Pelts to Stone

A History of Arts & Crafts Production in Arviat

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Mark Kalluak

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In 1990 Indian and Northern Affairs Canada received a proposal for a research project from Mark Kalluak. Mr. Kalluak proposed to write a history of arts and crafts production in the community of Arviat (formerly known as Eskimo Point), N.W.T. The Inuit Art Section of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada funded this project in 1990-1991. The Department would like to gratefully acknowledge the co-operation of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada.

This manuscript is based primarily on interviews conducted by the author in 1990-1991. Mr. Kalluak transcribed and edited the interviews, and translated them into English. Other portions were commissioned by Mr. Kalluak and submitted to him by the authors.

Mark Kalluak and the Inuit Art Section would like to thank all those who gave their time to this project. We are also grateful for the loan of several of the photographs.

The Inuit Art Section would like to thank Mark Kalluak for his contribution to the history of Inuit art in Canada, and is pleased to be able to print his manuscript at this time.

Ingo Hessel
Inuit Art Section
Indian & Northern Affairs Canada
August, 1993

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Kalluak, Mark
 Pelts to stone: a history of arts and crafts production
 in Arviat

ISBN 0-662-20847-1

Government of Canada Catalogue No. R32-140/1993

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Introduction 1

Introduction:

The term ukkusiksaq in our native tongue means "an object that can be utilized as a cooking pot," suggesting that a person can carve it and shape it into a cooking utensil.

Before our conversion to modernism by necessity we were generally known as a nomadic people. This was the time when our ancestors roamed the vast Arctic territory in search or pursuit of wild animals utilizing their meat, bone, antler and fur for survival, shelter, clothing, and crude implements such as tools, snowknives, qamutik runners, bows and arrows and many other useful tools.

Whatever was on hand at the time was utilized. Bones, antler, tusks, stones, and soapstone were all part of survival. Stone cairns were erected on hill tops to mark a certain spot on a lake shore where favourable fishing areas were located. Some were put up to detour the herds (of caribou) hunters hunters armed with spears or bows and arrows, waiting across the river. Stones were also piled up to protect and store dried meat, and to protect seal blubber oil stored in seal skin. They were also piled up to form qajaq stands.

Aside from being utilized for cooking pots as previously indicated, soapstone could also be carved into a qulliq (stone lamp). More recently, tobacco smokers discovered that they could create pipes out of soapstone. These were decorated on the rim with copper or an old shell case shaped to fit the mouth piece. When wax candles became commonly used to light the iglu, soapstone was fashioned into candle stands.

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Antlers were popular as panaujags (snowknives), kihags (sled anchors), tiluut (moss beaters), pilraaq (sled runners), as well as toys for children. Donald Uluadluak, who spent a good portion of his life on the land reminisces:

"when I was a child we used to play with antiers. We used the flat portion as our 'throwing object' to knock down up-right antiers place on snow. Flat portion of antier was also used as moss beater." MESSENGER March 15, 1967

Walrus tusks were ideal for uqsit (dog line ring-through), snow poker tips, and qaksungaut (ladies baby pouch string end button). These were decorated with coloured plastic insets. When I returned home in 1952 from King George & Princess Elizabeth Hospital in Winnipeg my brother carved a beautiful toy wrist watch for me out of walrus tusk. It was the first carving I ever saw.

The marketing of carvings in Arviat began when Inuit moved off the land to live as a community in late 50's. Trapping was declining as men could not return to their hunting camps with their families because of their children having to attend school. It was at this period that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs introduced the idea of carving soapstone, first through an N.S.O. (Northern Service Officer). As people attained some knowledge of carving, Arts and Crafts Officers were then hired to administer the arts program. A small house which had once been a low rental unit was used as a crafts shop.

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I recall an elder coming in with an object in his hand. He handed it to Gabe Gely with an expectant look. Not knowing anything about carvings I was certain he would not accept it, since to me it was hardly recognizable. Gabe took it, looked at it admiringly and asked, "what is it?" Silently I preconcieved the answer to be, "a newly born lemming" because that is what I thought it surely was. But he replied, "It's a baby beluga whale". After a few ee's and aa's Gabe wrote out a voucher for the person, making him look a few feet taller as he disappeared through the door.

Although what is recorded here is only a very small portion of the effort put in by committed people, such as Gebe Gely, Dennis Webster, David McArthur, David Serkoak, and Nick Lebessis who worked side by side with carvers, I would like to dedicate it to each of you who helped a lot of artists to feel a little taller.

Mark Kalluak

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THE START OF SOAPSTONE CARVING

Arts and crafts, particularly the carving of soapstone did not begin until 1958 when Inuit of the area surrounding Arviat (Eskimo Point) were caught in a change of lifestyle. A number of Inuit gradually began to abandon life on the land due to the scarcity of game and sickness, as well as the inconvenience of not having their children around when they had to be in the community for schooling.

It was during this time too that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs began administering social assistance and other federal programs, instead of the usual practice of dealing through the R.C.M.P. Their representatives under the title of Northern Service Officers (NSO's) were put in place. The first NSO of Arviat (Eskimo Point) was Mr. Ed May, with his Assistant Interpreter Paul Kirkwa, and others like Eric Anoe and Mark Kalluak.

Visits were made to winter encampments, probably to see how everthing was going. 1958 was an unusually poor year with almost half the population stricken with tuberculosis. Inlanders were brought to the community since there was nobody to support them when their breadwinners were evacuated to Clearwater Lake Sanitorium or Brandon Sanitorium in Manitoba. Severe cases spent a year to two years or more in bed recuperating or recovering from open chest lung operations. It is apparent that if the Department had not moved at the critical moment to relieve the suffering and starvation, a lot of the people would not have been around to talk about arts and crafts.

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The Ahiarmiut were most severely affected, with hardship and starvation hitting them from all corners. With no means left and nowhere to turn for help except an outpost trading camp several miles away at Padlei, many perished before help arrived. This was the time when one of Judge Sissons famous murder trials took place involving an incident where starvation was a factor.

Under the supervision of the Northern Service Officer Mr. Ed May, a whaling project was conducted in the summer of 1960 at McConnel River. An old landing barge was used to haul people and equipment. Among the group was also a white cook.

The following winter soapstone was flown in and made available to the people. This was the beginning of a new life where hunters began to practice a new skill creating images of their own kind or of things most familiar to them,namely animals, implements, or imaginary beings. These carvings were brought to the NSO to send to the Regional Office in Churchill where they were priced and where cheques were processed and sent back to carvers.

As carvers progressed in their skill at carving soapstone an idea was born to start a co-op. An August 2, 1966 article in the Messenger states:

"You probably remember discussing an interest in establishing a co-op and asked me to write on your behalf of a possibility of starting a co-op. A letter was written stating that there is an interest in starting one in Eskimo Point (Arviat). The President of the Co-op Federation replied that it would take a long time to set one up. Financial plan would have to be in place, especially if you are planning to build a store. He is pleased that we are selling soapstone carvings and considers this as training as it is part of retailling activity."

That same year a separate building was hauled close to the craft shop as a work place for carvers. An article in the Messenger newspaper reads:

"A building is now available just behind the crafts shop. I think some of you should utilize it as there will be carving tools available for use. I'm aware some of you wish to work at home. Those of you who work at the building will be happier as you can learn from each other at the same time. You could learn how to better your carvings and try to produce the best result, carvings that are beautiful to look at. In this way you will get a real satisfaction."

Getting a good local supply of soapstone was very difficult from the very beginning. A supply was usually shipped from another community to the north. A notice from Dennis Webster, Arts & Crafts Officer in 1966 reads:

"...We will be receiving a shipment of soapstone from Rankin Inlet and I hope you'll make good use of it because it is very hard to get soapstone locally".

Although the following article may have no relationship to rush job carvings, there may have been instances were the system was used for personal advantage. Movies were a big thing then. Movie night at the school brought every household to watch no matter what the condition of the weather. Carvers were reminded to:

"...carve good work. Try not to leave file marks. Make the surface nice and smooth. Take your time carving so you'll get more money." (Aug. 2/66)

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For people who could not carve there was a lot of interest in marketing sewn items. So on September 1966 Dennis Webster informed the people that "...as soon as the supplies arrive on the boat, I am going to have you all sewing such things as duffle socks, vests, parkas tapesteries and slippers. Also when I have some of the seal skins tanned you will be able to see them."

A month later a sewing project got under way with Mrs. Pringle in charge. People took their sewings every Friday to an old hostel next to the school now, used as a kitchen.

There were incentives to encourage people to produce good carvings. A carving contest was held in August 1966 for which a sleeping bag, camera, and a box of ammunition were offered as prizes.

Contest judges were Denis Webster, Mark Kalluak, and Bert MacKenzie.

Naturally there were times when carvers got upset for being sent home to fix up their carvings so that they would stand upright when set on a flat surface or something else. "Sometimes carvers get mad at me because I would not accept some of their carvings and send them home to fix up their carvings. I'm doing this to help you improve your work. If your carvings are done well you would receive more for them."

Disparity had limited some Inuit to travelling only to a certain area, as opposed to others who cover a substantial hunting ground. Becoming noted for creating unusual carvings gave the once less fortunate the chance, not only to cover a larger area, but even to fly thousands of miles to another world. Along with three other Inuit from the Arctic, John Pangnark was chosen from Arviat to go to Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan. Keith Crowe, his three girls

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and wife Edna, whose parents are from Japan, went over with the group as guides and interpreters. Keith spoke Inuktitut and some Japanese. His given Inuktitut nickname is Tulugak, which means crow.

David Serkoak

As a young lad David Serkoak was brought up in the Ennadai Lake area where his parents, along with other Inuit who call themselves Ahiarmiut, made their home. A terrible starvation, which occured at the dawn of the sixties, forced the government to move the population to the coast.

David recollects living in Whale Cove when the art industry was first initiated by the Government of the Northwest Territories through their Arts and Crafts program.

Shortly afterwards they moved to Arviat, where he entered a fulltime Adult Education classes with David Webster as the Instructor. Mr. Webster suggested that he apply for a halftime position as helper at the arts and crafts centre. It was not long before David found himself packing carvings for shipment and later buying and labeling them.

A New Hobby

I remember when I was in my early teens in Whale Cove that the new craze for carving stone hit most of the men. There was enough soapstone for everybody to practice their new skills. Tools were plentiful, having been ordered ordered in advance. The government set up an extra space for the new carvers; despite the shortage of living space, this space had electricity, running water, and a heater. Nobody complained. Nobody complained about the prices they were receiving, because getting a few extra dollars to buy groceries was the main thing. Most of the families were relying on hand-outs or welfare. This project was welcomed by everybody.

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Even the respected people or hunters of the small community were down on their knees chipping stone. I remember the government agent who I think was the key figure in encouraging people and working with new carvers, his name is David Livingston. Another key supporter was the local Catholic priest, Father Papion. I remember Father Papion carving a nice sculpture, he was a natural artist. The finished carvings, I recall, were lots of animal shapes and a handful of human figures. After several months passed the number of carvers dropped to a reasonable number. For those who continued, their new hobby was born. Most of that little group have passed away, but the others continue, they are still carving today.

Arviat

My first full time job with the Government of the N.W.T. was with the Department of Economic Development under the Arts and Crafts section. I was a fulltime student at the local Adult Education when our instructor, David Webster, helped me to try out for the job at the arts centre as a helper. I only worked for a day or so a week. Not long after, I was working fulltime. The most difficult part of my work was my lack of understanding of the art industry. As I stayed on with arts and crafts I began to better understand and appreciate what the sculpture represented, and realized the hard work of the carver. As I was quite keen at my job, my supervisor began to train me to buy carvings from the carvers, and to do a bit of paper work. The guidelines were set up for me regarding the buying of carvings from up-and-coming artists. Most of the carvings by the selected artists were put aside to be shipped to Canadian Arctic Producers in Ottawa. The carvings produced by Lucy

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In early '70's I think the carving industry was at it's highest peak in Arviat. Most of the able carvers were carving on a regular basis, others who carved for a living earned anywhere up to \$200.00 a week, some earned more. The price depended on the carving and who made it,or if carvings were in demand. This procedure sometimes frustrated me as I got to know the carvers; most of them deserved more, then again I was following the guidlines set up for me. Generally, the stone was hard to carve. There were two soapstone deposits near Arviat and Maguse Lake, and another one near Whale Cove.

Later on the pricing was a little bit more promising after the artists became famous in the art industry down south. I enjoyed the times when a carver got paid the amount that he or she deserved.

My other frustration was the monthly budget that we had to work with. The money was often in short supply, but with a great demand of carvings from the carvers. I think many carvers should have been given information on pricing procedures. They often just accepted any price offered them.

I enjoyed the times I worked with a most supportive colleague by the name of Gabe Gely. He was the people's man. He never turned anyone away empty handed. If the carving was not acceptable, he would give a few dollars from his own pocket and explain to the carver what needed to be

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done. The carver went home happy and came back with an excellent carving the next morning. The overall atmosphere in the community was warm towards the art industry. It is not now.

Shipments of carvings to Canadian Arctic Producers and other galleries had a mark up on each item packaged. I was also instructed to do the same thing with the local market.

To this day, I often think that I should have done more to help the carvers. Inuit art is part of our history, and I feel it is something that should not be lost. Let the carvers continue to share their stories through the art of stone.

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Henry Isluanik

Henry was born in Tavame in 1925 to Helen Paunrngat and John Kuugaq. Part of Henry's life was spent as hunter and trapper travelling great distances to set his trap line. When trapping and living off the land declined he moved his family to Maguse River for a few years and later to Arviat (formerly Eskimo Point) in the early 50's. In 1956 Henry discovered he had tuberculosis. During that time a plane load of TB victims was evacuated. Henry was one of them, and spent four years in Brandon Hospital.

When he came home in 1961 he started carving soapstone. He was commissioned to make several carvings for the Anglican Church as well as helping to build it. Later he was commissioned to carve a miniature dog team for a winter carnival in Thompson, Manitoba that featured dog team racing.

Henry also has 20 years of service as Community Health Worker in Arviat for the Department of National Health and Welfare, Canada. The dates on the appreciation award reads April 15th, 1967 to March 31, 1987.

It is only hearing from mother that I am aware of my place of birth, which is somewhere west of Whale Cove, a land occupied by Qairnirmiut, and Qariaq by name. The year is written down strictly by guessing, as we never kept track of our date of birth. So what was written down as my date of birth was derived simply by guessing, and written down as being 1925 January 1.

We spent most of our time on the land and was only when we moved to Arviat amongst people that we gradually stopped going on the land. When I discovered that I had tuberculosis in the lungs in 1956, that was the point when we stopped going inland altogether, when I was sent away. I spent a whole four-and-a-half years stuck in a sanitorium. It was not until I was cured that I was sent back home.

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When I got better I was asked to do some carving down south at what was once called Brandon Hospital. It is no longer there, since it was very old to begin with anyway. Anyway, that is where I began carving with coaxing from someone. A lady Crafts Officer had a carving project right in the hospital and she was the one who developed my carving skill.

I didn't even know anything about soapstone. Because I was completely involved in trapping and preparing meat caches, I had never given any thought to soapstone. By the time I was conscious of things in my surroundings I knew that soapstone was used to make the gulliq and pipe. Special kind of soapstone was made into pipes, not the ordinary stone we carve today. Before my time, it is said, that special stone was also carved into cooking pots, but not the kind that is usually considered pipe material. These were two things I had witnessed - soapstone material for making a cooking pot (though we've never had one ourselves), I was told many times that was what it was for. I've seen gullig material and pipe material soapstone in use during my childhood.

I came home for good at last in 1961. In about 1962 Arts and Crafts Officers began to be put in place, and that is when I started getting involved in carving for a while. I also remember distinctly carving a miniature dog team for someone in Thompson who was involved in dog team racing at a winter carnival. I recall going outside with that carving and placing it on a snow build-up to take a picture of it at close range. Unfortunately children lost the photograph.

I also remember John Marlow (a Minister) quite well and liked his personality plus the fact that he was so helpful to me. I did some carvings for the mission while we were building the church, since I also helped to put up the building. The carvings are still in place, except that the antlers on the caribou carving have broken off and are now gone.

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Though I've no involvement with any group I often thought that if Arviat carvers really liked the stone they're carving I think they would do a lot more carving providing there were a crafts shop locally. A lot of people don't like the stone because it's no good to carve. I think that's part of the difficulty.

When I travelled the land soapstone never occured to me. There was a time, though, when I was very small, when we were living south of Baker Lake, that I discovered some unusually soft stone. These were sort of large stone pebbles. It was unfortunate that we never examined them any closer. Even now I often wonder what they were, because I was able to carve them with an ordinary pocket knife.

There are many kinds of stone, but I also know of another kind, a scraper stone material south of the Baker Lake buildings, on the shores of Tasilugjuaq. These are a cluster of stones on the lake shore. The granite is identical to that of a grinding stone, but in our case used to make skin scrapers. The stone is too hard and has to be chiseled to shape with an axe. It is the same material one sees used in a hand stone grinder in fact, the stones are known as grinders.

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I stopped carving around 1969 when Medical Services hired me to work as a Community Health Worker.

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Jacob Irkok

Jacob was born south of Arviat at Tikirarjua juag. He started carving about the same time as the "match box" houses were put UP.

Mark: First of all I would like to ask where you were born.

Jacob: Yes, I'm told I was born south of Arviat just beyond McConneil River at a place called Tikirarjua juaq (big peninsula) where we had our camp on a a little ridge. I believe it was in the spring but I couldn't be positive.

Mark: How did you get into carving?

Jacob: I began when an Area Administrator came here for the first time, when four or five so-called small "match box" houses were in use. This was when an older arts and crafts officer came to Arviat and worked out of the government office. When I heard Inuit talking of carvings on display and people receiving money for their carvings, I made a carving too. My first carvings were an antler and a stone one, I think, plus two other small ones. After that I made another carving just as a trial and took it down to the government office having heard people can get money for them. The two small carvings sat there for a long time, and just to see, I went down to ask if they were going to pay me for them. Each one might have cost \$5.00 because I was given \$10.00, so that was my starting point for doing more carvings.

Mark: The person you mentioned as having lived here. Gabe Gely, was he the one who could speak Inuktut?

Jacob: Yes, he could speak Inuktut, that was him, the bearded Qablunaaq who lived among Ahiarmiut at one time.

Mark: What objects do you carve?

lacob: I carve images of people and animals whenever soapstone becomes available.

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Mark: Of all the carvings you did, which one do you remember most?

Jacob: The one Joe commissioned me to carve. That piece, I'm told, was sent to Winnipeg. It was an image of an Inuk holding on to a caribou head while a dog was tugging away with it's teeth in the head. I always think of that particular piece. If I had the money I would have bought it back, because it was my favourite carving and the memory of it keeps coming back. If I were a good carver and if there were enough soapstone I would have carved another similar piece.

Mark: You are able to carve different materials such as soapstone, tusks, and antler, is that correct?

Jacob: Yes, except I don't do much, walrus tusk carving because I never have the material. I do carve antler and soapstone though, but have never yet tried carving tusks, so I don't know how hard they are to carve or how hard the material is. In fact I was commissioned to carve one this year but have never fulfilled the obligation yet because I don't have the tusk.

Mark: Before Inuit began carving, what do you suppose soapstone and antier was used for by Inuit?

Jacob: I've heard that some stones were were made into cooking pots, and that antlers were used as weight for fishing hooks and made into fishing spears. They were created mostly as weapons to hunt wild animals.

Mark: Do you recall any of your carvings that brought you top money?

Jacob: Yes, I remember a piece I took to "The Bay": an image of an Inuk. We used to take our carvings there and I took one down, it was an Inuk skinning a bearded seal. That particular piece brought the most money.

Mark: What are your thoughts on the arts and crafts situation from the time it began up to now?

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Ճൌം. Გ. ᲥᲥᲜᲡ १२४৮, ᲥᲥᲧᲘᲖᲫᲢᲚᲝᲧᲐ-UL לבלבטרסשל. ביליטיה סלייורס-5_4°0°0 D'67°5-6°2 P740 36°6° 76 **ሶ**ን፫**ኦ የ**ሬሬ **የ**ፊያ ላልሦሲሂኒር DPD" DUBONSTIL ZE APOPIAL.

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Jacob: I'm not doing much carving right now, and am not up and about because of a leg injury. There are a lot of people who have asked me to carve but I'm at a standstill at the moment even though there are a lot of Qablunaat asking for carvings. I'm not in perfect health right about now.

Mark: How about your tools, are you happy with them?

Jacob: I'm progressing very slowly, in fact I have a set of new carving tools which my son bought for me, which I have not tried out yet.

Ever since 1963-'64 I have been very hard at carving year after year, because carving has become my only source of income. I can not get work, and ever since trapping ended the price of fur dropped to zero. Since that time up to now I'm constantly thinking what to carve next because it's my only income. I've been like this so long, to a point even Qablunaat have come to know me.

Mark: If you wish to make any comments on your thoughts about arts and crafts you may.

Jacob: Right. I'm told that some Qablunaat like to buy different kinds of stone, and at the same time there are those who say they want a stone from Arviat, or its vicinity. I'm aware what people are saying but it's difficult because we have not found a deposit yet. I'm also told that carvings made from imported stone are worth a lot less than the stone carved from within the Northwest Territories. They tell me that if I carved a stone from our own land it would bring a lot more money than imported stone. So I'm aware the raw material from our own area would bring a bit more money and the imported stone less money.

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ልጓታ: ፫ ፌ ለኖ፦ረሀታ ፌ ንኒ, አዲበር የረርሁ →σ°Ͻʹδ'ϲʹ Δ'σ'L Υ*αΠλαΡ'L'U, Ľαώσ΄

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- DPDCL ' հասև հա ህላነታ ነገ ' የ س المرابع CD'G-56'CSL ACA/DO' TUL Nalo-4"/-۵۱۵۰۵۰ ۲۰۵۰۵۰ ۱۳۵۵ ۵۲۵۱۵ ۱۳۵۵ ۱۳۵۵ ۱۳۵۵ ۱۳۵۵ **₫፟፟፟፟**LC CΔLኒ ራ는 ነፈንካነታ Δ፟ዀነጎΔኂ-<u>୮</u>ወ"ኌኄ ለቴሮና∟, ቮፈ▷ታ~▷?በጋď?′2Γ′0ռ**ᢐ**℃ናናժ, ᢐᠬᠴᢆᡅᠤᠬᢐᢈ᠘᠘ᡏ᠘ᡊᡄᠮ᠘ᢆᡃᡄᡳ

止み: もっての Δ/LΓケ′ー ▷も"う'っく"つ∩′ ካፈ**™**ህላ′ኇው′ኌ፞ቔኇ፞፞፞゜፫•ጎ፞፞፞፞ዾ°?

Δ™: Δἰ, ቴ<ጔἰ[,] Δϲϒ[,] ϤʹͰስ•ϒʹϽσ[,] ለረ**ሳ"ር"**LC, **ኦኤኦ**በአ**ኦ**"ር'ĽናL ላ'ልላ厂^j" סאקסלהי, שב אהסהי אלרי የረፈት <u>ወረፃ</u>ሚቸጋ ረዜና ፈናኞ#ረ**L**ቄዮ፣ፈናር, ርĽሤላ ኦፇጜና ኣፈናርቴቃና ላየጔጜታችላኦሒር ርሲነህና ፴ዺና/ፈና ▷ታናህርል'ኇና ፈየጔቔኇቔ፞፞፞፞፞፞፞ Dadate Daduppticole Cityin Dar Dyior Loul apportoatile <u></u> ካፈታኤና ርካ<u>L</u>ኄና ለቴሐርና, ርቪዛኄኴ <u>ጎ</u>ፈታነውና **ረ**ዋጋው**ነነ**ጋሁ**ታናታነኒ**ር **ዾ**ቼዾበታው-ZLYLSL. CYLTUN A"GOT" YAJL

John Arnalujuak

John Arnaluguak was born in Whale Cove in 1924. During his youth and adulthood he lived and grew up near Tavanie. Part of his life was spent on the land, hunting and trapping a huge area of land, as many Inuit men did before modernization swept the area.

Carving is not new to John, so when Arts and Crafts began in Arviat in the 60's he was already carving soapstone whenever he wasn't on his trapline.

He has been creating small jewelery which has kept him busy trying to keep up with orders from various communities including Churchill.

Mark: You do quite a bit of small carvings particularly beautiful earrings. When did you start this?

Arnalujuak: I've been doing it for approximately three years and I have been carving jewelery, like earrings, on a continual basis. Orders are coming all the time from out of town, for instance Churchill, as well as other communities in dispersed areas. People are always asking me to carve jewelery for them and it is in great demand.

Mark: Do you do other carvings, for example soapstone or ivory?

Arnalujuak: Carving is something that I've been doing for a long time whenever I'm not trapping and whenever I'm home. Carving is something that I always liked doing, and when it started I wasn't new to it. When we lived in iglus down by the Roman Cotholic Church we were already doing carvings. When a shipment of soapstone came to the school, that was the starting point for many of us. We were shown how to work with stone, but I was already experimenting with soapstone and antler so I was already into carving anyway.

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John Arnalujuak 20

Mark: Do you remember the year you started?

Arnahijuak: I honestly don't know the exact year so I have to decline making a statement on that for now.

Mark: How about the time you made your living off the land for the winter, when there was no money in bones and soapstone, do you know what they were used for then?

Arnahijuak: Our time and energy was mostly dedicated to animals and trapping foxes when the arts and crafts industry wasn't around, simply because we knew less. We were constantly on our trapline the whole time the season was open, and as a result were able to purchase peterhead boats and other capital equipment. Now that fur is no longer in demand we must figure other ways of income. Our main source of income used to consist of selling wolves and other fur bearing animals.

Mark: In your travels in a massive area of land have you ever come across peculiar stones, soapstone or any kind of soft stone that was appealing to you?

Arnahijuak: I have thought very hard as to where soapstone deposits are located. Many times I have witnessed people with soapstone pipes and traditional lamps (qulliq). I've known these to be facts to be true for a long time. But as to where they were obtained is baffling to me, I simply can't remember.

But there is a giant boulder in Whale Cove where people used to go to for traditional lamps. I have a hunch that perhaps it's no longer existent, since people there most assuredly must have quarried it the minute carving was introduced. Anyhow, that is the only one I can remember clearly.

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₫¹¹¬'≺₫₽*: C♥୮ ₽,≺ሀ, C୮,٩₫ ₫୮5♥, D#DF. ՈႢႱႻႯჼ ᠴჼჼbDႶჄჼႢႮჼჄႯႺDናՙႶͿ በሒኒታላ*/ኦበጋኒፈኦታዩኒና በላሌ ኦ፫ላ*ርንበ-ריכק אלבסיבחרי. בישב אלסלסף-LAILC CAL AIBINISC PYOFDICIFG-ሮ'L° ፖሬታ የፈውንተው?በቴሊላቴሮ'Lኒኒሩር. CAL 4L795 ** ["dc ** fab >cb?-በ**ሤ**≪ፈ**⊳**₩ጋሆ.

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Mark: Since carving began in Arviat has there always been enough soapston, or were there times when it was difficult to get it?

Arnalujuak: Yes, there were times when it was hard to get it, especially before a quarry site in Nabbaaq was discovered. We didn't know at all where to replenish our supply, there was only a supply that was shipped to the school. And of course when Qaludjaq brought in a supply in his peterhead boat. The people of Whale Cove had already discovered a quarry site at the mouth of Ferguson River which Qaludjaq brought here.

We also went to Nabbaaq with Qapuk to blast soapstone as well as mouth of the Ferguson River and Mistake Bay just beyond Tavanie and to Sandy Point. In those two quarry sites the stone was too hard to carve, so I don't think no one ever touched it at all, even though the stone was completely free of cracks. But Qaludjaq used to bring a full load here from the mouth of Ferguson River. That, and a shipment brought to the school on a ship, helped us continue the carving project, and of course we were also carving caribou antlers.

We also made one trip to Henik Lake at one time but each of us only brought very small pieces. They were also too hard. They were really beautiful brown stones and could be polished very shiny. There are still a lot of these at the shore of Henik Lake.

Mark: Have you ever wondered how arts and crafts could be improved?

Arnalujuak: For one thing arts and crafts is rather disorganized, and there is really no craft shop at this time. If there were at least a craft shop, because young people are now starting to pick up the art and some of them are really good at it. If there were only a place that people feel is their own, instead of being dispersed all over. People feel a bit intimidated to be working on

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soapstone in these buildings (referring to rental units) because of health reasons, children, and particle dust. Because in a craft shop where there are no children, a person can work all he wants, whenever he wants. This is something I've thought about.

Mark: Sometimes I see carvers bring their work to the store or coop, and they are very consious of the markup. What is your feeling on this? I get the impression that they feel they could've received more money for their work.

Arnalujuak: I don't know too much about this issue but I think some coops buy carvings at a certain price and later pay some carvers more money when their work is sold down south. This is not happening. Whether it will start to happen later on in Arviat, I do not know. I do know, though, that in other places this is happening as an incentive to sell to the coop.

Mark: Is there a carvers guild in Arviat?

Arnahijuak: Yes, there is one. They used to meet in the coop to discuss carving related issues. Since I have not been part of the group for a long time now, I don't know any more.

Mark: When the Department of Indian & Northern Affairs put craft shops in northern communities they were very popular. But later they were turned over to the private sector. What is the situation today?

Arnalujuak: Well, I miss the original setup. The reason why I think we agreed to go along with the change was in anticipation for the good and improvement of the carving industry.

In the original setup we had a leather and skin tannery project established which was extremely handy, and we had a person who could mount heads on tanned skins. There were all kinds of things going on in one place, tanning leather and skins. It started off to be something really use

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Mark: Your vision of a craft shop is to have a variety of activities in one place and under one roof?

Arnalujuak: In my imagination I try to look at all the income opportunities though I'm fully aware this is not possible. But it is true that carving and the need for a crafts officer is constantly the topic of discussion in our conversation. I think this is slowly starting to become a reality where it has been identified to have sewing machines and fully equipped rooms. This is something we're hoping for.

Mark: When the price of fur and skins dropped, people began carving just at that moment, or so it seems, though it was going on all the time. Do you feel this constituted some relief in a small way?

Arnalujuak: It was a real relief. it was the only thing that we could turn to at the end of fur trade because people lost interest in it. The craft shop was a real benefit to us at one time, but since it ended we are worse off than ever.

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ላሴ_>ተላም: ል`>ላሄር▷የላጠላ፫▷")", ᢗ᠘᠘ᡃᡃᡪᢆᠫ᠙ᡏ᠒ᠸ᠘᠘᠙᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ ᠳĎŶĊĎťĠĬĿĊ ⋀⋻ĿŀĎĊď₽ĠĬĿĊ ĊĿĸĸ **५∟*ህ**₫₲₦ ∆₻₫₩С₽₽₫⊏₫∟₽**"**₺₺ॼ₫**"**. ⅄*弋*ჼ௳∆፣Ľ° *Ċ*ℯℶჼል**็₽**ᢪ௳∆℉₫℉௴௳**ჼ**ჼϽͿʹͺ

John Polik

John Polik was one of several brothers, Aijivajjuk, A'jamiiqtuq, Aijarannii and a sister Nutaraaluk who became a carver shortly after they moved to coast from the interior (Ahiarmiut) in the early 1960's. John Polik and his brothers lived in the vicinity of the sea coast, hunting in the surrounding area of Arviat according to the tradition that was practised in those days.

Some time before the 1950's Polik met Aumauk and she became his wife. When Invit abandoned life on the land to settle in Arviat he became a permanent resident and started carving along with other people.

Polik was born in 1901. He had a stepson Levi Angmaaq, who spent many years as school janitor. In an interview this is what he told me:

Mark: When did Polik become your stepfather?

Angmaaq: It was sometime before 1950 when he became my stepfather.

Mark: I remember seeing your mother and stepfather at Maguse River. Did they live there sometimes?

Angmaaq: Yes, occasionally.

Mark: Before the arrival of Qablunaat do you know what certain kinds of stones were used for?

Angmaaq: No, I don't know, except that they were made into ihitqut (skin scrapers) and made into pipes when the soapstone was known to be the kind specifically for pipes. In much later times stones, particularly the kinds that make sparks (called ikniit) were used to make fire.

Mark: I am told that white stones produce different results, is this true?

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Angmaaq: Yes, white stones are different. Actually there are two kinds that were used to make fire. The very old kind used during much later times to make fire were ordinary stones that produced sparks by hitting them together. Of course during recent times semi-modern items were used, such as files created by Qablunaat (they were utilized as a supplement to white stone) as well as scorched canvas, because of its tendency to burn quickly.

Mark: Did your stepfather Polik begin his carving career in Arviat?

Angmaaq: I believe so, because that is where most carvers began creating objects from soapstone. This is where our discovery of carving soapstone was initiated prior to Qablunaat making Arviat their residence.

Mark: What object did he like carving the most?

Angmaaq: He used to carve many kinds of objects out of antier as well as soapstone.

Mark: I assume antlers were used for something by Inuit before they were sold for money. What were they used for?

Angmaaq: I'm told they were used as snowknives, bows and arrows, qamutik (sled) runners, and possibly as ice scoops.

Mark: Is it true that when carving first began, it was hard to obtain soapstone?

Angmaaq: Yes, it was somewhat hard to get stone when carving first started. When the government brought in soapstone, you know the softer type, a small shipment came by ship. That arrival, I believe, was the starting point for many a carver amongst us.

Mark: To whom did the shipment come?

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Angmaaq: To the Government, to a person I believe was hired by the government to buy carvings, an older Qablunaaq person who lived amongst the Ahiarmiut people.

Mark: Gabe Gely?

Angmaaq: Yes, him. When he began, when he started buying carvings, that was when we began accepting money.

Mark: How about before he came, had carving never occured to Inuit minds or did some carve objects to give to teachers and Qablunaat?

Angmaaq: I

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Joy Hallauk 27

loy Hallauk

loy Hallauk learned to carve soapstone by observing an elder carver, John Attok, and later progressed to another area that she became good at, namely sewing wall hangings.

Mark: Joy, where were you born?

loy: I don't remember, but I think at Ennadai Lake.

Mark: When did you move here?

Joy: When was it, perhaps in 53 or 54.

Mark: When did you start sewing wall hangings and carving soapstone?

Joy: When I started carving I also started sewing wall hangings the time this project was operated out of the crafts shop. I was doing carvings for a length of time but didn't start sewing for a long time.

Mark: Who taught you to carve, where did you learn to carve?

Joy: From Attok, and also from a Qablunaag with a big beard. I observed Attok's carvings and began from there.

Mark: The person you stated as having a big beard, was it Gabe Gely, who spent part of his time at the Ahiar miut?

Joy: Yes, that was him. He was the one that came first.

Mark: When you started carving, what objects did you carve?

Joy: Well, I carved gajags and geese and one point tried to carve a bird.

Mark: Did you also do sewing or not?

Joy: I remember one particular sewing I did and that was a replica of a dog made from a caribou fawn skin. That was my very first sewing.

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Mark: Right, did they like it?

Joy: It is price was four dollars, so I doubt that it was good.

Mark: Who bought it?

Joy: The Qablunaaq with a big beard.

Mark: Among carvers and seamstresses whom do you envy most or notice most?

Joy: I envy people who are extremely good at creating objects, and whose examples are difficult to follow despite watching their actions.

Mark: Do you know of certain people who are really creative?

Joy: I know Niqaituaq, Nungnilk and Mamgark.

Mark: I think you have been carving for a long time now, how is the price of your carvings today?

Joy: The price of carvings, this year specially, are pathetic and not in operation for a whole year.

Mark: Has anyone commissioned you to do a carving?

Joy: I'm commissioned to do a wall hanging, even at this moment I'm sewing for a Qablunaaq somewhere.

Mark: What is your impression of the progress of arts and crafts in Arviat, looking at it from the time it first opened to now?

Joy: When it first started we used to fight our way into the craft shop, and at one point we even stampeded over "big nanuq", and dropped papers all over it.

Mark: What was a "big bear" doing there?

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Joy: Oh, she tripped and fell, then we stepped all over her because everybody was fighting their way in to be in first.

Mark: Oh, you're talking about a person named Nanuq, are you?

loy: Yes, that Inuk lady named Nanuq.

Mark: You didn't mean to do that to her though, eh?

Joy: Oh no, it was unintentional, when she fell we just continued on over her as we entered the building.

Mark: What about caribou antlers and soapstones, do you know or has anyone told you what they were used for in the ancient past?

Joy: All I heard was that they were used as gamutik runners and as snowknives.

Mark: What about more recently while you lived on the land what was antler used for before it became a carving material?

loy: I lived to see when antler and stone were used as cutting knives, at the close of that period.

Mark: Do you remember Miki? Was he also a carver?

Joy: I even possess pictures of his carvings.

Mark: How about Pangnark, do you remember him?

Joy: Yes.

Mark: Do you remember anything he did that makes you remember?

Joy: Not very much, but I do remember his carvings. One time I urged him to do something which he refused. As always, he came to our home and wanted to play cards, but Sulu'naaq walked in too just at that moment. Pangnark suddenly began to carry on a conversation to abort the game, knowing that Sulu'naaq does not approve of card games.

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Mark: If there is anything you wish to comment on regarding carving or sewing, you may.

Joy: I learned to sew wall hangings from Igipiriag. She was really committed to sewing, in fact, she had a partially completed work when she passed away. She was such an extraordinarily good sewer that one could see the outline of a big toe in the cut-out designs.

Mark: Her husband Ikkaqqiq too was a carver, wasn't he?

loy: Yes, but I remember him carving images of people mostly in antler.

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LUCY TASSEOR TUTSWEETOK

Lucy's carving career did not start off the way she envisioned, and yet she persisted until she remembered the words of her grandfather Ulibbaq. This opened the door to a very unique style which suddenly brought attention to her work.

Born in Nunalla (Nunaalaaq) in 1934 she grew up beside her grandfather Ulibbaq, receiving affection, attention and instruction.

Lucy has gone to art exhibitions in the United States and Ottawa.

Mark: Where and when were you born?

Lucy: I'm told I was born at Nunalla (Nunalaaq) sometime in the fall.

Mark: Obviously you have been carving for a long time, do you remember when you started carving?

Lucy: I started at a time when everybody was moving to Rankin Inlet. At that time I was sewing caribou outfits for the store. As for ourselves, Tutsweetok and I and his father, we stayed behind when everybody moved.

Mark: When did you start carving soapstone?

Lucy: It was when the Arts and Crafts Officer lived near the RCMP, the one who worked with Albert Nungnilk, Qi'miu'naaq's husband's older brother.

Mark: Dennis Webster helped you start carving?

Lucy: Yes, it was him.

Mark: When you carve do you think first what it's going to be?

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Lucy: Yes, at first I was carving seals and polar bears and not people. I did this three times and each time they were rejected. Finally, when I proceeded to carve again, I sat still for a long time. Suddenly, a thought occured to me and I remembered the words my grandfather Ulibbaq Isumatarjuaq told me on one of our hunting trips. Possibly with thoughts in his mind, he started to form something out of sand and began placing stones around it. I took that imagination and applied it to carving. From that time on Qablunaat have been asking me to carve some more and have been offering invitations. I took the sand formation and the words given me during hunting expeditions, because he used to tell me all sorts of things, I remembered the words as I carved and the price of my carvings began to increase.

Mark: There was a sudden demand?

Lucy: Yes, my carvings were now being accepted and when visitors arrived they came to see me.

Mark: Have you ever been invited to go anywhere as a result of your carvings' popularity?

Lucy: Yes, I get many invitations. I once asked why I get called so many times. I too posed a question because I get so many people questioning me even though I don't consider myself a good carver. I was told people like to touch and just feel my carvings even if the surface is rough. People are pleased about me and are satisfied just to be able to run their hands on my carvings.

Mark: What places did you go to?

Lucy: The first time was to America and later on to Ottawa.

Mark: Were there other Inuit carvers?

Lucy: Yes, there were several of us, but on the first time I was completely alone.

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Mark: Wasn't it difficult to find your way around or did you have someone to show you around?

Lucy: Yes, I had an interpreter a person from Rankin Inlet, Bobby Inuktituusuuq (Bob Williamson).

Mark: Among your carvings which one brought you the most money?

Lucy: A wall hanging that was on display at the Coop brought good money. The other was a carving contest in Rankin Inlet, that too brought good money. Another occasion was when Pangnark and I competed by entering a carving contest down south where I won and eventually got invited to come down, that too brought good money. This spring, the Area Economic Development Officer asked me to carve for the Legeslative Assembly and it brought me \$400.00.

Mark: How about your tools, are you happy with them?

Lucy: Ever since I started carving I have never been happy with my tools because they are very poor quality, and I have been trying to get by with them as I carve.

Mark: Which tools do you use most frequently?

Lucy: One of the Qablunaat bought me a set of carving tools one time which became very useful to me, but unfortunately on one of my trips down south they were taken out of the paper wrapper and stolen. Presently I'm using an ax, hack saw and a variety of files.

Mark: How about the different hardness of stone, does it effect your work or not?

Lucy: Yes, I know all about soapstone. When the stone brought in from the land is dark black it's usually very hard to file down. The lighter the colour, the softer it is so I know just by sight. **نظر:** ۲۵ ۱۵۴ ما ۱۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ ما ۱۹۵ ما ۱۹ م

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Lucy Tasseor Tutsweetok 34

Mark: Which are you happy with as you carve hard stone or the soft stone?

Lucy: Not too soft, but soft stone that's hard to break, easy and fun to carve.

Mark: I assume you've heard others talk of the unique kind of soapstone of Arviat, though it doesn't polish shiny. What is your thought?

Lucy: I once went along to Nabbaaq to find for myself the kind of stone I'm happy with, and brought home a piece I was satisfied with.

Mark: Before Inuit started to carve did you ever hear people talk about soapstone?

Lucy: Yes, my late grandfather Uukkitaaq talked of a place inland somewhere where he used to make cooking pots and pipes. Maybe the stone was ideal for carving. We had a small but very heavy soapstone cooking pot at a time when our very first ancestors were still living.

Mark: What about the antiers or caribou bones, do you know what they were used for before they were marketed as handicrafts?

Lucy: Yes, they were made into fishing spears or snow beaters for collecting fire wood in winter, snowknife handles, or even used as snowknives or ulu handles and they were also used as skin stretchers by crafting a blade, at a period when it was hard to get metal objects. Every part of the caribou was utilized, even the muscles in the shoulder blade sinew were used for thread. Our ancestors had a way of making use of every available scrap.

Mark: In what way do you think arts and crafts or handicraft outlets should be changed?

Lucy: Carving is something I liked doing ever since I started. I have many grandchildren now

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and I have put a lot of effort to help support them. I would be happy to see a crafts officer because there is none in Arviat. Many times we have been let down and closed down, and the Coop is constantly turning down some of the people because they don't know him.

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Margaret Uyauperq Aniksak

Margaret Aniksak was born at Agiarurnak in 1905 before there were any buildings at all in Arviat. Part of her childhood was spent in Churchill, Manitoba, and she remembers when Inuit and Indians lived there. Inuit came there to trade fur and travelled as far away as from Ahiarmiut (permanent inlanders) Baker Lake, and other regions of the western shore of Hudson Bay.

After living in the Churchill area for several years they moved north at about the time a trading post was being established in Arviat towards 1920.

Margaret was a key figure when a short lived tannery was in operation in Arviat. She recollects witnessing different techniques Indians used to treat skins when she lived in Churchill as a young girl.

Mark: When did the Tannery began?

Uyauperk: It began when the first Arts and Crafts Officer came (Dennis Webster), and worked out of a small building down by the beach. That was how we began, at first creating only carvings of people moving inland or drum dancing. When it began to progress into other areas Nungnilk and I continued to work together. Nungnilk did the sewing while I did the scraping of skins.

Scraping skins was the very last project that got started. For a while only carvings were accepted, carvings of dogteam replicas, people moving to their hunting grounds, using wood to create miniature gamutik. We were asked to copy what transpired long ago by creating replicas of people, who once roamed the land, out of soapstone. Carving was in operation first for a while.

He asked me how we go about making skins pliable or other skins like seal skins. He told me how Qablunaat down south use special instruments to make skins pliable. He wanted to know how Inuit make skins soft. So I said everything is all done by hand because we have nothing at hand to work, preparing caribou leg skins to be

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Margaret Uyauperq Aniksak 37 made into mitts, caribou or seal skins were done entirely by hand.

In the tannery we worked mostly on skins, while others were doing carvings. Albert did the sewing and kept records. When I was finished with polar bear skins, seal skins, and ordinary skins, Albert would sew borders all around the edges. When he did the bears the flannel was quite wide. When he was done he would send them out or hang them on the wall as decoration.

Seal skins and bearded seal skins, although I did only a few, bearded seals are the most difficult ones to work on. Harp seals and bearded seal skins are very hard to work on, particularly the thick skins for the soles of kamiks. Harp seals are a bit easier to handle because I do the scraping with the fur intact. Bearded seal skins with the fur sheared off are extremely difficult to handle. Doing bearded seal skins was finally discontinued because I flatly refused to do it any more because it was too hard. I had to scrape it steadily while it was drying. I still have the scraper. You have to be with it all the time in order to make it pliable. Harp seal and bearded seal skins are harder to work on. Polar bear skins are very easy to work on. They are the easiest to make pliable simply by scraping.

Mark: Was their much difference between the traditional way and the modern way of making skins pliable?

Uyauperk: It is slightly harder to make caribou skins pliable. Some skins tend to stay stiff and others are fairly easy to work with even skins of bull caribou. When the thin layer of hypodermic membrane attached to the skin is easy to remove and if the skin is not too thick, then it would be fairly easy.

I used salt, baking powder (with an antler design on the label), cheese, yeast, salt, and iavex bleach when I worked with caribou skins. The salt we used was the solid kind and we had to pound it when we used it. I used them for bear skins and seal skins. that salt that has the appearance of ice.

When I was through with the seal skins, then I dyed colour into them in a bucket ▷ዜ**亡">**ኄ, ርċቴፈናበነውና የጋነ⊑\\∆ረናናር ۸٬۲۵۱۲٬۵۴۰ ۵۲۳۶C C۴.۳۷۱۳۰۶۰ 21261 Fide of a Yield.

«كام ۸۲۵۵مرد۵» ۱۹۰۰ مو الاطلام ۱۹۵۸ و ۱۹۵۸ الاطلام ۱۹۵۸ و ۱۹۵ D>%5. CD% _ %6" T"/"<">6_0 NOS"<" ᠴᠳᠴ᠂᠕ᡏᡆᢑᠾᢆᠾ᠙᠙ᢗ᠘ᡎᠯᡆ᠂ᡆᢇᠫᠴ᠘ᠺ ערוי ססיבייחי<ישריש בישלעלידש ታልህሮናህር ር′ረታ ርժና•ታ•\⊅ር▷ረ⊑▷"⊋በ<u>ነ.</u>

ርΔሪሃረራ ፈና ውነላልነው, ውነላቸው፣ ቴናፖሬታ፣ , כילייב"> אברי'ס' שילש' אברי'ס' שיליובר, "Δ>"C"Δ" CL'4Δ Φ"לΔ" Δל"ω" Δ' 16-21-201 041-2120001: P20-01-21 ተን ሩ ' ርን ታላላ ച? ታን ርፃ ጋፃ ውግልው ድን**ሳየ** ው\ ለ LC 40%%'₹በጐጋቦ <&%\⊀# Lლ•5J ∆ჄႠႦႶʹ╉ϭჼጔჼ ∆ႻჂႦႪჼĊჼჼႠႯႱႱ, Ⴀ∆Ⴑჼჼჼჼ ╱╾<u>᠘</u>╱С▷∩₺. ᠘ᠸ▷┺℃ᡱᢖᠨ <σサケ≺ჼ LC+5J PYOF POLICEYTE. BAPES-ع۵٬ CL'64 م٧٩ع۵٬ ۵۲۱م ۱۳۶۰, معه CL'64 ለሦሲ**ላ**ቴን ቈ' ቸጋলሬ ጚሁን'. ዉ Δ Δ ' CL'64 Δረበኛው 4ጚ'உዅጋ*****C'.

Lar: 80% Note to Acada (CcD16)

ኮንኮለት ርĽሤላ'ርኮ" ጋነጋነ ላ广 የጋነĽነጎ'፦ <u>ወረ*ፈናሩነጋና, Δε</u>Υ **ም**ናር/ወ'ላወ*ቃበ፣ ΔεΥና ለሦሒ₫Ⴊኒቈჼ᠂<ჼႻϷΏ₫ናኌ₫ናኄሮჼ Ⴞሮʹť₫Ⴏ ለ'ፖሊባናህር' Δ‹‹‹ጋሳን"\ናህር' በሳፌ ለሦሊ**ሳ"**ጋሴ"

CA'do'l CaDII, Achbonolo らりふら くこりはいかいかい タイト くりゅう >ィィルトイロ、 >ィィルトィィCΦ CƯĎĹデ シタトトイニデ ውይፈጋን ነርተር *ሆሩ የነጋየ*ርው ተግኅና ተላቀይ ለፖሬውናም: ርልሃላር ርሒውና ፖዛሒነጋ'ላልና ליליסף סיבי סאללי, פיששים פיצישים לי **ΦΡΙΓΙΦΙΝΟ ΥΑΡΙΚΑ ΡΙΝΔΟ ΥΡΙΜΕΡΟ**

filled with water. I would make the hair shiny and dye it with store bought colouring dye. When they were dyed then I'd work on them to make them soft. They would become very pliable, the skin would turn bluish, the hair shiny and dyed black. That's how I made dark skins.

I used a small engine inside a big square box, like the crating boxes we see. We put something inside the box that turns round and round. When I was through scraping skins I dumped everything inside and added saw dust. I would let the skins tumble inside the box to make them pliable and shiny using the small motor. When the motor stopped than I would tumble the skins manually. The saw dust was to clean seal and bear skins.

When the ship came, a Qablunaaq saw me using the homemade skin tumbler, constructed with a motor similar to a washing machine, anyway the minute he saw me he urged me to stop using it because it could blow up the whole building. He asked me to stop it and told me not to use it anymore because it was too risky, it might blow up, so that's why we discontinued its use. They're really easy and fast, those little engines like washing machines. I got to know it very well and operated it on my own before its use was stopped. It was an easy operation as I merely dumped everything inside and let the machine clean wolf, bear, seal and other skins.

Mark: Did you learn other kinds of cleaning techniques from other people like the Indians?

Uvauperk: Yes, in Churchill as a child I witnessed, but did not participate, when the Indians used to prepare caribou leather skins. When someone got a caribou the women would take the fresh raw skin immediately and begin to work on it. The way they did it was to pick a tree and cut the branches off. They left the hair on and the ladies would pull the skin back and forth against the tree bark until the hairs were completely removed and the skin was bleached.

CLYO LY ADOUTE LT PIONYES $\Delta \Psi_{2}J$. $\Psi' \subset \Psi_{2}P_{2}$, $\Gamma J Q_{2}P_{2}$ $\Gamma J Q_{3}C_{4}$ ታውል'ል"Γው℃ታ' ር∆'ፈታኄ Γህ⊲?በጜጚኒ∟. $C\Delta d\sigma^{\dagger}$ $C\Delta d\sigma^{\dagger}$ $C\Delta d\sigma^{\dagger}$ $C\Delta d\sigma^{\dagger}$ $C\Delta d\sigma^{\dagger}$ שליאליי אורכ ברס אלייאינים בי בי בי אלייאינים ה Γ"ၧΔ 'የጎሮ<mark>ተነ</mark>ትጋቦ' CΔ'ၧԺՆ Γ'ህ**፭**ችጋቦ' 45-47-45 PICCD9L 24-15-1.

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When that was completed, a small tent was put up. The skins were then put one on top of another, and holes put in all around the edge. The tent had a chimney. Damp mosses called maniq and urjug that don't burn, were placed in the centre of the tent. The small tent would be filled with smoke. So my little sister-in-law, former wife of Tabbataa naaq, watched Indians smoking skins. There were many people staining leather skins by smoke, so that's how leather skins we see were made. I merely watched people doing it and did not take part in the process, as I was still a child.

Mark: How about the Game Officer's wife. didn't she show you how she tans skins?

Uyauperk: Yes, I worked with her. She became a really good friend and we worked together for a long time. I was doing the work under her instruction and she taught me many things. I was able to do many things at one time but now I cannot manage them because my strength has left me. She was really good at instructing and very proficient, as that was her occupation. She would ask me about the times I witnessed Indians working with skins. Of course when I spoke about these things she identified everything I said to her. Yes, indeed, she was my true friend and working companion for a long time. As the project was nearing its end, the two of us stuck with it at length. At the same time, their time to leave the community was approaching. She was the one who taught me.

Mark: The tanning project many of you worked on, was it operational year round?

Uyauperk: Yes I worked inside the crafts shop during the winter. But during the summer I had to keep caribou skins in the shade, away from the sun. This is the best way to do it when preparing caribou skins, away from direct sunlight. Direct sunlight causes the skin to dry up too quickly while you are working on it. It is also hard to make it pliable after prolonged direct sun light. I always avoid direct sunlight on skins whenever I'm preparing them.

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Mark: Tanning appeared to be such a good thing, why was it discontinued?

Uyauperk: I don't know why it stopped. Anyhow, we were asked to discontinue, with the word that it was going to be moved to Baker Lake.

Mark: Do you suppose it could be re-initiated if people wanted it?

Uyauperk: Precisely. Pure laziness. Even some on-lookers frowned on the project thinking it was too dirty. Of course there were others too who were more than eager to work. Atqak was one that stuck with me the longest. When Alikammiaraq dropped out, Atqak continued on for a while after my lady friend left us.

Mark: The tanning items you mentioned, are they available locally or do some have to be ordered?

Uyauperk: Some of the items are available at the store. Except the salt we used, otherwise table salt could do just as well. The only exception would be the item that has the appearance of baking powder, packed in square container. I was told to keep that away from children. I discarded it all the moment she left. It is the kind that has the "Danger" label on it.

Mark: If you have any comments you wish to make, you may state them.

Uyauperk: Yes, certainly. There are so few income opportunities for the Inuit population in this area that I feel inclined to talk to them sometimes, but am usually held back thinking it would be too tiring or too discouraging to do. Often I have some people asking me about my knowledge of tanning operations. These are the ones I feel the inclination to show how it's done. The only reason they can't do it is because of laziness. Laziness and nothing else stops them from doing it. If they put their best effort into it, because they've already watched us do it, they could do it.

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Mina Seelo

With Mark Kalluak intervewing John Arnalujuak, widower of Mina Seelo. As a child Seelo was adopted by Scotty, her brother and lived with the household in and around Baker Lake. When she became a young lady Scotty arranged for her to marry John Arnalujuak.

They lived around Tavanie for several years and moved further south to Nunalla (Nunalaaq) and then to Arviat (formerly Eskimo Point) parmanently in late 50's.

With the dawn of arts and crafts in Arviat, John and Seelo worked as a team while she was creating beautiful huge wall hangings. Part of her work is on display in Vancouver.

Arnalujuak: Her place of residence was in the northern area, where part of her childhood was spent in Chesterfield Inlet. And in Baker Lake Scotty adopted her from his father so this sister lived in his household. As for me, it was only when I got my own dogs and began hunting on my own that I met her. Scotty asked me to accompany him to his camp at Quurngurjuaq to secretly arange for me to marry her.

Mark: When you married her did you eventually lived at Scotty's camp for the winter?

Arnalujuak: Our family lived mostly in and around Tavanie, and sometimes in the vicinity where Baker Lake empties into the sea. Every year I made a special trip to Scotty's camp with her. We never settled there for good but only made frequent trips to the camp, as I had a trapline into that area. I always made an attempt to visit their camp as well as our aging parents, so we travelled back and forth quite frequently come winter.

Mark: Before carving was introduced as art did she do any handicraft of any sort? Or yourself?

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Ľሐ/: ካል*ህላነታት ለቦላ*ፕሬኦችበትጋህ /ልዓጋኝታት ካል*ህላጋነየኦንቱ<ሬኦ*ፕሬት, ኦናቂጏናዊ Δ¹ልና? Arnalujuak: We started only when we noticed people were encouraged to do carving, as well as from outpatients and ourselves as patients. We saw outpatients carving soapstone in Churchill on a regular basis. When we discovered there was money in carving, it was our beginning point, and discovery from other people.

My ex-mate (Seelo) used to do a lot of sewing and often made a lot of money at it sewing huge wall hangings that were worth \$1,000.00 or more when she was commissioned. She was consistent in sewing wall hangings with me helping her. As I am capable at drawing on a piece of paper she would copy my drawings to make patterns and I would carve faces for her sewing out of antler. She was always sewing something, even small items. Often she would be at it even long after I was fast asleep, and I could hear her working away.

Mark: I remember her beautiful sewings that were done very carefully and were in good demand. Was she ever commissioned from places like big businesses?

Arnalujuak: Oh yes, she used to be commissioned. When arts and crafts officials arrived from the south they would tell her, "Somebody wants your sewing, They want you to sew a wall hanging like the one you did before." All the size specifications were laid out clearly. Some of them were very large wall hangings and some in the medium range.

The large ones were in demand by big businesses from the south. The commissions came through an arts and crafts person that I assume was working for a Co-operative movement who made frequents visits to our community.

Mark: Do you know some of the people or the places that commissioned to sew wall hangings?

Arnalujuak: Vancouver, in fact there is one there today. Last year the little bearded one

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الأف الأطاء فالأحد، CΔL Lia de CΔbe Δ 'ጋ'፥, ላተናੇታ ውፐታ' $\dot{\mathbf{L}}^{\epsilon}$ (ታ፥ \mathbf{L} ለረነ) ርፊ'ር \mathbf{L} D- (Nick Lebessis) told me that he'd seen it and just recently when he was in Vancouver, he told me that he'd seen it there.

Mark: Obviously both of you were very talented, and you just now stated that you helped each other along. Were you ever recognized for your talents or invited for special occasion?

Arnalujuak: There was one occassion where my wife and I were invited to the Commissioner's Ball in Yellowknife. We met there along with two other people from the Belcher Islands (now Sanikiluaq), Inuktaluk and his wife.

Mark: Do you have anything that you feel like talking about?

Arnalujuak: There is one thing that's been bothering me a lot, lack of good price of fox pelts and all other fur bearing animals. Absolutely nothing, no money was put in their place. There is social assistance alright but it's only for food supplement. There is no other money aside from welfare, money that has power to purchase capital equipment such as Ski-doos and other things. Something must be developed so people like ourselves, Inuit, have an opportunity to make money. How can we receive support in the money question. We are at a stand still, we are at a loss what to buy things with. My hope is for massive improvement in the arts and crafts industry.

Some communities are located where there are excellent craft shops. Last summer in July we were in Inuvik where there is a very nice craft shop where people can make money, and I was thrilled to be there. I think these are possible today with the help of Qablunaat.

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Albert Nungnilk

With the suggestion and help of Dennis Webster, former Arts and Crafts Officer, Albert Nungnilk learned how to skin and stuff animals. Later on he took further courses in Ottawa and came back to improve his work.

Like some projects that get started and fade out mainly due to loss of interest, it was unfortunate that this unique project did not blossom and end with a success story.

Mark: When where you involved in the taxidermy occupation?

Albert: Sometime in 1966-67 when Dennis Webster asked if I wanted to take a course in taxidermy.

Mark: When you completed the course what did you do?

Albert: I started to work out of your old building.

Mark: What did he teach you?

Albert: First of all I learned how to work with ptarmigan and how to skin them.

Mark: What did you do with them after you skinned them?

Albert: Dennis taught me how to shape wires into a form, and stuff the skin with leaves to give it a living appearance.

Mark: Did you do other animals besides ptarmigan?

Albert: Yes, I also started working with weasels and foxes.

Mark: Are there any more stuffed animals that you did here in Arviat?

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Albert Nungnilk	
Albert: No. I don't recall what happened to them afterwards. I think some of them were sent out.	ምን ና ፈውኑ,
Mark: What about the one at the school, who did that one?	፲ሐ /: Δ'ac Δc'ơd'ል¶ በቢሀው ብሴ Δυ'c")"/L ל" PO Λ'ơdO?
Albert: I think that one was done by Dennis and Seelo, because Seelo did some taxidermy as well, so I assume that one was done by him.	ፈንሩ
Mark: The work you were doing before, was it hard?	i.d. : CΔ'a Λεασαεριβί βρι στίαιη- Γερικ?
Albert: Skinning animals wasn't hard but I had some problem understanding some of the chemicals I had to work with.	ፈ፦፦ ጎ ነጋት
Mark: Were you doing it in Arviat only or did you receive orders from out of town too?	止ሑ':
Albert: After I took another course in Ottawa, I went back home and worked with wolf and polar bear skins mostly and only locally.	ላንሩ ልተተወሀታቴ∟ ርዖኔኒ ላጋዼብና ላቦቴትኃኒ, ር∟ታ ላ'ልላተቴኒ ላ∟ቴታ ፈኔታ ላቦፕ ለተፈላፈተፈቦቴቴ
Mark: What course did you take in Ottawa?	፲ ሰ ረ :
Albert: Basically to learn what kind of chemicals are used in tanning wolf pelts, seal skins,	مـه۵٠٤٠ ۴٥٠ ۴٥٠٠ ۱۳٠٤٠ ۱۴٠٤ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠٠١ ۲٠
and polar bear skins. Mark: Do you know the name of the place where you took the course?	፲ሐ /: CΔ ¹ α Δ="σϤαϤ'ልΓ⊆▷"6° ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ ፟፟፟ ፈበ'6° </td
Albert: A place called the National Museum.	ゆった CΔ¹a doeT National Museum-Vo-5- しひて。
Mark: How come the project stopped?	Ldr: 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12
Albert: How did it stop? I suppose it would have something to do with a course being offered by the Hamlet in heavy equipment which I also took. From then on taxidermy trickled to a	۳۶۰: ۴۵۵، و ۱۳۵۰ م د ۱۳۵۰ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳۵۰ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳۵۰ و ۱۳۵ و ۱۳ و ۱۳
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Mark: Do you think someone could pick it up and make a go of it or would that be impossible?

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Albert: Yes, I also stuffed fish, mounted them on a plaque to make them attractive.

Mark: How about caribou feet, were you not able to make something out of them with hooves intact?

Albert: Yes, We made ash trays as well as coffee table legs with the hooves left on, rifle racks or coat hangers.

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Andy Mamgark

Andy possesses a very strong traditional background and was one of the few Inuit who held on to living an independent life on the land. Even when everybody else had given up life on the land, he and his family were well established at their winter camp at Kuugik just west of Arviat.

He also worked at Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine where his Qablunaaq friend talked him into carving on the side to supplement his income. Since that day he has been producing images of lifelike polar bears.

Mark: First of all I'd like to know your place of birth.

Andy: From what I was told I was born near Sandy Point, just this side of a place called Qagluit, in a sandy area.

Mark: When did you start carving?

Andy: I started in 1959.

Mark: What made you become interested in carving?

Andy: I wasn't particularly interested as I was employed at a mine for a long time north of here. A working companion as well as my supervisor named Joe, a white person, kept spotting soapstone and suggested that if I carved on the side that I'd make more money. He kept on insisting and finally commissioned me to create something. As I hadn't a clue about carving I did not agree for a long time. But he was persistent and kept telling me that I'd bring in extra income by carving. Finally one day I picked up a small piece of stone, brought it home and created something out of it, and I've been carving ever since.

Mark: Do you remember what object you carved for the first time?

Andy: It was a figure of a bear made from soapstone.

Mark: Do you carve mostly stone, or other material as well?

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Andy: I carve stone, tusks and antler.

Mark: Since your carvings are known for their beauty, do people commission you to carve for them?

Andy: I have a lot of people asking me to carve for them by correspondence and over the phone. Some of those requests come from overseas. Because I do not respond to some of them, this makes it appear I don't receive requests.

Mark: What tools do you commonly use for carving?

Andy: Hack saw, axe, files and sand paper.

Mark: Have you tried using electric tools?

Andy: Once in a while I use electric tools only when I'm working on hard to reach or hard to smooth areas. It is only when I'm carving tusks that I use electric carving tools regularly.

Mark: Did you develop a carving career on your own?

Andy: Yes, ever since I started carving in Rankin Inlet it developed into a regular occupation. I receive a lot of requests to carve polar bears. Up to now I'm learning as I go, keeping in mind the first carving I did years ago. I've also developed a habit of studying polar bears, how they look. This appears to have helped me improve carving.

Mark: You recalled a White person as having helped you develop a carving career, do you recall anyone else as having influenced you?

Andy: The times I'm out of the community to carve different objects, the people that commission me to create something have been influential.

Mark: How about soapstone, is it readily available in Arviat?

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Andy Mamgark 49

Andy: Sometimes it's available, but today, the supply that came on the barge is only obtainable with money, so availability is somewhat restricted by this.

Mark: I assume you covered an immense distance during your travels on the land before carving was introduced. Have you ever noticed any peculiar stones?

Andy: I never took notice of stones before, but gradually my interest in stones grew since I began carving. I tend to study their shape and carving potential or whether they are just ordinary quartz. Since I started carving I'm always on the watch for carvable stones.

Mark: When Inuit lived on the land before Oablunaat arrived, what were soapstone, antier and tusks used for?

Andy: I've witnessed soapstone being utilized as stone lamps and cooking pots. Antlers were crafted into bows and arrows, sometimes into snowknives. Other than that I'm not sure what antiers were used

Mark: What is your opinion of the arts and crafts situation today in comparison to its early stages?

Andy: Today, carving seems to be my only source of support, so in reality, I'm much more engrossed in it than before. I have no job so its my only source of income. Also, I like to support my fellow men. Sometimes I dislike social assistance, so with that in mind. I'm in full support of the arts and crafts today.

Mark: I have no more questions, but you may state anything you wish at this time.

Andy: I have no thoughts at this time, except to say that my life today is modeled after the words of my ancestors. I live by remembering their words.

ἀτη: Δε'το ΦΟΔ'αΡαΡαΡά(), L'ας ישל לש"ט ישיל שולי הואש אישר היש האשרות "לישרו אישרות אישרות אישרות הישרות הישר הישרות PYOF NJYLABUCSE' ADVITO 4DP2 **Ľ**'ረሀቤት'.

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Ldr: CAYLE ADA DE TOCOPEDILC "שלבם הי הפכסיים והי לב לפשיבף מיי ۵۵۵۵۲ ۵۵۵۵۲ ۵۰۹۸۳۲ مام۲۵۲ ۵۵۵۵۳۳

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ሲሐ ነፈ ነህ ላኔል ነራ ነፈ ነህ ላኔል የነራ ነፊ ነራ ∙₽-">"₽ΊΑ "ር"¬ϤΊ∟νϤ "ϤϪΊ∟∖Ϫ "ሒժ" ረጎነራች ሕዝጎች Δረ<u></u>Γ₂J?

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፲ሐ/: ላለ የፈረካ አርጋር ዓር ልረር የንነቱ የ የ 3°-3°00°.

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Born at Kitikkat (Ennadai Lake) area, Elizabeth observed her father transform soapstone into cooking pots using crude tools.

Mark: Where were you born?

Elizabeth: I remember the land in which I was born very well, up at Ennadai Lake. It's true name is Kitigaq but people these days call it Ennadai. I was born west of it at a place called Murjungnirjuaq in 1914.

Mark: So Ennadai Lake's Inuktitut name is Kitigaq, is that correct?

Elizabeth: Yes, It is called Kitigaq but Qablunaat gave it the name Ennadai and now everybody just calls it by that name. When we moved from Aqiggit Qamanrngat (ptarmigans' lake) to Kitikkat, my father and the late Anowtalik called it Kitikkat, and I call it by that name.

Mark: When did you learn to carve?

Elizabeth: As a child I observed my father create square cooking pots for my mother, out of soapstone I discovered later. Since than I always wondered what else could be created, so basically I learned even before I reached girlhood.

Mark: Did you learn to carve all on your own or did someone show you how?

Elizabeth: My father possessed very crude tools made of bent antler called sanalrutit (carving tools) which some of you may know. I learned as I watched my father form cooking pots out of soapstone. I would look at the stone and imagine creating different forms. So I learned to carve on my own.

Mark: I would like to ask whether you remember a Qablunaaq, Gabe Gely, who worked at a weather station around the Ahiarmiut area?

Ldr: ar Ascaphas?

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Elizabeth: You mean the bearded one?

Mark: Yes, he lived in Arviat for a while.

Elizabeth: Yes, we nick named him Taramanii.

Mark: What does Taramanii mean?

Elizabeth: I'm not sure what it means. It was Anowtalik who did the nicknaming. Anyway he was a cook at the site but somehow he became know as Taramanii.

Mark: What about the soapstone you are carving these days, what was it used for in the past?

Elizabeth: My mother had a cooking pot made of what I now knowas soapstone. I wasn't yet old enough to think constructively and lived, as it were, in a dream. As I grew older cooking pots began to stick in my mind, I discovered them to be of soapstone.

Mark: What about antiers, what were they used for?

Elizabeth: They were extremely useful in many things. My brothers and I scarcely possessed any implements. I have ten brothers and two sisters so together we were 13. My father out of desperation had a snowknife made of antler, crudely sharpened somehow. I don't know how he made it. He used the hard part of the antler to nail a piece of antler to wood and used it as an ice chisel. Surprisingly he could cut a hole in the ice with it.

Mark: You probably had a chance to carve all kinds of stones. Which kind is easiest to carve for you?

Elizabeth: Which kinds are the easiest to carve? I suppose the ones that Anowtalik got when we lived at Kitikkat, the really dark kind, were very easy to carve. The ones that came later and the

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Ldr: CSL +Da "ba" DPc-1?

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ones that were quarried from Nabbaat were soft, but some of them were very hard, I mean extremely hard. There is another place just north of Kingait, where there is a series of ridges running westward, on the beaches of Hiuralik, there are red stones there. The first ones that were picked just off the beaches were very hard. But the ones that were picked from under the ground by lifting the soil were pretty soft. They are located on the north side of the ridge and my son and I know where it is.

Mark: Have you had anyone come to you and say they want a carving done for them?

Elizabeth: I certainly have, in fact I have a letter from someone requesting exactly that. Once someone spotted my carving down south and noted the price compared to its price up here. I was a bit annoyed as I felt I should have gotten the difference.

Mark: Have you ever gone down south for art shows?

Elizabeth: Yes I have, and I got lost once. Lucy, Tutsweetok's wife and I were down with no interpreter. We passed through Churchill, then Winnipeg, Toronto and then Montreal. We left the community just after Christmas. When we got to Montreal we discovered it was raining with thunderstorms and no snow, just like summer. In fron of the building were two people standing guard. When we tried to go in they put up their hands to refuse us admittance. Nearby I saw a woman going back and forth occupied with something. She wouldn't look up for a long time, but when she did I motioned for her to come to us, which she did. When she came over and stood between the two guards, she enquired whether we were Eskimos. Of course I nodded my head and said we were Eskimos. Though I couldn't speak English I understood what was going on. When she asked why we were down, I told her that we wanted to go to Ottawa that night. When I asked her to call a bus for us, the bus came and my travelling companion broke out in tears of joy. From Ottawa we got on a big jet and flew very very high and headed further south.

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בלר: 27 לפלה חה לסצב יום מי \a®Va⊌bba•bn°?

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We landed somewhere and were given a tour of a building where there was nothing but carvings. We then boarded another plane and headed somewhere north of America and landed. On the third day we flew all day on a jet and arrived to our destination by dark. We went down to America (Philadelphia -ed.) to open a gallery and to put on a carving show, however we never carved because there was no stone. When we got to Mexico it was very frightening place, more so because my traveling companion was easily frightened, broke out in tears and became sick.

Mark: What objects do you like to carve?

Elizabeth: Usually I create images of women with braided hair hanging down their backs. But when Im not carving images of women I create images of men crouched in their atigi, adding a piece of antler to give it the cold look. Nothing to be desired so far as I'm concerned, but I have a letter requesting a carving like that.

Mark: I have no more questions, but if you want to comment on anything, you may.

Elizabeth: I can't think of any comments except to say that I really want to begin carving again. I'm a bit discouraged to carve lately, because one is never certain where to take a carving. All I can say is that we need a place to carve badly.

<u>ጎ</u>ፈ•ህወሀΔ•ፈ•ረላዖነ*ጋ*፫ወ'ረላነውና, ካፈ•ህወሁ-Δ*aΓ0'70'0' ΓcD"20 (CD)5'a"ncD"-مانم شرهاک مهاد الله ولاک له مونفره (۵۳۵مه، ۲۰۲۵ ۸۳۲۵۴ ۵۰۵۵۴٬۲۵۳ 47'05' &'DV'*26' 10 'C"\") `adio o' d'C" المراكك دكاع دك مكال من أد أدك المراك المالم المال <u>ጎዉ*ህ</u>ላዮኒሲ፨ኌው፣ ጎዉ*ህላሁ^ֈላየርልናጛ፞፞፞፞፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ Li\\PIC-#\$\Pi UQ\P P\\Q\$\LQ\\Qi\\. ዋď℃፫₫³56 ₫°6₫፫፫፬ጋ∆ኈ፬°Ľ°.

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Gabriel Gely

Mr. Gely was one of the few gablunaat whowon the hearts of many Inuit, particularly the Ahiarmiut people who experienced hardship as permanent inlanders where traders were not close at hand.

Some of the people who knew him from his employment as a cook at a weather station reminisce about his help in the "ataani", or downstairs.

So when he showed up as a replacement to Dennis Webster in 1968 he had a lot of acquaintances awaiting him.

I was asked to visit Arviat in 1966 and find out for the Indian Affairs Department if the "economically depressed Inuit" would like to carve etc..to improve their lot. Mr. Bud Neville, the Head of Welfare had \$19,000.00 for me to buy the carvings and manage the Arts and Crafts program in Arviat. But, while I flew to Arviat from Ottawa, the 19,000.00 bucks were already down to 14.000.00..someone in Churchill had already got their hands on my budget.

In anycase, I got a small building next to the D.I.A.N.D. office and Mr. Caskey wired it for the Arts and Crafts workshop. I remember I sent Donald Suluk (I think it was him) to the soapstone quarry site at Nabbaaq somewhere in the Kaminuriak (Oamanirjuag) Lake. He used an old blue Bombardier and managed to get around 600 pounds of the stuff back to Arviat.

The program worked out well till May 1966; there were so many carvers I can't even remember them all. Here are a few names: Kiki, Pitsaotok (Jasper), Mike Gibbons, Nootaralook, Yaha, Atasluk, Atook, Anowtalik, Atjak, Elizabeth Nanook, Martha Anarosuk and I could go on and on..maybe 60 people all together, as I recall from my check book (Iootna).

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A lot of the finished objects carvings and artifacts were of course purchased by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Eaton's of Canada for their Centennial marketing etc.

When in 1968, if I'm correct, I returned to Arviat to replace Dennis Webster. I stayed 7 months there and worked with David Serkoak, my trainee. Then I left for Alaska, as the Department was replacing the "artists" with program managers, like David McArthur, a former Hudson's Bay clerk. After all this I returned to Arviat many many times, so often I can't even remember.

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John Pangnark

David Uvingayak who knew John Pangnark from childhood talks about his impression of him and his determination in life.

In the land of the Ahiarmiut lived a man who's name was Haumikuluk (who some people addressed as Haulluut) his mother was Hi'jiq. His Qablunaatut given name was John and his Inuktut name was Pangnark with a guess date of birth being 1920.

As a child I saw him during 1949 and 1950 at a winter camp inland with other people. He was then married to Nigvik, daughter of Qittujujuq. I recall learning part of his song right away, as he was drum dancing. He had a very good personality, and according other people's opinion of him he was a resourceful person and hardly ever short of food supply. He was also known to be constantly riding his dogteam. In fact, I noticed he seemed to keep his dogs a minimum number.

I never saw his first wife, but I remember Nigvik, and her little girl Ulipniq. I remember it was in 1951 when she and her husband were separated, and she later to remarried Utuni. By winter 1952 she and her little daughter were murdered.

Every time I saw him his appearance looked weak, but he was generally up very early whenever he was about to travel somewhere. He usually had no more than three or four dogs and drove his team even during summer all over the area. I would see him down by Big River, at Nabbaarjuag. Dionne Lake and Pingaluit. He was always in a hurry. He and his mother were only two for a long time. They travelled inland frequently in search for caribou and fishing lakes by going along with a travelling group.

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We were at our winter camp in Qamanaarjugjuag in 1944-45, and on our way to Arviat we came across some Inuit at Oaigtuli'naag who were apparently camping there for the winter. They were Atook, Oitsujujug and Pangnark, who had just arrived from Arviat to buy grub. The very next day my father coaxed him to go back to Arviat again with me, so we hitched our team together and headed down. There were a lot of caribou that season. Both his legs got tangled on harness line and he was being dragged back home as the dogs chased after caribou. I was really frightened, since, as a young lad I was too weak to do anything as a young lad. When we stopped we turned around and travelled on again towards Arviat. He was really happy about a dog he had bought from Tautungi who's name was Pigataa. After spending a day in Arviat with Pameok's family we headed back home in the wee hours of the morning. I was really sleepy when he awoke me at four o'clock.

Three years later my father Kunuk took him for a son-in-law to marry his sister Oitiglig in 1957, and we travelled down to Big River together to spend the winter there.

In 1960 he spent the winter inland with Nibgoarsi just north of Paalliq and because caribou were plentiful that winter he would bring meat to his mother. Since the time they moved back to the coast, trips back to winter camps became less frequent. This, coupled with the presence of Social Services with Inuit receiving welfare, meant that he and his wife became permanent residents, his wife was also reaching old age.

A Few years later the arts and crafts program started in Arviat, and he began participating by carving objects from soapstone. It eventually became his prime objective. He, however, had an unusual way of carving semi-distinguishable objects, and yet they were in great demand by non-Inuit for some unknown reason.

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In 1969 or '70 he was asked to participate in an art show in the country of Japan. He was among the four delegates from Canada that went over as a carver. When he returned he continued to carve and stuck with it during his lifetime.

His mother also became married, to Aqiaq. After her husband's death she was asked to cut a ribbon with her ulu at the opening of the Hamlet building. Shortly after, Nellie Hi'jiq passed away, leaving her son John Pangnark behind. Pangnark's wife, Qitiqliq, being old, also passed away. After that Pangnark became sick periodically and had heart surgery. After returning home, he too passed away on December 18, 1980

After his death a book was published with photographs of his carvings. If he were living I think he would've been very happy, because, he was actively involved in carving during the entire time that the craft shop was in operation.

This write-up of Pangnark is only a portion of his tobiography. I do not know what transpired during his life among the Ahiarmiut people. But I recollect seeing him constantly ever since I became old enough to remember, and of course he was the husband of my aunt for 21 years right up until 1978.

David Uvingayak Arviat Feb. 1991

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Mary Miki

Born in the Ennadai Lake area, Mary Miki spent most of her life in the inland interior until starvation forced ther group to move down to the coast. Life was not easy in a new environment, but she and her late husband Andy Miki had little problem adjusting to it.

When arts and crafts were introduced for the first time in this region, they were two of the first in line to try their hand at creating objects out of stone.

Mark: Before you moved to Arviat, where were you living?

Mary: At Ennadai Lake.

Mark: What is the Inuktitut name?

Mary: People call it Kitigaq, we were living south of it on a narrow strip of land.

Mark: Were you living up there for long?

Mary: We lived there for a long time because our ancestors were constantly on the move. The reason that it's called Kitikkat possibly is that it has a lot of large cranberry leaves and sand.

Mark: When did you move to Arviat?

Mary: We stayed at Siuralik all summer long, we moved from Ennadai Lake to Siuralik and then to Niptanirjua'naaq.

Mark: When did you move to the coast?

Mary: From Niptanirjua'naaq we started off for Kinngarjualik (Padlei) extremely hungry. My brother (Andy Owlijoot) came over to accompany us moving out by night. Of course we followed along behind, but as we came close I was literally crawling on my hands and knees.

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Mary Miki60

Mark: Close to the Padlei post?

Mary: Yes, as we approached it. We didn't even build an iglu because Miki wanted to go over to ask for welfare. He suggested that we not get all the way in, so we stopped short in a dried up creek area, the Nutaraluks and us.

Mark: Was it hunger and shortage of food that made your move here necessary?

Mary: From there we slowly regained independence, then the RCMP came by to move us closer to Henry Voisey's place. We stayed for a length of time until an RCMP Otter plane arrived to move us out quickly.

Mark: So the plane made several trips to move people to Arviat?

Mary: An RCMP plane flew us down here. When we landed on the sea ice, we people, the Ahiarmiut, lived in iglus.

Mark: Before arts and crafts started how did Inuit make money?

Mary: Before arts and crafts started when we lived inland, two people arrived from somewhere, brought reddish stones, and asked us to mark out the eyes on our carvings. That's when we started carving. We never did any carving before, and even when we got to Padlei we just received welfare. When we got to Rankin Inlet, Miki was carving for a while but later we did nothing. When spring came around a sewing project was started and we were sewing things like duffle socks, and I've been doing it ever since.

Mark: When you arrived in Rankin Inlet and started sewing too, was that your first beginning?

Mary: We started with Tiinaaq and Peter as overseers of the project. We started mostly with duffle socks and mitts. The project really got under way after we moved to Whale Cove. We were doing wall

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Γάπ: >**P*C**ἐ' C'ቃზ ₫ᡃታ*****LበJ' C'>ზ*>J' C\Jზ የፈላ\J' Γ'ጩ'C ፈ>በ'ረሷ'ው*
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Γἀα: CΔL ΛΓα*

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hangings as well. Before we were doing only duffle socks in Rankin. But in Whale Cove with somebody whom I don't remember running the sewing project, sewing duffle socks, mitts and wall hangings became an ongoing thing. The money was small, but sometimes greater than usual.

Mark: I noticed that when you moved to Arviat, Miki was one of the regular carvers. What was he carving?

Mary: Oh, he was carving figures of birds, he was constantly turning out these birds and nothing else.

Mark: Out of stone, or antler?

Mary: Stone and antler and nothing else.

Mark: What were stone and antler used for when you lived on the land, can you remember?

Mary: Antlers are useful. Do you know the part that sits right next to the flat part? Well, that part is called the Uuviqsuut. It is used as a fork to scoop out cooked caribou feet. And you know they are also used as Qamutik anchors.

Mark: What about the flat sections?

Mary: They are called Tiluutit and are used to knock down up right antlers. I think you would find this to be a lot of fun to play. Even young girls were allowed to play using that flat portion as a throwing object. This was our game.

Mark: What about in fishing hooks?

Mary: They are used as weights and also as a stablizer, so the hook won't wobble so much that it lets the fish go. A wobbly hook tends to fly every which way and doesn't allow for fish to take a good bite of the hook.

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Φ'αΔ/"LC. Mark: So there were many uses for them, snowknives, spears and so on?

Mary: Yes, also as qurluigsit. It's used to scrape water off the hair of caribou that has been speared while swimming. It's shaped like a bent knife with a handle. They sure do a good job of scraping water off caribou hair.

Mark: A lot of once useful implements are no longer in use today. It would be nice if they could be preserved for others to admire.

Mary: Certainly, people should just go ahead and make them. Qurluigsitit are very handy tools for squeezing the wetness out of caribou hair. They make it a lot easier to dry the skin once the water is squeezed out.

Mark: What do you think of the arts and crafts situation today, how do you think it could be improved?

Mary: I would be happy if people made more use of it. Personally though, I'm dealing directly with people and receive over a hundred dollars for my work, and so I am incline to continue that way.

Mark: Are you satisfied with the price of your carvings?

Mary: When I think the price is too low, I usually take it back and offer to another and sell when the price is in the neighborhood of seventy dollars.

Mark: So you're pretty well in control of the prices you're happy with, and sell only when the offer is satisfactory to you?

Mary: I sell only when I'm happy with the price, but if the buyer can't settle on the price I want, then I just don't sell.

Mark: Of the former arts and crafts officers, who do you think has helped the most?

Mary: Well, there was Aalu, Angaksaatsiaq, the former sewing instructor (Jackie King), and my son (David Serkoak).

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୮4ሒ: Δ፫ቴታ ወየጋነቱንወናህር ካጋ**ቱ**ፖ፫ወዬቱህ ወንታጋና ጋታታናህምና ካፈተበናጔቴናህር ካጋ<mark>ተ</mark>ልናርቴ.

ΓϤռ: ▷•<Δ፫ ፭૩, ፭ኄ·ናዮ፭୭, ፭ᄔ ጵቴ-Δጋ**•**በዮጵ (ጵያ ያዩ) Γ*ፖ*በዮጵያፈውቅፖርኛ ፭ᄔ Δ'σና. Mark: How about any of the gablunaat arts and crafts officers, were you here during their time?

Mary: Indeed, who was that one who waved his arms a lot when he walked, he paid well for carvings. And the little bearded one usually paid a little more when he discovered that you were taking your carving back.

Mark: You must've learned how to deal?

Mary: Even I myself know.

Mark: How about the gablunaag who worked as a cook at the weather station, have you seen him?

Mary: You mean the bearded one, the one who accompanied us to Ennadai Lake? Certainly I know him. He started out to be an arts and crafts officer, but when he left, he never came back.

Mark: Did he have an inuktitut name?

Mary: Taramanii'juaq, is what we called him. That bearded one who lived inland we knew by Taramanii. We used to be so hungry. He was the last one up there. Oh, how famished we were. Then there was this very bad one. When Miki went for grub again, there was somebody else there by the name of Joe. The whole length of his qamutik was filled completely with five bags of flour, five bags of oat meal, and box after box of grub, filling the whole length of his qamutik. When we spotted him coming, Qajai said, "Big sister, tiny Miki is coming with a whole loaded qamutik somehow." "Oh, it's nothing." we all said. Then we discovered it was a whole lot of food. We began eating just outside, Utnguujaq, myself, Qajai and Alikasuaq. Our senior companion, old Paungaalaaq, when we came in, we urged him to eat, but he told us that he too was minding his own business and would smoke to his heart's content. First that, said he, then food. But, he told us not to bother him for the time being. We didn't bother him while he was smoking, but when I poured tea for him, naturally he drank it.

止ሐ/: CΔ′dϤϲ ቴ′ኌሲՙ CĹጵ'C᠘▷ኈጋՙ <u></u> ጎፈ•ህ₫•ብሦ⊁ው℃ፈው•ጋ# ፭ህ•ዦርበ•?

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Γαα: Δ'α ÞΓς '₹α", ααςΔς "Δις αβ-10-04-404 ?*S <u>ኣፈ•ህ</u>₫•በሃዖዖሒ₫ፈ▷•ፖĽᲡኌ₫¹Ľና, ₫▷ቴሬና፫ **⊳በ•**ዮናጋ".

Ldv: Apidota Ciko antincoadik?

Fan: CSL & YOU, NOW DEDOUBTS. DFC"לס" C۵'ב C'לה כקבה לסברסב-▷₩">¹. CΔbσ 6d²C¹⇒
ċ\"D'₹ს¹CΔċ, የህተራውሮችን**ች** CΔL. 6134ልየ/4Γ4*****Ce56, ୮°L° ୮ዮ ל"ህ"ታ" ጋታ. ርቃኄ ጜചበ" <u>"ﻛﯜﺩዮ ﺩ୯~, ୯୯୯, ୯୯୯ ଜେ୯୯ ଜେ୯୯ ଜେ୯</u>୯ כיכבי סיב יילאטרסיש, לסיבי ישבוחי ውህነ_ንቦነ ልዜጎራቤር CΔነል ቼንΔ በďሬ ለ•៤ና ፌን፟፟፟ጜላው ፐዮፌቱ ሪዮላ ቴጋስቦ፣ σռ**_**D/ጌንቴና, D°35*, D&ጌ, ዔንΔ, ₫ლЬ₽₫™. ፫፻፫ Δ፫৯° Þጋ₩₽ <Þፕኒ፫.'₭₫₩ σ_€ 'U'D Δης 'C Δα'L" 'C ᠉ݽݤݤݤݛݚݤݤݛݚݤݤݛݚݤݤݛݤݛݛݛݤݤݛݚݤݳݜ \wedge \forall \dot{L} $ac^{*}L^{\circ}\Delta \mathcal{L}\Gamma^{*}\Upsilon D \Rightarrow \Gamma \Delta C \Gamma^{\circ}\Pi$ **∩**Ͻ 'マ⟨σ=">".

Mary Miki 64

Mark: I have no more questions but if you have something on your mind you can speak.

Mary: When we lived in our land to the west we were always in a state of envying others, but when we moved to the area of sea dwellers I was in awe as the people of the area poured a cup of tea and fed my children as we entered their homes. Of course I felt an immense appreciation after being in a state of evying others for so long, and discovering that we couldn't even envy others anymore. Before, we were always in need of food and therefore always in an envying position.

፫ሐ/: ϤΛჼͼͰʹ¹\Δʹ²ʹ-۹L ʹϧωΓϤ^{*} Δ*Ͱ*Lቦን-ΓϤʹσ^{*} Ϸʹϧʹʹ-ͿϤ^{*}Ͻበʹ

Romeo Eekerkik

Angeline Alikasuak was employed at the Arviat arts and crafts shop at the time it was about to be turned over to a private business. Her determination in her job advanced her quickly from janitorial service to an administrative assistant.

Working establishments are very much controlled by time and Angeline recollects a lady buying her an alarm clock when she started to work for the first time as an interpreter for social services.

Above all she remembers her namesake and grandfather Romeo Eekerkik as one who loved her. She also remembers how he began to carve after helping his wife Igipiriag make soapstone and antler faces for dolls she was sewing.

Bekerkik started carving antler and once he established himself, his carvings were in demand. Angeline tells of his employment and her namesake this way.

I began employment in August of 1975. When school ended I was asked to come over. Incidently though, I was about to extend my education in Yellowknife when my parents forbade me. Because I didn't wish to be idle, I went over to loyce Gibbons's work place to look for employment, since she also was told not to go.

Before that, though, I was an interpreter for social services at the time that Lois Stevenson was welfare officer. After that I went over to the craft shop and asked if I could work. I was offered a janitorial job which I accepted, but I was later replaced by Phillip Narijaq when I became permanent there.

I was shown how to prepare cheques, and was trained to look for good carvings and tapestries that others would like.

loyce and I worked together there for a while until she found employment at the

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''▷ᡄ ሆሩ#፟ም''(በ#₿₡ ᠣፋռኑ료ል ''****₽ჾኖ\' ነሰኆ"ነ" Δውሮሒትውበ"ጔህ, CΔbσ ለলኪባσቴև ካ<u>ዉ</u>ቄህባ፣ልቈ<u>ሀ</u>ባናレ CΔ6σ ᠕ᡄ᠋᠋ᠽᡲᡃ᠋᠑ᢡ᠘ᡶᢥ᠘᠂᠕᠘ᢣᡃ᠑ᠺ᠘ ጎታግቦህን ውር ነው የሰው የነው የህር የህር የህር የህር CAbo Tac " 20.

᠘ᠸ᠆ᡒ᠊ᡏᡎ᠒ᢗᠪᡪᠴᡟᢗ᠉ᠴᡀ᠂ᢐᢆᠴ᠉᠂ᡥᡆ᠐ᢣᡰᡃᡳᠸ᠐ᡪ᠆ ውኖ**ት ነ**ር, ላጊ ፖልታ ቼውይጋታ ካልግህላ-᠘ᡠᡰ᠂᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ ∧୯₫⊀**ჼ**Ľ∜Ċ ∆ċჼჾ₫ჼႶር⊳ናጔჼᢗċჼኌር.

∀Δ'→ CΔbở "∀ċ⇔"→⊅" σ⊳διλ*Γ ᢣᡆᡔᡃᠲᢪᡠᡣᡄ᠌ᠪᡃᡅ°ᢗ᠘᠍ᢐᡠ᠋᠘ᡃᢛᢛ᠑ᡀ᠂1975厂 store. I remained at the craft shop from 1975 to 1986. Later on Gina Ausmond was the crafts officer, followed by Marlene Nichols. Visitors such as Paul Schneider came, while I attended a course in Rankin Inlet. While Marlene was crafts officer I was taught how to prepare cheques and budgets, and was promoted to an executive assistant level.

When I first started in the craft shop I used to be frightened by angry people who threw their carvings when asked to file the bottoms of their carving so they could stand up properly. The craft shop had a concrete floor and some people, instead of fixing their work, would throw their carvings and dash them to pieces. Some of them would break down and I would sneak to another room and do the same because it was frightening to see this kind of reaction. Some carvings tended to be wobbly and people were asked politely to file down the bottom, flat so they would stand up, but instead of taking the instruction kindly, they would dash their carvings on concrete floor.

The longer I worked, the less scared I was of peoples' actions, at first being frightened so easily. The rude actions were repeated all too frequently, to a point where we weren't bothered by them. Some would throw their sewing or do other thing.

I will now attempt to state my recollections of my namesake. I do not know exactly where he was born, even if he did tell me I do not remember, however his date of birth is recorded as 1925. I was raised by him and was born in 1959. I'm told that in 1960 my namesake, myself, and my mother and father travelled to Whale Cove by dog team. We lived there until 1967 when we returned here, because my mother's mother wanted to see her. We have lived in Arviat ever since 1967.

My namesake lived in Whale Cove from 1960 to 1967. He might have lived some place else before that but I don't remember it. They used to tell me of places they travelled, to but those places escaped my memory the moment they finished telling

በዮር[®]⊋በ[®], ኔዮ[®]ἐσ^{*}Γ Δϲ^{*}σ^{Q®}C▷c[¶]L 1986_1° ካፈፃህላ፣ልፃ厂 ለሐሲፈ**ኦ**ჼጋኄ. የህራጣና ትል ዕጊ አልረርውበነውን ላጊ CΔ'a'a" «"a" Δ'LCDbσ"L' L'ië" σθ" ΦΕΥΡΟΕΡΙΕ΄ Κ΄ `ΔΑΟ' ΘΕΙ Ε΄ Ε΄ Ε΄ △♂LCDᲘ¹⋺┙┍┖▷ፇサᲐናコ**サ**ơサ Ზ፴サ ለረ'∟ኒር ∆ლው**ላ"**በር⊳ናታታኒ <'⊱'ናታት

<u>አ</u>ፈ•ህ፭፣ል•፫ ለቦ፭ጎ፟•ኃህ ሁ‹ለ፭ረ፡/፭፫፭ላሬ-ዾጘዾዀጜዄዾጜጛጜኯ፟ዾጜ፞ጜፘዀዀጜፙጜዹ፞ጞ しゃしゃくくいしゃいとりょうしょくして もってくいて ፈባቆር**▷⊮**ር ነፈ•ህ**ላ፣**ል፥ ፈበ୮ላ:₹ላህኌና PILC P.VALPAT, 602CDLA4CD2F ᠘ᡩ᠋ᠮ᠘ᢡᢖᡀ᠘᠙᠙ᠬᠽᠻ᠘ᠮ᠘ᢡ᠘ᢗ b'Λσιααρικ', ካαιινοίδ ΔαΔ α'<ነσι סליני סויסיצס בויבויבוי אשלף בריבוב. ₫፟ያኯር ^ፚሀ.≺₫ኯ፞፞፟፝ኯ. ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ኯ፟ጜ ፟፟፟፟ኯልላሁ.ኣሷĽ-**₫₹८₽™LC**.

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me.I remember only that his wife used to carve or make wall hangings by decorating them with beads, and sewing on cutout doll designs out of bleached caribou hide, with soapstone faces. That is how I remember her.

Another time was when she asked to be assisted with the carving of a face for a doll that had to be completed by a certain date. I remember his wife, Iqipiriaq, telling him how she wanted the face done.

The soapsatone kept breaking and she asked if he could carve in antler instead. At first she wanted to try it herself and later instructed my namesake to do it by telling him how she wanted it done. They wanted to put hair on the face but wondered how it would stay on. They said it would not show up as well as soapstone, and I remember them etching a design with a blow torch.

First of all they tried it with a lighter and when that didn't work my namesake tried the torch and turned out a wonderful result. The first one was scorched too much, but the second one came out perfect.

From then on he began to carve images of people out of antler, but I hardly remember him carving images of animals except dogs standing side by side with a person.

Ever since I can remember my grandmother already appeared to be a skilled seamstress, and was always busy with sewing. My memory of my namesake came later, when he too started carving after assisting his wife. He picked up carving all on his own. His wife showed him how she wanted the doll faces done, but then he began developing his own carvings too, which also came to be in demand. He also became noted for his carvings locally as well as receiving commissions from other localities other than the local craft shop.

I remember my namesake loved me dearly and I recall my first day on the job before moving to the craft shop. When I finished school my first job was with social services under Lois Stevenson. I was offered the job and worked there. When we went home for Delar Darblatbuc Dracemal Drace פאר שכשע לביטשלבטיבי שסבא אק ᢄᠳ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ ΔC5\JQ5\sign C\d\D\r \Q\sic\r \centre{\central} ር"ታራቦ" ጆንና"ው ልግሯው ካፈህወጋቸጆን"ታራ DC 279.

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ℶᲮ₯喘െ. ᲒᲙᲥᲑ ᲬᲔᲔᲥᲓᲠെ. ᲥᲥᲓᲠᲡᲡᲥ blas Pitcit AYAccDDC

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lunch, perhaps to prevent me from being late for work, Lois Stevenson bought an alarm clock for me. Instantly a thought occured that she bought this clock to ensure that I be at work on time. Anyway I took this clock and showed it to my namesake who became zealously appreciative. He quickly made a carving and took it to Lois Stevenson the following day. Thinking the carving was for sale she asked how much he wanted for it. My namesake only asked me to tell her that he loves me very much and that he was very thankful that she had bought an alarm clock for me, and said that she could keep the carving. Lois burst out crying instantly and said that this was the very first occasion that a person had ever given her a gift. At that moment they were engrossed in thanking each other. My namesake displayed a polite laugh and reminded her that he loves me very much and that I get scared easily. He asked her to be sure that others would treat me kindly. She did, and showed me many things.

One of my other recollections is the arrival of Arctic Cat snowmobiles which my brother, Leo, wanted very much. I recall grandmother busily sewing a wall hanging and receiving \$600.00 for it. She gave me the money and asked me to go to the coop with my little brother to buy something. I recall Leo and I heading home on a little machine past the M.O.T. building. The distance between the coop and my namesake's house seemed so far at the time when in fact it wasn't.

What prompted the idea was seeing A'jamiiqtuq (a senior) a snowmobile owner, driving a small machine like it. He would drive right in and out of their match box house with it. Of course Leo and I were extremely envious of him and Leo ended up buying one like it. The two of us had a lot of fun driving it around. As small as it was we'd let others ride with us. Leo would ride standing up, imitating people he'd seen riding thus. My namesake told us not to have too many people riding with us, but the moment we thought we were out of sight (forgetting the windows) we'd let people on. Children would chase us around, and Leo won countless friends because of the machine.

CSL 12_10"L" PUC"CUT5%-5"CPO" 50" ነሰራተነ፣ ቼወኦካውሆ፣ ታወልወበ፣ታዩLኚ ግን ተወልወበነዚህ ወ' የሚከተር Cdበ ተፈናፀ מיפיז שליים מביני, לבייטסייברסיהייני %▷•Ľ° ጋ፦**•**Ľሀ ኌ፭ን 'ሰኖ•፟ጐ፻', ኌ፭ን ፈነራቦየረፈ፫፭%Lብያች ይወልውበተራችLብ ህን-ºY4F4™LJ ∧ċぇF4₩LJ, 54° 'nċ°\° ישיסלהכ "נסיסח אברע" בישיסלה סהיטיעיבי ወ[‡]ን୮¹, ሤታቦጋናኦፐ<mark>ወ</mark>ነ_ቅፖህታሮ"Lው¹, ወ′«ኒ CALDAP® &~5~LYAFASE AYAUD~C-c"L" D"o"DNSJ"5" Call Oo".

שיב ארוב אילולים מיחי וּי 1140 10 AC50 AC10 IN THE ወሲፈና/ወና ୮%/%ጋታ ታል•ህርታው%ጋታ \$600.0000_04445, 4444 ው እስፈላህ ነር የነው የፈርሃ ነር የነው አለፈላው የ ᠆ᢏ᠈᠘ᡄ᠘ᡕ᠂ᢆᡆᢏᢝᢆᢗᠻᢣ᠂ᡄᢗᢇ᠂ᡆᢪᠫᡅ᠕᠘ᡆᢐ ረኄታሮናጐ• Δ**ሪነዕ**ስ Δ**ነ**ጐነብ'ቈኄር **ዕኖላህ ው**ና ለፈውናዊ **የ**ውርጋሁታህ ው".

Δ¹α CďCc*LJ Δċ ďን广*Ͻ* በďαΔϽ፦ ስላፌ ልን*****ሮየሳሃላፐላ**፦"**' ፦ኦ በላፌል፦ ϽϻϛϤϘͼϧϹ϶ͳ;·ʹϧϧϼͶϤϧϤϹϭϥϭϧ·Ϸͱ ∠Pɔ̄∀'LC CÞɔ∀'-"L' ←Þ, Pɔ\\
Cq-' $\Delta \Gamma \Lambda \rightarrow \Delta' \Lambda \Lambda \rightarrow \Delta \Gamma \Lambda \rightarrow \Delta' \Lambda \Lambda \rightarrow \Lambda' \Lambda \rightarrow$ **ዕዮርኦ ልግፖሚታው፣** ርলሃየታናህነው፣ ውΔ℃-20 - 20 Abe 9- AC 144' D'C לרמלבסייבו שביניים שליבר, כם סיים. ΓΦ'>૮∜ታዀ የፆጛ፞ዀሮዀ.

I also recall my namesake becoming sick. Before that, though, he was building a small boat for Leo to use, as he stated. He was still carving but, his arm would swell up and he was eventually evacuated. It was discovered what illness it was: cancer. When he returned he went back to the carving he was doing before he left, which I longed so much to see because it was his last one. Nick Lebessis went ahead and purchased it even though I had claimed it. I really wanted that last piece of carving and I haven't a clue as to it's whereabouts.

When my namesake became sick and wanted to be taken to the craft shop on a gamutik, at first I didn't ask him about it.But when he was in the Craft Shop I asked him if he would have given me the carving if I had asked for it. He replied that, had I told him, he would hve given it to me. When I went back to the craft shop (since I worked there) and asked if I could have it. I was told it could not be claimed back, since it was already taken. Even when I asked to buy it back I was rejected. I was told that since he was sick that this could be his last piece of art. I burst out crying as it appeared to me as though he was just waiting for the moment he would be gone when he told me he was putting it in a museum.

44 40c2ill 4005 464cml ◁▷⁺፫ჼ┖ʹ;ͺᲖ▷ዖሃ▷ჼĽʹ᠂ᄼҩ፫ʹͺϤʹϝʹϤʹͰʹϢʹͺ ᢣᡄᢐᡟ᠘ᡆᡕ᠘ᡰᢐᢛᠳ᠈ᢖᠤ᠐᠈᠂᠕᠘ᡏ᠘᠘᠒᠘ᠳ᠐ᠵ᠘᠆ ሁሪ የህተተሞሩሮ፣ ካልግህላህ, ታ፣ ፈለፈነ ∧ጋ**∆°**ᡅᡕ◁⊏◁**"┌"Ĺ**┧ ∧Ⴥ◁੧ᠴ◁੧ᠬ╣, С∆ᡃᡅ <u>ኣፈ•ህወ</u>ኒ የህኅ**ረ**•የሩ• ለረወናረወ፫ወሬው•ረLሁ-عمر المراكب المراجع ا

ሪ′ኖና ሪ'ታሪሮ*୬ድ የሩቦ⊳∖ረ**ረ***୬ድ <u></u>ጎፈ**•ህ**ላየል•**ചና ⊳ዜ•ጕዜ፥**"ኌጜ **ላ**ለቪሁ'ል ለረላር እንማ ለፍታዜኒያያ, አምርት የሚያራን ተ ለፈታናሪ. ካፈግህወልግሷግታህ ∧ፘኇዀናዀጏኯዀዾፚዀዄዀዾዀዀ፞ዀ ∧∟∆"∟°Ú", ℯ⊳ለ₽₫ና∍୮₫ℯና∍₫ናሪ⊦ ₺Ľľኄኄዮር∆°፞፞፞፞፞ዹ፝፝፝ቝ፞፞፞፞ዾጜኯ፟ዺቔዹኯ፟ኯቝ 5a16164A1161L1101. POPOFO17LUL ひつじゃんとしてくらしょうしょしょ ᠘ᠸᡉ᠌ᢗᡃᡉᡪᡃ᠈ᢖᡉ᠌᠌ᡳ

David McArthur

After 13 years of loyal service to the Hudson's Bay Company (now Northern Stores Incorporated) as a store manager, Mr. Dave McArthur became a civil servant and moved to Arviat with his wife and two young sons in the winter of February 1971. The community was just starting than with a population of less then, 600 people.

There was no airport then, and practically the whole community met the plane whenever it landed on the smoothed out sea ice landing area just below the buildings. Dave remembers the welcoming party the day he first stepped off a DC-3 to become an Economic Development Officer for the Government of the N.W.T.

When he joined the government he set out to accomplish 6 objectives, one of them being in the area of local arts and crafts development.

I arrived in Arviat in February of 1971, just after a major blizzard, with my wife Clara, and two young sons, David and James. I had just left the Hudson's Bay Company, Northern Stores, after 13 years of service. Our last post has been Fort Simpson, N.W.T., where I had been store manager. I remember arriving on the old airstrip, crammed in the back of a chartered DC-3 with all our belongings and food supplies taking up the rest of the plane. Although I had worked for many years in the N.W.T., I had always been within the tree line. My first experience of Arviat, getting off the plane, gave me a brand new meaning of cold! I remember how many people met the plane, and how everyone pitched in unloading and bringing everything to our 'new' house.

CAV, LPD.

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ልነልላገ፣ ሀኔሮ አልተለም እየፈተ ነፅ ነገር የነገር የ ᠕ᡃᡟᢇᠮᡃᡕᠯ᠘ᡁᢛᡪ᠑ᡏᢐᡃᡟᠬᡟ᠘᠘᠘ᡄᡗᠰᠴᡥ᠂ᠴᡄᡏᡪ ፦ ds, ልነታ åነь። LiPt, ርልልነ። ሀልቦታ። $<\Delta$ b'< σ 'd' σ ', DPD"C"DF σ D&'& σ ', DPD& 13& ለራሲ ልየፈወቴ ጋየና የህተራ <-ฃ๛ฅๅ๛ ๛๐๙ฅ๐๐๛๐ฅ๚๛๛ >๙ ๚๚๛ ₋ Δανορίου (10 αναθού με το 10 καθού με το 10 κ ひならい アイルケはくこ のりてさらく レターりくく **ፈጋ"ጋላ" ቃ**Ј ቴኒርበር▷ ל< የህራላራ Δራየ'፦ <u> </u> ውሀላምን የተከሰለ ጋር ለነፃብ አላው, **ዓ**ምር አስ **Იॏ┌ै॔ॱ▷ᲫᲫᲨᲔᲫᲡॏऀऀऀऀऀऀऀऀऀ॓ऀऀऀ॓ऀऀ** CC▷°ᲑᲫ**Ს**′ኌ⋂ॏ. DPD+ 4574454+ 100445 Acry-Lb_q"ጋኄ የረላውድ ፈ<"ጋፄ'ው'广Ύ"ዺ"_ትኄ ለፈርጋናር. ወ'ልወር ቕይት "ህይበቦታና, በግር / የርህር አለት ሲነዎች / ፈርን ተነርኒ ነ ውል ውራና! ላውፈትቃህ ΔωΔ° የጋፐሪና ውይናልቴርውፈውኒዜኒር ላነታ"ጋቴርውንďቴኒሞኴ ለህበናበቴታ 'Δካጋርጎናበቴታቴኒቴ'.

I was the first Industrial Development Officer (later renamed Economic Development Officer), for the Government of the Northwest Terrritories for Arviat and Whale Cove. My predecessors had all been Craft Officers. I don't think I ever did quite convince everyone that I was Economic Development Officer and not a Craft Officerl

On my beifing in Churchill, which was the Keewatin Region Headquarters, I developed objectives, with my superiors, of:

- 1. Continuing the current government soapstone carving project, that was being temporarily run by Gabe Gely, who would leave soon after my arrival.
- 2. Finding a local source of quality soapstone, to support the carving project. At that time, soapstone was being imported, at great expense, from Quebec. Furthermore, it was not of the best quality.
- 3. Possibly developing a Cooperative that could take over the carving project from the government.
- 4. Further expanding crafts development in the area.
- 5. Using a cooperative as an example as of how business development could occur. getting the people to develop their own business enterprises.
- 6. Developing a commercial coastal summer char fishery and an inland winter whitefish and lake trout fishery, to supply the cannery in Rankin Inlet with raw product.

The key was that the impetus must come from the Inuit; I was there to provide the support, assistance, and information, that could help make it work.

イター<DY」が、人々ーのロイトロトレッと Industrial Development Officer- 「 C ムケレベー ᠈ᡧ᠙ᠾᠳ᠘ᡁ᠂᠘ᢗ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠙᠘ ሁራ**∟**ዅ፝ኇ የሀጋበርውኌጜ **ፊየል**ላ፫**፣** በየናየረላ፫•ኌ. በሥትውርፈውነፈር. ጋየሥበሥየርልፈነፅጋኒፌሬየላች Δ DOF AGEONTAPUL SENONTAPTAL!

ቆተላጥ **ሶቴቴ**በቦታውረናL, ርΔbԺ ചፈናላና ጋ**ና**ኄ**≺厂•**, ለራሲ**ላ**ሲቦ**ሪ**የታ**ሪየ**৮ታ**•** Δ/Lርሒታ**•** bu δυριζΔερικού: Ddσ ህ:

- $1.64202\Delta^*a^*$ ህ**₫"**በ'ዖ'ር'ታህ', ፫፭ታቪን▷፫▷ለ⁺፫ጋ**∆*ቪ**"-יבה ישל אבשי, סטיבת סידלשי חףישריי-**"የ**ሁታት የሚያስተውህ."
- ርልናለቃዜቃውበቴጋህ, ውዛለቶጎች ርውፈቸዥና በየበተ CD& \triangle D'L', dC1PD'C1D , $(C_1^*D_1)$ ۵⁴۲-۵, ۸۵⁴-۵۸⁴۳⁴۵-۶.
- 3. ΔΨ.% ጎምበሩዮላነጋህ የላረሀር፣ ለሚያነላ-
- 4. לבישטורתה שבריד סיירחרסטהישו.
- 5. da<n< \"P"+" b" b">nr_>J >PZ <CD = 'd-ነኝጋህ **ቕ**ው**" ወ**ቸው" ለলሊ**ላ**ክ'ታላ "ጎላጉ ሮናን¹Ľኒኒ', ΔΔΔ' **ሲ***Γσ* Λεα√Γ*σ* **ጎ**ምበሒলናታ**ም**ዮኒኒኒር.
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By the time I left Arviat to become the District Economic Development Officer for the Keewatin District, in January of 1974, many of these challenges had been accomplished. This was because of the natural talents, enthusiasm, and ongoing support and encouragement, of the Inuit of Arviat.

Carving And Sewing Projects

On arrival, my first step was to promote David Serkoak, who had been working with the soapstone carving project as a packer and shipper, to manage the project. David did an excellent job and has gone on to bigger and better things since than. David concentrated on quality, rather than quantity, which, in itself, was a positive move.

With the help of Emiline Kowmuk, we restarted the government sewing program. The wall hangings of duffle, with figures sewn on them of tanned, white white caribou hide, became popular. I remember that a well known hotel in Ottawa sent in an order for an enormous wall hanging of this type, that was to be hung in its lobby. Seeloo, Arnalujuak's wife, was commissioned to do the sewing. She laboured long and hard at it, but when it was finished there was no place in Arviat big enough, where we could spread it out, to see what it looked like! I do not think Seeloo ever saw it spread out herself. but she did a wonderful job, and the hotel was very happy with it.

The exploration for the soapstone was a little tougher, and it took most of the 3 years I was in Arviat to find a large deposit of good quality soapstone, suitable for carving. However, we always found enough every year, so that we didn't have to import any from outside our area.

כסיצבה סימסרי ססיביוב אפהסחיצצשי Δ/LCህαΦጋ ኃህ የ«ጐ "Γ. ታ ውወል 1974-ህ-N'SJ, CLdQ Assissationsebbb CL'ITb's $^{\circ}$ OTIDAID $^{\circ}$ CA $^{\circ}$ C Δωኘσ".

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በየቴፌኒ. ረቃትሮችሩሮት ርሏልና ረህወና ለራሒወኒ CYADO'ILO" Ya'UDUCRO'I" ACRO'Ben'al. CΔδ' ΛειγσερςΓ Λεισηρί arotha Adotha arleed ... CAA' 4'7706-4-D">" 5a"740'746" AC'G'E', AETTACCE ATLOGYG"\D'-عج, CL'a nd'a ۸۳٥٤ a'L'YdcD">".

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ሁን**ረ**ው\$>**, ውየውቃው ለህረታ ላ'ልላቦ ነው である<<p>である <u>ኣፈ*ህ</u>ፈነጋЈ ለሦልሮት የረላታ **ፈ**ተኝ<mark>ነር</mark>ሲና ≟ҶӋҩҸ҇ѺӶҸҩҩ҂ҩ҅ҹ<ҁҁѺҹӿӈ҇ҀҺӶҹѷҁ በየበሦ'ታሲ'ፈርው' ጋል"ጋራ ነ.

Soapstone

The first trip I made for soapstone was with Paul Kirkwa, in the Game Management Bombardier. (The Game Management Officer, John Stephen, had not arrived yet, and I had been appointed Game Officer, Permit Officer, and Commissioner for Oaths, so that I could fill that position, as well as my own. I was the Coroner as well, an appointment I had had for 3 years already, while Hudson's Bay Co. Manager in Fort Rae and Fort Simpson.) I believe it must have been in May of 1971. We had to travel up to Whale Cove and pick up Tom Robertson, who had a blasting ticket, from there. On the way to Whale cove, we sunk one track down in the slush at the mouth of Maguse River and had to haul the Bombardier out, using wood blocks and a comealong, attached to a crow bar, wich we sledgehammered into the sea ice. Otherwise the trip was uneventful. I can't remember where the deposit was, but I think south west of Whale Cove. The stone was useable, but pretty hard. I remember that during that trip Paul Kirkwa showed me how to handle a Bombardier properly, and I discovered that a "Qablunaaq" parka was no good for work on the barrens. I had a good pullover parka made by Jasper Gibbon's wife, Rosey, on my return, which I still use when I'm out on my snowmobile today, along with my R.C.A.F. flight pants and army surplus mitts that I bought at the same time.

Although we hauled as much of this stone in as we could, the settlement was out of carveable stone by break-up, and there was no way we could haul any more at that time of year.. One day 3 large twin rotor, Armed Forces helicopters landed in the community, on their way further north. Hugh Cram, Settlement Manager, who had just retired from the Air Force, talked them into flying soapstone in, which they did

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 CCDCD9L, Fiderer Drc"NAce"J" CCN446 Acad8MCD456, dL5 υς› αፋሃብግባን ¹ Δ‹ללפי <በነፐበሃን Δ·Δίγ לים אכת שוחכסל" ספיםי אליםשיה-45'd, ۸-م4'ف466 ٨-م4م'لنافا. ጋቴሬውቴቴቴ ውያውቃ ለህረታ፣ ቃውልቸበቃ ᢣᡆᢖᡃᡉ᠘᠘᠘ᢗᠺᠫᡃᠴᡀ᠂ᠴᡆᢆᢏᠲᠵ᠘ᡩᡪ᠘ᡏ*ᠴ* >4° 245 (T.5). CA92L&D#8# LA 1971-F CLta Acothelett NP514018cotoC Ab-~₫₺ፈ₽*/L≫J° Δ₽/₩Ͻ₩϶C Čº Ġ>ჼჼ\™™ חףקילסהסהיבינ שביאחי אישסענ שישס LD/ህን L' LH4ጋላጊ' ላህ ጎህ፦ «'<በ-۵۴۵۲۴۲۳۵ رداد۲۰۱۵ لو۳۵۲۴۵۹ ¿ﺳﻰ ﻣﺎﭘﻨﺪﻩ ﻛﺪﻟﻜﺮﻩ , ﺳﻪﺭﺩﻝ ﺑﯩﺪﻩ ﻛﯩﺪﻩ ﺳﯩﭗ . ታቃ**Ϳ Ľኒቨስ**ጋቴኒው‱ቃͿ. CĽቴል ◁▷"ሬ**ჼ**በነው**"** ۵۱۱۲ محده اله ۱۲۲۱ محده **ኔዮ**ባታ**ኮነ**ም የኆኆታ. ርΔነፈ ኦንና፣ ካፈ*ህላሁ D'->G_D"Jb>G". PAP"a")". DDc2>%" ¿ጐትኒነው ጔነር 'C, 〈Þ፦ ትህላጎ ‹ጎረበላጋነው [ʰ ϰσ°Ď∩ċϰ\Ľ, ĎŶďĽċĽĎ°ďĽ≫Ŭ "ቴሪጋቲ" ታくል ഛፈ୮ ለራሲኖበዓውዦጋፊቷት Ⴋჼ<u>ႾႠ. </u>₽ႶናჼႠ ჂくĊჼჄ₫ኌ₺₽₴*ᡄ*₽ჼჄႾჵჀ ᠘ᠳ᠂᠐᠑ᠵᡟᠵᡃᠳ᠈᠙ᢩᠫᡟ᠍ᡈᡃ᠂<u>ᠳ</u>᠋᠘ᡏᠫ᠆ᡄᡲᡃᡀ᠘᠂᠘ᠮ᠘ CDCCD< "IDCD5-8" >CLC#DLD DPyDD ለቦውታ የ< %.

ひらくさしてく こしつにょい マン・スターシンターターター ᡪᢖ**᠔**ᡪᡣᢗ᠂ᠴᡆᡄᡟ᠂᠋᠙᠘ᢣᡕ᠘ᠸᡃᡟᢅ᠐ᢟ᠂ᢣᡆ᠊ᡟᡈ᠒᠘ᡰ᠆ Los* 1. 27-4016. D'-1 a'-4-60-6 ያልሮካሆለ **ዣ**レር**፥**ግታየ ንሥር"ጋ⊿ሳ *የ*ነላር ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ d\$', Δውሮሌት, ΦαC*Ͻ^ι\σ በ¶፫ረ*በልσ* **₫**ለ[™]ፖፖህንሮ¹Ľ° ₽ነፅፖኻሮ፥ ውልሮቔጔ° ₽ፖ<mark>ሴ</mark>-

with the help of some of the people who acted as guides.

The next summer (1971) we travelled with two freighter canoes up the Maguse River and blasted a deposit on Maguse Lake. I know Nanngaat (Tony Eecherk) and Arnalujuak were with me, but there were several others as well. This deposit of stone was better than the one we had blasted in the spring. The blaster was an Inuk from Rankin Inlet, whose name I have unfortunately forgotten. I had a small browncoloured Black's tent with lots of guy ropes, which the people called 'the spider'! To keep the wind out, Nunngaaq and I leaned a tarp against it the first night. It had a sewn- in vinyl floor. That night, it rained hard, and when Tony and I woke in the morning, we were almost floating on top of our caribou hides! I remember taking out our hunting knives and cutting the floor out to drain it! When I got back to Arviat, I had a lady sew in a canvas flap around the edge, where the floor had been, so that it could be weighted down with rocks.

On the way home we shot a caribou at the head of the river. We stopped for lunch on the portage of the big falls on the Maguse. We lit the Coleman stove and made tea. I was about to open some canned food, when the Inuit said we didn't have time to cook and started cutting off chunks of raw meat from the caribou to eat. I knew they were trying me out, and if I didn't join them, I was going to be very hungry. I thought "to heck with it" and I pulled out my hunting knife and cut a chunk for myself. And what do you know? I enjoyed it and ate more! and continued to eat raw caribou all the time I was in the Arctic. I think that it is good for a person's diet when out on the land. In any event I know that that day, I " broke the ice" working with the Inuit and started to be accepted by the people.

ናን*ፕሢኒዕ, ቴሬረጋላቤርው ላል*ጵፎሬኦችንና ልው*ም ልቴኛግስቴትቃበት, ቴሪንሬርሌታውናውበት.

₫▷ታፕጌኒ (1971-୮), ቴታሊ₫ኄ Lነንኄኄ ታዜ Ċʻイժα ፈሚነው (Ďៃσ ΔΎ) Φ'ፌው'⊀ላው کداد۲۵۹۴ ۲۷۵۰ ۵۲۲ ما کادک۲۵۴ ما ۵۲۸ ለቴርኦኖና ሮቴሬ ቴቴብርቃና ኦናፊሥነ፣ ኦለፕሁኑር Λ CDH'N"+" Λ "\D+"\DCD")". H"+"\Y\ ABCD#YLK# 67#26FDC#, ANA >DUS'O Pait & POM. NPS No A C a C N Ͻለʹ<u>ፌ</u>ቴሬዾ≒ፖĽቃኄ Ͻʹ<ሒጜዾስቦላ•Ͻʹ<u>ፌ</u>፫ჼ, **ፈ≒ኂ፟ዀ △サンリ⅌₽ℾᆘ ▷サ<サ>ル アーティᢗᢛィ**ኒィィ。 Ͻለ¹⅃ʹ<u>୮</u>*/アᲘ/L⊀厂゚᠋ ፈበ℅᠘▷¹LႻჼፈ. ዾኈ፞ጛ፫ ርልኇ፟፟፟፟ዾኇ ኇ<ዾጛ፫፭ጛጜ፟ጏጛኇዾ Λ^{C} ארסיב-פיעדע אורוים ארטיף ווכיב-פיעדע $\Lambda^{*}P'AC^{*}DLDNLD*PLCS, LNC <math>\Lambda^{*}>J$, ▷ፇ**ዀ**ኴ፞፞ ለ**ያ**ዀር?∟፟፞፞፞፞፞፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟

ላ∆ሥናው **ያ**ና **ዕ**ሊላ'ፌኒውና ጋነጋጐታ. ᠕ᠳ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ᠳ᠘ᠳ᠘ . هد ۳-۱ ۱۹۵۵ لو۳ فا۲۵ د ۱۳۵۹ د ۱۳۵۳ د ۱۳۵۳ `∆∝∆ ሆლበ"₽ባ∖∆ቧ"₽ «Πር'∆<∆ D\$D∩ኆ፞ጜ Δሁ፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞፞ፙዸ**ጜ**ምጜኯ፟ቔ ፫፻ሆዀ ጋ•ጋና σ¹6σ° Λιγα¹ι¹¹2σ σασα¹6Γσ¹. \$P\LCP**">**₺ **%**a" ለግጣታጣኒኒኒ ₿ċーƊ�「┲�「Ŀ Ზ▷ᲑĿᡃĹቌጜ. ልረ∟ċჼ>ጜ, "Å, ÞÍTA"" NEÞNLÐ ÞÍÐJ ᠣᡕᠣ**Ϥ**╚╘╸᠕᠘᠀᠘᠂᠘ᡄ᠐᠑᠘ᢆᡄ? CΔL*ህσ*ጔ ፴ፈ广ርናህ′C ጋ•ጋ° σቔΔσ• عم۲. Δι Δέ, CΔΥLσ Φ'غ۲۲, **"∁Ⅎ"℆**ሊϽናϷ"ԺʹϽ**Ϥ"" ℯ**"ϤΓ<u>ϲ</u>Ϸ"≺ና

We ran out of soapstone again in the early spring of 1972. This time I organized a large group of the people to go out with the snowmobiles and qamutiks to bring stone in. I went too. The first time, the condenser flew off inside the flywheel of my snowmobile on the back of another's gamutik, and it was hauled ignominiously back to town. I went with Donald Suluk the second time, and I remember helping to build and sleep out in my first iglu. We were able to bring lots of stone back, but it still was not quite of the quality we wanted.

I kept a large map on the wall of my office with various coloured pins stuck into it to show locations of settlements, fish camps, trapper cabins and soapstone. Every time a person came to my office, they would put in a new black pin if they knew of a good soapstone location.

In the fall of 1972, after we had finished the commercial fishery that we started that year, we decided to try blasting a deposit on the coast in the Tavanie area. Once again there were two canoes. On our way north from Tavanie, we camped at Sandy Point (Hiuraariuit). In the morning, we set out in dead calm to cross Dawson Inlet, before heading to Tavanie, Suddenly, both boats stopped and someone yelled from across the other canoe to say that Arnalujuak was asking me if I really wanted to cross Dawson Inlet that day. I asked, "What would Arnalujuak do if he had the choice?" The answer came back that Arnalujuak would head back for Sandy Point and camp. "Right" said I, "that's what we'll do". That day, winds blew up to 75 miles per hour on Hudson Bay. I was continously fighting with my tent all night... the guy ropes kept breaking. (When I got home again, I further customized the tent, by replacing the poly ropes with 3/8" sisal rope!) I was very glad I had listened to Arnalujuak, with whom I travelled a lot, and from whom I learned a lot.

ውያለት የተመፈለፈ ነበው የሆኑ የህዝነት የሚያ በነጋЈ 1972-୮. ላረፊፎ | Δ۵Ρ۵σ | Þንናነ/Þ-21/14 "ΛΕ" -6 "ΘΠΕΘ" "ΘΕ" -1 -">ህ. ▷ኖህ⇒ ለቴር▷′⇒ህ. ሥ>⁺ሮ"ぐ厂¹ AU'C, DO BOOK ADON' ACTU ለኯብL **ላን**፡፫ያር⊳ሩ ∇ኖብር ያግሀሁም፣ סאירים עיייאס־פער, סאניים עיייגעיי. Ď₿ĊĎċĎჼŶĹŨĹĿŶĠჼĊ₿ĊĎჼſŨჼĹჼŧţŨĿĨ በየፈወጭ/LቃJና, የረላታ ወንና"ነው" ጋላልፈውች **ኯተ** ሩ።

<u>በበናነል</u>ትታ <u>ው</u>ዲ**፣**ህላዖነኃ'**ረሳ**ነሮ፣ ካታናነሮኦር**ኄ**ሬ- Δ -D9 Δ '& Γ 'LL' a = a Δ 'd'C+ a a-c' ΔωΔ° ΔበኛህΓ" >>C>৮ፌፌΓ" የየታ">Γ" مذاه.

DPdʰ\cʰϽΓ 1972, σDልdʰ\D≺Ľσʰ Δ锡፦ endobic disiaDDF, የያልDታነት ካቃላው ሥን୮ ▷ሤሥነታ ሤበበሒሥ<u>ወ</u>ርሒቃያና ሤንሒ<mark>ወ</mark>ውና ba•a፦ወረየወናር ረውና፣ጚው' ር•፫•>ህ'. ው'፫•-シュール しょうきひつりゅうしゅうしゅうしょう ምህ**ላ Δέ**ረየ**ለ***<>'ፊ'ልዾታ'ל-ላሒ**ሳ***6ናር. של ברשים לבור שיליברשיבה שלתםים Λ**%**ċσ' Δοι Ͻιρċσ'ν Φιἀοικινία ቴ⊳ኑ/ል፣Ľኄ ቴ¹ጔልና ዮግባና Δፅዖባ፣Ľኒናፅ Λ a \flat "< Δ ℓ L ℓ D' ℓ "\Da \flat PC" PU ℓ " DO">" 4"2" \Ci-i" \Di'+" o' DO'---₽₽**፣**ርሒ₫ጋናታ**፣**. **፣**₫ሰ፣, ▷ጜ>ጜ, ፣በ₫⊾ ለቃ₫-->1'. DiFDNil de Addi Anicod' 75 LACT " "boc"" CaDT". Dada" C" ጋለ'ፌና ለራሒላሒራረና. ጋ'くሒነው' ፇበዕፎካና/-ል⊏ልነዜና (ውስነፐሁር, ጋለ**ቪ፥ ፭ነ**ምሃላሒላዜ፦ ታርፈው የፈተር ጋናረ የተመከል የሚያ ለተፈመር ነው የተመሰው የ /~"ምኑም 3/8" /~"ም~"Γ" ላታ•ር" Δ~▷-LLLD'GG'd, LLGL ABOOUTEDG'd, Δ^{L} Δ^{L} Δ^{L} Δ^{L} Δ^{L}

The following day, while we were waiting for the wind to go down, I went off for a long walk without taking my rifle. I remember on my return that I was told that the new crew had been worried about me and had thought that I might have had trouble with a polar bear.

In the Arctic you soon learn that a rifle is like a credit card in southern Canada. because "you don't leave without it"!

This soapstone deposit turned out to be small and of poor quality. The wind had lengthened our trip, and our food supplies were just about finished. We were all getting pretty hungry. Suddenly one of the Inuit spotted a cache on the land. We opened up the cache and there was caribou meat. We had that caribou in the canoes as quick as lightning. Out came the knives and within a few minutes, there wasn't much left but bones, which we cracked and ate the marrow. Later on when we were camped, a group of people from Rankin Inlet, who did not know me, pulled up in their boat. We all squatted around the Coleman stove, drinking tea together and chatting. I spoke a bit of Inuktitut, but not enough to keep up with the conversation. However, I kept on hearing the word "qablunaaq", from the Rankin Inlet people and I knew they were talking about me, and I didn't think they were being too polite! One said "Qablunaaq" and looked straight at me, and Arnalujuak said "nauk Inuk" and grinned at me. I felt that was a real compliment, and the people from Rankin Inlet were friendly after that.

My final trip for soapstone was sometime in the summer of 1973. Ray Buffet, who coodinated the fishery for the Government of the N.W.T. out of Rankin Inlet, came down as he had a blasting ticket. Noah Makayak, Arnalujuak and a couple of others came too. We flew out with Lambair's Turbo Beaver to an island on Kaminak (Qamaniq) Lake.

Sometime before going on the trip Ray and I checked over our dynamite. I had a special box built the first year I was in Arviat and we had it stored on the land outside of the community towards the

もひ*L'、 ⟨J_o\$!~'?'\$D'>~*(^!_)C、 人とう>~~ し と"d"n"ペインケ"で"って、DNSL DもDNケロとD"->ህ ለቴርኮሮጎህ፣ σልኮሲሮፎኮኒ፣ህ ፈ*ዾ୮፣ ♥>™√5=6~6=%.

 Δ^{L} bach dolpanos, "PLICA- L 95449PF

ታህነ**∟"**ኴኇ. ላውሊና ለቴናር**"**በረው**"**ሩበሆ, ᡒᢐ᠘ᡃᠸ᠌᠌Ďᠴᡩᡄᡃᢑᢗᠴ. CL′C ᢆᡖᡩᡄ᠘ᡃᢣ᠕ᡃ. ፖህታቴኒና ራየ ል" CΔ¹α 'bασ'ጏ|σ'ቈ"϶C ᢧᠬᠯᡎᡄᠮ᠘ᡎ᠘᠘ᡷᡳ᠘ᡩᡄ᠊ᡕᠫ᠅᠕ᡄ᠐᠒ᢌᡳ 40-1436cc0> 'Chrt Bbish' CUsh-ചറ്റെ. %പ്എപ്പെ C%L%√Lc5′C, ೧₽\$%⊃-<mark>ዜ/ኄታዺና </mark> ይ<mark>ነ"</mark>ራራ"Γና, የፈ**ጋሚኒኒኒኒ ፟ ጜ**▷ኦ-√«ሮ» ΔΥά"» () - የ-"> J' Δ"ω" () - να ') » D CD+" 449-4",". P24+ 254*a-4-9L ™√_i_c(")♂" bYċσ"T>♂" %>L_C>->ኄ Þ፟፟፟ቝ፟ኯ ለዊኒLር, ጦርኦበትኒኴየርፈ**ኦ**ኒትጋሷ ∆⊂ູຽລ ⊳ຽ⊳∩∻ູ້ນ "ຽ<ລູ໋້""⊂<ລອ D&P-2 A>PYOTOF#25, 01224012 D\$">o, "aD" ∆_o/a" "d"\L"\po D<"_o". በ4ም ለትር የልልላቦን አለተራር እትረና **ፅጕ**ተመተገር ነው የህብህ የአይተሞረር እን

P'いっくいっつに! ひらいちに! ひっちっとしゅんしゃん ¬σΥσης, "ΑΔ⊂ΡΥΓ»" ΘΕΕΚΕ" ΠΊΕΘ-ה ינייחיץילידי. שם בניי, מים שילט" በተገራ ፌኒኒየበታ፣ ቴኒኒር ቃታ፣ ምዖቱር ፌ ጋና ቴኒ ውናር .

ር•<▷ኄ ጜህርቦላ፣፟የው፣ የልጋ ▷ኆህጋ **ኒተር ነጋ ነ**ላር ነው ነው እንግረ ልነ ነ シャブ・チャ ヤイはくひとひいくしゃん ついはくんくししし ݐݐᠸ▷◜ݺݐᢗᠳ᠘ᠴልᡃᠢ᠘◜ݐݔ<u>᠇</u>ᠳ᠒᠘ᠳ

graveyard. However, I never liked storing it out there, as it always became leaky and soft in the spring after it thawed out. The nitro sweated to the surface of the wrapping paper on the sticks, which made it pretty dangerous. Normally, dry wellstored dynamite is harmless, and requires a blasting cap to set it off, but leaky dynamite can be tricky. The winter before, I had stored 2 boxes (200 lbs.) under my desk, in the craft shop, where it could keep dry and not leak. However, this made John Stephen very nervous, as his office was next to mine, and eventually I moved it out into the box. Naturally by summer, when Ray and I came to check it, much of it had leaked and we had to destroy about 100 pounds of it. We set up the blasting area, in a safe place away from the community, and made arrangements for the information regarding the time we blew it up and the location, to be phoned around the community. Unfortunately, something prevented this from happening, and just as we had lit the fuse, I saw a teenaged Inuk, with a .22 rifle, heading for the dynamite. I ran and grabbed him and threw him to the ground. "I was just going duck hunting!" said the boy, very surprised. I explained what was happening, and we got out of the way and the explosion went off. I guess when it exploded, everyone thought there had been an accident, but no damage was done.

On our way to Kaminak Lake in the Turbo Beaver, the pilot asked me if I had ever seen the Beaver glide. I said, "No", and since I was sitting on a case of dynamite, I really did not want to admire its gliding capabilities at that time. However, nothing for it but we had to have the gliding demonstration! Turbo Beavers glide very well, I am glad to say!

The soapstone deposit was excellent, and we had a very successful trip, blasting a lot of stone. Arnalujuak and one of the other Inuit were not very keen on dynamite explosions. Every time we got set to blast, and checked out everyone's location prior to setting off the charge, we could see two tiny figures disappear into the distance over the horizon!

ናህና ላውቴህርት. ርር ፌጋ ቪዮ ውፈላ ኃህውና ሥምየበር ቃው በ**ወ**ፈልታታ**ና**ኄር **ሁ**ሃለ**ወፈ**ჼሦር**ኒ**LC. **/***"የ'የፈነጋበት, <&'ነጋበት, ጋ''የ#/Ľየ/ፈካጋና ₺*****C*****ጋ° Ь′∧₫**ఒ*Ү**୮₫*****ጛ₺ኌ∆′, ₽₽₫₴₷ (200 <ひ*'み*) つべくもひともでとしい。 **ያ**ምቧጋ. የረላው ርዜໝ ታ፣ ነስሎ። ህዜናየረላ-**୮**4८**>**"/L'> በበና'ልዬሬ▷ና厂 በበና'ል**ኚ** Deኄ_ Cժ\는ና‹በ엉, Δ•፣ኄየላ፫ላነታ፡LC 100 ACD^{*} ACD^{*} ACD^{*} ACD^{*} ACD^{*} ዾዹሮ⁴Þ◜Þ∜¢∜┲͵ϤʹL⊃५୩በሦ⋺₽℉ታ୬፦ JC 7688 1607-641-1616 a.e.s A.e.41-1616. ∧ႫჼጔႱፇ፞**ċ**▷ჼჼϽჼჼ, ჼჼჼႶʹჄՐⅆჼጔ₫ልႻჼႶჼጔႠጔ, **Ĺሤ**つくくなに、くるずん、シスロシーケッシに、ぱんこく مرثه الحالمات المرتاب المالام الحالمات ᠘ᠴ᠘ᡟ᠑ᡃᠯᢗᢪ,᠂ᡌᡃᠴᡃᢃᢣᢧᠦ. ᡆᠴᡆ᠘ᢣᡃ᠕ᡥᡄ᠁ <ዓጔ ለሚ∟ኂ፟ጘዸ፟, ሤ፟ነል⊳ለቦ⊲୮ጔ ⊳ኄ๙™∩๙⊋ጔჼ arai 6*<-coa*>*. r*6*<-coa*L ᠘᠘᠘᠙᠘ᠳ᠘ᡧ᠘᠘ᡧ᠘ᡧ᠘᠘ᡧ᠘᠘ᡧ᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘᠘ **₫Ⴊჼ**ጋቴ∟▷ዮጋ.

<u>፟ዀዀጜጜኯፙዀዀ</u>ፘዀዀኇ፞ፙ፞ቔዀዀዀዀ ₫ለሒሥህታ¶LჀ በ¶ГċГċ™ ≒ċ₽Г∀Г" ርժ/Ľ"ዮሬህ. ▷ቴ">ህ, "ፈ▷", ◁ር▷ቴ ቼ**ჼჼ**ርჼነጋና ቼቼቴៃ ΔΨ≪≺ኒ፫ኒቫኒ፫, ∖ৢৢ₽₽፫ፈ፫፻ a="\u="PD>2Gb2"""cL, CΔ4"Lσ==0"<0". የረሳቃሮ, ለሄዶ**፣ኮዜ**ኌሳ**፣**በነኌኄ, ካሮኦ፫ጚ፫•

 $C\Delta D^{*}$ C^{*} C^{*} C^{*} C^{*} C^{*} ℅℀ℂ℠Ͻℯℼ℆Ⅎⅆ℉⅌ⅆℾⅆ℄ⅅ℠⊳℄ ጜ፞ዀናኯኯባወላ፟የሁነር ዜኦኦጓጚሁነር ልኌልና a σ 'L 'ic'. CdecD">J' Δ σ 'a "σ " L 'P" σ " DU-1"-6" CCLQACPD-0-1

I believe this deposit of soapstone supplied the people of Arviat with good quality raw material for their carvings for some time.

I did have one more blasting trip in the Keewatin. It happened after I left Arviat and had been promoted to District Economic Development Officer for the Keewatin District, based in Churchill.

When I arrived in Churchill, I found that a "Qablunaaq" who had at one time run the Government of the N.W.T. craft shop in Baker Lake, and who had recently gone into private business, had, with a small group of Inuit, staked Baker Lake's one and only soapstone deposit. This meant that no one but the group that had staked the soapstone could have access to it. All the Baker Lake Coop carvers, and there were many, were out of work.

I kept on getting copies of telegrams between Baker Lake and Yellowknife, in which the "Qablunaaq" was trying to charge the government exorbitant sums of money for access to the soapstone.

I knew that under the law, soapstone was not considered to be a mineral, and came under quarrying regulations, rather than the mining ones. Therefore I knew that there was no way that the Baker Lake deposit could be legally staked, and that it was still open for all the local Inuit to take soapstone. I phoned the Regional Director and told him that I was going to put an end to all the nonsense and would blast the deposit and bring stone into Baker Lake Settlement for the people. I did the same with the Director of Economic Development in Yellowknife.

I flew up to Baker Lake, picking up Ray Buffet on the way, and with the help of a Baker Lake Inuk (I forgot his name), outfitted a Bombardier with all the necesርΔ'ፈ ▷ነዛረነነጎየረማና ላ፣ልላ፣፫▷ና ΔኌΔ፣ታ፣ ጎፈ፣ህላሁነጎየነትበናረቴናረርጋየፅየን፣

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BDALcD>t CA'a BLo Dair Arogue

CDO A'db' Lcap' Oll boom Accot,

A'L Aaia' PDT Aaica' accil D'Ca

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A'Lc' baaAr Dibanaco' Liab.

ዕለ∆፫ በ•፫ጵሤ ቴ៤ታጋላነጋና ቴኒኖሎ>ኒ, ና∆ <ናልና ዕናሃጎሎ⊅J ∆የሚችታJ, ቴ៤ታጋላነ-፫ኦኖሮ™ጋ ∆ጔ•፫• (ዕበላ >∆Jናሪ) sary equipment, brought in from Rankin Inlet or borrowed from the hamlet. It was February, and the deposit was buried under snow, making it hard to locate.

Before we went out, the "Qablunaaq" tried to tell me that I might fall through the cracks in the ice going out there! He obviously didn't know that I had spent the last three years with the Inuit of Arviat, much of the time on the land. To make a long story short, we found the main deposit on the second day and blasted several tons of stone, which we hauled back into the settlement. I sent a telegram to Yellowknife from Baker Lake, saying, "Mission Accomplished!"

The Cooperative And Other Businesses

As I said at the beginning, one of the projects I had in mind when I arrived in Arviat was to see if the people would want to form a cooperative to replace the government carving project, and put the carving project in the hands of the people. I thought that if we could accomplish this, it would show the people how businesses could be started, so that they could follow suit by developing their own individual ventures.

We held several meetings about the idea at the Craft Shop, and I can remember you (Mark Kalluak) really helping me, in acting as interpreter. However, we never did develop a coop in regards to the carving project while I was in Arviat. Instead, many of the men working on the water, sewer pumpout, and garbage vehicles were very interested in starting a coop to handle these services, which were at the time being run by the government.

We managed to form the coop and win the contract. We started the coop on an overdraft from the Royal Bank in Churchill. Everything went well, and about a year later the coop started a store in a little building that had been hauled in off the land.

D'c"6"n'aC, CΔ'/L "b'ai" D'bDnσας D"c't /d'û" 'd'oa' 'P'r/'acd'bsL
CΔd"t'σa'c'L /c! 'BDAL"'rcD"d")"

PPDσ! Λ't/σ! Δα'σ! Λ'bN'b"<ccDtσ!/Lσ'σ! Δ'Adr, aar'b'c'/drd"<!aC.
Dσ'b'σ! aΔcrd'al, 'BDr'a"n'al CΔ'a
D'd/"\"Cc! aσcD"<>>' b"nna'\"\"'al
Δ'r'c) d'r', d'b'L"al aac"\"Da'.
d'Δά 'bLσ') d'r' nn"bσ!) Δδ'a")"

d")σ! Δ'c"n'y>t bacal' Δα'a
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Because of my background in store business I was able to help setting it up and getting it operating. I hear that today there is a large coop store and it is doing well.

One day the first fire alarm went off. I ran out of my office to see where the fire was. It was in the old transient centre (bunk house). The Coop had an office in the centre. The building was old and the fire raced through it. Peter Mikiuniak climbed on the roof and cut the power to it and Simon Kowmuk jumped on the loader and smashed a hole in the Coop office wall. It was full of smoke but several of us rushed in and managed to haul out valuable furniture and papers. The building burned to the ground. I was told afterwards that one of the drawers I had pulled out had an uncashed cheque to the Coop in it for over a thousand dollars! Later during the fire the lead man on the hose hosed me down by mistake. It was very cold, and my ear froze solid! I had to wear a bandage for weeks.

With the success of the Coop, other people did get into business. Joe Maink started his Fix-it-Shop and Mark Kalluak started a Sporting Goods and Hardware store. There were others, too. The people of Arviat had a good grasp of business techniques and often did well when they tried out their own busines projects.

I also worked closely with the Coop in Whale Cove. Billy Aksalnik (Billy Brass) had just started managing it at that time. The Coop was in some financial trouble and I managed to assist getting it back on its feet, and putting in bookkeeping and stock control systems. I also helped Lewis Voisey buy his first long-liner boat, which helped him to expand his summer freighting business from Churchill up the coast.

In those days, there was no airstrip in Whale Cove, and so I used to have to travel there by snowmobile, in the winter.

Δೡነናረብነረቴፈሬውቁሩና. Φ′ΔΓσ ጋጎቑርσቕ>ኺ $C\Delta b\sigma j^*$ $\Delta \Upsilon \sigma^* \Sigma \Delta b \sigma^* \Gamma^*$ $\sigma D \Lambda^* \Lambda^* b \sigma^* L C$ dpにtable:

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ለ√⊏ቦ♭፫⁵ቍ ለቦ₫ჼነበና/ፇ፟ጜኄ፫ჼ.

ፊሷ<በኄቍ!. ለቍ **ሷ**ዜጎ፞ቍቔ (ለቍ ‹ዩነ) ር∆ረLቍ aderablaejed#af4, 40%;vj. dQ<0 bC Ψ L 1 D Ψ L 2 L 4 C Φ L 4 L 4 C Φ D Ψ L 4 C Φ D Ψ L 4 C Φ D Ψ L 4 D Ψ Ψ D Ψ LP∩"6"♂"⊅J¬, N∩"6DCA ₫"₽"/"⊅°° 억"L <u>በ</u>የካል"ር'ምህና **ዕ"የ**"የሥታ" 3J. Δδ ላ" የርውኒት ፈው" ሥታ LYS $\Delta\Delta \gg \Delta Z Z \gg C < C^{\dagger} D C Q Z = \Delta^{\dagger} \Omega \Delta J$. ▷፫፭**º**፫ና፫ጔ ፭▷ን፫ ፭⁰ን**°**፫'ራኄ ለህበራ• 3"70" 0"- 2"-cD"/LD".

/L>* ___'d?N'd'__ P/Q+ D'+'+-'<_-D#YL&9 DPDF, d'L dD>F %>~d\d'.

and canoe in the summer. It is about 100 miles between Arviat and Whale Cove.

On my first trip up there by snowmobile, I went on to Rankin Inlet to do business there and back a one-week trip to Arviat, snowmobiles are more reliable now and travel faster. In those days, the spark plugs on the fan side of the engine were always giving out and I am not sure whether I stopped more often, to put gas in, or to replace spark plugs!

The first full winter I was in Arviat (1971/ 72), I had to borrow Linda Lott's (Pemik) snowmobile. However in the fall of 1972, the department sent me one of my own. There was a light snow falling, on Halloween evening, as I headed proudly to the Bay from the office on my new ski-doo. When I got to the Bay, the throttle jammed and I could not stop. I played with the cable. It was dark, and there were children playing on the street past the Catholic Church, but I could not get at the key with my mitts on! I managed to avoid the kids and the next thing I knew I was heading out of the settlement onto the tundra in the dark, where I knew there were very large rocks. I did a shoulder roll off the machine on the last snowdrift before I left town; the snowmobile went on into the dark and there was an incredible crash as it hit a rock! David Serkoak and I hauled it into the Craft Shop and managed to repair it that night but I don't think that it ever did run as fast again, as that first time!

The first time I travelled to Whale Cove by canoe was in the fall of 1971. I went with David Oolooyuk and Tony Eecherk (Nunngaat). I had promised my wife to be back in Arviat by Thanksgiving Day, as we had invited Linda Lott (Pemik) to supper. I finished my business in Whale Cove and we headed for home in plenty of time. However, we ran into bad weather and could not cross Dawson Inlet. We managed to get ashore and camp on Bibby Island. I remember the winds were so high that we tied the canoe down to the rocks. It was

፭ጎል፭ና በየናነኛናጔ ፭፭ተራቴ ▷ኄሪካበየራቴቴጐጐ 100 L∆ራ፫ቴ

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getting cold, so we put brush under my tent for warmth. When we unpacked we realized that we had left most of our food in Whale Cove! Luckily there were lots of rabbits on Bibby Island. They had turned white but there was no snow. However, I think they thought they were invisible because they would show up stationary, as fine targets against the black rocks. David Oolooyuk was shooting them with a .243 rifle and so we weren't too hungry. We were there for three days and missed Thanksgiving Day supper. I remember it was still quite rough when we went down the coast and there were lots of water spouts out on the Bay.

ውሄትነው እነፈበውና ትየበলናነበቦ Cde ">Jና σ PDU'P, Ublikalı, σ PF, σ C, σ PF, σ C, σ PF, σ ℅ℊ℄ℸℸⅅ℮℞⅄ℯΩ℩℺ℴℷ℄℮℄ /c. የ/‹ የተለታ ታ ነር ነፃ ፌ / ቦ ነር ∟ ▷ ዜ ነፃ ጋ ፣ ▷ ታ ነፃ ነጉ タ℆ℾᆘ℅℩ℲℼⅅՙℶՈℾℶ℠ℎ℧℉ℴⅅ℄ℂ*ൣ*ℯ℀Ⅎⅅℾ Dኒርቴኒስኒ CΔልና D그ቲና .243ጔና ለሜሪካስር-LDILP' 6"-ATADA LDLDYL KJ". AUKH $C\Delta b\sigma D'cb'C \sigma n BCD TT GccD > J'$ ህንድ'ል**ነ**厂 ውኪላው. **ላ**▷ሬትቃኄ ላ∆ረየላና'ር $\Delta V_{\Delta} = \Delta V_{\Delta} V_{\Delta} V_{\Delta}$ John Attok

Phillip Tasseor, John's nephew, remembers his uncle to be a very kind person.

Mark: Phillip, wher abouts do you remember John Attok?

Phillip: The way it began some years I don't recall at all and at times I have vivid recollections. When I was a small lad I recall living somewhere, I think it was Agiuarurnak in the vicinity of Seal Lake. I have a feeling we spent the winter there or someplace else my-memory isn't all that certain. I liked being with him, more so than his dear brothers. He was my favourite over the others, possibly because he would buy me small items. I was single-mindedly attracted to him and that's how I remember him the most.

Mark: Was there anything about his life that suddenly stands out in your memory?

Phillip: I used to spend most of my time with them in my waking moments. I distinctly remember - since we all lived in iglus than - that their iglu was always clean. They seemed to have the best food also, their belongings were always put away neatly.

Mark: He had a well-planned life, did he?

Phillip: Yes, as long as I can remember he was always into the Bible. As a matter of fact, that's how he carried on even to his death.

Mark: How about his carving career, do you remember anything special?

Phillip: I don't have a lot of memories, since I only watched him carve now and then. When I did though, he would be carving figures of bears out of antler, and other small objects out of soapstone. On antier he would make an outline of a person's face that is how I observed him.

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₫*)* CD)*ネ[アィ。▷ʕィタ Ⴊオレルイ[₫'ネレュ₫* שלים לביל CL'de עלים ביילים ביילי <u>ጎፈ•ህ</u>₫"ጋ" Cd⋞∟▷"ፖ∟ታዓጔ₫ና.

Mark: Was he ever asked to an art show outside of Arviat?

Phillip: I don't know, I never noticed him going out of the community to carve, so I can not make an honest statement about that.

Mark: What sort of things did he like doing?

Phillip: I think he enjoyed trapping foxes and fishing in spring as well as winter. In fact I recall tagging along very slowly, as we went fishing on foot. I think he really liked fishing during winter, and persuing other wildlife.

Mark: Do you remember him talking about any personal experiences that were difficult or distressing?

Phillip: Yes, I used to hear him talk of them now and then. We were all desperate people and I think we more or less inherited it. We had no tents so we tried sleeping out in the open, even during rainy weather. I often heard him talk of these hard times and I'm telling it the way I heard it from him.

Mark: This question is really directed at you. Before Inuit began carving, for what purpose were antlers used by Inuit people in your life time?

Phillip: The flat portion was used to collect firewood, or was made into an ice scoop. It was also used as an anchor when we had dogteams, or made into snowknife handle. We utilized it in any way we could, so long as it served a good purpose.

Mark: What about soapstone? I suppose it was not useful for much other than stone lamps, eh?

Phillip: I saw it being used for qulliqs. I don't know what else it was used for, but then we didn't take much notice of soapstone until carving came into the picture. I know it was used as lamps, that's about the extent of it.

Ld!: /20% UNAITH "<CD" 6"<?

ĹႻ: Þ'๗๙ʰ\Δ⁺сРФ° Ф๋วก��ФсÞ℉ንၨൟ ሤ⁺сÞσÞ° Ф๙Фъ°?

John Attok 85

Mark: I've seen people with stone pipes, wase it also utilized for pipes?

Phillip: Yes, it was used for pipes.

Mark: In your travels on the land, have you seen anything that looked as though it is soapstone?

Phillip: Yes, I remember a spot south of Padlei, this side of Henik Lake that looked like soapstone but not a very large deposit. I stopped there only briefly. It looked as though it's the kind that doesn't get shiny. Another place is south of Qamaniq, on the lake shore there are stones in the water, but a very small deposit. I don't remember too many places of soft stone deposits.

Mark: Have you done carving yourself?

Phillip: I have attempted carving before, but mainly antler. I can carve figures of birds. I've never tried soapstone yet because I'm really bad about breaking it so I don't touch it.

Mark: Do you have anything you want to say?

Phillip: Even though I don't carve I'm in full support of having an arts and crafts centre here. And if ever an opportune moment presented itself and if we knew of a deposit, it would be nice if we could haul the stuff down for carvers. I know they would be a lot happier, but the problem is, we never seem to have the support and means to do it. I know there are a few people who know of deposits. The only reason we don't attempt to haul it down is that we have no equipment. I'm sure if we were asked to, we would be more than willing.

Mark: Is it true that quarried stone is pretty hard to come by in Arviat?

Phillip: Yes, that's how it seems to be, because people have to pay for the stone they get within Arviat.

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בלי: יעבייטסייייבולס סרפייחיירבלי אריבי ~~~ **4.74.** 4.44.

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Luke Anowtalik	غه طمه
Like many of his people Luke survived the incredible odds during one particularly bad winter for the Ahiarmiut Inuit at the close of the 50's.	arm signrof it dapent da todost atla total tall est established the properties of the second of the
Mark: First of all, Luke, I'd like to ask where your memory started as a child.	፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟
Luke: It started when we lived in our land at Ennadai, that is where I started remembering.	انه: ۵۵۵۴ ۵۵۵ (خوص ۱۹۵۵ (۱۳۵۲ کا ۱۹۵۵ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹۵۵ کا ۱۹۵۵ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹ کا ۱۹ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹ کا ۱۹ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹۵ کا ۱۹ ک
Mark: Was that where you lived most of the time?	፫ሐ/ : ውል ነ ል የፈተረ ጋ " ለፖ
Luke: That is correct, that is where we lived when I had a father.	≟≒ ∸⋴₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽₽
Mark: What sorts of things were bartered in the old days?	፲ሐ/ :
Luke: All I know of were foxes, because Inuit trapped in the old days.	ၨታ: በሊሁታ ላ ዣ"ዺ'ታት ፟ ፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟፟ት: በሊሁታ ላ ችጋኄ በሊሁታ ላ ች/ውበጋ ረረውነ <u>ር</u> ር ፟፝ቔኄ፟፟፟፟፟ት.
Mark: When did you move away from your own camp?	Ľď? : ቴኒሮ ውልጋቴና? 424ውና ውሬ <i>ውና</i> ት ለረ?
Luke: We move to Arviat in 1959.	غه: ۱۹۶۹-۳ مُد۵۳/۲۲۷ ۵۱۵۵۵۰ .
Mark: When you moved here you didn't move anywhere else?	፫ፌ/ : C'>ኄ ቇ፣ፈናረ
Luke: We moved here in the spring, such as it is today, but came summer we moved to Whale Cove.	ጔት: C∆L በላኄጋና ∆፫ዜና ▷ለ፣ኒካካህዜና ርቃኒ፫ቴናር ላ▷ታካህኄጋላ፣Lና በየና፣ላላነጔ፫ - ላ፫ኮግህና.
Mark: Did you find the surroundings much different?	ሲሐ/ : ቴው" CLPህሮጎ " ጋታ ውጪ ዕ 'ታ <mark></mark> ዖናውጋ?
umerent!	غ ⁴ ; ۵'۶۵'۲۵"

ALDIDIO.

בשלי: חתלים לפירויער לפידו בים אים בי

Luke: Oh yes, I found it to be completely flat.

Mark: When fur prices went down to nil, how

did Inuit earn money?

Yartin Amanantifa	
Luke Anowtalik	≛∷⊄८५a™⊎⊴७€±b≥⊴™.
Luke Ternaps by carving.	3, 47 14 04 0 3034
Mark: When did you start carving?	Ld. 56 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50 50
Luke: In 1962 I think, when arts and crafts began in Arviat.	ၨቌት: 1962-୮ኦቄቄት ካፈቱህላየልትዕየታትካትLና ርሲታ ላየልላታ.
Mark: What prompted you to start carving?	፫ሐ/ :
Luke: I don't remember, but I think the reason that a lot of us carve is because of money.	ኔት :
Mark: Who got you into carving?	ĽႻ ; ₽₫ ለቦ₫ቈበ∟▷ኈ<በ°?
Luke: Some Inuit, like Serkoak and Angaksaat- siaq, because they were the first ones, and there was a carvers group with people like Qavioq as members.	ၨት: CΔ′dላ ልቇሁጋል° ለ'dላ'dናጋል° ላጊነካ' 'ረ- ላነď° ለ%'፦"«ኒህሬውሞ/L*LC, 6በLት'ቴ'ሲሬው- ጋቦነ የልው'd'፦ናጋነ በላሴልሬውነጋ°.
Mark: Before you carve, how do you imagine what your carving will look like?	፫ሐ /: ካፈፃህወረቦወናህልና ቼഛቴ CDጋፃ₫ ቴ Cጚልና ካፈፃህወናታወቴናታቱ?
Luke: I just start chipping away and the shape comes out by itself, really rough at first, but eventually becoming recognizable.	ၨት: በdናል
Mark: Do you preconceive what the object will be before you carve?	Ľሑ⁄ :
Luke: No, I just go ahead and carve a bunch of faces lumped together, because that's my style of carving.	ጔት; ௳▷• በ፭ናል △፫ተበጋቴሊ፭፫፭ቈታኒ ሶልቴኒ፦ ፭፫፫፭ናጔቴት ቴበ∟ፈ፫፭'ፈ፭ቴት በ፭ናል ጎልቴኒነ፭ቴርፈሁL.
Mark: Which do you carve, stone or antier?	止去 : D>*b>* ५०*४४८४° ० ५८*० ५०%?
Luke: Both.	≛* CL∆'♂⊳⊍⊐⊲™.
Mark: Once there was a Qablunaaq inland, a cook. I heard that you nick-named him. Do you remember?	ĿႻ : C* <o ⴊⴗⴢⴛⴊϲ<b="">D*/L*L: ΔレᲑᲚᲥ* CΔჼႻჂ๋* ΔͻჼϽ: ସና/ϲD*/Lレ*σ dDc}ል:?</o>
Luke: I certainly do, because I used to be a washer when Taramanii and gang finished eating.	ၨႜႌ ጳኮፌትኖላህና ርልኔታ ልጥክቦታር ተኒፈርኦ ናL ርናLቆናያ ታሊላታናኌኒኄር.
Mark: What does Taramanii mean?	Ldv: C9L+ Da bo" DPc"?

Luke: Oh, the building had an elevated floor with sand underneath it. They dug the ground and made another room. They would go underground to eat, so when Taramanii had something to give he would say "Taramanii" - meaning under.

Mark: So that's why the name Taramanii, meaning down under?

Luke: Yes, they would eat downstairs and he would say "taramanii", a dialect he'd picked up somewhere because he doesn't speak our dialect.

Mark: Soapstone, antler, or bones -- what were they used for before Qablunaat came?

Luke: In the old days before we had arts and crafts centres we just played with antlers. We put them up and tried to knock them down with a flat one as a throwing object. That's about all they were used for, other than that they were useless.

Mark: What about as implements such as snowknives or as nails, have you seen anything like that?

Luke: I don't remember people doing that.

Mark: How about as handles for skin scrapers or knives?

Luke: Yes, antiers were used as handles for knives and snowknives.

Mark: What about weapons for catching tuktu at crossing points?

Luke: You mean like Ipus? I wasn't around when Inuit used antlers as spears, but I've seen metal tips on weapons during my time.

Mark: I have no more questions, Luke, but if you have any comments to make you may speak.

בי: סכער קי־ילס, כרים פעוויר, אלי-י ጋጦ, ወዜ ርጓቴ ወር ውል ጓዜያዜናው። ᠘ᡟ᠘ᠮᠵᢙᡟᢛᡃᠦᠺᢛ᠘ᠺ᠘ᢣ᠘ᡀ᠘ᡩᡓᠬᡟ᠂ᡖᡳ᠆

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בלכ**⊳∿∿**יני?

<u>፡</u> Δ>/"<cΔ"ኃ\-Δ< CL'dα α'-ζΔ</br> ۸**८.**▷೧९-•۵٬ <۵۹-•۵′.

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Δ>σ'?, CΔ'dσ't α''', '\α'''L'' **ረ**•ህበ•**ጕ**ናጋህ, Ldۍህ \ል•ፈ፦ ዾ፦ሁላላ፦ **₫ჼህበጎረ⊅ჼ**ጋኄ. .

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Luke: I think if Arviat had a permanent arts and crafts centre that wouldn't be moved someplace else I would be happy about it.

Mark: Are you happy with the prices of carvings?

Luke: I have no complaints because when I'm occupied with carving regularly social services won't even consider me. I make a living mostly on carving anyway, and when I do a lot of carvings, sometimes this happens.

Mark: Do you think carving came as a benefit with the price of fur at no value anymore?

Luke: Certainly, carving came as tremendous assistance sincethe price of fur fell.

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<u>፡</u>ት: Δἰ ΔδτθΟΡጵዮ-ΎΔΓΔεΦ")* CL*α ጎα*ህላኘታ*.

After a life of preparing traditional food and keeping her family clothed by sewing skins, Mary spends her time creating the very objects she grew up with, out of soapstone.

Mark: When did you start carving?

Mary: Perhaps around 1962.

Mark: Do you recall the first piece you created?

Mary: My first attempt at carving was a figure of a woman carrying a child on her back.

Mark: Who made you become interested in carving?

Mary: I don't know the name, but someone related to David Webster (Dennis) he was the one who asked us to carve any object we wished. He was the one who got a lot of us interested in carving.

Mark: Do you create an image in your mind before starting on your carving?

Mary: I don't really try creating an image, because surprisingly I find that even if I do, it is very difficult to bring it out exactly on stone the way one imagines it. I create an image as I go along, and I consistently carve human figures.

Mark: How about sewing or wall hangings, have you done any of them?

Mary: When Dennis was one of the Qablunaat here he had us sewing arts and crafts out of a big building that was used as a crafts centre at first. So we were all doing some sewing too.

Mark: Were you happy with it?

Mary: At first we were happy about it because it was an opportunity for many to make money.

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Mark: What about stone, is it available in Arviat?

Mary: Presently it is very hard to get; before it was so easy. This year particularly it is very difficult getting it because there is a price tag on stone now. Also, it is very hard to carve for some reason. The ones near Arviat that Inuit carve are really hard and often mixed with quartz.

Mark: Among your carving companions, who do you consider to be exceptionally good carvers?

Mary: One person who is not a long time carving companion, would be Jimmy Muckpah, and others like Mamgark and Irkok are good strong carvers.

Mark: How about the carving tools you use, are they comfortable to work with?

Mary: Files and axes have been the main tools I've been using all along, and nothing else. But after seeing other carvers utilizing new tools I'm beginning to be dissatisfied with knowing only the file and axe for so long. I feel that we should be modernizing and making use of new tools since we know about them now.

Mark: Local carvers, most of them work out of their own homes now. Do you think it would be easier for carvers to work out of a central location?

Mary: Working out of a central location would probably mean less participation from poor carvers who learn by observing. Carvers aren't allowed to copy other peoples' style of carving, at least that's what true arts and crafts discourages. I've been told this more than once by true crafts officers. They say I'm not to copy another person's carving, so with that in mind I would have certain reservations.

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፟**፟፟፟፟፟፞፞፞፞ፚ፞፞** CL[†]ሮ ካልህላር[™]ጋና ΔውΔና, ላΔረLሩጋበት ካልግህላችር የግLC ሲካል CL[†]Γት, 6በL₂በትሮ ካልግህላጎልግሮ ተጋበት ነውውና Δነ₂ላጎሮ ትካውበቦልታ-ከዕትሩ?

Mary: The minute we stop carving, social services is slow to consider (helping) us, and Luke and I are unemployed. We always resort to asking help from our two sons because they're the only ones with employment. I'm in full support of receiving an adequate supply of carving stone and a place to carve, but we are very limited in what we can do.

止ሑ': ቴልΓ፭'c ΔረLቦን'፦ ▷ቴ"ኃ'ኌ፭-ሮ">በ'.

Nancy Tasseor

A carver herself, Nancy remembers some of John Attok's carvings.

She was born and lived around Arviat but lived in Rankin Inlet for a couple of years while her husband worked at the mine.

As did most of the Inuit of this area, they moved back when the mine shut down and left the people under Government care.

Soon after she was one of the stream of Inuit staking a piece of the action in the arts and crafts world.

Mark: Where were you born?

Nancy: Here around Arviat according to my aunt Uyauperk who told me about it, but I'm just not certain exactly where.

Mark: When did you start carving?

Nancy: I started at a time when we heard that Inuit would start carving and get money for doing it. I started carving the minute the program started.

Mark: What do you carve?

Nancy: Mostly figures of people because I can't carve animals. People always ask me to carve images of an Inuk lady with a child on her back, so that's what I carve mostly.

Mark: Do you carve mostly stone or do you carve other materials too?

Nancy: Generally I carve stone when it is soft. I can carve antler too, but I don't do it often.

Mark: Which tools are most useful when carving?

Nancy: File and axe. In the early stages an axe would be the tool commonly used. It is really not practical to start off with a file. Usually I would chip away with an 4 CVD*

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ፌጉ/: CΔL ካል*ህ፭*C'&q'LCå* ἐαρρ*Ć-C'ጔበ* ካል*ህ፭ጚ/የ፭'ፌጋ፭*LC ካል*ህ፭ቴር-Pየ፭ሬρ*/Lቲኒ.

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Ĺሐ/: ካፈ*ህላ*ጋታ /ፈ ካ*ፈበና ላጋ*ጔሊ•ጋዀ ር⊳ራና?

axe if it's a big piece. But if they're small pieces I would take a hack saw and saw pieces off to to put it into the shape I want.

Mark: So these three items, axe, saw, and file are commonly used?

Nancy: Yes, that is what I use mostly. I never had a lot of tools to work with so I use the very basic ones. Once in a while I use the round file, otherwise I stick to the basic tools I'm comfortable with.

Mark: Do you remember what problems you had when you started?

Nancy: I had a lot of problems with antler because it's so hard and smooth, so I don't carve it too often.

Mark: The crafts officers who were in Arviat, do you remember any of them?

Nancy: Yes, I remember someone with a big beard who could speak Inuktitut. Another person I recall is someone named David, I think. Actually, there were three I remember including Dennis, they all used to urge me to carve.

Mark: Is it easy to get soapstone in Arviat?

Nancy: No, I don't think it's that simple to get soapstone because I think one has to pay for the stone. Since they've attached a price to soapstone, I have not carved. Since the craft shop slowed down this fall people haven't been carving and I haven't either because of the price of stone. I haven't been trying hard at all since then.

Mark: How about one of the old carvers, John Attok, do you recall any of his carvings?

Nancy: Yes, I recall him carving antier, shaping it into dog-like figures. His carvings were unique in that they were abstract. They looked almost like people and yet didn't really have any form. Some

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of them, you could really tell what they were. His was a very unique way, objects in the shape of people and yet not.

Mark: Do you remember anything special about his life?

Nancy: Yes, he appeared to be a very kind person. We had him stay with us in our household for quite a while before his death. If anyone asked for something he appeared to be very generous and always in a state of prayer. He was a very gentle person.

Mark: Have you had anyone asking you to do a carving for them?

Nancy: Yes, I've received a lot of requests to do carvings but I have not been able to meet my obligations because we're restricted from taking stone anytime we want. I suppose we could, but we have to pay for the stone. Nevertheless, I make an effort not to refuse flatly because I do receive a lot of requests from Qablunaat.

Mark: It's hard to get stone, is that correct?

Nancy: It's the price that's discouraging me and I'm not trying very hard, though I think the stone is very soft.

Mark: In the old days, what were soapstones antler and tusks used for?

Nancy: I haven't heard that much, but I suppose as cooking pots or pipes. Antlers were probably used as spears and buttons for ladies atigis with baby pouches. I've seen them used as such. Other than that I have not heard what they were used for.

Mark: If you had your way, how would you improve the arts and crafts situation in Arviat?

Nancy: If there were an arts centre in Arviat I would be happy, a place where people could go to sell their products. That's the way I would like it.

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Nancy Tasseor 96

Mark: If you have anything to say, you can speak.

Nancy: I would be carving a lot more on a regular basis if I knew of a place to take carvings. As it is now, there doesn't seem to be any place at all to take a person's carving. If I were asked to carve though, I'd be more than willing to do it.

፲ሐ/: ቴᠴ፫፭ቴ Δ/Lቦታ፣σቴ ▷ቴ▷/ቴ\ቴ፣σ?ልና ▷ቴቴኃቴ⊐፭ቴጋበና

Photo Captions:

ሳየትልላ፣ **ኦ**ብላትርም:

- 1. John Pangnark teaching students how to carve at Qitiqliq School. ታች ሩትታች ካቢችህላጎታቸው ላሚዎችጋ ልተች ምበጭታች ልታችታላልችቸ.
- 3. Mary Miki holding her son and grand-daughter ్రేష్ గ్రామ్ దార్చార్లు దేశాలో.
- 4. Practically the whole community met the plane.
- 5. Henry Isluanik carving outdoors in 1967. Hడంగ దిందికా గంగ్ సం కారిలోనికి 1967-గ్.
- 6. Albert Nungnilk skinning a caribou. ペーン つっぱっぱ ついしてい ペーン いっぱい
- 7. The building originally used as taxidermy. Δωρίζου የጋር ትርልልልታች.
- 8. The original craft shop was similar to this building. నాటర్నికర్ రిచ్చార్ దడ్లాడ్లాడ్.
- 9. Approximately 12' x 16', this was the first craft shop. 12 X 16 Δσህነጋበቦና፣ ካልነህባልነህውና.
- 10. The type of housing known as "match box" provided by DIAND in the 1960s. ርጌጋ Δንና ርሷታዮሩ "ሷቸርዮ/ል" Δውሮሲትሮና ጋσታዮ ውሪና 1960-ው.

- 14. Carvings Henry did for the church. っついくしない HAoゃく ンドインペーン・
- 15. Gabe Gely with Elizabeth Nutaraluk in 1985. רי אר ביל 1985- 1985 ביים 1985.

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16.	Carving by Bill Ukutak トローローロー・トロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロー・ロ
17. <u></u> ∆	Carving by Eva Tarlooki く さっゃく ちゅうしゅし
18.	Carving by Eva Tarlooki (seen from the back) 凸ぺ さっぱ ちゅうひくし (フゅうぐっか BACdw)
19.	Carving by somebody PSPS ちょうろし
20.	Carving by somebody P <p<が td="" ちょりくじ<=""></p<が>
21.	Carving by Joseph Akatsiak リント くちゃくく トロックスし
22.	Carving by Andy Mamgark 작가 L-ህD< 녹습학기식다
23.	Qahoq (Mary Miki) BHD* (FOr FP)
24.	Luke Anowtalik selling his carving at the Padlei co-op, Arviat ふ くっして しょうくう ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・ロック・
25 .	Dolls by Martha Pisujui LC ハイマム ムCSものこので
26.	Joy Hallauk working on a wall hanging ≺Δ ∖∟▷
27.	Elizabeth Nutaraluk during an interview by Mark Kalluak on carvings ムートへ ゅくらっぱ ひゅうんようゅうでしゅう にゅう しゅくごしょ ちゅうりゅうしょ
	Lucy Tasseor working on a large carving って Cイロット ちゅうない てんじょくしん ちゅうしゅ
	Joy Hallauk working on a beaded wall hanging ላል ካርው ለህወንሮችሮ ቦማሪህወችጋች ውልህሮችነርች.
30.	Jacob Irkok one of the many carvers in Arviat ታΔЬ< Δቴሪኮ ላጎልላቦ ካፈህላቴ<ኮን ላቦረ Δ፫ኒና
	Mary Miki doing bead work. 「つん 「? ごしつってんべゃ

32.	Luke and Mary Anowtalik long time carvers 4L Fan and and the sale	
33.	Nancy Tasseor (a carver) and her husband Phillip Tasseo a・イ Cィロ (トロリローハ) ベート ロムし ヘー・ Cィロー	r
34.	Snow geese made of antier by Jacob Irkok በግርባህልና ፌዛናልታና ታልচና ልቴትና ካፌህባሀል	
35.	The original Craft Shop in Arviat ちょしついんじしゃ つらんロー	
36.	David Serkoak CAA ^c ごはつ ^a	
	Mark Kalluak Ldイ bュタ*	
	oto Credits	
1-3	David Serkoak CAA・パイクル	
4-14	4 Mark Kalluak Ldイ bっつゅ	
15-2	25 Gabe Gely UΔ' Γς	
26-3	34 Mark Kalluak Ldr 6 ರ ರ ಇ	
35-3	37 David McArthur CA& Lもつ	

















































































