]
3) Michael Nateelaaq [passed away]
4) Samson Jorah [Adopted to J. Ukpaga]
5) Sarah Iqiquituq
6) Thomas Akuliaq
7) William Puttiqtuq
8) Martha Kigyougalik [passed away]
9) David Tuktugaalaq
10) Margaret Nuhuktagaq
11) Daniel
12) Leah
13) Jimmy Aliqtiksaq [Adopted into the Piryuaq family]

I had thirteen kids. Out of those thirteen kids three of them have passed away. Our first two daughters were born not alive. Michael Nateelaaq just recently passed away. Samson Jorah was adopted by J. Ukpaga. Sarah Iqiquituq is living in town. I have grandchildren but there are so many ... there is enough to make a town (laugh).

Shawn: *(laugh) How old are you?*

Barnabas: I am 72 years old.

Shawn: *Where do you come from. Where were you born?*

Barnabas: I was born across the lake called Qikiktauyaq. I grew up around Kazan River area and ever since then I have moved to Baker Lake.

Shawn: *What were the name of the people there?*

Barnabas: I was brought up by Angutirataq and when I was able to interpret, at the age of five, I moved into my Nateelaq.

Shawn: *What does that mean?*

Barnabas: I am explaining where I grew up. At the age of twelve, when I was able to work on some chores, I moved into a Nateelaq. From there, living with Natchialuk, I was able to hunt and go get foxes. We use to live on caribou; and foxes were used to trade

for stuff from the Hudson's Bay Post from Harvaqtuuq.
When you asked me earlier where I came from the group is called Harvaqtuuq and we are the people from Kazan River area.

Shawn: *Have you ever seen people using qajaqs?*

Barnabas: The people from the Harvaqtuuq area were ... used to have qajaqs but I use to be isolated. I grew up in an isolated area and because of the duration of the season, the qajaqing season was so short, we spent time trading our goods to the Hudson's Bay Post. I have seen completed qajaqs but I have never made them. In 1943 there was a study on how the qajaq was made so well.

*Sam asks for clarification and realizes that he has made a mistake in his translation of Barnabas' story. Sam states that in 1943 those people that Barnabas was talking about were considered, by him, to be the real experts on how to make a qajaq.

Barnabas: In 1943, me and James Ukpaga were at Bissett Lake area during the fall time and we were caribou hunting. [While hunting] We came to a place called Piqqiq and there was a person there who had three qajaqs. There was a huge number of caribou cache along the shore and he was the only one catching the caribou; and when he catches them he just brings them onto the shore and then goes back to get more caribou. I was aw struck at the great number of caribou skins that were spread out to dry. All these caribou were caught without using any rifles. The guy was using the harpoon to catch the caribou. He had separated [the] caribou skins. One area he was going to use for his clothing and the other area, the other group of caribou skins, he was going to use to trade in the coming winter (laugh).
In 1943, I really found out how valuable the use of the qajaq was because the qajaqs provided meat for the person and clothing. As well, the guy could come to the Hudson's Bay Post so he could trade for some goods.
Me and James Ukpaga came across this man, this man was the man I was telling you about who

caught all the caribou skin and stuff, we came across him ... the guy had three qajaqs and there were two others sitting on the river bank. That was the year that me and James came across this man ... and this man asked James and me to hide from the caribou so that we could guide the caribou later. And I was wondering how I was going to guide them just in a river where the current wasn't so strong, but I was still wondering how the guy was going to catch up to the caribou. On the river there is a ... along the beach there is a stream that is going upwards, up the river, and that guy was going up the river using those currents that were going up stream and me and James were hiding behind a rock and we were waiting for the caribou. So when the caribou were close enough we would get visible and the caribou would go toward ... would run ... swim away from the caribou [swim away from Barnabas and James?]. So, the man who was going up stream began to chase the caribou. The caribou ... there were two caribou that he was chasing ... it was inches ... the guy on the qajaq was chasing the two caribou and when he got close enough, which is inches away from the caribou, he took theharpoon and gave a good thrust to the caribou and by the time the caribou were on the beach they were dying from the wounds. The caribou were still struggling to get to the land and the guy was pretending to struggle as well, because he was the hunter, so as soon as the caribou got really close to the land the hunter became really active and harpooned the caribou.

The guy who was hunting the caribou was such an expert. That was the first time I saw a caribou hunter using a qajaq ... it looked so easy just by watching. After we made a caribou cache I wanted to try the qajaq, even though the hunter told me not too, the hunter warned me that it was difficult but I kept on wanting to try it. So, I tried it and even before I got to the water it was so unstable for me I got off again before trying.

That was the only time I saw anybody using a qajaq to hunt caribou. Since that time ... I have never seen a number of people use qajaq for hunting caribou.

Shawn: *So, you have never seen anybody before 1943 hunting caribou [by qajaq]?*

Barnabas: That one I saw in 1943 ... I figure that was the very last person to use a qajaq on that river.

Shawn: *So, you didn't see anybody before 1943 [using a qajaq]?*

Barnabas: No.

Shawn: *Could you explain how the man brought the caribou from the water to the shore ... did he tie a rope around the antler or around the neck of the caribou?*

Barnabas: The particular one in 1943 it was a ... the caribou that were killed, or given wound, drifted ... following the wind that was going towards the land; and by the time they [caribou] were about to die the caribou was on the land.

Shawn: *So the qajaq hunter didn't even have to bring them to land they were just there ... like the wind blew them or the current blew them to the shore?*

Barnabas: By the time the caribou died it was so close to the land that the hunter didn't even have to drag it to the land. The hunter had a plan to ... there was a certain area where the hunter wanted them to get to the land ... it was marked already. So, by the time the caribou died ... it was really close to the land that the hunter just had to pull the antler to the land ... to get to the land. If it was on a fast flowing current the hunter would have used a rope and tied on the antler to bring it to the land.

Shawn: *Do you have any idea how a qajaq was built?*

Barnabas: There's two people in town that made a qajaq, and that qajaq is at [the] Museum of Baker Lake now.

Shawn: *Luke Tunguaq and David Tiktaalaaq?*

Barnabas: Ya. Those two have seen their father's make them before so they know how to make qajaq.

Shawn: *I hopefully will be talking to them later.*

Barnabas: Those two know about qajaqs more then me (cough).

At this point Sam tells Barnabas that we can stop at any time. Barnabas states that he has a little flu and that makes him cough.

Shawn: *Do you have any stories on the creation of the caribou?*

Barnabas: I've got no ... I have never heard of any caribou creation ... even when the white ... or outsiders came. I have never heard any stories of the creation of the caribou.
When I was growing up I moved to an area where they had trading and when ... like a ... when they had a settlement in Baker [Lake] I moved in. My dad use to be a translator for the RCMP and the RCMP acted as a ... like they use to take care of people that were either starving or sick. It was in this community [Baker Lake] that the RCMP was located.

Shawn: *Did you see what the hunter did when he brought the caribou to the shore ... did you see him cut them up ... or were there women on shore doing that job?*

Sam: The one in 1943?

Shawn: *Ya. The one in 1943.*

Barnabas: When the guy put the caribou on land he made large number of caribou cache. He made sure that the cache were secure so that foxes and other wild animals wouldn't be able to get to them. As I was saying earlier, some of the skin was going to be ... after he skinned them he dried the skin and the skin was going to be ... one half of the skins were put together so that the caribou skin would be used for clothing and the other half would be used to trade with the Hudson's Bay [Company] for goods.

Shawn: *(pause) Were inukshuit used to herd caribou into the water so qajaq hunters could hunt them ... or how were inukshuit used?*

Barnabas: Inukshuit were used to ... more like a land mark for the humans to understand. An inukshuk would locate ... would be located near a caribou crossing and when Inuit came across this inukshuk they would study the area and study the river system and find out where the caribou would cross the river. So, in that sense the inukshuk was used as a land mark. There is another land mark which is near rivers and lakes and it would be on a hill where the rock would be pointing towards a fishing area and it was really specific to like ... where to make an ice hole. When the people came across this rock, it was a lone rock, when they studied the rock ... the sharpest point of the rock usually pointed to a very specific ice hole. This land mark was useful ... the people that came from far places or the persons grandson would know exactly where to drill ... or have the ice hole.

Shawn: *Do you know how people learned to use qajaqs ... just by ... through experience or from stories that you have heard from somebody else?*

Barnabas: From way back then kids were taught how to use the actual size qajaq in the shallow water and he was using his waist, the water that would go up to his waist, and the kids would be put into the cockpit of the qajaq and they would be taught how to use the qajaq ... like how dangerous it is to be on a qajaq.
One good example of how the system was used, for like in modern terms, is today a sixteen year old ... if anybody under the age of sixteen can't ride a Honda so they have to wait til they are sixteen to ride the Honda (laugh). Thats how, even way back then, they use to watch over the young person on how to use the qajaq. So, even today they use that type of system.

Shawn: *I'm just going to check the tape to see if I have enough room. I'm just going to change it to the other side.*

*** **SIDE TWO**: Continuation of interview. Reset tape-recorder counter to 000.

Barnabas: Before the white ... or the outsiders came in ...

Shawn: *White people, whatever (laugh), ... it doesn't offend me at all (laugh).*

Barnabas: (laugh) ... these people were called ... there were different groups of names, its not a discrimination, but for the area that ... the area that where people use to live were called that name because that certain area had this particular name to it. Do you understand or not?

Shawn: *Like a geographical thing ... like where Harvaqtuuq its, what is it, rapids ... like raging rapids ... or people of the rapids.*

Barnabas: Ya. As for me, I grew up with the people called Qairngnirmiut and I am sorry that I never knew the ... the Qairngnirmiut were in constant communication with the outsiders and it never really gave me a chance to utilize my skills in using traditional tools.

Shawn: *Umm.*

Barnabas: I am really happy that I caught up to the qajaqs and drums and those things.

Shawn: *From watching that man hunt in 1943 would you say that hunting with the qajaq was safe?*

Barnabas: In caribou crossing area there were a lot of unwritten ... or there were a lot of rules that people use to follow before the outsiders came in. Those rules were followed really strictly. Amarook, my dad, use to follow these rules which were, how can I say it, not a custom but ... these rules were really strictly followed by my dad as well.

Shawn: *Can you remember any of the rules?*

Barnabas: In caribou crossing they would have really strict rules and even if I mention them now I don't think that they will be followed. I had a lot of my brothers, younger brothers, so my dad use to be in an area (cough) of the river opposite to the ... to the area where the caribou were going to come from. So the rule that was really ... that was followed when my dad was around was when ... if the caribou were coming from that side of the river my dad would be on this side of the river and nobody would be allowed to go to the other side of the river, which is the place where the caribou were coming from. So even the carcass ... there was suppose to be nobody, or any carcasses left on the other side of the river; but once on the river where Amarook was located at it was ... his family could hunt anywhere along that side of the river.

Shawn: *What would happen if the caribou saw a caribou skin tent?*

Sam states that in an attempt to answer this question Barnabas explains the two different types of tents used; the canvass tent and the caribou skin tent.

Barnabas: The caribou skin tent would be camouflaged to the land so the caribou wouldn't even realize that the tent was there. But the river ... during the ice break-up on the river there would be a number of ice that were laying on the side of the river and it was really white so the caribou use to think that the canvass tent was the ice that was sitting on the side of the river.
Those um ... our ancestors were really good hunters but the wolves ... they knew that the wolves mind was a lot smarter then the caribou. The wolves knew about the humans ... because the wolves thinks a lot (laugh).

Shawn: *Have you ever seen a cache which contained repair parts for qajaqs, like wood or skin?*

Sam: The cache here?

Sam points to one of the questions in my field book.

Shawn: *The reason I included [this question] is because I have seen pictures of, and spoken to people before, who have opened a cache which was used for*

storing caribou meat or fish and inside there have been pieces of wood for repairing the ribs. So, I was wondering whether or not, since it's hard to get wood, if they would save some [wood] and put it inside a cache in case they were hunting caribou when they were crossing and their boat was broken then they could go get a piece of wood and repair it and then go back to hunting?

Sam: Can I answer what he said earlier?

Shawn: *Sure.*

Barnabas: The tools that were made to make qajaqs were never left behind. So, they never use to leave them in any particular area. It would be in a pouch where the tools could be carried [be]cause it was so valuable they just wouldn't leave it behind.

Sam: I am just going to explain to him why you asked.

Barnabas: Way back then a system was used for what you read about ... is it recorded from the ... the stuff that you were saying earlier about the ... ya it is?

Shawn: *It is recorded by an archaeologists named Virgina Petch in Manitoba (Petch 1997).*

Barnabas: Even before the outsiders came in that system was used as well.

Shawn: *Storing wood, or saving wood, in case qajaqs were ....*

Barnabas: I have never seen any. The last time I ever saw anybody using qajaqs was in 1943. Where the guy ... in 1943 I was using [an] outboard motor (laugh). I saw the guy using ... that was the year I saw many valuable uses for the qajaq (laugh).

Shawn: *Do you remember any other stories or accounts, other then 1943, of qajaqs?*

Sam: I interpreted wrong ... but the storing of the qajaq was ... I'll ask the same question after I interpret ...

Barnabas: The storing of the qajaq for the winter was on a (?) and they would dig into the ground and make sure that the qajaq would be completely covered for the winter where foxes and other animals wouldn't be able to get into it. It would be safely stored for the winter.

Sam: What was that question again [Shawn]?

Shawn: *Actually, I just kind of made it up off the top of my head. Are there any other stories or experiences that you have had with qajaqs that you could tell us?*

Sam: How can I say this (laugh).

Barnabas: That was the only I have seen. I have never really heard of any other stories but I refer you to Luke Tunguaq and David Tiktaalaaq [be]cause their dad use to make qajaq and they were able to watch them on a daily bases during the spring time about the use of qajaqs.

Shawn: *OK. I only have two more questions.*

Shawn: *Even though you haven't ever used a qajaq are qajaqs still important to you. Why?*

Barnabas: Yes, it is very important. Even if our fathers were not using the qajaq I don't think that I would be alive today. So it is very important.

Shawn: *Do you think it is important to teach the younger people about qajaqs?*

Barnabas: Yes. It is very important to teach the younger generations the use of qajaqs because ... when their ancestors were born the only thing that they survived on was caribou skin, caribou tools and qajaqs. I can't figure out how we would be living today if it wasn't for the caribou tools and accessories. It is very important for the Inuit to learn the use of the Inuit culture.
I can still visualize how my dad was brought up by the use of the caribou skins and qajaqs ... even today

the use of the caribou material has to be brought down from one generation to the next. It is really important that the younger generation learn as much as possible [be]cause as they get older ... an older person ... it starts to get ... when they are around 65 [or] 70, I realize now, that it has to be passed down [be]cause everything starts to get hard and even a really light thing ... for me to lift up something really light its a really heavy for me.

I can use myself for an example [be]cause I got a five gallon tank that I pick up fresh water. Nowadays, I pick up the fresh water ... back then I was able to lift a 45 gallon barrel that was full of water with ease. But today I drive my Honda out to get the five gallon barrel and its really hard for me now to walk a short distance before I get tired (laugh). Today, we have playgrounds now and we have sports; back then it was basically the same thing but it was more of a practice with using like ... practicing with stuff that we would have to use in order to survive. Today, I could ... I'll use the next door neighbor which is about how many ... fifty yards away ...? I can use that as an example ... like today I can't even run that far, that fast. When I was growing up I was able to run to that hill, which is about 500 yards, with ease (laugh).

Inuit use to be brought up to train ... back then we use to play some rough games and some were made to run and get really active so that in the future it would be useful to me. Some were made to be really strong where as I was using the 45 gallon for an example. We use to do it for fun and not to show off but that fun was to prepare us for the coming years. In the coming years it would be useful to be fast runners or strong people. That was used for survival purposes. Some of it was for medicine purposes ... it was natural for us to build strong muscles so we could be healthy and for the use ... so that we could use it in the future ... it was like medicine just to be happy ... that was the time that we were not showing off and working out. Again, I will use myself for an example, today we have t.v and couch and I can't even ... once I start running its going to get really ... I'm going to get tired really quick (laugh). So right now its really comfortable for me to lay on the

couch. From laying on the couch to much I body gets really tired easy. There is no pain. I'm just happy on my part (laugh).

Shawn: *(Laugh) I don't have any other questions. Could I take a couple of pictures.*

Barnabas: Yes. A number of time my picture had to be taken so by all means.

Shawn: *Thank you very much.*

At this point I took several picture of Barnabas Piryuaq.

Appendix D:

(Emily Alerk, June 30 1998)

INTERVIEW #4

Tape #: Five (5)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: Emily Alerk
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: June 30 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. Elder's room in the Inuit Heritage Centre
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *What is your English and Inuktitut name?*

Emily: Emily is my English Name. My Inuktitut name is Nipiha'naaq.

Shawn: *What were your parent's names?*

Emily: My dad's name was Joseph. His Inuktitut name was Agluvak. My mom's English name was Mary. Her Inuktitut name was Atangat. My older sister's name was Ikoe and my other older sister was Atuat. I had a brother named Atungat. My older sister is Lucy Kownak and she is living today.

Shawn: *Do you have any children?*

Emily: My oldest son is Hugh Ikoe. My oldest daughter is Sarah Amaroo'tuaq. I have three adopted kids. My step daughter is Kimberly Alerk....

Shawn: *Would you like some coffee or tea?*

Emily: Coffee.

Shawn: *How old are you?*

Emily: 66 (years old).

Shawn: *Where do you come from?*

Emily: I am Kihlirnirmiut.

Shawn: *Have you ever seen people using qajaqs?*

Emily: I am the youngest of my siblings and when I was growing up ... before I was born my parents use to use the qajaq, but after I was born I've seen people using qajaqs other then my parents.

Shawn: *So, you have seen people using qajaqs before. When was this?*

Emily: When my dad passed away my mom married another man and we traveled to Ferguson Lake, a place called Aglignaqtuq, and I saw two Elders using the qajaq. When I had a kid, there were people from Paalirmiut area that came in and I saw Atangat'tuaq using a qajaq.

Shawn: *How were they using them?*

Emily: I have also seen Luke Anowtalik using a qajaq and for two years too I seen Luke paddling the qajaq.

Sam states, after a correction from Emily, that it was William Anowtalik that Emily saw paddling the qajaq and not Luke Anowtalik.

Shawn: *So, they were just using the qajaqs for showing tourists what they looked like they weren't using them for hunting.*

Emily: That William ya. I was just a kid when I saw the people at ... the ones that I saw at Ferguson [Lake]. I wasn't aware of what the qajaqs were used for. But the one I saw with William were used for ... to show visitors how a qajaq was used.

Shawn: *How did you learn to sew skins for the qajaqs?*

Emily: My mom use to teach me skills ... how to put the skins together while my dad was hunting. While my dad was hunting my mom use to teach me how too ... by word. By word she use to teach me how to sew the skin onto the [qajaq] frame.

Shawn: *How old were you when your mother started teaching you how to sew?*

Emily: I was about fifteen or sixteen when I started learning and that was not just related to qajaq. My mom use to teach me how to sew caribou skin clothes ... even for clothing.

Shawn: *So, at fifteen that's when you were taught how to sew clothing, as well as, caribou skin qajaq covers?*

Emily: I was brought up by my older sister. So, when ... my older sister use to teach me ... I was always with my older sister ... so when my dad passed away .... I mean, my older sister use to give me items to sew for practice and even when I got back to my mom I was sewing small items for practice.

Shawn: *Could you explain how to sew the skins onto the qajaq [frame]?*

Emily: It would take a number of days for the skins ... you would have to bring the skins to a lake and soak it in the lake for a number of days and when the skin starts to come off you bring it up to the land and dry the skin. I brought some material to show for an example.

At this point Emily removed some caribou skin from her bag.

Shawn: *Is it the fur that comes off?*

Emily: Yes.

Shawn: *Would you mind if I took a picture while we talk so ...*

Emily: No. We would bring ... when the skin was dry we would bring the skins back to the water and when it is completely soaked you bring the caribou skins and lay it over the qajaq [frame] and make sure that the skins are over lapping by about 1/4 of an inch. You make completely sure that you just don't make a hole ... you make sure that there is no hole on the caribou skin.
When you make ... I never made a hole ... when you lay the skins together you make sure that you don't make a hole on the caribou skin.

Sam: What do you call that angle the one she was doing?

Shawn: *I know ... its an "invisible stitch" ... just refer to Jill Oakes and Sally Webster's book on how to make [Inuit caribou skin] clothing. They have a diagram for that stitch.*

Sam: I just told her that I have no explanation on [the stitch] she just did (laugh). I told her you knew about it.

Emily: (Laugh).

Shawn: *So, on that stitch does it go threw this one, threw the top [layer of caribou skin] one, and then only half way threw the bottom one?*

Emily: We would fold the over-lapping skin half way and then when one side of the skin is completed you flip it over and do the same thing as you did with the first one. The first side of folding and right along the edge you would put fish oil so that it doesn't dry up.

Shawn: *(Pause) Would you put fish oil just on the stitch or would you put it on all of the skin?*

Emily: The example that I was using ... when one side of the skin is completely formed the flip side of the skin was, maybe a 1/4 of an inch opening, ... use something like maybe a little piece of stick wetted in a fish oil ... and as its painting ... when we paint we make these (?) ... before I soak the other 1/4, or the top layer, I would use fish oil to make it water proof.

The English translation of the above information is extremely difficult to hear and understand on the audio tape. This is due to the background noise caused by Emily as she folded the dry caribou skin in order to demonstrate the "invisible stitch" used when sewing qajaq skins.

Shawn: *So it would just be the seams where the stitch was [that would be cover with fish oil].*

At this point Emily gives another example as to how fish oil was used for waterproofing. [The example is based] on caribou skin kamiks that had no fur on them ... where the caribou skin kamiks would be filled with fish oil to make them waterproof and it would take a number of days to make them waterproof or let them absorb the liquid ... the caribou skin would absorb the fish oil and this way they could become waterproof. We didn't have any rubber boots so thats how we use to make waterproof kamiks.

Shawn: *How many skins were used ... how many caribou skins were used for one qajaq?*

Emily: [It] Usually takes five caribou skins to put the (?) ... on two occasion I had to help put a qajaq ... or the caribou skin on a frame. On one occasion the caribou skin was too tight and we were not using a caribou bull ... the skin was thin and we put the caribou skin on too tight so it started raising up.

Sam states that Emily was elaborating that it [caribou skin] doesn't have to be too tight when you lay it on the ... or put the caribou skin onto the qajaq.

Shawn: *It doesn't have to be tight. Is it because it will dry and eventually tighten or is it OK that it is a little bit loose?*

Emily: When the moist[ure] is gone its going to ... the qajaq [skin covering] is going to tighten and when it dries up it starts to rip up. Thats when the skin is to dry and on too tight.

Shawn: *When the qajaq wasn't in the water how would you stop it from drying up and splitting ... the skin?*

Emily: I don't know. If you walk along the beach you have qajaqs laying on the beach and thats what I have seen.

Shawn: *(Pause) Through stories from your parents, or from other people, could you explain how the caribou were hunted by qajaq?*

Emily: Long age people use too have a ... get married ... when a boy was around sixteen years old he would

have a married ... or he would have a girl where ... when the girl is still in the womb of the mother ... my dad use to have a qajaq .... I have tons of stories of when I was growing up. I was told a number of stories on a number of issues relating to Inuit. My mom ... even before the Hudson's Bay [Company] moved to the town we are in right now called Baker Lake we use to be at a place called Qaiktu'naaq, which is a rocky little area just passed Hudson's Bay or the Northern Store. When my dad use to bring ammunition my mom met with my dad.

Sam: (Laugh) Did we loose you.

Emily: (Laugh)

Shawn: Ya, you kinda lost me there (laugh).

Emily: I got no recollection of people ... about the qajaq. The only one that I can remember are the four occasions that I talked about earlier. Just when I started remembering, when I was growing up, my dad used the qajaq. That same year, when I started remembering, my dad passed away and there were ... my mom use to tell me about sewing ... how to sew the [qajaq] skins together; which is what I explained earlier.

Shawn: *How many women sewed one qajaq?*

Emily: There use to be a number of ... like my mom ... use to tell me that there use to be a number of women putting together, or sewing, the skins together but I have sewed one ... the first one that I helped sew together there was only two people. On the second one there was four people sewing the qajaq together, or the skins together.

Shawn: *Who sewed the cockpit area or the center area. Was it the women or was it the men?*

Emily: The group of four that I was with ... two ladies began at each end and they started moving inwards towards the cockpit. When they got to the cockpit area David Tiktaalaaq helped to put the ... sew the

cockpit together. Tiktaalaaq use to watch his dad sew the cockpit area so Tiktaalaaq was helping sew the skins for the cockpit area.

Shawn: *Do you know why the man sewed the cockpit area?*

Emily: The ladies didn't know how to put the cockpit together so they use to ask David how too ... like for assistance.

Shawn: *[Sam] you could tell Emily that we can take a break at any time, or we can end for the day. What ever she would like.*

Emily: I am leaving tomorrow so I want to complete it.

Shawn: *Good timing then.*

Shawn: *Did your mother ever tell you what happened to the caribou after they were killed by qajaq and brought to the shore?*

Emily: My mom use to tell me that they would keep [the] caribou crossing area as clean as possible. When the caribou skin [dead caribou] were on the land they [Emily's parents] would move as far as possible [from the crossing point] and skin the caribou so that when the caribou came across [the river] the caribou wouldn't be suspicious of anything. They tried to keep the caribou crossing as clean as possible.

Shawn: *(Pause) I guess there are only a couple of questions left.*

Shawn: *Are qajaqs still important to you?*

Emily: It's still important to me. Back then even when the (?) were really high people use to use the qajaq. Where as today we use boats now but people get stranded on the land [be]cause the boat is to stiff or something.

Shawn: *Do you think it is important to teach the younger generations about qajaqs, about sewing skins and how to build the qajaq?*

Emily: It is important that people learn about it. There use to be some really good people that knew how to use the qajaq. In fact, there were people that use to be inside the qajaq and travel. In fact, one person I heard of is a lady sitting on the qajaq, behind the qajaq [behind the cockpit], while the waves were really hugh. My mother use to talk of a real expert person that use to use qajaqs who's name was Kuha'naaq and his wife was Kownuk.

Shawn: *When were they around?*

Emily: When my mother was around (laugh).

Shawn: *(Laugh).*

Emily: I am the very youngest daughter from my siblings.

Shawn: *Are you one of the ladies that helped Luke Tunguaq and David Tiqtaalaaq sew the caribou skin qajaq in the [Inuit] Heritage Centre?*

Emily: Yes. I helped put together the qajaq that was put in there. I was making a waterproof caribou skins with Iyituaq up there. I also braided caribou. We couldn't use a male [caribou] so we used caribou sinew and braided a lot of caribou sinew together.

Shawn: *So, the things that were used to tie the .. or to hold the frame together and also to sew the skins together were caribou sinew from the back of the caribou?*

Emily: Me and Iyituaq used caribou sinew, [from] the back of the caribou, and we put the sinew ... we braided the sinew and used it to put together the qajaq.

Shawn: *That is all the questions I have. I hope there is something else that you have that you would share with use about qajaqs.*

Emily: I never really used the qajaq before, but my mom use to say "ooyagaaktaq" when they were going to store them for the winter. By saying "ooyagaaktaq" ... I can only recall my mom saying that but I don't know what it means.

Shawn; *You have no idea why your mom said that?*

Emily: My mom use to say that when they [the qajaqs] were going to be stored for the winter. They would take extreme care for the qajaq and cover it with maybe small rocks, gravel.

Shawn: *So, except for the cockpit area we have heard this before from other Elders and that is the word she would say when she was covering it with rocks?*

Emily: Yes.

Shawn: *That is all I have to ask. Is there anything else you remember about qajaqs?*

Emily: I had a father who was an expert qajaqer ... how to use the qajaq. I am really sorry that if I'm missing any information
about qajaqs.

Shawn: *The information you have given me is incredible. Thank you very much. Mutnaluavik.*

Emily: My dad's name was Agluvak and I can barely recollect my memory of my dad ... other then that I have no knowledge of qajaqs.

Shawn: *Is there anywhere you would like to have your picture taken?*

Emily: Maybe ... my mom's got a picture in there (the main display room of the Inuit Heritage Centre) so I'm going to pull out another picture of my mom and show you.

Shawn: *Sam, you can also explain to her that this information will be translated into Inuktitut (funding permitting). I will send back the pictures*

> *that I took today. All the information that we gathered today will be given to her family and the "book" (thesis) will be given to the Inuit Heritage Centre. All the questions that we asked ... everything will be given to her.*

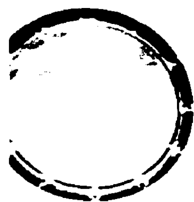
At this time Emily showed Sam and me pictures of her stepfather Scottie. She also showed us pictures of herself and her oldest child.

Shawn: *Where would you like your picture taken?*

Emily: Anywhere. It is up to you.

At this time I asked Emily if it would be all right to take her picture in front of the Kazan River qajaq. She agreed and we moved into the main room of the Inuit Heritage Centre.

Appendix E:



(David Tiktaalaaq, June 30 1998)

INTERVIEW #5

Tape #: Six (6)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: David Tiktaalaaq
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: June 30 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. The home of David Tiktaalaaq
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *Sam could you just explain to him that the first set of questions are just going to be ... questions relating to who he his and who is family is so that future generations will know exactly who I am talking with.*

What is your name. Your English name and your Inuktitut name?

David: My English name is David and my Inuktitut name is Tiktaalaaq.

Shawn: *What were your parents names?*

David: My mom's name is Wa'ah. Her English first name was Ada. My father's name is Oliut. He did not have an English name.

Shawn: *What is your wife's name?*

David: My wife's name is Irene Avaalaqiaq. When they use her last name it is Irene Tiktaalaaq.

Shawn: *Do you have any brothers or sisters?*

David: I had two older brothers and two older step brothers that passed away.

Shawn: *What were their names?*

David: My oldest brother's name was Siksigaq. The second oldest brother was Qaqsauq. The third one was Agliguq and my forth oldest was Iksiktaaryuk.

Shawn: *Do you have any children?*

David: I had four children that passed away and right now there is

1) Basil Ittulukaq
2) Peter Wa'ah
3) Nancy Siksigaq
4) Elizabeth Itiplui
5) Susan Argnasungaaq
6) Marvin Avaalaqiaq [Adopted into the Tiktaalaaq family]
7) Evelyn Qaqsauq [Adopted into the Tiktaalaaq family]

Shawn: *A lot of kids (laugh). How old are you?*

David: I was born in 1924. This year it is 1998 so I am 74.

Shawn: *Where do you come from?*

David: I am from Harvaqtuq area. I was born at Harvaqtuq but I grew up around Ittimniq.

Shawn: *Have you ever seen people using qajaqs? Which is a silly question (laugh).*

David: I remember the three main people ... my dad [Oliut], Qaqsauq and Wa'ah using qajaqs. Thats when I just started to remember something so there are something's that I remember and some that I don't remember.

Shawn: *When were they using them. What was the date approximately?*

David: During the springtime (laugh).

Sam: Back then there were no calendars. Sam states that David is comparing the days, like today is June 30, so it would be the same condition as today when they began to use the qajaq.

Shawn: *How were they using them [the qajaq]?*

Sam: In terms of a ...

Shawn: *Were they using them for hunting?*

David: They use to hunt caribou with the qajaqs.

Shawn: *How did you learn about qajaqs?*

David: By watching I learned how to make qajaqs.

Shawn: *By watching your father?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *Can you explain how a qajaq was built?*

David: I have never seen anybody build a qajaq but by ... not imagining but by ...

Shawn: *Visualizing.*

David: visualizing, me and Tunguaq built a qajaq last year.

Shawn: *Through stories or through your experiences do you know where they got the wood, where your father got the wood, to build the qajaq?*

David: From the treeline. They use to ... my dad use to pick up wood from the treeline and when ... as far as I can remember ... I grew up when there was already boats ... store bought boats.

Shawn: *Ok. Um ...*

David: They use to go and pick up the wood before ... in the winter time and they would pick up the wood from the Beverly Lake area, as well as, south west from Kazan River.

Shawn: *Can you explain how caribou were hunted by men in qajaqs?*

David: I have seen people at the caribou crossing. The people would wait for the herd to arrive and I have seen a few of them in my life time.

Shawn: *Them hunting by qajaq?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *Could you explain to us what you saw?*

David: (Laugh) On one side the Inuit would wait for the caribou to start going to the shore and once the caribou was on shore, at the other side of the river, as soon as the hoofs were not touching the ground anymore, the Inuit would go and approach the caribou that was swimming on the river.

Shawn: *Would they pull their qajaqs behind or would they pull beside [the caribou] and then use the harpoon?*

David: They would approach the caribou and once they get close enough to the caribou they would go to the side of the caribou and harpoon it toward the shoulder blade area and get the ... not the esophagus but ...

Shawn: *the jugular ... the jugular vein?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *When a caribou was killed that way how was it brought back to shore?*

David: They would use a caribou sinew, which was braided, from the leg ...

Shawn: Tendons ... the tendons in the leg of the caribou?

David: Yes. They would braided them together, as well as, caribou sinew which was from the back of the caribou. The bottom mouth [lip] of the caribou would ... they would make a hole on the bottom of the mouth and tie it up. They would try to bring the caribou all at once ... to the shore.

Shawn: *So, if they killed more then one caribou they would try and tie them all together and then bring them all to shore?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *So, would the [dead] caribou just be floating while they were still hunting?*

David: They would use the first one ... the caribou would be floating and the first one that is tied to the boat would usually be a bull and from the antler of the bull they would make a hole on the bottom mouth of the caribou and the other caribou would float as well.

Shawn: *So, they would string them all together through the mouth?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *What happened to the caribou when it was brought to land?*

David: Soon as the hunter would bring the caribou to the land there would be people waiting on the beach and ... soon as the caribou got to the land they would bring the caribou further up to the land ... and the people that were not in the qajaq would start gutting the caribou.

Shawn: *Have you ever heard how people learned to use qajaqs. Did they practice when they were younger?*

David: I have never seen anybody teaching directly ... teaching a younger person directly, but just by watching people use to learn how to make qajaqs.

Shawn: *When hunting were qajaqs safe?*

Sam: I asked him if it was dangerous to hunt by qajaq and he said no, definitely not.

Shawn: *Could your father swim?*

David: I have never seen my dad swimming.

Shawn: *Have you seen any other Harvaqtuurmiut swim?*

David: I never seen anybody swim.

Shawn: *What would happen if the qajaq tipped over then?*

David: I have never seen anybody [tip over] but I have heard that when the ladies who were on the land [and] saw somebody tip over two of the rescues ... there would be two qajaqs on rescue. They would approach the one that tipped over and go on the side of the one that is tipped over and bring it to the land. I have heard stories of this person doing that thing.

Shawn: *Going out and rescuing somebody?*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *Does the person hold on to the [rescue] qajaq while the [tipped over] boat is being pulled to shore?*

David: I have heard of a person when the qajaq tipped over he would go to the back end of the [rescue] qajaq and just hold on to the qajaq while the other two qajaqs are paddling toward the land. I have heard of one incident doing such a thing with my dads other wife. When the hunters were not around the two ladies that were watching the person hunting the caribou on the river ... the two ladies ended up rescuing a man in that manner. Where the man was just holding on to the back of the qajaq and the two ladies on the side had ... the two ladies on the side (phone rings). Where was I (laugh). The two qajaqs rescued that person in that manner.

Shawn: *So, the women were paddling [the qajaqs]?*

David: Yes. That was the one occasion that happened. That is the only one that I have heard of. The name is (phone rings) ... the person that did that name ... his name was Nutaraktaaq Now there is a guy in Baker Lake named Nutaraktaaq and that is Simeon Mikkungwak.

Shawn: *Umm ....*

David: They were using caribou skin clothing and the caribou skin is light enough that it makes a person float. This includes the caribou skin parka and pants

and that made the person light. Today there's safety floats in modern times, back then I think that caribou skin had the same quality as the ones that are used today (laugh).

Shawn: *Were qajaqs ever used for fishing?*

David: They use to get fish by using a qajaq. For an example, a person had a ... what you call a kingmiak to hold the fish together and one time there was a big fish that ended up on the line and ... his mouth was really stretched out (laugh).

Shawn: *So, how did they catch them [fish]. Did they use a kakivaq?*

Sam: I asked that and he said they were using a hook.

David: Yes. Using a traditional hook.

Sam: Have you [Shawn] ever seen them?

Shawn: *Kind of like that and then there is a rope here for the (?)?*

At this point I attempted to draw, what I thought, was a traditional Harvaqtuurmiut hook. However, when the room filled with laughter I safely assumed that I was wrong (laugh).

Shawn: *Oh well, I tried (laugh). Or was it the one that was made by ... was the hook made by the part of the jaw of the caribou?*

Sam: (Laugh).

David: (Laugh). They use a caribou antler for a hook. They would put a steel, or metal, hook on. Like hook it up to the antler and use that for a hook.

Shawn: *Were qajaqs ever used when hunters were hunting birds?*

David: Yes. They use to use the qajaq ... what ever uses there were. When they were going to go egg hunting they would use the qajaq as well.

Shawn: *Do you remember any rituals or ceremonies performed before, during or after a qajaq hunt?*

David: I have never really heard about any rituals or ceremonies before, during or after the hunt.

Shawn: *What about caribou skin tents on the crossings ... where the caribou crossings were?*

David: (Laugh) They use too have both the traditional skin tent as well as those canvas tents that the traders brought in up here. I have never seen any rituals ... they would just be visible to the caribou crossing area.

Shawn: *Were inukshuit ever used to heard caribou into water so qajaq hunters could kill them (phone rings)?*

David: There is a place at Piqqiq where they have inukshuit put up. They were used way ... I don't even ... before I was born they were put up. I have heard of inukshuit being used to herd caribou.

Shawn: *How would they be used. Would the hunter run the herd toward the inukshuk and then the caribou would be scared and go in the water?*

David: I know that it is a way of herding the caribou to the river. There would be a person on the land for the caribou to hit the water and then they would start hunting the caribou.

Shawn: *So, they would be hunting by qajaq?*

David: The person on the land would be waiting for the caribou herd to get to the water and soon as they hit the water they would jump into their qajaqs and start chasing the caribou.

Shawn: *When did people stop using qajaqs?*

David: Soon as those Elders passed away they stopped using the qajaq.

Shawn: *Was it when the Hudson's Bay Company was bringing manufactured boats up?*

David: I think that when the traders came up here they [Inuit] probably stopped using them [qajaqs] on a daily bases. Even my parents took ... waited a long time before they could start beginning to use the boats.

Shawn: *Are qajaqs still important to you. Why?*

David: Yes. Qajaqs are really important and not to long ago they were using for survival. When they moved inland .... The only time that they use to leave their qajaq was when they went inland to hunt for meat, caribou. They went as far as Paalliq to look for food.

Shawn: *How would they store their qajaqs when they weren't using them?*

David: They would usually have the qajaq ... they lived year round anyway at where they were living so they lest the qajaq ... they just anchored it down to the ground and leave it there for the winter.

Shawn: *I don't have any other questions to ask. Is there anything else you would like to add, any stories or any information at all that you can think of about qajaqs?*

David: (Laugh) For day trips on ... before I have seen my dad ... when they were going to go for a few days inland they would use a ... the cockpit [of the qajaq] would just be covered by using a skin. My dad use to cover the cockpit area with skin and just make that the ends of the qajaq were tied down.

Shawn: *He would just leave it like that. Would it be left above ground or would they dig in the ground and put the qajaq in?*

David: On top of gravel.

Shawn: *Would they use four rocks to hold the qajaq?*

David: They would use four rocks ... especially when the skin was new they would have to use four rocks so that the qajaq would be able to float.

Shawn: *How many skins were used [when the qajaq was built]?*

David: There would be ... usually there would be four but my dad use to have five bull caribou skins to make a qajaq.

Shawn: *[Sam] are there any questions you would like to ask?*

Sam: Not off the top of my head.

Shawn: *[David] is there anything else you would like to add?*

David: (Laugh) I have nothing to say. From beginning this morning I tried to remember all aspects of qajaq making (laugh). Other then that I have nothing else to say about qajaq.

Shawn: *Mutna loavik. Could I take a couple of photos.*

David: Yes.

Shawn: *Would there be any place that you would like to take your photo?*

David: (Laugh) What would you like?

Shawn: *Right there is good.*

At this point I took several pictures of David Tiktaalaaq. After this David offered us some caribou meat which was drying in the kitchen. Sam and I sat and ate. I enjoyed this very much.

Appendix F:

(Ada Kingilik, July 1 1998)

INTERVIEW #6

Tape #: Seven (7)
Project Title: Qajaqs of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: Ada Kingilik
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: July 1 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation office
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *What is your your English and Inuktitut name?*

Ada: My English name is Ada. My Inuktitut name is Iyi'tuaq.

Shawn: *What were your parents names?*

Ada: My dad's name, English name, was Simon and his Inuktitut name was Mangili'naaq. My mom's English name was Martha. Her Inuktitut name was Ittuluka'naaq.

Shawn: *Were you married. [If so] what was your husbands name?*

Ada: His [name] was James Kingilik.

Shawn: *Do you have any brothers or sisters?*

Ada: My oldest brother was David Ikuutaq. The second oldest child was Winnie Nipititaaq. Third child was Fanny Arngnatqik. I was the forth child. The next child was Jacob Qaqimut. The youngest one was Mathew Aqiqaaq. We had two adopted kids but I didn't even know their names. They have passed away.

Shawn: *Do you have any children?*

Ada: My oldest daughter is Betsy Kautaq. My oldest son is Mark Etoloknaaq. The third child is Noel Ohoqak. Then there is David Killulark. The youngest one is Bobby Talugiyaq.

Shawn: *How old are you?*

Ada: My birthday was on June 3 and I recently turned 65 (laugh).

Shawn: *Happy birthday.*

Ada: (Laugh).

Shawn: *Where do you come from?*

Ada: I was born passed Akiliniq. I was brought up in Akiliniq area.

Shawn: *What is the name of the people there?*

Ada: We were called Akilinirmiut and it was around Beverly Lake area.

Shawn: *Have you ever seen anybody ever using qajaqs?*

Ada: I have never seen anybody using qajaqs. Only when I became an adult did I finally start seeing people using qajaqs. [For example], in Baker Lake I have only seen qajaqs in places like the visitor's centre.

Shawn: *How did you learn to sew the skins onto a qajaq then?*

Ada: As we were sewing the qajaq together, the one at the museum (the Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq at the local Inuit Heritage Centre), I was taught not to sew the skin onto the frame ... I was told not to have it so tight but we tried to ... we just laid the skin on the qajaq [frame] and sewed it together.

Shawn: *Could you explain how you sewed it [the skins] together?*

Ada: I took extreme care. One side of the skin would be sewed together and then the other ... then we would pivot over and sew it together as well and we would make sure that there would be no holes on the skin.

Shawn: *Have you heard any stories from your parents about qajaqs?*

Ada: My parents use to tell me to have ... when the qajaq was completed ... to have it completely covered with fish oil. This way the skin won't dry up as fast and it won't crumple up as usual. So, they would put .. they would lay a bone on the side or something to hold the fish oil together. Today they paint something's they would use caribou skin to cover the ... soak the fish ... soak the caribou skin into the fish oil and then lay the oil over the qajaq.

Shawn: *Did it matter what kind of fish or any kind of fish?*

Ada: As long as it was fish oil. Any kind of fish was good.

Shawn: *How many [caribou] skins did it take to cover a qajaq. How many did it take to cover the one in the [Inuit] Heritage Centre?*

Ada: It would depend on the length of the qajaq. The caribou ... we would measure the caribou skin from one end to the neck area and figure out exactly how many skins there would have to be. There was a number of skins that we used for putting the skin together ... the one [qajaq] that is at the [Inuit] Heritage Centre right now ... the one at the Heritage Centre had different thickness on the skin so some of it ripped up before. We had to use fish oil to keep it from breaking up, or drying up to much. There was no fish oil so we left it like that. You would have to ... the number of skins would very depending on the size of the frame (cough) and tried to keep the thickness the same when you were collecting caribou skins for the frame.

Shawn: *So, you tried to make sure that all the skins were the same thickness?*

Ada: Yes. We would try to keep the thickness of the skin the same as much as possible because when one side of the skin was thinner it would start to rip up right away. As much as possible we would try to keep the thickness of the skin the same.

Shawn: *How thick would the skin be [by] using your fingers?*

While asking this question Sam states that he had a misunderstanding in regards to one of Ada's descriptions about the width of the caribou skin.

Ada: The width of the skin for the qajaq would depend on the size of the qajaq.

Sam states that he elaborated and asked my question again.

Ada: There was no exact measurement. During the fall time when the caribou bull ... we would use that material from there and use it for the cover of the qajaq.

Sam states that Ada gave an example of the material she was using and suggested that it would probably be that thick.

Shawn: *1/4 of an inch.*

Sam: Maybe less.

Shawn: *Maybe a little thinner.*

Sam: Yes.

Shawn: *From your experience do you know how caribou were hunted by qajaq?*

Ada: I have heard of people hunting on the caribou crossing. When trying to aim for the swimming caribou ... if the caribou was on the left side of the qajaq, using a 45 degree angle, aiming towards the caribou and trying to get the back of the caribou. If the caribou was on the right side you would use your left hand, again at a 45 degree angle, and it would ... that arrow would be pointing towards the shoulder blades of the caribou so that the caribou could get weaker. On the qajaqs they did not use bow and arrows they used harpoons.

Shawn: *When the caribou was killed how was it brought to shore?*

Ada: The people that were hunting the caribou on the qajaq ... when they were dead they would tie up the ... the hunter would tie up a string around his waist and the dead caribou would be so light that they would just wrap the caribou sinew around the neck of the caribou and just leisurely paddle towards land. In those days nothing was wasted. They took extreme care on using harpoons and bow and arrows ... they took extreme care when bringing the caribou to the land.

Shawn: *What happened to the caribou when it was brought to shore or to the land?*

Ada: They would use ... once the caribou got on land either they would use the skin ... they would skin it and use some material to make dried food. In the summertime, they would use it ... cache it for the winter.

Shawn: *How did you learn to sew?*

Sam: Qajaqs?

Shawn: *Qajaqs. Well in this case it would be sew anything because she was taught later how to build a qajaq. I am wondering if it was passed on by her mother. But don't say that, just ask her how she was taught to sew.*

Ada: By watching. I learned how to sew materials by watching. Qajaqs and kamiks, water-proof kamiks, have to be made basically in the same manner. So, just by watching how they were made I taught myself how to sew.

Shawn: *When sewing the kamik is it the same stitch ... so water doesn't come in as it would be on a qajaq skin?*

Ada: They would be exactly the same stitch because both of them are going to be used in the water. So we made completly sure that the kamiks were water-proof, as well as, the qajaq.

Shawn: *On kamiks would you also use fish oil?*

Ada: We would use fish oil on kamiks as well. That way it didn't dry up and crack easily. Even on kamiks we would use fish oil to make it water-proof.

Shawn: *When sewing a qajaq skin how many women did it take to complete one boat?*

Ada: There would be four women because the skin ... they didn't want the skin to dry up really fast. There would be four women sewing the skin onto the frame of the qajaq.

At this point I retrieved the qajaq model which was made by Jimmy Taipanak from the I.B.C. kitchen and brought it to where Ada was sitting.

Shawn: *(Pause) Using the qajaq from Jimmy Taipanak would two women sew the front part of the qajaq [and] two women sew the back?*

Ada: Before the skin dries up they would ... the two women out in the front half ... would sew the skin together as fast as possible and likewise for the other two in the back end ... back half of the qajaq.

Shawn: *Would they start sewing on the top or would you start sewing on the bottom, first?*

Ada: They would lay the skin completely over [the frame]... there wouldn't be any hole in the bottom because it would be a complete skin that was laid onto the qajaq. On the top of the qajaq they would begin sewing and cut the caribou skin so that the skin would overlap each other by a 1/4 of an inch. Before it could dry up they would sew it together as fast as possible.

Shawn: *So, the seam would be on the top of the bow [and] not underneath the boat. It would be a solid piece of caribou skin underneath the bow and the stern. [Sam] this is more for me then her. I understand what she is saying. So, there would be a solid piece of caribou skin underneath with no seem so water wouldn't leak in and the seem would be on the top.*

Shawn: *Who would sew the cockpit area?*

Ada: The owner of the qajaq would sew the cockpit but both the ladies and the men would sew the cockpit together in cooperation.

Shawn: *Do you know why the men would get involved only in the cockpit and not the rest of the boat?*

Ada: The man would have to ... for his liking. He would have to put it together because ... for his liking.

At this time I asked Sam to ask Ada if she would like to take a break. She agreed and we sat and had coffee. For the sake of saving tape I turn the recorder off.

Shawn: *Have you heard any stories or heard of any experiences, from your parents, of what happens when a qajaq tipped over?*

Ada: Once the qajaq flipped over the man could jump out of the cockpit ... at the same time holding on to the paddle and the qajaq ... the man would use the paddle for a guide and use it to float at any position and hold on to the qajaq and swim to the shore.

Shawn: *So he would swim to the shore?*

Ada: Yes. With the qajaq ... holding onto the qajaq and the paddle.

Shawn: *Did any other qajaqs come and help them. Let me rephrase that. So, could your father swim?*

Ada: I have never seen my dad swim because we were brought up in pond areas and not rivers. So, I have never seen my dad swim.

Shawn: *Have you ever heard of stories of people fishing from qajaqs?*

Ada: They use to fish with qajaqs as well and even if the qajaq was up to ... the qajaq would float no matter how much of a load it would carry.

While translating Ada's answer Sam stated the following: "in this one Ada was using caribou meat and fish for an example and they would ... anyhow you put the qajaq would float and they would bring it to land." I am uncertain as to what this means.

Shawn: *Bring the fish to the land?*

Ada: Yes.

Shawn: *Would you store the fish on top or would they put it inside [the qajaq]?*

Ada: The fish would also ... the fish would be inside the qajaq. When there were people that needed to go to the other side of the river, [and] they were lacking qajaqs, they would have a caribou skin and collect pieces of wood, what ever can float, and wrap the floaters with caribou skin so that it could float and in that manner they use to go across too.

Shawn: *Would they attach a line, some sinew, between the qajaq and the raft and one person would paddle and pull the raft across. Or would somebody paddle the raft?*

Ada: (Laugh) The qajaq would tow the people. On top of that there would be two kids inside the qajaq, the front half, and the other two kids would be in the back end of the qajaq. There would also be people on top of the qajaq and towing the other people.

Shawn: *Have you ever heard any stories of qajaqs being used to hunt birds?*

Ada: They would ... whatever means the qajaq had for uses ... they would use it for birds, geese and caribou, whatever was the uses for that qajaq on that day they would use it because that was their only survival that they used in regards to ... when they were on water.

Shawn: *When they hunted birds would they use bolas (Inuktitut name: qilamituat) or would they just herd them to shore, kind of push them to shore so somebody on shore could get them?*

Ada: They would use the bolas ...

Shawn: *What is it called in Inuktitut?*

Sam: Qilamituat.

Ada: ... even on qajaqs they use to use qilamituat to catch the geese. Once you ... once it wraps itself around the geese the geese would just fall to the water.

Shawn: *Do you remember any experiences or stories about rituals or ceremonies performed before, during or after a qajaq hunt?*

Sam: Ritual and what?

Shawn: *Or ceremony. Or is there anything you should do or shouldn't do before a qajaq hunt?*

Sam: (Laugh).

Shawn: *Ya, I know its a tough question.*

Sam: She was using one for ... which was not a ritual or ceremony but she [stated] "When it was really windy out they would try to cover the cockpit with a ... using their bodies so that the water wouldn't get in." But I will try to ask that question again.

Shawn: *That is really interesting though.*

Sam asks Ada the question again.

Ada: There are no rituals that I can think of but a ceremony was usually held after a successful hunt. When all the meat was cut up they would have a feast.

Shawn: *Were Inukshuit ever used to herd caribou into the ponds and lakes?*

Ada: Yes, they would have a system where they would build inukshuit and they would make sure that the caribou were following the route of the inukshuk and herded to ... there would be a person on the

opposite inukshuk, where the caribou would be in the middle, and the person on the opposite side would herd the caribou to the pond or the lake.

Shawn: *In your area was it just ponds and lakes that qajaqs were used in or were there caribou crossings like Piqqiq?*

Ada: There's a place not to far from Baker where they use to use caribou crossing area. Its not to far from Baker Lake and you could reach it by boat and you could find a caribou crossing area ... caribou crossing river. You could reach it by boat.

Shawn: *Did your father hunt there?*

Ada: Yes.

Shawn: *There are just a couple of more questions. I'm just going to flip the tape over.*

*** **SIDE TWO**: Continuation of Interview. Reset tape-recorder counter to 000.

Shawn: *When did people stop using qajaqs?*

Ada: When I was born in 1934, as far as I can remember, they didn't use the qajaq but in other areas they were probably still using the qajaq but when I was growing up I do not recall any qajaq that were being used.

Shawn: *Was that because they were using Hudson's Bay Company boats that they would bring up?*

Ada: I have never really seen those traditional qajaqs but I was brought up in the Hudson's Bay Post or the white people came in to ... I started using ... I remember using the [manufactured] boat.

Shawn: *When did you move to Baker Lake?*

Ada: I don't really recollect. Often we had no 1900 and stuff ... numbers so ... as close as I can come I had my two older sons Mark and Noah on the land.

David, who was born in 1968, was born in Baker [Lake]. I don't really know when I moved into Baker.

Shawn: *Are qajaqs still important to you?*

Ada: It is very important. Our ancestors use to use it so it is very important for me .... The qajaq is important to me.

Shawn: *Do you still think it is important to teach this to younger generations?*

Ada: Yes. It's right on to teach the younger generation because in the future there could suddenly be some important uses for the qajaq. It is important for the younger generation to learn it.

Shawn: *I don't have any other question. Is there anything else that you would like to say. Anything that maybe I wouldn't have asked about qajaqs, or anything?*

Ada: Thats it (laugh).

Shawn: *Thats it (laugh).*

Sam states that Ada would like to know what she might add.

Shawn: *Are there any stories ... do you remember any stories from your parents about qajaqs ... or any experiences of them using a qajaq to hunt?*

Ada: They use to ... when they were going to store them for the winter they use to make sure that the qajaq was put down on the ground ... anchored down to the ground for the storage of the winter. Because the following year the qajaq would be used again.

Shawn: *Do you know how long the [caribou] skins would last?*

Ada: The frame would be used for a very long time and the usage of the skin would depend on how often they used the qajaqs. Some would last ... some of the skins would last for two years and others would

last longer and others would last shorter. It would all depend on how often they used the qajaq.

Shawn: *Thats it. Could I take a couple of pictures?*

Ada: Yes (laugh).

After Ada's interview I took some photographs.

Appendix G:

(Luke Tunguaq, July 2 1998)

INTERVIEW #7

Tape #: Eight (8)
Project Title: Qajaqss of Baker Lake
Name of Interviewee: Luke Tunguaq
Name of Interviewer: Shawn Charlebois
Date of Interview: July 2 1998.
Place: Baker Lake, Nunavut. Inuit Broadcasting Corporation office
Interpreter: Sam Itkilik

Shawn: *What is your name in English and Inuktitut?*

Luke: My English name is Luke and my Inuktitut name is Tunguaq.

Shawn: *What were your parent's names?*

Luke: My mom was (5) and my dad was Timothy Kiyugut.

Shawn: *Do you have any brothers or sisters?*

Luke: My older sister is Qasalluaq. The second oldest was Julie Samngosaa. The third one is Irene Amaaq. There was also Mona Argnasungaaq. Mona passed away. My older brother was Killulark who also passed away. I had a younger brother named KingiligalaaqThere are a lot of them and I don't remember some of them because some of them were born way before I was born.

Shawn: *Do you have any children?*

Luke: (Laugh) Timothy Kiyugut is my oldest son. My third child was Martha Atangat'naaq who is passed away. Another one by the name of Annie Kingilik who is also passed away. We also had a fourth child who was born dead. There is another one named Ava (?). Our adopted child is Casimear Kingilik. Then there is Joseph Hilu who works at the local Northern Store and the guy who works at I.B.C (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation) Mark Pukigluk. My daughter Elizabeth Panigonia'naq.

Shawn: *How old are you?*

Luke: I don't remember coming out of my mother's womb but at the R.C. (Roman Catholic) Mission it states that I was born in 1927.

Shawn: *Where do you come from?*

Luke: In a place called Havaqtuq.

Shawn: *What is the name of the people there?*

Luke: They are called Harvaqtuurmiut.

Shawn: *I knew that but I still needed to ask the question (laugh).*

Luke: (Laugh).

Shawn: *Have you ever seen people using qajaqs?*

Luke: I have seen my dad using qajaqs.

Shawn: *When was your dad using them.*

Luke: I don't remember the year I saw my dad using the qajaq.

Shawn: *Was it more then once [that you saw your dad using the qajaq]?*

Luke: Yes. I have seen my dad on two occasions use the qajaq when it was really windy and he use to ... what do you call those ... the ones that go on the waist today ... on qajaqs ...

Shawn: *Spray skirts?*

Luke: ... those ones ... I've seen him on big waves and it really scared me (laugh). My dad use to be taller then me and when my dad was paddling the water would go up to here and the qajaq ended up at the bottom of the ... under the water.

Shawn: *See, to me thats fun (laugh).*

Luke: In those days he was using it [the qajaq] for survival and it was not for fun. Those days where he was paddling was really far away. When he had to paddle it [the paddle] use to get stuck to the water and that was when the qajaq was under the water. That qajaq was made by David Tiktaalaaq's father whose name was Siksigaq. My dad and Siksigaq were cousins so they were trading ... not trading but using ... you know how cousins these days trade some things and use them when they need it ... thats how it was.

Shawn: *With their qajaqs?*

Luke: Yes. When I was ... when the qajaq was going to ... when they [my dad and Siksigaq] still had that qajaq me and nukalauga [my younger brother that passed away], my younger brother, use to sneak out from the tents and full around with the qajaq (laugh). As soon as my dad went to sleep me and my younger brother use to sneak the qajaq down to the lake (laugh).

Shawn: *Kind of what young people do today with cars (laugh).*

Luke: Exactly (laugh). Its [the qajaq] is very easy to maneuver because its not a boat so its very easy to maneuver.

Shawn: *When you saw your dad using qajaqs how was he using them. What was he using them for?*

Luke: Hunting caribou and hunting fish as well.

Shawn: *How did you learn about qajaqs?*

Luke: By watching. I have never seen anybody make a qajaq and sew a qajaq together. The time that my dad had the qajaq it was already completed by Siksigaq.

Shawn: *Could you still explain to us, through experience or stories, how a qajaq was constructed?*

Luke: I have heard of using the trees that were dead ... they were used to make a qajaq. At one end there would be an angle where, maybe about a 45 degree angle .... the end piece of the qajaq would very in length depending on the size of the qajaq. If the qajaq was short the end of the qajaq would be short. If it was a long qajaq the end of the qajaq would be longer. For example, an eighteen foot qajaq might have a three foot long 45 [degree] angle piece at the end. Thats what my dad use to tell me. My dad use to keep me away from the qajaq so that I wouldn't drowned because I was just a child.

Shawn: *Do you know why those things are on the end?*

Luke: Yes. It was like a fashion statement. They tried to make it [the qajaq] look wonderful. It's like how you would customize your vehicle to make it look better. The other use for that was to use it as a handle. One example, if you were going to go onto the qajaq I would hold onto the end of the qajaq to hold it upright. It was also used to identify how useful, or how much of an Elder who owned the qajaq.

Shawn: *If it [the handle] was longer would the person be older or more experienced then someone who had a shorter one?*

Luke: I don't really know. For example, Siksigaq's qajaq was more narrow then my dad's qajaq ... my dad had a wider qajaq ... Siksigaq's qajaq had a real thick end, that long piece, that I was talking about earlier, and it was short. So, I really don't know how. One of the differences between the Elders and the youth was also the arc of the qajaq. Where an Elders qajaq would have less of an arc because he was an Elder and he ... they tire much faster then a young person would ... [a younger person would have] more of a "V" shape to the qajaq because his back is strong and healthy. I want to mention that I am only speaking from what I have heard from the past.

Shawn: *Do you know where they would get the wood to make qajaqs?*

Luke: Beverly Lake. In the winter time they would go pick up some trees from Beverly Lake area and if there were enough materials for the qajaq they would make it nice and long and if they were lacking materials they would make the design of the qajaq shorter.

Shawn: *How many [caribou] skins were used to cover the qajaq ... I suppose that would depend on how much wood there was, but generally?*

Luke: They would use caribou skins ... depending how long the qajaq was ... the larger ones use to have seven [caribou] bull skins put on it. If the person was lighter and smaller they would obviously have a shorter qajaq ... on the shorter qajaq there would be five caribou skins.

Shawn: *Was the frame held together by caribou sinew?*

Luke: Each end of the ... the very end of the qajaq where that very "V" shape were nailed by using caribou antler.

Shawn: *Were the nails about an inch long?*

Luke: It would depend on the size of the qajaq. The length would very when they had to hammer the ends ... the edges of the qajaq together and even some of the antlers were easily cracked and broken.

Shawn: *Could you explain how caribou were hunted by qajaq?*

Luke: If the current was going left to right the qajaq would be on the left hand side. When they [qajaq hunters] were going to go across now there would be a qajaq on the lower end of the current ... and this [style of hunting] would also depend on the number of qajaqs. For example, three people using qajaqs would start spreading out in the three directions ... the three

main directions of the current. The reason was they always began hunting from the lower end of the current because if they began following the caribou at the same direction as the current they wouldn't be able to catch up with the caribou ... because the caribou would go with the current and the qajaq would also try to catch up ... using the current as an ally. When the caribou was swimming against the current the people using the qajaq would have an easier time catching up to the caribou because the caribou would get tired easily.

Shawn: *When the qajaqs caught up to the caribou swimming would it go behind it or to the side of it to spear it or harpoon it?*

Luke: What they use to do ... when the caribou was swimming across the current ... when there was a number of caribou on the water they would gather ... herd them into one big area and they would approach the caribou and by using the ... once they approached the caribou they would use their paddle as their guide and grab the antler of the caribou and start harpooning the caribou ... that were put together in one spot.

Sam: Ohhh. That is a very effective method that he is explaining and I hope that I explain it right.

Luke: Once his paddle was now on the caribou's body they hold onto the antler of the caribou and use the caribou's body as support to keep the qajaq upright and use the harpoon to get the rest of the caribou.

Shawn: *So, would the caribou that would be under their arm would that be dead or would it be alive?*

Sam: I made a little mistake in my interpretation a little earlier.

Luke: They wouldn't hold onto the caribou antler but the ... once they [qajaq hunter] are beside the caribou they would lay the paddle on the back of the qajaq to hold it up ...

Shawn: *... on the back of the caribou?*

Luke: ... yes ... and since the caribou won't run away from the other caribou its only going to try to stay close to the other caribou and they use that as a guide and harpoon the rest of the caribou.

Shawn: *I have never heard that before.*

Luke: (Laugh) I have never seen it but my dad and my grandpa use to tell me how they use to do it. I have never seen it but today we use paper as a guide for research and stuff ... I forget once and a while but it always comes back to me. I start to remember more like that. I was told to study the water and never to be scared of the water.

Sam states that Luke used an example of using things over and over for memorizing. Sam states that he specifically used the term "memorizing" because that was the only one he could come up with. Sam also states that Luke mentioned earlier that David Tiktaalaaq knows a lot about it [qajaq construction and use] as well. Sam told Luke that we interviewed David yesterday.

Luke: There are more Elder people in town like Aasivaagyuk, Kallu'tuaq and Quinnangnak that know a lot about it as well but unless you approach them they won't say anything.

Shawn: *But I am running out of time (laugh). I leave Saturday.*

Luke: (Laugh) Don't even bother leaving just keep asking. I was suppose to pack up tonight ... while I have time I want my adopted child to learn about hunting caribou and this is the wet [clothes] from last night. So, forget your trip and stay here (laugh).

Shawn: *(Laugh) I would like too. I would like to collect more information but I have to pay rent.*

Luke: Forget your rent and live of the land like you use to live of the land.

Shawn: *Would you teach me though (laugh)?*

Luke: I don't know if I can teach you (laugh). Right now there is an abundance of caribou, ptarmigan so I could teach you really good.

Shawn: *I wish.*

Shawn: *I guess back to the questions. When the caribou was killed how was it brought back to shore?*

Luke: They would use caribou sinew ... they would braid the sinew together and ...

Shawn: *... and the tendons on the back of the caribou leg?*

Luke: ... yes they would also use that ... and tie it up to the qajaq ... as long as it hooks on to the Qajaq it was brought to the beach.

Shawn: *So, would they wrap the sinew or the cord around it's antlers?*

Luke: Any effective method was useful. For example, the chin area ... they would tie either the antler or the chin area and hook it to the qajaq. They were really well taught ... the people that is the Inuit ... my ancestors ... how to tie braided stuff. Those guys were really the expects. So, I figure that they were really effective in bringing them to the land.

Shawn: *When the caribou was brought to shore what was done with it?*

Luke: There would be tons of uses for the caribou. So, once it got to the land everything was gutted and nothing would be wasted, including the tendons beneath the skin. Everything was being prepared for the various uses for the coming year.

Shawn: *Would you like some more coffee before we continue or would you like to take a break?*

At this time we took a break.

*** **SIDE TWO**: Continuation of Interview. Reset tape-recorder counter to 000.

Shawn: *How did people learn how to use qajaqs. Did they practice when they were kids?*

Luke: Back then Inuit use to really study the land, the mass of the water, because it was so huge. It was important for them to study the water, lake, river, whatever it was, and they would study it as much as possible. The kids were told to study the water as much as possible. It would mean studying the rough waters and the rivers, whatever it may take, what ever the water might look like. They were told too study it. Even when they were adults they had to keep learning all about the water.

Shawn: *What about qajaqs still ... about paddling and how to hunt?*

Luke: At an early age they were taught how too balance on the qajaq and they would use the paddle as a level. At an early age, when they were kids, they were taught how too balance on the qajaq. Today we have regular classes in regular schools, that is exactly how they use to learn how too learn all about the environment and stuff like that.

Shawn: *Could you maybe slide in a little because I think that the coffee might clog ... just so you can be heard. Thanks.*

Shawn: *Could your father swim. Do you know if your dad could swim?*

Luke: My dad was such an expert swimmer. For example, where we are located right now to the airport he use to be able to swim on a nice day. He would just leisurely swim and completely take his time and swim that distance, which is about ...

Shawn: *... two miles ... mile and a half?*

Luke: Yes, approximately that long.

Shawn: *Wow. So, what would happen if a qajaq tipped over?*

Luke: They would use ... once the qajaq tipped over the boater, the man who was using the qajaq, would really hold onto the paddle and use it for a guide and get back up and put the qajaq upside ... upside again ... or float with the ... even if the qajaq was upside down the paddle would be ... the man would hold onto the paddle and use the qajaq for a float.

Shawn: *If he was upside down would he be able to flip back up?*

Sam: Sorry.

Shawn: *If the qajaq was upside ... if he was in the qajaq and he flips over would he be able to flip back up?*

Sam: (Laugh) I misinterpreted that one earlier.

Luke: You know the bow of the cockpit ... once the boat was tipped over, or the Qajaq was tipped over, the Elder would ... the man would lean forward and keep his rear-end floating and twist his back so that the Qajaq would be easy to maneuver to the upright position.

Shawn: *So, would he flip the Qajaq over himself without the help of anyone else?*

Luke: They would be able to get up on their own. When they were practicing there would be some people on the side using qajaqs and once the boat was tipped over if the person that was on the qajaq, which was flipped over, was unable to get up for a long time the people on the ... the onlookers would finally assist him in putting the qajaq upright again.

Shawn: *How would they stop water from going [into] the qajaq?*

Luke: I have never seen people do that [but] today we have floats, floaters now, when the qajaq tipped over it use to float. Before there was any ... to much water going into the qajaq through the cockpit they would try to put the qajaq into the upright position as fast as possible.

Shawn: *Ok. Were qajaqs ever used for fishing?*

Luke: Yes. They definitely used the qajaqs for fishing.

Shawn: *How would they use the qajaqs for fishing?*

Luke: They would use a hook on one end of a braided sinew and they would be biting the sinew. While he was paddling if they felt the sinew being pulled by a fish they grabbed the sinew and pulled the fish.

Shawn: *Were qajaqs ever used for hunting geese or hunting birds, sorry?*

Luke: I ever never personally seen people hunting geese but in the past they probably did because everything was based on survival. Those guys back then use to think of ever possible way to survive and one of them might have been to use that technique ... but right now people like us are just sitting around and relaxing (laugh).

Shawn: *Do you remember any qajaq games or any games that were played in qajaqs?*

Luke: Again, I have never personally seen any people playing games on qajaqs but my dad and grandfather use to tell me of games that they use to talk about and they would involve a lot of different games and depending on the water, how the current was, they would play games.

Shawn: *Do you remember any games or anything your dad said about games?*

Luke: Yes. In one game people would try to paddle as fast as possible. The person would not be in the cockpit but on top of the qajaq and try to go as fast as possible. The paddle ... you know how we paddle ... the thickness of the paddle is more of ninety degrees [to the water] ... when they were on the qajaq they would make the paddles flat ... horizontal with the water. That particular game they would be in the cockpit ... they would go as fast as possible and while going as fast as possible ... when you put

them [paddle] horizontal to the water it would keep it from ... if they tipped to one side it can help support you to keep up.
They use to play [another] game where the man would lean on the ... what do you call that .... you know the front of the ... you know the cockpit in the front part ...

Shawn: *Ya. The front part of the cockpit. The place that comes up?*

Luke: ... yes they would lean there and reach back and once they were able to master that technique it was an identification that they were ready to hunt.

Shawn: *So, he would lie on the front of the cockpit ... on the bow of the cockpit and reach back over the cockpit?*

Luke: No. It would be to your liking ... when you lean forward and go like this .... when they caught a caribou there would be a ... he was using the strings and they measure ... one was a triangle which measured ... how long is this?

Shawn: *... about a foot.*

Luke: ... about a foot long and there would be another area, which is more of a triangle shape, and it would be about five inches for on each side and they would be supported for the paddle. Once they stopped some would lay it there and that would keep the support base for the paddle.
This system really worked for our ancestors and it was a technique where you could just pull it out. Where you would be able to pull out the paddle and get ready and get into the same position to paddle again.

It must be noted that I do not understand what is being said in the above three paragraphs.

Shawn: *Do you remember any rituals or ceremonies performed before, during or after a qajaq hunt?*

Luke: I don't remember any rituals because we were mostly alone. My family was mostly alone and there was no rituals or ceremonies before, during or after the hunt.

Shawn: *Were Inushuit ever used to herd caribou into the water so qajaq hunters could kill them?*

Luke: Inukshuit were not meant for fooling around and back then it was really important for the location of the inukshuk. [For example], if the tent was here and the river was flowing this way, downstream, the tent would be located in such a place where the inukshuit were guiding the caribou to a particular area of the river. It would be such a system where the inukshuit would be guiding the caribou to a particular crossing area.

Shawn: *I have heard stories .... that if anything at the caribou crossing area was changed it would scare the caribou away. [Is that true?]*

Luke: Yes, it is very true of what you just said. The caribou, in light of how some people think of them, once they recognize a particular thing that is different ... if the landscape was different, they would never dare swim across.

Shawn: *What would happen then if you put an inukshuk near a cross site wouldnt that scare them away?*

Luke: (Luke was pointing) if this area had something on it would be called ilimahaut which is "Caution." To caution for something. The inukshuit would .... if the inukshuit were here the caribou would want to cross that way instead [further down river]. If there were footprints here they [hunters] would do their very best to hide the footprint. If there was any little thing different, in that particular area where they would usually cross, the caribou would never use that same route. They [the hunters] would hide. The location of the tent, that was on the other side [of the river opposite the side the caribou would be crossing from], sometimes it would not even be hidden from the caribou but the human beings

	would try their very best to keep hidden. They didn't have to speak any words for [communication].
Shawn:	*So, inukshuit were used to herd caribou through rivers?*
Luke:	Yes, definitely. If the caribou thought the inukshuit were humans they would use a different route to go across the river.
Shawn:	*Would the hunter stay at the other part of the river where the caribou would decide to go when they saw the inukshuit?*
Luke:	Definitely. The Inuit would be on the other side of the river opposite the caribou and they use to really hide from the caribou as much as possible and they didn't have to move the qajaq. The people ... if the caribou were over here and this was the river ... the people would be on the other side and they would take extreme care in locating exactly where the caribou would be. Just by looking at the caribou ... when they noticed that the caribou was ... if they were able to catch the caribou without even ....
Sam:	I'm getting mixed up (laugh).
Luke:	... for example, if the caribou was trying to cross the Inuit would ... only when they knew for sure that they were going to reach the caribou would they attempt to chase the caribou ... even if it meant ... if the caribou was trying to cross back to the opposite side of the river they would be able to catch the caribou that was trying to head back to the other side of the river.
Shawn:	*So, they always made sure that the caribou were far enough into the water that if it turned around to go back to shore they would be able to cut it off with the qajaq and bring it back out into open water.*
Luke:	It would be a near perfect system where the qajaq would be located at the low end of the current. It

was a system where it related too animal calls and people would never speak a word when they new that the herd was coming.

At this point Luke folded his hands together and made a bird call. To do this call follow these instructions: 1) The four fingers of each hand are kept tightly together (not overlapping the fingers but rather keeping them side by side). 2) Overlap the four fingers of the right hand between an extended thumb and index finger (as if you were making a finger gun) of the left hand. 3) Fold the fingers of the right hand so that your finger tips touch the back of the left hand. Your baby finger should roughly cover the knuckle of the left index finger. 4) The four fingers of your left hand should now be pointing straight ahead of you. Fold these fingers so that the index finger roughly touches the knuckle of the baby finger of you right hand. Fold the other three fingers of the left hand so that they lay side by side going toward the wrist of the right hand. 5) Tighten your hands together. Making sure that the heals of both hands are pushed together. The tips of your thumbs should now come together. 6) Fold the tips of your thumbs over the index finger of right hand. Your thumb knuckles will be a ledge for your lips. Make sure that your fingers are tightly pushed together. 7) You should now see a hole between your thumbs. Place your upper lip over the top of your thumb knuckles. The lower lip should cover only half of the hole. 8) Blow. 9) To adjust the pitch make another hole opposite where you are blowing by moving the four fingers of your left hand (which are still pressed tightly together) so that they are facing straight away from you, as in position #4. You may have to adjust yours hands so that air does not escape anywhere else except through the hole at your lips or at the pitch hole.

Luke: That sound sounds like one of the geese ... one of the birds so the caribou wouldn't even know that a human being was anywhere near. The caribou would think that the sound was one of the birds so they wouldn't even be concerned of any humans. The system was so near perfect that there was a very small chance that the caribou would be able to turn back.

Today we are living with paper material to remember something's and we are taught in the classrooms on how to use paper ... just like back then too the Inuit use to be taught all the various forms in teaching techniques ... systems and stuff. Back then they were taught on a daily bases and

they were also being tested as well. That was testing for so that the future generation might survive.

Shawn: *I only have a couple of more questions. I think that you want to go pack to go out on the land (laugh).*

Luke: (Laugh).

Shawn: *Are qajaqs still important to you?*

Luke: Yes. It is very important to me. It would be more important to me if I knew the whole knowledge of all aspects of qajaq. Our forefathers survived on qajaq and bow and arrow alone so it is very important to me.

Shawn: *Do you think that it is important to teach the younger generation about qajaqs?*

Luke: It is very important to me that the younger generation learn it because once you .... I would like to see them get experience because when you don't have any experience on learning it ... it is extremely difficult to build one so it's very important for the younger generation to learn.

Shawn: *I don't have any other questions. Is there anything else that you would like to add.*

Luke: (Laugh) I talked about the very basic part of putting the frame together of the qajaq. I would like to make it known that with sinew ... they would be braided ... as you may notice the only parts of the qajaq that are nailed together are the end pieces of the qajaq. That may number at least two or three nails for the two sides and the frame was put together only by using the sinew. What do you call the top frame of the qajaq?

Shawn: *The ones that go on the side?*

Luke: Yes.

Shawn: *Gunwales.*

Luke: The gunwales are called qaqsauq. [What do you call] the very bottom piece in the middle?

Shawn: *The keel.*

Luke: Those ones are the very first ones that they put together and they use that as a base for the frame of the qajaq. As you may notice that the gunwales are used just with braided sinew. Also, if they were using nails the skin is going to ... as soon as the skin gets dried up it would be ... the nail would cause some major problems and it would deteriorate the condition of the qajaq. I would like to state that the only places that are nailed together are the very ends of the qajaq, as well as, the front of the cockpit. So, the cockpit area would us only one [nail] and on a very rare occasion there would be two [nails] and the rest of the cockpit area would be tied together using the caribou sinew. The one or two nails that were in the cockpit would be used only as ... to keep the frame from splitting ...

Shawn: *... breaking apart ... pulling apart?*

Luke: Yes. Pulling apart. Unless you have any questions I have nothing else to ...

Shawn: *Actually, just one more question. When did people stop using qajaqs? And thats the last one.*

Sam: On a daily bases?

Shawn: *Yes.*

Luke: As soon as this area of Canada started getting boats. The only reason that they stopped [using the qajaq] was because the parents were worried for the kids safety. For the kids safety they stopped using the qajaq and started using the boats.

Shawn: *Thats it. Can I take a couple of pictures ?*

Luke: If you have a beer (laugh).

Shawn: *(Laugh).*

At this point I took some pictures of Luke Tunguaq.

Appendix H:

Definitions

Baker Lake (Baker Lake)- Location: 64 degrees, 19 minutes North
96 degrees, 02 minutes West
- 1400 km north of Winnipeg, MB.
- Approx. 160 km north of the tree line.
- Approx. 190 km south of the Arctic Circle.

* The information pertaining to the Inuit groups listed below was gathered at the Baker Lake Inuit Heritage Center on June 23, 1998. This list is important to the reader because it clearly shows the nine distinct Inuit groups which now live in the community of Baker Lake. It should also be noted that information pertaining to the group Akilinirmiut was shared with me by Sam Itkilik.

Harvaqtuurmiut - The Harvaqtuurmiut derive their name from "Havaqtuq," translated as "where rapids abound" which is a term meaning the lower Kazan River.

Kihlirnirmiut - The Kihlirnirmiut lived between Garry Lake and what is now the community of Cambridge Bay.

Hanningayuqmiut - The Hanningayuqmiut lived in the Garry Lake area.

Iluilqmiut - The Iluilqmiut lived between Back River and Kitikmeot region.

Ukkuhiksalingmiut - The Ukkuhiksalingmiut means "people of the place that has material for making pots" and they lived in the Back River area.

Akilinirmiut - The Akilinirmiut are people from the Beverly Lake area. Akiliniq means "the hills on the north side." These people are known as the people who pay back."

Paalirmiut - The Paalirmiut, "people of the willows," lived north of what is now the community of Arviat.

Qairngnirmiut - The Qairngnirmiut, "dwellers of the flat land."

Hauniqturmiut - "Dwellers of where bones abound," extended from the coast of Hudson's Bay to Aberdeen Lake.

Barren Ground Caribou - Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus

Inuit - Eskimoan peoples inhabiting the eastern and central Canadian Arctic.

Inuktitut - The language spoken by the Inuit.

Traditional Knowledge - Information dealing with an event, object, history or experience which is passed from person to person through oral accounts, hands-on examples and participant observation. Traditional knowledge is incorporated within an Aboriginal world view(s), and usually contained within an oral methodological framework (Charlebois and Shore, 1998).

Qajaq – Inuit spelling of "Qajaq"

Warble Fly- Fly which lays larvae beneath the skin of a caribou rendering it useless for human use.

Appendix I:

Here is a list of questions which have arisen as a result of this research project.

Does Arima see or present Kanayuq and Tunguaq's 1960s Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq as something which exhibits all the attributes of Harvaqtuurmiut qajaq identity or does he recognize their qajaq as the product of two individuals' interpretations of what a caribou skin qajaq should look like?

When detailing and explaining how the caribou skin qajaq was made during his earlier Baker Lake study, does Arima examination place limitations on the role an individual's choice plays?

Do the oral histories collected during this project only represent the Elders' immediate family and friendly contacts or do their stories encompass all of the accounts and experiences of all Inuit groups?

Cultural objects had taboos and spiritual practices associated with them, such as the snow shovel, why would an important object such as the qajaq be excluded?

Is there another way in which these cultural objects could have been preserved and presented that does not mirror a southern museum style?

If the qajaq was not that important why would the Elders and David Webster have another caribou skin qajaq built?

Why would the Inuit Heritage Centre dedicate so much valuable space to them?

How do they see the qajaq and how will they see or present the qajaq when all of the Elders are gone?

Appendix J:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada

Research Ethics

Name of principal investigator

Mr. Shawn L. Charlebois

This section is to be completed by the institution's committee for the surveillance and monitoring of standards of ethics for research in which human subjects are involved. The term "subject", for purposes of this review, refers to any person who is used as a source of raw or unformulated data in the conduct of research and who is not acting in the capacity of principal investigator or assisting such an individual.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada supports the principle that, in any research undertaking, the rights and integrity of human subjects take precedence over the need to conduct research. The Council recognizes that it is not itself vested with any authority to decide, on behalf of the public, when an individual's right may be superseded by the need for research. However, as a trustee of public funds, the Council has a responsibility to ensure that the activities it supports respect the rights of the public it serves.

Accordingly, the Council requires that all research involving human subjects be approved by the ethics review committee of the institution by which the principal is employed.

The committee will be expected to monitor the research program in order to ensure that, over its duration, it continues to meet appropriate standards of ethics. Membership of the ethics review committee is expected to be broadly based and should include individuals from both within and without the applicant's department and discipline who have no association with the research.

In the space below, the composition of the committee should be indicated (though not necessarily the names of the members). This section should be dated and signed by 1) the committee chairperson, and 2) the applicant's department head or a representative of the institution.

The Council provides a set of guidelines on ethics for research with human subjects which should form the basis of the ethics review. (See *Guide for applicants*, articles 35-37 and Annex B.)

This form must be submitted to the Council no later than **February 1**. Receipt of this completed form will be interpreted as confirmation that the proposed research meets the necessary standards of ethics. However, the Council reserves the right of final judgment where circumstances warrant.

Certification of Institutional Ethics Review Committee SSHRC File No. (if known) ____________

This is to certify that the Institutional Ethics Review Committee of

The Faculty of Arts, University of Manitoba (name of institution)

has examined the research proposal by Mr. Shawn Charlebois, Graduate Student, Department of Native Studies

entitled The Caribou Skin Kayak of the Harvaqtormiut of Baker Lake (title of research)

and concludes that, in all respects, the proposed research meets appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Composition of the committee

Name (Optional)	Position held	Department or discipline
Grant, Karen R.	Chair	Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts
Johnson, M.		Psychology
McCance, D.		Religion
Reinholtz, C.		Linguistics
Schafer, A.		Philosophy
Chodkiewiez, J.-L.		Anthropology
Taylor, K.W.		Sociology
Vorauer, J.		Psychology

May 13, 1998
Date

Committee chairperson

Department head or institutional representative

Nunavummi Qaujisaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NT X0A 0H0 phone:(867) 979-4108 fax: (867) 979-4681 e-mail: slcnri@nunanet.com

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0300898N-A

ISSUED TO: Shawn Charlebois
Native Studies
University of Manitoba
Apt. 12A - Summerside Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3L-0L5 Canada
204-452-9422

TEAM MEMBERS: none

AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba

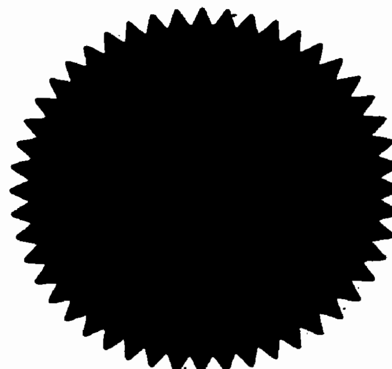
TITLE: The Caribou Skin Kayak of Baker Lake

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
To aid the Baker Lake community in its attempts to record and preserve oral traditions relating to carobou skin kayak construction and use. To identify and survey the members of the Havaqtormiut population (within Baker Lake community) who are interested in maintaining traditional caribou skin kayak knowledge as a way of regaining or strengthening Inuit identity. To examine the pressures which are inhibiting the reintroduction or maintenance of traditional kayak knowledge.

DATA COLLECTION IN THE NWT:
DATES: May 10, 1998-July 10, 1998
LOCATION: Baker Lake (64°19'N, 96°02'W)

Scientific Research Licence 0300898N-A expires on December 31, 1998.
Issued at Iqaluit, NT on May 22, 1998.

Sharon Troke
Science Advisor



ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕈᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T-2N2
(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ Jimmy Taipana

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇᔭᐅᔪᓐᓴᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake ᐅᑉᓗᐊ June 15th/98
Home of Jimmy Taipana

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᖅ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᖅ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᖅᓗᓐᓂᖅ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅ,ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅ ᐊᖅᑎᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅᓗᓂᖅ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓂᐊᖅᑐᖅ ᑕᖅᑯᓇᖓ

1. masters degree in Native studies at the University of manitoba.

ᐱᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᖅ ᐅᔭᓂ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᒃᑯᑦ ᒥᓯᓗ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᔪᐊᕐᒥ ᒪᓂᑑᐸᒥ

2. Education Programs for local schools

ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᑦ ᐊᕐᕌᒍᓕᒫᓂ ᓄᓇᓕᖕᒥ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᓂ

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᒃᖓ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓚᖓᖅᑐᖅ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᖅ, ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᖅ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᖅᓗᓂᖅ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅ, ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᖅᓗᖅ ᐊᖏᖅᓯᒪᕆᑦᑎᓗᒍ ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᐊ ______

Jimmy Taipana's mark

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᐊ ______

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᖓᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᖕᑕᐅᔪᒪᖕᓗᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᕆᓪᓕᖕᖏᑦ ᑖᒃᑯᓇ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖕᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ $15.00 ᐃᑲᓚᐅᕈᑎᒃ. ᑕᒪ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᖕ ᐊᕐᑭᒃᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᖕ ᐅᖃᓘᖃᑎᒌᕈᒋᑦ ᑕᐃᐱᑎ ᐱᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᒪᒃ ᑐᖕᖑᐊᖕ

ᑕᒪ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᖕ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖕ

1. ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᖕᑐᒥ ᓱᓇᓗᕿᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ $ 900.00
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᒥᒃᓴᓂ ᐃᑲᔪᕆᐊᓯᒪᔪᖕ ᐃᓗᐊᓚᐃᓯ Dr. Fred Shore $1000.00
3. ᕿᑐᕐᖓᕆᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᒃᒥᓂᒃᒥᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕈᑎᑦ $2320.00

ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᑐᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓂ ᑖᒃᑯᓇᒃᓚᑦ ᐃᓕᖕᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ

ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᒥᐅᑦ ᐊᕐᑭᒃᓱᖕᑕᔪᑦ ᕼᐋᑎ ᒫᓂ

ᐅᓪᓗᖓ

ᐅᓪᓗᖕ FEBRUARY 1990 ᐃᓗᓕᖃᖕᑐ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔭᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᔪᒪᕐᑐᖕ ᑖᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᖕᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒃᓚᓂᑦ

ᑕᒪ ᐃᓚᐅᖃᑕᐅᔪᖕ ᐅᑎᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᒃᒥᐸᒍ ᐃᓯᒪᒃᓴᖕᓯᐅᕆᑎᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᓚᐅᓕᖏᑐᖕ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᔭᖕᐳᖕ – ᐅᑐᕋᐅᑎᒋᓗᒍ ᓴᖕ ᓴᕈᐸᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓚᔭᖕᑐᖕ ᐃᒻᒪᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖃᖕᓗᓂ :1. ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᕆᐅᖃᓪᓚᕆᒃᑐᖕ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᔪᖕᓴᒥᒃ ᑕᑯᔭᕆᐊᖃᕋᒪ ᑖᓯᒪᖓ ᐅᑎᖃᒻᒪᕆᒃᑐᒧᑦ, ᑖᒃᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᓕᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐃᓅᒧᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᓚᕐᒥ ᐅᐸᒐᓗᐊᓂᑦ ᐃᓂᖕᓂᐅᑉᐱᔪᐊᕐᒧᑦ

ᒪᓕᒃᓴᖕ ᐅᐸᓂ Native Studies Departmentᑯᖕᓂ ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖓᔪᖕ – ᓄᓇᓕᕐᓚᕐᒥ ᐅᑭᐅᖕᑐᖕᑎᒃᑲᓇᐅᒃᑲᖕᐳᖕ ᑖᓯᒪ ᐅᕐᑭᒃᓯᒪᐃᖕᓂ. ᒫᓇᐅᔪᖕ ᐅᐱᕐᑯᓯᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᕐᖕᑎᒋᓇᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᕐᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᖕᑐᑎᒃᓴᖕ ᑖᓯᒪᖓ, ᓇᒻᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᐅᑐᕋᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᕐᑐᖓ. ᐃᓕᒪᓯᒃᑐᒃᑲᖕᓂᖕᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᒃᑲᑎᒌᒃᓯᓂᒃ. ᓄᑕᖕᖑᖕᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖕ ᐅᒻᒪ ᐊᖏᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖕ ᐃᓅᑐᓕᖕᓯᒪᓂᐅᖕᑐᖕ ᐅᒻᒪᓗ ᕼᑦᓗᓇᑐᓕᕐᓯᒪᔪᖕ ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᖕᑐᖕ ᐃᓯᕐᓂᑖᒃᑲᖕᐱᖕᒧᑦ ᐅᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᖕᓂᐅᐱᖕᓂ

ᐊᐱᕐᕿᕐᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐸᑎᕐᒪ X (Jimmy Tapanais mark)

ᐊᐱᕐᕿᕐᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ

ᑕᒃᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᖁᔨᔪᖅ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᐸᓂ **University of Manitoba.** ᖃᖑᑐᐃᓐᓇᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᔪᒪᒍᕕᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᔅᓱᒥᖓ ᐅᖅᑐᕆᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᒋᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖁᓯᔅᓴᒥᒃ ᐅᐳᖓ ᑐᕋᕈᒪᖕᐸᑦ, **Faculty of Research** ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᖅᓯᔨᐅᔪᖅ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070** ᑕᔅᓱᒧᖓ ᐃᓕᓯᐅᔪᕐᓱᒍᑦ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᐅᔪᓄ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᕋᒪ ᑐᒃᑯᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᖁᓚᓂᖅᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ X (Jimmy Tapanas mark)

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᖁᓚᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]

ᐅᓪᓗᐊ June 15 1998.

Research Consent Form

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native Studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T 2N2
(204) 474-9266

Name of Interviewee David Webster

Name of Interviewer Shawn Charlebois

Project Title Kayaks of Baker Lake

Place Baker Lake Baker Lake Cultural Centre Date June 23/1998

This interview recordings, whether they are audio, video or photographic, and the resulting translations, and/or transcriptions and/or images will be used for the following purposes:

1. masters degree in Native Studies at the University of Manitoba.

2. Educational Programs for local schools in Winnipeg and Baker Lake

The interviewer will not use the interview recordings, whether they are audio, video, or photographic, and the resulting translations, and/or transcriptions, and/or images for any other purposes without the permission of the interviewee.

Initials of Interviewee DW

Initials of Interviewer

*Consent form has been adopted from: Hart, Elisa. (1st ed.). (1995). Getting Started In Oral Traditions Research. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.

Research participants will be compensated for their involvement in this study at the rate of $15.00 per hour. This amount has been determined through consultations with Mr. David Webster and Mr. Mark Tunguaq.

This research project has been financial supported by:

1) Northern Scientific Training Program - $ 990.00
2) Research Funding from Dr. Fred Shore - $1000.00
3) Personal and Family Contribution - $2320.00

Previously recorded information from the study ______________________ ______________________ conducted by ______________________ ______________________ dated ______________________ which contains information that you have provided will be used within this master's research project.

If the participant wishes to remain anonymous during this research project a system which replaces the participant's name with a number variable will be used. For example, Shawn Charlebois would be recorded as Participant #1. It should be known that I alone will have access to the list of legitimate names, and at no time will this information be shared with individuals from the community or university.

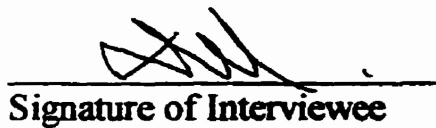
It is the policy of the Native Studies Department to include a community member during the defense of any master's thesis. At this time, any concerns about the material recorded during this fieldwork will be addressed. Immediately after the defense of the thesis, all appropriate measures will be taken by me to meet the demands and concerns of all people involved. The revised, accepted copy will be translated into Inuktitut (funding permitting) and English and distributed to the Baker Lake Cultural Centre and the local Baker Lake school.

Initials of Interviewee

Initials of Interviewer

This statement is here to inform you that this research project has been thoroughly read and accepted by the Faculty of Arts Ethics Review Committee at the University of Manitoba. If at any time you are concerned about the procedures within this project you may place an inquiry or complaint with the Associate Dean of Research, the Faculty of Arts (204) 474-7321, or to my research supervisor Dr. Fred Shore (204) 475-2070 for referral to the Ethics Review Committee.

I agree to the use of the Information I have provided according to the conditions stated above.



Signature of Interviewee

Date June 23/98

I agree to use the information according to the terms outlined above.

Signature of Interviewer

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕈᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T-2N2
(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ Emily ALREK

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇᔭᐅᔪᒃᓴᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake Heritage Centre. Elders Room ᐅᓪᓗᐊ June 30/98

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒍᑦ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒍᑦ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᕆᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ,ᑎᑎᕋᐅᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑦᑎᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᒧᑦ ᑕᑯᓇᖓ

1. masters degree in Native Studies at the University of Manitoba
1. ᐱᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᖅ ᐅᕙᓂ ᔪᓇᕐᕙᕐᓯᑎ ᒥᑦᔪᓐ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᒃᔪᐊᕐᒥ ᐃᓂᑐᐸᒥ
2. Educational Programs for local Schools in Baker Lake and Winnipeg
2. ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᑦ ᐋᕐᕿᒃᓱᕐᒪᔪᓂ ᔪᓇᓕᕐᕿᓂ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᒃᑯᓐᓂ

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᒃᑯ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓚᖓᕐᑐᖅ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦ, ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᓐᓂᑦ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᕆᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗᑦ ᐊᖏᕐᓯᒪᖏᑦᑐᒍ ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ

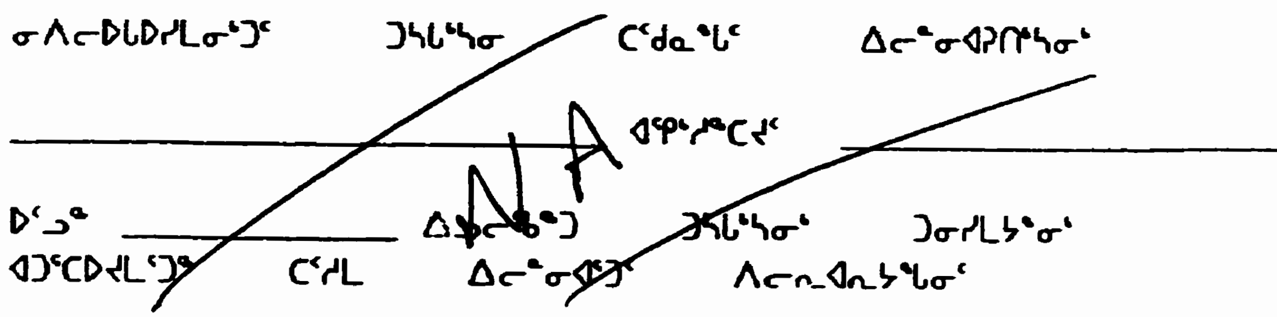
ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᐊ ᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᓕᒃ

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᐊ [signature]

·ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᖅᑯᕐ ᐃᑲᔪᓐᑐᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᓐᑕᐅᔪᒪᓐᔪᑦ ᐃᑲᔫᕐᓂᕆᔭᕆᓐᓄᑦ
ᑕᖅᓯᒎᓚ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᓐᑕᐅᔪᕐᒧᑦ $15.00 ᐃᑲᓚᐅᓄᑎᒃ.
ᑕᒪ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᖅᓱᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᓐ ᐊᕐᕿᒃᑕᐅᓚᐅᖅᐳᓐ ᐅᖃᓗᖃᑎᒋᒃᓗᒋᑦ
ᑕᐃᐱᑎ ᐱᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᒪᒃ ᑐᙵᓐ

ᑕᒪ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᓐ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔫᓐ

1. ᐅᑭᐅᖅᑕᓐᑐᒥ ᓱᓇᓗᖏᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᕐᒥᒃ $ 900.00
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᐅᖅ ᒥᒃᓴᓄ ᐃᑲᔪᓇᐊᓯᒪᔪᓐ
   ᐃᓄᐊᓚᐃᔨ **Dr. Fred Shore** $1000.00
3. ᕿᑐᖕᖓᓇᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᒃᒥᓂᒃᒥᑦ
   ᐃᑲᔪᕈᑎᑦ $2320.00



ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᑐᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᖅᑯᓇᒃᒐᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ

ᐊᖅᑭᒃᓱᓐᑕᔪᑦ

ᐅᓗᓐ ____ ᐃᔾᔪᓕᖃᓐᑐ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔭᒃᓂᒃ
ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᔪᒪᔪᖅ ᑕᖅᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᖅᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒃᑲᓂᑦ

ᑕᒪ ᐃᓚᐅᖃᑕᐅᔪᓐ ᐅᑎᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᓐᒥᐸᒍ ᐃᓯᒪᒃᓴᓐᓯᐅᕈᑎᒍᑦ
ᐊᑐᓕᐅᓚᖏᕐᑐᓐ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᖅᓴᓐᐳᓐ - ᐅᖅᑐᖅᓴᐅᑎᒥᓗᒍ
ᓴᓐ ᓴᕈᐸᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓚᔭᓐᑐᓐ ᐃᒻᒪᓐᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖃᓐᓗᓂ 1.
ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᓇᐅᖄᓚᓇᒃᑐᓐ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᔪᒃᓴᒥᒃ ᑕᑯᔭᓇᐊᖃᖅᒪ
ᑕᖅᓯᒎᓚ ᐅᑎᖃᒻᒪᓇᒃᑐᕐ, ᑕᖅᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᓚᖏᖅᑐᑦ
ᐃᓄᒃᑯᕐ ᓄᓇᓕᖅᓚᖏ ᐅᑉᐸᓗᓐᓂᖅ ᐃᓂᓐᓂᐅᖅᐱᔭᐊᖅᑯᕐ

ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓐ ᐅᐸᓂ **Native Studies Department**ᑯᓐᓂ
ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖓᔪᓐ - ᓄᓇᓕᖅᓚᖏ ᐅᑭᓴᓐᑐᓐᑎᖄᓇᐅᖅᑲᓐᐳᓐ ᑕᖅᓯᒪ
ᐅᖅᕿᒃᓱᒪᐃᓐᓂ. ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔫᓐ ᐅᐱᖅᑯᓯᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ
ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᖅᓐᑎᑦᑕᓇᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᕐᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᓐᑐᑎᒃᓴᓐ
ᑕᖅᓯᒎᓚ, ᓇᒻᒪᑎᐊᖅᑐᓂ ᐅᖅᑐᖅᓴᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᖅᑐᖓ.
ᐃᓚᒪᓯᒃᑐᖅᑲᓐᓂᓐᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᒋᔭᒻᓂᒃ. ᓄᑖᙳᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᓐ ᐅᒻᒪ
ᐊᖏᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᓐ ᐃᓄᒃᑐᓕᓐᓯᒪᓂᐅᓐᑐᓐ ᐅᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᖅᓗᓇᑐᓕᖅᓯᒪᔪᓐ
ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᓐᑐᓐ ᐃᖅᓴᖅᓂᑕᖅᑲᓐᐱᓐᒧᑦ ᐅᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᖅ
ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐅᐱᖏᓐᓂ

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ ᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᓕᖃ
ᐊᐱᖅᓯᖅᑎᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ

ᑖᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᒡᒍᔨᔪᖅ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᒐᐅᓯᒪᑎᐊᕐᒧᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓐᖓ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᕙᓂ **University of Manitoba.** ᖃᖓᑐᐃᓐᓇᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᔪᒪᒍᕕᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᑦᓯᒧᒥᖓ ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᒥᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᕙᓐᓄᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᑯᓯᖕᓱᒥᒃ ᐅᐸᖕ ᑐᕋᒪᖕᐸᑦ, **Faculty of Research** ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᕙᓐᓄᖕᓂᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕆᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᕐᓯᔨᐅᔪᖕ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070** ᑕᑦᓯᒧᖓ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᔪᖕᓱᒧᑦ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖄᖕᐸᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᐅᔪᓄ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᖃᒪ ᑐᑦᑯᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖕᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᖁᓕᓂᑦᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ ᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᓕᕋᓚ

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖄᖕᐸᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓐᖓ ᖁᓕᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖕᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]

ᐅᓪᓗᐊ June 29/1998

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕈᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T-2N2
(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ Barnabas Peryouar

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇ ᔭᐅᔪᓐᓴᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake ᐅᑉᓗᐊ June 24/98
Home of Barnabas Peryouar

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,
ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᓪᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ,ᑎᑎᕋᓐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ
ᐊᕐᑎᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᓐᓄᓐ ᑕᕐᑯᓇᖓ

1. masters degree in Native Studies at the University of Manito[...]

1. [illegible]

2. Education Programs for local schools

2. [illegible]

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᒃᖓ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓚᖏᑦᑐᓐ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯ, ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᓪᓗᓐᓂᑦ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᓐᑕᐅᓂᒋᑦᓗᑦ ᐊᖏᕐᓱᒪᖏᑎᒍᑦ ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑕᐅᔪᓐ

ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᐊ
[illegible]

ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑎᑦ ᐊᑎᐊ

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑐᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᖅᑕᐅᔭᒪᖅᐳᑦ ᐃᑲᔫᓂᕆᔭᖅᓄᑦ
ᑕᐃᒪᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ **$15.00** ᐃᑲᓚᐅᓗᑎᒃ.
ᑕᒪ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᐊᕐᕿᒃᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᐅᖃᓗᖃᑎᒋᒃᓗᒋᑦ
ᑕᐃᐱᑎ ᐱᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᒪᓗ ᒪᒃ ᑐᖑᐊᖅ

ᑕᒪ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᕗᖅ

1. ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᖅᑐᒥ ᓱᓇᒍᕿᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ **$ 900.00**
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᒥᒃᓵ ᐃᑲᔪᓇᐊᓯᒪᔪᖅ
   ᐃᓗᐊᓚᐃᔨ **Dr Fred Shore** **$1000.00**
3. ᕿᑐᖕᖑᓇᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᒃᒥᓂᒃᒥᑦ
   ᐃᑲᔪᕈᑎᑦ **$2320.00**

ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᑐᑦ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᕐᑯᓇᖕᒐᑦ ᐃᓕᖅᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ

[signature] ᐊᕿᒃᓱᖅᑕᔪᑦ [signature]

ᐅᓪᓗᖓ ______________ ᐃᓗᓕᖅᑐ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔭᒃᓂᒃ
ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᔪᒪᕐᑐᖅ ᑕᕐᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᖅᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᖕᖑᓂᑦ

ᑕᒪ ᐃᓚᐅᖅᑲᐅᔪᖅ ᐅᑎᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᒋᕙᒍ ᐃᓯᒪᒃᓴᖅᓯᐅᕈᑎᒨᑦ
ᐊᑐᓚᐅᓚᒋᑦᑐᖅ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᕐᔭᖅᐳᖅ – ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑎᒥᓗᒍ
ᓴᖅ ᓴᕈᐳᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓚᐅᔭᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᒻᒪᖅᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖃᖅᓗᓂ 1.
ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᓇᐅᖃᓚᓇᒃᑐᖅ ᐅᐸᖕ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᔪᒃᓴᒥᒃ ᑕᑯᔭᓇᐊᖃᕆᒪ
ᑕᐃᒪᖓ ᐅᑎᖃᒻᒪᓇᒃᑐᒧᑦ, ᑕᒃᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᓚᒋᑦᑐᑦ
ᐃᓄᒃᑯᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᕆᓚᕐᒥ ᐅᐸᒐᓗᖅᓂᑦ ᐃᓂᖅᓂᐅᑉᐱᔪᐊᕐᒧᑦ

ᒪᓕᒃᓴᖅ ᐅᐸᓂ **Native Studies Department**ᑯᓂ
ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖑᔪᖅ – ᓄᓇᓕᕆᓚᕐᒥ ᐅᑭᓴᖅᑐᖅᑎᖃᓇᐅᖃᖅᐳᖅ ᑕᕐᓯᒪ
ᐅᕐᕿᒃᓯᒪᐃᖅᓂ. ᒪᓇᐅᔪᖅ ᐅᐱᖁᓱᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ
ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᕐᖅᑎᕐᑕᓇᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᕐᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᖅᑐᑎᒃᓴᖅ
ᑕᐃᒪᖓ, ᓇᓪᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᕐᑐᖓ.
ᐃᓕᒪᓱᒃᑐᖃᖅᓂᖅᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᒋᔭᒃᓂᒃ. ᓄᑕᖑᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐅᒪ
ᐊᖏᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐃᓄᒃᑐᓕᖅᓯᒪᓂᐅᖅᑐᖅ ᐅᒪᓗ ᖃᑦᓗᓇᑐᓕᕐᓯᒪᔪᖅ
ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᑦᓴᕐᓂᑕᖃᖅᐱᖅᒧᑦ ᐅᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᑦ
ᐃᓕᖅᓂᐅᐱᖕᖑᓂ

ᐊᐱᕆᕐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]
ᐊᐱᕆᕐᑎᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]

ᑕᒻᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᕐᒍᓯᔪᖕ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ.
ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᒐᐅᓯᒪᑎᑦᑎᒍᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᕙᓂ **University of Manitoba.**
ᖃᖓᑐᐃᓐᓇᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᔪᒪᒍᕕᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᒃᓱᒧᖓ ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ,
ᖃᐅᔨᓯᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᑯᓯᖅᓱᒥ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑐᕋᒪᖕᐸᑦ,
Faculty of Research ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᑦ
ᐃᓕᓂᐊᕆᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᖅᓯᔨᐅᔪᖅ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070**
ᑕᒃᓱᒧᖓ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᔪᓐᓴᒡ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᐅᔪᓄ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᖅᑲ ᑐᒃᑲᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂ
ᖁᓚᓂᒃᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ ᐸᓇᐸᒃ ᐱᓯᐊ

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓱᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᖁᓚᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ
ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]

ᐅᓪᓗᐊ June 24/1998.

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕿᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T-2N2
(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ David Tiktaalaaq

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇ ᔭᐅᔪᓴᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake, NWT ᐅᓪᓗᐊ June 30/98
Home of David Tiktaalaaq

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕿᑎᑯᑦ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕿᑎᑯᑦ,
ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕿᑎᒃᑯᓪᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᑯᑦ,ᑎᑎᕋᓐᑕᐅᓐᓂᑯᑦ
ᐊᑦᑎᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᑯᓪᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓂᐊᓐᑐᓐ ᑕᒃᑯᓇᖓ

1. masters degree in Native studies at the University of Manitoba

1. ᐱᕚᓂᖅᑕᐅᔪᖕᓴᑦ ᐅᔩᓂ ᓄᓇᖅᑲᖅᑐᑦ ᒥᒃᓱᒍ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᒃᔪᐊᕐᒥ ᒫᓂᑐᐸᒥ

2. Education Programs For local Schools

2. ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᑦ ᐋᖅᑭᒃᓱᕐᒪᔪᓂ ᑯᓕᕿᓂ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᒃᒥ

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱ -ᐅᖅᓂᑯᖓ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓚᖁᖅᑐᓐ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕿᑎᒃᑯᑦ,
ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕿᑎᒃᑯᑦ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕿᑎᒃᑯᓪᓗᓐᓂᑦ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᑯᑦ,
ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᑯᓪᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᑳᓐᑕᐅᓂᑯᓪᓗᑦ ᐊᖑᖅᓯᒪ.ᖑᑎᓗᒍ ᑕᒪ
ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑕᐅᔪᓐ

ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᐊ ᐊᐱᓐᓱᓐᑎ ᐊᑎᐊ

ᑏᕚ ᑎᑕᓛᒃ [signature]

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᓐᒧᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᖕᑕᐅᔪᒪᓐᐳᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᓇᔭᕆᐊᖕᖑᑦ
ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖕᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ $15.00 ᐃᑲᓪᓚᐅᓗᑎᒃ.
ᑕᓐᓇ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᐊᕐᕿᑦᑕᐅᓗᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᐅᖃᓗᖃᑎᒋᕐᓗᒋᑦ
ᑕᐃᐱᑎ ᐱᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᓪᓚᓗ ᒪᒃ ᑐᖑᐊᖅ.

ᑕᓐᓇ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᑭᓇᐅᔾᔪᒋᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ

1. ᐅᑭᐅᑦᑕᖅᑐᒥ ᓱᓇᓗᕿᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ $ 900.00
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᒥᒃᓱ ᐃᑲᔪᓇᐊᓯᒪᔪᖅ
   ᐃᓗᐊᓚᐃᔨ **Dr. Fred Shore** $1000.00
3. ᕿᑐᕐᖓᑦ ᐊᓪᓚ ᓇᒻᒥᓂᕐᒥᑦ
   ᐃᑲᔪᕈᑎᑦ $2320.00

ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᑐᑦ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᑯᓇᒃᓚᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ

ᐊᕿᒃᓯᓐᑕᔪᑦ

ᐅᓗᖅ ________ ᐃᓗᓕᒃᑲᓐᑐ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔾᔭᓂᒃ
ᐊᑐᑦᑕᐅᔪᓚᓐᑐᖅ ᑕᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒻᒪᓂᑦ

ᑕᓐᓇ ᐃᓚᐅᖃᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐅᑎᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᕐᑯᒥᐸᑯ ᐃᓯᒪᒃᓴᖅᓯᐅᕈᑎᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᓚᐅᓕᖏᕐᑐᖅ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᖅᓵᖅᐳᖅ – ᐅᑦᑐᕐᕋᐅᑎᒋᓗᒍ ᓴᖅ ᓴᕈᐳᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓚᔭᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᓪᒪᖕᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖃᖅᓗᓂ :1. ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᓇᐅᖄᓕᓇᒃᑐᖅ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᔫᒃᓴᒥᒃ ᑲᑯᔭᓇᐊᖄᒪ ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ ᐅᑎᖃᓪᒪᓇᒃᑐᒧᑦ, ᑕᕝᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᓕᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᒃᒧᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖅᑲᓕᕐᒥ ᐅᐸᐸᓗᒃᓂᑦ ᐃᓂᖕᓂᐅᕐᐱᔪᐊᕐᒧᑦ

ᒪᓕᒃᓴᖅ ᐅᐸᓂ **Native Studies Department**ᑯᓐᓂ ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖓᔪᖅ – ᓄᓇᓕᖅᑲᓕᕐᒥ ᐅᑭᓴᖅᑐᖅᑎᖃᓇᐅᖄᖅᐳᖅ ᑕᕝᓯᒪ ᐅᕐᕿᒃᓯᒪᐃᓐᓂ. ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔪᖅ ᐅᐱᖁᓯᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᖅᑎᑦᑕᓇᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᑉᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᖅᑐᑎᒃᓴᖅ ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ, ᓇᓪᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᐅᑦᑐᕐᕋᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᕐᑐᖓ. ᐃᓕᒪᓯᒃᑐᖅᑲᓐᓂᓐᓂᐊᑉᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᒌᓐᓂᒃ. ᓄᑦᑐᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐅᓪᒪ ᐊᖏᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐃᓄᒃᑐᓕᖅᓯᒪᓂᐅᓐᑐᖅ ᐅᓪᒪᓗ ᖃᑦᑐᓇᑐᓕᕐᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᓐᑐᖅ ᐃᑦᓴᕐᓂᑦᑲᖅᐱᒃᒧᑦ ᐅᓪᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐅᐱᖕᖏᓐᓂ

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐸᑎᖓ ________ ᑎᑦᑕᓚᖅ
ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑎᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ ________

ᑕᒻᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᕐᒋᔨᔪᖅ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᑉ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᓚᐅᓯᒪᑎᐊᕐᒧᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓗᒃᑲ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᐸᓂ **University of Manitoba.** ᖃᖓᑐᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᔪᒪᒍᐱᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᒃᓯᒍᒃᑲ ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᒋᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᕙᕙᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᒋᔾᔭᒥᒃ ᐅᕗᖓ ᑐᕋᕈᒪᖕᕙᑦ, **Faculty of Research** ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᕙᕙᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐃᓕᓂᐊᕈᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᕐᓯᔨᐅᔪᖅ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070** ᑕᒃᓯᒍᖓ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᔪᓴᒍᑦ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᐅᔪᓄ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᕋᒪ ᑐᑯᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᖁᓚᓂᕐᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ ______________

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖓ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᓂᑦ ᑕᒃᑯᓗᒃᑲ ᖁᓚᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ ______________

ᐅᓗᐊ June 30/98

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᖅᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕈᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
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(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ ADA Kingilik

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇᔭᐅᔪᖕᓴᖅ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake, NWT ᐅᑉᓗᐊ July 1/98
IBC office

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,
ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᖅᑯᑦᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑑᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ,ᑎᑎᕋᓐᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ
ᐊᑦᑎᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓂᐊᓐᑐᓐ ᑕᖅᑯᓇᖓ

1. masters' degree in Native Studies at the U of M

[illegible]

2. Education Programs for local schools

3. ᐊᑭᖏᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᒋᖓ ᐊᑐᖅᑕᐅᓚᖓᔪᓐ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,
ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒋᑦᓗᓐᓂᑦ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑑᑭᓕᐅᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦ,
ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓐᓂᒋᑦᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᓐᑕᐅᓂᒋᑦᓗᑦ ᐊᖏᖅᓯᒪᖏᑎᓗᒍ ᑕᒪ
ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑕᐅᔪᖕ

ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑎᐊ ᐃᕈᓗᐊ

ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑎ ᐊᑎᐊ [signature]

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᑲᔫᓐᑐᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᓐᑕᐅᔪᒪᓐᓯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᕆᔭᕐᖓᓐᖑᑦ
ᑕᕝᕙᓗᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᓐᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ $15.00 ᐃᑲᓚᐅᕈᑎᑦ.
ᑕᓐᓇ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᕐᓱᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᐊᕐᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᓯᖅ ᐅᖃᓗᖃᑎᒋᕐᓗᒋᑦ
ᑕᐃᐱᑎ ᐱᑐᑦ ᐊᒪᓗ ᒪᑦ ᑐᕌᖅ

ᑕᓐᓇ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ
1. ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᖅᑐᒥ ᓯᓇᒍᕿᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ $ 900.00
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑉ ᒥᓴᓄ ᐃᑲᔪᕆᐊᓯᒪᔪᖅ
   ᐃᓄᐊᓚᐃᔨ **Dr. Fred Shore** $1000.00
3. ᕿᑐᙵᕆᑦ ᐊᒪ ᓇᒥᓂᖕᒥᑦ
   ᐃᑲᔪᕈᑎᑦ $2320.00

ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓯᒪᓂᕐᑐᑦ ᑐᓴᓚᐅᓴᓂ ᑕᕐᑯᓇᕐᓚᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᓯᓂᒃ

______________________ ᐊᕿᒃᓱᖅᑕᕐ ______________________

ᐅᕐᓗᖅ ______________ ᐃᓗᓕᖅᑐ ᑐᓴᓚᐅᓯᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔭᓂᒃ
ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᔪᒪᕐᑐᖅ ᑕᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᕐᓚᓂᑦ

ᑕᓐᓇ ᐃᓚᐅᖅᑲᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐆᑎᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᖕᒋᐸᒍ ᐃᓯᒪᓴᖕᓯᐅᕈᑎᒧᑦ
ᐊᑐᓚᐅᓚᕆᕐᑐᖅ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖃᖁᔭᖅᐳᖅ – ᐅᕐᑐᖁᐅᑎᒋᓗᒍ
ᓴᖅ ᓴᕈᐸᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᓚᔭᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᒪᓐᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖃᖅᓗᓂ :1.
ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᓂᐅᖄᓚᓂᖅᑐᖅ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᔫᓯᒥᒃ ᑕᑯᔭᓂᐊᖃᖁᒪ
ᑕᕝᕙᓗᖓ ᐅᑎᖅᑲᒪᓂᒃᑐᒧᑦ, ᑕᕐᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᓚᐅᓚᕆᕐᑐᑦ
ᐃᓄᒃᑯᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖁᓕᖏ ᐅᐸᐸᓗᒃᓂᑦ ᐃᓂᖕᓂᐅᑉᐱᔭᐊᕐᑯᑦ

ᒪᓕᒐᓴᖅ ᐅᐸᓂ **Native Studies Department**ᑯᓐᓂ
ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖓᔪᖅ – ᓄᓇᓕᖁᓕᖏ ᐅᑭᓴᖕᑐᖕᑎᖃᓇᐅᖃᖕᓱᖅ ᑕᓯᒪ
ᐅᕿᒃᓯᒪᐃᓐᓂ. ᒫᓐᓇᐅᔪᖅ ᐅᐱᖁᓯᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᓚᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ
ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᕐᖕᑎᑕᓇᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᕐᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᖕᑐᑎᓴᖅ
ᑕᓯᒪᓗᖓ, ᓇᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᐅᕐᑐᖁᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᒪᕐᑐᖓ.
ᐃᓕᒪᓯᒃᑐᖅᑲᖕᓂᖕᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᒌᔭᕐᓂᒃ. ᓄᑦᑐᖕᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐅᒪ
ᐊᖏᕈᑎᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐃᓗᑦᑐᓕᖕᓯᒪᓂᐅᖕᑐᖅ ᐅᒪᓗ ᖄᓗᓇᑐᓕᕐᓯᒪᔪᖅ
ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᖕᑐᖅ ᐃᑦᓴᕐᓂᑖᖕᑲᖕᐱᖕᒧᑦ ᐅᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᑦ
ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐅᐱᖕᖏᓂ

ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᖅ ᐸᑎᖅ ᐃᕆᑐᐊ ______________
ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎᖅ ᐊᑎᖅ ______________

ᑕᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᕐᒋᔭᔪᖅ ᐃᓕᖅᓂᒃ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓕᖅᓂᐊᒐᐅᓯᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᕙᓂ **University of Manitoba.** ᖃᖓᑐᐃᓐᓇᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔪᒪᐱᑦ ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᒃᓱᒧᖓ ᐅᖅᑐᕋᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᒥᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᓯᒥᒃ ᐅᐳᖅ ᑐᕋᒪᖕᐸᑦ, **Faculty of Research** ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᑉᐸᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐃᓕᓂᐊᕈᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᕆᔨᐅᔪᖅ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070** ᑕᒃᓱᒧᖓ ᐃᓕᓭᐅᔪᖅᓱᒧᑦ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖅ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᐅᔪᓗ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᖅᒪ ᑐᒃᑯᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᖁᓚᓂᒃᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᒃ ᐊᑎᖓ ______________________

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖅᐳᖅ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᓂᒃ ᑕᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᖁᓚᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ ______________________

ᐅᓪᓗᐊ July 1/98

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᖏᕈᑕ

Shawn L. Charlebois
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University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T-2N2
(204)-474-9266

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ Luke Tunguaq

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎ ᐊᑎᖓ Shawn Charlebois

ᓴᓇᔭᐅᔪᓴᑦ ᐊᑎᖓ Kayaks of Baker Lake

ᓇᓂ Baker Lake, NWTᐅᑦᑐᐊ July 2/98
iBC office

ᑕᒪ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓂᓕᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᑯᑦ,ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᑯᑦ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦᓘᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ,ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑦᑎᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᓂᖅ ᑕᑯᓗᖓ

1. master's degree in Native Studies at the University of Ma.

1. ᐱᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᔪᖕᖏᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ ᓄᓇᕐᔪᐊᕐᔪᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᔪᐊᕐᔪᐊᓂ ᒪᓂᑐᐸᒥ

2. Educational programs for local schools.

2. ᐋᕿᒃᑕᐅᔪᖕᖏᑦ ᒪᓕᒐᓕᐅᕈᓯᐊᓂ ᓄᓇᓕᕐᖃᓂ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᕕᖕᖏᓐᓂ

ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᖅᑎᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᑯᖓ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓚᕿᕐᑐᖅ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦ, ᐅᐊᔪᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᑦ,ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕈᑎᒃᑯᓗᓐᓂᑦ,ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗ, ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᑯᓗ ᐊᖏᕐᓯᒪᕐᕕᖓᓗ ᑕᒪ ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑕᐅᔪᖅ

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᐊ Luke Tunguaq

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑎᑦ ᐊᑎᐊ [signature]

ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᓐᒧᑦ ᐊᑭᓕᓐᑕᐅᔪᒪᓐᓱᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᕆᔭᖏᓐᓄᑦ
ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᓐᑕᐅᔪᒧᑦ $15.00 ᐃᑲᓚᐅᓗᑎᒃ.
ᑕᓪᓇ ᐊᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᐅᓂᐊᕐᒧᓐ ᐊᕐᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᔪᓐ ᐅᖃᓗᖃᑎᒃᓗᒋᑦ
ᑕᐃᐲᑎ ᐱᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᓪᓚᐅ ᒪᒃ ᑐᖑᐊᓐ

ᑕᓪᓇ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᓐ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔫᓐ

1. ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᓐᑐᒥ ᓯᓇᓗᕿᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ $ 900.00
2. ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᐅᑦ ᒥᒃᓱ ᐃᑲᔪᓇᐊᓯᒪᔪᓐ
   ᐃᓗᐊᒪᐃᔨ Dr. Fred Shore $1000.00
3. ᕿᑐᕐᖓᑦ ᐊᓪᓚ ᓇᒻᒥᓂᕐᒥᑦ
   ᐃᑲᔪᕆᑎᑦ $2320.00

ᓂᐱᓕᐅᒪᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓂ ᑕᑯᓇᖕᑲᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕆᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ

ᓴᕐᕿᕙᒃ ᑰᒃᑲᓂ ᖃᑦᓯᐃᑦ ᐊᕿᔨᓐᑕᔪᑦ ᐊᐃᐲᔨ ᖃᑲᓂᑐᐊᑦ

ᐅᓗᓐ ᒪᔨ 1998 ᐃᓗᓕᖅᑯ ᑐᓴᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᑐᓂᓯᒪᔭᓂᒃ
ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᔪᒪᕐᑐᓐ ᑕᕝᓯᒪ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒃᑲᓂᒃ

ᑕᓪᓇ ᐃᓚᐅᖅᑲᑕᐅᔪᓐ ᐆᑎᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᖁᓐᒥᐸᒍ ᐃᓯᒪᒃᓴᓐᓯᐅᕿᑎᒧᑦ
ᐊᑐᒐᐅᓕᕐᑐᓐ ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᒥᒃ ᐊᑎᖅᑲᖅᓴᓐᔪᓐ - ᐅᑐᖅᐅᑎᒥᓗᒍ
ᓴᓐ ᓴᕿᐸᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᒪᐅᒪᔭᓐᑐᓐ ᐃᓪᒪᓐᓇ ᓇᓴᐅᑎᖅᑲᓐᓗᓂ 1.
ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᒪᓇᐅᖅᑳᓚᕆᒃᑐᓐ ᐅᐸᖓ ᑭᓯᒪ ᐅᑐᒐᐅᔫᒃᓴᒥᒃ ᑕᑯᔭᕆᐊᖅᑲᕿᒪ
ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ ᐅᑎᖅᑲᓪᒪᕆᒃᑐᒧᑦ, ᑕᑯᐊ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᑲᒃᑲ ᐅᑐᒐᐅᓕᕐᑐᑦ
ᐃᓅᒧᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖅᓕᖕ ᐅᐸᐸᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐃᓂᓐᓂᐅᕝᐱᔪᐊᕐᒧᑦ

ᒪᓕᒃᓴᓐ ᐅᐸᓂ Native Studies Departmentᑯᓐᓂ
ᐃᒪᐃᓕᖓᔪᓐ - ᓄᓇᓕᖅᓕᖕ ᐅᑭᓴᓐᑐᓐᑎᖅᑲᓇᐅᖅᑲᓐᔪᓐ ᑕᕝᓯᒪ
ᐅᕐᕿᒃᓯᒪᐃᓐᓂ. ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔫᓐ ᐅᐱᖁᓯᒃᓴᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᒪᐅᔫᓄᑦ ᐅᐸᓂ
ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᐅᔪᒥ ᑐᕆᓐᑎᒃᑕᕆᐊᓕᒃ ᐱᐊᓂᑐᐊᕐᐸᑦ ᐊᑭᓴᓐᑐᑎᒃᓴᓐ
ᑕᕝᓱᒧᖓ, ᓇᓪᒪᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂ ᐅᑐᖅᐅᑎᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕆᒪᕐᑐᖓ.
ᐃᓕᒪᓯᒃᑐᖅᑲᓐᓂᓐᐸᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᖅᑲᑎᕆᔭᓪᓂᒃ. ᓄᑕᖑᓐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔫᓐ ᐅᓪᒪ
ᐊᖏᕈᑎᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᔫᓐ ᐃᓅᒃᑐᓕᓐᓯᒪᓂᐅᓐᑐᓐ ᐅᓪᒪᓗ ᖃᑦᓗᓇᑐᓕᕐᓯᒪᔫᓐ
ᑐᓂᔭᐅᓂᐅᓐᑐᓐ ᐃᕐᓴᕐᓂᑦᖃᓐᐱᒃᑯᑦ ᐅᓪᒪᓗ ᖃᒪᓂᑐᐊᑦ
ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐅᐱᖓᓐᓂ

ᑐᑰᐸᒃ

ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑕᐅᔪᑉ ᐸᑎᖓ [signature]
ᐊᐱᕐᓱᕐᑎᑉ ᐊᑎᖓ [signature]

ᑕᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᖁᔨᔪᖕ ᐃᓄᖕᓂᒃ ᐅᒪᐃᑐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓄᖕᓂᐊᒪᐅᓯᒪᑎᐊᓗᓂ ᑕᑯᓄᖕᒐ **Faculty of Arts Ethics review committee** ᐅᑉᓂ **University of Manitoba.** ᖃᖕᒍᐃᖕᓇᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᔪᒪᒍᐱᑦ ᒪᓕᒐᖅᓂ ᑕᑦᓯᒥᒐ ᐅᑦᑐᕋᐅᑕᐅᔪᒥᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᒋᐊᕈᒪᓗᑎᑦ ᐅᖅᑲᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᑯᓯᕗᒥᒃ ᐅᐳᖕ ᑐᕋᒪᖕᐸᑦ, **Faculty of Research** ᐅᖃᓗᑕ **(204)-474-7321** ᐅᖅᑲᓗᖕᓂᑦ ᐃᓄᓂᐊᕈᑎᓄᑦ ᒥᐊᓂᕐᓯᔨᐅᔪᖕ **Dr. Fred Shore (204)-475-2070** ᑕᑦᓯᒧᖕ ᐃᓄᔭᐅᔪᕐᓴᒧᑦ **Ethic Review committee.**

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖕᐳᖕ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᐅᔪᓄ ᑐᓂᓯᓚᐅᕋᒪ ᑐᑯᓇᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖕᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᑯᓚᓂᑐᓂ. ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑎᖕ

ᐊᖏᕈᑎᖃᖕᐳᖕ ᑐᓴᕐᓴᓂᒃ ᑕᑯᓄᖕᒐ ᑯᓚᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᖕᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᐱᖕᓱᖕᑎ ᐊᑎᖕ

ᐅᑉᓗᐊ July 2/98

Research Consent Form

Shawn L. Charlebois
M.A Candidate, Department of Native Studies
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg Manitoba, R3T 2N2
(204) 474-9266

Name of Interviewee ______________________________

Name of Interviewer ______________________________

Project Title ______________________________________

Place ____________________ Date ________________

This interview recordings, whether they are audio, video or photographic, and the resulting translations, and/or transcriptions and/or images will be used for the following purposes:

____
____
____
____
____
____
____

The interviewer will not use the interview recordings, whether they are audio, video, or photographic, and the resulting translations, and/or transcriptions, and/or images for any other purposes without the permission of the interviewee.

________________ ________________
Initials of Interviewee Initials of Interviewer

*Consent form has been adopted from: Hart, Elisa. (1st ed.). (1995). Getting Started In Oral Traditions Research. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories: Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.

Research participants will be compensated for their involvement in this study at the rate of $15.00 per hour. This amount has been determined through consultations with Mr. David Webster and Mr. Mark Tunguaq.

This research project has been financial supported by:

1) Northern Scientific Training Program - $ 990.00
2) Research Funding from Dr. Fred Shore - $1000.00
3) Personal and Family Contribution - $2320.00

Previously recorded information from the study ______________________ ___________________________, conducted by ____________________ ______________________, dated __________________ which contains information that you have provided will be used within this master's research project.

If the participant wishes to remain anonymous during this research project a system which replaces the participant's name with a number variable will be used. For example, Shawn Charlebois would be recorded as Participant #1. It should be known that I alone will have access to the list of legitimate names, and at no time will this information be shared with individuals from the community or university.

It is the policy of the Native Studies Department to include a community member during the defense of any master's thesis. At this time, any concerns about the material recorded during this fieldwork will be addressed. Immediately after the defense of the thesis, all appropriate measures will be taken by me to meet the demands and concerns of all people involved. The revised, accepted copy will be translated into Inuktitut (funding permitting) and English and distributed to the Baker Lake Cultural Centre and the local Baker Lake school.

_______________ _______________

Initials of Interviewee Initials of Interviewer

This statement is here to inform you that this research project has been thoroughly read and accepted by the Faculty of Arts Ethics Review Committee at the University of Manitoba. If at any time you are concerned about the procedures within this project you may place an inquiry or complaint with the Associate Dean of Research, the Faculty of Arts (204) 474-7321, or to my research supervisor Dr. Fred Shore (204) 475-2070 for referral to the Ethics Review Committee.

I agree to the use of the Information I have provided according to the conditions stated above.

I agree to use the information according to the terms outlined above.

____

Signature of Interviewee

____

Signature of Interviewer

Date ____________________

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