UTQIAGVIK ETHNOHISTORY INTERVIEWS

Tape Transcripts

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FOREWORD

Barrow, properly known as Utqiagvik in the Inupiaq language of the Alaskan Eskimo, sits on the coast of the Arctic Ocean in northern Alaska. With a population today of more than three thousand people Barrow is the northern most community in the United States.

Barrow's written history dates back to 1826 when it was first sighted and recorded in the journal of an English explorer. But the prehistory of Barrow's occupation goes back much further in time. This current archeological project is aimed at illuminating this prehistory as well as Barrow's more recent history.

Recent plans for the construction of a new natural gas line to serve the community has placed some of the historic remains in Barrow in danger. To mitigate the destruction an archeological salvage project was done during the summer of 1981 under the direction of Albert A. Dekin, Jr. to collect for study and display the artifacts which otherwise might have been lost to construction activities. The recording of oral history, included as part of the project, involved local elders from the community,

adding valuable knowledge about the early history of Barrow. This report, a companion to the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory report, consists of transcripts of the oral tapes recorded during the 1981 field season.

Most of the interviews in this report were collected by David Libbey under the direction of Edwin S. Hall, Jr., principal investigator for ethnohistory on the Utqiagvik Archeology Project. At Hall's request the tape transcripts were turned over for indexing to the Oral History Project of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. William Schneider, Director of the Oral History Project , personally indexed the collection. Barbara Shumate of the Oral History Project entered the index in the Oral History Project Master Index. Major revisions in the index printout have been done with the assistance of David Andersen of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Subsistence Division, Nancy Tobin of the Oral History Project, and Polly Wheeler of the Anthropology Program at the University of Alaska.

This product is novel but it is part of a continuing effort of the Oral History staff to make recorded information more accessible to interested readers and listeners. This particular effort goes a long way toward providing easy reference to a variety of topics discussed by Barrow elders.

INTRODUCTION

A significant feature of this volume is the index that accompanies it. Consisting of two parts the index is a detailed key to the contents of the interviews; the specific items and subjects talked about by the Barrow elders during those interviews.

The first part of the index is an alphabetical listing of key words with numbers following each entry identiifying the transcripts they relate to. By using this list the reader may go directly to the transcript where the item or subject occurs or to the Annotated Index for more data pertaining to the interview.

The second part of the index, the Annotated Index, is an interview history - the who, when, what, where and why - for each interview with entries made in the following manner:

NUMB = number. The number to the left of this entry identifies the number that is assigned by the computer when the program is run. The number corresponds with the numbers listed under the alphabetized keywords. The number to the right is that assigned

by the Oral History Project when doing the indexing; it is for their reference purposes.

NARR = narrator. This entry identifies the person(s) being interviewed.

INTR = interviewer. This entry identifies the person(s) conducting the interview and their status.

KEYW = keyword. The alphabetized keyword list is drawn from this entry. Here the keywords appear in the order in which they occur in the transcript.

REFR = reference. This entry identifies the places or offices to contact for more information about the transcripts.

MTHD = method. This entry describes the means by which the information is documented; whether or not there is a transcript and if so the languages used.

ANOT = annotation. This is a brief description of what is talked about in the interview.

REST = restrictions. This entry states any restrictions on the use of the interview information.

GEOA = geographic area. This entry gives the geographic area discussed in the interview; the name of the town or village and the area in the state.

As an example of one way to use this volume let us say the reader is interested in finding out about fuels that have been used throughout Barrow's history. By consulting the alphabetized keywords the reader finds that fuel is a subject in six interviews, numbers 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, and 21 with fuel costs also discussed in number 21 and pitch as a fuel discussed in number 7. Moving along to the second part of the index the reader finds from the ANOT entries in each of the above transcripts that fuel is a major subject of discussion in numbers 14, 15, and 16. These transcripts give a good account of fuel use in Barrow. Other topics relating to fuel use such as cooking, kitchins, oil, coal and blubber processing can again be traced by returning to the keyword index.

The purpose of the index is to provide an inventory catalogue of the interview information for easy retrieval from its original context. The Utqiagvik Ethnohistory volume can be consulted for an analysis of this information.

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1 NUMB 102299
NARR OENGA, ANDREW
INTR NEAKOK, MARTHA (TRANSLATOR) ; BURNELL, DELORES (TRANSLATOR); LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, OIL DEVELOPMENT, PIGNIQ, BIRNIRK, NUVUK, UTQIAGVIK, CEREMONIAL HOUSE, ATUUTIGRUAQ, NUNAVAAQ, WILL ROGERS-WILLEY POST MONUMENT, WALAKPA, VAN VALEN, WHALERS, TRADING, CEREMONIES, NALUKATAQ, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, NORTH SLOPE, NATIVE CULTURE CHANGES, HOUSE OWNER, OWLS, PRUDHOE BAY, SIKLUKAQ, NAKILNUYUK, BODFISH, KELLY-JOHN, BROWER-CHARLES, POINT BARROW,
REFR BARROW. NORTHSLOPE BOROUGH PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT TAPE 1.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT- YES (EMMA NUNGOYIK). LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH.
ANOT ANDREW OENGA TELLS ABOUT THE OLD BARROW SITE OF UTQIAGVIK AND ABOUT THE SURROUNDING AREA. HE TELLS ABOUT CHANGES SINCE THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE WHALERS AND TRADERS AND ABOUT CEREMONIAL AND TRADITIONAL HOUSES.
REST NONE STATED
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE

2 NUMB 102300
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, HUNTING SEA MAMMALS, PIGNIQ, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, NUVUK, UTQIAGVIK, WHALERS, TRADING, BARROW NATIVE STORE, BACKLAND- john SR. (CAPT), SCHOONER "TRANSIT", NALUKATAQ, TRADITIONAL EDUCATION, CHILDREN, FRESH WATER SOURCES , PEARD BAY, RIVER TRAVEL, INARU RIVER, MEADE RIVER, TOOPARUK RIVER, CHIPP RIVER, NIGLIK, COLVILLE RIVER, UMIAK, PLANTS, WAINWRIGHT, BACKLAND- JOHN,
REFR BARROW.NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT TAPE #2.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT- YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.
ANOT ROXY EOWANA TELLS ABOUT THE OLD BARROW SITE OF UTQIAGVIK AND THE SURROUNDING AREA. HE TELLS ABOUT SUMMER TRAVEL INLAND TO THE EAST. HE ALSO TALKS ABOUT CEREMONIAL HOUSES, EDUCATION AND THE SEASONAL ROUND. GOOD GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION IS PROVIDED.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE. WAINWRIGHT; NORTH SLOPE.

3 NUMB 102301
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, UTQIAGVIK, SITE EROSION,FORD-JAMES, PITCH FUEL, BLUBBER, RAVINE, BLANKET TOSS, FISHING, WHALING, WALRUS, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, SEA ICE, KIVILIQPAAT, ICE CELLARS, TAAKPAAQ, HISTORIC HOUSES, NALUKATAQ, FAMINE, STARVATION, STORY OF TWO

WOMEN STARVING, PLAYGROUND AREA, SUBSISTENCE, KALULIGMIUT, KALULIQ, SIGALVALGMIUT, ICE MOVEMENTS, KYESIKpumiut,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #3.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA TALKS ABOUT TRADITIONAL LIFE AT BARROW. HE DISCUSSES CEREMONIAL HOUSES AND THEIRLOCATION, THE OLD NALUKATAQ AREA AND POINTS OUT SOME SIGNIFICANT HISTORIC STRUCTURES IN THIS ON SITE INTERVIEW.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE

4 NUMB 102302

NARR KIGNAK, ERNEST

INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; NEAKOK, MARTHA (TRANSLATOR); MUNGOYIK, ELSIA (TRANSLATOR)

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, INUPIAQ ESKIMO, PIGNIQ, BIRNIRK, NUVUK, OLD HOUSES, LAMPS, BLUBBER FUEL, ICE CELLARS, FORD-JAMES, CARGI, BROWERVILLE, HUNTING, TRAPPING, TRADING, COAL, SNUGLUK, DURNELL-ED, KATAQ, ATQASUK, STOVES, WHALING, TEACHING, SEALS, WALRUS, CARIBOU, DUCKS, SOURDOCK, NUNAMIUT, ANAKTUVUK, SUBSISTENCE CYCLE, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, OWLS, BARROW SCHOOL, BARROW CHURCH, HOUSE CONSTRUCTION, UKKUQSIQ, BARROW FUEL, SNUGLUK-PETER, NASHANIK-HENRY, SIMMONDS-SAMUEL, SEA ICE ORIENTING, GAME WARDENS, FISH AND GAME LAWS, QIMAARUURAQ, KATALIGAAQ HOUSE,

AEFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #4.

MTHD 1 TAPE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT- YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH.

ANOT ERNEST KIGNAK TELLS ABOUT BARROW HISTORY AND THE SEASONAL HUNTING ROUND. HE TALKS ABOUT CHANGES SINCE THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN, OLD TIME HOUSES, AND THE TRADITIONAL LIFE STYLE.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE. ANAKTUVUK PASS; NORTH SLOPE. ATQASUK; NORTH SLOPE.

5 NUMB 102303

NARR EKOWANA, ROXY

INTR REANIER, RICK; LIBBEY, DAVID; CHANG, CLAUDIA; PETERSON, RANDY.

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, POTTERY, SOILS AND STRATIGRAPHY, PITCH-PUYA, EXCAVATIONS, ARTIFACT IDENTIFICATION, MEADE RIVER, QAYAQ, KAYAK, PLEASURE BOAT, WILLOWS, NAUNAAQ, NOATAK, KUKIK, ISINNAQ, NEGLIQ,PAUKTUUK, JADE, ULU, ADZE, QILAMITAUTIT, HOUSE 8-101, HOUSE 8-130, BAR 2-8-130, HOUSE 8-132, BAR 2-8-132, HOUSE 8-76-8-76-85E, HOUSE 8-278, MOUND #24-SQUARE 26M.,-OE, MOUND #25-SQUARES 10 10

12N-2-4W,CC-BAR-2 SC-7, CC SURFACE COLLECTION-4 (BAR 2-SC-4), CC SURFACE COLLECTION-6, SURFACE COLLECTION-2, SURFACE COLLECTION-10, HOUSE 8-131, BAR 2-8-131, MOUND 8-N6-8-WO-2, SURFACE COLLECTION-11, HOUSES-NO.1, BAR 2-8-1, SIKOQ,IPIKSAUN, BAR 2-8-278 , NUIYYAQPAK, TOGGLES, ICLUKTUULIK, UNAAQ, TUKKAQ, SPEAR POINT, HOUSE 8-N6-8W,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #5.

NTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGE-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA DISCUSSES SOILS FORMATION IN THE UTQIAGVIK SITE AREA WITH RICK REANIER. HE IDENTIFIES ARTIFACTS IN THE PROJECT LAB.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

6 NUMB 102304

NARR EKOWANA, ROXY

INTR ARMSTRONG, MICHAEL; LIBBEY, DAVID.

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, BONES, CHILDREN'S TOYS, GAMES, STORY, AYAGAAQ, CHILDREN'S GAMES, JAW BONE, ESKIMO ICE CREAM, STORY OF THE CARIBOU, BOLAS, INUGAQ, ESKIMO TOY, STORY OF WOMAN, BONE HARROW, SURFACE COLLECTION-13, MUSK OX, ATAT, STORY OF MAN WITH MALE SHOULDER BLADE PADDLE, STORY OF CARIBOU SHOULDER BLADE, MOUND 25, HOUSE 8, MOUND 24, REFUSE PILES, MOUND 10A.

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #6.

NTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA IDENTIFIES ANIMAL BONES FROM THE UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY SITE EXCAVATIONS. HE TELLS STORIES ABOUT HOW THE BONES GOT THEIR NAMES AND ABOUT THEIR USE AS TOYS, AS FOODS, AND IN CHILDREN'S GAMES.

REST NONE STATED

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

7 NUMB 102330

NARR AHTUANGARUK,ALICE; KALAYAUK, INA

INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; NEAKOK, MARTHA(TRANSLATOR);BURNELL, DELORES(TRANSLATOR)

KEYW UTQIAGVIK,NUVUK, TIGIAGLUK, MEADE RIVER, CAMPING-INLAND, CABINS, MOVING DOG TEAMS, KEROSENE, LIGHTING, TRADING-CARIBOU SKINS-DIESEL OIL, HOPSON, KUUKPIK, COLVILLE RIVER DELTA, NOATAK, NUNAMIUT, 1921, SHUNGNAK, 1917, KOTZEBUE, KOBUK RIVER,GIANT SHREW, KIVALINA, TRADING PARTNERS-NIUVIQ, NIGLIQ, PT. HOPE, CHARLIE BROWER, KIVALIMMIUT, TRAILS, FUEL-PITCH, POTTERY, IVORY, BLANKET TOSS, UKHUQSIQ, ROADS, GRAVEL,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE

#7.

PHYD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES. ENGLISH (NOT YET COMPLETE, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION) LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH

ANOT ALICE AHTUANGARUK AND INA KALAYAUK TALK ABOUT GROWING UP AMONG THE NUNAMIUT OR INLAND ESKIMO. THEY TALK ABOUT TRADING AND ABOUT A TRIP THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS TO SHUNGNAK ON THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER AND THE KOTZEBUE AREA.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. NOATAK RIVER. KOBUK RIVER.KOTZEBUE.

8 NUMB 102331

NARR DEKIN, AL;WILSON, EMILY;OKAKOK, LEONA;GRINAGE, BEVERLY PATKOTAK

INTR THOMAS, BOB

KEYW GAS PIPELINE, HISTORIC BARROW, ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, WEATHER BUREAU, STATE UNIV. OF NEW YORK, BINGHAMTON, STEFFANSON, FORD-JAMES, VAN VALEN, BURIALS, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH, COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE, MUSEUM, HUMAN REMAINS, REBURIAL, ANTIFACTS, CASH AND CARRY STORE, BIRNIRK PERIOD, BERING STRAITS, OLD BERING SEA PERIOD, PERMISSIONS, ARCTIC SLOPE REGIONAL CORPOTATION, U.I.C., PREHISTORIC, HISTORIC,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE # 8.

PHYD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH

ANOT BOB THOMAS OF STATION KBRW INTERVIEWS THE DIRECTOR OF THE UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT- AL DEKIN, AND OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROJECT, CONCERNING THE PURPOSE OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AND THE FINAL DISPOSITION OF MATERIAL EXCAVATED. PERMISSION TO EXCAVATE IS DISCUSSED.

REST NONE STATED.

9 NUMB 102305

NARR EKOWANA, ROXY

INTR SLAUGHTER, DALE; ARMSTRONG, MICHAEL; LIBBEY, DAVID

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, ANIMAL BONE IDENTIFICATION, ARTIFACT IDENTIFICATION, OLD HOUSES, BURNED AREAS, SEAL OIL SPILLS, SEAL OIL POKE HANDLE, HOUSE 8, WOODEN SHOVEL, SLATE, CHISEL-MILLER, BALEEN, SURFACE COLLECTION #30, SURFACE COLLECTION #28, HOUSE 8, SURFACE COLLECTION #22, TANKS, SURFACE COLLECTION #20,KUKIK, BOWLS, SURFACE COLLECTION #21, SURFACE COLLECTION #29 CONTAINERS, SURFACE COLLECTION #27, SURFACE COLLECTION #26, ADZE, SURFACE COLLECTION #25, SURFACE COLLECTION #24, IKIUPAQ, SURFACE COLLECTION #23, KNIVES, MOUND #37, HOUSE 9,SURFACE COLLECTION #19, BLUBBER SOAKED SOD, ULUS,

REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT TAPE #9.

PHYD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA IDENTIFIES BONES AND ARTIFACTS RECOVERED FROM THE UTQIAGVIK ARCHEAOLOGY SITE. HE ALSO TALKS ABOUT TRADITIONAL HOUSES AND COOKING AREAS.
REST NONE STATED
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

10 NUMB 102326
NARR TUKLE, EMMA
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; NEAKOK, MARTHA(TRANSLATOR); BURNELL, DELORES(TRANSLATOR)
KEYW NA
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORYAND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #10.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-NO. LANGUAGES-NO.
ANOT EMMA TUKLE IS INTERVIEWED ON BARROW HISTORY. SHE STATES THAT SHE DID NOTGROW UP IN THE AREA AND KNOWS LITTLE OF ITS HISTORY. FOR THIS REASONTAPE HAS NOT BEEN TRANSCRIBED.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA NA

11 NUMB 102327
NARR SARAH KUNAKNANA
INTR NEVELL, RAYMOND; NEAKOK, MARTHA (TRANSLATOR); LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW BARROW, PRUDHOE BAY-HOUSE-1922, BROTHER-JOSEPH-MARK-PERCY-DAVID, SARAH, MARGARET, CROSS ISLAND, CANADA, ALICE WOODS, NUIQSUT,UMIAT, PUTU, NUIQSUT REPORT-1978, FATHER-HUNTING-POLAR BEAR-BEARDED SEALS-WHALE, INLAND-HUNTING-TRAPPING, BOAT-TRADING-FURS, PICHIK(BIRDING) SHOOTING STATION, PEDERSON-C.T.(CAPT), BEECHEY POINT, EDWARDSON-CHARLIE-ANTON, CASTELUBAK, CASTEL-CASTEL, PINGO, HOME, CHAMBERLAIN-HENRY, BROWNLOW POINT, NORTH STAR, LUCY AHVAKANA, SHEEP, SAGVANIRKTOK RIVER, SNOW HOUSE, APUYUK, SALMON, 1900S, TAAQPAK, NUKTUK, ICE CELLAR, AIAOGAK, PANIGEO-NAY-WYMAN,KANIGLUK, DRIFTWOOD, INTESTINE-WINDOW, PORCH(QANITCHAQ), FURNITURE, CACHE-SCAFFOLD, COOKING, DAVID DERRY, LANTERNS, AKOOTCHOOK-MARY-ISAAC,ITTA-JOSEPHINE,TRASH AREA, PAUSANNA, FISHING, EAST DOCK, ARCTIC SLOPE REGIONAL CORP.,PAUSANNA-PAUL, ULUS, SAWS, APAAPA, UTOKOK, ANAKTUVUK, FLAXMAN ISLAND, COLVILLE RIVER, FOX SKINS, SEWING, ULAAQ,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #11.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES,ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO AND ENGLISH
ANOT SARAH KUNAKNANA TALKS ABOUT THE EARLY LIFE WITH HER PARENTS AT PRUDHOE BAY. SHE DESCRIBES THEIR SOD HOUSE WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY EXCAVATED BY ARCHEOLOGIST DAVID DERRY. SHE TELLS ABOUT LIVING ALONG THE COAST AND UP INLAND.
REST NONE STATED
GEOA COLVILLE RIVER TO FLAXMAN ISLAND; NORTH SLOPE.

12 NUMB 102328
NARR KUNAKNANA, SARAH

INTR NEWELL, RAYMOND; NEAKOK, MARTHA (TRANSLATOR); LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW BARROW, PRUDHOE BAY, MARGARET, PAUSANNA FAMILY, FLAXMAN ISLAND, BROWNLOW POINT, NUIQSUT, FAIRBANKS, 1947, SAVIOVIK RIVER, TRAPPING, 1943, 1946, CHIPPP RIVER, CHIPP1, CHIPPP2, CHIPP3, FISHING CAMPS, ARNOLD BROWER SR., ANAKTUVUK RIVER, 1942, UMIAT, COLVILLE RIVER, TALEAK-JOANNE, POINT THOMPSON, BEAUFORT SEA, TRASH, BONES-ANIMALS, TOOLS-FATHERS, CELLAR-ICE, UTENSILS-COOKING, HOUSE-MARK ULAAQ'S, AKOOTCHOOK FAMILY, 1939, QARITCHAQ, CACHE, BUTCHERING SEALS, TRIP- BOAT TO BARROW, "NORTH STAR" BIA SUPPLY SHIP, UTQIAGVIK, SOD HOUSES, UTOKOK, UNPIAGAVIK, NUVUK, WHALES, NANNIE WOODS, CROSS ISLAND, AKPIK FAMILY, TIGUTAQ, AHVAKANA, AHSOAK-MARK, SAVAAQ FAMILY, PANIGEO FAMILY, TAAKPAQ, FLAXMAN ISLAND, SIRAK, SINNARGARAQ, PAUSSANNA-NANNIE, ARTIFACT (IDENTIFICATION), SEAL OIL, CANDLES, WINDBREAK--CANVAS, ARROW-BIRD, HOOK-RETRIEVING, SCRAPER-HIDE, SPACER -NET, SINKER-NET, LAMPSTONE 112041201, WICK HOLDER 712031061, SLED PATCH 01203740, SKIN STRETCHER 7120390, SLED MAKING TOOL 71203756, SKIN PEG 712031048, PIGNIQ(BIRNIRK- SHOOTING STATION), BOAT-PAUSANNA'S, PEDERSON-CAPT., 1925-1926, TASHIKPAK RIVER, INPIKPUK RIVER, DOG TEAM, TRADE, PUTU, STORE, NIGLIK RIVER,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #12.
METHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH
ABOT SARAH KUNAKANA TALKS ABOUT HER FAMILIES HOUSE AT PRUDHOE BAY WHICH WAS EXCAVATED BY ARCHEOLOGIST DAVID DERRY. SHE IDENTIFIES ARTIFACTS FROM DERRY'S EXCAVATION. ON SITE AT PIGNIQ SHE POINTS OUT THE RUINS OF HER FATHER'S WHALE BOAT AND TALKS ABOUT ITS USE.
REST NONE STATED
GEOA COLVILLE RIVER TO BROWNLOW POINT; NORTH SLOPE.

13 NUMB 102306
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY
INTR SLAUGHTER, DALE; LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, SKYLIGHTS, TUNNEL ENTRY, KATAQ, KITCHENS, STORE ROOMS, FUEL, TRADERS, UPWEDA, WIND, SUVIK, BALEEN NET, PTARMIGAN, SNARING NET, WHALE BONE, ATANIQ, TAMIKS- WHITE MEN, MISSIONARIES, IRON STOVES, STORAGE RACKS, KAYAKS, UMIAKS, SNOW HOUSES,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, TAPE #13.
METHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.
ABOT ROXY EKOWANA AT THE UTQIAGVIK SITE EXCAVATION TALKS ABOUT TRADITIONAL HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND ACTIVITY AREAS, HE TELLS ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS YOU WOULD FIND IN A HOUSE AND WHERE THEY WOULD BE FOUND.
REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

14 NUMB 102307
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY; AHNGASUK, ROSS
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; SLAUGHTER, DALE
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NUVUK, NUNAVAAQ, PIGNIQ, BIRNIRK TRADING, SCHOONER "TRANSIT",H. LIEBES COMPANY, BARROW NATIVE STORE, USCG CUTTER "BEAR", REINDEER, STEFFANSSON-V.,"KARLUCK", NANSEN'S STORE, , OLIKTUK, BARTER ISLAND, BEECHEY POINT, TRAPPING, PITCH FUEL, SISAARAAQ, ATANIK, KELLY-JOHN, PEDERSON-CAPTAIN, SMITH-JACK, MEADE RIVER, EDWARDSON-TONY, ALLEN-JIM, TAAKPAAQ, BALEEN, FUEL, STOVES, COAL, ATQASUK, BROWER-CHARLES, PITCH LAKE, NUVUK, TULIMANIQ, OIL PITCH, BLUBBER,OIL LAKE, WHALE HUNTING, SHOOTING STATION, UKPIK, UKPIAGVIK, BACKLAND-CAPTAIN, HANSEN-CHARLEY, KUNGASUK-JOHN, WHALERS, REINDEER PAUSANNA-PAUL, FOX TRAPPING, KUDRALUK-HARRISON, WRANGELL ISLAND, KARUKTOGVIK-JIMMY, PANIGEO-BERT, SUVLU-LEE, PAUGUNA-HILTON, CRAM-DELBERT W., CORWIN BLUFF,OIYUK,AIKEN-JOHNNY, AHNAOGAK-ROY, BROWER'S STORE, CAPE SIMPSON, TOKLUK-JOHN, NUGNUK, HARRISON BAY, NAVY, OIL EXPLORATION, SNOWY OWLS, BACKLAND-JOHN, HOUSE CONSTRUCTION, STINE-ABRAHAM, BACKLAND-JOHN JR.,SHIP SALVAGE, DOWNY-HAROLD, NOATAK,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY ANDCULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, TAPE #14.
PHYD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.
ANOT ROXY EKOWANA AND ROSS AHNGASUK TALK ABOUT EARLY BARROW HISTORY. THEY DISCUSS THE WHITE TRADERS, THE TRADINGPOSTS AND THE CONSTANT FUEL PROBLEM. THEY TELL ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THEBARROW NATIVE STORE.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE. BARTER ISLAND; NORTH SLOPE. ATQASUK; NORTH SLOPE.

15 NUMB 102306
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY; AHNGASUK, ROSS
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, PITCH FUEL, BARROW NATIVE STORE, WHALES, BROWER'S STORE, BURNELL-ED, NAVY, COAL HAULING, SCHOONER "TRANSIT", WORLD WAR 1, SHIP "ARTIC", H. LIEBES COMPANY, MISSIONARIES, TAAKPAAQ, BARROW REINDEER COMPANY, BROWNLOW POINT, REINDEER HERDING, FUEL, DRIFTWOOD, COAL, BLUBBER, OIL PITCH, SEAL HUNTING, WHALE HUNTING, TANIK-WHITE MAN, HOSPITAL, GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, OIL LAKE, PITCH LAKE, MEADE RIVER, STRATEGIC METAL, ATQASUK, STOVE OIL, NAVY, DIESEL FUEL, WEATHER BUREAU, FEDERAL WORKERS, NATURAL GAS, OIL STOVES, ARYAKAK-JAMES, BRASS, BACKLAND-JOHN SR., CAPTAIN, NUNAVAAQ, PANIGEO-BERT, KETTLES, COPPER, WHALING GUN, GUN SHELLS, STORES, WHALING SHIP, CORDON-TOM,

KEYW GORDON-MICHAEL, EDWARDSON-TONY, ALLEN-JAMES, ANVAKANA-LUCY, TEACHERS, HOCKSWORTH, RICHARDSON, STARVATION, KEERIK-OWEN, AHNATUK-HENRY, KOVANA-JAMES, MALICIANA-JOHNNY, LIEBES-ARNOLD, BROWER-CHARLES, ARNOLD R. LIEBES COMPANY, HERSCHELL ISLAND, KILLBEAR-ALICE, GORDON-NICKEY, NOPSON-FRED, STEPHENSON, SPRIGS, CRAN, SPENCE, REINDEER SERVICE OFFICE, NEAKOK-ARTHUR, ALAKUK-RALPH, KUNGERANA-SILAS, MALIKUK-HARRY, BEECHEY POINT, BARTER ISLAND, DEMARCATION POINT, HARRISON BAY, SMITH-JACK, MARSH-DR., MISSIONARIES, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PRESBYTERIAN MANSE, NICHOLS, REINDEER, KUNALOAK-ALFRED, KOVANA-JAMES, KAPOOK, OKOMAILUK-NICSU,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, TAPE # 15.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA AND ROSS AHNGASUK CONTINUE THEIR DISCUSSION FROM TAPE 14 ABOUT THE NATIVE STORE AND FUEL USE IN HISTORIC BARROW. THEY TALK MORE ABOUT THE WHITE TRADERS AND THE NATIVE TRADERS. ROSS AHNGASUK TELLS OF A REINDEER DRIVE TO BROWNLOW POINT IN 1937. THEY RECALL SOME OF THE EARLY MISSIONARIES FROM THE PRESBYTARIAN CHURCH.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

16 AUID 102309

NARR EKOWANA, ROXY; AHNGASUK, ROSS

INTR LIBBEY, DAVID

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, FUEL, BLUBBER PROCESSING, SEAL OIL, ICE CELLARS, HISTORIC HOUSES, PANIGEO-BERT, SCHOONER "TRANSIT", BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, AHNOAGAK-ROY, BARROW NATIVE STORE, HANSEN'S STORE, US SIGNAL CORP., LAMPS, FLOODS, TAAKPAAQ'S WAREHOUSE, BROWER-CHARLES, WHALE OIL, SEAL OIL LAMPS, AYAKSRAQ, SOAPSTONE, WHALE OIL LAMP, AYAKSRIOPIK, WHALE OILLAMP PIN, WIEN AIRLINES TOWER, NAVAL ARCTIC RESEARCH LABORATORY, MARL, CAST IRON STOVES, COFFEE, TEA, KUNGASUK-JOHN, BACKLAND'S STORE, TRADING, ATOUN, WICK TENDER PIN, SEAL POKE, WALRUS BLUBBER, MANIQ, MOSS FOR LAMP WICK, STORE, WALRUS HUNTING, HOSPITAL AHNGASUK, BISCUITS, BREAD, HANSEN-CHARLIE, BROWER'S STORE, MISIQAAQ, IVORY, ESKIMO LAMP,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY ANDCULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #16.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA AND ROSS AHNGASUK DESCRIBE BLUBBER PROCESSING FOR FOOD AND FUEL. THEY POINT OUT HISTORIC BUILDINGS ON A TOUR OF BARROW AND DESCRIBE THEIR CHILDHOOD HOMES AT THE OLD HOME SITE.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

17 AUID 102310

NARR SOVALIK, ISA; EKOWANA, ROXY
INTR HOLLOWAY, RICK; LIBBY DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK,UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, PLANTS, FOODS, GRASSES, CLOTHING, TEA, INDIANS, STORY, REINDEER CORRAL, NAVAL ARCTIC RESEARCH, LABORATORY, ELSON LAGOON, SEAL NETTING, H. LIEBES COMPANY, AKPIK-BOB, HOPSON-FRED, US SIGNAL CORP, GORDON-TOM, FRESH WATER LAKE, INCENSE, STORAGE, NALIKPIK LAKE, MOUND 37, PILGAAQ, TESHEKPUK LAKE, TESHUKPUQ, UPIKUTUQ, ATQASUK-US, #649,#643,#645, #642, #639, #640, #646,#650,#651, #648, #614, #624, #626,#635, ULLAURAQ, #637, #636, #630, #623, #621, #620, IVIGAAQ, TENTS, SAGVANIQ, IVIK, #622, #610, BUTTERFLYS, AKUTAQPUK, LEAVES, TAQILAKISAAQ, BUTTERCUPS, MOSQUITOS, ARMICH KILULLIAT LAKE, ATUTIGRUAQ,QUNULLIQ, QUAGAQ, STORY OF WHALE IN LAKE, #638, #628, #629, #631, QUAGAQ, SOURDOCK, NASU, ITQILIQ, #625, TILAQAQ- HUDSON BAY TEA, #632,#634,#636,#613, NUKLUKS, SAGVANIQ, PUALURAQ, #611, QUNIKTUUMIQ, INAIGSAN, NANIQ, NUNAVAAQ, NUSUKAQ, AKUTUQPALIK, BEARDED SEAL, UGRUK, UGRAUVIK, QUNIKTUUMIQ STORY, MOUND 10, MOUND 8, SEAL OIL, #633, #627, NAKILLAGNAQ, #625, #615, #616, UGRUK, #617, #612, #610, LOONS, MARL, MALGI, INSULATION, FOOD PLANTS, TENICACHUNUK, FISHING SPOTS, TIKIGAAQRUK, AVAACHIAQ, AVVAQ, IGLUMARAK, IQRUAGVIK, DIAPERS, DOG FOOD, BALEEN, QUNIKTUUMIQ STORY,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE # 17 AND #18.
MEDD 2 CASSETTES, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.
ABOT ISA SOVLIK AND ROXY EKOWANA IDENTIFY PLANTS FROM BARROW AREA. SPECIMAN NUMBERS ARE IN KEYWORD LIST. THEY GIVE THE INUPIAQ NAMES AND PLANT USE. ROXY EKOWANA POINTS OUT SHORE HUNTING AREAS ON A TRIP TO ELSON LAGOON.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

18 NUMB 102311
NARR AHNGASUK, ROSS
INTR SLAUGHTER, DALE; LIBBEY, DAVID; NEWELL, RAY
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, ICE CELLARS, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, WAINWRIGHT, PHOTOGRAPHS, SEA ICE, STORAGE, DOGS, SOD HOUSES, WHALE BONES, DRIFTWOOD, CACHE, BAILEY, PEDERSON-CAPTAIN, MORGAN-STANLEY, BARRELS, NEHS TOOLS, KAGNALIK-CANADIAN, EKOWANA- HOUSE MOUND, AHNGASUK HOUSE MOUND, TOONIK-CLAYBURN, WEATHER STATION, WIDE OPTICS, WHALERS, HOUSE CARE, KUBU, TRADING, CEILING RACK, SEWING GEAR, TENT, DOG TETHERS, NAGAK-ORSON, CAPE HALBRETT, STOVES, GASOLINE STOVE, DANCE HALL, UNUGSIQ,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE # 19.
MEDD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROSS AHNGASUK TALKS ABOUT ICE CELLARS AND STORAGE AFTER A VISIT TO HIS ICE CELLAR. HE TALKS ABOUT SOD HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS. HE DISCUSSES HIS CHILDHOOD HOME AT THE OLD SITE IN BARROW AND POINTS OUT THE OLD HOUSE REMAINS.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE. WAINWRIGHT; NORTH SLOPE.

19 NUMB 102312
NARR SIKVAUYUGAK, JOSEPH
INTR GRINAGE, BEVERLY (TRANSLATOR); LIBBEY, DAVID; SLAUGHTER, DALE
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, CLAY, POTTERY, FUEL, TOOLS, STORAGE, MEASLES, EPIDEMICS, NALUKATAQ, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, MOUND 8, ENTRANCE WAY, QANITCHAQ, KATAQ, KITCHEN, LEAVITT-GEORGE, OENGA-ANDREW, SOD, IVRUQ, SOOT, WOMEN'S DRESS, WICKS, SEAL OIL, WOOD, UKKUQSIQ, SKYLIGHT, NUNAVAK, DISHES, BLUBBER, COOKING, ICE CELLARS, NALUKATAQ, WHALE, DUCK, SEAL, WALRUS, FISHING NET, WHALE BONE, BALEEN, QARGI, BEDS, IGLIQ, MEASLES OF 1903, ATUQTUAQ, SHOOFLY, BROWER-CHARLIE, CEREMONY HOUSE,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE # 20.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH.
ANOT JOSEPH SIKVAUYUGAK VISITS THE UTQIAGVIK EXCAVATION AND IDENTIFIES AND DESCRIBES TRADITIONAL HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND LIVING AND COOKING ARRANGEMENTS. HE TELLS ABOUT THE MEASLES EPIDEMIC OF 1903.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE

20 NUMB 102313
INTR ADAMS, JOHNNY
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, HOUSING, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, CONSTRUCTION, ENERGY, CANADA, ESKIMO LAMP, BLUBBER, COAL, ATQASUK, MEADE RIVER, MODERN HOUSES, INSULATION, ITTAQ-IRENE, DOOR, CARIBOU SKIN, WILLOWS, KUNAKNANA-SAMUEL, MANUTUK, WOOD, VENT, CIRCULATION, QALUUGVIK, COLEMAN STOVE, INSECTS, BEETLES, ERICKLOOK, SEAL OIL LAMPS, AHGEAK-NORA, KUDRALUK, IRON METAL STOVE, SOD, BLANKETS, BROWER-TOMMY, NEGOVANNA-WEIR, TUKALUK, BLUBBER LAMP, KIPPI-PHOEBE, COAL MINING, SAMAROALUK-FAMILY, TRAPPING, KUNAKNANA-SARAH, NEW HOUSES, SINEW, MENIQSUKI-FAMILY, HOUSE DRAFTS, KAKTOVIK, BARTER ISLAND, CROSS ISLAND, NUIQSUT, GRASS, MANIQ, WICK, HEAT, SUN, WIND, WINDOW, IGALUK, BROWN BEAR, WILLOW FRAME HOUSES, TAURAQ, AUKILIARRIQ,
REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH, PLANNING DEPARTMENT, COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #21.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH. THIS IS NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT AT THE 1981 ELDER'S CONFERENCE IN BARROW THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS DISCUSS "OLD TIME" HOUSES, FUEL CONSUMPTION AND THE PROBLEMS WITH HEATING THE NEW MODERN HOUSES. THEY DESCRIBE TRADITIONAL HOUSE CONSTRUCTION IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF ALASKA'S NORTH SLOPE.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE. ATQASUK;NORTH SLOPE. CANADA.

21 NUMB 102314
INTR ADAMS, JOHNNY; GRINAGE, BEVERLY
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, HOUSING, TRADITIONAL HOUSES, ENERGY, INSULATION, FUEL, BARTER ISLAND, BURIAL PRACTICES, ARTIFACTS, ANAKTUVUK PASS, POINT HOPE, AHTUANGARAUK-CHIEF, CHIEFS, NUIQSUT, KUNAKNANA-SARAH, BROWER-CHARLIE, COLD TRAP, SOD, SOVALIK-ISA, HUMIDITY, PERMAFROST, WIND, NUMNIK-IDA, ANAKTUVUK, COAL, BLUBBER, DRIFTWOOD, NUMNIK-GENE, NUVUK, INSULATION, HOUSE FOUNDATIONS, ICE CELLAR, LEAVITT-JONAH, PILINGS, KAKINAAQ-ELIJAH, KLEREKOOPER, REXFORD-HERMAN, BARTER ISLAND, ICE, NEAKOK-ARTHUR, HOUSE DRAFTS, TAGALUK, NEGOVANNA- WEIR, LEAVITT-EUNICE, 29 UNIT, VENT, KATAQ, EKOWANA-ROXY, PROPANE, FUEL COSTS, WOOD STOVE, LEAVITT-JONAH, NUMNIK-IDA, BEADS, NASHANIK-HENRY, AHTUNGARUK-DANIEL, SHAMENS, SNARING DUCKS, GRASS, AHNGASUK, WOMEN'S STORAGE AREAS, HOUSE BEAMS, KAYUKTUVUK, BURIALS, SHOOTING STATION, UTPIK, HIME-HOWARD, WAINWRIGHT, SIKIAQ, IMASURAK, ITCHALIK, IVRULIK, ICY CAPE, CEREMONIAL HOUSE ACTIVITIES, MEAT CACHES, IKIQQAT, ADZES, KAYAKSIK, ICY CAPE, SIGNUK, KAYAK, SLEDS, UVRUK, TENT AREA, TOOKPUQ, HERSCHEL ISLAND, ANAKTUVUK, GREIST-LEVI, 1940 CENSUS, WALAKPA, HARPOONS, DOOR STEPS, BODFISH- WALDO, ARCHEOLOGISTS, DRIED MEAT, MUKTUK, ANIMALS, JEWELRY, GRAVES, DEATH, POINT HOPE, ARTIFACTS, STORY OF EARTH TURNING OVER, NUIQSUT, NUVUK CHIEFS, GRAVE POLES, INUPIAT LAWS, KAKINAAQ-ELIJAH, STORY OF CHIEF AHTUNGARUK, BURIAL PRACTICES, OLD SQUAW DUCKS, MEAT, WHALE, GAME WARDENS, MEN'S STORAGE AREAS, WHALE BONE, NEGOVANNA-WEIR, ATANIK, HUMAN BONES, BIRNIRK, PIGNIQ, WAR, SOD HOUSES, SIDEWALKS, KUUKPIK COLVILLE RIVER DELTA, GIANTS, ALASURAK, SIAKUQ, KOBUK VALLEY, SAYAKTUQ, EKOWANA-ROXY, BOATS, SLEDS, DOGS, TATIGI IKIGGAT CACHES, DRILL, REINDEER HERDERS, KAYAQSIQUVIK GARIGI,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #22-23.
MTHD 2 CASSETTES, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THIS IS A CONTINUATION OF TAPE 21. THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS TALK ABOUT THE PROBLEM WITH THE NEW HOUSES BEING BUILT IN THE NORTH SLOPE VILLAGES. THIS IS THE START OF A DISCUSSION ON THE UTQIAGVIK SITE.
REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. BARTER ISLAND;NORTH SLOPE. POINT HOPE;NORTH SLOPE. ANAKTUVUK PASS; NORTH SLOPE.

22 NUMB 102315
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, ARTIFACTS, BURIAL PRACTICES, ANAKTUVUK PASS, NUVUK, BIRNIRK, WALAKPA, WHALE BONE HOUSES, COLVILLE RIVER, INDIANS, SMALL PEOPLE, LEGENDS, NUIQSUT, STORAGE, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #23.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS CONCLUDE A DISCUSSION ON NEW HOUSES AND THEN TALK ABOUT THE UTQIAGVIK SITE AND TRADITIONAL LIFE STYLE. THEY TELL ABOUT TRADITIONAL BURIAL PRACTICES AND STORAGE PRACTICES.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. ANAKTUVUK PASS;NORTH SLOPE. NUIQSUT;NORTH SLOPE.

23 NUMB 102316
INTR MILLER, DONNA NEAKOK
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, MENTAL HEALTH, GOD, STORY OF BOY WHO LIVED WITH HIS MOTHER, NASHANIK-HENRY, EKOWANA-ROXY, INUPIAT PUNISHMENT FOR GOSSIP, LEAVITT- BERTHA, UIVAQSAAT, SIRRAAINYA, CHILD BEHAVIOR, SHAMAN, PARALYZING, INUPIAT CUSTOM ABOUT FOOD, DEATH, NUMNIK-IDA, SICKNESS, WHITE MAN, TAQQAK-IRENE, CHURCH, GREIST-LEVI, UTUKOK, CHRISTIANITY, NEGOVANNA- WEIR, STORY OF UIVAQSAAT, KINIARUK, ANIMAL-HUMAN RELATIONS, QIMIRAK, BODFISH-WALDO, DISCIPLINE, OLD DISCIPLINES,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #24.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH. NOT A COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS TALK ABOUT TRADITIONAL WAYS PEOPLE USED TO MAINTAIN A STATE OF WELL BEING. THEY REVEAL SOME OF THEIR VALUE SYSTEM AND MEANS OF KEEPING SOCIALLY APPROVED BEHAVIOR.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE.

24 NUMB 102317
INTR MILLER, DONNA NEAKOK
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, PLANTS, MEDICINE, ANAKTUVUK PASS, HEALING, KOTZEBUE, POINT HOPE, NORTHWEST ALASKA, NUIQSUT, HOLLYWOOD, ATQASUK, ANIMAL

OIL, BODFISH-WALDO, MANIQ, UGVU, DIAPERS, SPONGY MOSS, MENSTRUATION, SEAL, CARIBOU, AQUTUQPUQ, SEAL OIL, PUYUQLUQ, INSECTS, WORMS, OTOYAUQ, EKOWANA-ROXY, UGROYALUK, PIGNIQ, BIRNIRK, AUMAQUTIIT, OKAKOK-LOUISE, WOODS-NANNY, NAGEAK-RHODA, GREEN LEAVES, MEDICINE, BODFISH-MATTIE, CARIBOU STOMACH, WALRUS SKIN, POINT HOPE, IVISAAQ, OCHRE, DYE, SKIN SCRAPER, SOVALIK-ISA, NUIQSUT, NUSIAMIUT, WILLOW BAR, NEGOVANNA-ROSEANNA, BELUGA OIL, IVIK GRASS, WAINWRIGHT, SAGARIGAQ, NEGOVANNA, TEA, SORE THROAT, KOTZEBUE, MANIRUQ, NEGOVANNA-WEIR, QUNULLIQ, HOLLYWOOD, KIPPI-PHOEBE, ATQASUK, SAGIAGERIORRAQ, BELUGA OIL, WALRUS OIL, CANCER, LEAVITT-EUNICE, COAL OIL, SUVULU-MARIE, LICHENS, REXFORD-HERMAN, BOILS, SMITH-JACK, BEECHEY POINT, BACON FAT, SAND, BEARDED SEAL INTESTINE, MORRY-AMOS, WILLOW LEAVES, EYE INFECTION, CLAM SHELL, BERRIES, SUN, KAGAK-NANNIE, EARACHES, NIGUKKAQ,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #25.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.

ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S TALK ABOUT PLANTS AND ANIMAL PARTS THAT ARE USED TRADITIONALLY FOR FOOD AND MEDICINE.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. ANAKTUVUK PASS;NORTH SLOPE. POINT HOPE;NORTHWEST. KOTZEBUE;NORTHWEST

25 NUMB 102318

INTR OKAKOK, LEONA

KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, RELIGON, ESKIMO SONGS, DANCE, ARCTIC TERN, GIANTS, GARGI, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, POINT HOPE, UUMAAQS, NOATAK, REINDEER HERDING, MESSENGERS, TRADING, EPIDEMICS, PETER-SIMON, WAINWRIGHT, CANADA, NIGLIK, HISTORIC PERIOD-1917+, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, NASHANIK-HENRY, HOLY LAND, OKAKOK-LEONA, NAPAYLUKTUK, SONGS, MOTION DANCE, TERN, NUMNIK-GENE, MITQUTAILAQ, SHEEP HUNTING, GIANTS, GARGIS , CEREMONIAL HOUSE, POINT HOPE, MUKTUK, BLUBBER, INUPIAT LAW, UUMAQS, INUPIAT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, UUMAQ RELATIONSHIP, QIMMIURAQ, UMIQTUQ, DANCES, REINDEER HERDERS, NOATAQ, FLU OF 1917, DISEASE, TRADING, NUVUAQ, MESSENGERS, KINUQ, CLAY, KATAQ, HOUSES, SOD, IGLUPARUK, BROWER-CHARLIE, AHKIVIAQ, SCHOOLS, CHRISTMAS, NEGOVANNA-WEIR, SIMMONDS-SAMUEL, PETER-SIMON, POINT HOPE FAIR, WAINWRIGHT, ESKIMO OLYMPICS, KUNAKNANA-SAMUEL, NIGLIK, UIVAQSAAT, NIKUPTUAC, AMULETS, AGUWAQ, POINT BARROW, SUNGLASSES,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #26.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, TRANSCRIPT NOT COMPLETE, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.

ANOT ONE OF THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS DESCRIBES A RECENT TRIP HE

MADE TO THE HOLY LAND IN THE NEAR EAST. THE ELDER'S SING ESKIMO SONGS AND TELL ABOUT THEIR COMPOSERS AND THE SONGS MEANING. THE SONGS ARE NOT TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ARE NOT ON THE TAPE.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. WAINWRIGHT;NORTH SLOPE. POINT HOPE;NORTHWEST.

26 NUMB 102319
INTR OKAKOK, LEONA
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, REINDEER HERDING, SONGS, KIVALINA, DANCE, MARRIAGE, HUNTING, STRING GAMES, JUGGLING, SHIP "BOXER', BIRDS, LOONS, DYING, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, ATUNUKTUQ, EKOWANA-ROXY, ALALUQ , EKOWANA-ROXY, ALALUQ, KIVALINA, BODFISH-WALDO, KALEAK, NINALUKUTALIK, QIGNIK, LEAVITT-JONA, ITKILLIK, NEW TECHNOLOGY, MACHINERY, BODFISH-MATTIE, QAGUMUK, ALUVARUK, UYUQTUK, NASHANIK-HENRY, KALIUYUK, NAGEAK-RHODA, PANINGONA, NEGOVAAN-WEIR, OLIKTUK, AHTUANGARUAK, KOTZEBUE, SHAMANS, CHRISTIANITY, DEVIL, TRADING POSTS, GORDON-TOM, LOONS, TAZRAK-PAUL, KUNAKNANA-SAMUEL, MACHINERY,
REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH, PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #27.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, TRANSCRIPT NOT COMPLETE, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S SING SONGS AND TELL ABOUT THEIR COMPOSERS AND THE SONGS MEANINGS. THEY TELL OF DANCERS, JUGGLING AND PERFORM STRING GAMES TO SONG.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE

27 NUMB 102320
INTR OKAKOK, LEONA
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, REINDEER HERDING, WHALES, TRAPPING, SONGS, MEAT CACHE, AIR TRAVEL, COCA COLA, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, LEAVITT- JONAH, KAKINYAAQ-ELIJAH, STRING GAMES, LEAVITT-BERTHA
REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH, PLANNING DEPARTMENT, COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #28.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES, TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, TRANSCRIPT NOT COMPLETE, NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S SING SONGS AND TELL ABOUT THE COMPOSERS AND THE SONGS MEANINGS. SEVERAL SONGS ARE ABOUT REINDEER HERDERS. SOME OF SONGS ARE TRANSLATED. VERY INCOMPLETE TRANSCRIPT.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE

28 NUMB 102321

INTR OKAKOK, LEONA
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, NATIVE FOOD, TRADITIONAL LAND USE DOCUMENTATION, CARIBOU, OIL COMPANIES, BLASTING, WHALING, NAGEAK-RHODA, KUUGERAK, FLAXMAN ISLAND, OIL COMPANYS, GRAVEL EXTRACTION, CRIME, NALUKATAQ, WHALE FESTIVAL, AHTUANGARUAK, GREIST-LEVI, TRADITIONAL LAND USE SITES, KUPAURUK, COLVILLE RIVER, SAGAVANIRKTOK RIVER,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #29 LANGUAGES-ENGLISH, TRANSCRIPT IS NOT COMPLETE AND NOT AN OFFICIAL TRANSLATION.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS DISCUSS NEXT YEARS ELDER'S CONFERENCE AND SOME CHANGES THEY WOULD LIKE FOR EATING ARRANGEMENTS. THEY SUGGEST SOME TOPICS THEY WOULD LIKE TO COVER.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE

29 NUMB 102322
INTR OKAKOK, LEONA
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, NORTH SLOPE ELDER'S CONFERENCE, OKAKOK- LEONA, LIEBES COMPANY PHOTOGRAPHS,
REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT #30.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-NO-THERE IS A SUMMARY. LANGUAGES- ENGLISH.
ANOT THE NORTH SLOPE ELDERS THANK THE ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE. THIS TAPE COVERS THE LAST 20 MINUTES OF THE 1981 CONFERENCE.
REST NONE STATED..
GEOA BARROW; NORTH SLOPE.

30 NUMB 102323
NARR BODFISH, WALDO; BODFISH, MATTIE
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; PETERSON, RANDY
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, ARTIFACTS, PLANTS, DYES, DECORATION, JADE, KUK RIVER, LARSON -HELGA, POINT HOPE, KOTZEBUE, NORTHWEST ALASKA, QUNGULLIQ, LEAVES, SNOW SHOVEL BLADE, BAR-2-8-602, BAR-2-1-10, SNOWSHOE WEBBING NEEDLE, TOM COD, BAR-2-8-9379, ULU HANDLE, WHALE DECORATIONS, BAR-2-8A-3056 , BAR-2-8-3329, BIRD DART, BAR-2-8B-4052, POLAR BEAR THEATRE TEST PIT, BULL ROARER, SPEAR HEAD, BAR-2-8B-5609, BAR-2-SC-60, WHALE JAW BONES, SHOVEL, BAR-2-80-9380, BAR-2-37-1136, SLED RUNNER, BAR-2-SC-21, BAR-2-37-1137, BAR-2-SC-33, BAR-2-8-5972, ROPE LASHING, BAR-2-37-1184, SEAL SKIN POKE HANDLE, BAR-2-8-603, BAR-2-8-3644, BAR-2-88-5582, FISH HOOK, BAR-2-8-3689, UGRUK HUNTING, BAR-2-8-2362, DARTING POINT, UTUKOK RIVER, IVISAAQ, SAGIARUAQ, TOYS, ATQASUK, KIPPI-PHOEBE, MANIQ, UGRUYAK, CAMP WICK, IKUUN, SKIN SCRAPER, MASU, BAR-2-8-6502, BAR-2-8B-5608, COPPER, BAR-2-8-6898, BAR-2-24-183, FISH NEEDLE, TOY SHOVEL,

REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #31.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.
ANOT WALDO AND MATTIE BODFISH IDENTIFY AND DISCUSS ARTIFACTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATION AT THE UTQIAGVIK SITE. THEY ALSO TALK ABOUT PLANTS COLLECTED ON THE NORTH SLOPE AND THEIR USE.
REST NONE STATED.
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. POINT HOPE;NORTHWEST. WAINWRIGHT;NORTH SLOPE.

31 NUMB 102324
NARR SIKVAYUGAK, JOSEPH
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; GRINAGE, BEVERLY PATKOTAK (TRANSLATOR)
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, KUUTCHIK-STORY, POINT HOPE, LAW-INUPIAT, SWAPPING RELATION SHIP-PARENTS, MAIL, NUVUK, KAPUUKKALUK, STARVATION, ICE CELLARS, PIGNIQ, BIRNIRK, SHAMANISM, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, HUNTING, SONGS, WHALES, ARTIFACTS, ARCHEOLOGISTS, DANCE, CHILD ADOPTION, INUPIAQ ESKIMO, NORTH WEST ALASKA, KUUTCHIK, AKLAANA, OILY SOD, WAINWRIGHT, NUVUK, PUYA-PITCH, POINT HOPE, STARVATION, ICE CELLARS, DEAD PEOPLE IN ICE CELLARS, PIGNIQ, DUCK HUNTING, BIRNIRK, SHAMANS, HOUSES, MEDICINE MEN, NETS FOR HUNTING SEALS, SIAKUK, QILA-CONJURING SPIRITS, QILANIKKAQ-CHANGED BY SPIRITS, SPIRIT POSSESION, MISSIONARIES, ILIAPPAALUK, AANALUGIIK, TUUKSRAQ, TUUKSRAQ, TUUKSRAQS LAND, TUUKAQ´S STORY,
REFR BARROW, NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #32.
MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-INUPIAQ ESKIMO, ENGLISH.
ANOT JOSEPH SIKVAYUGAK RECOUNTS STORIES ABOUT THE OLD DAYS THAT HE HEARD FROM HIS STEPFATHER NAMED KUUTCHIK. HE TELLS OF STARVATION, CHILD ADOPTION, VISITING OTHER COMMUNITIES AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS AT PIGNIQ (BIRNIRK).
REST NONE STATED
GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. POINT HOPE;NORTHWEST.

32 NUMB 102325
NARR EKOWANA, ROXY
INTR LIBBEY, DAVID
KEYW UTQIAGVIK, UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT, BARROW, NORTH SLOPE, INUPIAT ESKIMOS, H. LIEBES COMPANY, "ARCTIC", PHOTOGRAPHS, BROWERVILLE, BROWER-CHARLES, PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL, HISTORIC HOUSES, REINDEER CORRAL, TAAKPAAQ, REINDEER HERDING, UKKUQSIQ, WAINWRIGHT, "FIFTY YEARS BELOW ZERO", USGS, C.L. ANDREWS COLLECTION, FORT POINT BARROW, WEATHER STATION, SHIP WRECKS, BROWERVILLE, "THE ARCTIC", BROWER´S CAFE, HISTORIC PICTURES, PRESBYTERIAN HOSPITAL, PRESBYTERIAN MANSE, H. LIEBES COMPANY, NORTON-HARRY,

SMITH-PHILLIP, TAAKPAAQ, REINDEER HERDING, BEECHEY POINT, SAGAVAANIRTOK, MEASLES, REINDEER CORRAL, ALASKA COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM, KUK RIVER, COAL, NIGLIK, OLIKTUK, AHVAKANA, KUPAURUK, CANNING RIVER.

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT. TAPE #33.

MTHD 1 CASSETTE, 90 MINUTES. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT ROXY EKOWANA IDENTIFIES PLACES AND STRUCTURES IN HISTORIC PHOTOS FROM SEVERAL COLLECTIONS OF THE BARROW AREA AND WAINWRIGHT.

REST NONE STATED.

GEOA BARROW;NORTH SLOPE. WAINWRIGHT;NORTH SLOPE.

33 NUMB 102326

NARR KIPPI, PHOEBE

INTR LIBBEY, DAVID; GRINAGE, BEVERLY PATKOTAK

KEYW BARROW, ATQASUK, PLANTS, OIL-ANIMAL, REMEDIES-STORE BOUGHT, AKUTUQPALIK-WILLOW LEAVES, QAQAURAT-EDIBLE PLANT, ITQILIT-FLOWER, MISU-WILLOW STEM, SEAL OIL, TILAAQAQ-HUDSON BAY TEA, MASU-ESKIMO POTATO, SALGIGRUAT-MEDICINAL, PT. HOPE, PILGAURAT-ESKIMO INCENSE, QUAGAT-WILD SPINACH, ELDERS CONF.,UQPIK-WILLOW TRAP, BURNS, IQAQQUSIUGUTIT-MEDICINAL PLANT, QUILALUKKAT-BELUGA BLUBBER-MEDICINAL, AIVIUM UQSRUA-WALRUS BLUBBER-MEDICINAL, BROWN SOAP-MEDICINAL, IMMUK-CANNED MILK-MEDICINAL, GRAVEY-CARIBOU-MEDICINAL, MILK AND RICE LIQUID, DIAHRREA, STOMACH ACHE, COLDS, CHILDREN, PIGNIQ-EDIBLE PLANT,

REFR BARROW. NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH. PLANNING DEPARTMENT. COMMISSION ON HISTORY AND CULTURE. UTQIAGVIK ARCHEOLOGY PROJECT.

MTHD INTERVIEW, NOT RECORDED ON TAPE. TRANSCRIPT-YES, ENGLISH. LANGUAGES-ENGLISH.

ANOT PHOEBE KIPPI NAMES AND DESCRIBES EDIBLE PLANTS IN THE BARROW-ATQASUK AREA. SHE DESCRIBES THEIR USE AS REMEDIES AND ALSO DESCRIBES THE MEDCINAL USE OF SEA MAMMAL PRODUCTS AND OF CERTAIN STORE BOUGHT ITEMS.

GEOA BARROW, ATQASUK; NORTH SLOPE.

TAPE TRANSCRIPTS



David Libbey, August, 1981

Visiting the excavations at Mound 8 in the historic Preserve.

Martha Neakok
Delores Burnell
David Libbey

Tape #1

Ethno History

The date is June 22nd, 1981 and we're interviewing Andrew Oenga in his home about the Utqiaġvik site.

Do you have any old photos of Utqiaġvik that we could look at and make a copy of?

Martha: He is asking if you have any pictures of these here. Old pictures.

Delores: Old pictures before Barrow got bigger when it was smaller, when it got started.

Andrew: Of people?

Martha: Any kind of old pictures that were taken in Barrow.

Andrew: Yes, I have a few pictures.

Martha: He's got a few.

Dave; Oh, good. Is it okay if we make a copy of them?

Martha: If he looks at them, can he make a copy of them?

Andrew: Yes, he can make a copy of them.

Martha: Yes.

Andrew: They don't let them get lost. People that work on those.

Delores: Yes.

Dave: Why do you think that Utqiaġvik was a good place for a village?

Delores: He is asking why (people) settled in Barrow.

Andrew: People settled here because of the opening of the oil fields in Prudoe Bay, and (people) that wanted jobs started looking at Barrow from faraway places. People who wanted jobs (at Prudoe) by way of Barrow.

Martha: Then why did the Eskimos, what were they looking at when they settled here, people of long ago? Is it because this was their hunting area? Why is it a good place for a village?

Delores: Can you understand English?

Andrew: NO.

Delores: No? Was it because this was a good piece of land, is that why (people) settled here? The Eskimos.

Martha: The Eskimos, because they are asking about the Eskimos.

Delores: Yes.

Andrew: The Eskimos of long ago, as I have heard the old people tell stories. The first place people settled in was at Shooting Station and then from there to the Pt., what is now called Pt. Barrow, from there, people settled starting from Shooting Station. This here, Barrow didn't have any people long ago when they talked about it. And, after they had lived there for quite some time, because the population at the Point had now grown. And from the Point some of the people then moved to Utqiaġvik, it was then called Ukpiaġvik, because of the snowy owls that they hunted for along the river. It used to be named Ukpiaġvik and later they started calling it Utqiaġvik because it was easier to say.

Delores: This here Ukpiaġvik, these snowy owls, these birds is that what they named it after?

Andrew: Yes. This was a gathering place for these birds. You may have sometimes seen them, you know what they are.

Martha: This used to be a place where they hunted owls and it's named after.

Delores: A meeting place for owls, gathering.

Martha: This is where they use to hunt birds, all kinds of birds.

Dave: What else was he talking about? He was talking about the Shooting Station.

Delores: Oh, there were so many people moving to the Point and then from the Point they moved to Piġniq which they call the Shooting Station.

Martha: No. They started from the Piġniq and then some moved to Pt. Barrow, and then after Pt. Barrow they moved here.

Delores: Oh. Ok, correction.

Dave: Let's see, did they stay here all year round? Or just in the summer or just in the winter?

Delores: The time they moved here?

Dave: Yeah, At Utqiaġvik.

Delores: Yeah. He said they did.

Dave: Year round?

Delores: Uh, huh.

Dave: Was there a qargiiti here? Yeah, he already told us about that, I think. At least one out there.

Delores: Right, they use to have qargis around here?

Andrew: I, myself have not heard the names of the qargis although people that are older than me know about them, but I, myself don't even know the names of those. But they have pointed them out down that way but I did not try to find out about them. I don't have any stories to tell about that. There might be others that know about it.

Martha: He said the older folks, older than him should know that there use to be qargi's here, but he remembers there use to be some in town.

Delores: And he said he was really never interested in getting to know about the qargis.

Dave: Oh. Well, do you know anything about this mound that's in back of your house? The big one?

Martha: Oh. We're you talking about that one?

Dave: Yeah. This one in the back here. Ask him if he knows about that.

Leroy: Sure, that's where he use to keep his dogs.

Dave: Oh, yeah?

Delores: (He's asking) if you know anything about that land by your house, if it has anything.

Andrew: That area, a little ways up from there, they use to try and find artifacts. I use to scold them. They would find artifacts very quickly.

Delores: Just artifacts?

Andrew: Yes. I don't even know what it has around there.

Martha: He said that he knows there's artifacts out there.

Delores: But he don't know anything else besides artifacts.

Dave: Is that whole mound, is it all on your property or is part of it on somebody else's property?

Martha: Is that on your property.....

Andrew: That mound?

Martha: Yeah, that mound.

Andrew: If that house, if Adam Leavitt has claim to it then it belongs to him.

Martha: The house next door, Adam Leavitt's might.

Dave: They own part of it?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: Does that take care of all of it, I mean between.... the two?

Martha: Do they own only a part?

Andrew: Our lot is only along the edge, that way along the edges.

Dave: Who are the people.....

Martha: Adam Leavitt. He lives in Atqasuk (inaudible).....

Delores: Only the edge of it is his, he said.

Dave: Ok. Then the rest of it belongs to Adam Leavitt?

Martha: Uh, huh. If they've bought the back of it.

Dave: Have they?

Martha: No.

Delores: And do you know of others if the others are other peoples property? The ones that are on this side.

Andrew: This area only, called Block 40, Adam, Mark Pausanna and me, also, only those people. I'm not taking care of those (other) areas.

Martha: There's three properties, that house, that house behind and his property.

Dave: The other one behind owns part of the mound, too?

Martha: Mark Pausanna.

Dave: Mark Pausanna?

Martha: Nannie Pausanna from Nuiqsut.

Dave: Oh, yeah. (Inaudible)

Andrew: It's on Block 40 on the map.

Martha: Yes. This is what they call 40 Block. It should be on the map.

Dave: So there's three families that own this mound?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: You and then those other two? Oh, ok, good. Were there other communities, or did there use to be other communities around here?

Martha: What do you mean by that?

Dave: Well, you know, there was Pigniq, and people use to live out in Nuvuk. I was wondering if there were anymore near here.

Martha: He just mentioned those three.

Dave: Just those three.

Delores: Wait. Were there other places where people settled beside Nuvuk, Pigniq, and here, closer to here?

Martha: Closer to Barrow. Like Atuutigruaq or at Nunavaaq. Did those places have people living there?

Andrew: They use to tell stories like that, a few, like people out camping.

Martha: Mostly for summer camping.

Andrew: Yes, like that. There's old foundations over there, also.

Martha; About a mile from here, two miles.

Dave: Oh, down the coast towards the Monument.

Martha: Yeah. Down the coast towards Monument. Uh, huh. Some of them.

Andrew: They use to find those real old artifacts (down that way). (On the foundations) of those old houses.

Martha: Those are old types.

Andrew: On the old foundations of those houses.

Dave: Does it have a name?

Delores: No. Oh, they are names. Yes. What are they? One is what? Is Atuutiġruaq one of them? And there's .... Is Sikɬukaq.... and is Sikɬukaq one of them?

Andrew: A little over yonder from there, a long time ago, as I was a little boy, Nakiɬhuyuk was it's name over yonder and it's near, also they found artifacts, Mr. Van Valen and also my father, in those old foundations. They also found dead people there.

Delores: Oh. That place what they call Hollywood, which is ..... They said they use to find human bones and artifacts and they use to be sod houses.

Martha: He said his fatherand .... and what was that white guy's name?

Andrew: Van Valen , use to be Mr. Van Valen.

Martha: Van Valen

Dave: Oh, Van Valen, Yeah, ok.

Martha: Yeah, that guy and his father....

Dave: They dug down there.

Martha: Yeah, and found artifacts. When he was a .....

Delores: And human bones, he said.

Martha: Yēah.

Dave: I think Cora Ungarook (inaudible). What did they do at the summer camp? Down the coast.

Martha: What did the people do when they went out camping down that way?

Delores: (He's asking) what did they do to them? When they're out camping?

Andrew: I don't have anything to tell about what they did but the Eskimos hunted, that was how they lived, looking for food.

Martha: They mostly hunted, looking for food.

Dave: Hunting in the summer for what kind of things?

Delores: If they're living down by the coast....

Martha: What kind of animals did they hunt for long time ago?

Andrew: I don't think that the animals (they hunted long ago) and what we have now have decreased here in Barrow. You know those, like the caribou, seal, whale, walrus, bearded seal, beluga, polar bear, fox, caribou, ducks.

Martha: All those animals.

Andrew: I don't think some of them have become extinct, I believe it is still the same.

Martha: Those animals are still here. They still hunt those things nowadays.

Dave: Today. Do they still go to that same camp down the beach?

Andrew: But they always find elephant (mastadon) tusks all over, but we don't know about those things.

Delores: They say, they use to find elephant tusks. They don't know how....

Martha: They find them all over the North Slope.

Dave: All over the North Slope, they find these. But you've never seen an elephant. How have things changed since, from the way they were before at Utqiagvik?

Martha: How have the peoples way of living changed now? Was (I) suppose to ask it that way?

Delores: Yes. Do you hear (the question)? Maybe we have to talk louder.

Martha: How have the peoples way of living change from long ago?

Andrew: How has it changed up to now?

Martha: Yes. Up to now.

Andrew: I can answer that (again as I've answered the previous questions). Long ago, the Eskimos, before the white people with boats ever came around, when they came, I think things started changing. When the whaling boats started coming, I don't know what year. Here, their boats were shipwrecked, they joined the Eskimos, made children that were part white. That's ok, right? since it's funny.

Delores: He said the time when it started changing was when the whaler expedition boats started coming up towards here is the time when it started changing and made half-breed childrens.

Martha; That was the time when things started to change when they came up.

Dave: Yeah.

Delores: He don't know what year though, but it's been some time ago.

Dave: Do you remember any of the traders who use to work here?

Martha: Do you know any white people that use to come here? (White people) that use to come here often.

Delores: Trading with what they had.

Martha: Their stuff.

Andrew: What are you referring to when you're asking that?

Martha: White people that use to come here to sell or trade, (he's asking)if you remember any of them.

Andrew: I can also say something about that.

Delores: Some of them use to have stores and traded things...., like flour for whatever they wanted, like fox or.....

Andrew: Long ago, ships that came here to hunt whales, when there were many they tell stories about them. They traded the baleen for ammunition, white man's food, tobacco, or anything from those ships.

Delores: (He was asking) if you knew their names.

Andrew: I don't know about them. Maybe they might know about them from the papers. (Probably referring to books or statistics.)

Martha: Yes. They have written a few of them down.

Andrew: My father, Utuayualuk use to tell about a person named Mr. Bodfish.

Martha: Bodfish?

Andrew: Bodfish. That person's father, who was also a whaler. George Leavitt's father, also.

Martha: One of them is Bodfish, George Leavitt. Waldo Bodfish's father, he was a whaler.

Andrew: Those people, Saali, and when we were beginning to be aware of our surroundings, Charlie Brower was also a trader. Before him, a guy they use to call him Kali, also a whaler, use to have a store. But, (our generation) never saw him, but others have told stories of him. Whatever (he) was, but I think his name is mispronounced, but the Eskimos use to call him Kali. (Probably referring to John Kelly.)

Martha: There was another person, they call Kali, it was before these guys came up.

Dave: What was it again?

Delores: Kali, but in Eskimo they called it Kali.

Martha: But it was before their time.

Delores: He's heard of it but they never did....

Dave: What kind of things did the traders bring in?

Martha: He just named them while ago. He's ...., yeah, he said they bought in flour, sugar, cigarettes....

Delores: Coffee...

Martha: Coffee....

Delores: I think he said tea also in Eskimo.

Martha: See, he named all those.

Dave: Ok. Have people used that site? Do you remember anybody using that site out there? In this empty part out here of Utqiagvik?

Martha: Since you moved here, has anybody lived around here? No.

Andrew: There were no people.

Martha: No. There was no people.

Andrew: Only Aqargiuq's house was there.

Martha: Who were they?

Andrew: Aqargiuq and his family. That one that is barely standing. (meaning the house.)

Martha: Who were his parents?

Andrew: Iqaluk. (Elijah Ekalook)

Delores: That one that was mentioned...., where did I hear the name Iqaluk.

Martha: A family use to live in that house, that house that's standing out there.

Dave: Oh, the one that is still standing over there?

Delores: Yeah.

Dave: But out there on that place out there, ever since he became aware of it he doesn't remember anybody out there?

Delores: No other houses.

Dave: That's probably an old one.

Andrew: When I first built my house here, that house (Ekalook's) was the only one standing, there were no other houses.

Martha: When he first built his house that was the only house that was standing.

Dave: Oh. Who owns that house?

Delores: Ekalook's. Did Ekalook's use to own that house also?

Andrew: No, His step-son who is Aqargiuna whose name is Elijah.

Delores: His son-in-law.

Martha: Aqargiuna. Those people's son-in-law lived in there.

Delores: Ekalook's son-in-law.

Dave: How do you teach the young people about the old site of Utqiagvik? Are there any songs about it?

Martha: What do you teach the young people about Barrow?

Delores: Were the young people taught about Barrow when it was old?

Andrew: Yes. Were they taught?

Delores: About their songs, too?

Martha: Or about stories or their songs.

Andrew: I may not have stories to tell about those, but when they have Eskimo dances and their songs, and the Nalukataq Eskimo dance songs are different, you know. They are different.

Martha: When they had blanket toss feast, they sing different songs other than what they sing nowadays.

Andrew: Only when they have the Nalukataq, they sing the songs that pertain to Nalukataq. I have listened to them but I have never learned them.

Martha: He said when they had the blanket toss, when they were having the blanket toss at the same time they use to sing for the blanket toss feast.

Delores: Have they never ever taught (to other people)?

Andrew: They never taught, but they may ahve learned them just by sitting (and listening) when they were having (the Eskimo dances) because I, myself, can recognize the songs.

Delores: They never teach but from what they do they learned.

Dave: Their stories or dances of Utqiagvik?

Delores: I don't think he must have been aware..., I mean,

Dave: Where did they get the water, wood, and those kinds of things to live?

Martha: (He's asking) where they got their water from or gathered their wood from around here.

Andrew: Around here, after a heavy storm (wind) from whatever direction the wind had blown, people walk along the beach in either direction, heading east or west, then people gathered the wood, big or small.

Delores: It depends on which way the wind is blowing and then they collect, when the wind is blowing the right direction and the wood is drifted and they collect.

Andrew: They gather (put them on shore) every piece of wood because the wood didn't come in great quantities here.

Delores: A few at a time come, not a whole bunch at a time, they just collect as there....

Dave: Little by little.

Martha: Yeah, you can see a lot when you go for a boat ride, like at Nuiqsut. There's quite a few.

Dave: Where did they get water?

Martha: (He's asking) where they get water from?

Andrew: From up there by the side of the airport, there's a lake where they use to get water, and from there but as you know it ran out of water over through there. Also, by the mouth of that river (people) use to get water also.

Martha: There use to be a stream going this way through right here.

Delores: Right through the ravine.

Dave: This was a stream?

Martha: Yeah. Uh, huh, and there use to be a pond right behind the airport but....

Delores: I think that's the place where they, we, use to go skating.

Martha: Just before they built the airstrip.

Delores: And another one dried out over here.

Martha: Over down that way.

Dave: Just down the beach from Utqiagvik, there was another stream or a pond?

Delores: A pond.

Dave: A pond, a water pond.

Martha: But it's dried up now.

Dave: Let's see, you already listed the animals..., that they caught near here. Was there any fishing out here?

Martha: He's asking if (people) did any fishing close to here?

Andrew: There is no way of knowing about (People) fishing near here, but they

use to catch tom cods out on the ocean during the summer, and during the winter they caught tom cods here in the ocean.

Martha: They only did fishing along the coast.....

Delores: What they call summer can, eh, candle fish, they glow in the night and you could just either....

Martha: And tom cods during the winter time.

Dave: Right out here?

Martha: Yeah, They still do it nowadays.

Andrew: What you call those tom cods, they don't stay around all the time. You know that they don't stay around all the time.

Martha: Yes.

Delores: Those candle fish are never there all the time.

Martha: Only in certain years they come around.

Delores: Just like in the fall....

Dave" How do they catch the candle fish?

Martha: With nets or by hand. When there's lots you can get them by hand or with nets.

Dave: Were there any plants around here that people use?

Delores: He's asking if you've used animals....

Martha: Plants. Were there any plants?

Delores: Yeah, they're called animals. He's asking if (people) have used animals from the ground. Like a salmon berries.....

Andrew: Plants that are grown?

Martha: Yes.

Andrew: Yes. We eat those like wild rhubarb (sour grass) that grow along down the coast. And also, those broad leaves that also grow around here, right close around here, they have talked about them. And way up there, there's salmon berries and blue berries that grow but they are too far. They never grow around here.

Martha: They would go further up (inaudible)... salmon berries.

Delores: They have to walk quite a ways up though... far to get...

Martha: And they collected wild rhubarb, I think there's an English name for them in our office.

Delores: And then there's little pink, kind of a rose buds or something like a....

Martha: Really their sweet, they collect them along the coast.

Delores: Things they eat, too. We use to eat them.

Martha: And the weeds.

Delores: I don't know that names for those other two besides those berries.

Martha: I think we got those at the office. Their English names for those.

Dave: What was the most important food at Utqiagvik?

Martha: He's asking what the people at Barrow ate the most of, or hunted the most of, the people of Barrow ate the most.

Andrew: Seal was the most they eat.

Martha: Seals.

Andrew: But I haven't finished telling about the fish, they net for fish over at Nuvuk and over at Shooting Station.

Martha: They did some....

Andrew: Yes. Those fishes, that's the closest.

Delores: Fish netting and at Shooting Station and at..., by the Point.

Martha: At the point, during the summer.

Dave: So they did fishing out at Shooting Station inside the bayÑ

Martha: And at the Point.

Dave: And out at the point.

Martha: And what kind of fish did they fish for? Were they fishing for salmon?

Andrew: White fish, white fish, salmon, trout, you may have seen them, and others that look like salmon.

Delores: And link cods, those ling cods.

Andrew: What kind of ling cods?

Delores: Those ling cods.

Andrew: Those ling cods are not seen.

Dave: This was all out at the Point?

Martha: Yeah.

Dave: And at the Shooting Station?

Martha: Yeah, at the Shooting Station, too, yeah.

Delores: It runs on the same bay.

Andrew: Bullhead fish, too, the ones that have needles, they are also caught in the nets, I think those, too, are over there.

Delores: I use to have a funny name for those, I use to call them dog fish, their kind of a, they have a big head like this and...., theirs, they call them kanayuġauraqs.

Dave: Are they good to eat?

Martha: Yeah. Lot of people eat those.

Delores: They have, what they call those lungs, did those things have lungs, the bullhead fishes, or....

Martha: The ones with big heads?

Delores: Yeah. You (people) use to eat those, the ones with big heads, right?

Andrew: Those can be eaten, too.

Martha: Yes.

Delores: Did those, too, have big lungs?

Andrew: No, they just have a lot of eggs in them.

Delores: They have a lot of eggs....

Andrew: They call them bullhead fish, the kanayuq.

Dave: Is this Utqiaġvik site still important to you today?

Delores: Do you still like this.....

Martha: The one that they'll be working on?

Delores: What use to be the old Utqiaġvik, the old site.

Andrew: What was that? Rephrase what you said.

Delores: He's asking if Barrow is still important before Barrow gets bigger. Right now.

Andrew: That (question) there....

Delores: How can we say important.

Andrew: If I understand (what you're saying) I can answer right away.

Delores: Can you think of a better....

Dave: How about interesting? Is it still interesting.

Martha: So hard just (inaudible) words.

Delores: Wait. Let me see if I could think.... Is Barrow, the old site still in your heart?

Andrew: Yes. So that was that.

Delores: Today.

Andrew: Yes. That is good because (the people) are trying to keep the old foundations that are standing, they're trying to keep (others) from putting in new buildings.

Martha: They're trying to keep this place sacred from even the Native people because it's important.

Andrew: I, myself like the beauty of the view if they don't start building on this site, I like it.

Delores: He said it's better that there's no other houses.

Martha: Build on these mounds.

Delores: Mounds and .... Up to today, he said it's good like the way it is.

Martha: He'd rather keep it the way it is.

Dave: How did you learn about things, about Utqiaġvik?

Delores: He's asking how you found out the things that are at the Utqiaġvik site.

Andrew: What I found out how they are?

Delores: Yes.

Andrew: I, again, can answer that one with a very good answer.

Delores: Both of us are trying very hard to do this right.

Andrew: Yes, Learning to interpret.....

Delores: I am still studying alright.

Andrew: Long time ago, what I have seen with my own eyes,the houses around here, along with both my parents, what I saw with my eyes. They lived like that on blubber, using oil lamps for heat. Also these houses, that had sod all around(the house) also they made a hole in the middle of the floor, (that were) used as doors, and those I caught. Those I saw.

Delores: Underneath?

Andrew: Yes. It had a vestibule that way, making a hole in the floor by the side down that way, and then down there it had a pathway like an ice cellar and then, also, when you climbed up that way, you went out. There were a number of those houses that I caught.

Delores: He said he's seen some houses that are sod houses that has hole in the bottom of the floor, sort a like a cellar type and then they go up and go out.

Martha: Inside. They go inside first and they go out the same direction.

Delores: He saw, he's seen those and learn about....

Martha: And they use seal oil lamps to keep the house warm.

Dave: He saw these houses where?

Martha: Here in town.

Dave: Here or just in around town?

Martha: Just where are these old foundations at?

Andrew: I know of only one down that way, by that house here by the beach, right close, just by the edge.

Martha: There's one behind that big house, that two story house right next to it. A house that use to ..... Whose house is it? Whose old foundation is it?

Andrew: That old foundation was Kaigeluk's, where my parents stayed when they came here, was also where I started being aware (of my surroundings).

Martha: It was Kaigeluk's family that use to live down there.

Dave: What family?

Martha: Kaigeluk's.

Delores: Kaigeluk's. They moved to Nuiqsut.

Andrew: I don't know his English name. Just the Eskimo name Kaigeluk.

Martha: The other one. His folks use to, when his folks use to come into town, they use to stay with their family.

Dave: I wonder which mound it is maybe it,is there still a mound over there?

Delores: Is part of it still visible?

Andrew: It is still visible.

Martha: Yeah. It's visible, still visible.

Dave: Is that over, next to the two story house? The one their just building now?

Martha: NO.

Dave: The apartments.

Martha: No. Down the street, down the street, there's (inaudible) Right here where Adam Leavitt's house use to be?

Andrew: Down there, yes, right by the beach. Red house.

Martha: Yes. That red house.

Andrew: Down there.

Martha: Just down the street.

Dave: Ok. Go look at it then. Have you ever been interviewed before about these things?

Martha: He's asking if other people have come to talk to you about these things.

Andrew: NO.

Martha: No.

Andrew: I don't know if I have talked to anyone that had questions concerning those.

Dave: What do you think about this archaeological project?

Martha: He's asking what you are thinking of (these people) that have come here to look for artifacts. The white people.

Andrew: I'll answer that also. I like to give the right answer but they can be corrected.

Delores: He said he'll try his best to answer.

Andrew: What was it you said again?

Martha: What you think of the white people that have come here to look for artifacts.

Delores: He's asking what you think of these people that have come to look for artifacts here on our land.

Andrew: I, myself do not dislike it, maybe their looking for something that needs to be corrected. Whatever that they have to correct. From time immemorial, they want to put it on paper that has never been written before.

Delores: He says the, he agrees:...

Martha: With what their doing and he....

Delores: That's what you guys are doing and that hasn't been written down on piece of paper very much.

Martha: It would be good to put them into reports.

Dave: Reports.

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: That's all.

Martha: That's all. He said he's finished.

Delores: If we did not do a good job, if they still want to come (and ask questions) we'll be back.

Martha: Were you going to pay him on the land, if they excavate part of his

land? Were they going to pay him?

Dave: I don't know. If I could do that or not. Did he ask?

Martha: No, I was just wondering.

Delores: But what if it's their personal property and....

Dave: Oh, if they want it, if they demand to be paid. Then they probably won't excavate there. Because if it's a private property (inaudible)

That's the end of the interview with Andrew Oenga and the end of this tape.

Ethnohistory Interview with
Roxy Ekowana 6/24/81

David Libbey = D
Roxy Ekowana = R

D- Do you have old photos of the Utqiaġvik Site that we could look at and copy?

R- I don't think I have any old photos of the site.

D- Do you know anyone who might?

R- No, some might have.

D- Why was that a good place to have a village?

R- When we lived by only fishing and hunting, the site is good for sea mammal hunting and for seals, ugruk, walrus, whales, beluga. Things like that come through early in the fall and in the spring. Also the seals the whole year when the ice is around, even after freeze up. Also they go to Piġnig for duck hunting in summer.

D- Was there anything about the site, the bluff or water or anything that would make that a particularly good place?

R- Well one thing, before they started digging things (road etc) around that area where the small creek is (the ravine), I understand that was always running with clean water, running out from the lakes and they used that for drinking water.

D- Did the people live at that site year round?

R- Yes they did, especially in the summer for Nalukatuk, when the celebration are taking place after the whaling season is over. People from the point (Nuvuk) about 10 or 11 miles up came down for that and even some from Wainwright when they don't have a whale catch for that season.

D- Do you know anything about the qargi that were out there?

R- A little bit. I understand that there were two of them at the time. Before they started building those modern small houses around 1800s or so. There is one site that is called Siqiliarigmiut Across the ravine from Levi Greist's house. I don't remember where that location was. But the other one, a qargi called Kaluligamiut, is still visible close to Andrew Oenga's house.

D- Do you know when they last used that?

R- No I don't know.

D-Were there other communities around here at the time?

R- The only nearby community was at the point, which we call Nuvuk, that's the closest. People lived there all year round.

D- Nobody at Piġnik?

R- No not at the time. The story is they were the first village there before they moved down here to Utqiaġvik. They lived there first. I don't know about the Point, they might have been living there first and some at Piġnik before they moved down here to Utqiaġvik site.

D- Did people travel to other sites from here. Like from Utqiaġvik to Nuvuk.

R- Yes they travelled almost every day, they visited their relatives at the Point and the people from the Point would come down here to visit with them once in a while. That happens in winter and in summer - year round.

D- Did people do different things at the other sites?

R- I think they're about the same. The same things that they do-

D- How far away is the site? I think you just told me its about 12 mi.

R- About 11 or so miles.

D- How have things changed from the way they were before at Utqiaġvik?

R- It has changed quite a lot due to the Tuniks coming north on vessels, like whalers and some traders, after the discovery of the people living up here. That changed things.

D- Who were the traders here?

R- The ones I heard of; one was named Kelly, that was before my time. I don't know if there was any before him.

D- He was before Brower?

R- Yes. I think there was a company from the lower 48 before Brower came.

D- What things did the traders bring in here?

R- Guns, ammunition, shells, lead, powder, primers, those were the times they used muskets, and also the whaling guns, flour, pilot bread, syrup or molasses - that comes in barrels, that's what my parents told me.

D- Were the traders here all the time or just travelling through?

R- The way I heard it they were here all the time. The first that I know of is the LiebesCo. that had the store here, long after the Kellys and some others were gone. Brower was one of the first traders working for that company. Somewhere around the 20s they started another trading post where the natives got together to sell reindeer carcasses and trade for some goods to start a native store here. Just before that there was another schooner that came up by the name of "Transit" a 4 masted trading boat owned by Capt. John Bachland, Sr. I remember him.

D- He was here just before the 20s?

R- Yes

D- Have people used this site, the open field area of Utqiaġvik where the mounds, for anything that you can remember?

R- I don't remember anything except right where Levi Greist's house is. That spot is kind of level right above that bluff.

D- You mean on top of the bluff?

R- Yes and just down from the top is a flat spot they used for Nalukatuk. Right over from there to the north, a few feet from that place, people would gather on that flat surface, before the people start to build modern small houses. Some men would gather on a good evening and just take fresh air and talk among themselves just for fun. Sometimes in the daytime that would be a playground for kids. That used to be a big one-out toward the ocean, now there is just a little bit of it left.

D- Is it eroded away from the ocean side?

R- Yes.

D- How do you teach young people about Utqiaġvik?

R- Some evenings in the short days, within the family or when they had some visitors, they would talk about things that happened before their time and at present times and that would be told to the children, instruction in what to do when hunting and how to treat others, how to make things, especially in times when qargiswere in use. Men would gather some evenings and after the hunt would go there and make things and talk about the things that they do and the things that they make and some young folks would be there also and learn things from them.

D- Do they still teach people about it today? The old days at Utqiaġvik?

R- Some little part of it is being taught at the schools.

D- I wondered if you talked about it when you were talking to the children over at the school before.

R- Yes. I did that whenever I had the time. What they do and what they make and how they make a living.

D- Are there any songs about Utqiaġvik?

R- I don't know

D- Dances?

R- Yes, there are some dances, songs but I don't know whether some of the songs mean something about Utqiaġvik or Barrow.

D- Any stories about Utqiaġvik?

R- Yes there are. Some about certain times, about how they had visitors and how they treat them.

D- Where did they get water and wood and other necessities from when they lived in Utqiaġvik?

R- As I understand they didn't use wood too much because they had blubber for fuel. They didn't have stoves. All they had was the seal oil lamps made out of soapstone, also from the copper. I don't know where they would purchase the copper, but whenever they had it they would pound it down to make something like a plate and make a seal lump out of copper. That is handier for travelling, its lighter than the soapstone.

D- Do you think they would have gotten copper from some Indian inland?

R- Copper might have come from the Canadian side.

D- You mentioned before that they used to get water from the stream when it was running. Were there any other water sources?

R- Yes. From the bigger lakes close by. The first lake was located by the airstrip over here. You can see part of it just along the edge of it on the other side. They carried in the summer and hauled it by sled in the winter when its frozen. Just below that there's another one by that quonset hut that belongs to the Borough or ASRC. It was bigger than the first one. Its dry now.

D- What did people do at Utqiaġvik at different times of the year?

R- It depends what they want to do and the season has certain things that they have to do. At this time after Nalukatuk (late June). The people who had boats would go down the coast for seal hunting (toward Wainwright as far as 15 mi. or beyond. Some went clear down to Peard Bay for seal hunting, the people who wanted to be more successful rather than stay here where more men would be hunting. That way they would get quite a bunch of ugruks and seals for winter use. They came back as soon as the ice went out (it's still in as of today). And others, right after Nalukatuk, started getting ready to go up rivers to hunt caribou in summer. They would drag their boats out to the lake; it has a creek that runs out to the lagoon which is called Agvauk. We call that lake Eekoragvuk its out here by the gas well. They dragged their boats and sleds and their equipment out there and got into that lake and travel along where that creek runs out. And when they get to this spot they dragged their boats again into another lake, by line, no snow in summer, and get to a big lake and start using their boats until they get into a creek that runs into the first river. That's where they scattered. The ones going east follow the coast that is free of ice and then start travelling by boat up the rivers.

Sp?

D- What river is that?

R- There were four rivers they use at the time, Inaru was the first, Mead River, and the next Kagagvik which they call now Tooparuk River but that's not the proper name - Tooparuk was the name of one camp site but that's not the name of the river - the river itself has the name Kagagvik. The next river to that is the Chip River, Ikpikpaq - those are the 4 rivers that they used to travel upriver in summer to hunt caribou for clothing and for trading and for fishing at the same time.

D- But some of the people went along the coast at the same time further east?

R- Yes, after they get ready what they want to bring with some dried seal skins that can be made into water boots with dried ugruk skins for soles and whale meat and things like that they want to trade with Eskimos that don't do seal hunting that live up inland most of the time. They travel up the coast to Niglik R. where the people that winter inland of the Colville and those places would come down early in summer after the river breaks up down to that spot to wait for the people from Barrow so they can trade.

D- Did those people from Barrow put their boats in by the shooting station into Elson Lagoon?

R- Yes, some put their boats up there before breakup , before it begins to thaw - on the edge-and wait so they can travel easier where it opens along the edge. Believe it or not some would also travel down the coast, the ones who are going to go up towards Nigilik.

D- They would travel down the coast toward Wainwright?

R- Towards Wainwright. And there is a spot called Singhowaruk. There there is a creek that runs out into the ocean. As soon after breakup while it's still full they loaded their boats and start dragging their boats through that creek until they get into that lake they pull up their boats and there was another lake nearby it and they dragged their boat into that other lake and their equipment, carrying it, and loaded their boat and shove out into that other lake called Sikulik and there was a creek also from that lake that runs eastward towards the Inaru River. That's the only spot where they dragged their boats, they follow that creek. The current helps them travel down easier until they get Iviksuk where the Inaru River is.

Sp?

Sp?

D- Seems like a lot of work.

R- Yes it seems like a lot of work but most of the time they would beat the ones who are waiting at Elson (Lagoon, at Pignik) Sometimes when it's real cold weather the edges of the salt water don't thaw quick enough.

D- How did they drag their boat, did they have a sled?

R- No, I understand they carried seal skin pokes, they inflated those and used them for pontoons. I've done that.

D- They drag it over the ice?

R- No, over the tundra, in order to put the boat into another lake or the river.

D- They dragged it with lines?

R- Yes, they used it like a tire.

D- They put it under the boat then rolled it along, pick it up and put it under again and keep pushing it along?

R- Yes, 1 or 2 men could do that.

D- That would be an umiak?

R- Yes, the size of Umiak varies. The small one is five ugruk skins, than the next larger size is 6 ugruk skins, then 7, some would be bigger than that with 8 or 9 skins to cover the framework. It depends on how big the person wants to make his boat.

D- They could put all their equipment in the umiak and then role it?

R- No, just the boat. The heavy stuff they carry.

D- Did they have dogs?

R- Yes

D- Did they use the dogs for work?

R- Yes, for packing and for pulling. In those cases they had a sled just big enough to carry the boat with some load or if they have to travel through the ice before breakup. That is when they started from Pignik before the ice is rotten in that spot. They would put all their equipment into the boat and dragged the boat on the sled. And when they hit the water they put everything into the boat including the sled, if they're going to use it again. When they have to they would leave the sled behind and pick it up on the way back.

D- When did they start doing certain kinds of things at Utqiaġvik. Any new kind of things. Changes from old ways when they stop doing something one way and start doing it a different way.

R- Well, the story is - when they started to use heating stoves or cooking stoves - that was one of the big changes. Earlier they used only the seal oil for their seal oil lamps. Every sod house had a long entry way and on one side of it is a little hole, opening on the top, which they use as a kitchen , like an outside fire. They cooked a heavy meal with a little bit of driftwood or some blubber as fuel. The seal oil lamps heated the house itself. When they changed to use cooking stoves after the whites came in they consumed driftwood and depeleted it and then used seal blubber, ugruk blubber, beluga blubber, any kind as a fuel. You had to be a good hunter to supply the home with fuel.

D- What kind of a stove?

R- Iron

D- The big kind that sets on the floor?

R- No, small (about 2' by 1'). They had an oven in the middle and doors on both ends.

D- Can you list the animals they caught around Utqiaġvik?

R- In summer they catch eider ducks, old squaw, sea gulls jaegers, snipes, late in the summer bunches of them swam along the edge of the coast, good eating too. Right around Pigñik they fished for white fish inside the lagoon and also at the Point, with nets. There are not too many but they caught some. All through the summer they used nets to hunt seals in the lagoon, even when there was no ice. Whaling season begins early in the fall when the whales are coming back from the east just before freezeup. The people from here would go to the point and join them for whaling while the good weather lasts. When the ice comes in they started hunting seals, whenever there is some open water. Some even used seal nets. They hunted here and at the Point. Some hunted by breathing holes. Some set nets at breathing holes or at frozen-over cracks. Some set nets on an open lead in good weather using them only at night. When a person is lucky he could get more than 40 a night. In my time I've seen them get 20 or so, just at night. When the caribou is around they hunt them. But most of the time there aren't caribou near the coast. I have heard before my time there was quite a bunch around in the winter and summer. In summer the hunters went out in kayaks, 2 people teams. They went up the creeks and carried their kayaks into the lakes until they hit the first river out there and hunt for caribou.

D- Did they only whale hunt at Nuwuk in the fall?

R- They could hunt them here if they came in close but mostly they hunted at the Point because its further out.

D- And spring whaling?

R- Always on the shore ice out from Barrow. At Nuwuk they did it out from the village too.

D- Any bear?

R- Yes, as long as there's ice on the ocean, mostly polar bear. Brown bear sometimes up inland when they hunt caribou. Fox was plentiful along the coast and inland. Wolf and wolverine you had to go back up in the hills.

D- Did they do any fishing right here by Utqiaġvik?

R- They fished in the lagoon and inland on the rivers where they hunted caribou.

D- Were there plants and berries around here that people used?

R- Plants. Some leaves along the coast down toward Wainwright with red stalks called kongalik. SP? They're sweet. In gullys and creeks the greens grow up, these are the ones they put in seal oil. Also up the rivers they pick masu, its almost as thick as my little finger, that's just underground. They dig it up. They cook it. It's like a potato. They don't use it much, you have to be kind of an expert to find it. They get salmon berries up the rivers, some grow on this side of Atqasuk and further down, also some small blue berries and small red berries.

D- Did they use willow branches on the house floors?

R- Yes

D- Where did they get the willows?

R- Not here, but where they made their camps up the river, where the willows are.

D- What was the most important food at Utqiaġvik?

R- The most important food is the whale because it supplies the whole village, even one can supply the whole village for a while. Of many people here at the time. Although they had several other things like the walrus and ugruk they would rather have the whale meat. his year is big for each person who participates in that whaling. Especially the blubber is thick and bigger. Walrus is also very important because of the tusk and the hide and the meat itself. The tusk was used for sled runners and also for tools, handles, spear heads for hunting walrus ugruk and seal and also knife handles and eskimo drum handles, skin scraper handle; the scraper itself is flint.

D- Is the Utqiaġvik site still important to you today?

R- I think it is. I would rather not disturb the old sites there so the generation after us may know where the old site is and where the houses stood one time. I would rather not disturb the old dwelling places.

D- How did you learn things about the Utqiaġvik site?

R- From the stories I heard from the older people that lived here.

D- Have you been interviewed before about the Utqiaġvik site?

R- I don't think so.

D- What do you think about the archeological excavation they are going to do here this summer?

R- Does that mean they are going to disturb those old dwelling places?

D- There going to disturb a few of them, not very many, but a few.

R- I would think that the place be not disturbed like I said. They're valuable. I wouldn't want all of them to be disturbed just in order to find a few artifacts and things like that.

-End of Interview-

Onsite Interview with
Roxy Ekowana

6/25/81

Roxy Ekowana = R
David Libbey = D
Rick Ranier = RR
John Carnahan = C

D- We're standing on the mound at the edge of the ravine near Levi Griest's house. About how much has the bluff eroded back since you can remember?

R- As far back as I can remember when I was about 6 years old, around 1913, since then the part that has been eroded was just about 70 or 80 ft. That part has gone already. All of the playground has gone.

D- It was reported that there was a house that 2 women died in toward the end of the last century, maybe around 1890. And then around 1932, some local people were digging around that house and they found the 2 women. Do you remember that event?

R- I remember the story of that. According to a lady I know very well it's over toward the west from where we are standing about 125 yards from where we are standing. There was an old house - the story is that during the famine in winter these 2 ladies died of starvation - not much game around, the ocean didn't open for the hunters to hunt seals, and no caribou close by either. Everybody tried to live with the little bit they had on their own. Some that has some to spare might have shared what little they had. During that time these two ladies starved to death inside that house. When spring came instead of taking them out to the cemetery they wrecked the house and covered them with the roof of the house. And like you suggested it was back in 1931 or 1932 I remember, there was a man came up on the boat who worked for some kind of a museum. I don't remember the name of the museum.

D- I think that would have been James Ford. I think he was working for the Smithsonian at the time.

R- Yes, I know him very well. There were 2 bodies buried under that old ruin. So he dug them out and uncovered them and probably took them with him. I saw the pile of bones when he dug them out.

D- Do you think that house mound is still there?

R- No, its gone, eroded away.

D- Where have people dug to look for old things? I think we can see that they have dug quite a bit right around here.

R- At the time some dug from the old ruins, you saw the open lot down there and also some dug out there where it has already been eroded. Most of them were digging for pitch. I don't think you understand what the pitch is. Earlier we reported that they used to have cooking places right by the entryway in which they burned blubber from whales or seal oil or ugruk. And most of the time what blubber they had they just lay out, and the liquid part dropped down and soaked the ground. And later, in my time, when they started to use the cooking stoves inside their houses, they had to have some kind of fuel. When they realized that there might be something like this in those old mounds they dug them for that pitch, the sod that has been soaked in blubber, They used that to burn in these stoves. And at the same time they found artifacts.

D- What kind of house or structure was in this area? You said this was for Nalukatuk.

R- As far back as I can remember this was just a playground. (We are on top of the bluff on the SW edge of the ravine.)

D- But it's already gone?

R- It's gone. The site that was used for Nalukatuk was right by that boat I think (points to a boat beside Levi Greist's house) that lower level. We can go over there and find the exact spot.

D- That area over there where those boxes and the boat are?

R- Yes, just beyond that (Greist's house covers part of the area).

D- That was where they had the blanket toss?

R- Yes. The house/s were on both sides of the ravine. The older ones are over on that side (points to the south side of the ravine). And some they had to build on that side (points to north side) you can see some of them still visible.

D- How long did Nalukatuk last? How many days?

R- It depends how much they caught. Sometimes they had it in 2 days and sometimes in 3 days.

D- Where did they used to haul the whales in?

R- In spring they don't beach the carcass. At the edge of the open water lead they pull it up and cut it up there and start hauling it by sled to put it into their cellars in the spring. In the fall they had to drag the carcass in boats by paddling and by sail and beach it and put it up right along the beach anywhere near here.

D- Could you identify by just pointing from here areas around on the land or out on the water where people hunted and fished or did other things?

R- I don't know of anyone fishing for white fish except for tom cods done in winter especially from January to thaw, under ice fishing.

D- Nets or line?

R- Just with a line. In summer up at Pigniq, just as the ice starts to break up and there is enough lead open on the edge in the lagoon, they set their nets for white fish and those small fish with little things coming out the side and the tail is slim, I don't know what you call them in English.

D- Dogfish?

R- Yes. Dogfish, they catch them with a small hook right under the ice just before breakup and when the cracks in the ice along the coast open up, they would do jigging for that kind of fish and also for tom cod. And also in summer a different kind of small fish would come in especially when there is no ice when the weather is kind of warm from east or south-east. For some reason they would beach and start travelling along the coast and hunt those with small, what you call those?, the type they would use to fish with a line like you do it.

C- Net, landing net?

R- Yes, landing net. Make the net small enough so those little fish won't get away. A school of them would be seen right close to the beach and they put a long pole on that net and fish them and catch them in bunches. That's in summer.

D- Was it any good for walrus and seal right out here.

R- Yes, sure, as long as there's ice in summer and in winter the sealing season is open all the time. Only walrus hunting time is after breakup, somewhere around the middle of July or so when they are able to get out in their boats and find the walrus basking on the floating ice.

D- I guess we could go look at some other places now.

D- We have moved over to the large mound behind Andrew Oenga's house. You say that this mound was one of theqargis?

R- Yes. I have heard they have 2 of them at the time. This is one of them, which is called Kaluligmiut (Spencer notes aqargi in this area and names it KYESIKPU MIUT, p. 50) that means the ones use this are towards the land, farthest to the land Kaluliq, Kaluligamiut. I never found out how long ago it started, what year or how late they stopped in use the same way with the other one over there on the other side, somewhere over there. Sp ?

D- Over on the other side of the ravine?

R- Yes, that's toward the ocean.

RR- What's the name of the one towards the ocean?

R- Siqaluāigmiu't, I think that means, in my time when I am able to remember and begin to see things, those places over there around that place are mostly the ice cellars, which are called sigaluāiq, ice cellar, and that was named after these sigaluāiqmiut, " where there are ice cellars."

D- So they stopped using this one before you remember?

R- Yes.

D- Do you think the whole top of this mound was part of the qargi?

R- Yes.

D- A big one then?

R- Yes.

RR- Do you think this was used by men of your father's age?

R- Yes, right.

RR- Do you know anything about parts of this mound for example where the entrance might have been? Or where the main room might have been.

R- According to the houses that I know the entryways would be toward south. Any house they built the entryway would be toward the sun - that would be toward the south.

RR- And the qargi would be like a large house so it would have its entryway towards the south?

R- Yes, of course you know how all the entryways on the old houses are dug as a tunnel deep down. They had to get into the house through the floor up.

RR- To keep the cold out?

R- To keep the cold out. And that qargi would be built the same way.

D- Are there any other of these mounds around that you know something about what they were?

R- No, I don't think I have any answer to that besides those qargis. The others seem to be like dwellings.

D- Let's walk over to the bluff and check out some things.

All walk over to the bluff at the edge of the preserve.

RR- Looking at the ground here and the grounds, I've been trying to find out what the nature of the material is under the ground. I have some questions about a layer of the sod which is below the surface of the ground covered by a layer of gravelly material and then on top of that is this modern grass that we see. What I'm wondering is what is the cause of the layer of gravel on top of the lower sod surface. A person who looked at the soils and the materials at Walakpa says perhaps in winter time with the strong winds from the northwest the ice can push up against the shore and come up and drag gravel from the beach up over the surface of the ground that has sod on it. But this bluff seems very high to me for that to happen. In your memory, do you ever remember ice coming up near the top of this bluff? Is that a foolish question for someone to ask?

R- Well, I think it's not foolish. But anyway the gravel is not only found along the coast in the high bluff here, it can also be found anywhere out on the tundra. The part that is true, some years ago, before my time, in the time of my parents there was a big wind from southwest during winter somewhere around March or so. And it seems like that big wind kind of lifts up the grounded ice and it was so strong it started moving it and the ice just ran over the bluff.

RR- Even a bluff this high?

R- Yes, in this area.

RR- Do they tell stories of houses being destroyed by that?

R- Yes, one house was destroyed with one occupant. He died at that time. Right across from that playground (the north side of the ravine along the bluff). But it's gone into the ocean now. That was the time they had ice piling even above the bluff here. Of course, I have never seen that. But back in 1937 or 38 the same thing happened in March and I could see when I came down from hunting a big pile over there somewhere, just about that high over the bluff, the ice that piled in against the bluff right here, all along the coast here.

RR- After that ice left and you walked along the bluff did you see gravel from the beach?

R- Just a little bit of it. I think, the way I judged it, the gravel you would see below this sod is by nature itself.

RR- Not from the ice?

R- Yes, because over here where they are hauling the gravel it's way inside. That can prove it.

RR- Let's take a moment and walk over to a place on the bluff that I've cleaned off.

D- We were talking a little while ago and he remembers Ford being here very well.

RR- And the places he worked?

R- He worked here in those old houses like the one where he uncovered the 2 bodies of the women who died of starvation.

D- That was just down the bluff, by where that white house is? (George Leavitt's house).

R- Yes, just this side of it. That's gone now. He dug that in 1932.

RR- Do you remember him working over near where the Cash and Carry store is now?

R- I don't know, he may have but I don't remember. I do remember that he worked also at the Pigniq area in some of those old houses.

RR- This is what I was asking you about earlier. It's starting to fall into the ocean now so it's a bit lower. You can still see the sod on the surface and then below the surface some gravel material (scrapes with a trowel at the top of the bluff just under the sod) and then below that some black material which when you look inside of it it contains old decayed plant remains, and if you look closely you can see some blades of grass and so forth. It looks like originally it was this kind of a surface with grass and then it was covered by gravel. From you description, this looks like too much gravel to come from the ice.

R- Yes.

RR- Unless in your parents' time the ice put more gravel down then the one you remember.

R- Probably, or it may have even before that, we don't know.

RR- It would happen many times in the past. There are small twigs and sticks and so forth.

R- Yes, this has happened twice in my time. Not too many years ago, 2 or 3 years ago the same thing happened right along in here, knocking down some of the power poles right by the youth center.

RR- Where it's very low?

R- Yes

RR- Hopefully we will have a machine to dig holes in the ground and we can go back this way (indicates inland) and see if this gravel continues far back or only a little ways and stops. If it goes far back than we can assume that the ice is not responsible.

R- I think in most cases above the bluff here the ice is not responsible. Even at the grave site over here when we dig a grave gravel is still underneath. When you travel up inland in some lakes there's gravel also.

RR- Well this gravel below goes back for miles. But it's odd to see this layer of old sod with a thin layer of gravel on top of it because this gravel below may have come from the sea a long time ago, but this on top can't come from the sea if this sod is in here. Thank you for your comments. It's helpful for a person like with no winter experience in Barrow to understand what the ice can and can't do.

R- Yes, that I can explain a little.

All move over to the lab.

D- Probably next week some of this material will be cleaned up for identification and we can get Inupiaq names. Let's go back down to where the house you grew up in is.

Introduction to Dale Slaughter and indentification of a bone or ivory (knife) handle.

R- You can see it's been stripped here and here's the hollow for the point made out of flint or something. It looks like part of a knife handle.

Dale- That's what I thought too.

R- You see these notches here? They probably had two pieces bound together. I think it's ordinary bone not ivory - do you?

Dale- It's a little light for ivory - maybe whale bone?

R- Maybe, its heavy enough for ivory or for whale bone.

Dale- This stuff is well made; look how neat they cut it.

R- I don't see too good anymore.

Dale- Where did it come from Georgie?

Georgie- The clay, the gray stuff. It's the only thing I've found in there.

Drive along Stevenson St. back toward Youth Center. Stop at the burned remains of a sod house next to Barrow Mechanical.

D- I'd like to ask about this house that burned here. Do you know something about that house?

R- Yes, it is almost a brand new one. It was built around 25 years ago.

D- Was that the last sod house in Barrow?

R- It might be. But it was built just recently. But it was not dug into the ground. It was built on the surface.

D- Do you remember who owned it?

R- Yes, the one who built it was Abraham Kippi . He is younger than myself. He sold it to Koganaluk family later. That's a family that used to live here before they moved up, the same time I travelled with Taapaq (famous umialik mentioned in Spencer) and my brother (Otis Ahkivgak, former whaling captain died winter of 81-82), he's one that travelled with us Then when they came back down here they bought that house from Kippi .

D- Do you know what caused that fire?

R- I don't know maybe carelessness, something like that.

D- Nobody hurt in it?

R- No.

D- Let's move on.

We drive on down the street to a spot where there is a mound with a small metal building on top of it.

D- You said this was a house (mound) where you grew up or were born in?

R- No, my parents were there. When I grew up, I understand this was built by my mother's uncle. It didn't have any through-the-floor entryway, although almost 1/3 of it was buried in the ground. The outer entryway was like getting into the tunnel and through it into the house. That was built not many years before my time. Part of the material from which it was made was from the old ship wrecks, doors would be there, part of the wall and some old lumber salvaged off some kind of a ship. So it's from when the first whalers came up. It was use until 1925. My mother allowed my brother to tear it down and use it for firewood.

D- Let's move on. Do you know any more mounds that you would like to talk about?

R- Just down there where they have Nalukatuk (by the youth center) there is a site they call kiviliqpaat, that mound there where there were some houses and some cellars. There were no houses at the time I grew up but I saw some cellars till in use.

Drive off toward Youth Center.

R- This house that we just passed (a weather grey wood frame house) on the corner used to be the dance hall owned by Clayborn Tunik's father. It was there ever since I can remember.

D- What do they use it for now?

R- Somebody else owns it. Clayborn's father sold it to a man and his wife still living. She lives down a Atqasuk She's very old.

Park at Youth Center and all walk out on gravel south to where the bluff rises.

R- Right there where we parked used to be a pond. That's where we would shoot with bows and arrows at the snipes and small birds when we were kids. I understand that during the old days before they built any of these houses or before my time, what water that runs off the tundra gets into here and they used it also for drinking water before it was polluted with waste.

Walking to bluff.

R- I told you earlier about how the ice rode over some of this, and knocked out some of the poles that were here at the time for electricity. It just plowed right in.

D- How far in did it come about 30 or 40 ft?

R- Just about that far in over the bluff. Right here and just over here (indicates edge of bluff with some old posts sticking out) was what they called Kiviliqpaat.

D- So we're right behind the Benson Apts. on the shore. Was this the other qargi?

R- No, I don't think so. Siliqaigmiut was over in this area probably.

D- Further along? (south)

R- Yes. That's where most of the cellars would have been at the time. There used to be 1 or 2 in this spot back before the 20s or so. They were still in use into the 30s until erosion got in to them.

D- So those were houses? (pointing to ruins on edge).

R- Probably, yes.

D- Somebody is really digging them up (signs of intensive potting)?

R- The name kiviliqpa/at means "the one furthest to the east from the others.

D- So this is referring to houses that are further to the east from the houses that are down the bluff that way? (points along bluff toward the site.)

R- Right.

D- Does that refer to several houses that used to exist here?

R- Yes, and there's another old sod house over where we parked the car but that was the only house that I saw, that was not in use as far back as I can remember, that's the only house that somebody built away from the others. That was before my time.

D- It looks like they stopped using sod houses, then started using houses like the whalers brought in. In fact, there seems to be quite a few of those old houses around town, the wood side houses.

R- Yes, one of them we just passed on the other side from Levi Greist, that red building. It was moved from the original location. That belonged to Taaqpak (see Spencer for description of Taaqpak the recent and famous umialik). One time for 2 or 3 years I lived in that house before it was moved, (from where the Assembly of God Church now stands) before it was sold to Ahsogeak.

We ride back up Stevenson St. to Ahsogeak's yard.

D- This is the house that used to belong to Taaqpak?

R- That's right (see Spencer p. 122).

D- I think it's a storage shed now, the one with the red around the door?

R- Yes, this used to be one of the biggest houses in Town, at the time.

D- Where was it when he lived in it.

R- It was over where the church is now.

D- Did he build it, or how did he get it?

R- Probably, he built it with the help of one of the oldest missionaries. Instead of going into it himself, he let that missionary use it, because at that time the mission burned, so that's why he didn't move into it himself first. He let that missionary use it because he had no place to live with his family.

R- I don't know somewhere around 1900, not much later than that, or maybe before.

D- When did he stop living in the house?

R- When he died. When he went out east he vacated that house and then years later when he came back with the family he lived in it again.

D- Was that the time you went out there with him too?

R- Yes (see Libby-Mid Beaufort report for Taaqpak's actions out East).

D- Do you remember what year he died.

R- Somewhere around 45 or 46. That's the time he had big flu.

D- So after that Ahsogeak bought that place?

R- No, one of his granddaughters sold it to Ahsogeak and he had to move it to make a place for the church they were building at the time.

We drive around to look at the back on Egasak St. I see it used to be red all over and the paint is wearing off.

Continue driving south.

R- That's an old building there on west side. That's where my folks moved when they bought that from the man who was up eastward at the time.

D- That's the one with the gray shingles on it?

R- Yes. It never had any additions to it at the time. It was probably built sometime after Taaqpak built his house. As far back as I can remember it was there. In that same location.

D- Did you live in it at all?

R- Yes I did when I first came back from the east.

Charlie Edwardon Sr. walks up to the car.

CE- Hi, you going to build a hotel here?

D- No, just talking about some of the old houses.

R- My stepbrother bought it at one time from Samuel one time while I was up East. That's the place where they moved in after the sod house over there.

CE- Not too many of them old houses left all except (?) and the shed down there, that's another old one.

R- Another old one by Noah Itta's, Cora Ungaruk's house.

CE- It's just a shed.

R- No, it's not a shed, somebody's living in it. Cora's grandchildren.

C- No. I mean the one that stands up there the warehouse.

R- Oh, he was mentioning a different one.

-End of Interview-

Ethno History

It's June 30th, 1981 and we're at Ernest Kignak's house doing an interview on the Utqiaġvik site.

Dave: Do you have any old photos of Utqiaġvik that we could look at or copy?

Martha: He's asking if you have old photos of Utqiaġvik.

Ernest: Old pictures?

Martha: Yes.

Ernest: I don't have any old pictures of those kind.

Martha: He don't have any.

Dave: Why was Utqiaġvik a good place for a village?

Martha: Why did the people settle here in Barrow?

Ernest: Well that was a long story. As long as I know, that's a long story on that. It's kind of long when you're going to tell a story about why people settled here in Barrow.

Martha: He said it's a long story if he's going to tell about it.

Dave: That's ok if he's willing to talk about it.

Ernest: I think it's going to be a little long when telling about it. From what I, myself have heard from other people even though I don't know about them. I was only born in 1903. Before that I don't know any thing about it but I heard from the people. Whether it be truth or not, I don't know nothing about it.

Dave: Yeah. What you've heard, we'd like to know.

Ernest: Long time ago, Barrow did not have any people (living here). Nobody living in this place. But way over here, it's about 7 miles from here, I think it was, Pigniq. The people are living there. That place had people living there, this place had no one living here, when this place had no people. This place here (Utqiaġvik site) was where (people) use to hunt for owls long ago. Those, owl, owls. They used it to hunt for owls.

Martha: They use to go and hunt owls in this area.

Ernest: That place over there, Pigniq, where people settled down first has lot of old foundations. You (people) know that because you always see it, it has lot of old foundations because (they say) that was the first place people settled in. Also,the old foundations that are in that direction (towards West) that were on top of the sand are now gone.

Martha: There use to be, there's some old sod house ruins at

Pi̇ni̇q and also along from Pi̇ni̇q to the Point but those houses are gone.

Ernest: And from the peoples way of telling it, why people settled here in Barrow and how, I have not found out about it. But, when I grew up, when I was beginning to be aware (of my surroundings), this place already had people living here. It already had people here.

Martha: When he became aware of what was happening there was people in this town already, at Barrow, I mean at Utqiaġvik.

Ernest: Then that (place) Pi̇ni̇q, which use to have people living there before, I just found out about it only after there was nobcdy living there anymore, after they had moved here. I don't know why they move here or....

Martha: The people from Pi̇ni̇q have move here to Utqiaġvik site when he became aware.

Ernest: But then after that place Pi̇ni̇q had no more people living there, after people settled here, Nuvuk, also, use to have a lot of people. Those two are the first places where people settled, Shooting Station and the Point.

Martha: At that time when the people moved from Pi̇ni̇q, there was people living here and at that Point, at the Point.

Dave: At the Point.

Martha: Yeah. There was quite a few people over there.

Ernest: And, right before my eyes, after I had grown up, all the people left the Point and then moved here to Utqiaġvik after the school was built and also, after the church was built here. That was the reason why there were no people living at the Point, after the school was built here, also the church.

Martha: When they build the school and the church, the people who were living at the Point moved to Utqiaġvik.

Dave: Oh, that's probably why.

Ernest: And when people settled here, when I was fully aware, that place over there, was way down there, where their going to be looking for artifacts.

Martha: When they moved here, when there were, those houses, those, you know, the place where you guys are digging in, they use to be far from town. I mean, from where they were living.

Dave: Yeah. Where were they living, where were they living then?

Martha: He's asking where the first houses use to be around here?

Ernest: The first houses, there were only two that use to be the first houses, when I was fully aware, but what they call Browerville had only a few people living there.

Martha: There were some people living at Browerville.

Ernest: And, starting from the shoreline of that lagoon (heading west) there were more people (than Browerville) living there.

Martha: There were some houses by the lagoon, near the lagoon and not far from the lagoon.

Dave: On the Brower side or on the Barrow side?

Ernest: On this village here.

Dave: Ok.

Ernest: When I was fully aware (of my surroundings), there were houses all the way over to Ukkuqsi. There were no houses beyond that.

Martha: The houses were up to that, you know, Ukkuqsi? Right by Levi Greist's house, that big hill.

Dave: Oh, that's about as far as they went?

Martha: Yeah.

Ernest: And then, having houses all the way, from Ukkuqsi, from there it was (westwards) where the old foundations were, the old houses. The old foundations belonged to those people that had first moved away from Shooting Station. This place use to have old foundations but are new, but ever since I was growing up that place over there had no houses. But the old ruins made of sod, they use to call them "Kataligaaq." (House that has a hole from the hallway into the sod house.) The old ruins that use to be there are now gone, they have then been eroded.

Martha: There use to be some old sod houses right along the edge from Ukkuqsi on the way but they've eroded already.

Dave: Ok. They were along the edge going in the direction in the old site?

Martha: Yeah. Uh, huh.

Ernest: But then, where they are working (digging), I, myself don't know of any old houses. The only two old houses I know of by Ukkuqsi, I think those, who is that, the one with a caucasian wife that has a big house down that way..., one of Leavitt's son.

Martha: Ah, Margaret Opie?

Somebody: George Leavitt.

Ernest: Adam Leavitt's (and his wife's) son, that has a caucasian wife. By the side of that house, there use to be a house with a katak where at one time, I use to live in. Some where around 19, 1908, I think.

Martha: He use to live in a house right behind, shere George Leavitt is staying now, that white house. George and Sonya Leavitt. He said he use to live in that house that, while it was still standing up.

Dave: The one that's, is it eroded away now or.....

Martha: Is it eroded away?

Ernest: It has already been eroded and it's now gone.

Martha: Yeah, it's already eroded out.

Dave: That was the sod house?

Ernest: Yeah, something like a old time house. What do they call those old type houses that have kataq, the ones that you enter inwards (through a tunnel).

Martha: You had to go in through the, underground.

Dave: Through the tunnel and up into the house?

Ernest: Uh, huh. From outside you go down and follow the hallway and then you climb up to the house.

Dave: Oh. You don't have a picture of that house?

Ernest: They haven't got no door, nothing. It's all open from the house, outside.

Dave: And it was covered with sod outside?

Ernest: Yeah, covered with sod.

Dave: You don't have a picture of that old house, do you?

Ernest: No.

Dave: No. Too bad.

Ernest: That's the kind of a house I live, when I was little boy. It's warm, too. Nothing in there, nothing in the house but two lamps, right on the corner of the house. That's where they had the heat on.

Dave: What did they burn in the lamps?

Ernest: Huh?

Dave: What kind of fuel did they burn in the lamp?

Ernest: Seal blubber. Seal blubber or ugruks. There lot of them over there, not a houses, but there, again, never find them, I think. But the ones, over there, that they are (digging) to search, I don't know if people ever lived there but there might be a lot of ice cellars over there when you look at it, but I doubt if the old houses can be found (there).

Ernest: But it look like a cellar, or something like that. The old people had storages for their food, the ones that I caught, when they made ice cellars, they never dug too far down. They only dug down to the permafrost when they made an ice cellar, like this, and covered it. They had an ice cellar like that. Those mounds look almost like that when (a person) looks at them but there might also be old foundtions. Last summer, when I use to take short walks, it appeared that there might have been old foundations along near there.

Martha: He thinks that there's quite a few of, quite a few cellars over there, those small mounds. At that time, they didn't dig very far just up to where the permafrost, permafrost is. And he said, there's quite a few of those where you guys are digging right now. And he don't remember people living there, when he was growing up.

Dave: You think they were using the cellars when you were growing up or they were abandoned?

Martha: They were already abandoned.

Ernest: And I rightly don't know if an artifact or a house can be found over there, I just rightly don't know. I don't have any stories to tell (on that side) over there.

Martha: They have a map, one of the people that work with them, he was the first to come up in the 1950's and he had (worked) on the old foundations and had made a map of the old foundations and had made a map of the old foundations. They're excavating, following that (map).

Ernest: Those ones, do you know where Fred Nukapigak's house is, that one over there?

Martha: Yeah.

Ernest: I have seen the first ones that came up, excavating a little ways up from where Fred Nukapigak's house is.

Martha: Yeah. (It appeared) that they had excavated around there. Long before the others were eroded away.

Ernest: I agree that some of them are eroded away already. But, I don't know if those others went way up there but they went along the coast down that way, they were also uncovering the earth, I was watching them a short while back.

Martha: He said he remembers those guys who came up here, early, late 50's and early '60's, remember, you guys showed us some maps? I mean, those....

Dave: Oh, yeah, yeah.

Martha: Uh, huh. He remember people digging over along the edge. Remember Al Dekin showed us those....

Dave: Yeah. There was James Ford, around 1931 or '32, was digging around that site.

Ernest: Yeah. I know some people who are working down there in that time.

Dave: At that time?

Ernest: So, after they have been working down here, they, quite a lot been broke down, too.

Dave: Yeah? Since that time?

Ernest: Uh, huh. If they have a map then, maybe they'll find part of it, part of the old foundations over there. I think, also, Tuutaq (and his wife), Tuutaq's family's house that is a little ways up, a big house or what is that, near the front of that is what appeared to be an old foundation, the top of the ground was also removed, after those (people) had excavated, I also had looked at that. Like the one that looks like the old foundation over at Shooting Station, you know, the one that has been dugged out from the inside. I have seen that one, too, but I don't think those others (archaeologists) have done any excavating that far down when they were working here.

Martha: A few days back, when they were (excavating) by Cash and Carry, they found this part which (belongs) to a human. Bone.

Ernest: There are probably graves, too, maybe. I don't have much to tell about the old foundations that are over there, but, the ones, I, myself knew about when I was growing up then were further down (near the shoreline), they are already eroded away. Even the one with a kataq where I had lived in long ago is already gone.

Martha: He said he only remembers of the houses that use to be along the edge. And those are the only houses that he can remember of. And he lived in one of them. Stayed in one of them.

Dave: What were the natural resources that made that a good place to live?

Dave: Like a water or animals or something like that, that made it a good place to live, hunt.

Martha: I don't know how to translate natural resource. I mean, how would you say it in other words?

Dave: Well, there was probably a good, there must have been a good place around to get water.

Martha: He's asking why (people) long ago made houses along the coast.

Ernest: I don't know but there must be a reason for that. There must be a reason why they; must have been as us. We like to have houses near the ocean.

Martha: Lot of people like to have houses along the shore, not too far from the shore.

Ernest: I don't know why they build the house that way. But, the hunters, hunters that hunt on the ocean along the shore, I

think that's why (people) try and have their houses along the coast.

Martha: I think, it might be because of, they go hunting a lot down at the ocean and they'd like to have houses close, not too far from where they hunt.

Dave: Was that a, was that a gathering place for people?

Ernest: (Other people) call those qargi (community house). But a community house, when I was growing up long ago in that old (type house) with a kataq, it was next door to us. It's (located) on the sloped part of that stream but there's houses (on top) of it now. The qargi (community house) is underneath the houses. Remember I told you a while ago that one of Leavitt's son's had a house over there? It is with those houses on the sloped part, the community house that I am familiar with, where those (long ago) had their gatherings in.

Martha: Where is that (place) again? By George Leavitt's house....

Ernest: Yes. It's underneath George Leavitt's house and the houses heading (west). I don't think it is even gone yet.

Martha: One of the old qargi's is located where George Leavitt's house is, not far from there.

Mabel: Where one of the gathering place was.

Ernest: That's what they call qargi in Eskimo.

Dave: Yeah, qargi.

Ernest: Gathering place.

Martha: He remembered that place.

Dave: What was the name of it?

Ernest: I don't know. I don't never tell you the name of that.

Dave: Yeah. What were the other communities around here that people travelled to?

Ernest: Other than that, I don't know about any other gathering place, other than that, but then, long ago when I was growing up, men, just the men would be out at Ukkuqsiq. After they worked during the day, when evening came and they had no more chores to do, they went down there to stay out. Just all men, they didn't have any women with them.

Martha: He remembers after they do work all day, the men use to gather in the evenings at the Ukkuqsiq.

Dave: Ukkuqsiq?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: Where was that?

Martha: You know that big hill, right near Levi Greist's house?

Dave: Oh, yeah. Ok.

Martha: Yeah. Right behind his dogs. That big mound, the biggest mound.

Ernest: That Ukkuqsiq use to be big and it was also high when I was growing up then. Part of that which was closer to the ocean is gone. It's also gone because (people) dug there to looke for artifacts. Destroying it, it use to be big. That was where the men stayed out at, I think they met there to talk about how they would live, because, every evening the men had a meeting on top of that (of Ukkuqsiq.)

Martha: The guys use to gather there every, mostly every evenings and made plans for hunting and.... other things. That mound use to be the biggest hill in town but it's .... Yeah. Lot of people have been digging there and there use to be another smaller mound right next to it but it's gone.

Dave: What other communities did people travel to, to visit? I know you, you mentioned earlier, Nuvuk. Were there any other places that they use to visit back and forth?

Ernest: When I was growing up, when the Point had people there, they use to come here. Because (Nuvuk) did not have a store. I was fully aware (of my surroundings) only after Charlie had set up a store (at Browerville).

Martha: He said people use to come in from the Point to go get grub and the other place that he remembers is that Brower store in Browerville.

Ernest: Ever since I was fully aware (of my surroundings) this place, Barrow had people, visitors that came from different places. Like the ones you (all) know, the inland people, people that live inland, what they call the inland people, they don't have a (settling) place like Barrow. They live by moving around (nomads) and in the springtime they travel to Barrow (by dogsled). Wanting to get blubber, like seal, bearded-seal, or whatever, hunting for (animals) with blubber, they travel by dogteam here, those inland people. And then, after they have hunted and caught (animals) with blubber, they return back to their land, inland.

Martha: In during the Springtime, the people from inland use to come to the coast to collect some seal oil and other sea foods. But they didn't at that time, they didn't have no permanent villages. They were always travelling inland and that's what they call the Nunamiut.

Ernest: They not only come down here to hunt, the people from inland, but also what they have caught inland, they also traded. By selling. Skins, caribou skins, wolverine, whatever, wolves, whatever; they themselves had. They even sold the thread

(sinew) here in Barrow to buy oil, skins, seals, that's why they come here.

Martha: The people from inland use to bring caribou skins, caribou meat, wolverines, wolves, and sinew, and they use to trade it for seal oil and seal skins when they came in from inland.

Dave: What time of the year did they usually come in?

Martha: In a springtime.

Dave: Springtime?

Martha: Yeah.

Dave: How have things change at Utqiagvik that you can remember..., from the old days?

Ernest: What is that?

Dave: How have things changed here at Utqiagvik from the old days?

Ernest: Interpret that.

Martha: How have things changed, their way of living?

Ernest: (People of) long ago?

Martha: Yes.

Ernest: Then how did it change? The white people have made us change. If the white people had not come, we could have been living the way we were. White man's materials has (made life) too easy for us, (that is why) they have made us change. Our way of life would not have changed if there weren't any white man's materials around. We would still be (living) like the old times.

Martha: We would be still using our old ways of living if the white people hasn't come up. They have made our living easier. Otherwise we wouldn't have changed our live style if it wasn't for them. For you guys.

Ernest: You have given us too much easy stuff or something like that. Like this one.

Dave: Did you ever work for Burnell when he was hauling coal from Atqasuk?

Martha: He's asking if you have worked with Ed Burnell when he use to bring coal here from up there.

Ernest: I have never worked with him but I use coal that he (brought) worked on.

Martha: He use to get coal from him, he never worked with him.

Ernest: That one there, that picture over there, Ed Burnell worked with.

Martha: That guy, old man over there, Shugluk... He use to work with him, he use to live up there, I mean he lived up there till he died.

Ernest: That was my brother.

Dave: That's your brother? And he use to work for Burnell?

Ernest: Yeah.

Martha: His family is up there.

Dave: In Atqasuk?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: What's his family name? What is it?

Mable: Shugluk.

Martha: Peter Shugluk.

Dave: Shugluk. You remember when your family change from using seal blubber to using coal or some other kind of fuel? When that would be?

Ernest: This, here, Barrow, when I was growing up, coal was not here. The only fuel Barrow had was oil (seal blubber, ugruk blubber, etc.) Your parents may have told you stories, oil was the only fuel they used and also wood that drifted from the ocean. These were the only fuel they had. Then, afterwards, ground dirt that had oil seeped in at Beechy Point, after we found out about the ground dirt that had oil in it, we started using that. Those are the only fuel they had here, when I was growing up.

Martha: What are ground dirt with oil in them called (in English)?

Mabel: Driftwood.

Ernest: Driftwood, drifted by the ocean. Something like a, look like a trees, somewhere. They drift here. We, also, use them for fuel, (parts of) trees that were drifted in from somewhere in the ocean.

Martha: He said that when he became aware they, the only thing they use was the seal blubber and the driftwood that was coming in from the ocean.

Dave: Ok. What did they use the driftwood for? For cooking or....

Ernest: Yes. For burning stove with.

Dave: But did they use seal blubber in the stove also?

Ernest: Uh, huh. But, then, when I first became aware of my surroundings, while I was still living at that old house with a kataq, there wasn't a stove inside the house then.

Martha: The place he stayed at, you know, right behind George Leavitt's house. They said they didn't have a stove in there, only those seal oil lamps.

Ernest: But, then when they're going to cook, they have an open fire out in the vestibule, what they call an open fire (meat boiled in a can over open fire). Inside the vestibule, making and using ground dirt for chimneys.

Martha: When they did their cooking, they use to do their cooking out in the porch, and there use, there'd be a hole on top of the ceiling.

Dave: And you cooked with....

Ernest: That is where they cooking.

Dave: And you cooked with driftwood?

Ernest: Driftwood or even the blubber or something like that.

Martha: They never cook inside the house just out at the porch.

Dave: So the lamps inside the house were for light?

Ernest: Not only for light but use it for cooking too.

Dave: Cooking?

Ernest: But slow.

Dave: And then, later on, you started using driftwood or same time? Or what?

Ernest: Same time.

Dave: Same time.

Ernest: That's the only thing you could find when you want to cook something on fire.

Dave: Did you cook on the stove or was it an open fire?

Ernest: No, from the outside?

Dave: An open fire?

Ernest: Open.

Dave: Then do you remember, do you remember when you started using coal?

Ernest: I use to know about coal long time ago when I was a child, as a young boy, that one I know about. But, they (never thought of) opening it, what they had not started using here at Barrow. Then, long ago Ed Burnell opened the coal mine at Atqasuk and that was what he worked for. And had people of Barrow using it.

Martha: The only time they started using coal was when Ed Burnell started going back and forth from Atqasuk to Barrow, when he started bringing in the coal.

Dave: Do you remember what year that was?

Ernest: I don't remember myself. But, I think you could find in what year they, Ed Burnell started working on that from Samuel Simmonds.

Dave: Samuel Simmonds.

Ernest: Yeah. He's down in Wainwright. He was working with him, too. Or, either Henry Nashanik.

Dave: Henry. Oh, ok. He worked for Ed Burnell also?

ErnestL Uh, huh. These two are, this one, that one and over there, that's the man who was working for Ed Burnell.

Dave: Ok. He was your brother?

Ernest: Yeah, but he's gone.

Martha: Peter Shugluk, Henry Nashanik and Samuel Simmonds.

Ernest: If you want to find out what, what year they start working on that, maybe they could tell you.

Dave: What kind of changes did you make when you started using coal?

Ernest: What else?

Martha: He's asking how (they switched) when they started using coal.

Ernest: (How) did they trade?

Martha: What do you mean?

Dave: How did you cook with coal?

Ernest: Well, I think that (coal) just started a few years ago when you were growing up. After these stores were placed, after the stores were set up. That is where we buy the stove.

Martha: Everybody had stoves. Wood stoves, but they also used the coal inside the wood stoves.

Mabel: That was just when we were growing up, I remember.

Martha: Yeah. I remember we had one.

Dave: Yeah. They were still using coal and wood then, huh? Before the natural gas?

Mabel: UH, huh.

Martha: We used coal and wood in our stoves when we were growing up before we had natural gas.

Ernest: Yes. When coal first started being used and even before that, we used cans for coal burning. (When we were) up there, when we were (travelling and hunting) inland animals trapping, we made a stove out of a five gallon can and used it for coal burning (stove).

Martha: They choose, when they were out hunting or some people in town would use those five gallon cans and use....

Dave: Make a stove out of it?

Martha: Yeah. Uh, huh. And use coal. And that's what they call Ikkauraq. Ikkauraq.(Ikkauraq means a can above a gallon.)
5 gal. kerosene can.

Dave: Ikkauraq. That was the name for that kind of stove?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: Have people used that Utqiaġvik site for anything? That you can remember? You were talking about them using it as a gathering place, for a, in the evening. Has anything else been going on out there in that open field where the big mounds are? Since you can remember?

Ernest: I don't think I have anymore stories to tell about those but I have told you what I know myself. But, this (place) Barrow, where the hunting of whales is just right from this shoreline, I think that's the main reason why Barrow has people settled here, because it's just right for hunting the whales, when the whales start coming.

Martha: He don't remember much of what's been happening over there but I think one of the main settlements here was because of whaling. People would come over here, whale, close not too far, you know, where they whale. It would be a good whaling place.

Dave: How do you teach young people about the Utqiaġvik site today? Are there any songs about it?

Ernest: Interpret that (for me).

Martha: Let me see that question. He's asking what you talk about Barrow to young people.

Ernest: I don't really know the answer to that but, I, myself do not really talk about Barrow to my own children, the ones that I, myself have raised. What little I have found out, I tell them to my children, about hunting to the men. I always talk and teach about hunting on the ice here. Because the ocean, when you use it for hunting is very dangerous in some parts and in some parts it's not dangerous. A person going out hunting should know about it especially a young person. You have seen and have also heard of people that have drifted off on ice floes because they didn't know what the ice conditions were. And a person who has really learned the techniques of hunting out on the ice has found out and knows. A person who goes out hunting on the ice (keeps a close watch and) is aware of the ice condition and the

current of the water, that is how he hunts out on the ocean. And from the current, like you know the current is forever moving, from south or from north. Those are the two currents that a person who is hunting should know about. I, myself, when I started hunting, I learned it myself by wanting to know. When I left here to go hunting down that way, when I come across a narrow crack I poke around and make sure how deep it is. To find out which way the current is going. And after I find out which direction the current (is going), if it's close by where it's dangerous I don't go further down. And when the current is from the west I don't care how far down I go. It's not dangerous when the current is coming from the west, and when the wind blows from the East the ice goes away quickly sometimes. I don't tell the (men) about Barrow, that will go hunting out in the ocean here but I teach them and tell them about the dangerous ice conditions. But then the men that I raised know about the conditions (on the ocean) going to use it for hunting.

Martha: He said the only thing he taught his kids, all his boys, is about how to tell about the ice when their hunting. He said when the wind is coming in from that way, that direction, the ice is....

Dave: That's from the East?

Martha: Uh, huh. The ice moves real fast and then when it's coming in from, the wind is coming in from this side....

Dave: From the west.

Martha: You can go, you can travel further down the ice without worrying too much. And he said, he taught his boys about that. He said that's one of the important (inaudible).

Ernest: But that is not the only thing I teach to the men, to my children, and also I teach them, when they're going inland to hunt from Barrow, about the trail. The trail. Because you can go quite a ways up when you're going to hunt up that way. Like when you're looking for caribou or whatever you're trapping, when you go inland, you can travel all the way up there. And a person who is trapping or hunting towards inland, they have to know which direction Barrow is, by whatever he encounters on the land.

Martha: He also taught his kids to hunt up inland and when you go up inland, you have to know which way Barrow is by trails. And when you go up hunting that way, you can....

Dave: Where did you go hunting inland? Whereabouts?

Ernest: Well, you could go up, way up if you can never find any caribou or something. Good place for hunting. That is why we go farther up, but when you're fox-trapping, you can trap near here. But when looking for caribou, it is sometimes far.

Martha: When you go out hunting or when you go out trapping for foxes you don't have to go way far but when you, there's not caribou around you have to go further up.

Dave: What did people used to do here at different times of the year?

Ernest: Huh?

Dave: What did they do here at different times of the year? What kind of things? Like there's a time for whaling then there's another time for maybe hunting caribou.

Ernest: (The subject of) hunting, whaling is done during the Springtime. In May or just little before May, last part of April or something like that.

Martha: They did whaling in May.

Ernest: And, also when it's fall time, in the fall time, in October, the time for whaling has come. When they start coming from the East.

Martha: Also fall whaling in October, September, October.

Ernest: And, inland, hunting can be anytime.

Martha: You can go up hunting inland anytime of the year.

Ernest: But if you are going to be hunting foxes, there's an open-season for that, you know. On the foxes, red-foxes and whatever you are going to hunt for, the ones that can be sold. But, if you want to go up for caribou hunting anytime, anytime, in the wintertime or in the summertime, springtime that's open.

Martha: There use to be only open-seasons for trapping.

Dave: Oh, ok.

Martha: But you can go hunting for caribou any time of the year.

Ernest: Or fishing or something like that anytime, it's open. But, nowadays, the game warden has given us regulations nowadays, and has given us closing dates.

Martha: But right now, you know the game wardens?

Dave: Oh, yeah. I'm talking about....

Martha: Have made a lot of regulations, hunting regulations.

Dave: Yeah. I was asking about the old days before they had the game wardens.

Ernest: Well, there's something that is coming to us, too. The regulations that the game warden has placed, and (we) having to live and abide by them, our way of hunting then, we now have brief periods where we don't hunt at all, like on caribou and whatever.

Martha: He said the, there've been a lot of changes ever since the old days since the game warden came up here. And we have

to, we have to go hunt by the regulations nowadays. It's not that open anymore, I mean, you just can't go up there and do it. Because of the regulations.

Dave: Can you list the animals that they catch around Utqiaġvik?

Martha: He's asking if you can name the animals that they hunt here.

Ernest: I think you can name the animals by now yourself.

Martha: Yes.

Ernest: There are many animals that you can hunt on the ocean. That have no open-season for hunting. Seals, bearded-seals and walruses have no open-season, you can hunt them whenever you see them. The animals that live in the ocean come from the West direction all the time. But during the winter, the seals and the bearded-seals never leave here in Barrow. Even in the wintertime, in the summertime. Whenever there's ice, the seals and the bearded-seals never disappear from sight for good. (There always here.) But only the whales, the walruses come with their season, wherever they come in from (I don't know).

Martha: He said the seals and bearded-seals and those sea animals are always coming in from the West. And you can hunt seals or bearded-seals all year round, but there's walruses and whales that comes in certain times of the year.

Ernest: If we really keep our eyes and ears open now, the walruses may have now started, they may have started coming in from the West. I think that you may hear (about people) from Wainwright hunting walruses, if the ice is right.

Martha: Yes, they have already started hunting walruses over there.

Ernest: See, they are already here when it's this time of the year. The walruses.

Martha: This time of the year, the walruses come, comes in.

Ernest: They might be somewhere down, down on the ice right now.

Dave: Out on the ice?

Ernest: But the animals that are hunted on land are too many, I can't name all of them.

Dave: He said there was a long list of what?

Martha: The land animals. Caribou and water fowls, you know, ducks.

Ernest: But then, when (you're) inland, the caribou travel like the ocean. Like, a while back when I was at Anaktuvuk during the summer in July, they migrate from the West passing through Anaktuvik. There were herds of caribou, too, they never end, about 2 or 3 days the caribou pass through Anaktuvuk from

that direction to the East. And,(from what they say) during the falltime, somewhere around October, they also pass through Anaktuvuk going West. Those caribou.

Martha: He said when he was living at Anaktuvuk, caribou use to travel to the East from the West in July and there'd be herds of caribou that travel for 3 days without ending. And then, in October, they'd go back..., using that passage, that Anaktuvik has a passage.

Ernest: But, I, myself don't know how and if they migrate that way but (I found out) that is how they migrate up there when you keep a look-out for them. But, when (you) come here, there are also caribou around here. But (you) never can see them migrating sometimes and are here year-round. And sometimes during the year, caribou is never seen here. And sometimes our neighboring villages have caribou when here they don't have any caribou.

Martha: He said that there's a difference when you live here or up there, sometimes here, there wouldn't be any caribous around when there's some in the other villages. So they go all over.

Dave: What about plants? Were there any plants around here that people used? Or berries?

Ernest: What?

Dave: Are there any plants or berries....

Martha: He's asking if there were plants that (people) lived on?

Ernest: Plants?

Martha: Yes.

Ernest: I don't know nothing about that myself. Here, in Barrow, when you're looking for plants, it's hard.

Martha: It's difficult to get some in this area.

Ernest: There's some a ..., what we call these salmon berries and those leaves, can be sometimes found on the beach that can be eaten.

Martha: You can find those long green leaves that they use here. Not too far from here.

Dave: What long green leaves? Do you know what he's talking about?

Ernest: What we call those Quagaq (sour dock; wild spinach (Rumex arcticus); edible willow leaf that are leaves that can be found here.

Martha: Remember I told you, Delores and I told you that they dig some of those.., I should look it up in a ..., at our Planning Dept.

Dave: Oh, when you were talking to Andrew, you mean?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: Yeah.

Mabel: What were they called?

Martha: (Andrew) Oenga talked of those a few days ago.

Ernest: Who?

Martha: Oenga.

Ernest: Yeah, when you take a walk along the cliffy area along the coast (from Pt. Barrow to Wainwright) you can probably find some now.

Martha: Yes: We use to look for sour grass....

Mabel: More like a rhubarbs.

Martha: Yeah. Uh, huh.

Ernest: But, when you leave from here, for a while, for inland, somewhere around Atqasuk or either when you go to Qimaaruuraq for awhile, salmon berries or whatever kinds of plants can be found and in some places there are many.

Martha: He said that you can, if you go out fish camps or around Atqasuk you can find some berries, salmon berries.

Dave: What was the most important food at Utqiaġvik?

Ernest: Interpret that one (for me) also.

Martha: What do the Barrow people eat the most?

Ernest: What?

Martha: What do the people of Barrow eat the most? What animal?

Ernest: What do you, yourself eat the most of? I, myself as I am still (living to my) old age, right now, the meat, the animal here, (what I have eaten) till I became aware (of my surroundings) is what I like to eat the most. Even though there are white man's food (available and is) here, just like I had it right here, right from white people. But, mostly, I like to eat Eskimo, something like a whale meat, seal meat, walrus meat, caribou meat, or something like that. That is what I like to eat.

Dave: Which one do you like the best?

Martha: He said he named all of those.

Dave: All of them, the best?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Ernest: Anything I catch here at Barrow, fish, caribou, whale....

Martha: You can get any kind of meat all year round if you hunt. All kinds of meat. So they eat that all year round. The people.

Ernest: Let me tell you this. Right now, if you set food on my little table, white man's food, meat that is white man's food or white man's food, and also aside from that is the Eskimo food that we have caught here. I will not eat the white man's food first. I will first get the meat that I grew up (eating).

Martha: He's using an example of, if we were to bring some food. One side for, you know, the white people eat and the other side where they hunt. You know subsistence meat. He said he'd rather eat the ones that they caught here. He said, instead of eating the white people's food.

Ernest: Just like you will do the same as me, I think. Yeah?

Dave: Yeah?

Mabel: You'd probably have bacon and eggs instead of quaq (frozen meat).

Dave: Maybe caribou and whitefish. Is that Utqiaġvik site, where those old mounds are still important to you today?

Ernest: What's that?

Dave: That, the old mounds out there at the Utqiaġvik site. Are they still important to you today?

Ernest: Is he referring to that Ukkuqsiq?

Martha: Yes, and those old foundations that they have started excavating

Ernest: To ourselves. (I'm not saying that) I don't really care about them but if they can find anything that can be helpful to our children or to our grandchildren, I don't really mind at all. Because our children do not know about how people lived and what kind of materials they used long ago. You, yourselves don't even know about their survival gear that they used. I, too, have found out only a little bit on what (tools) they used for survival. All of us don't know about the survival tools of our ancestors of long ago. But, I, myself tried out a few of their hunting techniques being a man, learned a little bit about them.

Martha: He said if they found anything over there, it would be, you' know the things that they use to use long time ago.

Dave: Yeah, the artifacts.

Martha: Uh, huh. they said it would be for the young people to know what they find.

Ernest: There's something, something like this. The people that are excavating here, looking for artifacts, they find stuff that people of long ago used. They find tools that were used for hunting, or things that they work with (tools). Things that they find are always seen like the ulu, the spear, the adze,

things made of rocks. I don't think our children know what they are.

Martha: He said there's lot of young people that don't know what they use to hunt with, you know like spears and..... And all those things are made out of old stones.

Dave: Yeah. Who taught you about Utqiaġvik site in the old days? Who was your teacher?

Ernest: Who is my teacher? I didn't have anyone to teach me when I was growing up, as I had lost my parents as a young boy. But, I looked at the other people's materials, that's how I learned. Because a person who is out hunting does not hide his weapons but he places them on top of a cache, a person who is hunting out on the ocean. So then whenever I come across a ridge, a long pole with a pick at the end, (used as a guide for holes in the ice) things used for ocean hunting and nets, I look at (and examine) those. And by seeing (and looking) at other people's stuff I have learned.

Martha: He said his parents died when he was young and then the way he found out was by himself, just by looking at their hunting gear. In those days, the people who hunt never hide their things, you know, hunting gear....

Dave: They never hid them?

Martha: Uh, huh. He just..,just by looking at them.

Dave: Where were your parents from?

Ernest: My parents is from Nunamiut.

Dave: Nunamiut. Inland?

Ernest: I'm not from Barrow. My ancestors are from inland.

Martha: Yeah. His ancestors are from Nunamiut.

Dave: Nigliq area? The area around Nigliq?

Ernest: No, it's somewhere, just where these inland people make their home, I can not say but I know they followed the ones with antlers (caribou) all the time.

Martha: They were Nomadics.

Ernest: They don't have a place like Utqiaġvik. But they always follow their animal, something like a caribou. Whatever the caribou move down the South, they follow them. Even in the winter, in the summertime. And they made their living like that, after they had been living like that, they settled down in Anaktuvik. They just recently settled in that land, the Nunamiut's land making it the same as Barrow.

Martha: He said just like the people at Anaktuvik Pass. They just made a settlement not very long ago. Early 60's. He said his parents travel like those people up there. Following the animals.

Dave: Have you ever been interviewed about these things before?

Martha: He's asking if you have talked about these before. To other people. No.

Dave: No?

Ernest: I have written a few documents of a part of my life, what I have seen and what I have used but I have never told my story to other people.

Martha: He said he made a small report of himself but he's never shown it to anybody.

Dave: Oh. A tape?

Ernest: I'm making a tape to Alice Glenn over in California.

Dave: Alice?

Martha: That's Alice Glenn, is Walton Ahmaogak's daughter. She lives in California.

Ernest: He, she was, she, herself, asked me a few years ago about my life in the old days to put in on tape. And in my own words, I made her about 6 or 7 tapes like these. And when I sent her those tapes, she translated them into English.

Martha: He said he made about 7 tapes and then he send them out to this one person, Alice Glenn and she translated them into English.

Dave: Oh. Is that report available? Is that report available?

Ernest: Well. I don't know what she has in mind for them but she has them.

Martha: He said she might still have the reports.

Ernest: Whatever I talked about, each subject of the old ways of hunting, the way they use to hunt in the old days that I have tried, I, also told the stories on those thinking that if their used for school children as reading material they can learn from those. The way people long ago use to hunt, the ones that I have tried and had caught animals with when I hunted.

Martha: He said he talked about how they use to hunt and.., He thinks that report would be of help to the people, at school.

Dave: Yeah. What do you think of this archaeological project that their doing out here?

Martha: He's asking what you think of these people that are looking for artifacts over there?

Ernest: I don't know, I, myself am not having thoughts about them but a museum be built here if they're going to look for artifacts, I think to myself whenever I'm travelling and I go inside a museum, I learn what other villages use for

hunting. Because, you see, when you go into a museum, they have hunting tools that were used from time immemorial. And also utensils (used for eating) can be seen. Things made out of wood or either from whatever they were made from time immemorial can be seen. And, when you go in one, (you can) sometimes learn about those and about the other lands from their things of time immemorial. And if they're going to build one here, with those kind of things in there, your children who have never seen the old ways of long ago will learn from it also.

Martha: He said it would be good for the young people if they found the artifacts from there, if they put them in the museum, they would learn how the people use to hunt and what utensils they used; they cook with. It would be good for our children to learn about the old, you know those artifacts.

Ernest: You see, when I going up to Fairbanks or either Anchorage, I've been visiting them some museum. So I see a lot of Eskimo style of hunting. So from that museum I learn something that the people, I never see long.

Dave: Is that the museum at the University?

Ernest: No, I have never been there. I was just visiting the museum over in Anchorage and Fairbanks. I don't know what they call that, I don't know what the name of it.

Dave: There's one museum at the University, I don't know, I don't know of any other one.

Martha: That's the one he saw. He said he saw the one in Fairbanks.

Dave: The one at the....

Martha: It's probably the one.

Dave: Yeah. They got a big new one now.

Martha: Where at?

Ernest: Up in Fairbanks?

Dave: At the University. Yeah, they just opened the new one last year.

Ernest: Where? In the Fairbanks?

Dave: Yeah, in Fairbanks.

Martha: Which building?

Dave: It's a new building. It's up on West Ridge.

Ernest: In Fairbanks, it was, it was a very small house, I was visiting in. Some little old stuff they had it in there, it's what they call the museum.

Dave: Oh, maybe it was a long time ago.

Mabel: Eskimo Museum? Right on....

Martha: That first museum they had in Fairbanks was small. He's talking about that same place.

Dave: Yeah? The one at the University?

Martha: Uh, huh.

Dave: Yeah, it use to be pretty small, it's very big now. It's nice.

Ernest: It had parkas and things that women made of long ago and it had hunting things, that's the one I saw. But, I don't even know the name of it (the museum).

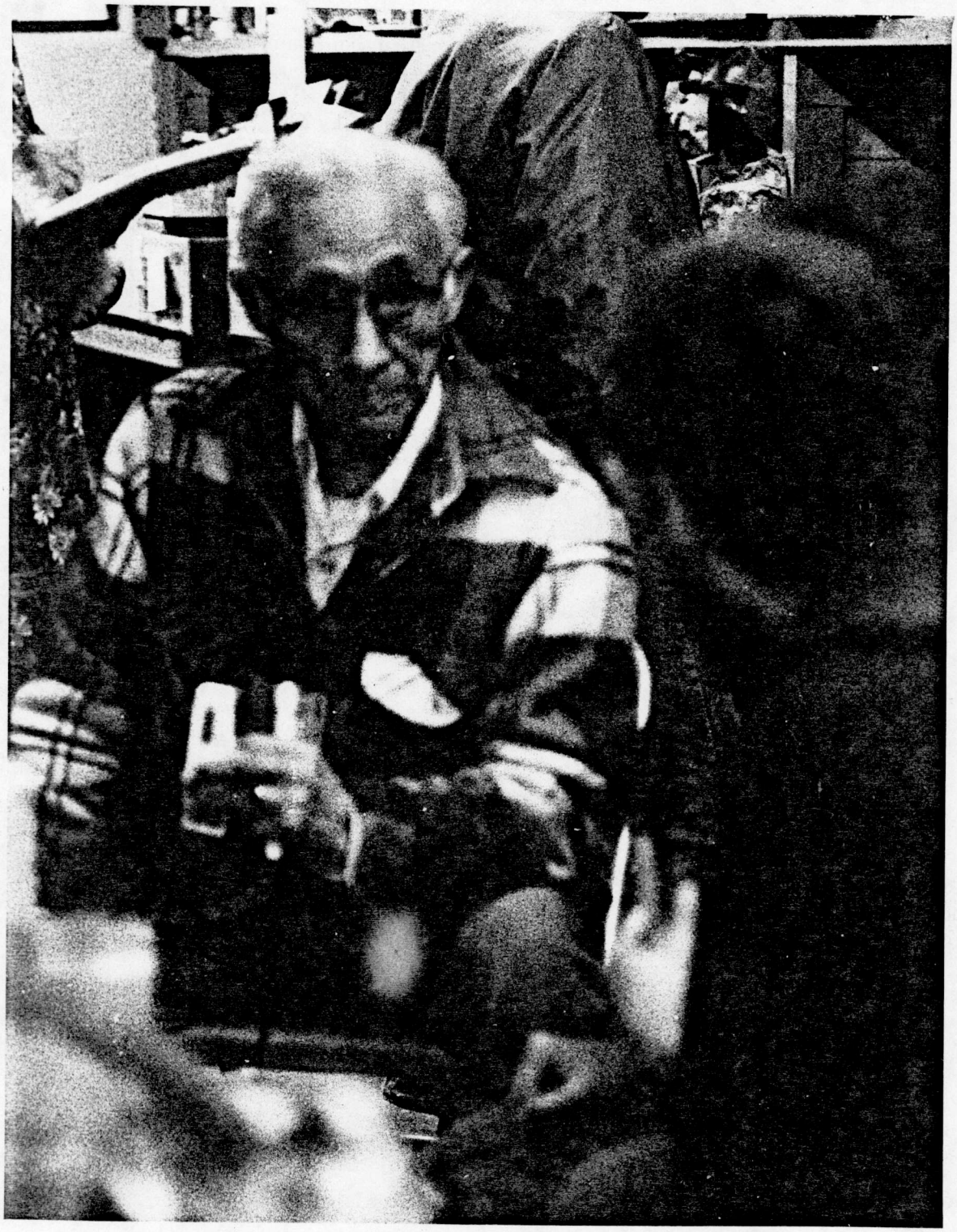
Martha: He said he don't know the name of the museum he visited in Fairbanks.

Dave: Well, that's the end of the interview.

Martha: He said he's finished.

Ernest: Uh, huh.

Dave: That's the end of the tape.



David Libbey, July, 1981

Roxy Ekowana talks about artifacts with Randy Peterson, curator, at the project lab.

Interview with Roxy
Ekowana at Utqeagvik

July 2, 1981

D = David Libbey
RR = Rick Reanier
R = Roxy Ekowana
CC = Claudia Chang
R.P. = Randy Peterson

D- We're standing next to Cash & Carry at mound 24.

RR- We were speaking about the pottery that has come out of this pit, you mentioned the way this (pottery)was made.

R- I can't tell if this piece is from the pottery itself but describing what the pottery is made of in the early days. When we were kids we dug old sites and the type of pottery we found would be softer than this. This is almost hard as a rock. The ones we found were soft, you could scrape them with your fingernail. The way I understand that pottery was made out of sticky clay to mold it and dry it in fire. They had to mix that in animal blood so it wouldn't crack.

RR- I'm looking at a sherd that is convex on one side and convex on the other, and if you hold it to the light you can see a design, a kind of pattern, survilinear shape have seen. Have you seen many pots that have a pattern on it like this one?

R- No, at the time I didn't realize how it was made. But I know the eskimos made them with their bare hands.

RR- These were made before your parents' time?

R- Yes, that's right.

RR- For reference this sherd comes from square 26 North, o East. Perhaps we could move around behind the store now and look at some of the excavation back there.

RR- We're now behind the Cash & Carry Store at what we call mound 25. I wanted to show you the soils here. As you know I've been looking at the soils and the Geological materials so I dug this large trench to see what's beneath the ground. A few inches below the surface there are pieces of bone and wood that indicate people have used this area. Down deep you see the very black layer. There's no indication that people left anything in that layer, there's nothing that indicates that human beings have left anything in there. But that layer is very much like the layer I showed you out on the beach bluff, the buried surface sod layer. Let me show you a piece of it. Breaking a piece of it apart you see there's a twig perhaps a piece of willow, something like that, pretty well preserved. With a magnifying glass you can see other things, pieces of grass blades, things like that.

R- More like grass roots.

RR- There are many roots, but there are things in here that show that at one time that layer was on the surface. I know it's like the one on the coast but it may not be the same layer, the same age. That's some of the things we'll try and investigate.

R- Does that feel sticky?

RR- No, not too sticky, you were thinking perhaps it had seal oil.

R- Yes, I was thinking of that.

RR- No, it doesn't appear sticky and it doesn't appear that people are using it. If that had seal oil in it and it was a place where people had been cooking or something like that you would expect to find pieces or pieces of bone-

R- Or something like that.

RR- Or something like that that would indicate that people had been there.

R- Yes, something like I told you before. I was kind of hoping to find the pitch "puya" we call it that comes from the animal blubber, that soaks into the ground and later we dig it and burn it in our stoves.

RR- I understand people use to dig it from old kitchen areas of houses.

R- Right in those areas, and in those areas where its level and they use it to skin animals like ugruk and seals and leave the blubber there.

RR- This would be outside the house?

R- Yes, especially in good weather like this they leave it anywhere.

RR- This doesn't indicate that people had anything to do with it. It may be too old. I don't know how old it is. I just wanted to show you this so you can compare it to the one on the bluff. We will try and radio carbon date its age.

R- One more hint to give you. Previously we moved into different locations after the flood and that spot where my house is located been a pond. Few grass has been growing up through the water at the time. Since we have covered part of that with gravel to dry it. It hasn't made it better yet. But there is some gravel there and as years have gone by since '63, I have seen grass growing up through the gravel then up to the surface of that pond.

RR- Do you still get water there in the spring time?

R- Yes, we still have water right now. More grass is growing now. It seems like this is happening at the time.

RR- Possibly if this were buried by gravel then the grass would try to grow through the gravel.

R- Yes, then make a sod from the old grass.

RR- Yes, I see, it would come up and form a new sod layer on the top.

R- Yes.

RR- Yes, that's quite possible. In this buried material you can easily see roots from the modern sod have grown clear down into this layer because its very rich in plant food. Obviously this is too far back from the beach to have anything to do with the ice putting the material on top of it. Hopefully we will have our drilling device and we can go around the village and bore holes and see if this dark layer is everywhere or only in a few places, and so discover its origin. I had some questions that have nothing to do with Utqeagvik. Some things over by kaktovik. I don't know if your familiar with that area. If not, perhaps you know some men in the village that might be.

R- Before you begin, I have never been over there except for a day or two, a couple of times.

RR- Do you know any men of your age in the village that grew up in that area that might be able to answer some questions about the old places there?

R- One person from that area who is here and just a year or two older than myself is Henry Nashanik. I know he has lived around Canning River and in that area, probably he remembers things that he heard from his elders.

RR- Does he speak English well?

R- Well, you should use an interpreter.

RR- Well, then I won't ask you questions about places you haven't been.

All move over to preserve to look at the excavations.

Greg- (looking at an emerging house floor) Then over the rest is a layer of sod. There's whale bone and timber over in the corner. Over this was/is one apparent entry tunnel to the house somewhere around here. Over to the last a bit is another entryway, coming out over here and couple of upright pieces of whale bone. These seem to have fallen down in through here. We're not sure whether this is 2 houses that have sort of overlaid each other or 1 house with 2 entrances and perhaps 2 families living in the same larger house. This mound seems to be bigger than a lot of them here.

D- What was this square no. again?

Greg- This is N 10 to 12, West 2 to 4. We're taking this down first because we want to see what we've got archeologically. What kind of deposition we've got and the next unit we've started is over there which should be just inside the main room. Right behind this are what appear to be upright timbers, heavy duty boards, which follow to the rear and then another upright post, and more upright back in the corner. Then over here may have been the drying rack area at the back of the house. More timbers here. We haven't found any more timbers in this area here. They may have been cut off. They may have been removed or to short to be visible yet. If you look at the profile in the side wall there you can see all the layers of and laid almost like bricks. We're on permafrost now in this unit and Kevin is almost on permafrost so the digging is going fairly slowly. We set up a heater for this unit (big box to put over excavation with a blower to heat inside). Most of the artifacts are fairly recent - that stove lid over there, bits of iron, a fleans/ing hook. That might have been the kitchen and over there the utility or work area but we don't know yet. We're still stripping sod off the whole house before we do extensive excavation.

D- Do you have any questions you wanted to ask Roxy about (speaking to Dale)?

Dale- Roxy, what do you think those willow branches were used for?

R- Are they only visible in that spot?

Dale- So far.

R- The way I judge that - they don't use willows up here in this area to keep the sod from falling down through the frame. But they do use that where they had camps up river. They don't carry many boards to make a framework. But its possible these willow came from up inland where they use willows for flooring. Probably the travellers may have brought them up here and used them up on top of their dwelling house or something like that, if they (the arch willows) are only in one spot.

Dale- That sounds like a better explanation than what we could come up with. I assume that we are in the tunnel. Does that seem reasonable to you? Can you tell where you think different parts of the house were?

R- I'm not sure of that. That can indicate the tunnel is over there because always the tunnel is on the south side of the dwelling. As these bones are not in an even place, they're kind of rough, it seems like the first building that was built here may have not been in use for some time and it decays and later on some others may have built another dwelling over it, something like that. That's probably how the irregular boards may have been discovered here.

Dale- We thought that may be it. The trouble is it makes it real difficult in digging when you've got one house on top of another. We're going to try to leave these all in place as we open it up so we can try to get an idea of a whole, how everything was set out. We hope when we get this whole thing opened up we'll get an idea of how the house sits.

R- It looks to me like this whole area may not be just one building. They may have built a different house, one after the other, in this area.

Dale- Maybe one over there. I was kind of thinking we had one house over there, maybe one here. I'm not sure, we'll just have to wait.

R- That's possible. I have seen some houses that are built that far apart, or closer.

Dale- Are those people good friends or related?

R- Yes, good friends or related.

Roxy & Beverly Grinage (site interpreter) exchange some words in Inupiaq.

We all move over to lab for artifact identification. We will read off the accession no. followed by description.

CC- BAR-2 SC-7

RP- There's grooves on the other side of that piece.

R- I don't know what to make out of this one. It might be some kind of a scraper or a handle or something. These two notches here (grooves) could be fitted with some kind of a scraper. I'm not sure.

RP- Surface Collection - 1, that one has a hole in there and all those parallel cut marks on that piece of bone.

R- This is broken off of something, I don't know what to make of it. There are some marks still visible probably made by the edge when shaping it.

CC- Why did they put lines here?

R- I don't know. You see when they were adzing the bone they didn't have many scrapers and the marks that were made by the adze were still visible. In some cases when they are tying a piece of bone like this into something, into the handle, they would make some notches like that, so it won't slip when tied onto the handle. But I don't know what to make of this one. It is not made into a net sinker or something, like that. It might have been something with a handle, I don't know.

CC- Surface Coll. - 4 (BAR2-SC-4)

R- This is the point of some kind of spear, probably for seals or for spearing birds from a kayak. Those types had long handles.

CC- So if it wasn't broken it would have been long?

R- Double the size of this or longer. You see this point here? That is to keep it from pulling out of the animal (barb).

D- Did they have a Inupiaq name for that?

R- For birds it's nuiyyaqpak.

D- That means the spear for birds?

R- Yes, the spear for birds has e different, (points?) so they won't miss it.

D- 3 pronged?

R- 3 pronged, yes. Using this for the seal, they had just one (prong) like that. It would be about 7 inches long, with a hole in here and stuck into the wood handle. They used that for spearing through the seal hole in winter.

CC- Surface Coll.-6

R- I don't know what you call that, but this is the blade of a knife.

RP- A woman's knife? Man's knife?

R- Since it is sharpened on both sides it could be a blade to spear whales or something like that. Have you seen the Nauluk for whales? This is almost big enough for a whale, but on the other hand it could be used for a knife.

CC- How long would it be, unbroken?

R- I don't know but I have seen them about so long.

RP- About twice as long?

R- Yes. This kind of a knife - which is much bigger than the hunting knife is called igluktuulik= sharpened on both sides (double edged).

RP- Surface Coll.-2, a broken piece.

R- This could be a spear head for seals, flint.

RP- have you ever made anything out of flint or know people who have?

R- They make them into scraper heads, kind of rounded and the base would fit into a wooden handle.

RP- Do they look anything like this one or are they different, this is Sur. Coll. 5.

R- Yes, that's it. They shove this into the hollow, and this part they use to scrape caribou sking like that.

D- I think there's still some people who use those.

R- I think there's still some people who have the old ones as a souvenir. Some had blades like this one, some would be much wider. Depends on how big they want their scrapers to be. I have seen the sharpeners for these. They had a handle, so long, with one end curved ivory or bone, and for the sharpener at the point, they had a piece of copper. They used copper to sharpen these flints. They crack it from this end. The story goes that "any soft material can cut the hardest rock. They crack it like this: they held it like this in a written made out of caribou, thick fur, and put it right here (demonstrates with end scraper held on heel of hand) and puts the sharpener, the copper, like that and just crack it.

RP- Percussion or pressure.

D- What is the Iñupiaq name for the scraper?

R- Kukik. The sharpener is the kigliñ. Kukik, that acts like a fingernail to scrape.

RP- Surface Coll. 10

R- This may have been made into a sling used for eider ducks.

RP- Bolas?

R- Yes Bolas qilamitautit.

CC- How would you make it?

R- A string just about that long with a handle made out of the smaller wings of a bird. There would be around 6 of these, or 8. All in one bunch. One bola to a string then tied together at the handle. So when he released them at the birds they went out like that, wide apart. And if the thrower is lucky one or two would tangle into a bird or two. Almost like a net for birds.

RP- Did you get pretty good at doing that?

R- I never tried that. I've watched some do it but I never tried. I've seen some young men get 1 or 2 at a time. That must be fun. These they had to use because they didn't have any modern arm. But I'm not sure about this one, it might have been something else, broken off of something. That's whalebone or it could be ivory.

RP- Surface Coll. 11

R- This could be part of the stand used for holding the kettle over the fire. There would have been three. Or it could be a peg for a tent or for pegging out a seal skin.

RP- This end looks out down to fit into something.

R- It could have been used to make fire.

D- Bow drill?

R- Yes. Did you see any signs of fire on it?

RP- It looks a little blackened (on the top).

R- If it is it could have been used to build fire. You know how they work. This part (the top) fits into soft wood in a hollow so it won't slip.

RP- What's the name of this piece?

R- Neolig (sp?)

RP- How did they make the bows?

R- Out of wood, or ivory or a rib bone of ugruk or walrous. Attach a loose string and roll it around this piece.

RP- Does it make any difference how often you wrap the string around?

R- 2 or more than 1. 2 or 3 more.

D- What is the Inapiaq term for it when it is used as a peg to stretch seal skins?

R- Pauktuun.

D- What's it called with a bow drill?

R- Neolig.

RP- Surf. Coll. 11

R- That's another scraper. The shape and size varies. When they crack these out of flint, they have to try and split it in the middle. But the cracks vary from what's expected. Unexpectedly the rock scatters into different pieces and from what they had, the shape would be different. Some of these have been worn out also from sharpening, time after time making it smaller. This is the part that fits into the handle.

RP- House 8, no. 1 (BAR2-8-1)

R- Is this jade?

CC- It looks like it.

R- I've seen this shape and type as a sharpener for knives. This one has been broken. It was longer if it was a sharpener.

CC- Why would they used jade?

R- It's harder. They don't file with it. They use it like that (demonstrates using both sides) rub it across the edge. If a person is out hunting or in the house or whatever, if they have this sharpener which we call ipiksaun would be used on both sides. There was probably a notch to tie a string to for carrying hanging from the belt.

RP- Where do they get jade?

R- Around Noatak, in that area. People would be travelling through Meade River in summer and winter and trade with someone coming from Noatak. If this is jade we call it isinnaq.

RP- House 8 N6-8W, 6-8NW quad sod level. Some braided material, baleen.

Mark- There's some baleen lying lengthwise and then baleen wrapped around that.

CC- Like rope?

RP- Do you know what they would do that for? You suggested yesterday a handle for something.

R- That's possible, but I don't know. It could be some kind of handle, maybe part of a handle for a wooden shovel, but they usually make them out of hide, from ugruk or walrus. If it is just braided sinew, I suggest it's sinew sewing skins together, for later use, but not if its baleen. I've never seen anyone use baleen for sewing skins, except to bind things that men make, a string, for sleds or putting the head of a tukkaq (toggle head harpoon) or unaaq (pole with ice pick and hook) into place.

RP- If you do that do you have to put anything else on it or do you just leave it that way?

R- Leave it that way.

RP- Here's another piece from house 8, no. 11.

R- It's a spear point. Is it bone? Looks like it. Size of spear head for seals.

CC- What's the little hole for?

R- To hold it in case it slipped off, probably to run a string through.

RP- What's the name of these little points?

R- Ulu, ulu of the spear head.

D- What is that red material?

RP- Is there red slate up here?

R- Yes, there is. It isn't bone. I've seen red slate ulus before.

CC- Where do you get red slate?

R- I don't know.

RP- House 8, 130 (BAR2-8-130)

R- Did somebody tell you what this is?

RP- Yes.

R- This is maunaaq This is the blade of a wooden shovel, just the corner part of it. It's used to scrape or loosen the snow. You can't pry with it or it will break. In most of them this slot would be much wider. So this is maunaq, the edge of the wooden shovel.

RP- Can you tell what kind of bone that is. The they make out of whale bone.

CC- How long are they?

R- About that wide (1 ft.).

RP- House 8, 132. A complete piece (BAR2-8-132)

R- That's another spear for birds or seals. It has a barb and a hole for a string to hold it to the long wood handle, about 5 or more feet. You can throw them from a qayaq.

RP- What's the name of the handle?

R-Unaaq, on one end of it has a peg made out of bone or ivory, to check the thickness of the ice to find out if it's safe to walk on.

RP- House 8 N6-8, W6-8 SE sod level

R- That's a complete one. This one is to shove it into the wooden head or bone made to receive it.

RP- This one looks like it has a mark up here.

R- Like she suggested the owner of the equipment has a certain mark on everyone he owns, like his name. If a wounded caribou or something runs away and somebody finds it dead, he would return it to the owner. This could be the head of the arrow also. Slip into the head of the wooden arrow. Sikoq, means the point of something that is sharp enough to do damage. Sp?

RP- There's a line etched out from the barb on both sides.

R- Maybe just for decoration.

CC- How long does it take to make one of those?

R- If you had the right kind of tools it wouldn't take too long. An hour or so with modern equipment.

RP- House 8, 101

R- Looks like the handle of some tool. I don't know. The notch, something has broken off. Could be the handle of a knife, man's knife. Some of the more modern knives with metal blades had holes something like this. And a piece of string of seal hide attached so they can hold it. I have seen handles the size of this. This one has a slot for slate or something.

RP- Is there a name for just the handle itself?

R- Ipu.

RP- There's a lot of decorating on that House 8, 131 (BAR2-8-131)

R- Is this a piece of wood? If it were longer with a hole in the middle, I would say it's for knitting the snowshoes. Knitting needle for snowshoes. The type I have used are just a little wider than this one, and flat, and the hole in the middle to hold the string. But this, somebody may have just worked on it and thrown it away. This work is too soft. They would use bone. When they were strapping or binding things they put a piece under there to run the end of the string through to make it tighter, but this is too soft for that. They made that out of bone.

RP- House 8, 278 (BAR2-8-278)

D- That looks like the one we were looking at the other day.

R- Yes, part of the handle of a flint knife or slate.

RP- Mound 8 N6-8, W 0-2 sod level Kevin Smith June 26.

R- What is this? Can you tell me?

RP- I don't know. There's a piece broken but it's almost complete. Looks like it was split in 2. It might have been a handle.

D- Looks like an outboard motor (starter) handle.

RR- I can't explain that one. I'm not too familiar with the ugaqpuk, the one we were talking about, the spear to hunt from a qayaq,birds. Those type of spears they call Nuqruk, a part of it, the thing that probably separates from the spear itself. I don't know how and I don't know the shape. But this may be something from that spear. That's just a guess. That's last piece we were looking at. sp ?

-End of tape-

Interview with Roxy Ekowana
on bone identification from the
comparative collection at the Utqeagvik Site.

7/3/81

R = Roxy Ekowana
M = Michael Armstrong
D = David Libbey

M- House 8, 163. Looks like a seal humerus, arm bone.

R- Yes, that's what it is. In here somewhere there's a little hole. Most of the time this would be a toy for children. They tie a string into it and they had a needle type of bone or a piece of wood with string tied into it, about so long, 12 in. or so. Holding the peg they tried to flip the bone onto it, into the hole by tossing it.

M- What kind of seal.

R- Fur seal, small.

D- Do you know the name of that bone?

R- Ayaġaaq. That's the name of the game.

D- Is that the name of that bone too?

R- Most of the bones in the body, mine, yours, seals had particular names.

D- Same for any animal?

R- Mostly, that one's ayaġaaq.

M- House 8, 121 jaw with several teeth in it.

R- Seal, fur seal, good size, bull or something like that. Aġliġuq is jawbone or umieraak, something that looks like a sled with handlebars.

M- House 8, 74 skull with teeth, fragment.

R- Caribou. There is a story about caribou. I don't know if somebody has told it to the whites. I learned this from my mother: You see the deer's teeth are kind of colored black, in this one it has almost faded out, the caribou was a fierce animal at first. They ahd big, sharp fangs in the jaw and in the head, 4 teeth. They were a very dangerous animal. So, somebody decided to do something about it. They made ākutaq(Eskimo ice cream) mixed with berries, blueberries or something like that in order to give it to that animal so his teeth would decay, rout out, so he wouldn't have any sharp teeth anymore. From that time on. these teeth fell out leaving theothers and that is how they had the color.

M- House 8, 110

R- Same thing only the jaw.

M- There you see the color.

R- Yes, the same.

M- House 8, 180, jaw with teeth.

R- Seal, itlooks a little older.

M- House 8, 31, piece of skull or jaw with tooth.

R- Walrus, could be top, then hollow could be part of skull.

M- When people ar butchering walrus does this piece result or did dogs do this?

R- It looks like this piece was chipped off when somebody was making something out of the skull, like bolas, or net sinkers or keegashuinkuk. Sp?

M- House 8, 107 vertebra inupiaq = pikuk.

R- Ugruk, close to neck.

M- House 8, 235 don't know what it is.

R- It's from the seal, only it's from the back, the leg, (femur).

M- House 8, 32, jaw frag w/teeth.

R- Probably ugruk.

M- Mound 25, 71, some kind of hard, dense bone.

R- Ugruk flipper, something like in the feet, toes called iñugaq used for toys. This higher part is described as if it looked like the nose of a person. Each person on either side would have so many of these as toys. They set them up and using a rock like a marble they try to knock them down. If they knock one down or it lies face up, he's dead. If it's the other way it's still alive. The game is called Inuuk.

M- Mound 18A, 316 toe bone.

R- Yes, looks like seal. Walrus is not that big. No this is not seal, it is caribou foot.

M- House 8 51

R- Wing bone of a bird, either loon or goose. The black billed loon is kaukerough. The white billed loon is Toolik. This bone is longer than the king eider.

M- House 8,57

R- Same kind though smaller, probably duck, maybe old squaw - they're a little smaller than eider. It's a wing bone next to the shoulder blade.

M- Is this the same name as the seal bone we looked at before?

R- No I don't think so. I think this one is special. Wing is isaguq.

M- Mound 18A 261, tooth.

R- Caribou.

M- Mound 18A 183

R- You already know what it is.

M- I think I know.

R- Seal hipbone = kuutchik. It is also the eskimo name for a person. What's yours? (to Beverly)

R- Yes, the same. People are named after a certain part of an animal, plant etc.

M- House 8, 152 part of a vertebra.

R- I'm not quite sure but it's the bone next to the head of ugruk or caribou. Could be caribou. Called qivialutuniaq It means the bone used to turn your head. If a person says "look this way" and you turn your head, that is the special name for that joint. (Atlas)

Next bone.

R- How do you make it out?

M- It looks like a face with 2 eyes maybe a break or something.

R- Yes right. There is a story about a lady who had a face almost like this, her face was short and kind of wide, almost like this one, her eyes were wide apart. Somebody made that comment about her. Whenever they eat this part of a caribou it reminds them of that lady. Here's the story: That lady is a good swimmer, when she dives she can stay underwater almost as much as an ugruk. Whenever the people were fighting each other, from the coast, each time in summer when they're fighting, from boats or on land with bow and arrow, she is the one who would get away from that was by diving and swimming, and each time when she comes up she would just let her nose be visible on the surface and breath. And from that point of view they say she looks like this.

M- a big bone

R- Like I told you before about the seal, they would use this one for a game.

M- House 18A, 130, flat, round piece of bone.

R- Like a pancake. Part of a whale bone. Next to the joint, backbone.

M- House 8, 19 , Long skinny bone, light weight.

R- Something like the foot of a bird, Large bird, loon or something like that. (Don't know name)

M- House 8, 199

R- Same as previous. These are different types of bones from birds. Probably part of the feet.

M- House 8, 163 Dense, irregularly shaped bone.

R- Base of feet from a caribou, or ugruk or seal I can't tell the difference between ugruk or caribou but it's right next to the joint (heel) (Doesn't know name).

M- Mound 18A, 296 vertebra

R- Seal, small seal (natchiq=seal) called Quiupia (?). SP?

M- Mound 18A, 265 vertebra

R- Another part of the neck, next to the one that the head turns on. Seal.

M- House 8, 402 hard piece of bone

R- Somebody had quite a time trying to cut that out. It's the base of ivory (tusk) the hollow is kind of low (shallow). This means that the walrus is very old. Young ones, though they may be big the hollow is less deep. So somebody has cut this piece off in order to make sled runners or something of the other part. The base hollowis qattausak.Qattaq means container or something for water. (Doesn't know if this part was ever used for anything.)

M- Mound 25, 207 3 pieces of rib.

R- Ribs of seal.

M- Are they used for anything?

R- I don't know. If they are hard enough they might make them into a small knitting needle of snow shoes. The shape is right. This bone is tulimaaq and the tool is Nu loon. Sp ?

M- Mound 18A, 182

R- Same as the other one, arm of a seal.

M- And the hole would be here?

R- No, it would be here but it's so small it is missing.

M- House 18A, 285 claw or tooth.

R- Dogs tooth or fox, fang, very colored, pretty old. Near the surface where each summer it is in the thawed part of the ground. Called - tulugiaq (canine tooth).

M- House 8 58 Wedge shaped bone.

R- Comes from next to the hoof of a caribou, hoof are called kukik.

M- House 8, 234. Heel bone, seal?

R- Yes

M- House 8, 56 2 boxes, long slender

R- Next to the feet of a bird I think. Like the others. These 2 are from the same bird.

M- Mound 18A, 126, irreg. shaped bone

R- Caribou leg, hind, ankle. (Don't remember name)

M- Any use?

R- I don't know it's a little heavy to shape and use.

M- Mound 18A, 72, Large, wedge-shaped

R- Kiasik, from caribou, shoulder blade. (Doesn't know of any use). If it's handy, they could use it to scrape snow or whatever but only if it's handy. They don't keep it.

M- Mound 18A, 56 Long, curved

R- Rib, might be young walrus. It's a little too big for ugruk, I think. - tulimaaq.

M- House 8, 65

R- Ugruk rib. You see the different sizes.

M- House 8, 120. Looks like a vertebra.

R- Yes, same thing. Now I know. Earlier we said this is from the seal. But now I know I made a mistake on that one. It's from caribou.

M- OK so 18A, 265

R- See, it's smaller, one from seal, one from caribou.

M- Mound 18A, 126, 2 odd shaped pieces of bone.

R- Ear bones of a skull, either caribou or ugruk. Maybe ugruk. Name from caribou. See o

M- Mound 18A, 230

R- Patiqsruk. Somebody has eathen the marrow of carribou and they borke that That's what they called it after somebody has broken it to eat the marrow. The regular name for this bone is isugluk. It's from the forearm of caribou. Either end would be called isugluk, the end of the marrow bone. It's real good eating when it's fresh. If you like fat or oil.

M- Do they make cake or little patties out of it?

R- Cake!?

M- They put it together? No. OK, I must be mistaken.

R- They used to use that part, the marrow, to decorate the fat they collect from boiling the bones. They saved the caribou bones in winter. Later they chopped them with a heavy mallet or something, made of rock, and cracked the bones as much as possible, and then boil them. As you boil them, try not to let the steam get out. Each time it starts to bubble, you cool it off with snow on the top - that way you save the fat that might have gone into vapor by boiling. After they boil it, they scoop that top off, the fat, and save it. When that is done, when they had enough marrow bones, they break the marrow bone off and chip out the marrow and mix it into the fat.

M- Mound 25, 62.

R- That's another one - isugluk - Only this is from the hind. This part most people would rather have first. Because the part over here when it is cold is heavier. And this part is a little softer, the way they like it. The part on this side is not too hard, it's too oily. I like that part. We call that isugluk - the part that has ome out of that leg.

M- House 8, 404 jaw maybe, skull.

R- It's either part of a fox jaw or a small dog. I can't tell which. This part, not the whole part (the snout) is called sigguk. This part (cheek) shuguluk, the nostrils are here and the inner part back here is called shuguluk. The whole thing is sigguk minus the skull.

M- Mound 24, 415 bag of broken bones, maybe seal or walrus from the skull.

R- Yes, like before this is something chipped out when they make something out of the larger part of the bone. Walrus I think.

M- Chipped out to get at the brains?

R- No to make a tool or something. (Bone debitage)

M- Mound 18A, 336. Vertebra, a bunch of bones, rib

R- Seal, towards the neck or the middle of the back.

M- Mound 25, 208 irregularly shaped bone.

R- Joints, probable from ugruk flipper.

M- Mound 18A 294, bird?

R- Loon or goose, like the other one.

M- Mound 25, 124

R- Caribou, next to the foot, either from the hind or the front. It's called qaṅġaq = the lower part.

M- Does it have a use?

R- I don't know, unless they want to make something out of the middle part which is real hard, needles or knitting needles for snow shoes.

M- Is the marrow good to eat in this bone?

R- Yes, that's one I mentioned. It goes down smooth like light molasses. We call that puiñiq.

M- Mound 25, 63.

R- Part of caribou foot, old caribou, it had some marrow in it, probably bull. As you get it from the lower part it's a little smoother but up higher it's alittle harder.

M- 18A, 128 vertebra

R- Yes, this one is from the tail of a seal, called pamirmiut, either from caribou or seal these are the ones between the hip bones and the point of the tail. This one was a small seal.

M- House 18A, 129 ankle bones of a seal?

R- Yes

M- House 8, 224 tooth?

R- Yes, the fang of a seal, tuluġiaq.

M- 18A, 329 two more teeth.

R- Same as the last one, fox would be a little longer and since the past people up here lived more on seal, this is more likely seal.

M- Mound 18A, 330.

R- Claw, from seal, kukik, same as fingernail.

M- Mound 25, 243 small bones, maybe seal, toe bone.

R- I don't know, yes that's what this is. These others are from birds.

M- Were siksrik bones this small?

R- Smaller than these. These may have come from next to the feet. Bird or seal.

M- Mound 25, 211 2 small bones.

R- From a bird.

M- House 8, 164 long skinny bone

R- Probably dog or something. Arm bone, or legs.

M- House 18A, 302. Toe of something.

R- Maybe caribou, possibly ugruk. It's kind of stubby, maybe caribou.

M- Mound 25, 270 bird bone

R- Yes, just like other one.

M- Sur. Col. 13 an oval shaped piece of wood.

R- Wood - the only thing I can make out, it doesn't have the holes on either end. Seems like this was the lid of a container.

D- Musk ox we think.

R- I never did feel the musk ox hair or fur. That's what you make out of it? No bones in it or near it?

D- Were there musk ox around here?

R- They used to be over toward Canada or up toward the mountains. Long long time before my time.

M- 18A, 304

R- Shiney, that's the claw of a bird I think. Too narrow for seal.

D- Maybe an owl?

D- There's a couple of general questions about bones. Was there any special treatment of bone?

R- I don't think I ever heard of a treatment to preserve the things.

D- Any special thing about it, any special place to dispose of the bone? Around the home or over the bluff.

R- There is a way of disposing it. They discard in one spot, anything, refuse, not just bone. From then on loose dogs could help themselves.

D- Did each house have its own spot, or did the whole village put it in one place?

R- Each house had its own place.

D- Near the House

R- Depends, say about 30-40 feet away.

D- A name for that place?

R- Atat, you remember I indicated where I was raised. I remember there was a pile with ashes, that high. That's what they call Atat, for the refuse, bones and things like that. Sp?

M- You said they save the caribou bones in the winter and later made them into grease and marrow.

R- Yes, after they pound it up.

M- Before they pounded it up did they save the bones in a special place?

R- Yes, where dogs wouldn't get them, up on the rack or in the cellar. When the summer comes they start pounding them. Same way with travelling up inland, they save that up inland and when they were just getting ready to move from that location in boats, down the river they start doing that. That kind of food is special treatment for the guests.

D- (Holds up a scapula) We were wondering if you had ever seen or heard any stories about shamen doing diviration with this kind of bone.

R- No. The only thing I have heard about the shoulder blade. There is a story that a real strong man had a shoulder blade that came from a whale made into a paddle. He was so strong he used that to paddle the whole boat. One stroke would move the boat way ahead. The story about the shoulder blade of the caribou. The hunters would also kill the fawns and when they eat the meat off the blade, clean it up, they would turn it

towards the light and when its clear (light passes through this part of blade) they predict that this particular animal was born on a cloudy day. These from fawns.

Mark- Do you know anything about shamen putting the shoulder blade in the fire and predicted anything by the cracks made in the bone?

R- No, I never heard about that. I'm just a young person. I don't know about shamen. They didn't exist in my time.

-End Interview-

Barrow Ethnohistory Interview
with
Alice Ahtuangaruk and Ina Kalayauk
July 7, 1981 (not a complete translation)

Alice Ahtuangaruk
Ina Kalayauk
Delores Burnell, Interpreter
Martha Neakok, Interpreter
David Libbey

David: We're at the North Slope Borough Health Center interviewing Alice Ahtuangaruk and Ina Kalayauk about the Utqiaġvik site. Do you have any old photos of Utqiaġvik that we could look at or copy?

Ina: I may have one at home but I don't remember. I may have lost them. I remember some pictures of houses where you go under to go into the house. But I don't know where they are.

David: Do you know anybody else with old photographs?

Alice: I have old pictures of the old folks that were taken here.

David: Why was this a good place for a village?

Ina: Since I became aware (first remember) I've been in other places not so much here in Utqiaġvik.

David: Were there other communities around here? I know that Nuvuk was one. I wondered if there were some other places.

Ina: Tiqiagluk (?). Its on the Meade River.

Alice & Ina: I only remember some for camping. We go out camping but when we're through we come back. Some people would make small cabins where they're camping up inland.

David: Do you remember the names of some of those places?

Alice & Ina: We don't stay in one place. We move around where there's animals so we could eat. Places for fishing, for birds...There would be people all over going from one place to another.

Alice: No skidoos. Just dog teams, going from place to place.

David: Yes, that was my next question: How have things changed?

Alice & Ina: At that time we had no source of kerosene for lighting a house.

David: Do you remember the traders who were here? Their names?

Alice & Ina: Only those Native people. Mr. Hopson, I remember the trading of caribou skins for diesel oil. (We didn't grow up here we grew up somewhere else.) We only came here to get married or brought in our families from other places.

David: Where did they grow up? (Laughter).

Alice: We came here, just before we started school, from Kuukpik (Colville River Delta). I came here (Barrow) as a teenager and than my father took us back to Kuukpik,1921.

Ina: I grew up in Noatak. When were travelling, when a flock of birds stop flying thru that one certain area, we moved to a different place. At a time when no food showed up we just moved from place to place. The way of the Nunamiut (inlanders).

Alice: I'm one of the youngest from the group thats passed away. Just that one year we travelled pretty close to Shungnak, in 1917.

David: Where's Shungnak?

Martha: Kotzebue area (on Kobuk).

David: How did you get down there to Shungnak?

Alice: By boat on the Kobuk River. We hiked through the mountains. (She tells a story about agiant shrew, somewhere near Shungnak.) They found the skeleton up there in 1918. We went from Kuukpik all the way to near Kotzebue and then came back. (They talk about trade from Kuukpik to Kivaliña.)

David: C ould she tell that story (about trade).

Alice & Ina: They call them (unclear) like in traders. Partners, start exchanging. (Niva aa?) People from here would go all the way to Niġliq to trade or from Kivaliña.

David: Where's Kivalina?

Martha: Further south from Point Hope.

Delores: Between Kotzebue and Point Hope.

David: How did people get to Kivaliña? Along the coast?

Martha: They came to here and then to Niġliq (on Colville River Delta).

David: So they came along coast?

Martha: Yes.

David: Did she have a trading partner or her family have a trading partner.

Alice: Just their grandparents. My (Alice) grandfather was partners with Charlie Brower.

Martha: People that move from here they call Kivaliñmiut, people from Barrow.

David: What's this place down the coast?

Martha: Yes, there were people coming from down there.

David: Well, what did they call them?

Martha: Kivaliña.

Alice & Ina: They leave a trail when they go from here (Barrow) to Niġliq to trade. We had man made wheels that we made to use on the land, when we travel. That's how we made the trails. We used those trails when we were travelling.

David: When was the last time that you went to Niġliq to trade?

Alice: (Doesn't remember). It was before I became a teenager.

David: What year was she born?

Alice: 1904.

David: Do you remember about the clay they used to make pottery?

David: Do you remember digging for pitch in the old ruins and how deep do you have to dig?

Alice: When they are cutting up seals the oil gets on the ground and they cut it up and use it in the stoves. We collected it from the old sod ruins. It was left from our great grand folks.

David: What about the clay. Do you remember where they go clay for pottery?

Ina: I haven't seen them use clay, but I've seen them make pots out of ivory.

David: How much has the bluff eroded since you first remember out here along the site?

Alice: We used to have blanket toss around that area when we were growing up (she is talking about Ukkuqsiq). They used to put boats together and have a meeting over there, just the men, at Ukkuqsiq.

Martha: When they first started making roads in town they used to get the sand from that beach. That's why a lot of it has eroded.

David: When were they taking gravel out of there?

Martha: Early '60s. Right after the tidal wave in '63. After that they started moving the houses and making the roads.

David: When did the people stop living at Nuvuk?

Alice: It used to be a big community. We left there in 1921. Went out in that direction (east?) and came back in 1947. When our parents died.

David: Were the people still living at Nuvuk when you came back?

Alice: Yes, but not too many people.

Alice & Ina: We don't remember too much.

David: What do you think of this archeology project?
(Answer not translated.)

End of interview.

Interview at KBRW Barrow
telling people about Utqiaġvik Archeology Project
July 8, 1981

Bob: We have some more guests in the studio this afternoon. And we're going to find out a little bit about what all those tents are doing over by the Weather Bureau, that everybody in town is wondering about. We can go around the room and have everyone introduce themselves and then take it from there.

People introduce themselves: I'm Al Dekin, Dale Slaughter, David Libbey ethnohistorian, Beverly Grinage, Emily Wilson from the Planing Department, Leona Okakok from the Commission on History and Culture.

Bob: Ok. I guess the last two names will give you a hint that this has to do with the Planning Commission and the History and Culture Commission, is that right?

Emily: That's true.

Bob: Just exactly what are all those tents over there?

Al: Well they house a team of 26 archeologists who are conducting excavations in advance of the construction of the gas pipeline system - in order to prevent the destruction of house mounds and archeological sites in the part of historic Barrow over close to the sea.

Bob: Ok, how long do you plan on being here in town, what sort of time schedule do you have?

Al: Our present plans are for us to be here through the first of September. Basically through the summer season. After that two things happen, other obligations come in and it becomes increasing difficult to dig because the ground starts to refreeze.

Bob: Ok, and what do you hope to discover in your digging?

Al: We wanted to establish several things. One is that we expect to find house mounds and artifacts that represent activities carried on by people living in this area, possibly as old as the early parts of the 18th century and maybe some older, and we expect to find the artifacts and dog bones and bones of the things which people ate and in general all the remains that were left behind by people who lived here.

Bob: How did all of you happen to come together in this place and time, to be up here and working on this project. Where are you all from?

Al: Well, the project itself is the result of the construction of

the gas line and the planned destruction and the land levelling so they can construct, get the construction machinery in. Once they realized that construction of the gas line would have such an impact on the historic resources in this area the Federal Government, principally the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was responsible for arranging for the protection of these resources from that kind of destruction. So they undertook a nationwide competition for a research organization that conducts those kinds of excavations in this area and the State University of New York at Binghamton where I'm from was selected by them to conduct this work and we then sent out a group of specialists who had worked this area and had an interest in this area to come and conduct those excavations so that they could be done properly. And we are drawing on a large number of people whose off season residences is all the way from Alaska to the Netherlands. That I guess explains how we got here and what we're trying to do.

Bob: And I guess the next question would be; what have you found so far in you explorations.

Al: The first thing that we were interested in doing was to bring together all of the information that people had obtained about the site over the last 40 or 50 years. Archeology has a long history here in Barrow. Some of that history is perhaps honorable and some not. But, as early as the early 1900s people such as Steffanson and other quote Arctic Explorers unquote were passing through the area and were interested in antiquities and so forth and they began to investigate and to purchase collections and so on. There have been several other individuals known widely for their interest in the Barrow area, they include several people who resided here for a while, like Van Valen and people like James Ford and so forth. However, in some cases these people left poor records of where they had been and what they had found and so in our effort to bring together as much information as possible we first wish to establish the location where Ford had excavated in the 1930s. His information on Barrow represents the largest and best kept collection from this area. So when we first got up here we looked over the land, which has changed considerably since Ford was here, and attempted to find where he had dug by putting a square next to what we thought was one of his earlier pits from the 1930s. He had found burials in that area. We were not sure whether we were in the right area or not for finding where he had dug. So we put down a square to check and see if that was where Ford had dug and we immediately came down on a burial which on the one hand was very suprising and on the other hand somewhat gratifying because it did give us an indication that that was where Ford dug a long time ago.

Bob: I'll ask Emily and Leona where does the Borough fit in to this project?

Leona: On the Commission on History and Culture we were contacted because we do have an interest in what they get out of our land here and how they can help us construct the history of our own village.

Bob: I also understand that any of the artifacts that they do find in the dig will become Borough property and they will go into the museum that's planned. Is that right?

Leona: Yes, they will be kept in trust until we get our own museum here. Have you had a lot of questions from people around town about what you're doing? I know that a lot of people are curious about the tents.

Beverly: Yes, we've had quite a few questions like - what will happen to the human remains that are found? That's one of the major questions.

Bob: What will happen to the human remains that are found?

Leona: The Commission was approached with that question and they suggested reburial, the bones are returned here after they have been checked or whatever they do to them.

Bob: What exactly will you do with the artifacts that you find? Are you equiped to do any sort of testing here or will you have to take them out to do that sort of thing?

Al: They'll have to be taken back to Binghamton for a period, which will be for approximately a year. We need them for the production of the final report on the results and the synthesis of the kinds of things we've found. At the end of that point we will ship them back to Alaska, all of the artifacts that we find and they will be returned for long term curation for the benefit to understanding of Barrow's history. Bringing them back to where I reasonably think they should belong.

Bob: You mentioned the other day in a brief phone conversation that you found some things that you think are fairly old. Is that right?

Al: Yes, the burials which were located on the east side of the Cash and Carry store, because of the kinds of artifacts which were found with them, the kinds of decoration on them, their shape, things of that nature apparently are related to the earliest known occupation of this particular area - not of the North Slope - but of this particular area which is of the Birnirk Period thought to date in some places close by to somewhere between A.D. 4 and 5 hundred and A.D. 900 to a thousand. That's at least a thousand years ago. The style of some of these artifacts actually looks much more like artifacts that are found down on the Bering Straits region and

are known from the Old Bering Sea Period and may date several centuries earlier. So it might be about 2,000 years old. But we don't know that and won't know that for sure until some of the samples that we took last week have been shipped off for analysis.

Bob: Are these exciting things for an archeologist to find? I guess that's probably the most gratifying type of work for you to do is to be able to get out into the field and come across these.

Al: I think they're exciting for anyone interested in the history of this particular area. They'r exciting not just for us intellectually or personally but I think they do fill out a little bit some of the historic recollections that some of the old people have and they fill out some of the things that have been written and some of the books that have been published by the History and Culture Commission and so forth. This is one additional dimension to the full pattern of Barrow's past. And I think, we're excited by them and a lot of people are excited by them. Archeology, if one gets into it is I think of interest to a number of folks. I think Beverly might have found some things of interest.

Beverly: Also another major concern was - who gave them permission to dig in those areas? That was one of the major questions.

Bob: Who wants to answer that question?

Emily: Well, some time ago there was an agreement between the city and the North Slope Borough, Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and UIC had been contacted so they can get permission for what ever they are doing if it should have to come back. There is an agreement that it will go to the Barrow Museum.

Al: A lot of the land that is considered to be part of the site is owned by private land owners. The part that is owned by the city is a historic preserve, is actually I believe about half, I would guess, of the total area of the site. So a lot of it is in private hands, owned by private citizens and so on. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been conducting an effort to obtain permission of these private land owners some of whom do not live in Barrow and we are working closely with them to make sure that we don't go on private property for which we don't have permission and it's perfectly reasonable for people to refuse us access if they don't see our presence there as benefitting either them or the community.

Bob: What has been the response of people that you've been in contact with up to now?

Al: We've been very pleased by the positive response of a large number of people who have been very willing to assist us and so forth. We're in hopes that as people become to understand

the nature of the project and what the results may be and what will happen to the materials that we're finding that more people will be able to find themselves able to assist us by granting us access.

Bob: Ok. I know its real stuffy and hot in this room with all these warm bodies. So I won't keep you too much longer. I'd like to thank you all for coming by and thank you for the work that your doing because it is important work as you say, filling in some of the question marks of the past. I hope you all have a very profitable trip to Barrow and thanks for dropping in and if we can be of any assistance again drop by and say hello.

Beverly: We'd also like to say for people to stop by at the site and visit us and ask questions or have comments or stories about the area, to just stop by and talk with us.

Bob: Ok, thanks. Thank you all for coming in.

End of tape.

R = Roxy Ekowana
M = Michael Armstrong
D = Dale Slaughter

July 9th Interviewing Roxy Ekowana on Bone Identification and Artifact Identification (In the Lab)

R - They used that to make a handle for the seal oil poke. The container for meat or blubber. They have to have something like this on the flipper or feet didn't they. For two men to carry it when travelling. That's the type they used.

M - Have you ever used one of these?

R- Yes. When I was hunting as a younger person.

M - Was this the sort of thing you would make - or you'd make it before hand cause there is a lot of wood out there?

R- Well this usually happens along the coast. Not off inland. Where you hunt seals and ugruk. The size of this wood is plentiful at the time, in little pieces, you could always make it out of any scrap. That is just what this wood is. Make a handle, and wrap a piece of string around that cannot be broken by lifting a poke of oil.

M - This is from House 8, #602 and it is a shaped piece of bone with some notches in it.

R- Is that a hole here? I don't know about this side. Seems like it - almost looks like the type I mentioned earlier. That could be the sharp edge of the wooden shovel.

M - Okay, I see.

R- But these I don't know.

M - Perhaps something broke off there, do you think?

R- Well, probably after it is broken off or before. Somebody might have just notched this experimenting or what - I don't know.

M - But you think this edge was used for a shovel.

R- Yes. This is the sharpened edge you see and here's this part that fits into the wooden shovel. This is to hold it to the wood. But I don't know. Here's one.

M - Oh yeah I see.

M - Have you ever made one of these?

R- This can be, those two, These two holes can be to run the lashing made out of baleen. The wooden shovel would be like that and this one hole and the other hole that goes into the wood. That would be lashed around, So far apart. What I don't know about is why they did that if this is the sharp edge of the wooden shovel. This must have been made out of whale bone.

M- We have House 8, #197 - Bone with a hole in it.

R- I have seen some handles. This might have been broken off one time. Or it could be some kind of handle or something or to shield something.

M- A knife / or something like that?

R- I don't know. What I was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ just about to mention is if this could be that long, The part here would be missing up to here and it had the point made out of, what do you call those flat stones?

M - slate

R- yeah, slate, something like that. That's the type that they make into knife. And that would probably be over in here at the point. These are to shave, the shaving tools for wood or something. Making bowls out of pieces of driftwood. Which would be made out of driftwood which had the bottom part, big part of the trees you know. I don't know what you would call those. Would call them mumignak.

M - The trunk or the stump

R- The tree and the roots. We call them mumignak. You call them trunk? Now they make those pans out of that and the shovels and things like that. So if this one here has served for that purpose one time, it may have been the broken part and after probably it is broken. Someone must have make it into its shape or something I don't know. This, the hole, if it is for that to have a little handle, a piece of rope made out of seal skin.

M- What would you call the name of that tool that chisel tool?

R- Millik. I have seen the ones that ~~xxxx~~ the point is made out of a saw blade or some soft metal. After they begun to use steel, even the binder for the keg. These they used. So they can bend that and shape that and make a hollow, something like that. They had to make small streaks or marks. They would use that also. They call that millik. I don't know exactly what this one here has been made into.

M - Probably, do you think that would be whale or something because it's so heavy? The bone? Oh, I see. Do you know what bone that is.

R- It may have been the rib of walrus. This part here is soft you know. This is to be the part of a walrus rib.

M - And you've seen people use that other tool, the millik / you've seen people use those tools many times.

R- They used them mostly in making qayaqs or handles for something or paddles, things like that.

M- This is Surface Collection #30. A band of baleen.

R- This one, this is the shape that most likely is the top of a bowl. Seems like some part of it is missing. And the bottom is like a dish.

M - What would the bottom be made of?

R- Same thing.

M- Baleen.

R- They would kind of make a groove on the inside. Like you do in a barrel. The top or the bottom, make a groove. And if they have to they would sew it using the baleenlike this one here. Sew the bottom into that. And they would use these to put small things, like they use as a box or something like that.

M- Do they have to be water tight?

R- It doesn't have to be water tight. But if they have to make it water tight, they use a pitch made out of seal oil or ugruk oil.

M - So it could be water tight.

R- Yeah, it could be water tight. Even in here too they could put that almost like glue because it's kind of sticky and sticking to there. And did dry like that.

M - Is this the sort of thing that a man would make or a woman?

R- A man would make. If the woman is smart enough like Beverly here, can make one like that. I don't know. These they use for some containers. They would make them into big bowls. Depends how big they want them. The base of a baleen, a big one, is just about that wide. You've seen them. So, in order to make it a big bowl like that, they will have to kind of make it oval shape like this one here. This might be the original shape of this one.

M- Another Surface Collection, #29 - Stone or hard bones. Some sort of piece - shaped.

R- I don't know.

Does it look like it's a finished piece or does it look like somebody stopped in the middle making it?

R- Yes it could be, it could be cause it's old. This has been shaped but it is not finished for something. I don't think this would be shaped like that. Probably someone may have made this one just for the fun of it - or I don't know. I can't make anything out of it. I don't know.

M - Have you every seen anything like this?

R- No.

M- This is Surface Collection #27 - Piece of Bone, I believe, with a hole in it.

R- This is a broken piece. I don't know. This I can't make out what it has been made into. I don't know. It just might be the broken piece of some kind of tool or something. I cannot make out.

M - I have a question on #29. What kind of material is this, do you know?

R- It's a bone.

M- It's bone, okay.

R- A whale bone, piece of whale bone.

M - Okay, that's all I needed to know.

M - Surface Collection #26

R- It's just a piece of caribou antlers-the point.

M- Do you think that's been used for anything or it's just a piece.

R- I don't know. It may just have been cut off in order to make a part or something. Think that this one here is just a caribou antler or something. Unless you could make that out of the bone of the body of an animal. But I did never see anything shaped like this from the animal itself or a caribou antler. That's the way I figure it out.

M - But you don't think that was used as a tool or anything?

R- No. Just a piece that's been cut off.

M - Surface Collection #25 - Cut piece of hard bone, I believe.

R- This is bone. Probably the rib of some kind of animal, if it is not the antler. Somebody started to make a spear head for seals or ugruk by the shape of this but never finished it. It could be that long and could be a flint or something or slate. They are to finish it or make a spear head. I think that is what it is.

M - How would they have attached it to the spear?

R- They make a hole here and the pin would be in the handle itself here, The staff.

M- Have you made something like this before?

R- Yeah. One I made out of metal or brass. We put the hole right over across in order to put the string into it. This is unfinished there, the spear head.

M- This is Surface Collection #24 - Two pieces of bones with holes drilled in them.

R- These could be the bolas Made out of the bone from the feet of, I don't know. It's not from caribou. They could be from ugruk. The base of the flippers.

M- We talked about bolas before, I think.

R- Yeah.

M - This is Surface Collection #23 - Hard piece of rock or bone with several holes drilled in it.

R- It's bone. That's the adze. . They had the wooden handle over here. And the handle had the hole over here and they strap it through these holes. And a blade made out of stone. Sometimes they had these made out of jade , isinnaq.So that is it. That's a tool to chip wood making something into paddles or snowshoes or anything like that.

M- Have you used one of these before?

R- Yeah. Only it's a modern type. My stepfather had one like that. And I have lost it. Probably somebody took it. This is

M- We have Surface Collection #28 - Shaped piece of bone. Ulimaun=adze.

R- I don't know. Probably someone must have tried to make something out of this but never finished it. I don't know.

M- What do you think they were trying to make?

R- This could be made into the arrow head or something. I don't know. I don't know how they could use this one if It really is finished material. It's bone out of a whale or from a walrus rib, I don't know, I just can't figure out what this one is made into.

M - We have Surface Collection #22 - piece of bone (is that bone?)

R- Looks like a bone. So many things that, I still don't know yet. When I grew up they already have most of the tools from taniks (white people). I don't know what this one here has been made into . There's two slots on each side here too. Can you figure out what this could be?

M - I have no idea really. Sorta looks like they might have used this end for hammering small things like pegs or something like that. But I cannot figure out the handle. Maybe. I don't know.

R- I never did see any tool that could be made into a mallet or a hammer. The only ones that I have seen are made out of some kind of a rock. Of course those are bigger ones. I don't know, I just can't make this out, what it is.

M - Alright, we have Surface Collection #20 - Claw of some sort.

R- Of course I never did see a bird that had claws. This only could be claw of ugruk. It seems like the shape could almost be the claw of a bird. Don't you think so?

M - A big bird, yeah.

R- I never see that size, that big from a bird.

M- Yeah, it would be a pretty big bird.

Would there be some other animal that would have a claw like that. Not bird, but you said ugruk.

R- Yeah, ugruk. The front. That could be it.

M- Do Polar Bears have claws that small?

R- Yes. That could be it.

M- What is the name for the Polar Bear?

R- Nanuk. That could be. Yeah. But I'm not quite sure. It could be. Could be nanuk kukik (polar bear fingernail or claw).

M- Surface Collection #21 - Shaped piece of bone or wood, I don't know.

R- Wood. I don't know. I've never seen something like this, that still exists. When I first open my eyes, I don't know. I don't know about this. The handle for scrapers are not shaped like this. Unless some men would use them as a tool. I don't know.

M - Could it be a fragment of some other tool?

R- Probably. Someone must have made this slot here for something. But I just couldn't make it out for what.

M - I was thinking maybe part of a boat or a rib of a boat fitting into another rib or something like that.

R- No, I don't think so.

M - From House 8, #182

R- This is just a broken piece out of something, a bone.

M - What animal is that, do you know?

R- I don't know. Might be from whale rib. I don't know. This is not ivory, just a bone. Probably out of a whale rib.

M - Just a broken piece out of something, but you can't tell.

M - This is from House 8, #52

R- Is that a bone?

M - I don't know.

R- Sounds like rock.

M - Sounds like rock.

R- Hm. This must have been found from the beach, if it is a rock. Somebody thought about it and probably use it as one of the beads.

M - Just a bead.

R- But I have heard from one of the old timers that if a person wants a hole in a rock, any kind of rock, any shape of rock, he should put a little little rock on the middle of it and lay it out in the open. Just lay it out there.

M - It'll make a hole in it.?

R- It'll make a hole in it with the rain. That little pebble in the middle moves when it rains and depending how many years (and I don't remember) the man I heard the story from that little pebble would work itself through that rock if nobody touches it. Just let nature do it. For a long time.

David Libbey - Could that be soap stone?

R- I don't know, it's not that soft. If it's soap stone you could easily scrape it with your nail.

M - Did you ever see people wearing beads like that?

R- No. I don't see too good. I cannot make out if a rock or something.

M - This is from House 8, #53 Very small point.

R- If it's longer, I would suggest that this would be the arrow head. But since it's a little too short for that, it could have been made into the point of a spearhead. That one that we mentioned earlier. That has been sharpened on both sides and is pointed.

M - What is this made out of?

R- Out of slate or out of a rock of some kind.

M - Can you get that kind of rock around here?

R- I don't know. I never did really see too many of them. Only ones that I have seen when we were boys we would get something like you are doing now and we would find these slates in different shapes that have been used for an ulu, lady's knife and some would still be intact to the handle of a knife.

M - Where else could you get slate like that, if not here, what other places would you get it from?

R- I've never heard any of where they have been getting these. But someplace, but I don't know where. That's pretty sharp.

M - That's it for artifacts. Look at some bones.

Okay, this is a whole bag of bones. One bag of three bones, mound 37, #10.

R- This part here has been cut off. Looks like-or-I don't know. It maybe part of the seal flipper. I don't know about this one. It could be the same thing. All of these are almost the same thing, from a seal.

M - These are more of those. These are Mound 37, House #9.

R- You see the sizes are different. And some of them could be from the smaller seal.

M - Are these like those bones we were talking about the other day used for that game with the people?

R- Right.

M - That's what I thought.

R- These could not come from caribou. These are from seals.

M - Remember you were saying this bone was used in the game. Would these other little smaller bones be used in any sort of game?

R- No. I don't know. Just that size here. This one here has the nose. Yeah they are all from the seal I think.

M - Alright this is Mound 37, #15 - Jaw with teeth. You know what kind of animal that's from?

R- This could come from small deer or something. This part here is narrow. If is from fox or dog it would be wider-have quite a few teeth. I don't know. You think the teeth are colored or not?

M- Oh, I don't think they look colored like some of the caribou teeth I've seen.

R- The trouble is these are sharp. Too sharp for caribou. These are too big for a fox.

M- I was wondering it's missing this part here. Is this a result of butchering the animal, do you think?

R- Probably some dogs may have chewed it.

M - Have you seen many jaws cut there like that?

R- I don't know. Especially the caribou. We eat the head. One of the delicious part of the animal, the head. Here's a marrow right over here.

M - In the caribou.

R- We break that to get that marrow.

M - You eat the tongue too.

R- Huh.

M - Do you eat the tongue too?

R- Yeah. It's the best part.

M- How do you get out the tongue, if you wanted to? You kill the caribou and you want it get the tongue out, how would you do that?

R- You cut this part here and pull the tongue out like that and just cut it out at the base.

M - OK

R- I do save most of the head myself. Cause I like them. The brain, the eyes, and the tongue. Especially the broth. Real tasty.

M - I was XXXX reading that you just put the head in and boil it all.

R- Boil it and boil it and boil it. I like it much better than any other broth.

M - That's interesting.

M - We have two pieces here from Mound 37, #21 - What do those look like?

R- These are from the seal.

M - Is that the hip?

R- Yeah.

M What we call the femur.

R- That is-fits in here. It's just a small piece. You call that a knee bone.

- I think you told me the name for that before. I forgotten what if you don't have a name for that part of the body?

R- If it's from the caribou, then it's niqivik bone (hindquarter of animal). The bone of this here. And if its the bone of the flipper part - cause the other one fits into the shoulder blade - this part here - you would call that i yer uk (sp?).

M - This is from the leg.

R- Yeah, from the leg.

M - Same name?

R- I really don't know.

M - Remember we were talking about the arm bone was used in a game. sort of game?

R- No. I never did see anything like that they could use into.

M - This is from Mound 37, #86 - Arm bone. I found one with a hole in it.

That's the hole you were talking about.

R- They would have a real sharp piece of wood. We use to have a lot of fun in trying to spear that while its movingthrough that little hole.

M - You said we had some smaller ones that didn't have ~~XXXXX~~ the hole the other day. Remember. I was wondering if the hole is bigger does this mean that the animal is older?

R- I don't know.

M- Okay, I was just curious about that.

M- We have three jaws with teeth and these are all fairly complete. This is from Mound 37 #92.

R- These are from seals.

M- And that's from a small seal?

R- Yeah. That's just about a full grown seal too.

M- It's not from an ugruk?

R- No

M - Too small.

R- This one here is almost broken.

M - Yeah, I glued that back together.

R- You did.

M - Yes.

R- These are from the seal, I think.

M - When we were talking about parts of the caribou that are good to eat; are there parts of the seal that are good to eat, do they taste better than other parts?

R- Than other parts of the seal?

M - Yeah.

R- Yeah, especially the tongue.

M - The tongue is good in the seal also.

R- And the brain. The brains of caribou, ugruk, seal, walrus or even the whale. Would almost be alike in taste. All of them are soft.

M - Do they use the brains for purposes other than eating? Like tanning skins or things like that?

R- Some would do that.

M - But they are mainly for eating.

R- Some women would use -also use the broth for tanning to soften it and let it stay for a while and then start scraping it.

M- It softens it up.

R- Yeah. Like shampoo or something like that.
Some women just let -using some kind of hand lotion or something like that. Rub it into a ~~XXX~~ tough, tough, raw skin. After they let it soak, they scrap it. Its flexible then.

M- So you think those are from seal? These jaws.

R- Yeah. Caribou wouldn't be that short.

M - We have from Mound 37, #85 rather large part of the backbone, I believe. Do you know what kind of animal that's from?

R- That could be from ugruk.

M - That seems to have been cut or hit somehow.

R- Yeah.

M - Why is that so?

M Is that just -why would that be cut?

R- Accidently or dogs may have gotten into it or what. Or they may have cut this with ax or some kind in order to make it smaller for cooking.

- Okay.

R- I don't know. See this part has been cut off also It could have come from this part here. Towards the neck part. I think it's too large for caribou. It could be from ugruk.

M - ~~XXXXXXX~~ This is from house 8, #404 - 2 pieces of jaw with teeth.

R- That's the upper jaw.

M - Can you tell from what animal?

R- Hm. It might be from a seal. Yeah that could be from a seal.

M - Okay.

R- That could be from a seal.

M - Is there any reason why this would be broken this way, other than say from dogs or something like that?

R- Someone must have just chopped it in order to, I don't know. We had to break the skull to get into the brain after it's cooked.

M - This looks like this would be the front part.

R- Yeah.

M - Would they break the skull here or in the back.

R- The skull here.

M- The top. Okay.

R- In order to, uh, they do that probably then they ~~XXXX~~ broke it in two at the same time.

M- Yeah, that's what I was wondering. Okay.

M- This is House 8, #512 - Two large heavy pieces of bone.

R- This could. Is it too small for walrus?

M- I've never seen a walrus like . . .

R- Have you seen any lately from your digging?

M - This is the first one we've found like that. Or we've found pieces but nothing so . . .

R- This could be from a large ugruk.

M - Would that be from the leg or from the . . .

R- Yeah, the leg.

M- This bottom part. Okay.

R- This one here is next to the feet. The flippers. yeah, this part here. The ugruk part would be like that.

M - Right. And you would have the knee and -- okay.

R- This part could be ugruk too. Could also come from small walrus. Almost a baby walrus. If it is from the walrus but it could be from the big ugruk. The bull or something.

M- The adult walrus would have a much bigger leg then?

R- Yeah.

M - Okay. Would they use these bones for making any tools?

R- Yeah. They would make these into a drilling material.

M - To hold the drill points.

R- Yeah.

M - Would they use them for anything else?

R- I don't know. But some would also make these into a tuuq, a peg for the hole-making tool for--through the ice.

M- Oh an ice pick, is what we would, yeah, okay. Sharpen it up and...

R- Anything that is hard enough and doesn't have too many hollows inside like this one here. We mentioned the tool that is made into the drill, mostly they make those out of bones from seal bull. That is solid part. This can be taken only from the male bone.

M- Is there any particular reason for that?

R- It's harder.

M- Okay.

M- This is from House 8, #732 -

R- This one here has come from walrus flipper.

M- Do you know what part of the flipper?

R- It could be from either the hand or the foot. One of those bones though.

M- It would be the top ones, not the little ones. These in here.

R- Yeah.

M- Okay. From walrus.

R- I think it's too big for ugruk.. It could be from a good size ugruk...

M- This is House 8, #833 - Top of the bone has been cut.

R- I told you about this.

M- Right.

R- Isugluk

Isugluk; the bone that has good marrow in it.

R- The end. The end of that bone.

M- Right, right. from the caribou.

R- The whole piece. We call that anauttaq.

M- Right.

R- Something that you can use to club anything with. Hold it on this part here.

M- Those could be used as clubs?

R- Yeah.

M- Huh.

R- You can club anything you want to with that one. This is from a caribou.

M- Do you know why it's cut that way?

R- Yeah, in order to get into the marrow.

M- I was just wondering, it looks like a very--somebody made a very neat cut.

R- This can be-- this could have happened by cutting with saw.

M- Would this end be made for a tool or anything, you think?

R- I dont know. But this hard part they would make into a to make knitting needles.

****Plane blocked out what was being said*********

R- Anything That is real hard like this part here. You could make it into a sewing needle

This is Surface Collection 19 - Two Jaws that artic/ulate, connect together Most of the teeth are there.

R- This could come from a jaw. The shape of these you can tell. This part here has been broken off, one of the old dogs I think They are worn out. This part has been broken off.

M- Okay that's it. (New person will be asking next set of questions-Dale slaughter

D- I have a couple questions Roxy about the houses. I guess the first one would be: if you're going to build a new house, what do you look for in a place where you're going to build it?

R- Anything that is not too low. Anywhere it's a little higher than/in the level part.

D- So then you're trying to just avoid the water on the ground.

R- Right.

D- We had another problem: What we're digging out there along what looks like would be the outside of the house, lot of times we find burned areas.

R- Burned area outside of the house. How far from the house itself?

D- It looks like it would be right on the sod of the house. Some of it looks like ~~maybe~~ maybe people just tossed out the burned stuff, but in some places it's burned right on that sod it looks like.

R- On the house itself? Could it be toward the entry way?

D- In some cases, yeah.

R- If that is the case, that part is usually used for cooking. They don't cook their meals right in the house. But the travellers do somewhere else. They have a permanent cooking place where they cook their meals right in the entry way. on one side.

And there would be a hole on the top. Kind of down around it so that the smoke won't be coming

D- So the smoke will leave?

R- And there they would have some kind of embers there cause they don't have anything there except the bare ground or in some cases they have some rocks off them. And they burn blubber there and probably with some kind of kindling out of wood chips or something.

D-Just something to get the fire going.

R- And in doing so there would be some ashes probably left. In some cases if the ashes are like they can do anywherein cooking like coal ashes they would take it out and dump it outside.

D -They just go out through the entrance.

R- In some cases they empty these away from the house.

D - We have an area out in this mound would be just south of the entrance where we have a pile that--it's grown over with sod now but we went into it was so deep that it's ash and stuff that's had oil in it.

R- Yeah, that's just what it is.

D - And burned bone. So we thought they're just probably going to out the entrance, just like we did today and throwing the stuff out.

D - Did they ever burn oil and moss?

R- Yes we do. Especially the dry sod and moss. And after the fire is well started they put that dry sod over the fire and then put a piece of blubber over it and the blubber soaks into the sod and makes good fire. We even use that before we start using coal or something like that to burn in our cook stove in place of coal or wood. We use that dry sod when we had the blubber.

D - It works real well then. When oil gets spilled on the ground it eventually gets pretty hard, huh.

R- Yes. If you don't bother to clean it. Occasionally it gets kinda hard inside of the stove.

D - Yeah. I was wondering if XXXX you just spilled oil on the ground and left it there would it turn hard also?

R- It would be sticky. That's what I mentioned to Dave. Especially when the blubber is in abundance that was the time before we start using the cook stoves inside of the house. They use those for cooking on one side of the entry way. And if the blubber is plentiful, and no place to store it, theyjust take it out there in the open near that place there. As the summer goes by and the weather gets warmer the liquid just drips down into the ground and that's what I told you about-some years later and a few years getting scarce. We would look for those kind of a spots and if we found that spot, we would dig that oily sod and put it in some kind of container and XXXX use it for cooking.

D - Years later, huh?

R- Yeah, years later.

R- You still can find them, I think some places.

D- I believe that's all the questions I have.

That's the end of this tape.

ETHNOHISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Emma Tukle

July 9, 1981

UAP Tape #10

Martha Neakok
Delores Burnell
David Libbey

This tape has not been transcribed. Emma Tukle said she did not grow up in Barrow and is not knowledgeable about its early history.

ETHNOHISTORY INTERVIEW
with
Sarah Kunaknana
July 13, 1981
UAP Tape #11

Sarah Kunaknana
Raymond Newell
Martha Neakok-interpreter
David Libbey

David: Its July 13 (1981) and we're in Barrow talking with Kunaknana about her house at Prudhoe Bay.

Ray: And your father made the house in what part of the year 1922? When did you move.....?

Sarah: Summer.

Ray: How many people occupied the house? Was the whole family with you at that time?

Sarah: All of them lived over there and two of my brothers died over there.

Ray: Two died. Which two? I know about David.

Sarah: Joseph died of exposure at Cross Island. My oldest brother Joe. They got out in the ocean by drift ice.

David: I wonder if that was one of the stories that you told last summer?

Sarah: December.

David: There were several men, maybe two?

Sarah: Two.

RAy: So there was at Prudhoe Bay your father, your mother, your brother Mark, your brother Percy, Joe until he died, David, Sarah and Margaret.

Sarah: Yes, all of those people were staying there.

Ray: And which year did Joe die?

Sarah: 1934 or 35. The other one that died over there was Percy.

Ray: Which one died over there?

Sarah: Percy. My oldest brother. He had heart trouble.

Ray: And how much older than you were your brothers and Margaret?

Sarah: The adopted daughter is the oldest one in the family. Next is Joe, David, Mark, Percy, me the youngest.

Ray: How many years older than you is Percy?

Sarah: Mark was born in Canada. Percy is a year older than me.

Ray: And Mark, two years older?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And David?

Sarah: Margaret, Joe and DAvid are way older.

Ray: But how much older?

Sarah: David is 67.

Ray: And you are?

Sarah: Sixty. Last month. Alice Woods should know how old my mother is. They live at Nuiqsut.

Ray: Was the house occupied by the whole family all the year around?

Sarah: We built another cabin not too far from Flaxman Island and stayed there for a couple of years. Flaxman Island and across. The cabin is visible from Flaxman Island. We spent one winter. And we went by boat up river, up inland and stayed there for one year. After a year up inland we went back to Prudhoe Bay and stayed there that was after Percy died.

Ray: Percy died at Prudhoe or in the mountains?

Sarah: Prudhoe.

Ray: So you went from Prudhoe to Flaxman, from Flaxman into the mountains, and from the mountains back to Prudhoe. And then stayed in Prudhoe until when?

Sarah: Around 1934. After my brother Joe died of exposure there were hardly any other people living around there. So my father wanted to move where theres people. We moved over to Colville River where there were some people. When we moved to Colville we stayed not too far from Umiat on the Colville River. We stayed there a year. Then we moved to Putu.

David: We had an on-site interview at Putu four years ago (see Nuiqsut Report 1978).

Sarah: Lots of mosquitoes.

Ray: When you were in Prudhoe Bay did the whole family stay at the Prudhoe Bay sod house for the whole year or was the sod house used for part of the year?

Sarah: We had another cabin down at Cross Island and my father would hunt polar bear and bearded seals during the winter time. That was the only time my father was out. My father took the whole family down to Cross Island and stayed there for a year also.

Ray: And how old were you when that happened?

Sarah: There were quite a few people who left from here and then when we got to Cross Island we built a cabin there. Then we got a whale over there, my father got a whale. That was the time we built that cabin at Cross Island.

Ray: OK, How old were you?

Sarah: A few months (?)

Ray: Oh so they went from Barrow, built the cabin in Prudhoe....

Sarah: No, we left here (Barrow) and went to Cross Island first.

Ray: And then to Prudhoe. And while they were based at Prudhoe they went out to Flaxman Island and to the mountains etc.

Sarah: We made a cabin wherever we travelled.

Ray: So when your father made the house at Prudhoe you were less than a year old?

Sarah: Almost one. My father went back and forth to Cross Island to hunt, during the winter time.

Ray: How far was Cross Island from Prudhoe Bay - from the cabin that they built.

Sarah: Its almost visible from where we lived, when the weather is clear you can see the post (on Cross Island) from the house (at Prudhoe Bay).

Ray: And normally speaking only your father and your oldest brother went out on these short hunting trips? The rest of the family stayed in the Prudhoe Bay house?

Sarah: Yes he travelled with one of his sons whenever he went travelling. They would go trapping up inland near the mountains.

Ray: And also only with one or two sons?

Sarah: The first two oldest ones. The youngest ones stayed home.

Ray: And what was the normal yearly round of activities?

Sarah: We trapped during the winter time. When the boat came in we traded all our fur for goods.

Ray: So you traded at the boat that came along the coast.

Sarah: With the fur we got during the winter. The way we got that boat was by trading with furs. The boat is out at Pigniq.

Martha: Remember I told you about that boat Dave?

David: Right. That one out at Shooting Station.

Ray: Do you remember the name of the trader?

Sarah: Captain C.T. Pederson. That was the only store we had. Captain Pederson, that guy came every year and went all the way to Canada.

Ray: And that was also the only source of European or white man's goods that were found in the house?

Sarah: There was another store that was at Beechey Point. There were two other stores besides that guy (Pederson) one at Beechey Point, that was owned by Charlie Edwardson's dad Anton. That house might still be standing at Beechey Point.

Ray: And where was the other store?

Sarah: Pingo-across Beechey Point. All of those guys got their things from that boat, Captain Pederson. Another guy who went over there later on was Castelurak (Arnout Castel). His wife was from the Nome area. And after that guy another guy named Jack Smith.

Ray: Yes, Jack Smith I've heard about.

Sarah: In mid 40s thats when he put up that store (Jack Smith died ca. 1944).

David: Was that at Pingo?

Sarah: Yes.

David: That's an Island across from Beechey Point?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And when did the trading take place? What month?

Sarah: Summer, June, July, August. Jack Smith used to come to Barrow here with his boat and waited for the North Star to come. He would bring some people from over there to help him out. You know Henry Chamberlain?

David: Oh yes, Chamberlain, out at Brownlow Point.

Sarah: Yes, Henry Chamberlain from Brownlow Point used to come here (Barrow) and wait for the North Star. And he had some local people helping him.

Ray: And that was in the early 50s?

David: No, 30s.

Sarah: Henry Chamberlain had the store at Brownlow Point. Edwardsen at Beechey Point, and Jack Smith, Lucy Ahvakana's first husband.

David: Its still there, Jack Smith's trading post, right beside Lucy's house.

Sarah: Jack Smith died of heart attack while they were getting coal.

Ray: And after the trading what did you then do in the autumn, late summer and autumn, while you were in Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: We would be out hunting in the ocean for a while before the winter came. And then during the winter time we would go up the river to do some caribou and sheep hunting and fishing at the same time. Sagvanirktok River.

Ray: But further up the river into the mountains?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And when you were in the mountains in the winter, did you stay in tents or in cabins, igloos?

Sarah: Snow house. We call them Apuyuk.

Ray: How long did you stay in the mountains in the winter time?

Sarah: We would go back and forth and check the traps at the same time. But we would go back to the house at Prudhoe Bay.

Ray: Oh, so your father and your two older brothers made this trip along the Sagavanirktok into the Apuyuk in the interior and come back to Prudhoe Bay as a regular circuit, trapping, hunting, fishing?

Sarah: Yes, they went by dog team. They would always go back to the house after checking on the traps, hunting at the same time.

Ray: How long did this trip take? The whole circuit?

Sarah: They would be gone about one week.

Ray: When did they start going into the mountains, Sept., Oct.?

Sarah: They did some hunting first before going out trapping in Oct.

Ray: When did they stop?

Sarah: Maybe April.

Ray: And after that?

Sarah: We went down into the islands and get seals and bearded seals. And did some salmon fishing at Cross Island.

Ray: And you didn't go whale hunting at all?

Sarah: It was after several years we got another whale with Taaqpak. Lots of muktuk.

David: At Prudhoe Bay or Cross Island?

Sarah: Cross Island. We took some meat to Prudhoe Bay. We took all the meat we got from the whale and put it in the ice cellar at Prudhoe Bay.

David: Who was on the crew that year they got that whale?

Sarah: Taaqpak, my father Paul Pausanna, Otis Ahkivgak, Koganaluk.

Ray: What year was that?

Sarah: Sept., first part or maybe August last part, I was around 10 when they got that whale (maybe early 30s).

Ray: Did your father and brothers go hunting polar bear?

Sarah: Yes, to Cross Island.

Ray: Was that also done in the summer or only in the winter?

Sarah: Just in winter time. In the late fall, last part of Sept., the mother polar bears would go swimming out to the mainland to have their cubs.

Ray: Did your father shoot polar bear then?

Sarah: When we came across their camp he would catch the polar bears. Only when we went by it.

Ray: How many polar bears were shot on the average every year?

Sarah: I don't remember. We collected Polar bear skins and fox skins. Enough to get a winter supply.

Ray: And the polar bear skins and the fox skins were only used for trading?

Sarah: Yes, that's how he got the boat.

Ray: And going further to the east toward Flaxman Island, toward Barter Island, were there other Inuit families along the coast?

Sarah: There was another family at (?) Ulaaq and Amaogak families.

Ray: Yes we'll get to Mark Ulaaq in a moment. But I mean further along the coast to the east.

Sarah: All the coast was full of people on the way to Barter Island.

Ray: Do remember any Indians, Athabaskans, Gwich'in, living just to the south of the coast around Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: No, there would only be people going by the camp at night and stealing some food, only at night. But I don't know what kind of people they were. They never met with other people along the coast. And we didn't mind if they got some food. They never bothered to meet each other.

Ray: Who else lived at the Prudhoe Bay site, besides your family?

Sarah: Ulaaq, spent the year where we lived and they got another cabin up inland on Sagavanirktok River. There grandmother is living here in town. May Panigeo, Wyman's wife.

Ray: What year did Mark Ulaaq come to live at Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: We left together from here.

Ray: Oh, so Mark and your father Paul left together to go to Prudhoe Bay. And then Mark stayed here and then went up into the mountains. And after that there were no more people living in Prudhoe Bay except your family? You were the only ones?

Sarah: We were the only family. There would be people traveling in that direction hunting and they would stay over at our place.

Ray: Yes, but no other family actually living there when you were there?

Sarah: Sometimes other families would come stay with another family who did some trapping up inland.

Ray: Yes, visitors really, but there was nobody else who had a house there?

Sarah: Mark Ulaaq and them had a house.

Ray: Yes, for one year. But except for Mark Ulaaq, there was no other person who lived at Prudhoe Bay permanently.

Martha: Hm, Hmmm.

Ray: What is the Inupiaq name for the place which you inhabited?

Sarah: The name of the place was Kanigluk.

Ray: And the house was made with sod walls. Did it have a sod roof?

Sarah: We collected driftwood and used that as the walls. And put sod over the roof.

Ray: Was there an interior frame? I know about the boards on the base of the walls. Were there some uprights or some boards along the walls? Do you understand what I mean?

Sarah: In the middle, there was one pole.

Ray: In the middle there was one pole?

Sarah: Yes, because the sod on the top was heavy.

Ray: And the roof had a pole down the middle with boards going along the the sods on top?

Sarah: Yes, all of the inside was made of wood. Even the beds were made out of driftwood, and the floor.

Ray: And did it have a flat roof or a sloping roof? And did it have a smoke hole?

Sarah: A window in the roof.

Ray: And was the window glass?

Sarah: Intestine, of the bearded seal.

Ray: Did the house have an entrance tunnel?

Sarah: It had a small porch and a door made out of wood. But in the winter we used snow to make it larger. We would make houses where the top is out of snow, alongside the house.

Sarah: We made all this for the dogs out of snow alongside the house, snow house. We also had a snow porch (qanitchaq) during the winter time. Our ice celler had a little cabin, a house, on

it, sod house.

Ray: And could you make me a little drawing of how they made the interior. How the inside was organized. What sort of furniture, where a stove was, that sort of thing.

Sarah: (Sketching) That's the door, the bed, that's the whole bed, and under....

Ray: Like bunk beds.

Sarah: Like a bunk, yes. the stove. where we keep the drinking water - that's where my father kept his tools, all his personal stuff - the ice cellar. There were shelves inside the little cabin where the ice cellar was, but all those shelves are gone. That ice cellar was really big. All the personal belongings that were useable we put in the ice cellar before we left. All the things that were in the house. And the things that weren't too useable we left inside the house. All our belongings are inside that ice cellar. And they were (?), there was a crack this way and then that crack filled it up with water, all the way to the top. I think all those things are still in the ice cellar.

Ray: Yes, it may well be.

Sarah: All the food that we got we put in the ice cellar for the winter. There was a cache where we put up our meat. All the foods that are not perishable we would put up on top of this cache, you call it cache?

Ray: Yes, scaffold cache.

Sarah: That's where we kept all of the dry goods, on top of that, all the foods that we got from the ship.

Ray: And when you left the house, did you leave the cooking stove which you have down here, did you leave that inside the house?

Sarah: We never moved it. We left it there. And Ullaq's house was not far from the ice cellar, Mark Ulaaq's house. It wasn't that big and they never stayed there very long.

Ray: And when women, when your mother, was sewing, did your mother sit in a particular part of the house?

Sarah: Right by the stove, where its warm.

Ray: Ahh, between the sleeping platform and the stove. Do you remember if your mother used an ulu or whether she always used a steel knife?

Sarah: I still have my father's knife. That's the only knife we had.

Ray: So did your mother then use a slate ulu?

Sarah: No, my mother took all her ulus from there. She might have left some ulus over there, but I got the knife back from that guy. (David Derry). We also left our lanterns, kerosene or gasolene lamp, left it over there. That lamp used mantles, for kerosene. We left left also some lamps that use kerosene.

Ray: You left them inside the house or inside the cellar?

Sarah: Inside the house (I think).

Ray: Where did your father work inside the house, sit and do work?

Sarah: (points to drawing)

Ray: She's indicating an area between the stove on the one side and the opposite wall with the shelves, the pantry part, on the other, and about the middle two thirds of the distance between the sleeping platform and the front wall.

Sarah: This is all my father's belongings here. In summer time he would work outside.

Ray: Yes, in summer he would work out, to the right.

David: I think she's indicating that he made a sled right here.

Sarah: Yes, winter time, inside.

Ray: And when your mother would skin a seal or an ugruk where did she do that?

Sarah: Not too far from the ice cellar. We made dried meats not too far from the ice cellar.

Ray: And did your mother ever skin a seal directly in front of the house?

Sarah: In the winter time when we got seals she would cut them up inside the house. Only during the summer she would cut up the seals outside near the ice cellar.

Ray: The archeologists found, just outside of the house in this area here an almost complete seal with 2 butchering knives found underneath it.

Sarah: During the winter time when my mother cut up some seal. They would put all the bones outside the house.

Ray: Yes, but the funny part about this is, or strange part is that it was a complete seal.

Sarah: After we left that house there was this one family from Barter Island who stayed there for one winter.

Ray: Ahhh!

Sarah: It was after we moved here (to Barrow). I don't ever remember leaving a whole seal by the house there, it might have been another family who lived there. My mother never left anything outside. She never threw any food away. Any leftovers we gave to the dogs.

Ray: Yes, that's why I was so surprised at seeing the archeological data and there was all the bones in complete articulation of a whole seal with 2 butchering knives. That surprised me very much. Do you know the name of the family in Barter Island who lived at your house?

Sarah: Akootchook family. There was a little stream that was deep by the house and we put all our wood right by the river. All the trash that we had we put right here and no place else.

David: Which Akootchook? Mary Akootchook?

Sarah: Mary Akootchook's father-in-law (Andrew Akootchook). Isaac Akootchook's father.

Martha: You remember Isaac?

David: I don't know him.

Sarah: Mary Akootchook you met last summer, Josephine Itta's sister.

David: Yes.

Sarah: She's my cousin, my first cousin. This was where we kept the dogs, right here. Whenever we cleaned up the yard we put the trash right here, every summer, every spring.

Ray: And you had no garbage pit here, for instance (working off of sketch map), 10 meters from the house.

Martha: How far is meters?

Ray: Sorry....

David: Thirty feet?

Ray: Thirty feet.

Sarah: Winter time we would use snow, all right here and this was where we cut up all the wood right here, and cut it up here. And during the winter time we would cut up our wood right outside the big porch we made out of snow and stack up all our ice right by the wall. Theres all kinds of wood right by the house.

Ray: Is that driftwood?

Martha: Yes.

Ray: So they would bring the driftwood in from the coast, stack it up in a big pile in from of the house, then in the winter bring it in to the porch to chop it up for feeding the wood stove.

Sarah: When its really windy and cold outside we would take the driftwood and cut it up inside the porch, the one we made out of snow. And when its nice out we would do it outside.

David: Where was the atak? (no answer)

Sarah: There used to be a pond right here. It would melt and go down this little river right there. This would fill up with water during the spring time.

Ray: Ahh. That's what we saw in the photograph.

Sarah: Whenever the water starts to thaw out all that wood would go with the water down that way. From the water, from the little pond.

Ray: (open map) This is a map of the general area, made by the archeologist, Derry, showing the excavated area that you see here, some test pits. Here is Mark Ulaaq's house, here is the pit where all of the sods were dug to make your house, and here is the ice cache which was only partially excavated.

Sarah: This house is located right here. There was alittle pond right around here where we got water, a lagoon, now they're using it for waste disposal at Prudhoe Bay.

Ray: Yes, so Mark Ulaaq's house was here?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And the little river that your mother just described by the house - where was that on this map?

Sarah: That stream drains in this direction.

Ray: You have no idea who built that small house or cache or whatever it is?

Sarah: I don't remember. My father worked around this area during the summer time. I don't remember a house in this direction, except right here.

Ray: Yes, so that feature number 2 would probably be later than the Pausanna occupation. You said that the dogs were all situated here.

Sarah: Just during the winter time. Only winter time we put them around the house, and make snow houses for them. But summer time we would move them from right here to right here or right here (points to map).

Ray: And did you ever have them in front of the house?

Sarah: We would move them anywhere or maybe around here. We used to have a lot of dogs at that time.

Ray: How many, 10, 12?

Sarah: Ten or eleven. And summer time we would put our tent up right here. Not too far from the place where the dry goods were. We never stayed in the house during the summer time, only during the winter time. We used a tent all summer.

Ray: Yes, in the summer time they lived in a tent. Who did the fishing with a net? Did your father do the fishing, did your mother do the fishing?

Sarah: All the family did the fishing. This part is really shallow, when there's wind coming in from the east, shallow, and we put out our nets out here. The place where we did our fishing there's a dock (today) going in that direction. Where we did the fishing they made it into a dock (oil compnay development). That dock is connected (to the land) not far from the cabin.

Martha: What do they call that, East Dock?

Ray: Yes.

Martha: She (my mother) is going over there this week on Thursday.

Sarah: ASRC (Arctic Slope Regional Corp), is going to take us over before I go home to Nuiqsut. They are to take me over there and then home.

Ray: Very nice. I wonder if there is anything left?

Sarah: These people made a mistake on the map they made.

Martha: Is that all?

Ray: That's all for the moment. When will you be leaving Barrow?

Sarah: Thursday. This coming Thursday.

Ray: Could I talk with you again some time after I have worked through what we've discussed this afternoon?

Sarah: Those things I received from that guy who died (David Derry - archeologist who dug house at Prudhoe Bay) I am still keeping them.

Ray: Excellent. And you have them at your home in Nuiqsut?

Martha: Here.

Sarah: All those things I received I'm still keeping (here in town). The only things I want from those things is my father's knife and polar bear teeth and the knife sharpener.

Ray: Would it be possible to make an appointment with you before you go and to look at the artifacts which are here in town and discuss them with you?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: When would be the best time.

Sarah: Tomorrow, afternoon.

Ray: Shall we meet you somewhere or do your want to come here?

David: We'll come and pick you up same as we did today and come here, maybe 1:30?

Sarah: Yes.

David: There's a couple of questions I wanted to ask you about misinformation in this report (Nuiqsut Report) remember I showed you the other day. I had said, "the house was built by Sarah Kunaknana's father Mark Pausanna in 1936".

Sarah: My father is Paul Pausanna. David and Mark are my brothers.

David: O.K., it should be Paul.

Martha: Mark's wife is here. They made an allotment for that place (Prudhoe Bay) but it got lost.

David: I had one more question. Who made your mother's slate ulu's?

Sarah: My (?) (grandfather?) (father?) Apa apa.

David: Do you know where he got the stone to make them from?

Sarah: Those traders would bring in some.

David: Stone?

Sarah: All those saws that the traders brought in they would cut them up and turn them into ulus.

David: Oh yeah, thats for the metal ones. I was talking about the slate, the stone.

Sarah: My father's father. (Apa apa)

David: Oh, do you know where he got that stone.

Sarah: My father's father (Apa apa) grew up in the Utokok area. Up (inland).

David: So he probably got the stone maybe somewhere up that way?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: Do any of your brothers live in Barrow?

Sarah: Mark, he died in 1935. I want to include my sister-in-law with whatever. I want to include all the Pausanna family.

Ray: And David is still alive?

Martha: That's my uncle's son. All of her (Sarah's) brothers are dead.

Sarah: Just me.

Ray: When did David die?

Sarah: He's up there by Anaktuvuk. He drowned up near Anaktuvuk. That's why they're living up there. Two of Davids kids are living in Anaktuvuk Pass. Joe and David. Youngest has his father's name.

David: O.K. that's the end of this interview.



David Libbey, July, 1981

Sarah Kunaknana at Pigniq (the Shooting Station) talks to project ethnoarcheologist Ray Newell about her father's old whale boat.

Ethnohistory Interview
with Sarah Kunaknana
July 14, 1981
UAP Tape #12

Sarah Kunaknana
Raymond Newell
Martha Neakok, Interpreter
David Libbey

David: We're at Barrow interviewing Sarah Kunaknana about her house at Prudhoe Bay, 14 July 1981.

Sarah: (In answer to a previous question from Ray concerning her brother Joe's age when at Prudhoe.) Around 18 or 19.

Ray: And how old was Margaret?

Sarah: 20 or 21.

Ray: And did Margaret live with you the whole time that you were in Prudhoe Bay or did she leave earlier?

Sarah: Even after she got married she stayed with her family. She went back and forth to her family.

Ray: And how old was she when she got married?

Sarah: There's records at the church.

Ray: And after Margaret was married did she and her husband stay with the Pausanna family at Prudhoe Bay or did Margaret go and live somewhere else?

Sarah: They went out to visit her in-laws at Flaxman Island but they also came back to Prudhoe Bay. No, Brownlow Point (not Flaxman Island).

Ray: So they stayed with the Pausanna family at Prudhoe Bay. Where did Mark die?

Sarah: He was sick at Nuiqsut, hemorrhaging so they took him to Barrow and then to Fairbanks.

Ray: What year was that?

Sarah: 1974.

Ray: Where and when did Margaret die?

Sarah: Here (Barrow), 1949.

Ray: And your father, where did he die?

Sarah: Here (Barrow) same month, my sister and my father.

Ray: And do you remember when your mother died?

Sarah: 1947. The Ikpikpuk, (River) up there. She's buried up there.

Ray: And when did David die?

Sarah: Up there, Anaktuvuk River, 1942.

Ray: After you left Putu you went from Umiat on the Ikpikpuk River (no, Umiat is on Colville River) to Putu. Where did you go from Putu?

Sarah: We left from Putu to Ikpikpuk, 1940-41.

Ray: How long did you stay at Ikpikpuk?

Sarah: 2 or 3 years.

Ray: And then?

Sarah: Barrow, we moved to Barrow in 1947 and to Nuiqsut in 1973.

Ray: So when you were in Prudhoe Bay you went to Flaxman Island for a year?

Sarah: Not too far from Flaxman Island for one year. We spent another winter at Saaviovik (River) near the mountains.

Ray: And is this site the same that your father and Joe used when they were trapping?

Sarah: Yes, they went back and forth to Prudhoe Bay. After they spent a year there they never went anywhere else.

Ray: And how old were you when you moved from Prudhoe to Flaxman?

Sarah: About 11 or 12.

Ray: And how old were you when you moved from Prudhoe Bay to Ikpikpuk River by Umiat?

Sarah: We went to Ikpikpuq in 1943 and we stayed up there till 1946. I had already a little girl.

Ray: And your husband then lived with you and your father at Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: No after I got married we went up to Ikpikpuk River.

Ray: And your father went from Ikpikpuk River also to Putu?

Sarah: No, before I got married I lived over there from 1920

to 1942.

Ray: No, what I'm asking is you went with your father and mother and other children from Prudhoe Bay to Umiat or the Ikpikpuk River near Umiat. The whole family left Prudhoe Bay and went to Umiat.

Martha: No, its on the Chipp River, that's what they call the Ikpikpuk River.

Sarah: Right now its Arnold Brower Sr.'s fishing camp.

Ray: That is on the Ikpikpuk River.

Martha: Yes.

Ray: What's the name of the place?

Martha: They got Chipp 1, Chipp 2, Chipp 3, all along the River. I don't know what they call it. There's a whole bunch of fishing camps up there. Its Arnold Brower Sr.'s fishing camp. He 's got a cabin up there.

Ray: So she moved there with the family and met her husband there?

Sarah: I met him at Anakutvuk River. That was when my older brother David died. Not too far from Ahaliraq.

Ray: Do you have any photos of the house at Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: The pictures that I recently took are at Nuiqsut.

Ray: There are no photographs which were taken when the house was lived in?

Sarah: One of (?) might have a picture, Margaret's husband took some pictures over there, with their families. She lives at Nuiqsut. Her name's Joanne Taleak. She was born not too far from where she lived at Point Thompson.

Ray: What's her name?

Martha: Joanne Taleak.

Ray: And that is Margaret's daughter?

Sarah: Yes, oldest daughter. She was born around that area and she grew up to be a (?).

Ray: O.K., now from the archeological excavation, we have a plan of the situation, as it was excavated (lays out map) showing the coastal beach, the Beaufort Sea, and here is the remains of your father's sod house with some areas excavated, here the ice cache, the sod pit, the same that I showed you yesterday.

Sarah: That guy that excavated that place never got into the cellar because it was full of water.

Ray: Yes. My question is: this drawing here is what we call a midden, this is where all of the trash and garbage is thrown. Now did your family use this midden here on the edge of the beach?

Sarah: Around the stream right here.

Ray: Just around the stream?

Sarah: Yes, there was a big stream right there where we threw it away.

Ray: So they threw none of there waste over the edge of the beach?

Sarah: No, its right around here. We never put our waste along the beach or by the beach.

Ray: And then another thing that we found was here, a rubbish pit, just in front and to the side of the house. And there were prune pits and tent pegs and all that sort of thing found in that garbage pit. Did your family have a rubbish pit there? This black drawing.

Sarah: Mostly the bones of the animals that we got we put in here.

Ray: Ahh, very good. Another question which I had concerns the place of your father's tools. You drew this for me yesterday (opens map), and indicated that this was the place for all your father's tools and things. Now, were all his tools and personal things in some sort of chest, in drawers, on shelves....?

Sarah: There was a chest on the floor and he had some shelves on top.

Ray: Can you remember how many shelves.

Sarah: There was a cupborad right here too. There was only one shelf, right here on top.

Ray: One shelf for her father's things.

Sarah: And there was a chest on the floor.

Ray: A chest on the floor. Is this the same chest that was put in the bottom of the ice cellar?

Sarah: No, all the useable stuff was put in the cellar and the ones that were not useable they left in the house. We had shelves

inside the cellar to put hunting gear or other useable stuff that would be stored.

Ray: I see. Another question on that. You indicated that here was a storage place for your mother's things. Was that on shelves as well.

Sarah: Just cooking utensils.

Ray: Just cooking utensils. But was that on a shelf, was it in a chest.

Sarah: Yes there was a chest right here too and some shelves. We made shelves out of the things we got from the boat, mostly wooden boxes we brought in with the food. They never put food in the cardboard boxes in those days only in boxes, wooden boxes.

Ray: And could you indicate on this map the placement of Mark Ulaaq's house?

Sarah: Right here (points to map). They never left anything inside the house.

Ray: Inside Mark Ulaaq's house?

Sarah: Yes. When we left both of those houses were still standing. I think the people that excavated that house tore that house down.

Ray: No that's not correct. Because when the archeologist got to the site there were no surface features at all, either at your house or at Mark Ulaaq's house.

Sarah: I wonder who did it, who took down the house. Here there was bunch of (boards?) all around the house when I saw it a couple years ago.

Ray: Yes, that's quite possible, because from the map that Dave Derry made there was another structure here. We talked about this yesterday and you said there was never a house there when you lived at Prudhoe Bay site. So this house must have been after the Pausanna family left Prudhoe Bay. So there were people in the area and using the area and bringing in driftwood from the sea.

Sarah: Maybe the Akootchooks might have built this.

Ray: Yes, quite possibly.

Sarah: Around 1939 the Akootchook family spent the winter there.

Ray: Well then it probably belongs to them, yes. But when the archeologist arrived there was nothing left of either a house

here or a wood structure from your house. And in fact the only wood that was found was wood underneath the foundation of the wall. Concerning the tent that you used in the summer time; where was the tent stored during the winter?

Sarah: Inside the qanitchaq.

Ray: And did you leave the tent at Prudhoe Bay when you left?

Sarah: We took the tent with us. We left during the summer time. Sometimes we put the tent on top of the cache, next to the cellar.

Ray: And where on this map would be the scaffold cache that you talked about yesterday?

Sarah: Right here. Sometimes we would put our tent right here.

Ray: And where did you do the butchering of seals in the summer time?

Sarah: Right next to the cellar. We made dried meats right there, in that location. The meat we saved we put in the ice cellar.

Ray: You mentioned your father taking the whaling boat to Barrow for supplies and bringing the supplies back along the coast to Prudhoe Bay. Did he do this every year?

Sarah: My father would leave during the summer time when they're expecting the North Star (BIA supply ship). We would sometimes come into Barrow in July and then go back after the North Star leaves. Sometimes Mark and I would follow.

Ray: How long did the journey take?

Sarah: When the weather is really nice we would travel with motor, Evinrude, it would take a couple of days.

Ray: And how old were you when you first came to Barrow?

Sarah: Sixteen or 17, first time to Barrow.

Ray: Were people living in this part of Barrow or were the people living up where the old village of Utqiagvik?

Sarah: There were only a few houses and the old church was standing and the other big house (unclear), there were small houses all over.

Ray: The small sod houses?

Martha: Yes.

Ray: Did these small sod houses have an underground tunnel-way?

Sarah: No, after those houses were gone I came to Barrow. My mother grew up there but mostly stayed at Nuvuk (Point Barrow).

Ray: Do you remember any of the old sod houses still being lived in?

Martha: She says she doesn't remeber those kind of houses.

Sarah: My father never grew up here. He grew up at Utokok, in between Point Lay and Wainwright. My parents met here at Barrow and they got married.

Ray: Did you see the people in Barrow, when you were a girl, as being different from yourself or being the same?

Sarah: It was different. Most of the houses that I went in were using seal oil.

Ray: And how did you call the people here in Barrow, did you call them by a specific name?

Sarah: They used to call it Ukpiġvik and then later changed it to Utqiaġvik. The people that used to live here, or used to come here to hunt owls. There used to be a big community at Nuvuk and they used to come here and hunt for owls, only.

Ray: And is that how the old village got its name?

Martha: Yes, they called it Ukpiaġvik first and then they changed it to Utqiaġvik.

Ray: When your father went to Cross Island and later when you were 10 or 11 years old they caught 2 whales, was your father a member of a whaling crew?

Sarah: My father had the whaling gear and also Nannie Wood's parents.

Ray: So he had a regular crew then?

Martha: Yes, he brought people from here to Cross Island.

Ray: Oh, so he brought people from Barrow to Cross Island.

Sarah: Summer, August.

Ray: To do the whaling there.

Sarah: There was Akpik's family, Tigutaq--Nannie Wood's parents Akpiks, my folks (Pausanna), my oldest sister Margaret's in-laws the Tigutaqs, Ahvakanas that's Floyd Ahvakana's parents, Mark Ahsoak's parents. After we split some came back to Barrow, while Savaaq's family and Panigeo family moved to

Brownlow Point.

Ray: Did your father bring these people together every year?

Sarah: No, after we got the whale some people came back here (to Barrow). My family stayed at Prudhoe Bay.

Ray: Did they only get the crew together to go whaling one time or many times.

Sarah: They never (unclear) after they got a whale over there, until Taakpaq's group got a whale. Taakpaq's crew had to have from my father and Koganaluk (unclear).

Ray: Do you know, or have your ever heard of a site called Siragruk?

Sarah: Mary Akootchook is named after that place, Sirak. Isaac's wife (from Barter Island) her name is Sirak.

Ray: Have you ever been there?

Sarah: I think this is Flaxman Island. Eskimo name for Flaxman Island.

Ray: Ah, that may be the name for Flaxman Island but this is a site near Wainwright, between here and Wainwright.

Sarah: There's a place called Sinnargaraq between here and Wainwright.

Ray: Ah, and how do you spell that?

Martha: We've been there camping, 1961.

Ray: We have a fellow on our crew whose been excavating near there and he would very much like to talk to you. Another question: Nina Pausanna-

Sarah: That's Nannie Pausanna she's going home to Nuiqsut, now.

Ray: So she will be in Nuiqsut about now. Because she owns a block of land here in Barrow.

Martha: Yes, right out there by the (Utqiagvik) site.

Ray: I'd very much like to talk to her to get her permission to go on to her land to do our survey. If its possible we would like to send one of our people out to talk to her to get her permission so that we can get her permission to work on that piece of land which is hers up by the old site.

Sarah: I'll tell her.

Ray: Wonderful. Then moving on.

There follows a short discussion with Joe, Sarah's son, concerning copies of Sarah's Prudhoe Bay allotment application.

Martha: Do you have any questions?

Ray: Here is a plan for the different artifacts which were found in your house by the archeologist. And I'd like you to go through them group by group and see if you recognize any of them or if you can say that any of them were definitly not yours or your families. First of all you have here the sod wall and here are the few pieces of wood...which was still left.

Sarah: Yes, I saw that.

Ray: And that all of the wood that you were talking about yesterday along the walls, on the floor and on the roof, completely disappeared.

Sarah: The other family that went over there might of renovated or moved it to another place.

Ray: Yes, that's what I expect. But here in the back is a wooden crucifix, a sawed polar bear tooth, a thick matting of paper and cloth.

Sarah: An old catalogue, I remember those.

Ray: So these are all things you and your family used?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And here in the corner were found 13 buttons, a metal needle, thread spools, a slate scraper and 3 glass trade beads.

Sarah: Yes, this is where my mother sewed, made things, right here.

Ray: And then down in the central part of the house was; eight wooden spatulas - thin, oblong wooden things for cooking. Can opening keys, thats this type of - with a hole in it, pieces of aluminum pots, a caribou antler hide softener, bone and metal hide scraper, outboard motor parts, candle fragments and cardboard litter. Do you remember using candles in the house?

Sarah: Yes, did you find a container for the seal oil?

Ray: No.

Sarah: Its made out of copper.

Ray: No.

Sarah: Or they might have put that inside the ice cellar. All the things that were still useable were stored in the ice cellar. They might still be there.

Ray: Do you remember when you stopped using candles and started using the kerosene laterns?

Sarah: When I got older they started using that.

Ray: Can you remember how old? 5 years, 10 years?

Sarah: About 10 years old 1930s.

Ray: Now here is a list on both sides. Oh yes, moving right along you have here cut boards with cardboard lining, presumeably shelf drawers, a rubber boot sole, a pair of gloves, cloth gloves, and pile of papers and magazines. And here outside in this small rubbish pit were tin cans, prune pits, many wood fragments, rifle shells, shotgun shells, a fragment of a trap, wooden pegs and pieces of a canvas tent, fragments of a rotten canves tent.

Sarah: During the spring time my father would be working out here while waiting for ducks to fly over. Those rifle shells might have been from that.

Ray: And do you remember what these pieces of canvas were? Was that part of a tent, was it something else?

Sarah: When its winter my father would use a small piece of canvas to protect himself from the wind. It wasn't a tent but something to protect himself.

Ray: Oh, a windbreak type of thing.

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: Here is a list of all of the artifacts, tools that were found at the Prudhoe Bay site. And are there any of these that you did not use or remember?

Sarah: Hmm, bird arrow.

Ray: Yes, the bird arrow is interesting. That is the shaft with a rifle shell on the end. What was that used for? For a specific purpose or what?

Sarah: To hunt birds and ptarmigan.

Ray: Bow drill, yes.

Sarah: Seal retrieving hook. There was two of them, one for seals and a bigger one for bearded seals. That one they used for bearded seal. They attached to this right here. That is snow

shoe, small wooden barrel.

Discussion between Joe and Ray about what Ray is doing.

Ray: This steal jackknife, is this an artifact that you remember?

Sarah: I remember all those.

Ray: And what was this used for?

Sarah: They would scrape the caribou hide with this.

Ray: Ah, a caribou hide scraper. And what is this?

Sarah Net spacer for making fishing net.

Ray: And this is one of the net floats. And a net sinker, what material is this?

Sarah: Whale bone jaw.

Ray: And this?

Sarah: Thats the kind of rock they have at Sagavanirktok River.

Ray: So this was not used as a tool.

Ray: Another net float.

Sarah: Eskimo hammer.

Ray: Yes, 112041201. Thats the rubber fragment. What is that? Could it be a mantle holder to a lantern?

Sarah: Kerosene lamp.

Ray: O.K. its 712031061 - kerosene wick holder. What is that?

Sarah: Part of basket sled. They use this to patch it up when it got broken.

Ray: I see, that's 01203740. And this is clearly a lever action high powered rifle. Do you remember what your father used this gun on?

Sarah: My father took out part of it to make an ice pick.

Ray: Ahh hah, it's got a sawed off barrel and the fragment was used to make an ice pick. Do you remember what that is?

Sarah: Oh for white and red fox skin.

Ray: 7120390 is a broken, smoothed and cut piece of wood used for hanging the tail of white and red fox.

Sarah: This is the bone marrow of caribou.

Ray: And this?

Sarah: My father would use this to put in the ice or strings when making a basket sled.

Ray: I see, that is piece number 71203756.

Sarah: Fish hook for black fish, by Sagavanirktok (River). Crochette hook. Leader for the harness traces.

Ray: Oh, just for the leader (its a bell).

Sarah: The people could hear a dog coming at night, when they can't see the person. So they know when the people are coming. This is for seal skins, all around the skins.

Ray: Ah, a peg for pegging out skins - 712031048.

Sarah: This is an ice pick handle.

Ray: Now, would you like to go out and look at your father's boat? Do you have time for that?

Sarah: Yes.

We drive out to Pigniq (Birnirk) called the Shooting Station (Martha did not accompany us so there is no interpreter here).

David: Ok, we're out at Shooting Station at Pausanna's old boat with Sarah Kunaknana.

Ray: This is the boat that your father bought when?

Sarah: From Capt. Pederson.

Ray: And this is the boat that he used to go back and forth from Prudhoe Bay to Barrow.

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And he used this boat when he was out whaling at Prudhoe Bay as well.

Sarah: Yes, there's one time they catch whale.

Ray: When was the boat left here in Barrow, when was the last time your father used it?

Sarah: I don't know, at Cross Island.

Ray: He bought it at Cross Island?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And did he use it at Cross Island for whaling? Did he use it when out sealing?

Sarah: I finish it, outside. Stake. Capt. Pederson gave it to my father (for) polar bear and white fox skin.

Ray: And your father bought the boat from Capt. Pederson?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And he bought the boat at Prudhoe Bay or Cross Island?

Sarah: Cross Island.

Ray: Did he always trade with Capt. Pederson? How many years did Capt. Pederson trade up and down the coast while you were at Prudhoe Bay?

Sarah: Every summer - going up to Canada, back and forth every summer.

Ray: And that was all summers that you lived at Prudhoe Bay you met Capt. Pederson?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: How many years did your father use this boat?

Sarah: I don't know, he got it in 1925 or '26.

Ray: In '26 he got the boat, excellent, and did he use this boat also for hunting ugruk?

Sarah: Yes, any kind of animal, ugruk and seal, fishing, caribou.

Ray: Did he use this boat to set the fish nets?

Sarah: Small boat for fishing at Prudhoe Bay.

Ray: Did he use the outboard motor on the small boat or the big boat?

Sarah: Big boat, outboard. No engine in small boat long time (makes rowing motion).

Ray: Rowing.

Sarah: Yes.

Sarah: Colville River with this boat, all the way up there to Umiat.

Ray: Also to Umiat in this boat.

Sarah: Yes and back down to the ocean.

Ray: How long did it take to go from Prudhoe to Umiat with this boat?

Sarah: After 1933 or '34.

Ray: Yes, but how many days to travel from Prudhoe Bay to Ikpikpuk River (he should say Colville River, Umiat is on Colville) (repeats question).

Sarah: I don't know. Down there Tashikpak River, little river up there. Tashikpak. One week. Up there, slow. Hunting, fishing, caribou. From Tashikpak up there little river, Ikpikpuk. Winter time, dog sled, put it Ikpikpuk River.

Ray: Ah ha. So you would carry the sled with you on the boat up the river in the winter time.

Sarah: No, no sled. Dog team.

Ray: Oh, the dog team pulled the boat, I see.

Sarah: Start of winter.

Ray: I understand. And then you would go with the whole family in the boat up the river.

Sarah: Yes, whole family.

Ray: And when was the last time that your father used the boat? Here in Barrow.

Sarah: Up there from Ikpikpuk River down there. My brother, my sister-in-law's brother take it to here. Summertime.

Ray: Do you remember which year?

Sarah: 1946.

Ray: So that is 2 years before your father died?

Sarah: Yes.

Ray: And do you remember the last trip which your father made in this boat?

Sarah: Made up the (unclear). Pederson. Finish. No make my father.

Ray: No but the last time your father used this boat where did he go?

Sarah: (1976?) My mother and my (father) left, take it down there by Ikpikpuk. I left my brother here. Dog led up there, winter time, from Barrow.

Ray: Did you use this boat like a tent when travelling, pull it up on the shore and tip it over?

Sarah: Yes, Barrow to Nuiqsut. Tent up there. Lot of stuff.

Ray: And did many families travel with you or did you travel alone?

Sarah: Just my brother, Mark Pausanna and me. Other people help drag it up there Nuiqsut, Kuukpik.

Ray: And when you came into Barrow. Were there many other people from all the surrounding area who were coming in at the same time.

Sarah: Yes, summer, July. Open ice.

Ray: Ah, you had to wait for the ice to open and then you came into Barrow to trade and to meet the North Star.

Sarah: Yes, my father Native Store, Barrow trade, bear, fox.

David: Did he (Ray) ask you anything about Putu?

Sarah: By Nuiqsut?

David: Yes.

Sarah: This week go to Nuiqsut.

David: Did your father use this boat to take things to the store at Putu?

Sarah: Yes - little store.

David: Yes, I remember when we looked at it 4 years ago. I was wondering where your boat was. So this was it.

Sarah: Yes, crowded there.

David: A long time ago it must have been deeper there. Its pretty shallow now at Putu (Paul Pausanna used to have a store at Putu near present day Nuiqsut).

Sarah: Yes the Niglik River was a deep river long time ago.

David: So he picked up things in Barrow and took it to Putu.

Sarah: Yes, from Barrow all the way, deep nice weather, two days.

David: About 2 days. Use the motor or sail?

Sarah: Motor. Big one. All the way tent. There (indicates).

David: Oh, you had a tent over the top of it, enclosed. (Used tent as boat cover.)

Sarah: Yes. Used to be lot of water there (indicates lagoon). My brother put it up here. Real fast (this boat) big engine.

David: I guess we can put this boat in the Nuiqsut Report. You have more questions Ray?

Ray: No, I'm very pleased.

David: Ok - that's the end of this interview.

July 15, 1981 Utqiaqvik site near Mound 8 talking with Roxy Ekowana about Layout of the Mound

R = Roxy Ekowana
D = Dale Slaughter

D- I think Roxy I have just a few questions, a couple of which we have asked you before. First of all the tunnels on these houses more or less face south and that's---why is that?

R- You know why?

D - Yeah

R- Every igloo -- the sod house or the snow house which is called upweea sp? usually have the tunnels towards south facing the sun.

D - Now if I understand it properly in the old houses like these houses here that were excavated they had a sloping or gable roof.

R- Yeah

D - And the skylight was in the southern part of the roof. Is that right?

R- Right. That's why they had their houses faced toward south. The slanting part towards the tunnel they usually put the skylight for the daylight to get inside the house during the daytime. Especially they want the sun to hit that skylight.

D - It just gets more light if it's in that direction.

R- Yes

D- Now in the winter the wind -- what direction does your worst winds come from?

R- The worst wind would be from southwest. That would be the strongest and sometimes just lingers for the day or two and then almost all of a sudden it quits. But when the wind starts to blow from the northeast it lingers. Sometimes it blows for about a week or a little bit more. That is when it is really blowing real hard and when it is steady from the northeast once in awhile it will last two or three weeks, something like that.

D - Long time.

R- Yeah, long time.

D - Well I was thinking about the wind and these houses. Now we have a tunnel here. How would you actually enter the tunnel in these old houses. Where is the entrance?

R- The entrance would be from the top. Not from the side. The tunnel is dug much lower than the level of the floor itself. So in order to be on the safe side from the snow getting into the entryway they have to have almost like a trap door entryway on the outside. Which is somewhere about 2 or 3 feet higher than the level of the ground itself. Which is much deeper when you got inside through that hole from the outside, like a trap door. Then there are a few steps that would be made out of whale backbones in some cases.

itself

R- And you walk right towards the house/through the tunnel and when you get to the edge of the floor of the house there's a hole above you through t he floor and there are a few steps also so you can climb easier through that hole into the house.

D- Is this hole called a **kataq**?

R- Yes.

D - Is that the correct word?

R- Yeah

D - Now the tunnel once we get in the entrance, and I've climbed down into the floor of the tunnel, the bottom of the tunnel, now do I bend over, can I walk upright through there?

R- Well. In some cases you have to bend over if you are a tall person or average size person. But the smaller ones can walk right through.

D - Now just before, as I understand it at least, just before you get to the house itself, or just before you get to this main room, the kitchen comes off of the tunnel. Is that correct?

R- Yes, right. It could be as you walk through the tunnel towards the **kataq** most likely would be on your left side.

D- - The kitchen would be on your left side?

R- Yeah

D - Okay.

R- And while we are on that, there is another--the opening on your right side which they call **suvvik** Which is a store room. Much bigger than the kitchen itself. Where they had their things stored away nice and neat. Has an opening to the tunnel.

D - Is this at the same level as the tunnel or do you have to step up into it?

R- In some cases it's just about the level of the tunnel and it can be in some cases higher than the floor level.

D - And what kind of things would you put in the store room?

R- Such as the skins to be used later for making clothing and also some dried seal skins and ugruk skins and some fish nets. Something like that and also seal nets. Things cannot be stored out in the open.
That

D - That's very interesting because right in this tunnel, and I'll show you in a moment, where we were digging we found a piece of a baleen net and that fits right into what you were saying.

R- In some other cases there are also some nets with a big mesh/like say about almost ~~XXXX~~ 5½" mesh something like that. Only the shorter in length and much narrower in the depths which is used for snaring ptarmigan in the winter. This--if you find one like that it will have wooden pegs to hold it up straight when they put it on the snow drift. When they see a bunch of ptarmigan feeding on the ground they would set that kind of a net sothey can drive the flock of those ptarmigan towards the wind towards that net and drove them there like that and when the ptarmigan get closer to that net they rush them a little bit. Then when they started to fly they hit that net and get snared like that. So this is one kind of a net you can find in some of those storing areas. If there is any.

D- Do they put food in those areas also?

R- No. Except for the ones that they can have handy something like dried meat or something.

D- Now I suppose most of the houses had ice cellars associated with them. Now I want to, say, go get some meat out of my cellar and let it thaw, where would I put it?

R- You would put it right inside of the house.

D - Right in the main room?

R- Yeah, right in the main room. Cause in the winter you cannot thaw meat out in the entryway where you walk through. In some cases like the house that I have been raised the cellar is just right along side the house itself and it's handy.

D - Be just convenient -- the short distance to walk.

R- In most cases the ice cellars are in a different location from the house where the people is living in.

D - You've had deep freezes for a long time?

R- Yeah.

D - On this tunnel in the kitchen I've dug a couple of kitchens before and most of the timber was gone, so we couldn't really tell how it was actually made. Can you remember how the timbers were set or whale jaws whatever the kitchen was made from.

R- No in that case I cannot explain how it is made cause I've never seen one myself.

D - That's the same problem were having. I think people took wood out of houses, especially if it was convenient to burn or use in other construction. And I understand that they use to dig into the kitchens to get sod cause the oil soaked in.

R- In some cases some of the framework of the kitchen would be made out of the whale bone -- whale jaws and whale ribs -- something like that. Just in order to keep the sod from falling in when they throw it up the side. It doesn't have to be real fancy work.

D — Just so the sod won't fall down.

R- Yeah

D – I understand.

Now there was a smoke hole. Is that true? In the kitchen?

R- Yeah, right.

D - We've had a very hard time getting information on kitchens. People know alot about other parts of the house, but we're having a hard time finding out information about kitchens.

R- I think that theproblem is most of the people living here never seen one but have heard about it from the stories from ~~XXX~~ their parents like myself. And I never bothered to ask questions how it is made and from what material it is made out of.

D — You never thought somebody would be asking you questions 50 years later about that.

D — Can you tell us a little bit about how these tunnels were constructed? What they were made from or how the different parts of the tunnel were set? Did they have upright posts, then posts across those or--

R- Yeah. Yep. I've seen house it had frames/out made of the jaw bones of whales. Any material that can be constructed into the framework at the time the driftwood is almost plentiful. So that can be used also for framing the tunnel. Especially the roofing of that tunnel.

D - Was this roof flat?

R- Yeah.

D - Now when you were young you were -- or were you living in a house, I should say -- that was built right on the ground or was it set down.

R- It was set down a little bit probably three feet or so dug into the ground. not much deeper than that. The one that I was raised in doesn't have the **kataq.** Although the tunnel --the entry tunnel is on the floor level of the house. It's got the entryway just like ~~XXX~~ we mentioned earlier about the oldest ones. You have to slip down through the hole like getting into the ice cellar or something like that. But the hole is just about that much, say about 2½ feet, above the ground level.

OK. I see.
I was wondering why people stop making houses ~~XXX~~ where you entered through a kutuk. Some of the houses I've seen--oh like at **Atanig**-they have a little tunnel alright but you just walk in--is it the same level as the floor and has a door in it. Do you have any idea why people quit making--quit digging down?

R- Well probably the taniks. The first taniks that came up here, especially the traders or the missionaries introduced these modern houses and which they think is much easier to keep clean cause on the entryway of the old house there's hardly any floor in that. Although it has some kind of walks or boards built into just the walkway.

D - Just to walk on, huh?

R- Yeah, just to walk on.

D - I wonder, it seems like the older houses would be a lot easier to heat, huh?

R- Yeah, that would be easier. Cause there is enough large--real large ones, just big enough for the family or two to live in. They don't have separate rooms to be heated.

D - Yeah, you get a lot of people in one room (chuckle, chuckle).

maybe we
Dave, can walk over if we can get over this way without getting wet and let Roxy take a look at--yeah maybe go over the north end of the house.

David Libbey- We're standing on top of the mound now looking down at the excavation

D - Well what we think is going on here is this is probably the main room of the house. And I'd like you to look at it. You probably have a better idea of what it really is than we have.

R- Does it look like - as if the roof of the house just dropped down or caved in onto the main floor?

D - That could be but I wonder if these boards sticking up aren't maybe the walls.

R- Yeah these are.

D - Now there are 2 logs I think over there is the other wall of the house, I think. I'm not real sure. And if that's the case, I was wondering-there are two logs behind these upright planks. Do you have any idea, Roxy, what these might be for?

R- No, I don't.

D - Okay, it will take me a moment to find a peg. This is north twelve to north fourteen, east two to east four. And down in here we have an awful lot of wood chips, wood shavings, little pieces of wood of all kinds. Do you suppose that's a floor or something else?

R- I don't know. I don't think the shavings could not have been left by some people who live there for long time. Probably may have been made out of the ones who tore this thing down or so. I don't know, it's just a guess.

D- Well I was just wondering, that was going to be my next question. As I understand from what I have read in books and talked to some of the older people like at Wainright, there was a time when everyone was using sheet iron stoves that wood was very scarce.

R- Yeah

D- And I was told that a lot of the timber was cut out of houses if people could get to it.

R- Especially from the ones who are abandoned.

D - Yeah. That's what I meant--abandoned, abandoned houses. So I'm wondering if that's perhaps not what's happened to these.

R- This one that has been chipped off, you know.

D - Yes.

R- You see that. Is that the way you find it?

D - That's just the way we found it.

R- That's just what probably has been done to this one. Once it is abandoned when they move to the more modern houses, they use that to cut it off and use it for fire wood.

I have some other questions. Since we're in this area of the ho use, now as I understand it behind the house was a storage rack.

R- Yeah. Outside the house.

D - Yes. Now we can go back there in a moment. Back to the north here we have a number of big posts sticking up which may be from that storage rack and I'd like to know first of all why is the rack behind the house. I was wondering, you'd have to come out the tunnel, come all the way around in back of the house to get something.

R- Like many people, you or myself, would not want our rack to be in the way right in front of the house. It has to be in the back and in most cases it has to be where the snow drifts would not bother the part of the entryway. If we have to put it near the entryway, from that point, the snow drifts would be collecting and kind of affecting the front of the house.

D - I'm real glad you said that. I've been worrying about why they would put it in the back all winter. I thought it would be so much more convenient. But snow drifts would be a problem. And it would be in the way also.

R- Yeah.

D - Oh I'm awful glad to find that out. I'm very pleased to find that out.

D – Could you tell us a little bit about what a person put out on the rack?

R- Yeah, it depends on what property a man has. Either umiak, kayak, or sled or some gear like spears to hunt seals with. They put those up on the rack. Even their nets in winter when the weather is dry you know--their seal nets. They hang them up on that rack. Their sleds, umiaks, kayaks and such as the pegs to make hole through the ice and things like that.

D – It's things that maybe you don't want to leave on the ground?

R- No, especially at the time their sleds doesn't have too many nails and they have the lashing made out of rawhide or something like that-where in some cases WHERE dogs can chew them up.

D –You wouldn't have much left then / after the dogs got a hold of it.

R- And the kayaks -- seal skins for cover and the umiak ugruk skins' cover. They wouldn't want that to be chewed by the dogs also.

D – Another thing we're interested in, in addition to really how the houses were constructed, were some of the things, some of the activities that were going on outside of the houses. It occurred to me at least if you had to work on something kind of large, it would be hard to get in the house. So where would you work on now.

R- In the winter. Especially in the winter towards the spring. If a person is going to make an umiak or kayak they built a snow house which is long enough to have a framework built inside of a snow house. They put-- they cut up ice also, in order to make a skylight on the side of that snow house in order to have the sunlight.

D – So you can see.

R- Yeah.

D- Would you make one of these--say if I were living here and maybe I wanted to repair my umiak, would I build one of these right by my house or is there a special place for you to build one.

R- Well anywhere where it's more convenient where the snowdrift is deep enough for you to build one snow house in order to make a shelter for you to make umiak.

D – okay. Dave let's try to wander over in this area of the house.

D – Roxy this big square over here you've looked at before if you recall we asked you about the willows and the boards there. And there's a number of upright pieces there one of which is a whale jaw. Now right in this square is, north six to eight east zero to two, there's another smaller whale jaw standing upright and then right in here is an old piece of upright driftwood. And we're thinking that there were two houses here and that the one over there sitting upright belongs to the tunnel and these pieces here perhaps belong to the tunnel of the other house. Is this the kind of structure you would expect for a tunnel-upright pieces?

R- I don't know what that--in that case they may have--the uprights almost close enough so you could block it up with sod or something.

D - Oh I see.

R- Unless they have these uprights in order to hold the roofing material, if the tunnel is much wider than it use to be. And that will keep their roofing from denting in the middle. Kind of sloping you know.

D - I would guess these houses would have to be built pretty well because that sod cover must be heavy.

R- Yeah.

D - When we get it dug down a little more, we're going to try and leave all of these pieces that we think were parts of the house in place and then we get maybe when all this soil is removed we'll get what's left of the house and I think it will be a lot clearer. And we certainly would like you to come out then and take a look. We should ~~XXXX~~ have maybe the whole floor exposed and part of the wall. Right now we're digging here and there, it's kind of hard to put things together.

D - Well Dave I don't know if I have too much more. I'm just real pleased ~~XXXX~~ to hear what you had to say about the storage rack. I thought about that all winter and I couldn't imagine why those were in the back of the house.

David Libbey - Would you be interested in going over and taking a look at Mound 37?

D - I don't think that would be too good of a thing to do today. I'd like to in a few days perhaps.

DL- Do you know if anyone is working in the lab?

D- There's no one in the lab today. We probably do need some more artifact identifications but we don't have anyone in this building today.

DL- Okay. Probably finished up for today.

D - I think so - no other questions come to mind.

D - Well thank you very much Roxy. We tend to know only what we read in books but we don't know if the people who wrote the books know what they were talking about. So it's nice to talk to someone who has lived here and knows something about these things.

R- The people who are working like you / about the history of the Eskimos who live up here. There are a lot of stories that we added into their life-style and different locations and they had to move from Barrow for survival down the coast, up the rivers, how they built their houses out there, how they built their store houses. And the people trading towards Colville River.

DL- I was wondering if you would be interested in talking about any of those things at a greater length?

R- No, I can.

DL- We could do that in a warm place in your house or back at the office.

R- Sometime yes. I want you to know that on the 29th of this month we will be making a trip to Fairbanks for the Eskimo Olympics and probably after--as soon as we came back from there--if the weather permits probably my wife and I might want to go out camping for a week or two. But you can always find someone else.

Roxy Ekowana is going to try to contact Ross Ahngasuk to do a joint interview with him together. That's the end of this tape.

END OF THIS TAPE

RE = Roxy Ekowana
RA = Ross Ahngasuk
D = David Libbey
DS = Dale Slaughter

Tape #14

July 17, 1981
Tape 14 Roxy Ekowana and Ross Ahngasuk

D Do you have any photos of Barrow we could look at or copy?

RA No.

D What was there about this area around Utqiaġvik that made this a good place to have a village?

RA The way we think about that since we were little boys, the reason people like to live in Barrow is that it is a good spot to hunt, especially whales in the spring and fall. Also along with the whales the sea mammals, walrus polar bear, seals, ugruk--animals like that. Also from here they could go up inland and up the rivers fishing.

D You were talking the other day about the historic movement of people around here, the original settlement. We were talking about Pigniq and Nuvuk and then Utqiaġvik.

RA The way I heard it from the ancestors this part here, Utqiaġvik, the old dwelling places, there was nobody living there at the time. The way I heard it the people used to live down the coast at Nunavaaq, about 4 miles down from here and also at the Shooting Station, Pigniq. While they were living in those places some hunters would go to this spot here which we call Utkiavik to snare snowy owls; that's why they called it Ukpiavik, where people go to hunt Ukpik.

D Did they live at Nuvuk at the same time?

RA The way I heard it from my mother who lived in Barrow all her life, there were also people at Nuvuk and also quite a few living at Pigniq and at Nunavaaq before any people started to move to Utqiaġvik.

D Do you have any idea, like a date, when people started a village here?

RA I don't know; my mother never said anything about that.

RE This story is what we heard only. Nobody ever indicated how many hundreds or thousands of years ago this happened.

D Where was your mother from?

RA Nuvuk.

D Your father?

RA Maybe from another place, I don't know. Anyway he moved here and took over my mother.

D Who were the traders who were working around Barrow since you remember?

RA Ever since I remember, old man Charley Brower was a trader here. After so many years there was another, Charley Hansen, had a store here too. I don't know how many years later than Brower.

D Was that the Native store?

RA This one was partners with Capt. Backland; they had a wreck right here and they went down to Nunavaaq. Backland had a 4 masted sail ship. They hit the ice and they took off down to Nunavaaq. That's when Charley Hansen started the trading post.

D He started the store with the goods from the wreck?

RA Well there was a Native that ran the store here named John Kungasuk. And when the boat wrecked, Charlie Hansen took over.

RE We have talked about traders before, but I think this is one I have missed, about the storekeeper who was managing John Backland Sr.'s store. Before Brower's time, according to the people, we hear that there were some traders who came up, like old whalers, that wintered up here and set up some trading posts. One of them they called Kelly. The one that he mention, Brower's store, he worked for Liebes Co. While he worked for Liebes Co. that four masted sailing ship would come up each summer. And like he mentioned John Kungasuk, a Native, kept the store for John Backland, just in a small warehouse. And during those years, I think I heard the year his boat was wrecked at Nunavaaq the "Transit." I remember so well because my mother took me along while they were salvaging the cargo from the boat. They had to have someone to cook for the crew. They selected my mother and I went along with her. Later I found out from one of the young men that the year was 1913, and I was 6 years old. That time most of the crew of that boat had to winter here. When Capt. John Backland himself hired a sailboat, a small whaling boat with a crew, to take him down to Nome. So the ones who were left behind, he left word that they set up a building here and put up the store, managed by Charley Hansen. That's the one that he mentioned. And after that, some years later,

RE (cont'd) the store called Native Store started up in 1923 I think. Oh yes, 1921, the first Native Store started. The USCG Cutter Bear brought in the small supplies for the Native Store. They didn't even have baking powder or coffee.

RA They had tea and flour I know but I heard they had no baking powder.

RE That's the time the Native Store was first started.

D Who started that store?

RE The Natives themselves. The Natives owned reindeer at the time. What the teacher at the time was suggesting to the Natives who had reindeer was to butcher the best good and fat steers to be sold to the trading ships. They sold the dressed out carcasses to the traders in the summer. And what money that they made out of that meat was used to order goods so they could start the Native Store. That's how it started.

RA Along with the price of meat, there was a man by the name of Paul Pausanna who had trapped on the Canadian side. He went up with some of the boats and wintered there a few years. And then when he came back at that time, he had quite a few fox skins and he put that in also. He was the biggest shareholder at the time. That's what started it.

D Do you remember who the other people involved were?

RA You have heard about the wreck that belonged to the Steffansson expedition party, the Karluk. On the Karluk there were Natives who were hired to be the hunters. They picked up a man and his wife from here. I think that was Harrison Kudraluk with his wife. Steffansson hired him to be the hunter if they wintered somewhere

RA (cont'd) along the coast and his wife was to be the seamstress. So when they drifted away and landed near Wrangel Island, the boat was crushed there. I think Kudraluk was paid by Steffansson and he put that money into the store also when he got back, along with Jimmy (Karuktogvik (sp)?). They put in money along with reindeer herders.

D Who were the herd owners at that time?

RE Taaqpaq was the chief herder at the time but for some reason he may not have put in reindeer meat for that purpose. I don't know. I may be wrong. Bert Panigeo, Lee Suvlu, Hilton Pauyuna(sp). Some others I don't remember.

D Who was the school teacher at the time?

RE Delbert W. Cran. He's the one who urged the people to start the Native Store.

D When I talked to Sarah Kunaknana some time ago, she talked about her father having a little store at Putu out near Nuiqsut and showed me his boat that's out at the Shooting Station; its a ruin, but he used to take things back and forth to the Colville area. She did not mention his association with the store here.

RE We both remember him well because he was the largest shareholder. When he came back from Canada, or out that way, he moved back again to Prudhoe Bay and then on to Kukpik (Colville River Delta). Then he began to think about putting up a store where he could do business at Kukpik, at Putu, like Sarah Kunaknana recalls. So he decided to sell all his stock and trade with the goods, he had that

RE (cont'd) boat, it had a 20 horse engine at the time. So he sold all his stock in trade for goods at the Native Store and set up a store at Putu. He didn't last more than 2 years I think and he went broke.

RA Nobody took care of the papers; he didn't know what he was doing.

RE Johnny Aiken was his older brother (step?). He had worked with Charley Hansen once before when he was managing the store for John Backland. And at the time when Pausanna put up the store at Kukpik he tried to hire Johnny to do the paperwork for him. But he did not for some reason.

D Where was the Native Store located?

RE Right about between the hotel and the new police station. Where the street is now. When it was first started they had a little shop on the second floor of the old school which burned down in 1928(?) and from there once they got started the store manager hired by the people was Roy Ahmaogak. He had his own house so he built an addition to it to have the store there. From there it moved to Bert Panigeo when he became manager. Later on they built a new store where the street is now between the hotel and the new police station.

D When did that store go out of business?

RE In the 1970s.

D And then you mentioned another store that was Backland's.

RE I don't know when but Brower's Store was competing with Hansen, manager of Backland's store. And business was not so good for Hansen

RE (cont'd) at the time so rather than lose out he sold his business to Brower; that was back in 1918-19, close to that. That store was located in the street near Jones' house, there right on the corner. Years later, back in 1935, that building was there, owned by Brower. That house was old; I heard that Steve Hopson wanted to buy it. When his father died, rather than have 2 houses, he decided not to buy it. I heard that, he was my brother-in-law at the time, he gave me the word and I went to see Brower and bought it from him. That's why its not out there now. Its in a different location, remodeled.

D Is that your house?

RE Yes, part of it.

D When Brower bought out Hansen, did he keep running the store or just move the stock over?

RE He moved the stock over along with some warehouses. They tore them down and rebuilt them over there, just leaving the store building itself at the same location.

D So Hansen had difficulty competing with Brower, and sold out to Brower. Then there was only one store. Then the Native people got together and started a second store themselves over in this part of town.

RE Yes.

D Did the Native Store send out traders along the coast?

RA Yes. The first branch they set up was at Tulimanik where the old site is. Its not far from Cape Simpson.

RE That's the Bay this side of Cape Halkett. There were a few people living there at the time, trappers like Roy Akmoagak, Arthur Neakok, and Steve Hopson and a few others.

RA There were also some trappers just beyond Cape Simpson and Cape Halkett, Pete? Point there were people scattered over there and they are the ones who would come down to Tulimanik. Instead of coming clear down to Barrow by dog team they would trade with that store at the time.

D Who ran the store at Tulimanik?

RE Roy Akmoagak was the one who ran the store at the time. He was one of the stockholders at the time.

D Do you know how long that outpost lasted?

RA Not too long, a few years maybe 5. I used to work hauling goods from here to Tulimanik with a launch, what they needed for the winter. Some food, some ammunition.

D You would supply them in the summer with what they needed to get through the winter?

RA Yes.

D Was this in the 1920s?

RE Later than that, '30s and '40s.

RA Late '30s.

D Did you have other outposts?

RE Yes. There was one other bought from Pederson at Beechey Point. That store was started first by Liebes Co. Tony Edwardson, partner of Charley Hansen, decided to get away from Hansen.

RE (cont'd) He rebuilt the boat with 2 masts, loaded up with goods, and went up east. He had my uncle to help him, John Tokluk; he had just one arm, along with his brother. I don't know exactly the year, 1917-18. He took a girl with him at the time, old Brower's step-daughter, his wife's daughter before she married Brower. He took that girl along with him. He worked just for himself at the time. He had the store at Kugruk, just in that bay, called Harrison Bay. After that he moved to Oliktuk on his own business and later back in 1923 Liebes Co. hired him with the new building which he set up at Beechey Point and that store was owned by Liebes Co. at the time until later on. The one who bought it, that was Capt. Pederson after he was gone. Stopped doing any business over there. Another man took over. That was Jack Smith. When he died Native Store bought that place.

D When did Jack Smith die?

RE 1942 or '43 I think. And at that time the Native Store bought that place until they decided not to run it because the people who lived in that area started to move to Barrow. That was when the Navy got here to do some surveying and drilling to look for oil. People started to move here at the time. There was another small branch working at the time run by Native Store at Barter Island. At this time it was Jack Smith came down the river through the Colville from the interior. He had a home-made boat, flat bottom boat. He may have brought in a few goods with him, and started living on the coast in that area. Probably each summer, at the same time

RE (cont'd) that Edwardson was still working for himself. He may have been one of the small traders in the area at the time.

D So it was already in place and he picked it up from somebody else?

RE He picked it up from the one he worked for, that's Capt. Pederson. When he died it was turned over to the Native Store; they bought it from his widow.

D And it stayed in business just for a little while?

RE A few years.

D Do you know who was the agent for the Native Store out there?

RE Abraham Stine.

D So they traded the goods out from Barrow to the people who were out there trapping?

RE Yes.

D When the store collected those furs together from the people they traded with, what was the next step? Did they bring the furs back to Barrow to ship them out, or what happened?

RE Usually. Barrow Native Store was the mother store for the Native branches. So whatever they had, they bought from the Natives and had to be shipped in to the mother store. And that's where they sent them out so they could have goods to trade with, brought in by John Backland, Jr., who was freighter at the time for Barrow.

D Is this the same John Backland we were talking about before?

RE He's the junior; he's the son.

D Where did they send most of the furs to; do you know?

RE Native Store sent their furs down to Seattle Fur Exchange.

D The Native Store would be paid in money from the Seattle Fur Exchange and then would buy goods from Backland, Jr.?

RE Yes.

D The other day you talked about the times people used to dig for pitch out there at the site, for fuel. How deep would they go to get the pitch. Would they just take stuff off the top or would they dig down into permafrost to get pitch?

RA The pitch can be in different levels. Some houses built earlier would be on the lower level. As years go by, after that first house gets too old and nobody lives in there, it just crumbles down and years later somebody builds another house over it. So in most cases when we find that pitch it would be at the permafrost because what covers that would insulate it from thawing. So it could be somewhere around a foot or more below surface. It depends on how much sod has covered over the kitchen area.

D So it could be pretty hard to dig out if its frozen.

RE Yes, but we don't mind that. As long as we can get into it we had to dig it.

D Do you have any thoughts on that Dale?

DS Can you give us any idea how long a house would be used before it would be too old?

RA I don't know.

RE The house that I lived in was built way before I was born. It was built by my mother's uncle, before he moved back to Point Hope. It was built during the boom of the whalers. I told you

RE (cont'd) part of it was made from ship salvage. So when I remember, when I was a little boy, it was old. The house that he (Ross Ahngasuk) lived in was moved next to the one I was raised in. The entryways were just about that far apart (1 meter) and in the same direction. That house that I lived in was getting too old and my parents moved to another building while I was up east. Back in 1927 or '28, late in fall of '27 or early in '28, my mother decided to use it for fuel since they decided not to move back in it again. So that was the end of that house.

D Is the remains or the mound of your house next door still visible. I know the mound of the Ekowana house is. It has a metal building on it.

RA I don't think I could point out that mound because of the trucks and traffic that has run through there. But I can recognize where it stood before, where that aluminum building is.

D Is it the same with your house? You don't know when it was built?

RA I don't know when that house was moved in because I lived in a different house with my mother and father and my mother's sister.

RE I know the house he lived in was built in a different location. This house was in the first place owned by Paul Pausanna before he went to Canada; he spent quite a few years out there in Canada, and this man had a wife, a sister to Pausanna. So after he lived in that house he decided to move the house right where my house was resting, right next to it. It was You oiyuk(sp) is the name of the man who moved the house. He tore it down and

RE (cont'd) he built it again, just like the way it was before. After that his brother married the daughter of this couple so that was the time they moved in, after it was moved next to our house.

D Were these two houses pretty much the same in construction style?

RE Yes, pretty much the same.

D Was the style like the ones out at the site with the boards coming upright out of the ground?

RE Yes.

RA I can tell you when their parents invite us they would knock on the wall (rap,rap,rap). You could hear it clearly. That means they invite us to come over and eat.

RE Some nails are not small in the floor. My mother would take a hammer and hit one of them 3 times, not more, not less. And next door they hear it -- "Aha! We are invited to have a meal." So these two houses were like that.

RA Eskimo telephone!

RE The shape of those two houses was the same only their house didn't have the door like ours. It had the door on the outside wall and mine you had to go down and through the tunnel in order to get in. Because my house was built earlier while they were still digging them down into the ground.

D So those houses that we're looking at out there could have been moved from another place too, just like they move houses.

RE Not like they moved houses today. They had to take them apart. That's what I did with mine, the old store. It was a little too big and the floor was not even. So I had to tear it down and

RE (cont'd) rebuild it before I moved it to the other location. I didn't move it myself; the people who rearranged the streets moved it; back in 1963 or '64.

DS I have a question about John Kelly. He had for a year or two a small store or trading post down the coast not far from Atanik. Do you know anything about that?

RA The way I heard about the name: There was a man from Noatak; he mentioned Kelly who had the small trading post in that area. If he is the same one, we don't know if he had another post at Atanik; he may be the one who moved up to Barrow, here, bringing with him some Natives from that area, also from Point Hope.

RE My mother was originally from Point Hope, and when they moved up to Wainwright they use to camp around that area, close to Atanik, which they called Sisaaraag, for seal hunting. The ones that trapped furs in winter and collect baleen from whales would be sold to the traders in summer. There were no stores at Wainwright at the time. But when Charley Hansen had a store, at the time we remember, people would come up here and do some trading from Wainwright and also there would be that man that I mentioned, Tony Edwardson, with the help of my Uncle John Tukluk would freight some goods down to Wainwright by dog team and do their trading there, and later on, Jim Allen was hired by Liebes Co. and they put up the trading post there run by Jim Allen.

DS I was interested in that. I worked at Sisaaraag for 2 seasons excavating and the houses there are big timbers out of ships.

DS (cont'd) Sometimes the whole walls are made out of ship's lumber. I read in Charley Brower's Diary that this man Kelly had a load of goods he wanted shipped to Barrow, and that year the ice was bad, and they had to unload his stuff just south of Atanik. So he set up a little post there. I think it was in 1891 he spent the winter there doing some trading and he had a bunch of Pt. Hope people with him, because he wanted to use them to whale here. Next year he moved up to Barrow and sold that building and they took it apart and moved it up here, I think. I found an old rectangular area where I think that building was.

RE If this is the same Kelly, he brought up people from Noatak like Harold Downy's parents and some from Pt. Hope and set up a station here.

RA Well, the way that Harold Downy was telling me, he saw that place himself. The place where Kelly used to live inland, I don't know where, down around Noatak, up inland.

DS One year Kelly, I think it was the first year Brower came up here, they stayed down by Corwin Bluff and someone gave Kelly some money to go prospecting inland. I don't remember the name of the river.

RA That's what Harold Downy said, and he found that place where Kelly lived when he was hunting.

RE That must have been where the site is now at Pt. Hope.

DS North a little.

RA Harold Downy was pretty young when he found that place that Kelly lived, and he said he did some mining, and he found a lot of lumber. Well, when those whaling boats came around, they used to trade. I don't think they had stores. In those day baleen was pretty high, $5/lb. If a guy had 5 slabs, he could buy pretty good groceries with those 5 slabs. I used to hear Pt. Hope and certain places, mostly here. Those whaling boats travelled all the way up to Canada for baleen. When a guy had 5 slabs of baleen the people used to say "that man is rich." He could trade pretty good with those 5 slabs.

D So the first stores were really only the boats themselves. I wanted to ask you about fuel because we were talking before about how they used to use driftwood and sell oil and blubber. And they came along with iron stoves and you said they could use pitch and coal. About the time the Native Store was starting up, around 1921, what kind of fuel were people using at that time?

RE Most people were using blubber.

D Were you burning that in a stove or was that an open fire?

RE In the stove.

D At the Native Store, did they sell any kind of fuel?

RE When it first started they didn't sell any kind of fuel except kerosene and gasoline for lamps and primus stoves.

D They sold gasoline for the motors?

RE There were hardly any motors at that time when it was started. It was some of the lamps that burned gas.

D Were they using any coal?

RE Yes, some people who had boats, even earlier than that, they made trips to Wainwright once in a great while and came back with a load of coal in their umiak. That's what I heard from my mother. And some who are able would buy some coal from the Brower Store, they had a supply of outside coal.

D Brought up by a ship?

RE Yes, and other people who travelled up inland to trap or just go out there to haul some coal from Meade River would haul it in by dog team. And later on, back in the '30s, they started to let people go out to the pitch lake out here at Tulimanik and cut up those in blocks and put it in gunny sacks and haul it down to the beach for the Native Store. The Native Store hired these people to do it. Then when summer comes, they hauled it back by boat, by motor launch, and sell it to the people who had money.

D What is the pitch from this lake like? Its not like the pitch we were talking about earlier is it?

RA I used to work for the Native Store in those days. I used to cut that pitch and haul it down. We used to sack maybe 300 sacks sometimes. We cut it in blocks just the size to put in the gunny sack.

D Is this stuff like sod or oil, or what is it like?

RE It is the seepage of the oil that surfaces and spreads out. As time goes by it hardens. So they cut it in blocks before the snow goes away.

D So that stuff is pure oil only hardened?

RE Yes, its hardened.

D So that would have been back in the 1920s when it first started?

RA No, 1930s.

RE That lasted until the Navy came up in 1944.

D That's when they started bringing in the coal from Atqasuk? During that period from the 1920s to the 1930s what do you think was the most important fuel they were using in town?

RA Blubber.

D Then the 2nd most important?

RE & RA Pitch.

D So blubber was a very important fuel up to 1944?

RE Yes.

D Was blubber always very important as a fuel or were there other things that were important, before.

RE People would rather use wood where its plentiful. But here at Barrow, since the burning of wood for fuel has started, the driftwood along the coast was exhausted and they had to turn to blubber. So some years later somebody started to use pitch. And the people when they get short of fuel or blubber had to go out to Tulimanik area by dog team, like him and myself, and bring in a load of that heavy stuff in order to have some fuel in the house.

D Is that the place they call Oil Lake?

RE Yes. The seepage is from the ground. There's two places there.

D Is that stuff still there or did they use it up?

RA Its still there, but nobody is taking care of it right now.

End of Tape

D = David Libbey
RE = Roxy Ekowana
RA = Ross Ahngasuk

July 17, 1981
A continuation of Tape 14.
Tape 15 Roxy Ekowana and Ross Ahngasuk:
History of Fuel Use at Barrow in the 20th Century

D We were talking about getting the pitch from the lake and you said you would sack that up and brought it to the trading post or back into the store in town here?

RA We hauled it back by boat in the summer to the Native Store in Barrow.

RE At the same time, Brower's also got their supply this way when they started using the pitch to heat their store and homes. They would cache it up in early spring before the ice goes away and then after the ice goes away they haul it in in the motor boat, towing the cargo in the small boats.

D So this material was used for heating houses?

RA Right.

D Did they cook with it too?

RA Right.

D Do you remember how much they sold it for in the store?

RA Well, they used to sell a sack for $1.75.

RE I think when they first started selling it at the Native Store I think it was $1.50, and then they had to raise it up a little, but it was less than $2.00 for a 100 pound sack or more.

D Could you make an estimate how long one sack would be good for heating a house?

RA Well, I've been burning oil, driftwood, coal; I find out this pitch lasts longer than wood, coal and blubber. But its heavy, very heavy.

D So when you go to the store you would just buy 1 sack?

RA Well it depends on how much you want. There's no limit. But in those days we had no dollars in our billfold like today, no money, we got to earn it. The good trappers, they're the best off in those days.

RE You asked how long a sack lasts. It depends how the people use it. If the people have a small home and just use it for cooking and heating, just enough to keep it warm enough to keep your parka off, sometimes you had to leave it on. If a family is careful it would last almost half a week or a little bit more.

RA Well I never used it much myself, though I hauled it. But I used to work on it for the store. Sometimes I bought some but not always. I used to haul it myself with a dog team. A sack just using it for cooking would last 2 or 3 days.

D If you had a choice of using blubber or pitch, which would you prefer at that time?

RE There are many ways to use blubber for something else. For eating, fermented liquid, also for the dogs. If you have pitch you don't use that for dogs. If I had the choice, I would rather use pitch because I need the blubber for myself and my dogs. The trouble was, in those days we had to haul it by dog team and its

RE (cont'd) heavy stuff. Once you haul it in, you have to be careful for what you use it in order to make it last. So in that case, If I had the choice, I would rather burn pitch than blubber because blubber doesn't last. You have to go out seal hunting almost every day to have the blubber on hand for heating.

RA Well, when we were kids, they never used pitch. In those days, there weren't too many people in Barrow like today. When they have a good catch in whaling season, they used to have a good pile of blubber for heating. When we take over (grew up) it had changed altogether. A lot of people had come from certain places to Barrow. When they got a whale when its small a person got just a little piece, blubber, meat. In those days even if its small, used to be a sled loaded with muktuk, blubber meat and they didn't worry much about fuel for winter because they had a good pile in the (ice) cellar.

D Then what happened. They stopped getting so many whales?

RA That's what I said, you see, even if they get nine whales, there's a lot of people here today in Barrow. This whale, when its small, its just like a seal today, small.

D I see what you mean. So with all these people coming in, it necessitated people getting other kinds of fuel.

RA Even the taniks, you know, eat muktuk today. I never saw a tanik going to the place where the people got a whale like today. Just the Iñupiaq went over there to eat. But today when I go to eat when somebody got a whale, I see several taniks there wanting muktuk too, wanting meat.

D What kind of tool did you use to cut the pitch out of the lake?

RA We used to use an ax. Later somebody found an easier way. They had a can of gas with something in it to burn and they heated a shovel and press it down (into the pitch) while its hot.

RE They made just the width and length of the gunny sack then with an iron bar they pried the thing out.

D How did they cut it up to fit in a stove?

RE You just crack it off like ice with an ax or a hatchet.

D How many loads could you bring in in a year?

RA We didn't do it that way. Sometimes I went up by myself. I once made 2 trips in a week. I was selling pitch to the people in one of the government buildings here to make a little money to feed my kids. One time the old man (Brower?) had a contract to haul pitch for the hospital. I went up with one of his boys. That's the only time I hauled pitch for myself (in the launch) in the summer. The other times I was working for the Native Store.

D How many sacks would you haul in to the store in a load?

RA Well we used to haul it to the coast by that pitch lake. Then in the summer we went over there in the Native Store manager's boat to haul it in.

D How many sacks each time?

RA Well, we used to fill two dorys and the launch. I can't tell you exactly how many sacks, but we used to make one, maybe two, trips to haul the pitch here to the Native Store. I could tell you we used to sack maybe 2 or 3 hundred, well 200 not quite 300.

D Each time? Maybe 400-600 sacks each summer?

RA No, no, altogether in one summer for Native Store.

D So before you started using this pitch you used blubber and did you use that kind of pitch that you got from the site out here also? (blubber soaked earth).

RE Only when we were kids, that was being used by our parents (blubber soaked earth). I never dug that myself. Our parents from different homes, when they found that was good to burn for fuel. So whatever was available at the time was almost used up. So he and I when we were beginning to live on our own didn't bother with that because it was only hard labor, you couldn't tell where to look for it and it was almost gone. So we had to burn what's available, blubber, driftwood and sometimes we had to go eastward on those sand bars there where some was still available.

D So its in your parents time that they were using pitch from the historic site?

RE Yes.

D And then in your time as you began to get on your own, you made trips to get driftwood and used blubber for fuel. Then a little later on you started using pitch from Pitch Lake?

RE Yes. They first started by getting it by dog team. Just the people who wanted to go out there with a good dog team and start using it in their home. Then the Native Store and Brower's started hauling it in.

D Then you mentioned that the Navy in 1944 started asking for coal?

RE Not the Navy. At that time I think in 1942 or '43, Alaska was only a territory; the governor came up here; he found we had a problem with our fuel. We had to haul it from Pitch Lake by hard labor. He carried the problem to a higher level and that same summer the equipment came, like dozers and tractors, to begin hauling the coal from Meade River in '43 or '44 for the village.

D That was Burnell's operation?

RE Right. I think the equipment was loaned to him by the territory or whatever it is.

D At that time they got the coal operation going in Atqasuk, did people stop using pitch from the lake?

RE Yes. I think it was 1944 because some people started picking up jobs like he and myself started working at the hospital. So people had a little money to buy coal.

D So did most people start using coal at that time?

RE & RA Right.

D They didn't use any more pitch or blubber?

RE Well sometimes people had to use blubber because the coal wasn't always available. They would have a breakdown somewhere and it would be delayed. Then we had to turn somewhere else to heat the houses.

D So seal blubber was still very important?

RE Yes. At the time stove oil was also available at the stores. So in place of seal oil we could use that if it was available, although we didn't have the proper burners for oil. We had to soak it into dry sod in order to make it light.

D When did they start making fuel oil available?

RE About the same year the Navy came in.

RA Right.

RE Because at that time the diesel fuel for the tractors was brought in by boat. And when the cat couldn't go out, they started selling that to people who need it for fuel, although it is heavy, so we had to use it by soaking it in old clothes or gunny sacks or something like that because we didn't have the proper burners at the time.

D Sometimes you soaked it in sod you said?

RE Right.

D Where did you get the sod?

RE Right where you are digging for artifacts at the site, and sometimes further down where they are hauling the gravel from. Where its more dry there.

D Just take the sod off the top and let it soak in the fuel oil?

RE Yes. All you need is a little bit of kindling to start it with.

D So in the mid-1940s, you were using coal and also some fuel oil to heat the town and for cooking.

RE Yes.

D What was the next thing that happened for fuel? I know they use natural gas now so what happened?

RE Back before 1957, the contractors who took over the camp after the Navy was out discovered the gas out here just 3 miles from town. When they found that they piped it into the camp and use it for fuel and cooking, out there only, not for the village. So we still burned oil and coal for the village including the government facilities like school, hospital, Weather Bureau and so on. Until 1957, spring, Juneau decided to supply the hospital, the school and the Weather Bureau only. Not for the Natives.

RA Just for the Federal workers.

RE So later on some of our better young people who had gone out to school and who are more educated and who had been in the Second World War serving, when they came back they fought for us to get the gas which was already here, to pipe it into the homes so that we too can use this cheaper way for heating our homes and cooking.

RA They tried to get that natural gas I don't know how many years. They got hold of the Governor of Alaska; they tried hard and didn't get it. One time the council had a meeting and the pastor working with them helped the council write a letter to the President; they jumped over the Governor and the Alaska government and write to the President, wanting to use that natural gas. That time they got it. The Governor and the others didn't know it until after the President signed the paper that the people here could use it.

D Do you remember what year it was they put the natural gas into the homes around here?

RE I told you earlier about relocating the homes. Before that we didn't have it. My house was moved in the fall of 1963. After that, somewhere around '65 or so, we are finally hooked up to gas.

D What year did they stop bringing the coal in from Atqasuk?

RE When we worked at the hospital they also burned coal there from Meade River. They had too many problems at the time with their equipment and so we kind of persuaded our maintenance man to convert the coal burners to oil furnaces and start ordering fuel oil for the hospital. And that hurt Burnell because some of that coal was laid aside for the hospital even though the Native homes didn't have enough, he would rather let the hospital have it. You see, when he started hauling coal for the Natives, it was intended for them because the hospital had supplies of coal shipped in by boat each year, and so it was intended for the Natives only. Later he made an agreement with the Juneau office that he could also supply the hospital along with the Natives. So in trying to supply the whole village, he got behind so we had to urge our maintenance man to order enough fuel oil to last a winter in the hospital. That hurt him, so it got kind of slack and when the people started using oil, he quit hauling it.

D Do you remember what year that was?

RE I don't remember, but it was just before we started using gas.

D So there was probably a little while in there when he wasn't bringing in coal and before you got the natural gas that you had

D (cont'd) to do something; that's when you were using the fuel oil?

RE Yes.

D I think we were talking about this before, about the coal and fuel oil out at the site and you were telling me something about using fuel and how the people didn't have the right equipment to burn it. So what you did was soak sod or rags in the fuel oil and burn it?

RE Yes, but in the mean time some of us ordered oil stoves and that's what put Burnell out of business.

RA Well, even though Burnell was hauling coal, the Native Store used to order fuel oil to supply the village in the winter. Same time.

RE The trouble was Burnell could not supply the whole village because he had too many problems with his equipment. Most of the time we were without coal. We had to buy what we could from the stores like fuel oil and diesel fuel.

RA They used to send him these second-hand tractors. The only one I know was brand new was #24 and another D8. Juneau sent it to Ed Burnell to haul coal from Atqasuk.

D They only had two?

RA No they had more, but they were second-hand.

RE The way I understood it, the first equipment he had was sent in by Juneau, it was loaned to him, not new. After he operated for some time, a few years later when he got enough money to buy new equipment, he bought a D8 and later on an International Harvester which is 24, which is bigger than the D8, the one that is

RE (cont'd) still sitting out here. These cost money. You see, with what equipment he was loaned by the Juenau office, he started his business, and from the money he made, he had to supply his own equipment by buying it. So most of the money he made went into equipment. Still they had breakdowns.

RA The first old equipment from Juneau he used and later by himself bought the D8 and 24. They always had trouble between here and Atqasuk with their second-hand tractor. My son was working with them, James Ahyakak; he was one of the operators. He used to tell me about their trouble. Sometimes they had a fire. One time close by here they got stuck and his boss was burned in the face. He led him by the arm in the night from there to here.

D Could they haul that coal in the summer?

RA No, only in the winter.

RE When the ice is thick enough in the lakes for the tractor to run over.

D You mentioned that cat that's sitting over by Burnell's house; was that number 24?

RE & RA Yes.

D Was that one of the last ones he used?

RE Yes, the last ones were the D8 and that one.

D Is that that smaller yellow one beside the house?

RE That's a D8.

RA Before those two they used to have D6, D7, when they first start.

RE Those two were from Juneau.

D Just before we went to lunch, we were talking about the first money you made? You talked about getting necessary (strategic) metals from some of the ships around.

RE Especially the old sail ship "Transit" owned by Captain Backland, Sr. at Nunavaaq. From that old wreck, people who are strong enough salvaged that for firewood the next year when he came back with his other boat just like that, same size, 4 masted. He gave it to the Natives that time.

D So that was actually a wreck down there at Nunavaaq for a while. What year did that happen?

RE Close to 1913, I think, or '14.

D So immediately the people started to use it?

RE Not immediately. They had to know for sure that it was available. When Backland ok'd it for the people to use it, the people started by cutting down the masts, whatever is more convenient, then cutting up the deck. Before that happened Bert Panigeo got the aft cabin and cut the timbers that held it on the deck; it was over the deck. Somehow they shoved the whole thing into the water and towed it here to the village and we boys used the winch to winch it up after it was rigged with block and tackle. And we boys turned the wheel and put it in the spot where he wanted it. He built that into his home. It is still there.

D We should take a look at that sometime.

RA They towed that up here not with a motor but with a sailboat. They waited for good weather to move it.

RE One morning when I woke up that summer, it was nice and calm and when I looked down there I saw that building in the water.

D Who's living in that house now? Or what are they using it for?

RA I don't know; Bert Panigeo's grandchildren maybe.

RE You know that new police station, the blue one, then the next green one, then the black house? That's it.

D Do you remember what year that was you looked out there and saw that thing in the water?

RE One summer, I know that, I don't know, not long after the owner turned it over to the Natives. Probably during WWI.

D What we were talking about before, you first made some money getting metal off that ship, copper and brass and things.

RE And some pieces that are found in the old ruins like the ones you are digging in now. Like brass and copper kettle parts. I saw sold one time a whaling gun made out of brass. Somebody needed money and they sold that gun for a few dollars.

Ed Hall Did people actually dig in the old houses to find copper and brass?

RE Yes, by digging with a hook, not too deep, just on the surface. And we even saved some shells.

D I think you said the reason for that was the government wanted to buy that metal during WWI.

RE Right.

D So you sold it to a government agent?

RE No, the stores were collecting it for the government. They didn't give us money. They gave us whatever they had if the price matched what we want.

RA In those days there was no aluminum. Just old pots and kettles, used to be copper.

RE Mostly people would find things in the old wrecks, spikes of copper and brass that they used for building those wooden ships.

D Is any of the "Transit" wreck still left at Nunavaaq.

RE I don't think so. Before that, there was some down near Wainwright, they got some brass and copper spikes out of and sold that to the collectors.

D Do you remember the location of some of the other wrecks along here besides the "Transit?"

RE There was one on the beach at the Point, but that was gone before our time. They say that one of the whaling ships was travelling at night and the ground was covered with snow, and he thought this (the Point) was a cake of ice and just smashed into it and grounded and never got off.

RA There was another wreck in that same place. Liebes 4 masted boat called the "Arctic."

D That's the one that floated around out there in the pack ice for awhile?

RE Yes, that was the Captain's problem. He was responsible for that wreck they say. When the ice loosened up a little bit, he would come toward the Point out here when he could almost go around the Point where its safer and he could go on to his destination. Instead he was so scared of ice and there was so much ice at the time, when the ice began to come, instead of going that way he head

RE (cont'd) back to That's where he got wrecked.

RA Well, when he went over there he was safe. Then the ice opened up again he went over there again instead of going around the Point, and he got wrecked.

D So that's 2 ships that got wrecked near here.

RE One is a sailing ship--4 masted and the other is a motor ship--4 masted. The last one was wrecked in 1924, the "Arctic."

RA This was only the 2nd year the "Arctic" came here.

RE Brand new ship.

RA Arnold Liebes, those two brother's company's ship.

RE That was the time when Brower was working for that company.

RA That time when the "Arctic" wrecked I heard the company wouldn't buy the wreck. Mr. Brower was working for Arnold R. Liebes Co. They had a law that Mr. Brower couldn't buy that wreck. But he used an Eskimo name, that guy didn't know he was buying that ship, one of the Eskimos right here. So he mentioned that name saying this guy will buy the wreck. He (Brower) wanted it for himself. Then one time that Eskimo man went to the store and Brower said, "Your bill is paid," instead of telling him "you bought a ship."

RE He (Brower) was working for Liebes Co. so he couldn't buy it.

D What was the cargo?

RE Dry goods, arms, ammunition, food, flour, sugar, pilot bread and such things. The stuff needed for all the stores, Beechey Point, Barter Island, Demarcation Point and what's left they took to the Canadian side at Herschell Island and sold it to the Natives out there for fur. That's the way they traded at the time.

D What caused the "Transit" to crack up?

RE The first one?

D Yes.

RE The way I understand there was hardly any ice at the time; the weather was nice; when Captain John Backland took off after he unloaded his stuff here for his store. Of course, he still had some stuff to sell at Point Hope or Kotzebue or somewhere around there. On the way down, he went close to the beach and somewhere there, there was some grounded old ice. The story is he hit that grounded ice instead of going away from it when he could. Somebody had a hunch that he intentionally did that. We don't know why, maybe to collect insurance on it; we don't know.

RA Well, that was the only grounded ice around and he hit it. And when he found a leak started instead of going the other way, he just beached the thing.

D Some of those traders who came up here started families--which ones were these besides Brower?

RE Tom Gordon, who was hired by Liebes and put up the store at Demarcation Point. Later he moved to Barter and started another store and the other one was taken care of by his oldest son Michael Gordon. He started a family here. Then another man, Fred Hopson, Al Hopson's father, and Tony Edwardson, he stole another man's wife and ran away with her. He then, and my Uncle John, were the only ones who were starting up eastward in that boat. The way the talk goes is that probably earlier this lady and

RE (cont'd) Edwardson made some agreements without her husband knowing so she would be over in a certain spot when he was leaving. She walked at night along the coast up there and when he came by in the boat, he stopped and picked her up. That's the way he ran away with the girl. He had his station at Harrison Bay then to Oliktuk and then from there to Beechey Point for Liebes Co. He's another one that started a family here.

D That would be Charles Edwardson, Sr.'s father?

RE Yes.

D Did he learn to speak Iñupiaq?

RE No, although he understood a little. He was Norwegian. There's another one who lived down at Wainwright by the name of Jim Allen who started the store for Leibes Co. He had a Native wife and family. His girl is still living, that's Alice Killbear.

D So her married name is Killbear?

RE Yes.

RA Well, I used to hear old Mr. Brower picked out Jim Allen and Tom Gordon to work with them (Liebes Co.), and Mickey I guess (Tom Gordon's son). Mickey had the store at Demarcation Point.

RE Yes, after that they set up another station at Barter Island. At first Tom Gordon managed the first store at Demarcation Point. Then in 1923 Liebes Co. started another store at Barter Island. So Tom Gordon moved to Barter Island to build that store and manage it and left his oldest son, Michael Gordon, to take care of the store at Demarcation Point.

D So Mickey Gordon was his son?

RE Yes, by his first wife.

D You mentioned another guy earlier, I think he was Backland's assistant, Hansen.

RE Yes, he was the store manager here after the old "Transit" was wrecked.

D Did he start a family here?

RE No.

D I know Jack Smith married a Native woman here, but I don't know if they had a family or not.

RE Yes, they had 2 girls and 1 boy. That's Lucy Ahvakana. Also Fred Hopson, Al's father, was a cook for the Liebes Co. station over here, before they turned the store over to Brower. They had quite an outfit at the time. Brower had the bookkeeper, the interpreter and one or two hands for labor and a cook, the time we began to open our eyes and ears. That's the way it was.

D Do you remember some of the first missionaries who were here?

RE According to the story the first missionary was Stephenson. I never saw him. I saw Dr. Marsh. Did you see him?

RA Yes, I saw him.

RE I knew his older children too, at the time.

RA I don't know how many kids they had.

RE I used to count them in the picture, the ones (pictures) that Taaqpak had.

RA Yes, we had a picture too. My mother had a picture of all of them, dad and mom and all the kids. I don't remember how many.

RE That was taken after they moved down to the lower 48. Stephenson was the first missionary according to our parents.

D So they were all associated with this church? (Presbyterian)

RE Yes. This was the first and only church built at the time. I don't think he had a church when he first started. He was also the school teacher, started the school. The way the people explained it, the government and the Presbyterian mission worked together. They supplied a teacher and his salary while the mission got the benefit of having a missionary here among the Natives. So the government paid his salary and he did the missionary work also. That's the way it was with Sprigs and those earlier missionaries. Same way with Mr. Cran and Richardson, they were also the school teachers even after the mission building was built. The first one was burned down while Dr. Marsh was up here. The second time or the first time, probably the first.

D I remember you mentioned how Taaqpak let the ministers stay at his house once when the mission burned.

RE Yes, when Taaqpak's house was finished in its original location, the first mission was burned. Instead of moving in, he let the Marsh family live in that house. That's the way I heard it. Later when the Manse was built, they moved out of his house.

D Do you know what years that happened?

RE No, I don't know. The church might have a history of that.

D So that was Dr. Marsh?

RE Yes, Dr. Marsh. He was out one time probably, leaving Dr. Sprigs who was the school teacher in charge of the mission work. Both of them worked together. And later after Sprigs had gone out, Dr. Marsh came back. Then they had another school teacher there. I don't think he was connected to the mission at the time--Hocksworth--and after him Mr. Cram came. By the time Marsh left, he was missionary teacher. Then after four years he went out and another teacher came who had a family and did the same work--teaching, missionary, that's Richardson.

D About what years was that, 1920s, '30s?

RE Before that. The last time Dr. Cran went out was in 1921. Then Nichols took over. By that time the church was separated; it had a missionary of its own from then on. The last time Mr. Cram came back after Richardson left Mr. Cran and his wife stayed here four years. During that time, an old man and his wife came up to do the mission work. He was also a doctor. Dr. Spence came one year earlier than Cran. By 1920, they were just beginning to build the hospital. After four years Dr. Spence went out and Cran stayed another year during the building of that new hospital, in 1920 the material came in. That's the one that burned in 1936-37.

D Did you work in that first hospital?

RA No, I was away. I was one of them driving reindeer up to Brownlow Point. We took 3000. I was one of them that year (1937).

D What herd was that?

RA Before, somebody was starving up there, one guy, he had a good pile of meat for the winter, but some other other guys stole that pile of meat and ate it. And that man starved to death. Then after that they let us drive reindeer up to Brownlow Point. So if that happened again they would have meat.

RE The thing is there were quite a number of families who moved out along that coast all the way up to Demarcation, ones who owned reindeer here. So when the reindeer increased, here, after that starvation happened up eastward, they decided to get a bunch of reindeer from the Barrow herd for those people to use, especially for the ones who owned them before they left. So they hired some people from here, and he's one of them (RA), to drive that herd to Brownlow Point.

D What year was that starvation?

RA 1937. These reindeer were altogether 3000, that we drove.

D Who owned that herd; a lot of different people?

RE Yes.

RA They called it the Barrow Reindeer Company at that time.

D Did they have an office here?

RE At the school building, taken care of by the superintendent of the of the school.

D Who was in charge of that herd?

RE Different people who were managing it at the time.

RA Somebody used to be in Juneau.

RE The Reindeer Service Office down there.

D So you kept 3000 head out there at Brownlow Point. How long did you live out there?

RA We just stayed up there 17 days. We waited 17 days for Mickey Gordon to come over to take it over.

D What time of year was that?

RA Winter.

RE They started from the camp out there in November.

D Where was the camp?

RE Close to Atqasuk, where they do the counting. From there they separated the herd that were to be driven to Brownlow Point.

D How long did it take you to get there?

RA We had Christmas and New Year's in Kukpik (Colville River Delta).

D Where were the people living at Kupik at that time?

RA There were a lot of people living anyplace. The only money they could get was out of fur--fox.

D So after New Year's you moved on to Brownlow Point?

RE You have to be careful. If you drive them day after day they get lean and poor. So you have to rest them for certain days.

D Who did you see at Brownlow Point?

RA Well there was a trading post there, Henry Chamberlain's. And Samuel Paningona and his family, and the old man Samuel Paningona's father, and Tigutak and his family, and Johnson Akneena and his family, Horace Ahsogeak and his family, and Roxy Oyagak and his family--lot of people--Clifford Savaag and his family.

D Did you live with one of the families or did you have your tents?

RA We divided up to certain houses?

D Who was with you?

RA Owen Keerik, Arthur Neakok and his wife, Alfred Kunaloak and Henry Ahnatuk, Ralph Alaluk all from Barrow, but there were a few more guys who came from east to help, James Kovana (since moved to Canada), Silas Kungerana and Kapook, and Johnny Maligiana and Harry Nalikuk, Nigsu Okomailuk. Keerik was our boss at that time.

RE You've seen his picture on the Alaska Airlines tail. If I were a relative of him, I would go after Alaska Airlines.

RA I wonder who put that there?

RE Maybe they just picked it up from the newspapers. That's what I suggested to his daughter one time.

RA Well, his wife is still alive. If I was one of the family I would go after them. A big company like that using a picture without telling them.

End of Interview

RE = Roxy Ekowana
RA = Ross Ahngasuk
D = David Libbey

July 20, 1981
Tape 16

Interview with Roxy Ekowana and Ross Ahngasuk
Blubber Processing for Food and Fuel

D The other day we were talking about the use of various kinds of fuel and you were discussing as its used as fuel. Could you talk about how the blubber was prepared for use as fuel?

RE It was prepared almost the same way between the seal and the whale. Once the blubber was taken out from the whale, they had to haul it in and put it into ice cellars. As it is needed, it is taken out of the ice cellar and put inside the house and start cutting it into pieces, small enough so we can put it in through the door of the stove.

D Could you estimate how big that would be?

RE Somewhere around 4" x 3" x 2". When we get it from the seal, inside of the house they skin it, take the blubber out of the skin, its about 2" thick. Then they cut that about 3" x 4" as indicated before. What they don't use they put away out in the entryway.

D They can just put that raw blubber in the stove?

RE We have to use some dry sod and some dry kindling of wood to start the fire, put a little bit of blubber over it as a starter, and then put dry sod over the fire and then the blubber on top of it. That's how we kept the fire going for heating and cooking at the same time.

D Did you always have to have sod in there along with the blubber?

RE Yes, we have to. In some cases if driftwood is available that would be used in place of sod. Whether its wet wood or old wood it can go in place of the sod. If we don't have sod handy, even old clothing like old boots, old worn out parkas, can also be used in place of sod and wood. Just so the melting blubber won't drip through the grate down to the ash pit.

D How much blubber would you put in?

RE Just one piece at a time, but it depends on how big your stove is and how hot you want it.

D How long would the blubber last as a fuel? If you get just one seal, how long would it last? I think you said the other day a family would need one seal a day for a family.

RE When they take care of it and just use it for cooking, it can last around 2 days, that's just a guess (Ross agreed). You know the blubber is so scarce in most places that we don't play with it.

D Could you use that blubber at all for light?

RE Yes. We had seal oil lamps made out of soapstone and some would have lamps made out of copper. I've seen some of those in different homes.

D How would they prepare the blubber to use in that lamp to get it burning?

RE Once they've got the blubber and after they cut it up in pieces, especially for lamp use, they had it cut in slabs about 1" thick or a little more 1-1/4" or so, and then put it in the entryway to freeze. After it is frozen, they had a block of some kind like the

RE (cont'd) ones they got out of the tail of the whale, it doesn't have the part of the backbone of the whale toward the tail which is round, and use it as an anvil. Then they had a mallet made of rock and they pound it (blubber) into that anvil so it will melt easier. When enough of that is pounded, they put it into a container inside of the house and set it by the lamp and the warmth of the room would thaw the blubber and turn it into liquid in the container, especially what they fixed from the seal blubber. But the whale blubber is a little tougher in some cases, especially from the older, bigger whales. In some cases they have the pin sticking out of the wall over the lamp. After they have the lamp lit, they take one slab which has been pounded already and shove it through that pin and let it hang. And that way the liquid of that blubber would be dripping into the lamp and continually supplying oil to the lamp. We call that ayaksraq. From the heat of the lamp the blubber, ayaksraq, is almost cooked. When the liquid has soaked out a lady would take it out and squeeze it out into the container and then give it to the family to eat. Its kind of dry and crispy.

RA They used to call that wooden peg ayaksriqpik.

D So would you recognize one of those if we dug it up?

RE Yes, its about this big around (middle finger) and about 10" long, kind of pointed on the end.

D Every house would have one of those?

RE Yes and another one for trimming the wick called atqun. You can tell the difference because the point of that atqun would be black from burning.

D How did they use it to trim the wick?

RE The just tamp the moss down, shape it. They used that stick like a flashlight or a lantern when they went out into the entryway to look for something. They lit that from the burner itself, that's why the point is kind of blackened.

D When they use blubber for food, do they have a different way of preparing it?

RE There's 2 ways of preparing it: either they use it as is while frozen, especially the whale blubber; they cut it in small pieces. If they have ugruk they prepare it in a seal poke, they dry it and turn it inside out. When it is good and dry, they cut the ugruk blubber in strips and put it into that poke and leave the air out so it won't get bitter and then after the liquid separates from the solid, we use that for dipping the meat for eating. That's misigaaq. On the other hand, when they don't have that, they get the frozen blubber out of whale and use that instead, only cut in small pieces just enough to put in your mouth. You eat that along with the meat.

D The misigaaq is made from whale?

RE Its made from any one of those three--whale, seal or ugruk. The people who care to can make that out of the walrus blubber also. Its very good.

RA Our mothers used to put a good sized piece of frozen blubber into the house (about 2' cube), take the outside off and cut it up while its frozen to use on the lamp the way he was talking about. When they put that piece they have pounded above the Eskimo lamp, when that has dried, its good eating.

RE Kind of smoked.

RA That moss or sod we use for the wick, we have to find up inland.

RE It has grains up and down. The top is kind of smooth in some places, about 4' wide in some places, where the gound is uneven. What color is it--kind of yellow or brown. No grass growing in it. We let it dry and then the women fix it, roll it in their hand and soak it in oil as a starter. The atqun is needed to trim that so you don't burn your fingers. This moss is called maniq. You can see it out near the fresh water lake this side of the radar.

D Is that where people used to go to get that?

RE Yes.

RA Just right outside the landing field here.

D When you rub oil on the umiak to keep it from drying out, is that seal oil?

RE Yes, especially on the seams.

D Is that misigaaq?

RE It can be as long as its liquid or blubber.

RA Well, if they're going to use the boat quite a while, they used to use that oil to fill the seams. When its dry its open.

D That closes it up?

RE Well it doesn't close it up too much, but it keeps it from cracking. Otherwise, in the sun, the thread in the seams might break because the dry skin shrinks and might rip the seam.

RA They use putty on any kind of boat.

RE They can make putty from seal oil too. They make putty from the blubber. They let it boil; sometimes it catches fire; they keep stirring it until it gets thick. Then quench the fire and after it cools, they use that pitch on the seams. Its kind of black.

RA I've seen those old timers use caribou fat with seal oil. Leave it there for quite a while. That helps a lot.

RE You remember, Ross, when we were boys we didn't have much caribou fat here. But when somebody came from inland with their boats sometimes they still had that fat on the seams and we would sneak into that boat and eat that fat off the seams.

D I've seen around town some of the umiaks have something on the seams that is gray in color. Have you noticed that?

RE That might be caulking compound.

D So most of those uses for blubber--they still use them today? I know they don't use the lamp but...?

RE Yes. But if a person had to, if he got stuck out there, he still can use it. He can use a rag for a wick with a can. The seal blubber can still be used for mukluks, the waterproof ones. The seal oil is best for the seams and the bottom. Once its too dry, it leaks through the seam.

D So people still like that today--they like misigaaq?

RE Yes, they can't live without it.

RA Like white people can't go without butter; same thing.

D They don't use it much for fuel now but for food?

RE For food its very important.

RA Well, there's a lot of using that seal oil now, waterproof, boats, skin, whatever, that's the best to use.

D If you were going in a house today, where would you find blubber or oil?

RE In most cases can be found in the entryway where its handy. But if they have a small storehouse outside and they don't need it at the moment, it can be stored there. Or people who have freezers can keep misigaaq there. It has to be kept cool. Eat it cold, even if not thawed.

RA If you get that oil open it changes the taste if you leave it open inside the house. Better to keep it in the freezer or ice cellar.

D Do you have an ice cellar?

RA Yes, right by my house.

D Do you have one too?

RE I used to have one but I'm not strong enough to take care of it so I told Nate Neakok he could use it. Its by his house (Roxy's brother-in-law).

D Would it be alright to let a couple people in to look at that, to see what one looks like?

RE Yes, its alright. I don't know what condition its in.

D If they wanted to look in your ice cellar, would that be OK Ross?

RA Ok, its open.

We all get in car to look at some historic house sites. Parked at hotel looking across the street at Bert Panigeo's house.

D That black house, part of it came off the ship?

RE Yes, came off of the old freighter called "Transit," a four masted wood sailing ship wrecked around 1913. This was the aft cabin above the deck. They cut it off and floated it and dragged it here by sailing boat. The wreck was down about 4 miles from here at Nunavaaq. That was Bert Panigeo's house.

D He must have made a lot of modifications. Did he dismantle it or just build up over it?

RE He built up over it; he didn't dismantle it. If you went inside you could see the beams and things, the trim work. If they have not covered that up. Before they built the Native Store building, they had that as a store. Bert was the manager. The first place of the store was one room on the second floor of the BIA school. That school burned down in 1928. From there it moved to Roy Ahmoagak's house after he built an addition to his house. That house no longer exists.

D Where was it located?

RE Right across from Stuaqpak where the courthouse is now.

D And then from Roy Ahmoagak's house it...?

RE No, they had the warehouse at the time. When it was taken from Ahmoagak's house they remodeled the warehouse and use it as the store, but not for long, about a year or more, but it was too cold. When Bert Panigeo took over managing the store, he moved the goods to his house which was more comfortable. He kept it there for quite awhile before they built a new store building. That store building

RE (cont'd) was close to here in back of us, close to the hotel and across from ASRC. And from there they had another warehouse which they used as a theater at one time. The store got a little too small, so they had to remodel the theater to a bigger store. Part of it burned out but part of it, the warehouse, is still here, back here.

RA When Bert Panigeo was manager of the store he helped me a lot. We knew each other pretty well. When they start hauling pitch this time of year, I used to go along to work for the store earning a little money, not too much, but it helped in those days, even if you had ten dollars. Everything was low what you needed for a living in those days. Not like today. When he went hunting I used to go with them. We used his launch, gas boat. He had a partner, I don't know how long the boat they had was, but it carried quite a lot. We got walrus, I don't know how many that boat would carry, quite a bit.

D When you went walrus hunting, did he sell any of the walrus in the store?

RA Just the tusks.

RE When a person has a boat, he supplies the gas, and we had another boat in tow, and from that catch he got the ivory to pay for the expenses, gas, grub, what we took along. The hide and the meat were distributed among the crew.

D Do you know how he sold the ivory?

RE He sold it to the store; he just worked there for the stockholders. The store shipped it out like any product. It may have gone to Seattle, I don't know.

RA Mostly BIA took care of the Native Store in those days. Helping them. Afterwards, I started reindeer herding and I don't know much about Bert after that.

D Who occupies Panigeo's house now?

RE If its occupied it may be one of Bert's grandchildren.

(We drive over to look at warehouse from store.)

RE This is the location for the remodeled store. The restaurant is covering it. The building just to the north of the restaurant used to be a warehouse and the big warehouse was where the hotel is.

D Is this one (warehouse) changed a lot?

RE It has been changed.

RA (Rounding the curve in the road by the hotel) The first wireless operator was here.

RE It was first used as a store by Hansen. And then when it was sold to Brower, he rented it to somebody, the Signal Corp, how many years I don't remember. That's where they sent and received messages before they moved over to where the hospital is now.

D So then when you bought it from Brower, it was right here on the corner, where the street is now?

RA I remodeled it right here. That time when they had high water. I think you've heard that time when some of the houses washed out. He was in danger here at that time.

RE That was in 1963. A big storm from the SW and no ice at the time. It was so high, it even pushed the door in.

RA When we went to work at 8 a.m. at the hospital, everything was good; you could see the gravel spit from here to the Borough Building. From 8-10 it was completely covered to here with water.

D What month was that?

RE October. The ice was thin and broke like glass.

RA There were a bunch of drums by the lagoon that all washed out.

D They moved your house you said?

RE Right after the storm. That was just at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

RA You see that red roofed building down there? That day, if they didn't anchor it with a tractor, that would have been washed away. They anchored it with 2 tractors tied with a cable.

D That's that 2 story house?

RE Yes. That's Ralph Aviwana(?). This one here was moved from its foundation also. This used to be Taaqpaq's warehouse. Now its converted into a house. Now its facing out (twisted 90^{o}). That time, just before the storm, we saw a great big iceberg way out. They said it was part of what they call ice island, where they had a station somewhere near the North Pole. They say it broke off from there and drifted by here the day before the storm. When the storm comes that night, it was white all along the shore. It had been broken by the storm. Some of it was resting out here in cakes out in the road. We hauled it for drinking water--real good drinking water.

RA Wien had their office right here in those days and they had a high tower. And that tower was hit by one of the houses and went down, just like that.

D Where was the airfield then?

RE Out at the base. That's just when they were beginning to construct the new airfield out here. They rushed smoothing it out so the emergency planes could land.

D So until that time whenever you wanted to take the plane, you had to go all the way out to NARL?

RE Right.

(Drive up to Ekowana's old house site.)

D I don't know what this is; is it somebody's house? (Speaking about metal building on Ekowana's mound.)

RA When they first built it, it was a dry cleaner.

D Where was your house located?

RA This way (where driveway is now).

RE You see where it slopes down to the driveway? That indicates where the edge of the house used to be. And there was an ice cellar close to it.

D And the Ahngasuk house was just over this way?

RE Yes, just 3 or 4 feet apart, filled with sod in between.

D You think that driveway is running over where their house was?

RE Yes. The man who wanted to move it here wanted to use our house for a wind break from the NE. So they would say when the NE starts to blow, they say their house is warm. And when it starts to blow from the SW, our house it warm, because we had a wind breaker.

RA Well, when we lived in those houses, we had no windows, just a skylight covered with ugruk intestines. No glass. And they kept the house with an Eskimo lamp.

D You kept it warm just with a lamp?

RE No, its too cold. We had the entryway straight out, not down through the floor. The older type of houses, that are built through the door down, had to have a windbreak on the opposite side if they wanted a draft.

RA Anyway, it helped a lot that lamp when they get it going and trim it good.

D Did you use it mostly for light...cooking.

RE Light, sometimes you could keep something warm if you are patient.

RA Sometimes they used a little pan and fill it and put in dough to make dougnuts. Put holes all around. That lamp cook it slowly. That lamp made it good. In those days if they make biscuits, we like it anyway. I used to see my father cooking flour on a little lamp made by white people that had two round wicks and put a pot right on top. Used to stir up the flour with a lot of whale blubber. Gee, its a lot of good eating. They never made much biscuits when we were young, but later they did when they got ovens. That's the time they started making bread. His mother was good at baking biscuits.

D When did the people start having stoves that had ovens?

RE Before our time, I think, because as far back as I can remember, we had cast iron stoves with ovens or lamps we can cook with, even if they are slow.

RA My folks had a stove in first world war. But they were small.

D How big were they?

RE Not as big as the kitchen range. Its got 4 lids. Just about 3 feet in length and about 2 feet in width and 1.5 feet high raised by legs. The 2 oven doors open from either side.

D These were bought at the store?

RE Yes, almost the only kind they could sell.

RA Sometimes in the morning I used to smell some kind of a funny smell I never smelled before. That was coffee. I smell that maybe 2-3 days; I don't know how long before I smelled it again. They didn't have it all the time in those days. They mostly used tea. And I was talking the other day about John Kungasuk who worked at Backland's Store. He had a coffee grinder, and they baked the beans. They let me use that wheel.

D When did they start drinking coffee?

RE Just before our time maybe, but they didn't have too much.

RA When they had a Native Store in that BIA Building, the coffee started to run steady.

D By the 1920s they had coffee regularly.

RE When I lived in this house, I never saw coffee there. I didn't see my parents have it until I returned from out east in 1926. Between 1923 and 1926 they decided to use coffee in the morning.

RA Well, when we lived here my brother Johnny used to work for Charlie Hansen. When Carlie Hansen sold his store, he moved to Charlie Brower and started working. He paid with groceries, not money.

RE There was an agreement at the time that he had his brother as a helper and he would be transferred to Browers about 1918.

RA Well that year Capt. Backland had a shipwreck with the "Transit;" that year he started to work for Charlie Hansen.

D That store didn't stay in business very long did it? 1913-1914 to 1918, maybe 5 years.

RE We mentioned earlier about the building that the store had one time. Its down here and that they used only for 2 years or part of the year or so.

D In back of where your house used to be?

RE Yes.

D Right next to Benson Apartments.

RA With the white door.

D That was the store for about 2 years?

RE Probably less than a year. It has been moved. It was sold to a man who moved it here.

End of Interview



David Libbey, August, 1981

Isa Sovalik at Mound 8 with project foreman Dale Slaughter, inspecting a just uncovered fragment from an Eskimo lamp.

Ethnohistory Interview
with
Isa Sovalik and Roxy Ekowana
about plants
UAP Tape #s 17 and ~~18~~

RH=Rick Holloway (ethnobotanist)
R =Roxy Ekowana
I =Isa Sovalik
D =David Libbey (ethnohistorian)

RH- Do you recognize the plant?
I - These may be buttercups.
RH- They are very low growing and form a complete covering, a mat.
I - We are calling these in Inupiat Taqilakisaaq.

(Introduction of Jim Thompson, Contract Officer, to Isa Sovalik and Roxy Ekowana)
Jim Thompson: I want to document the fact that he was working. I was wondering if I could take a picture.

I - Yes.
RH- That was the Iñupiat name for the flower?
I - Yes. Taqilakisaaq.
R - Is this just on the dry ground, the kind that you saw on the tundra, not too far away?
RH- Yes. These I found a lot on the old house mounds - they grow up a little bit.
R - Yes, that's what they are.
I - Yes. We don't call them leaves in Iñupiat, but this one.
RH- Were they used for anything?
I - No. We just pick them up for flowers in the house.
R - Any leaves like this, the way she explains, we don't have any

names for these leaves. The leaves we call akutoqpuk; just the name of a leaf.

RH- Any leaf?

R - Any leaf from the bush or something like that. Like greens that are sweet. We may see that later if you have that.

D - Is the Iñupiat name simply the name for the flower or does that term mean something else? Does it mean some things in Iñupiat besides just referring to the flower?

R - Especially this one?

D - Yes. That term, the name you just mentioned.

R - No, it doesn't mean anything else besides this one here, the name for this special plant that we just saw with a little bit of yellow. The traditional thing is that the reason why we call them that as the time goes on from our ancestors the name comes from the butterfly. We do believe what our ancestors told us. We still believe that these plants later on became the butterfly, Taqilakisaaq, that flew around with beautiful colors. So that is the traditional naming of this plant. We don't know if that's true or not but that's the way we believe. Taqilaksaaq refers to the butterfly itself.

D - Any kind of butterfly?

R - Yes.

RH- That was #618. This next one is a grass - #622. Again, these grow on top of the house mounds and some of the color has been lost when it was dried but these have - in the field they look very very bright red.

I - I don't know the name of these but I always play with them; just play with these.

R - She doesn't know what we call - even I don't know. The simple name for every grass is ivic - with a green or red or kind of brownish color - it's the same, ivik.

RH- All the grasses?

R - Yes. I can tell you that they grow in different places, even in the small ponds and lakes. They started to grow from the bottom of the lake and sprouted up through the water. That's what I have in my back yard. I made a comment about these to you

I think - the grass like that - that grows on the edges of the lakes or in the small ponds we call ivigaaq - that grows in the water. Whether they are from the deep lake or the small pond - in the swampy places like that.

RH- This is ivic.

R - Yes. Ivic - grass. Maybe I talk too much. While we are talking about this: any kind of grass that has been cut by rats (muskrats) in winter for food they usually cut the grass through the bottom and most are eaten by rats. The roots of the grass, because that part is soft and the top part is kind of dry. And what they have cut will be washed in by water when there is a high tide, when the snow is melting and the small streams running. Then it stops somewhere else when the water goes slow on the edges of the rivers and sometimes right on the edge of the lake. And sometimes it is just about that thick in a place so wide and so long.

D - In a pile?

R - Yes. In a pile - the grass that has been cut by rats during winter. And we call those that drifted like this saġvaniq. Saġvaniq means anything that has been drifted by high water and that we gather - the ones that are camping out there use that for the covering of their tent as an insulation. Then cover it up with snow. It's a good insulation.

D - I was in a place on the Meade River once called Iviksuk and the people were mentioning about the use of grass on houses there. I'm not sure that I understood if it was grass that grew right there or if that was just a good place for that grass to wash up. Do you know?

R - Yes. That's on the latter part - the grass that has been washed in that area or if they found a place where it has been washed and left there by the high water, when they find it they haul it into that certain place and use it for insulation.

D - I wanted to ask you; does ivik simply mean this grass or does it refer to other things?

R - Yes. It is even (used to) refer to even different kind of

grass.

D - So this is just a general word for grass?

R - Yes

D - And sagvaniq can refer to any other thing that washes up also?

R - Especially the grass, the ivik, that has been washed up. In some places it is very deep and so big you get a bunch of it in one location and put it on a sled and there you have it.

RH- #619, again, another grass.

I - They are the same as these I guess. It's a little bit (inaudible) than those.

RH- But this would also be ivik?

R - Yes, it is ivik alright but it's a little different in sound. The ones that have those little things on the top. They call these ivigaaq. Something like that grows from the lake but these are different than the ones that grow from the lake. We call these ivigaaq and in some cases in some places where I have been and have seen some of these type that are rounded a little is different like a hollow in the middle and have those little things on top. Most grows so high here in this location. Elsewhere like Sagavanirtoq where I went walking over in that area when I was young some are real tall. Does this have the hollow inside or what?

RH- This one would be solid.

R - Solid and kind of flat. This one here, we'll call that ivigaaq.

D - Ivik refers to the grass - and gaaq?

R - Ivigaaq is something taller than grass.

RH- This is #611.

R - If these are the ones she thinks - these bushy ones on the top - pualuraq; like a cotton or something, white stuff. When they grow up they are kind of soft.

RH- Lot of hair around the top?

R - Yes. Later on when they are in prime the wind kust blows them away. That's the name for that - pualuraq. Pualuraq means outside. Pualuk means the matting that we wear with the fur outside made out of any kind of fur like caribou legs, polar bear skin, dog skin or baby seal skin that has never been born.

So this name almost comes from that mitten fur outside something that looks like pualuk; pualuraq we call that.

RH- Were these used for anything?

R - No. We don't think so. Sometimes when we have to; out on the trail.

I - It's with green leaves.

I - It's sweet inside. Different kinds - almost got a red on this.

D - So it's good to eat?

R - Yes, other kinds.

D - Slightly different kinds?

R - Yes, different kinds. Not this kind. We don't think we ever use anything of these for something except on the trail. Any kind of grass like saġvaniq that has been dried, we can use that for inner soles for mukluks.

RH- #613

I - Maybe we don't have a name of those.

R - We don't have all kinds of names for these leaves that grow. Grass with these small leaves. She doesn't recall anything with a name for this type.

RH- #636

R - The first ones that we looked at kind of looked like this only smaller. This is the original pualuraq - that I mentioned earlier.

RH- This is the one that you could eat, the reddish one here?

I - No. The other kind. Not this kind and not this kind - the other kind.

R - This is just some kind of grass, but these are the regular pualuraq.

RH- And what is pualuraq?

RH- Pualuraq is the matting with the fur outside?

R - That's right.

R - This is something looks like pualuk so they name it pualuraq.

RH- This one wasn't used for anything particular.?

R - No. Some may try to use for the starting of a fire by flint but it never works real good.

RH- Would they dry it first?

R - Yes. Of course the type that they use has already been dried in the sun.

RH- #634

I - It looks like those are small buttercups.

RH- That one and the first one that we showed you, that would be the same name?

I - Yes.

RH- What is it? The flower that is very similar and that would be why it would have the same name?

I - We call them taqilakisaaq - buttercups.

R - The difference is the others are a little smaller. Both the same name.

RH- #632

R - Are these picked from that same area?

RH- No. These were from outside of town. Down near where the gas wells are. Where the dry lake beds are. There are some regular polygons, raised mounds without houses on them and these were growing on top of those mounds.

R - Small mounds?

RH- Yes. Small mounds.

I - Those leaves, their name is originally selected after the name "tea." With the little uneven edges on the small plants there. Sometimes my mother picked these up and dried them up in the oven and tried and use them as tea. That's why they named them tilaaqaq (Hudson Bay tea -- Ledam sp. edible).

RH- Were there any other uses for them?

I - Just in the tea.

D - Does it make a pretty good tea?

I - I guess so. I was so small.

R - Maybe I have tried something different than these although the taste is much different but we pretended it was tea.

D - Did they use that tea for a drink? Not for medicine?

R - Yes. I never did hear of anybody using any kind of plant for medicine.

RH- #625. Again, the color on these has changed once they dried out. These used to be a very purple.

R - Are they shaped like that?

RH- Yes.

R&I-They grow in dry places. She remembers the name for those plants - itqiḷiq - the ones that are purple. The reason we pick them is for the roots, under the surface. We make believe that these are masu which grow way up inland somewhere. Some are thick like that. The roots of these are real small but almost taste the same. Whenever we see these plants on the top we dig underneath and eat the roots; like masu.

RH- Are they prepared in any way? Cooked?

I - No. We always eating it with seal oil.

D - You said the name was itqiḷiq. Is it similar to the same term for the word for Indian?

R - Yes, Indian. The name comes from the looks of the pattern. You know Indians have feathers on their head. That's why the name.

RH- Was there any special way you would go ahead and collect; or just dig them out?

R - Just dig them out; especially the boys and girls. Probably our parents don't care too much about these but we make believe that they are masu. When we happen to wander away from the town we would get into these, trying to pick them and take some home.

D - You think the term itqiḷiq used for this flower on this plant would be a real old name that was always applied to it or do you think it is more recent?

I - Yes, it is old.

RH- #633. Another grass.

R&I-No name for these. Just grass to us. Maybe you have the names for these.

RH- They split them up too much. They have too many names.

RH- #627.

I - When you picked them up are they kind of stiff?

RH- Yes.

R - Like; almost thorns?

RH- Not so much that, but they were a little bit rough.

R - She doesn't recall the name of that. The ones that are kind of pointed and sharp and rough on the sides - thorny grass - that sticks into your skin - kakillagnaq (thorn) - pinning into your skin.

D - The same term for pain?

R - Yes.

RH- #625 - junkus.

R - She doesn't know the name of these grasses.

RH- Would these be lumped together with grass or would they be different?

R - They are different from the grass but we don't know the names.

RH- #615.

R - This is almost the part of the sod. We almost named it maniq but they look a little different. The ones we mentioned the other day; the type they used for the Eskimo lamp. But these are a little different; kind of solid when it is dry. The ones that we use are kind of (inaudible) a little bit when they are dry. But I don't know if they are dried. Are these found in small high places - a mound?

RH- They were on one of the house mounds. Right on the surface.

R - This is just some kind of sod that has been taken not too far away from the location of the house itself. Probably used for insulation. Later they formed into this; grew up like that.

RH- #616.

R - This type, which she named as poro comes near the low places especially close to the lakes. When they are not close to the lake they will grow up in the real low swampy places.

RH- That was found out out at the site but in one of these real low areas filled with water.

R - Anything like that especially when they are dry even in winter, they gather that up in order to make insulation for the cabin to live in winter time.

I - They use for baby diapers too.

R - When the food is scarce they would clean part, take the solid part out, the grasses that would pierce the stomach of the adult, they take these out and save the soft part and soak it in seal oil and feed it to the dogs. Also it can be used to insulate an igloo, especially in camping places. That's what they call uġruk.

I - When you walk on it when it is dry, when it is covered a little bit with snow, you can tell by the soft; softer than the frozen ground.

RH- Does the name refer to that particular type of plant or does that name mean some other things too?

R - No. Uġruk is just a name for this type of grass or sod. I think what you mean is the other name, uqsruq. That's oil or blubber.

D - They are two completely different ones.

RH- When you were collecting it, what is distinctive about it that you could recognize it? How are you able to recognize this one as opposed to other parts of sod?

R - Even from a small distance you can recognize this if anything or any animal has stepped on it and there would be part of it where the hoof has gotten into it and dried up a little. You can tell by that and by the color also.

RH- This kind of light green and then . . .

R - Yes. And also when you walk even when it is covered with light snow you can tell when you step on the soft thing under your foot.

RH- #617. Mixed in - some of the grass pieces with it but we want this area here.

R - She just couldn't make out what this is. Were these in the shape like this where you picked them up.

RH- They form kind of long areas and they are in very wet areas. They are very low and go along almost like a block or a line.

R - We don't have any name for these. When this is taken out has this been thick like this? And pressed? No, we don't recall what to call these things.

RH- They would be just part of the sod?

R - Yes.

RH- #610.

R - These are the ones that grow - the head would be like that and before you press it over this way something like a pin coming out of the head?

RH- Yes.

R - Still, we don't know any of the names for these.

RH- When it is dried, the leaves lost a lot of their color and they were kind of dark green. You find it in some of the low places and it would form areas maybe this long and this wide in bunches.

R - No. We have seen these but I don't think we have any name unless we never found out.

RH- Would they - they didn't have any use?

R - No.

RH- #612. These are very common out on the mounds. They form - they look like spokes of a wheel. They come out from one central area where they attach themselves to the ground and then the flower stalks come out in a circle.

R - We still don't have a name.

RH- #614.

R - Almost like buttercups - but little different. Some got more small yellow leaves and most of them, especially the larger ones, have larger leaves, yellow leaves. Most of the larger ones would have like four leaf clover and the other ones have more corners and more leaves. We cannot tell the different names for the different types; the smaller or bigger clovers.

RH- This is very similar to the buttercup. Would it be included under the same name as the buttercup?

R - She doesn't recall whether there is a little different name than the buttercup.

RH- Would there have been any use for these?

I - No.

RH- #620.

I - First time I see these things.

R - I have never been interested in these plants but I have seen them before. But I don't recall the name. When people mention some flowers like these they don't call them by name, only how they describe the leaf. Like - almost - if they mention these, the leaves so tall with almost the edges with the sawtooth, they would refer only to that instead of calling what the name is.

RH- These also changed color. They would have kind of purple - blue - rose type color.

I - We don't recall any name for these kind of plants.

RH- #621.

R - We never were interested in these plants. We never bothered to ask our parents what they named them. In fact, they never teach us if they had any name for these plants.

RH- #623.

I - I don't have a name of those too.

RH- #624. On this the - this was rather reddish up through here.

R&I-Where is the root? Is this the stalk?

RH- Yes.

R&I-You never tried to taste?

RH- No.

R - Are these prime? Are they full grown, ripe?

RH- Yes.

R - The type that she almost refers to this one; the stalk is reddish color and the leaves on the base are much slimmer and longer here which we call quagaq (sourdock; wild spinach Rumes arcticus. edible willow leaf), green color. They are various in sizes; some are real long, good for eating like spinach.

RH- You would collect the leaves on those?

R - Yes, the leaves - and soak in oil. They are good eating, like green vegetables.

D - So that term is quagaq? And that means green?

R - Quagaq means any leaf that is edible. Have you been up to the fresh water lake? There is a creek from that that runs into Nunavaaq and from that, almost at the edge of the creek and at the other edge also we still can find these, I think; the

ones we mentioned - edible greens.

RH- #626.

R - We still don't call any of these by name.

RH- #623.

R - No name.

RH- #630.

R - Does this grow in swampy places?

RH- Yes.

R - We can't say the name for these although we can recognize the looks.

RH- What is distinctive? How do you recognize?

R - The shape of the plant. The only way we can tell; it's different from so and so plant. The only way we can describe it.

RH- #624.

R - Like four-leaf clover. These are the original buttercups, taqilakisaaq.

RH- This would have the same names as the other ones there?

R - At first she and I thought that the first ones are just like these - dried flat - buttercups. The others are a little different. We don't know the name. (These are taqilakisaaq. The earlier ones were not. DL).

RH- These weren't used for anything?

R - No. Except for some girls who care to pick them along with the sod and the roots and water it and use it as a plant.

RH- #629.

I - We don't have a name of those.

RH- #628.

R - White?

RH- Yes.

R - We have seen them but we have no name.

RH- #631.

R - Are these leaves all dried up?

RH- Yes. This is the general shape.

R - Little bit sweet, not too sweet. This family of plants looks more like quagaq from the ones that we mentioned earlier. Grow in warmer place, from the roots of this plant, this reddish color.

RH- The flowers are a little brighter red than they are now.

R&I-Yes. These are the regular quagaq. These we call quagaq.

RH- You would use these to eat?

R - Yes. These greens here.

RH- Were they cooked or just eaten with seal oil?

I - Just eaten with seal oil.

RH- The children collected these?

R - When the children know what they are they pick them up. But the older people that have lived on them before can go out and pick them up. We had some older ladies here in town.

I - They can store them in some container that has oil. They can store it for later use in a seal oil poke.

RH- Were a lot of these stored? For Later in the season?

R - Sometimes. Mostly for just before freezeup.

I - Eat with any kind of meat.

RH- #635.

R - We call it akutuqpalik (leaf, any plant with broad leaves). They eat it like quagaq. The leaves are different, kind of bitter. These grow flat on the ground. The whole thing we call nusukaq. The whole matt. We pick them along the whole thing, through the roots. They are smaller than willows up inland. Most of the time they use these, especially this here. These grow around the coast. They gather them to protect the food they collect, especially where they skin ugruks and seals so the meat would not touch the ground or gravel. Most of the time the people who care to in older days, even in my time my mother used to make a big pile out of these when camping down the coast and use them next to the ground for bedding.

RH- Would they perhaps have been placed on the roof of the tunnel or...

R - I don't think so. The only ones they could use are the willows, which are much stronger than these. These will collapse once

you put heavy sod over these.

RH- These are not willows then?

R - No.

RH- What does the name mean?

R&I-Nusukaq (to jerk and drag) - something that you just pull from the ground. They even use that for fire wood in places where they don't have anything to burn. Somebody who is camping out in the lake or small creeks where there are no willows. They gather up, bind it, use it for fire wood out in the open or sometimes in the stove. It takes a lot of work, patience.

RH- The leaves were also eaten?

R - Somebody who cares to eat whale would eat this along with the blubber. Do you have anything else that grows from here too? Are these the only plants you have similar to this?

RH- Yes. I think so.

R - What I was going to suggest is that there are little heads in any of these which we call ullauraq, something like (inaudible).

RH- Something that looks like these.

R - Something that looks like cotton when it opens up?

RH- Yes.

R - That is what I was looking for. These grow on the tip of these. This is the stuff which is more valuable than any of these. They pick up these as a starter for fire when it is real ripe before the wind blows it away. They pick that cotton up and put it into a dry container, like the shell of a caribou heart, that film that has been dried. Use it as a starter for fire.

I - They put ash and it lights easier.

RH- This was the fruit section of the plant.

R - Yes, although this part is used normally for bedding under the beds next to the ground when camping - that nusukaq.

D - Does the term just refer to the plant?

R - Yes. It means something that you get hold of and pull it out of the ground. It is different than the willows. You have to cut the the willows with a sharp tool. This you don't need any tool you just pull it out and make a big pile in order to be able to

fresher than the first one we are talking about.

D - Oh, Malikpik?

R - Yes, from the Malikpik. The other one is called Ammich kiluliat.

D - And it was better water than the Malikpik?

R - Yes. And when we were kids we used to see an old skull of a whale there right on the high side or the south side of that lake.

D - That's the second lake you are talking about.

R - Yes. The second lake we are talking, Ammich kiluliat. We used to see the old skull of a whale. Here's how it goes: One spring when they were out whaling there was a boat that struck a whale with a harpoon with a float on one end of it and it went down in the ocean. And they waited and waited. But that whale never came up on the surface. The next thing they knew, instead of surfacing on the ocean, it surfaced through that lake. That's the story. That's how they say that old skull came from that whale that came up through that lake.

D - What did the name Malikpik mean? Does it just refer to that lake?

R - It just referred to the lake. Probably, yes. She (Isa) mentioned loons with black bill would land there in summer and feed off some worms. The smaller loons with black bill (little smaller). Some we call malġi. Probably, it might have been named after those birds, Malikpik. Yet we don't know.

D - How did the second lake get its name?

R - It seems that the name comes from the word like, the fresh water which is much further than the others.

D - Are there any plants right around here that people would use?

R - The ones that we mentioned, we cannot reach by car. Like quŋulliq and quagaq. Like we mentioned before, there are quagaq right on that creek over this way on the slanting of the creek which runs from this lake.

use it as fire wood.

RH- Is this the same?

R - Yes.

RH- #636 and #635 have both been identified as the same plant. To identify a willow, you have to use some kind of tool to gather with.

R - Yes, you can pull it out when the ground is thawed in times like this (summer). You can pull it out with the roots. We don't need any sharp tool in order to pick it up. You can pull the whole thing out with your hands.

RH- You have to use something for the willows.

R - Yes, we have to use that to lay our ugruk meat on, especially when they are skinning it out somewhere, camping.

RH- You use willows for that?

R - No. This stuff here. We don't have any willows along the coast until you get up the river.

RH- #638.

R - These are almost the same as quagaq but we don't gather these for eating.

RH- Are they used for anything?

I - No.

UAP Tape #~~18~~

RH- On the other one. This looks very similar to the other one.

R&I-Yes, similar, but the leaves are different.

RH- The other one could be used for eating the leaves, and these weren't.

R&I-Right.

RH- #637. Again, these were bright purple for the flower and the leaves were all green.

I - Just like the others, first time I saw this.

R - I have walked and visited places on the tundra here and up the coast and I could see these but I never could find out the

name. I do a lot of walking by following the reindeer herds, but I never heard anyone mention the name of such a plant like these.

RH- #647. Again, these formed a low covering.

R - The only thing that she makes out of these, the ones that have leaves, she recalls taking the furry stuff out of the tip and chew and suck the flavor. Its kind of sweet. She doesn't know any name for that.

RH- Are these the same as the ones we saw earlier?

R - Yes. About the same.

RH- #642.

R - Still no name for these she says.

RH- #639.

R - We are used to seeing these, still no name.

RH- #640. These stems run underground. All you see sticking up are the stalk and the leaf with the flower.

R - These are the roots?

RH- Yes.

I - I got no name for those.

RH- #646.

R - This is gotten from the wet places. Only the color is lighter. Real soft.

RH- These were a little bit darker when collected, more green, still a light green as compared to the darker color that we looked at before.

R - It looks almost the same as ugruk, a little softer. Something that looks the same as ugruk but from the same family. Ugrauyik (sp?) (looks the same as ugruk).

RH- Was it used in the same way?

R&I-Yes.

RH- For diapers etc.

R - Yes.

I - And dog food.

RH- #645.

R - That's the root?

RH- Yes.

R - Idon't know. No name.

R - Plants. Most of them we don't have any name.

RH- #643. Here is the root coming down.

R - These grow very low? Still no name for these. If they were closer up inland towards Atqasuk or in that area or around Teshukpuq Lake, if these were picked up from that area we would also name them uqpikutaq, where the salmon berries grow. Especially the leaves almost look like these. You call them uqpikutaq. But I don't think these are. They must come from where it's much warmer, away from the coast.

RH- #649. Grass.

R - Just a grass, ivik.

RH- #650. I think we have seen this before.

R - Like the ones we've seen before with no name.

RH- #651. These are found in very wet areas and in the low depressions or growing in the water. The stalk here has the roots coming down from here, small ones. Sometimes if the water is deep the stem will be this big, and you have leaves look a little reddish.

R - Any grass that grows in the swampy places or around the lakes extending in the water we call those ivigaaq.

RH- These aren't ivigaaq?

R - We can still use the name ivigaaq; anything that grows through the water.

RH- A lot of these did grow in the water. So this would be ivigaaq.

RH- #648. These flowers up here are white.

R - We don't have name of this.

RH- No name?

R - No. Two types of flowers familiar to us; the other one, they grow down the coast just beyond where they are hauling the gravel from. Some of it used to grow right into that small gully on this side of it right on the bank of where the old house used to sit. That place we call Atuutigruaq. Those plants, we call them qunulliq (wild rhubarb; sourgrass; mountain sorrel Oxyria digyna). Something like quagaq. Only the leaves are rounded, some are bigger, some are smaller, and they are

sweet. These are the ones we would go for.

I - We eat them with oil and put some sugar on. We use that juice.

R - Before they begin to dry up when the juice is still on the stalk we could eat that also. It is much sweeter than the leaves themselves, before the stalk turns into grass. We just pick the tip off from the point there of the little things that almost look like the tips of the stalk.

RH- This is the identical sample which was found above the roof of the tunnel in mound 8, 10-12 N, 2-4 W. I am not sure you will be able to do anything with these. There was an entire mat that was all woven in together.

R - You mean woven in together like this?

RH- No, not that. Just a pile in a bundle tied with some baleen. It was on top of the boards.

D - Must be a broom.

R - I never did hear of a broom made of willows.

RH- These are willows?

R - Yes. Are they connected together with their root like on this one end and tied over here? Or just a big chunk?

RH- Kind of in a chunk.

R - Just like the ones we mentioned when we were looking at those mounds. The ones that are found in one of the houses there which you or the other man - we looked into - and I suggested at the time these are the ones that have been picked up from the rivers way up by campers during winter. And these are the type that they use for under the mattress next to the snow when they can or next to the ground where they are camping. These look right now just like the old dried willows which have been washed up by break-up and rested somewhere in a lower spot after the high water goes down. This dried stuff, something like this, would be used for fire wood, only they would be bigger. These are smaller, just like the ones we mentioned the other day, that have been used under the bedding next to the snow or to the ground. In some cases people when they are travelling they have big bundles of it on top of their sled. This

must have been still carried on when the travelers get back to their home and just put them away on top of the entry-way. Probably that's why they are here. Not too may years ago we had the same kind of stuff which we carried along. But we were traveling by skidoo. In spring we collect these and put them on the sled and although we don't have any more use for them, we get them to Barrow here and keep them outside of the house for some time. They may have just happened like that.

RH- This is some plant material which was found in mound 37, ID #1574.

R - We call it pilġaaq. These are not found along the coast here. They grow up inland where there are hills and where the hill slopes near the water's edge of the river and the hill is slanted. The travelers would pick these up and even take them back to Barrow. The ones who are camping out there would still use that for fire wood and cooking. Also in summer when you are walking or hunting you get into that spot and pick up a few and build a fire and cook your meals in the open. In most cases ladies love to have these handy inside of the house.

I - Good smell. Like incense. They use that. Just put it on the burning stove, on top of the stove. Get a little bit of this kind started in the lamp. The smell is real good.

D - Does that word refer to the plant or does it refer to something else?

R - No, just pilġaaq . (something braided)

I - When it first grows it is kind of green.

D - Would that grow around Atqasuk?

R&I-This side of Atqasuk. Not too far away in the tundra. It grows in narrow rivers especially where there is a small hill on one side of it or around the edge of the river.

RH- Just put these in the fire?

R - Yes. When we had to use it for fire wood.

I - Gets rid of mosquitos.

R - These are the roots of these. In some places where we had to use these for fire wood we include this root. They can make these in any length just by braiding that long wide grass.

These were found in some places where the grass grows highest and travelers would pick these up and when braided into a rope like this they are real strong.

RH- Were they used for maybe rope handles to carry with?

R - Yes, for everything or even to bind anything, like woodwork or something.

RH- Could these be used for incense?

R - No. I don't think so.

RH- It doesn't have a real sweet smell to it.

RH- This is the last one. These were some pieces of moss that we found on the floor of one of the houses. It's just kind of a wide area. These are real wet, they haven't been dried or anything.

R - These look like maniq. It's not the moss. It's the top layer on those higher mounds. The kind we use for wick for lamp.

RH- This could have been used for a wick?

R - Yes, but these have stayed wet and must have changed the color.

RH- There is one other thing. This would be pretty close to the same thing?

R - The way it looks it must have been an old hide of walrus. Pretty tough. Rotten old hide that turns into almost like sod.

RH- This was the sample from Mound 10, ID #BAR 2 10, 143. When broken apart like this it looks so much like, you know, the sod levels. The moss that may have been used for a wick was recovered from Mound 8, ID RH-23.

After the plant identification session we took a drive to areas outside of Barrow to discuss plants and also other historic things.

D - We are out at the fresh water lake (south of Barrow past Atuutigruaq.) You mentioned the name of this lake.

R - The name of this lake is called in Iñupiaq Imaigsan (sp?). When you travel from up inland especially early in the fall and in winter, you had to travel where there isn't too much drifted or deep snow. In order to do that you have to follow the lakes from the first lake to the next and so on. So this means as you travel north from inland this is the last lake that you travel along the edge of it where it is smoother which means imaigsan (sp?). The last lake that you use as a smooth traveling space like a road. Speaking of the lake from here; it is not visible on the east of it (pointing), right over in here somewhere, right behind that hill southeast of us. Right where, probably - you see that caribou out there? Right beside that hill there was a lake much smaller than this which they call in Eskimo Qumiktuuniq (sp?). The name I understand is the name of a person. It happened many years ago. The story goes on - we still remember it. There is another small gully right next to where the gravel hollow is that they are working at down there. Just down the coast just a few miles (a mile or half mile) there is a gully which is also called Qumiktuuniq (sp?). There is a story. That man was hated by some group of people. At the time they used bows and arrows for hunting. Instead of using their bows and arrows for hunting they used them on that man. That's where, on that spot, that first gully there, they first wounded the person there with bows and arrows. Although they first wounded him there he did not just fall down. He kept walking and walking while the men were shooting him with the bows and arrows. It is amazing he didn't fall right away. He kept on walking and walking until he got to the edge of that lake out here and there he just collapsed and died. The saying is he didn't want his body to lay near the coast so he walked in order to collapse out here where it is much further away from the coast. So that is why it is named after his name. This may be a side track to what we are doing.

D - That's good. Is that a legend or is that - do people remember that?

R - Yes, they remember that.

D - So that was maybe 100 or 150 years ago?

R - Probably - yes - maybe 200 years ago.

D - Is there any information about that man? Was he probably not a Barrow person?

R - He was a Barrow person. Even the people who lived in the same village would have a grudge against each other and sometimes it led to murder, like any other places. Since we are here on the lake - the time just before the '20s or around the '20s, early in the fall they would build a reindeer corral way up on the end of the village, on the lake, on the east end of the lake. Build it out of ice cakes which have been cut from this lake.

D - Oh. Winter corral?

R - Yes, winter corral. And they corraled the reindeer and through the chute, they counted the reindeer. That was the time when they had a mark and each individual who owned a reindeer has a certain mark which they mark the ears of the animal, in a certain way. Each in a different way. So that is the spot where they used to count reindeer.

D - It probably wasn't a brand then.

R - No.

D - Something to cut the ear.

R - Yes, to cut the ear. Cut a notch on the side or on the tip or cut the tip off a little and then either make notches here and there on both ears. The mark would be different on the right ear and would be different on the left. In some cases the marks would be identical on each side.

D - Were there any structures or was it simply a place where they made things out of ice.

R - Just a place. No structure anywhere. Just over the hill are the signs of the old screens made out of wire. Real old ones which they shipped on boats and used it as an entryway. Much wider over here and one over on this side where they drove the herd and then get narrower and narrower until they get into

the corral itself made out of ice cakes.

D - Did they do any reindeer butchering?

R - Yes. At the same time they would butcher some.

D - Have the people always gotten good drinking water from this lake or is that more recent?

R - More recently. Since '62 or '63. That was the time when they started to use this lake for drinking water. Before that time they used the lake out at the NARL site, the fresh water lake close to the beach. It used to be the real, best, fresh drinking water before we had the flood. After the flood it was real salty.

D - Salt got into that lake?

R - Yes. That's why they switched the place to here to supply the village. NARL has the equipment to distill the water out there, they still use that by distilling it.

I - They (the people) get the water in summer time with a small barrel with a sled. They call it Maliki.

D - The name of that lake was Malikpik. That was the one by the strip (NARL air strip).

R - Yes. You can still see part of it. That was the nearest water lake they used ever since I can remember.

D - Yes. I think you were talking about them using that historically.

R - Yes. They call that Malikpik. And the next one, just right above that quonset hut out there on the west (east?) of the village. You . . .

D - You mean the warm storage shed? (North Slope Borough warm storage shed just east of Browerville.)

R - Yes. Just above that there used to be another lake as large as Malikpik. But it is dry now. The tractors been going on close to it. The tractors were taking the dump out somewhere and somehow it got weaker and weaker and finally one time it just break through that soft spot and it emptied itself out. And that lake they call Ammich kiluliat. The farthest south from the other ponds was the lake they used for drinking water, the farthest one. That's how they call that. It is much

D - Oh yes. It runs from this lake to the coast at Nunavaaq.

R - There are some old houses at Nunavaaq too. Probably, you may have heard about that. Some are still visible.

D - Do you know anything about those houses? Do people remember living in those houses?

R - I never heard of any that really knows what type of people were living in those houses there but there are houses such as the ones that you were working on. Quite a few places down the other way too. West along the coast.

RH- The plants that you were mentioning, the ones that grow in the water and up through the water. Are they the brown areas?

R - Yes, in that low area.

D - These little bugs don't look like mosquitos.

R - Some are mosquitos I think.

D - Maybe we could take a drive out the gas road. The one on the other side of town.

We drive across town, through Browerville and out the road towardNARL taking a right on the gas road just before the "Top of the World Bridge" near NARL.

D - We are out on the gas road now. We are looking back at Shooting Station. You said you've come this way and the first point (on Elson Lagoon east of Shooting Station) was . . .

R - Arguqqaq (TLUI site #3) a good place for shooting ducks at about this time. The next point (traveling east) which is almost north from us is Tikigaagruk (TLUI site #4), a good place too for ducks in early summer before the ice goes away at the lagoon. There is that bay. Anywhere around these points wherever you stop if you set a net of small mesh there are fish. THere's a bay over east of us. Beyond that there is another point which is called Tikigachuwuk (sp?) and that

also had a small sand bar right in front of it and you can set nets at the sand bar and do some fishing. Those islands, sand bars out there.

D - Barrier Islands?

R - Yes. Barrier islands. Like I mentioned, another point beyond Tikigaagruk is called Avaachiaq (TLUI site #27) where the creek is in the bay of the largest bay around the coast here. The point on this is called Avaachiaq. A regular bay is called avvaq and into the right at the bend of the ava, right at the inlet is a creek running out from the lake which we call Iguaravik (sp?) and in that creek you can fish at this time. Fish run in from the ocean and clear up to that lake. That lake is called Igruagvik (sp?). Here's the name that it originally came from. People in early spring, while the snow is still around right after nalukataq, people with boats would haul their boats into that lake which is close to the first gas well, and their equipment, in order to travel up inland. They would launch their boats there. Igruagvik (sp?) means, where you get into the boat. There is a creek running out from it at the far end of which runs out through that avvaq there.

We then drove back to the NARL vicinity.

D - We're at the west edge of NARL and just on the east end of the "Top of the World" bridge where there historically was a house for outcasts. Is that right? You mentioned - was that Liebes Company?

R - Probably before that or so. Probably before the Liebes Co. took over the station there. Here is the story: That some white people that are working for some company, a whaling company, doesn't do to well with the group and they were fired

from the company and they started to try and make a living for themselves and that is why they built a small house covered with sod here in this spot in this spot where we are resting (stopped), at that time. I have seen that house and there was a family still living in that house about when I was just a small boy and before theywere hired to Liebes Co. That was Fred Hopson. He was cook there. I went early in the fall. When they used to go out whaling out at the point, with whaling boats from Barrow, along with the people at the point, which is Nuvuk,east of here, they would take their boats out there and when the day is good for sailing they went out on the ocean and do whaling from whale boats. And right after freeze up a person, a young man, decided to make a trip to Barrow from the Point. The lake was frozen over with young ice and he got right here, just out of this creek here, right in the lake, he fell through the water along with his dog team and when he tried to climb up on the ice his dogs got tangled up with him. That's why he couldn't get up above the ice. He got weaker and weaker and with no one around although the wife of Fred Hopson was watching, she was helpless. She couldn't get to him. So he was drowned here on that spot. That's what the story is. And that house some years later was bought from Liebes Co. and he dismantled it and moved it down to Barrow. It is still standing just the way he built it.

D - Did - who bought it from Liebes Co.?

R - Bob Akpik. You know Walter Akpik?

D - Oh, Walter Akpik Sr., yes.

R - His father bought that from Liebes Co.

D - So he bought that -- what used to be that old outcast house. Was that a wood frame house? But you said at one time it was covered with sod or used sod for insulation. Liebes Co. bought it to begin with?

R - I don't know. This man bought it from Liebes Co.

D - Then Bob Akpik bought it from Liebes Co. Do you remember approximately what year that would have been?

R - This might be somewhere around 1915 or 1916.

I - When I was 9 or 10 years old I saw that house - 1920.

R - Before that time it was moved from here.

D - (to Isa) When you saw that house it was over in Barrow?

I - Yes.

R - When I saw it it was here.

D - So you remember when Bob Akpik bought it?

R - He immediately dismantled it and moved it. He used to go up the river for hunting to have supplies for winter use but that year he did not go away in order to work on that house and move it over. So that spring they just camped over here and dismantled it and hauled it down to Barrow and relocated it where the school and the hospital, in between, are sitting now.

D - Oh, the house is still sitting there now?

R - No. Later on it was moved in order to make room for the Signal Corps who owned the telegraph company at the time. He didn't want the houses to be near the radio station so he had the owners move some of the houses away from that area and relocate them.

D - Is that house still standing?

R - Yes. It's still standing.

D - Do you remember approximately what year the Signal Corps asked Bob Akpik to move it?

R - He did a little bit of work, especially the ones who owned the houses, they help a little bit, but the man who was running the wireless station there, the telegraph office, hired the tractor from the Mission, and he was moving all those houses away from the original locations and relocated them.

D - About when was that?

R - It was about '33 I think.

D - We should go over and take a look at that house.

R - Yes.

D - You just mentioned that Tom Gordon, his house was over there. You are referring to (the area of) those quonset huts?

R - Yes. The first in line towards the ocean in that area somewhere. And close to it were the boat rack and a warehouse.

D - That would be on the western edge of NARL.

R - No, somewhere in the middle over there. Just kind of make it a short distance to the lake where they can haul their water.

D - That was at a time then when that water was good?

R - Yes.

End of Interview

D - David Libbey
R - Ross Ahngasuk
RN - Ray Newell
DS- Dale Slaughter

7/27/81
Tape #18

D - We're in the project office talking about houses.

RN - I'd like to talk about what we've just seen in your ice cellar (we just returned from a trip into Ross's ice cellar). Was that all dug at one time or did it get larger over time through use.

R- One time.

RN- You put the meat in and clean it out in the spring.

R- Well most of the meat we put in there we clean out in the spring. Take the old meat out and give it to somebody who needs it.

RN- So there's no meat in the cellar in the summer months?

R- Yes we used to have. You saw the meat in there. We get as much as we can in the summer time put it in the cellar, dry some.

RN- Why do you have no problem with water coming in through the walls?

R- We put dirt all around the hole - mud and dirt and it gets hard and then water runs off. It seals it. If we kept the door open 2 hours it would start to melt around the entry box.

RN- Normally do you put different animals or animal parts in different parts of the cellar or all together?

R- Well when I used to take care of it myself I put ducks, seal, caribou, whale blubber, set each kind together. Now my boys just throw things down there.

D- Were there any boards around the side to put things on or did you just set things on the ice?

R- After you clean out the ice cellar you put clean snow on the floor of the cellar.

D- Is the size of your cellar the same as everybody else's?

R- Some people have larger one. I used to have one down near Sadie Neakok's. But when they started to build the roads they got rid of it. It was big, from top down 30 ft, I guess, had two rooms. When they started to build the road the city said they're going to tear up my cellar and build me a new one wherever you want. They did but they didn't keep their promise to build it as big as the old one. They didn't even come close.

RN- And all the dirt and gravel that comes out, do they mound it up around or carry it away?

R- No just throw it out so it won't be flat.

RN- And what was the purpose in the old times of building a little sod house above the ice cellar with the open doors?

R- Well they dig it a little bit, not too much, and put whale bone, ribs, around the outside. That's the way they used to keep the meat. Not going down deep, just a little bit. They used whale jaw, some driftwood.

D- It's more recently they started digging deeper?

R- Yes.. Well the older kind we used to have, everything is thawed in there by this time of year. Some, not all, some were deeper. They covered them with a whale shoulder blade and put the head on top.

D- I wonder if it was harder to dig into the ice in the old days?

R- Well they did it. Using railroad picks.

DS- These old houses we're digging in were smaller than the ones today. Can you give us an estimate of how many people lived in one of those old houses?

R- Well, I didn't catch those old people who used to live that way. Our houses, Roxy and I, used to be 3 or 4 families in that little house together. In those days when we were kids.

DS- Pretty crowded.

R- Crowded all right but they used to have another bed up from the floor, a platform across the wall. Some slept on it and some under.

RN- 3 levels of people sleeping, 1 on floor, 1 on first bunk and 1 on the 2nd bunk?

R- Right.

DS- Really packed them in.

R- Well, yes, but it wasn't like today, everything was scarce. People who were close together used to live in one house. Friends or relatives. Sometimes brothers, some would live with their parents even if they had their own kids. They help each other. Some made their own house.

DS- As we understand it the underground house - the people didn't stay in them in the summer - is that right?

R- Well, they stayed in them. In those days there was no tent. Some they made out of skin of caribou. Take the hair out and sew them together. Not too many though, those that went out on the tundra hunting.

DS- Did your house have a storage area?

R- Well, in those days we used to make a cache. Dig down for 4 logs and put logs across the top - eskimo warehouse with a canvas on top.

DS- What did they put up there?

R- Anything they're not going to use right away. Any gear.

DS- We're digging in an area where we've found some posts and we think they may have been a storage area. What would I do with my sled? Where would I put it?

R- They used to put 2 logs so the runners wouldn't be on the ground.

D- A man named Bailey took some pictures of a house in Wainwright in 1922, here it is.

R- Right, this is just what I was talking about but the platform went all the way across the room. I've seen quite a few sod houses like this when I was a boy. Roxy and I lived in sod houses. Looked like this one. Sometimes they stirred up some flour and stuck up newspapers so we would have more light inside the building.

DS- You may know those people.

R- I know them. They are both gone.

DS- These 2 logs - they go all the way across over to this wall?

R- Yes, that's right.

DS- Then the roof board sets on that.

R- Yes. And they had another roof right above so that thing would land...

DS- Ridge pole I guess.

R- Yes

D- Here are 2 more pictures. These buildings were somewhere around Barrow in 1922. Do you recognize them? That one is supposed to have been a fort built in 1881.

R- That's not a fort. Some weatherman built that, the 1st one here at Barrow.

D- Dale you said that was from the 1881 Polar expedition?

DS- Yes.

R- I think this one is a different one. I never saw this one. The one I was talking about was smaller than this building. But the 1st weatherman at Barrow had a box like this. In the evening, at dark, he looked at the stars. Sometime he let the balloon go. They used to live outside, our house, not the one we're talking about but the other one. I used to hear them call the stars by name. I haven't seen this building.

D- Where was the other house that was near the weather station?

R- Not far from the first / Wien Office we talked about the other day.

D- Down by the hotel?

R- Right.

D- Did you ever see this one - it's supposed to be one Brower built for some ship-wrecked whalers.

R- I heard about it but I never saw it. When the old people talk about those whalers that got wrecked here: they lived in those homes and built them by themselves out of the lumber. I've never seen either of these.

D- In the old days if I built a house and left it, could just anybody come along and take lumber from it?

R- No, they wouldn't tear it down when you went away. But if you're gone and don't come back then they could do whatever they want, if they know you are not coming back.

DS- So if they know you aren't coming back they could go in there and take a board or anything.

R- Well, if you tell them that you are not coming back and they could have something they could take it.

RN- If someone says they are going for a year and stays away for many years?

R- If they know you are coming back they could use it but they couldn't tear it down unless it burned down.

RN- How often did fire occur?

R- We didn't have much problem with fire in the old days. Once in a while the white people had a fire. Never see much when I was a boy the Eskimos have a fire.

DS- Can you give us any idea of how long one of those old houses would last?

R- It would last for quite a while if somebody stayed in there and took care of it.

DS- Some houses we dig in we find a lot of things and in others we don't. We wondered if the ones without much stuff were not occupied as long.

R- Depends on the dirt right above, the sod. If anybody doesn't take care of that thing the water starts to leak down and rot the driftwood. But if somebody lives there he takes care of it. Put new sod on there. It's just like if you take care of your gun good from the rust, if you want to have that house for a long time, same thing.

DS- In one of the books we read it talks about the ice coming up and crushing a house. Have you heard of that?

R- Yes, I heard about that. You see that bluff got a little creek not far from here. Right across from Ukkuqsiq. Somebody living there, and the west wind blew in the night and the ice started to move without crushing, just moved straight and covered that building while somebody asleep ~~is~~ in there.

RN- Is that the only time you heard about that happening?

R- Yes. Every time I hear about it from the old people it's always the same way.

RN- Do you know of any other villages along the coast where that has happened?

R- No, never.

DS- Were there certain areas of the house, say, where women worked or did their sewing or did you just work where you wanted to.

R- Well, I used to see just right above the skylight women sewing.

DS- If a man is going to make some thing or repair a small tool. Say you want to repair a harpoon where would you work?

R- Well, by this time of the year they work outside.

DS- In winter?

R- Well, they work inside.

DS- Where did you keep your dogs for the team?

R- Dogs, they didn't have too many dogs. Maybe 2, 5, 7. Most of the guys had 7 dogs. When they tied them up they had driftwood and made a chain with a piece out of bone so it wouldn't twist. They made a hole in one end and a hole in the other so it wouldn't twist and put it on the collar. That's the way they kept them tied.

DS- In front or in back of the house?

R- Some on the side, some right in front.

DS- Were the dogs ever taken inside or in the entranceway?

R- Used to be a lot of loose dogs in those days. Some people when they like the dog, sometimes they kept it in the house. Some of the dogs, they're smart you know. When you go hunting they help a lot. When you see a bear you need a good dog. You let that dog loose and he'll go after that bear. He'll go around and stop that bear while the man is coming. That way the Eskimos take good care of their dogs. In camping in a snow house sometimes there's a dog outside. And if a bear gets in there the dog calls, howls and the man knows something is outside - come. Eskimos used to have good dogs in those days. They doing a lot of help too.

DS- Did the bears ever get the dogs?

R- Some, but a good dog that's been trained that way never let the bear get him. Some dogs are crazy and they get into the bear and that's it. But a good dog that's been trained by the hunter never get into the bear, he just goes around, hold the bear right there until the man gets there.

D- Who was the best hunter in Barrow with dogs?

R- I couldn't tell you about the dogs but a very good hunter was my father-in-law, Polar bear, fox, whales.

D- What was his name?

R- Orson Kagak. One time when we first married, 1929, we used to live up at Cape Halkett. One summer we came here to Barrow. I had found out before, that lady, and we married in the summer 1929 in Barrow. We went back with a boat. In those days we didn't have any telephone. That trader that worked for Capt. Pederson had a store up there at Cape Halkett, Kurn (1st name), he wanted me to come to Barrow to send a wire to his boss. They had a wireless operator here in those days. That was Stanley Morgan. They sent me over to send a wire to S.F. and when I get here, that was in Jan. or Feb. he already caught 17 polar bears. He always told me when he was skinning a bear and another bear come along, sometimes 3 together he just wave them and hollers "go!, I have enough right now." Scare the polar bear away - "no - not today you guys." He was from the Point. His father and father's brother were good hunters too, right at the point, Polar bear, fox, whales. In those days that was the only money the Eskimo had. Fox, Polar bear, baleen. Those were the only 3 that they used to trade with from the stores.

D- Do you have photo of Orson Kagak?

R- Yes.

D- Would it be all right to make a copy of that for the report?

R- Right. If my wife says O.K.

Suggestion is made to go out to the site.

R- The trouble is if you take me to those mounds where you are digging. I never saw those houses when they were occupied. It would be very hard for me. I only know what the old people tell me on those. That about the hunters and the sod house from Wainwright I know.

RN- You say you and Roxy lived in a house like that with 1 or 2 sleeping platform in the back?

R- Yes.

RN- What else was in the interior, how would it be organized. Where would the stove be for instance?

R- The stove would be right here.

RN- Where would the drinking water be kept.

R- Right over here.

D- So that usually is a barrel or tub?

R- In those days they usually used a barrel from a cake of butter. Different sizes. They used them for water. They had something they hung up on the ceiling (wood rack) and put the snow or ice on it to melt down into the barrel. Some people took ice from the fresh water lake and put it on the stove to melt. There were only a few that had racks melting it into a barrel.

DS- When you were a boy what did you use for light in the house?

R- Eskimo lamp.

DS- Where were they located in the house?

R- Over here and over here if they had two

DS- One of the houses we excavated last summer, we didn't find a lamp but there was a lot of oil spilled.

R- The lamp is pretty scarce. Somebody crazy about those and they dug and found them before you guys came. They didn't wait for you.

RN- Was the lamp on the floor or raised up.

R- They put something on the floor, not right on the floor, not too high above the floor.

RN- Were there any shelves or drying racks along the wall?

R- Oh, if you want to dry something you mean? They used to have something and hang it up 2, 3, 1.

RN- Was there any special place the man of the house kept his tools?

R- Well in those days they had a toolbox out of skin, seal skin, any skin. They didn't have so many tools like today.

RN- Do you remember where the man stored it?

R- Right inside the house, it's not big, just a few tools, file, knife, plane, eskimo drill.

RN- Where did the woman keep her cooking and sewing gear?

R- Right inside, right close to the stove, sometimes they hang it up on a nail.

D- The other day you and Roxy mentioned the stick that went into the wall over the lamp to hang blubber from so it would drip into the lamp. That was on both walls?

R- Yes, if you had two.

D- How many did they have in your house?

R- I only remember one. Somebody got to trim it good. Straight, so the fire not going too high and make a lot of smoke. Somebody has to know how to trim it good.

RN- Inside the house in the winter where did people sit to eat?

R- They eat right on the floor. Some make a little table out of a box. In those days I never see Eskimos have a table like today. They just spread a table cloth on the floor and eat.

RN- Was there a particular position the father sat in?

R- No.

RN- When they went to sleep on the sleeping platforms who slept underneath, who slept on top?

R- Hard to say - sometimes 1 family sleep together, if they had visitors they sleep under or on the floor.

DS- The floor was wood?

R- Right, driftwood or from a shipwreck.

DS- Did they put willows or wood chips under the floor to insulate it?

R- Don't ask me about willows, there is no willows right on this coast. They use it up inland.

DS- Was there anything under the floor to insulate it?

R- No. In the winter we make a snow house up inland, pull up a lot of willows and make a floor with a canvas on top of them and a caribou skin for a mattress. That's the only time we use a snow house, when we go hunting. One time when I went down to Seattle when my youngest boy was graduating he was in the BIA school near Portland. And when we come back to Seattle we stayed in big hotels. In the lobby when they find out I was from Barrow there used to be a big crowd above me asking me about how we used to live and how we used to do at home, and one guy asked me does the eskimo still live in a snow house? As soon as he said that word I talked right to his face. Every time a white man ask me the same what you ask me make me mad. I never see anybody in Barrow live in a snow house since my eyes opened. The only time they used a snow house is when they go up inland for hunting. And that man, I think I made him mad. But every time a white man ask me about a snow house in Barrow it makes me mad. The Canadians, they make it different. They make it round. But we make it like a house right now like this, with a roof and put snow blocks all around. It's different all together from the Kagmalik, the Canadian. I think they had more room, the one we made. We could make it any length and put a door right in the center.

DS- When do you go inland to hunt caribou?

R- Dec., Jan., Fe., Mar., we can use a snow house. In the spring, after March, we use a tent.

RN- Is that because the snow is not hard enough for blocks after March?

R- No, there's still a lot of snow but we could stand it if we live in a tent and we have a good gasoline stove. 2 or 3 burners with lots of white gas. If the weather is bad, a snow storm, we could make snow walls around with a canvas on top and put a tent inside.

RN- How long does it take to build a snow house?

R- Well big enough for 3 people & a space to cook, it wouldn't take long, 1-2 hours.

All go over to the site of Ross's old house.

D- We're over at the Ekowana& Ahngasuk house mound. Was this piece of bone part of the hallway?

R- Part of the hallway for Ekowana's I think.

D- Then your families house was next to this one but part of it is gone because of this driveway they put in here?

R- Yes

D- And I think you mentioned that the walls were only about 3 ft. apart.

R- Yes, well, you could hear them pounding on the floor on the wall. Three hits that means come, help us eat. If it's more than that, that's nothing, somebody working.

RN- Were many of the houses that close together?

R- Well yes, that houseover there was there when Roxy and I lived here as kids.

D- That used to be the dance hall didn't it?

R- Right. Clayburn Toonik's parents used to live in that house (he's the best dancer and leader of the Barrow dancers now.) They used to have dances in that building. This was the largest house at that time.

D- Did that house used to have sod around it?

R- Just a bit, up about that high.

D- When did they stop dancing there?

R- Clayburn's father sold that house to somebody, Owen Keerick, his picture is on the tail of the plane for Ak. Airlines. He's passed away but his wife still owns it.

RN- Do you know who built that sod house on the other side of the Polar Bear Theater?

R- That was built lately, it's a new one, built between 1930-40, built by Abraham Kippi.

RN- He was from where?

R- I think he was born at the point.

RN- Do you know when he moved from Nuvuk to Barrow?

R- Well, when he married, he built it. He married the daughter of Owen Keerik who lived over here.

RN- How many children were living in this house.

R- Well, mostly they lived up inland. He was a real hunter. He passed away 2 years ago. His wife is still alive and they have several children. One of my boys is married to Kippi's daughter.

RN- When you lived here which way did the entrance point?

R- This way.

RN- Toward the road. Did you have a storage rack behind your house?

R- Behind. Yes.

RN- Where did you throw the trash?

R- Over here in front.

RN- Away from the entrance.

R- Yes, quite a ways.

RN- Did you have dogs?

R- Yes.

RN- And where did you tie them?

R- Right over here on the side of the house (on the SW side of the house).

RN- Did you put equipment on the roof?

R- Things that not heavy we put up on the roof. And we had a cache in the back.

RN- And was there a pattern about where you kept your sled and your boat?

R- The boat was kept back there at the edge (NE side of the house). The sled was outside the house any place, but not in front.

RN- Did you have an ice cellar?

R- Yes, further down that way, a few feet from that burned down house.

RN- Was it common to have cellars far away from the house?

R- Well, the parents, have a cellar and you continue using it even if you move away.

RN- When would a couple make their own cellar?

R- Any time.

DS- This you said was the hallway?

R- That must be it.

DS- Can you give us some idea of how that thing was built. The whale jaws are sticking up this way.

R- Well this used to be up that high, those bones and the entranceway had an opening up above, you go down a ladder.

DS- What made the side of the tunnel?

R- Some boards, some bones, mixed.

DS- And the hall roof, was it flat?

R- Flat, they're mostly bones you know.

DS- We see a few bones, I assume there were more,we just can't see them. Now, when they were standing did the top boards go over this way or how?

R- This way. You see these were the stands and the one went this way and this one that you see,they're flat. That's why they're this way now.

DS- And about how long would this hallway be maybe?

R- Well I kind of remember it's up to that, what do you call that? (point to a mat or rug).

DS- This, this....

R- Yah.

DS- This thing.

D- (Mat?)

DS- So we're talking about 3m., 9ft.

RN- And was there any particular gear which was kept in the tunnel, as opposed to in any regularity of the equipment which was kept in the tunnel as opposed to in the house itself?

R- I didn't catch that.

RN- Alright, what tools, what pieces of equipment,were kept in the tunnel rather than outside the house.

R- You mean the tools?

RN- Tools, clothing, whatever.

R- Well in the hallway they kept whatever they could that wasn't too big.

RN- What would have been kept there?

R- Not too much you could find. I think they took all they could use when they went away. I don't remember. The time when they stopped using this house I was away, not in Barrow.

D- I think Roxy mentioned he was away out east also.

R- Yes. At that time they stopped using this we didn't care much about our home. We were thinking something else. We were thinking of things to do or things to use.

D- Thinking about going away and doing things.

R- Yes.

D- Not thinking about the house.

R- No.

D- Just like me.

RN- Was there another house near here?

R- There was one on this side of the ravine from Ukkuqsiq. Right there where the ice ran over that house that time.

End of interview



David Libbey, July, 1981

Joe Sikvauyugak describes old houses to Dale Slaughter, project foreman, and Beverly Patkotak Grinage, project interpreter, while looking at the uncovered remains of an old house in Mound 8 on the Historic Preserve.

Interview with Joseph
Sikvauyugak at Utqiagvik

July 29, 1981

Tape #19

J = Joseph Sikvauyugak
B = Beverly Grinage
DS = Dale Slaughter
DL = David Libbey

DL: We're standing at the site at Mound 8 interviewing Joe Sikvauyugak about the structure of the old houses.

J: When you leave the qanitchaq you go up to go outside the house. You can stand in the qanitchaq. Using the stairs, stepping down every so often. The qanitchaq is usually dark sometimes. Only the katak is bright. Stepping down the stairs as you are entering, following or using the brightness from the katak as a guide.

B: Is this the kitchen?

J: Yes, the kitchen is away from the qanitchaq, it is like a closet. It has sod (Ivruq = sod which is used for house building), it has a hole on the top, it is well constructed, the wood is also ready for use (wood = meaning firewood, probably), the blubbers for burning in the stove are ready for use; these things are all found in the kitchen. The kitchen has a lot of soot inside of it. The ladies have a parka worn only for cooking.

B: Did they take their parka off after they are done cooking?

J: Yes, they did. They only use that parka for cooking. When they are done with their cooking they take that parka off.

B: What kin d of parka was that cooking parka?

J: It was made of caribou skin, because in those days they didn't have material or fabrics.

B: Does the kitchen have a wooden floor?

J: No, the qanitchaq doesn't have wood on the floor, only mud. Mud was used for the floor. The floor is frozen, even in the summer it is frozen. The people always sweep the floor in the qanitchaq. The floor is frozen even in the summer. It is frozen because it is deep, and is in the frozen area, it is in a place where it is cool. Wow, those qanitchaq's were good, they were especially clean. When it becomes dark, when the daylight ends, they put small lamps beside the qanitchaq. Inside the qanitchaq they put small lamps in December.

B: Were the hallway seal oil lamps small?

J: They used wicks. The wicks were from up inland. You just put some oil on the wick and they burn, they don't even emit smoke. They just add a little oil to the wick and let it burn.

B: I think Dave and Dale would like me to interpret what you have said so far.

J: I know the old house, I can see the old houses in there. I've been in the old houses too when I was young fellow. I've been in three old houses when I was a young fellow. I go in there so many times: three houses. They got the same thing here; got a wood floor and they got a hole over here (he pointed to the katak at Mound 8). I don't know how many feet they go up there another hole they go out. That house is made of log, I mean wood, not very far from the shore; they haul it and build a house out of wood and they put the sod outside of the house. And they got a skylight over here (he was pointing to the main house), they got a bed in there, floor, a lamp; two lamps, one on each side, but no stove. But they got a stove in the hallway, in the closet (He means the kitchen).

They got a bucket made out of clay. They get the clay down there this side of Nunavak, that little creek over there got a full of clay. They mixed it with the blood of an animal and let it dry outdoors. Good as hard. And when it is good and solid they start using it to cook meat for the folks inside the house. They make a pot. So many big. Not too big; enough for cooking some meat in there. Yea about that long.

DL: About a foot round?

J: Yea, rou nd. But got a open on the lid. No lid in there. Just a open.

B: They lit the qanitchaq with little lamps in the winter, around December. They got the little moss from up inland and soak it with oil to keep it well lit.

DS: So they can see, huh?

B: Yes.

J: They got some, I don't know what kind of wick in there. We call that wick. They pick out just a little ways from here, up there on that hill.

DL: Just past the runway?

J: Yea, for that wick for the hallway. They put some kind of dishes in there and they put a little wick in there what they got from inland and they light it in December and they gonna have a light in the hallway. No dark. But the hallways were very clean. Very clean. They sweep the floor pretty near everyday, even the floor inside the house; they clean. They clean them out.

DS: Can you tell us what the cooking area; the kitchen, looked like inside.

B: Translated into Inupiat: Same question as above.

J: They got a closet in the hallway for cooking some meat, all kinds of meat, and they got it on the hallway on that side. They got a dishes on that side. That closet was by itself on the side of the hallway. They put a hole on the top so the smoke can go up. When they cook they open the hole up there and the smoke can go through that hole. The woman that cook the meat that got some kind of parka in there for cooking. After she cook she changes parka. She leaves that parka in that closet for cooking for next time for using it and they put another parka after she cooks. And they go in there

J cont'd.: inside the house after she cooks.

DL: Do they have a door on the closet?

J: No, no door. But they got a hole in there. No door. Because they got no door in there, except there's a hole in there in the hallway. There's a little room in there, good enough for three people in there. They got a wood, blubber, to get ready for next cooking. Put the lumber, I mean wood, blubber for cooking. But they got a big room in there for that thing; wood and the blubber. And they start another _____ they go out and build a fire; the smoke through the hallway. I know that maybe that house got some closet someplace in the hallway, maybe you find it. Every house like that in Barrow they got a closet for cooking. Every houses here. They got closet for cooking, because they got no stove in there. But the houses in there are very warm. Very warm. Very warm, because they covered with sod. Maybe got good sod, they put on the new houses.

DS: Was the kitchen covered with sod too?

J: Yea.

DS: What were the walls like, can you tell us the kitchen walls?

J: Wall is made of wood, like this here.

DS: Was it set up up this way (He is pointing to the upright posts in Mound 8).

J: Yea, up that way. On top _____ that way, on top. And the wall, stick that on the ground. Maybe four or five people live in that house.

B: Was the kitchen big?

J: Yea, it wasn't very big.

B: Oh, it was small.

J: But, the wood and the blubber have room in the kitchen. They keep them ready inside, the blubber and the wood, so they can use them when they are ready to cook. They have room in the kitchen, it can fit three people that are cooks, inside. I know about the kitchen where they cook. One can play in the kitchen, going in and out, in those houses.

What is this area? (He is pointing to where we thought the kitchen might be in Mound 8).

B: This is the kitchen. The part with all the black on the ground.

J: That house got no closet, huh?

DS: We don't know yet, maybe in here somewhere. (Dale is pointing to the same place I pointed at and also on the opposite side of where we were both pointing).

J: Maybe right in here someplace, right in here in the hallway. Yea, you'll find a cooking room if your digging there. You will find soot in there, maybe that's cooking house. Because soot in there, you find a soot that

J cont'd.: means that's cooking house. A lot of soot in that room. Big soot in there. Because they live in the house so many years using that closet pretty near everyday. They cook some meat. Long time ago early days they don't have tea and coffee. They don't have coffee - tea like we do, but they got a meat all winter, all summer.

B: Did they keep their meat in the qanitchaq?

J: They keep them in the ice cellar. They keep the meat in the cellar someplace. They keep whale meat, duck meat, seal meat, walrus meat, seal meat, they keep them in the cellar. When they want some meat they go out and pick some meat for the cooking house. And they start cooking for celebration.

Yea, you start digging that house, good size. That's good size. Maybe you find something in there.

DS: Yea, we're trying to find exactly how the kitchen was made you know and how the pieces fit together and so forth.

J: Maybe you get it allright. Because it's clean. It's clean in the summer, it's allright in summertime.

Maybe you find some tools inside the house.

DS: Yea, we found some tools.

J: Yea, they left it inside the house.

B: We found a net (fishing net) in the qanitchaq.

J: Yea, people of early days; people make a fish net out of a whale bone, out of baleen. They make a fish net.

DS: We found one right at the end of this hallway.

J: Yea, you are going to find some more stuff, maybe spear, bow & arrow, maybe inside the house. They left some tools made out of bones, ivory.

Yes, you people will do allright. These are old houses. Some of the houses fell into the ocean, there used to be so many houses down there.

B: The house that you went in, was it on this side of Barrow (Barrow meaning the present location).

J: Yes, in this area. One over here and the other two over there.

B: Did the people all sleep inside of the house, even the women?

J: Yes. They had beds. They call the beds that are across the house "igliq".

B: Did people sleep in the qanitchaq?

J: No, no one slept in the qanitchaq. It was too cold to sleep in the qanitchaq. They keep the kataq open even while they are sleeping. They sleep where it is bare or has no clutter. When they close it (I think he means the kataq when he refers to "it".) it gets too hot. Too hot.

B: Are you talking about the inside of the house?

J: Yes. When they close the kataq it gets too hot, because the lamps keep the house warm enough. They sleep while the outer part is bare or free of clutter. When it is too hot they take the snow that blocks the doorway.

B: What else do you want to ask, Dale?

DS: Well, I'd like to know how that tunnel was built.

J: What?

DS: Can you tell us how the hallway was built. We've got these upright pieces there, what was on top of these?

J: They had some whalebones in there. All the way from here to that other hole. And they put some log on the top, little ones on top. And they cover it with a sod; hallway. Very thin ones, they make some axe like that for cutting some sod there, and they put them on top of the hallway. Because if it too heavy it's going to be let down. But they use very thin ones, right there, I mean in the closet. Even in the house too, they put the thin one on top. But they put the big heavy one all around. But they put the very thin sod on top.

DS: OK, we have some logs here, this is a house here. The room where people stayed (pointing to the main house floor in Mound 8). And this must be the hallway here (Pointing to the qanitchaq in Mound 8).

J: Yes. Right here.

DS: Does this look right, these logs running this way?

J: Yea.

DS: They're pretty big, is that because the sod was heavy?

J: Yea, you got everything in there allright.

B: These logs aren't too big are they, the ones on top of the qanitchaq?

J: Yes, they are good. That's the kind they had. Because the qanitchaq's were wide. They were very wide. They make a wide hallway, that where they put the long pieces log in there. Yea, I've been in there, three houses like that when I was a boy.

B: The hallway didn't have a floor, just dirt, right?

J: Yes. But it was frozen.

B: No floor, just this kind (pointing to the dirt we were standing on).

DS: Just dirt, huh?

B: And he said there's steps with whalebone, each (step) so often.

DS: OK, just so you can step...

J: They got no floor.

DS: Just dirt, huh?

J: Yea, but the thing, the floor, on the bottom, it's freeze. They got to sweep the hallway, pretty near everyday. Clean them out. Old time people, they good people, so careless (meaning: careful). They careless, they good people. They try to be clean all the time. Good people, very nice people. But they got too many medicine people here. I saw medicine people in Canada (Medicine people: probably talking about shamans). One time, three time up there, three time I've been up there with a (freighter?). Those people up there way far, they got no rifle, they just got a bow and arrow to caribou. They got nothing no rifle. Yea, I've been up there, Canada, pretty close to Greenland.

DS: Oh, way over, huh?

J: Yea, way up. I've been up there, way up. I see lots of people up there.

DS: Can you tell us a little more about this cooking area. About this kitchen, this place where the women cook?

I'd like to know if when you're in the hallway, can you step up into it (it: kitchen). And what the boards were like, that held the roof up.

B: Translated from Iñupiat: He's asking about the kitchen. How do you enter into the kitchen from the qanitchaq, do you step up or do you step down?

J: Yes. You just walk into the kitchen. It's level. You just walk into the kitchen, It's level.

B: It's even.

J: You just step right into the kitchen, through the little hole.

B: Can you stand up when you're in the kitchen?

J: Yes. You can stand up. The house is like this (I don't know what he was referring to) and it has a chimney on the top of the ceiling.

B: It has wood for walls, doesn't it?

J: Yes, it had wood for walls. It has sod that was used for house building. And it has a little hole on the top.

B: Did the top have wood on top, or bones?

J: It didn't have wood on the top. That little chimney or little hole, they close it with snow in the winter and sod in the summer.

B: That is when they were not cooking?

J: Yes. When they are not cooking. When the smoke is coming out of the chimney it is really good.

B: Talking to Dale: Yea, they're just even, same as the hallway, sod, I mean ground. He said you can stand in there and the walls are made with wood.

B cont'd.: He said just same as the hallway, just domeshape, sort of.

DS: The kitchens I dug last year down at Sirragruk, there was two poles about this far apart, that's all we found in it. And a fire had been built between those. And you might ask, I could never figure what those poles were for. What held up the roof. So ask if it's just like the tunnel.

B: Do they make the kitchen just like the qanitchaq? Do they put the wood like that?

J: Yes. To join the kitchen to the qanitchaq by digging in the earth. And like the qanitchaq the kitchen is dug as deep, to the frozen ground. They make the floor smooth and the top (qanauraqlugun: I don't know the meaning). You can enter the kitchen easily from the qanitchaq. The kitchen is close to the doorway of the entrance tunnel. The kitchen isn't far from the doorway of the entrance tunnel. The floor is always kept clean. They always gather the ashes--keeping the kitchen clean.

B: And the kitchen walls are made of wood?

J: Yes. They put up wooden posts.

B: Two or more posts?

J: It was put in where they can put up sod. They used sod that was thin. They would stack the sod up. They put up wooden posts and covered them with sod. And the top has a hole in it. (Top meaning: top of the house).

B: Do they put wood on the top for ceiling?

J: Yes, they put wood on the top, but they leave a hole on the top. In the winter they cover the hole with snow and in the summer they cover the hole with sod. So when it rains, it doesn't drip into the house. It doesn't even leak when it rains.

B: He said, yea. They used posts for the structure of the kitchen and he said the kitchen is usually closer to the entryway than the house itself. He said that's the first thing they see when you're going into the house. He said they used to play around in there.

J: Yea, I've been seeing the cook stove, I mean cookhouse when I was a boy. Yea, I've been in there. I went in there and take a look.

B: Anything else? (I'm asking Dale S.).

DS: Let me think for just a moment.

B: OK.

J: That, I tell you what I know; what I see; what I know. I tell you what I know. But, I could tell you, that's all I guess, because I'm young man yet.

I know these old houses. I know them very well. I've been in three houses over there, same as this one (the house in mound 8), they're allright.

DS: Sometimes, off the hallway there were storage rooms. Could you tell us a little bit about what those were like.

B: Do they have closets or storage rooms that are in the qanitchaq?

J: They don't have storage rooms beside the qanitchaq. They have wood (wooden shelves) to set their stuff on inside the qanitchaq. They don't put holes (storage rooms) from the qanitchaq, only the kitchen. They put their belongings along the inside of the qanitchaq, using wood to make shelves.

B: He said no. There are no little closets that he knows of. He said that they just build little shelves along the hallway...

DS: Right in the hallway?

B: and stack their stuff there. He said only the kitchen is the other thing from the hallway.

DS: OK.

J: Lots of old houses down that beach, right in there, they broke off. I know them, so many houses down there. (He is talking about the old houses that have fallen into the ocean which was caused by erosion). The houses broke off, I mean the earth down there broke off. I saw lots of them.

The people in Barrow, they got a big measles one time, here in town. 1903. They got a big measles. And the people die--three hundred people. Die, in summer time. They got lots of coffin up there on the hillside (the hill nearest to Cash & Carry). They put the wife and husband in one coffin, one box, sometimes. All of them buried over there on the hillside. 1903.

DS: Yea, 1903.

J: Yea, I was born before that, but maybe I got a measles too. But a nurse tell me if I got a measle in 1903, I won't take another measles anymore. They get a measles here one time, but I didn't get it. I'm allright. Maybe my mother knew me I got a big measles that time. Maybe my mother got a measles too at that time. The second time when the measles was here in town, except me, I'm allright. I didn't get a measle.

DS: How old are you today?

J: 83 now. Today my birthday. Today's my birthday, my arm's strong enough yet. I'm strong enough yet. But I got a bad cold once in a while.

DS: Yea, that's allright, huh?

B: Anything else you want to ak about the Barrow sites, or anything?

DS: I don't know if I have anything right now. I might have some more later.

DL: Joe knows some of these, he was talking about three more houses out here.

You were talking about three houses that you knew out here long time ago. Maybe we can walk over there and you can show us where it is.

Talking to Dale S: You know the mound numbers pretty well don't you?

DS: Yea, well we can check it.

J: I lost the old house here, I used to go in there, but I don't know where it is. I forgot it. But maybe two houses I can show you where I go through.

DL: Well, we're over by the beginning of the bridge. You say it's covered by the street now, some of the houses that you knew.

J: The sod houses, old houses are covered by the street.

DL: One house, or two?

J: Yea, sod house, one. Yea, one here, I used to go in there. Only one sod house right here. But the two of them, I lost it. Because too many houses over there. I lost it.

DL: Do you remember who owned the house that was right here.

J: I know that man owned that house. Atuqtuaq. Shoofly, they call that Shoofly. Mr. Brower called him Shoofly. He owned that house, Shoofly.

DL: His Eskimo name was what?

J: Atuqtuaq.

That house was here, right in here someplace. It was little more inland from that house (He is pointing to the white house which belongs to George Leavitt). I guess this (road) buried it.

DL: That's right about at the West end of the bridge.

J: I lost the other houses over there. I lost it over there.

Yea, that covered with the street here. (That meaning = Shoofly's house). Yea, that old house. Long time ago right in there someplace that's where they get big celebration, (He's referring to the valley near the beach in Ukkuqsiq) in the Springtime, Nalukataq. Right down there.

DL: Yea, by Levi Greist's house.

J: Yea, big celebration.

Yea, that house. Yea, I know that house, right in here someplace. Maybe they cover it.

B: Across from George and Sonya Leavitt's house, on the road. Directly across from the white house he said.

J: Yea, maybe they covered it. Yea, right in here they cover it with the street here. But the two of them down there, I lost it. I couldn't find it.

DS: Couldn't find it, huh?

J: Yea, I couldn't find it.

DL: Do you remember where the old qargi's are? (Qargi = community house).

J: Yea, I know qargi. Way up there someplace.

DL: That big one over there?

J: No, small one.

DL: Only one?

J: One up there, yea.

B: Is that another qargi over there? (Pointing at the mound behind the green social services house).

J: There's a qargi over there. One more over there. I know ther's two qargi. One over there (Behind the cleaners) and one more over there (Pointing to the mound behind the green social services house).

B: Have you been in a qargi?

J: I haven't been inside of them. I only see them.

B: (Speaking to DL): He's never been in a qargi, he's only seen them.

J: I just see the frame in there.

DL: What was the location of the qargi over there?

J: Right over there, somewhere between those houses over there. (Behind the cleaner's bldg.).

DL: By Benson Apartments?

B: I don't know what Benson's is?

DL: Oh, that's that big wood building over there, the new one.

J: Yea, right over there someplace.

B: Is it close to the Polar Bears?

J: No, it's close by here.

B: Oh, right over here. He said it's not as far as Polar Bears, little closer to the West. Maybe behind the cleaners.

DL: Yea, OK. That's that one Roxy (Roxy Ekowana) was also talking about, that area.

B: I think we're done.

J: Yes, thank you.

B: We thank you.

J: That's it, huh?

DL: Well, when we walk by here, maybe you can point to the general area of where those other two houses are. Even though we can't see them.

J: Yea.

DL: One over there by where that building is?

J: Yea, right between those houses over there. And some place here too. Because too many here.

DL: Some where around Oenga's house then, huh?

J: Yea, one here and one over there. Right between those houses.

DL: OK. Do you remember who owned this one that's over in here?

J: Belong to Oenga. Oenga, old man. His name is Oenga.

DL: Father of this one (Meaning Mr. Andrew Oenga)?

J: Right over there.

DL: That's the one over between the two houses? Belong to old Oenga?

J: Yea, old man.

DL: And that one over there?

J: One over there someplace here. I don't know where it is. Too many houses here.

DL: Do you remember who owned it?

J: I don't know who owned that house in there. I don't know who. But I know that man over there who owned that house in there: Atuqtuaq (Shoofly) and Oenga over there. But I've been in three houses. I know them. One qargi, qargi, right on top of that hill there, qargi. On top of that hill.

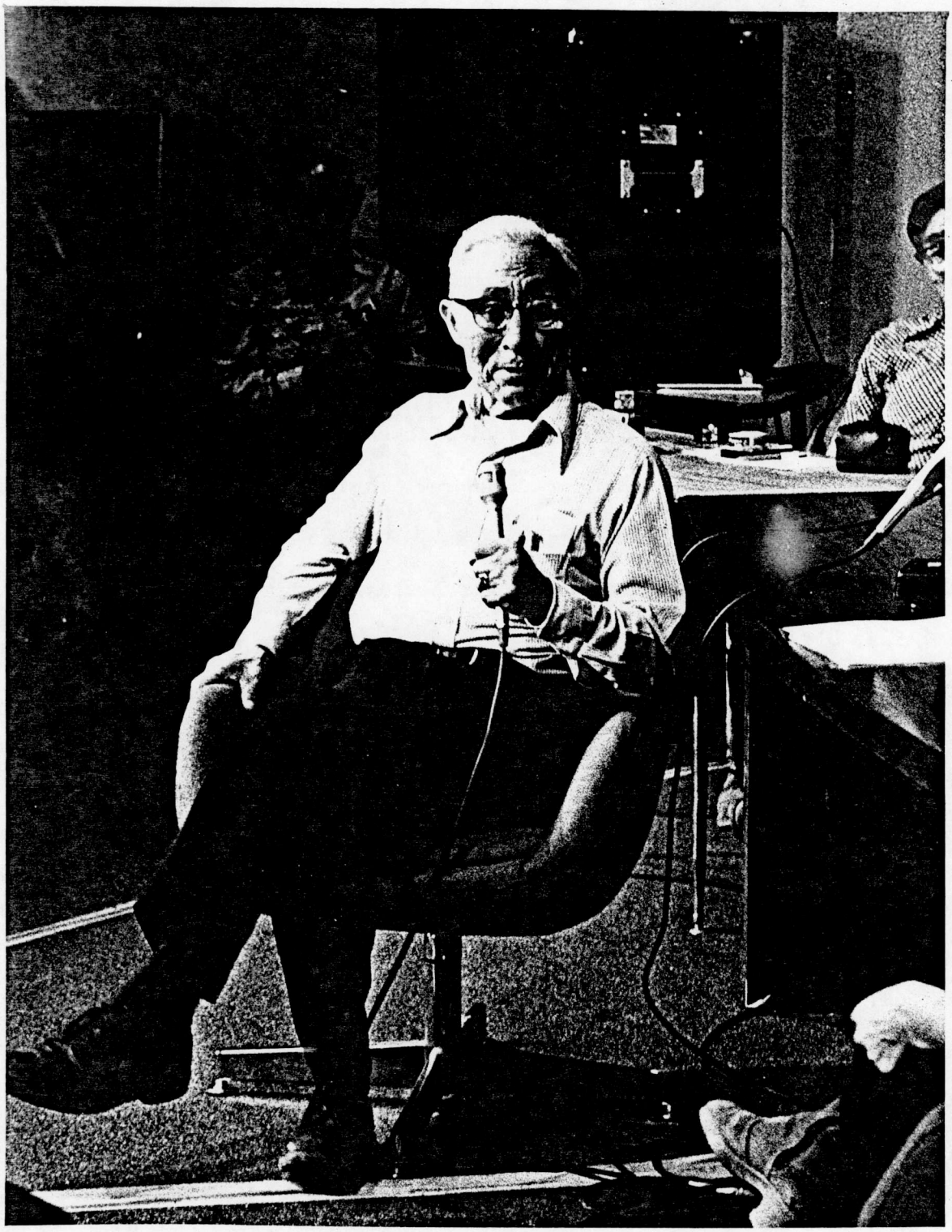
DL: OK. Good.

B: That's all.

DL: Yes, I think so.

B: OK.

DL: That's the end of this tape.



David Libbey, August, 1981

Roxy Ekowana speaking at the Elders' Conference.

Old houses and energy - Johnny Adams moderator

344 is in Iñupiaq or inaudible. ...the long entrance. It is very hot, no breeze no draft, very good.

JA- Is that all? OK. Is there anyone who would like to relate anything more about this? We are trying to understand why our houses are so drafty and then see the difference in how they're cold. And it would make our work easier if we understand- and we would like to know what things we aren't using. OK, also consider the....moon and the sun and the sky, we would like to know in what position you should place your house in terms of weather conditions and as you know from your knowledge about the environment.

Irene Ittaq- We children stayed on the left side of the house and the parents stay on the right (side of the) house. And the window was placed standing so that the light would come in, and underneath it was the stove. This picture (drawn on board by previous speaker) is slightly different from the house that we had but it's almost like this one. The window was placed slanting so that both sides of the house would be well lit and so that the sun hit it not directly but sideways. We did not have an entranceway when we first stayed in that area, we just had a covering over the door, of caribou skin. There was no wood involved, just hung the piece of caribou skin over the doorway. It was not drafty. Our house was much smaller than this one here (drawn). And when I became 13 years old they made a new house, a much larger one. The entranceway was covered with caribou skin (inaudible) the doorway was the stove inside and toward the right side of the house there was a place for my mother to keep her things for cooking and other...and behind the house there was a little (room?) and all along the back area there would be, the floor would be covered with willows, just right on top of the ground. The ground would be covered with willows, branches, there was a layer of willow branches on the floor (in audible) that as a child it hurt quite a lot sleeping on the willows. And then my mother said, I am lying, I'm calling my mother my grandmother, my mother was a hard worker. On the right side, they stayed on the right side and beyond the hall they also had a storage area where the other houses (inaudible) when we stayed at (Tiagalook?) Meade River. While we were there the kudraluk family came in and their house frames were made out of willows they were very (inaudible). We did not have a white man made stove, (inaudible) constructed a stove out of some kind of metal, and apa made an oven for it and put holes on the bottom of it so that they could use coal. I don't know anyone else who used this type of stove before but there are people in Meade River that (inaudible). During the night its very warm, not cold. We did not have any type of warm comforters but it was not cold. We put sod around the house very nicely. When we first settled there there was no fabric or cloth. And then when we camped there we brought along blankets and finally after we bought some fabric then we finally put fabric against the sod to prevent it from falling. I cannot be ashamed of this house but pieces used to fall off from the ceiling and to prevent that they bought a covering for it and placed it over. We also had a stove like the first house. We were really living like shrews. We were living there, I can just imagine my father and mother. And we used to turn caribou, inaudible, inside out after he cuaght them, and my father, inaudible, inaudible...used

to go up and visit her quite often. And while we were spending the winter there, Tommy Brower and his family...while we were living in Barrow we had experienced much cold, but we endured the cold quite a bit living in Barrow but it's not like in our days when we try to keep the heat up to prevent any sense of cold in the house. Some of you have seen the house that I grew up in. It was drafty, it was cold,but we used parkas inside the house and did not try to keep the house up very hot. Sometimes we would get, inaudible, freeze over night. And during the night it would be cold, there would be no heat and you would have to melt the water to wash your face and handle before you go off to school. And that's the way we grew up, when the food would freeze over night. And that is the way that we have lived. And my name is Irene Ittaq and this is what I have to contribute.

Samuel Kunaknana

I am going to say.. we have talked about much older houses but we are living by the river. We had house called aukiliarriq? and there are many of us and Tauraq? Irene is correct when she says that in the house of this type, and the numerous, extended family, the children would be on one side and the parents on the other. And with extended families each family would occupy each side. When our parents wanted to build a house they would take willows, because willows up there toward Canada are tall. And before freeze-up they would put the willows into the ground and then also put covering over it (inaudible). We would also gather long willows when they start planning consturction of a house and then up them into the ground and lash them together with ?inaudible? And that is the way my parent built a house. They would lash it together after curving the willows in that fashion. And when they finished constructing those they would start from the other side and put further support lashing them down. When they are finished with it. Then they would get other willows to suspend the house, to make it stand stiff. Then they would put those other willows along the side of the house, and these willow pieces are not very long or thick, placing them near the extremity of the house, outside. Then when they start closing with sod, these pieces would serve as support against the frame as they piled the sod against the willow frame and the top, to put sod they put it on in a different fashion. As they reach the top of the construction then they begin to cut willows and place them horizontally against the frames, not vertically like the bottom ones. They were placed side by side on top of the inside frame. And after they placed all of those pieces of willow then beginning from the top they would place the sod from the top. Then they would place the sod like roofing one piece on top of another, not directly next to each other. And that is the way they worked on our houses in the area towards Canada, using willows for the construction of the house. And like Irene said our house also had an entranceway at ?Tivluk? It had a tunnel type of entrance and then they put caribou,if they didn't have caribou then they would use brown bear skin...(in audible)...(missing questions) They place the window towards the sun, it's called an igaluk, faced generally towards the sun. But they would place the house with the back toward the wind direction,from the east wind and they would place it sideways not facing toward the east wind or the north wind. We did not have (inaudible)..And they would place flooring and make it something like a weaving pattern. Our only type of bedding was caribou skins. As I became conscious of our living..(inaudible).. We also used coal and we could see it all around the land. We used coal and manutuk, that's a metal type of stove, we put holes too for the ashes to fall through not on the floor but elevated. When we wanted to use wood or coal, the stove was good for those. This type of house was not drafty and it did not become cold when the fire went out, it's not drafty through the entranceway. This is what I'd like to relate about the kinds of housing my parents made when we lived up towards Canada.

? Hello my name is ?Eyuk Tavilukpanik? What my nephew has not related, he may have said most of it. I lived in a house like this. The entranceway is usually about 4 ft and not straight not vertical but slightly slanted and also the tunnel is bent like this drawing so there's no direct floor of the one from the outside to the inside. The entrance was not too long, probably about 4 ft. And it also had a cover, it was not straight up and down. Why did you place the covering not in a vertical fashion but in a diagonal. As the person comes out of the tunnel as he goes out then he will not have to fix the tunnel. (inaudible) the flap would fall into place by itself because of its diagonal position.

Weir Negovanna- I am Tukaluk, I would like to relate something they have not stated.....It can be hung up there and that cross piece which is placed against the metal is used to prevent it from going all the way up and sometimes you can do it from the middle or from the sides. But that is the piece that is placed there to keep the door stiff. They haven't talked about that and I would like to. There are different types of houses and this is a drawing of house I have made which is....inaudible...with opposite rooms and an entrance in the middle, there is the door and attached a skin covering also placed diagonally. There's a window on the top in the middle of the opposite rooms...inaudible...And it also has a house vent, a vent is very useful. When it becomes too moist inside the house or if there needs to be circulation the house vent is used regulating the movement of heat in the nouse.

JA- How did the house vent work?

WN- The smelly part of the house is pushed out through the house vent and that's the purpose of the vent. I would like to move on to this one. This is also a living house. It also has a fur covering and also a window and then there's a lamp there, it's placed on a little table, it's elevated and there's a stick on which you place the blubber and it drips into the lamp to keep it going. The lamp has a wick of moss, it's called maniq, you dry the grass and then you roll it up and make it into a wick. This is called qaluugvik. They put 2 qaluugviks vertical and lash them together. You put many fixtures like that across and lash them together with caribou skin. And then they put covering over it with caribou skin sewn together, the fur has been taken off. You cover the covering with soil or sod and then the use of it is called a ??? type of a shovel for putting the sod against the tent and it sticks against the skin like an insulation and then fresh snow can also be placed against the skin and it sticks on the skin very nicely. And then there's a grass piece on the floor used to prevent the willows from going into the ground. And when they want the bedding to be nice they put layers and layers of willow. This was the type of dwelling I have seen when I travelled with my grandparents during the winter. When we left this camping place they dismantled the qaluugvik, unlashed the willows, and took the supports down. That's what I remember. And this is the first type of house I made when I first started hunting wolves, it's about 4' deep, and placed caribou skins all around the submerged area of the house and then I made a house covered with sod on top and then I put on a stove pipe for the smoke. This type of housing is very warm. When you heat it with a coleman stove then it takes quite a while for the heat to escape. When my grandparents got a new house after they finished putting the sod then they would start a fire in the middle of the floor to force the insects out of the sod and they would start falling from the ceiling and it's like spraying them. That way they would get rid of the beetles, before we moved in. That's as much as I can relate.

Phoebe Kippi - This is the type of sod house we used when we camped up there. There's no draft. These are the kinds of houses we lived in when we trapped long time ago up inland. These houses that they are talking about, made of wood, are kind of new. We made houses of willows when I lived with my parents. And my great grandparents made houses like that. They tied willows together when we were coal mining. I have lived for a long time. They made stoves too. This is the correct type of form of a house. White people always talk about sod houses. Other people make houses like this too. Our house is still standing up inland. I was born and raised in Atqasuk. We also had a house at Nuiqsut. And the family of Ericklooks know how to live up inland. While we were still living up there we caught those of old people living there. Family of Samaroaluk, Meniqsuki family. We also travelled to Cross Is. We traveled by dog team. We also travelled around Atqasuk. We also made houses that were on top of each other. We also used coal. There are a lot of people that lived at Atqasuk. We lived at Atqasuk and not at Meade River. We didn't have electricity at that time. We had lanterns for lighting using seal oil for fuel and they were used effectively. When I stayed with my grandparents at that time, early in the morning when they went trapping I wasn't too anxious to get up. I would be sleeping on top of the sled. When I stayed with my grandparents any grandmother can relate these stories. People who...(inaudible)...at that time to survive and their parents' parents would relate the stories about their life even though they lived at that time. These frames were made wrapped with the sinew. I think these houses are right on. Sometimes they used the wood in the front entrance as a frame to hold it up. Because you go back and forth from the entrance and it has to be pretty sturdy. Then you use the thinner willows on the floor. We used caribou hide for our mattresses. We used coal at the time at Atqasuk and then my grandparents used this house at Atqasuk made out of sod, it's still standing. This concludes my contribution to housing.

? I am going to contribute some of the things to the young people. What we used for fuel at the time-we put oil on top of the ice and cut it up, chop it up, and then it would get rancid quickly and sometimes we would boil it outside, just to contribute something on this part.

JA- Can anyone say something about our new housing? Are they warm or drafty?

?- Yes they are quite drafty.

JA- Can you come up here and tell us?

?- These house that are installed, they are drafty. They are not built adequately. They are alright in the summer but in the winter the houses have to be kept warm and if it was built adequately the heating bill would lower. Some of these house were not built carefully, just out of carelessness. This house that we are in, I have to maintain some of the parts, When they are falling apart, myself. If they carefully built these homes without trying to hurry it up. Some of these houses that are built right are warm. The heating bill in winter is usually pretty high and it could be lowered with adequate building. This house I'm in has no vent to take smoke out unless you open the window. There's a smoke detector that goes off anytime there is smoke (from working) this is good. There is a vast difference in climate in the summer and winter. the windows are very drafty, it's just the way they are installed, carelessly. Skirting the building helps insulate it when the foundation

(pilings?) are too high, helps keep the wind out. When you are sitting on the floor and the floor is cold it's not good. This can cause frost.

JA- Could we use a windmill to conserve energy? They are being used in Ak. now. And the coal? What do you think about the use of coal? How can we use it more effectively?

?- This I can say. Because the fuel is so high in the winter the use of windmills would help myself personally, compared to what we have to pay in the winter.

JA- Can you say something about the future design of the homes?

?- These houses we are in now are comfortable and warm even though we are in an earlier house built when the housing project first started, the floor is drafty. These houses that were first built, the garage that is adjacent to the building when it started to melt it - when the heat comes out on the top it frosted the roof and started dripping.

?- My name is....inaudible....I am from Barter Is. Over at Barter Is. we have land that is sloped. We have moved from one place to another. The last time we were moved to a slope area and the houses are built in a sloping design. Part of the house is built with a high foundation - you don't even have to stoop to walk under. Do you think you can skirt them and use that for storage? You can walk under there now. Kaktovik has a prevailing wind. If these houses were skirted and the floor properly insulated it would help a lot.

JA- Looking at the sun and the elements how could the houses be built better?

?- When we try to follow the wind, the north and the south wind and also the zoning design makes it awkward to follow the elements, city zoning, but they tried to build them in that manner....(inaudible)...over there has had two houses, he can probably talk.

?- Sometimes we use 3 drums of fuel in 1 month, but it's just 1 month. In the summer we don't use that much. When the severe cold hits we use a lot of fuel. I'll give this mike to Nora. This foundation that is so high is something I wanted to tell you about, now I'll give the mike to Nora.

Nora Ahgeak. From Barter Is. the house that we are living in was first burned. Now we have a new house although it is not completed. The roof is almost caved in because the dripping has been so bad. When they first built the house they insulated it wrong. They didn't insulate the roof, just the upstairs. In the spring when we leave the house and when we come home it drips so bad, even on the floor, it is no place to come home to. Sometimes when the weather is so severe we use 4 drums in the winter in one month. They are building new houses now and they asked us to move to a new house. We're apprehensive because of the way the other house we lived in was built. I am grateful there is hardly any room in the houses we are in. It doesn't have very much room for all of us, for my grandchildren and myself.

?- These houses really built Nora was talking about, if it's insulated on the lower part of the upstairs it causes a frost. If they insulated only on the lower part of the upstairs the snow sometimes covers inside the roof and when it melts it starts to drip. If it was insulated on the upper

part, the roof, it would be more effective. And these windows that are drafty - When the window is insulated properly on both sides they will not be drafty, and that goes for the door too.

Sarah Kunaknana. I would like to talk about the new housing. It isn't right when the house is not insulated on the bottom. In 7 year in Nuiqsut I have lived in the new housing. They have installed it into the prevailing wind. The windows are also drafty and they become snow covered inside in the winter. They probably built the house in a hurry because we were living in a tent then. When we lived in the tent we were warm but when we moved into the new house we were very cold. We do not have a furnace in the house, we have a heater. We have a wood stove as well and we use both of them to heat the house.... (inaudible)....we ordered it (separate room) and paid for it ourselves.

End of Tape

Continued from Tape #20

Sarah (cont'd.)...Because probably when the insulation became soggy with water on top of it. The new houses that we live in are not comfortable, they are very drafty. I had someone redo the whole house changing the direction of the door. Dust and gravel come in through the window frame in the summer. The house is too high and the floor not level. We used the house shipping crates for skirting. The house moves when the ground around the foundation melts. We put food under the house to keep it cool in summer. We have a heater along with the wood stove. The wood stove is essential in the winter. An oil drum costs about $108.00. 5 gal. costs $10.00. In the spring when hunting begins we use other types of fuel for travelling. I like living in Nuiqsut. But I would like to state again that we did a great deal of work to take the drafty places out of the house.

?- ...and the propane, those are heaters we use. I use the wood stove more than the other one because I enjoy it....(much is inaudible)

Roxy Ekowana- I do not have a new house but I have some thoughts on the new houses. First I would like to comment on the illustration shown here...(inaudible) When I went to the hospital (inaudible) (talking about insulation and the wind). There is in the winter plenty of snow in that area (between ceiling and roof). We speak to the foreman and ask that they put insulation against the roof but they do not hear us. So we had them put the insulation against the roof without his knowledge. To prevent any type of openings we had it securely packed against the roof. (inaudible) sagging? to prevent moisture gathering on the insulation we had supports placed on it. And when spring came there was no evidence of sagging against the ceiling rafters. Even the warehouses when I was growing up had insulation packed against the roof. During the spring even Charlie Brower...(inaudible)...the insulation should not be suspended or both ends of the house should be sealed securely. Snow seeps through during the winter. Both ends of the house should be sealed...(inaudible) ...Also we hear about the old houses that had a Kataq which is a step down entrance, so that the cold air does not come in but stays in the entrance. The wind doesn't come in at all. There is a house vent for the used air to go out. When a draft comes in the house it travels along the floor with warmer air above...(inaudible)...instead of having a porch right over here, make the porch slanted and not straight out and have a step down. People can walk up to the door. The cold air moves down and the warm air up. We all know that when we heat water the steam goes up not down. These new houses cannot have katags opening in the middle of the room. They can have this type of cold porch (probably indicates drawing) to keep the cold air down...(inaudible)... the new houses have ready-made windows for them...(inaudible)...they made the opening for the window a little bit larger...(inaudible)...stuff it with the insulation around it. That is all I have to say. I don't know how they can follow my suggestions.

Eunice Leavitt - My name is ?Kagak? I do not have many complaints about my new house but my only complaint is there I don't have any closets in the house. There are only rooms....(inaudible)...I like the type of entranceway that Roxy talked about. The windows are not well insulated. I am Eunice Leavitt. I do not have a house of my own but I have observed, the window is real drafty where I stay at the 29 unit. I have to close the bedroom doors in the winter time because the windows are so drafty, and sleep on the couch. Even though the housing at the 29 is very hot and the window frosty, I have put stuffing along the edge of the windows to keep the draft from coming in.

Isa Sovalik - My name is Isa Sovalik from Nuiqsut...(inaudible)...Someone asked how my house could be improved. Last year...my house has many pipes for running water. I try to prevent the furnace from running out, While I was gone I got extra fuel and a caretaker for the house. But the caretaker forgot to put more fuel into the furnace and the pipes broke and I had to pay to fix it...(inaudible)... My new house is very good but when the furnace is out it is very cold. The house is not very drafty. This is just a suggestion but the heater needs a wood stove to accompany it.

Franny Okakok ...(inaudible)...they tore part of my house down and added new insulation so I would stay warmer. But they say the walls do not have adequate insulation. Also along the doorway there is the smell of urine and fish. Because of the odor I go to another person's house to sleep. (This is the first 29 unit)

? My name is ?Avak? Concerning the topic they've been talking about...(inaudible) ...they took the front porch off and remodelled the front porch. Instead of being...(inaudible)...it sits entirely on the ground so that the front door, the entrance, is lower than the door to the main house. They made the construction during the spring and the rain makes the wood wet. And when they're making the construction during the winter after the rain has fallen on the wood they put the wood with ice right into the housing construction. Then during the spring when the wood shrinks there are places for the draft to come in after the wood has expanded by the water.

Weir Negovana My name is Tagaluk. Our house was one of the last ones to be built and they were in a hurry, therefore it is very drafty. All of the windows are drafty, even the door and also there are 3 doors and the doors have cracks under them. I worked on them myself. There are panes around the door for decorative purposes and I took those off...(inaudible)...all along the door when I removed the decorative panes...(inaudible)...and I stuck something in there. I put a 1 x 3 piece of wood in the cracks and also used a blanket to fill in the cracks. And also replaced the bottom of the door (threshold) and stuffed the cracks with blankets to remove the draft coming in through the door. My door was very good then. Also, the floor had ice and moisture on there because of cracks along the ... (inaudible)...After I nailed in the floor securely I put glue in the cracks, I used quite a bit of Elmer's glue. After that I put in the pane against it. I worked on all the drafty places like that. Also the cold porch was built haphazardly. There's the door right there (refers to a drawing), the door that is straight up, vertical the steps are slanted and at the bottom of the stairs I placed a step, elevated it up, and from that point I made a full porch, replacing the steps, the steps are all the way to the ground. And when I made a full porch like that the draft was...(inaudible)...I also skirted the bottom of the house with plywood. I use it as a basement, I put my 2 hondas in there. And that is how I heat my house better, doing it myself. The foundation that are dug into the ground are not well filled in and they fill up with water and therefore the foundation has sunk and made our floor uneven. They need to secure the foundation firmly with gravel. When the water melts and the foundation sink, I do not like that. If I were going to build a house the foundation would be just barely showing above the ground. Then I would place sod between the foundation. (piers?) and then start building the house up. I know someone's house that has sod all around it underneath the house and the foundation does not move. Also another house with a low foundation, the floor is still even. These are two houses that I know and use as examples. When you place a house on high foundation it is drafty underneath. I've skirted the house to prevent the draft. All the windows on the windward side I place

plywood on top of them during the winter. I also put blankets in all the cracks. Our house did not have a vent but I took the stove pipe out and we used that hole for a vent. So after a while I asked them to make a house vent. A house should not be without a house vent for the humidity to go out. I have to work more on the window panes.

JA I think we have come to the conclusion of our talk and I thank you. If there is anyone with further information.

Arthur Neakok What Takaluk said about the foundation. When they make the foundation way into the ground 6' to 8'. In my opinion the ones that are dug too far into the ground are not good because there are pieces of ice, permafrost, and sometimes they go into that area. After they pass the permafront then the foundation of the house is usually better. Probably 2' or 3' is better for a foundation, in my opinion. That is all I have to say.

Herman Rexford At Barter Is. the roofs of houses have aluminum topping and the wind tears them up and blows them away. I have seen that a number of times. The construction people do not put aluminum...(inaudible)...on some of the houses. But when aluminum roofs are not placed securely the wind tears them up and blows them away, causing water to seep in. In my opinion if they were worked on more carefully it would be better. More careful construction would be appreciated.

JA Our questions are going to stop right now and I would like to thank all of you for giving us the information.

Jonah Leavitt Concerning the pilings. I've asked some carpenters why they make them so deep and so far apart. They say they want to have room for the big pipline they are going to put in for the water system and for drainage. Our cellar in Brower-ville has been dug beyond permafrost into ice free ground. During the winter it floods and in the fall. Above the permafrost we dug out so we could store our ducks. I believe that is all, thank you.

JA If you have more information, we have a half hour before lunch.

Ida Numnik The cellar we had at Nuvuk had ice and mud inside it....(inaudible)...the cellar is not very deep. The house that my dad moved into in 1934. The land is kind of rugged, at the time, but not very steep. The ice cellar is full of ice. That is all I have to say.

Elijah Kakinaaq I am a person from inland up there (Anaktuvuk)...(inaudible)...The land up there does not have permafrost, it is a little bit frozen on top. There is water inside the ground. When the foundation is placed in our area and there's water under the ground and then there's more weight placed on the foundation during the construction of the house. Then the floor becomes uneven. I have observed as much as I can. My name is Elijah Kakinaaq the great grandfather.

Gene Numnik I'm from Barrow. I have some knowledge of foundations. When Klerekopes made an ice cellar for them. The ice cellar is quite a number of feet down. You reach the type of soil that you can just shovel out. I was taking care of the boiler and I would take out the soot from the boiler and get it to work again. The composition of the soil is different. There's soil, there's ice, there's water and there's also the type of soil we ran into which you can just shovel out. Young people making houses need this knowledge. They are making lots of money doing construction; and oil and gas from close by areas and also, the white men who came here with a knowledge of the oil. We know that along the

the rivers there are deposits of coal and that is what the white men found out. Also we used blubber and drift wood. Now we come to the topic of houses. I agree with Roxy, since the white men do not know about our climatic conditions. We do not see the sun at all in Dec. & Jan.....(inaudible)...Thank you.

? My name is Numusuc. I would like to say something. We live in an area which freezes. When they bring this type of house up here we run into problems. We are responding in various ways. We try to keep them warm whenever we can but things are happening to them, the people before us made houses without doors. But they were not cold...(inaudible)...these new houses have doors on them but they becoome so cold because the wind is so strong and bitter up here when it freezes. Another type of construction is needed to make these houses much warmer. You can tell the houses that have been placed on permafrost. There's plenty of water visible around there. Because of this we stopped the construction in one house we started for another person. That is all I would like to relate right now.

? I would also like to say that there is a house which was not built by one of the construction workers here but it is also very drafty. I have done a lot of work on it during the winter but the heating expense is very high. I have heard the people with new houses say they also have drafty houses. But what kind of house is really the best house for up here? The new houses they talk about are constructed for Seattle weather. That is why they are drafty and expensive to heat. If more insulation were placed on them, that is probably as far as we can go now.

JA Thank you for coming and giving us the complaints about your houses.

? I am a person who just received a new house. I have something to say as well. Concerning the houses they have been talking about and their draftiness. I have been observing the construction in Anaktuvuk Pass. When the foreman doesn't know the kind of work he is doing he is the one to be blamed. Also the people who do not know how to build or lay a floor down are asked to do construction, to build a wall, the foreman just tells them how to do it then leaves them. I have observed this. The white men who are foremen on construction, when he doesn't come to instruct them they just lay it anyway, just place the boards any way on the floor, nailing them down even though they are missing the joints, they keep pounding the board. When they miss the 2x4s the house is not secured down properly. I would scold them sometimes. I saw the laborers who are putting in the insulation and our housing will probably not be good. We got our new house during the winter and we started walking across the floor without any sock and it is very cold. The people do not know how to put it in. I do not know how to do that kind of work but the ones who do that kind of work should know how to do it.

End of Morning Session
End of Tape

Beverly Grinage - moderator

BG From under the floor of the old houses in the escavation we have been finding a lot of artifacts and I have several questions about what the artifacts are that we found.

? What things have you been finding?

BG Hunting implements, toys, a lot of these things. I have heard from Point Hope that a long time ago the earth turned over, we have heard that several unident. speaker times in a legend. I have heard these artifacts are from the time when the earth turned over. I have no other comment.

Jonah Leavitt I have also heard that story. When a person is no longer able to use his tools and utensils his relatives store them away. His relatives cannot make any use of them, that was the law, that when a person could no longer use them they would put them together and store them away. Near Nuvuk, on this side, there is a person buried with his tools, his hunting implements together. My grandparents knew of this but they do not know where he is buried. They say he was a great chieftan and since his relatives could not use these implements they gathered them up, his whaling implements as well and buried them with him. That was the custom of the people long ago, when the others could not use these implements they were buried with him. This is what I have heard and this is probably what you are finding, somebody's hunting implements and tools gathered together and stored, buried with him.

Ida Numnik I remember a little lady from....inaudible...and she had a little area in the floor she would open up and she had frozen food under the floor. Kulumsome's (SP?) mother, she would open the latch on the floor and pick out her food from under the floor.

? I used to see, a long time ago, when the people died and they take their stuff, the stuff they own, into the grave. This is the tradition they have followed. I have seen grave sites where people were buried with poles standing outside the grave. I began to look at them back between 1920 & 30. I watched as a young child along with their belongings people would be....inaudible....with their equipment if they're a man, if they're a woman along with her beads and jewelery in an old skin that was used to put the body in....inaudible....before people came around to steal from the grave. I have seen this as a young boy. And when I think about it a person when he values the tools and things he has and doesn't want to take them from his home on a journey he can hide them. And this is very possible. The people thought for themselves long ago and stored things away for safe keeping and possibly they hid them under the floors. That is one possibility. And like us as we live and we value a possession we place it where others cannot find it in our own houses. This is probably the way people lived then as well. But there were customs that the Eskimos had then that had to be rigidly followed and if a person did not follow these customs he would not live for very long. And when another person was buried with his belongings the other poeple would not bother them. They would respect the tradition and leave the tools and implements as they were. That is all I have to say.

?Numnik We have listened to some our elders. They used to talk that the world turned once and now, presently, whenever they may be in different lands, and in our land too. It is even moving. When we talk about land turning and moving then we find these treasures where they were buried with the house. Men's weapons, women's jewelery, people have stored them so they cannot

be stolen. So they talk like this, when you are a young man growing up, "You cannot take this person's property and don't even touch them." This is what I have heard, if you do take other people's property you are doing this within yourself and you will get sick over it. If a person tries to listen and obey, even though they have a hard time obeying, their life will be a little bit longer. And now, if a person talks too much, they treat them in a different way. They covered the mouth and made it longer and then they told them to talk because their mouth is longer. This is what they talked about a long time ago and this is how it should be. The white man's laws are strong too, the Iñupiat laws are strong. And when I listen to this I have an understanding that our laws are good.

Henry Nashaganik

A long time ago when a person died, his wordly belongings were put with them. This is what I've heard. There are many people who have heard of sharp shooting and this man was dying & he told his wife all his belongings should be buried with him. So when he died they took land and married and had children in another land. And so those children went over and killed him. Whatever worldly belongings they have they have to be buried with them.

they took him to the burialsite he went on into another

Elijah Kakinaaq

We are from inland and when I grew up understanding an old lady came and told me about this. A person, and if you want to grow up good please do not belittle an older person. If you belittle a person then you will not have a longer life span. If I don't belittle them and hurt their minds then I will have alonger life span. When I married two men told me this, especially when I started hunting for food, well you're finally together, Don't be stingy with food, we can't keep the meat for ourselves because the meat will come to us. So my wife called the older people, elders, women and men and told them to come to the house to eat. Even though we went through hardships after that we never really had any hardship. Since then my wife has died and we have always had a bountiful supply of meat in our house. These older people would gather in our home and we would gather in our home and we would feed them and I would always tell them"go ahead, go ahead and eat" you'll grow up not having any teeth. And now I don't have any teeth and I'm still alive. I am presently 86 and I am still walking and I can still talk and I have listened to the elders talk about this. This they have also told me: in the grave site that belongs to each person I cannot take anything from the grave site, especially of the dead people. Because from a long time ago they have done this as a tradition that a person's wordly belongings were buried with him and they should not be taken from him because they belong to him. When my wife died I gave her warm bedding. And when I die I have a bed that's warm, and when I die they will put a pillow with me and warm bedding and a parka and ...inaudible...(boots or food?)....and new clothing. I will be buried like my wife was buried. And when I die I want to be worked on....(inaudible)...with the clothing already prepared for me. I have already made preparation for me. I have already made preparation for my own burial box. And I give my money to my grandchildren to ?Aiyonik's? daughter. If I die the money can be used by them. But do not lament for me do not morn for me crying...inaudible...when my parents died mourning has not come to me. I do not cry for others. I do not know why I do not cry. I thought that I would cry when I lost my spouse. I talked about that but when I lost my spouse I did not cry either. But when I think of my wife then I bow to the ground and mourn and when I think of my wife then all of a sudden I fall to the ground, when I'm in the tent, when I long to see my wife, I fall backwards to the ground even when I am walking outside.

That is all I have to say. I am Elijah Kakinaaq.

Daniel Ahtungaruk - I am a very old person. A long time ago our elders, the weapons, the ones that are western made but they are real old traditional ones. When my friend told me of this: on top of the meat cache there is an old piece of skin, they put all there belongings on there as well and I would like to relate a short story for further understanding. A long while ago during the spring while we had a conference we heard that in Pt. Hope a person by the name of Chief Ahtungaruk when he became three years old the shamens could not conjur up the animal while he was a young boy, when he was able to take care of himself outside then the people, you know the shamens use people they made the animals scarce, they control the animals since time began. That was their tradition. Then the grandparents of this young boy died, they starved. Then an old lady went to him, this young boy named Ahtungaruk, and left with him to the very end of the hills on the sloping side near the river. These hills slope on both sides and they they slope on one side. They went beyond them to the river. I know of this river and she stayed there with him.. She hunted with him, they hunted Old Squaw ducks. They would snare them. The old lady and the grandchild made their living. When the river iced over, also the ocean, then in the morning they packed things to leave the area. The old lady in the morning took her bag, fixed her belt nicely and left leaving him. Then he took two pieces of grass and put them together and tied them from the land. She made the land shorter and then she took a couple of sticks and she was near the edge of the ocean, she made the distance shorter because she did this by tying together two pieces of grass. And when he entered an area....(inaudible)...they hadn't caught five whales yet. When he entered they didn't know him, they didn't even greet him. So finally the women bent her ear and told him if he wanted to eat he could go look for some food out on the proch and she didn't even look at him. He filled his pack with muktuk and meat and then headed home and when he reached the place he gave it to his niece. He brought it in but he didn't empty his little pack. And so he made a cellar by making their little porch bigger. And when he emptied his little pack...(inaudible)...there was a whale that he was carrying in the bottom of the pack. Finally, she could hardly move around. And so like her uncle.....(inaudible)...tied up with grass and made the world shorter. When she arrived at that village she met his lady who was feeding people. And that lady didn't say anything. She bent her ear until she could listen. And as she told her there were some things dried on the porch. So she got the dried meat. And the old lady said, "go ahead and get some food from that tree stand and from the porch, enough for you." And so she filled her pack with food, just in a....(inaudible)...she went home. When she arrived home she emptied her pack. She really carried a large portion of the whale. When the boy grew up he finally went to Pt. Hope and from then on in Pt. Hope he had a partner. So therefore a long time ago these artifacts they left behind wherever they went. So why is it these game wardens are trying to stop the whale hunting because the whale, even if they killed as much as they wanted to, they hunt for whale and these are the areas that are the target. This is all I have to say.

Ahngasuk The ones who have tlaked before, I will never oppose them. The artifacts and weapons under the house and the people who left there; I have no knowledge of this but there are people who do know and they are from this audience. The things they have found under the house, are they already spread out or do they have bags? Have they found these kind of things?

Start tape ~~23~~ 22 BG We're talking about the house that you came to see yesterday.

? Concerning the old houses. I have been in them with excavation teams. They have little tools. The archeologists dig around the extremities of the house and in the interior. It is clear that when you are digging that the men's belonging usually stay in a certain area and the women's in a certain area, within the house floor plan. I have been in the excavations of two houses. They have little storage areas next to the house. These are enclosed by wood in cone shape. I have seen these little storage areas where they have women's belongings and men's belongings, tools, set aside by themselves. But I have not seen excavations where they have found just belongings directly underneath the floor. One can find things directly under the floor but they are not numerous.

BG This house has a lot of things under the floor and it was not covered. In this house we're working on why didn't they use bone heads as part of the structure? In Canada&in Kotzebue they use bone heads as part of the structure of the house.

Waldo Bodfish I have seen bone heads used under the cold porch and before they had any wood they used whale bones as part of the structure but in the new houses after they stopped using whale bones I can talk of this. They used to use all of the bones of the whale and to use as supports. You can see evidence of whale bones being used in the excavation. They were used as door steps and also as the upper beams of a house.

Vier Negovanna? I have also seen an excavation site where there's a whole bunch of houses spread all over. And they have used whale bones, ribs of the whale and the head of the whale. There's a whole bunch of whale bone no wood that can be seen. They really treasured the whale bones a long time ago. And they're under the houses and wherever there's little knolls. Whenever I have to dig underground I see whale bone. There's a lot of animal bone that I have found. I looked for ivory but I didn't find any. A little way over there there's some old house sites. A smooth area. They didn't have any wood at the time and they tried building houses with whale bones. Whenever we look at old house sites, especially Waldo, we went over to Kayaktuvik and we looked at old house sites and they were hard to find but our western neighbors found them. We saw harpoons, just the base of them, but men are smart who are looking for these diggins on the coast of Wainwright. Right Waldo? Whenever there's a bunch of house sites that we didn't know about there's a bunch of artifacts there. So when I go to Wainwright and I go to Atanik there's a whole bunch of houses on the spit and so I started digging with a shovel and I dug and found a bone and it was a human leg bone. I dug more and found hairs of the polar bear, skin. It look like bedding. And I dug more and found a human burial so I filled it back in. That's all I have to say.

Jonah Leavitt That site they have been digging is newer than Nuvuk and Shooting Station (Birnirk). Birnirk, Nuvuk and Walakpa are the oldest sites. This one didn't have any human inhabitants at that time. There's a whole bunch of whale bones in the other sites but not in this one because it's comparatively newer. At Nuvuk the heads of the houses are apparent, still standing. Here where they're digging right now you see hardly any bones, it is comparatively new. We have heard that it was a new site when Barrow was formed a long time ago. A long time ago Pigniq was inhabited before Nuvuk was. Because of war they fled to Nuvuk. That's why they started inhabiting anywhere. Because of war they would flee at night and this is why there are hardly any whale bones in this site where they're digging now. They found a whole bunch of whale bone in excavating the site at Pigniq. I used to think they were legends but Utpik told me that this legend was true. And they found artifacts there because of the story-legend. Parts of whale bones

found when they hunted whales that was where they cut it up in Pigniq. These stories that are passed on, some of them must be true. This is all I have to say.

Waldo Bodfish: In 1940 when we were doing the census I went as part of the team to Nuvuk. There were 15 families there. There must have been a lot of people but a lot of the houses were empty. There must have been a whole bunch of people but there were hardly any inhabitants in the houses. They were all sod houses. I didn't see a big house there. I went in winter time. I did see a little bigger house than the rest but it wasn't inhabited at that time. This was in 1940. I must have gone when all the people left.

?: In 1941 when I went up there was a lot of old bones along the....(inaudible)... there were sidewalks. Whenever they caught a whale they would use the sidewalks to lay the whale bones. They said that they were on the corner and they said that he would place them everytime he caught a whale. But there were a lot of old bones way up there and some drifted (away). But there was an enormous amount of whale bones up there. At the place ?Kinupiluk? when we were living there, there was a big whale bone. We measured it and it was 18 feet. That's just the head. It must have been enormous. There was also the breast part. We somehow lost it. At the airport where Howard Hine was digging some relics. He would start digging relics at the end of the day. Where they had the airport then. This story I'm relating from what I know. At that time the good whale hunters had to improvise and designate their places by putting whale bones along their property.

BG: Where did they get the sod from to build the houses?

?: They used to get it from around the area where they are going to build the house. These houses that were built in earlier days are quite noticeable, they have a certain pitch that you can notice yourself. It's from the leveling stage up the building that you notice it. I for one noticed it as a little boy. You asked where they got the sod for the houses. Sometimes the sod becomes old and worn out. My father-in-law would go and get some sod around the area. He would use it if the top of it wasn't all grass. It was located right around the Weather Bureau on those little hills. When he found some good sod he would send for my borther and I to carry it. Then he would replace the old sod with the new. The sod needs to be replaced when it gets too soft or wet. My brother and I would carry them by sled. Anywhere the surrounds of the house are too dry they would try to find good soil.

Levi Greist: I was born and riased in Kuukpik and my parents and sisters are from Kuukpik (Colville River delta) although our relatives were from Barrow. When I grew up we would go past ?Kiana? to Wainwright...(inaudible)...and then go back by the mouth of the river and when we go up inland to the mountains there we would pass houses that had been standing there for quite some time, ancient houses. But they always told us not to bother them. By Anaktuvuk where...(inaudible)... house is designated. These houses were still standing. And there is a legend by my parents that around Anaktuvuk: When they were going up river they would live around the Indians and with Eskimos and small people. But they didn't associate with the Indians or the small people. And there is also a legend about two giants. And one about a woman, I forgot her name. The legend about the two giants: they inhabited around the North Slpe area. But there are no giants sleeping around here, although there are some tall people. Sikiaq and one other living around that area. And about the baleen the whale that they wanted to sell, they wanted to employ my dad but we ended up going back to

Kuukpik. We went to Canada to Herschel Is. to buy. I have gone to Herschel Is. twice as a young boy at the time they were out of flour around here. When they buried the older people, I remember Alasurak we buried....(inaudible)...any provisions that belonged to them. They didn't put anything with her she just had a stone and there's another person, Imasurak, that was buried, they didn't put any of his possessions along with him either. They didn't do the traditional burying the possessions with the person. That is the way my grandfather....(some translation missing)...I don't know if you can use it, you can use the possessions of your father until they can be no longer used. I learned about Iñupiat ways from Tookpuq and Siakuq and I learned quite a bit and I have learned how to write the Canadian way when they would come to Alaska. When a person died in the Kobuk Valley....(inaudible)...would come in and remark "Oh my spouse has died." This happended within the itchaksralik which is a 6-sided tent. Then they made the burial area right in the itchalik the tent area. And you cannot ...(inaudible)...in there because it's taboo to do so. Then the Indians and little people used to havelots of skirmishes together but now nobody can find the whereabouts of these little people. Then they started stealing the women from the eskimos. Then in 1915 my father took us to Fairbanks, Alaska, straight from....(inaudible)...Indian man...(inaudible).... and my father told this Indian man about his ancestors....(inaudible)....that is all I have to say.

Sarah Kunaknana — I am from Nuiqaut. A sod house is called an ivrulik. We used the very light weight uvruk, which is sod, very light weight, no gravel associated with it. It is very soft. No clay on it either. Concerning house building I would like to say if they can't find this type of sod in the vicinity they would bring it to the house on sleds....(inaudible)...that is all I have to say.

BG — How many poles do they use for a structure? .....Inaudible.....

Henry Nashanik — For a meat cache there are 4 poles....(inaudible)...they place siding on one end then the other when they are not short of wood. When they are not short of wood they make a meat cache with a floor and side up all four poles. In the inland area when they make a meat cache they place a little house on it. And then with the little house on top is called sayaktuq. That is all.

Roxy Ekowana — It's me again. Since I am knowledgeable about these meat caches, how you hang food, or store the equipment. At that time they harnessed dogs all the time with pieces of seal or ugruk skin and stored them away on the cache so that the dogs would not get at them. And these food caches, I think the older people recall where we used to live, right behind the house there was a food cache, it didn't have an adequate floor to store the food but there was a kayak and boats stored up there on the cache. The archeological survey that is doing the survey here, he (the archeologist) was recalling that he did not see any storage along the side, they placed them in the back because they can store the canoes and the sleds so they won't be obstacles in the front and on the sides of the house. At other houses they were stored further away from the house so that they were not snowed under. They stored the boat, even without the skin, up on the cache so that they will not be destroyed by dogs or by...(inaudible)...

Wier Negovanna — I have seen, in Wainwright, meat caches, and they make caches the way Ekowana talks about. They put them like pilings way down there, the tree poles, four poles and they put a plank up on the top. They are not cut up, they stand firm. They put wood up on top and they store things up on the top. They also store seal skins, they cover them with these seal skins, winter clothing, I've seen that and underneath that ikiqqat they also have two other layers they put the sleds on one layer, after they have stopped sledding. And on the other

layer they hang polar bear skins. On the side of the poles there are tent skins and they are bleached, hung up for bleaching. This is what I have seen. And on the other side they have another cache for storing the boat. There are poles so that it won't fall down. The boat can be put up there with or without skin. They also put the kayak underneath the boat. I have seen that, when they stored them in this way.

Arthur Aakok — I have also seen caches for boats in Nuvuk when we were kids. There were store places for the boats. They used whale bone and they were called tatigi ikiggat. They were big and long.

Samuel Kunaknana — I'm from Nuiqsut. The people who have talked are from the coast and now I'm going to talk about the inland cache. Where I grew up they call them ikiggat cache. They used tree poles to make caches of wood and they also use willows. They were washed ashore from up river. They could be as long as they wanted. They put together three poles and tied them up. Then they put 4 sides and they used a strong piece of wood, 2 of them, on the sides. They used those in the summer so they wouldn't be reached by wolverines, wolves and land animals. Meat caches were way up high so they would not be reachable by the animals. They used tarps on the floor. They used ?anupkaka? on top of the cache so they can dry the meat and when they are going to store other things, whatever animal it might be, caribou, fish, they hang them up to dry on top of the meat cache so they are obtainable in the winter. This is what I have seen inland where I grew up and we called them ikiggat meat cache.

BG — When they are going to make canoes or sleds how do they work? Do they work outside? Near the house? Where?

Jonah Leavitt — These people when they work on these items or hunting gear in the winter after they have been away for a while and they return they bear things from Nuvuk or Barrow. When they depart to Nuvuk or some place they would gather the equipment, the adzes that the ancestors used, the signuk, those were the weapons, those were the tools they used. They used also bone saws. When they made a boat they tied it all up with no nails. They only had bones for nails and for a hammer they used a bone they called ?kuperaktuk? this was around the time I was growingup. The adz, they prepare them quite fast now but that's a tool they would...(inaudible)...their tools right around the area. The boats when the weather was fine...(inaudible)...In the winter there is hardly any work although they do work on various things by making...(inaudible)...~~In the winter there is hardly any work although they do work on various things by making....(inaudible)~~ ...but in June and July they prepared, built boats and help one another build and have the women bring their food and the only time they went home was in the evening when they are ready to sleep. The women would always bring them their food. My dad would be gone the rest of the day and only return home to sleep. It was like that for a long time until we ourselves took over. The adzes and the stones they used for adzes. They used small adzes sometimes. The drill was used with a stone. They also used artifacts to make the tools. This was their lifestyle and how they worked a long time ago.

? — In 1910 we were reindeer herders in ?Kayaksiak? People from kayakauvik would go on to the coast in between kayaksik and here they would camp. Wherever they camped they gathered up the wood from the seashore. So they could work on it making weapons and tools, boats. If the wood was straight they would work on them (boats?) and make them light and durable so they could be used

for tools and the family would use the boat. I have seen a lot of people from Icy Cape on, there were sixty families. They all had boats. They would work on them and when they returned to kayaqsiguvik they would start working in the garigi and help each other out and make boats for the family who wanted one. They would help them. They would finish them in no time at all. Whatever they made, sled, boat, anything, they would also teach them how to make it. This is what I have seen in Kayaqsiguvik. They were reciprocal in their help. In Wainwright I have also seen that happen. They had a garigi outside and they used that place to make the boats and they also used a tarpulin to shelter themselves from the cold weather. Whether they made nets, sleds, hooks they could teach them, especially if they didn't know how to make them they would work together and finish what they had started at a very fast pace. I grew up as a young boy watching this. They would come with patterns already made. This is how they used to work a long time ago before us and they have changed that. We are living in easy luxury. It was hardship a long time ago.

End of Session

Elder's Conference 8/12/81
Mental Health

Tape # 23
NSB Health Dept.

Donna Neakok Miller
Moderator
Tape 24

Not an official translation

Introduction of NSB Health Board

DM- First will be questions about mental health. What made people happy? (in the old days)

? When a person doesn't have a wholesome mind he's not happy.

DM- How do people have wholesome minds?

? We must become aware. I think God is the only answer. When a person runs across trouble and ahs a troubled mind he will always give his problems to God who is supreme.

DM- Does anyone have another answer?

? Although I have grandchildren who have mental problems we try to help them. When a person has mental problems we try not to go against their mind. If a person is unhappy we try not to go against their mind. You can always tell when a person is happy or sad. When there is a mental problem I ask for help from the church and pray about it. I am always thankful we have true help in prayer.

? When a leader is taking care of his family well and people are compatible they are generally happy.

Much of the following deals with prayer as a solution.
I will only transcribe some of it (D.L.).

? Not bickering. When we are happy and hunting with prayer the savior will give us food.

? Don't abuse other people, only help them.

DM- Before white men arrived, before missionaries came. before teachers came, how did the mind and body of the Inupiaq people become complete before the advent of Christianity and white men?

Henry Nashanik - We can only answer with what we heard from our parents. Older people when I was growing up spoke of life before white men. They did not approve of lying or stealing and everyone tried to avoid these two vices.

Roxy-Ekowana Don't abuse people. Do good works without others knowing. According to people of those times the eyes tell whether a person is stealing and lying. Lying person cannot look at another straight on, because he is afraid others may know of it. You must confess a wrongful act or you will get sick holding it in. You must seek forgiveness from others. The people tell of the story of a boy and his mother living in Barrow. And when the father dies the mother began to mess with him and they started to live together as man and wife. They had to move away by themselves, they could not live with others because they were ashamed of their act. They talk of the place where they lived and hunted caribou. They talk of the places they lived and travelled on.

? I used to listen to my grandmother, a very old lady. According to her before the white man the body and mind of the Eskimo was very good. Relatives helped each other without limit. Those who injured, gossiped or told on them were not approved. These were mostly women. These who did this they would take to the meeting house and hold a meeting and then they would slit their tongues, making them longer and tell them, "Now that your tongue is bigger why don't you gossip some more." This was a harsh treatment but probably prevented some harm. They did this before they knew about medicine. And when a person lost their mind and their mind became injured their God was satan. This was before they knew about God. When a person became injured of mind and body the shaman would perform to heal them. I am happy I had a mother who talked to me of such things. They helped each other and their bodies were not tired. Today they injure each other and their bodies are heavy. Our tongues are small and it is better not to hurt another. We only gain strength through prayer. When we help another our bodies become lighter.

Bertha Leavitt- I heard from grandparents who talked of their parents and grandparents. If a person does not have evil in him the shamen have no control over his body. My grandfather spoke of people who have died, they will come back. There are also people who are called uivaqsaat, which means that they will be coming around the point. they willalso come, my grandfather spoke of this, also like the ones who have died who will come to life again. (the Inupiaq Dictionary gives two definitions 1: souls of dead going round and round; 2: In Eskimo legend; source of refuge anticipated by Eskimos before hearing the gospel). My grandmother had heard of white peoples but when white people came to their area they would hold meetings to construct large buildings, for this reason they held meetings. She would tell me not to abuse small animals if you want your body to be healthy for like her she plugged a small phalarope once and when she let it fly away and she could no longer see it, and when she lost her sight she could no longer forget the fact that she had molested a small animal. When she became blind she couldn't forget the fact ofplugging a bird and letting it loose and no matter how flirtatious I am I should not abuse the contract that two other people have made of marriage. Those are the 2 things my grandmother told me. My grandmother, Sirraainya(sp?), was Christian and when she died she lay on the bed singing, more like a child. That is how she died.

? Children before white men didn't run around in the house, they would sit and only get up if asked to do some work. They went outside to play. They didn't grab food but had plates and ate properly. They folded their clothes beside the bed at bedtime. They didn't run around late. When a person didn't like a person they bewitched them through paralyzing, using the powers of the shaman. When he hunted or caught a whale he would give it all to the woman and she would do the finishing work on the food. The man didn't have any authority after he had given the food to his woman. She would decide what to do with it.

Ida Numnik About the return of the dead. The story has always been told the dead will return to live. Before the white man there was no serious sickness. The only time we caught a cold was when the ships came in. All the sickness has come from the white man.

Irene Taqqak (sp?) My grandpa would talk to me when I am misbehaving. He said to me, "My daughter, if you are going to be like that you are going to cry, when you become older you will be fat." When old peopel came around to talk they would say what people around here generally talk about. And they would

say, not to break any marriages, or if somebody said it to practice it. We generally find out when a person is not behaving right or abusing others. These are the practices told over and over by our ancestors, not to hurt each other. Not to just say it but practice. These 2 women at the time when there was no white man, a story about a woman herself, her name is eleybruna (sp?), Ahvakana's(?)grandmother, Nita's(?) husband, Leona's great grandmother. At the time they first started going to church her namesake and her, Alebrun, had gone to church, I do not recall who was the preacher, but I believe, I can't recall. It is not right to go against a person who is talking. Our young people don't abuse each other. Our generation they did even though someone looked over us. Like Ida said the only illness was when the boats came in. That was more pronounced than about our ancestors telling us not to gossip, steal these things even told in legend and in the bible.

? What is uivaqsaat?

Levi Griest I have heard about the raising of the dead. I'm not sure about that. I did not witness the healing of others but I heard it from my father. My father was from Utokok and his cousin was a very good person but then she became sick. Nashaganik wanted to have her for his daughter-in-law but they did not let him, then he cast a spell on her and made her sick and as time went by he became sorry for her and said to her "make your younger sister well, take a fox trap use it as payment to the shaman." Then after he set up the fox trap he took it over and not long afterwards he came back. When the girl became well again her brothers and sisters tried to understand why she had become sick but their father said to them, "Illness came to her, but she will not become sick for quite a long time again because this person carried her through the shamanism as young children would...." We wanted to learn shamistics acts but none of us were taught these talents. They had become Christians already then and beginning to discard some other beliefs and rituals. They did not even teach us any songs. That is as far as I can relate.

Wier Negovanna They wanted us to speak of the people who will be coming round the bend, uivaqsaat. My grandfather used to say that once a person had a son and when he heard about the uivaqsaat he got ready, he made a boat so he could go out and meet them. When he was ready he left and went over around the river attempting to meet the uivaqsaat. As they progressed out further they finally saw smoke rising into the sky. When they saw this they stopped and landed and approached it. There was a campfire burning and a person there. He was cautious but he was beckoned to come. They began to talk. "You will not be able to meet the uivaqsaat, the people who come around the bend. Why don't you just go back to your home?" When he heard this spoken by the person who was elevated above the ground with a big beard he went home. Some time later he realized he had seen (translator says she believes he is making reference to Jesus) I believe this is an old story. My grandfather told me never to abuse or mock old people but to help them. I remember these words and I try to help old people. When I became old enough and caught a seal he (my father) told me to take it to an old woman. In my mind I did not want to in my mind because it was my first seal. I wanted to keep it. Obeying him I took it over to her. She began to thank me and told me I would have lots of other animals to catch, they will not be hard for me to get as a hunter. Old women have the power, not of conjuring, but of working with the elements to entice animals to come to the hunter. These words of the older people are powerful. I was an abusive young man and my grandfather

said, "you will come to a point in life when you will need a helper. We know that you are easy (quick) to fight and abuse other people." He said when I need a helper I should pray and God will help. Way up in the feeding place beyond the caribou area there, a time there was no snow, just ice. There was a time I needed help and remembered what my grandfather told me. I was facing a moundand went to the top and prayed for the first time, calling him God and saying I would like to take a lot of things home. My prayer was not eloquent it was short, not long, and as I herded the caribou down. As I approached the river I recognized that old lady. She was leading the herd away and when she got to the icy area she did not stop but went straight across. The caribou followed her across. I was very light spirited when I took the caribou home. That praying to God I have not forgotten. My grandfather told me not to abuse small animals and not to brag about the game I have caught. I would like to add about my adopted son. When I was a young man around other young men around Kiniaruk (sp?), when they found some small birds they roasted them. Then as we were living my adopted son lost his mentality and every once in a while he goes to institutions, psychiatric. He has done this several times. I told the policeman to tell him not to return to Wainwright but keep him in these institutions. Then as life progressed I remembered my adopted son and I went early in the morning to that hill I had seen, that same hill, and knelt and began to pray again. This happened at the time our senator had a crash. I also prayed for Sen. Ted Stevens and also for my son. As I came home I was very happy and shortly thereafter my adopted son came in smiling, the one I had told never to return. Up to now he supports us. He scrubs the floor, he does the dishes and fills the water barrels, hauls water, ice and snow for us, he washes clothes, cooks and tells us, my wife and I, not to do hard work. When I need to use the Honda he goes out and starts it for me. I'm thankful for the life he lives now. He does not abuse me, he is good. These are things for which we seek help from God. God can punish. I am one of those who is being punished. As a young man I was going to cross over some very choppy waters in a kayak. In the middle of the course my kayak started to fill with water and overturned. The young man went and got someone and they came and got me to put me on the gravel. God made me live although I had stayed in the water a long time. This is the saying that God punishes those whom he loves. Most of you remember Qimirak (sp?). You probably have heard this when Uliaqpuk (sp?) spoke. We have heard him say that God spanks the children whom he loves.

Waldo Bodfish

...presently our life styles are changing. Our children are going away, travelling, living in the western world. It seems like they are not so disciplined because they have learned the western way. When they become parents it seems like they have no ears to listen to their parents. My wife and I have worries over our children drinking and scold them and talk to them it seems like they don't listen, have no discipline. People in the past had discipline and lived without disharmony. We have to pass on the discipline of our elders. When a person is not right in the mind we must teach and help them. The same with animals, we must not mistreat them. If a person is arrogant and boastful he will not have a long life. These are the old disciplines. They did not permit a person to be disruptive and they were corrected.

End of Tape

Waldo Bodfish — I got this plant from the area above Barrow and I dried it. I did not find a good specimen but this was growing in an isolated area above Barrow. I want the young people to see this and learn. This is maniq it's tussock type and this other one called uġru is for diapers and women use it during menstruation (spongy moss). They gathered it in large quantities and make diaper holders out of seal or caribou and put the moss in the holder and use it all night long and change it in the morning. These are called aqutuqpuq (sp?). We get them in Wainwright. We put them in seal oil before the leaves become hard. I walked beyond Barrow to look for these before the meeting began. I also looked for the plant they use to create big smoke puyuqluq. Those are usually found between (frost) polygons. After they have left the house for some time then during the fall before they enter the house again the old people would use it to smoke out a house because the house was infested with insects and worms. They would place this inside the house and open the entry and the window on the top of the sod house and set the leaves on fire creating a great deal of smoke inside. All the insects and worms would fall to the floor and they would sweep them out. This information I got from Otoyauq(sp?) this is what she taught me. I did not bring these leaves.

Roxy - Ekowana — Concerning the diaper of long ago you have made me remember what my grandmother used to say. They called this moss ugroyaluk(?). I used to hear from my mother that infants used them as diapers. She said I used these as a baby because my parents were nomadic. I was born at Pigniq and then shortly after they left and did not have prepared cloth diaper but along the lakes and the bay there are wet plants called aumaqutiit(sp?). This form of diaper was used enroute to our camping place.

Louise Okakok — I also used this type of diaper with my oldest child when we used to go trapping. These could be used all day long while travelling without changing them. I know how good and practical they are.

Nanny Woods — I also used these. We would use them with the seal skin.

Rhoda Nageak — I left my medicine that I got from Anaktuvuk, they're green leaves and collected there and you put them in hot water and then put them where it hurts. You can also chew them. They are edible medication. I used this with sprained ankle or arm or back.

Mattie Bodfish — I know of some medicinal herbs. Caribou stomach. They clean the wound and cover it with that to heal it. Also the walrus skin is used on wounds that won't heal. They cover it with the skin.

They talked of these things when I was growing up. I have something to show you. I didn't go up inland because I was afraid of brown bear approaching me. But I picked some plants. These are from Kotzebue area and I was sent these. You see them there in front yards, it's a medicinal herb. They cover it in cloth and use it in the area of pain. I tried them one time for my backache and covered them with cloth and lay down and pretty soon my back pain was gone. I used it wet. Your supposed to pick them dry. Older women always have lots of things around them. I am already an older woman. I have 3 bags here. I got this from Point

Hope, it's still kind of damp and it's called ivisaaq, it's like mud (red ochre). It's used as a dye for boots, skin, sleds. Here's a rock I use as a skin scraper (almost like pumice). You put a little bit of ajax on and then scrape it off. It really works. I got it at Pt. Hope. The women used this a long time ago for cleaning purposes. (talks about another plant used for heartburn).

Isa Savalik — I have gathered some things from Nuiqsat, here they call them nusiamiut, they are willow bark.

Roseanne Negovanna — A person who had a big wound on his leg I used beluga oil on it. It really burns, it's itchy. I covered it with cloth. Finally it was healed. When the ribs hurt put dried grass (ivik) on it. They eat them, boil them and drink the juice or even eat the whole plant. You use them on a wound and they don't cause infection. We planted some in Wainwright on a little knoll.

? — I used sagariġaq (a weed) on a person's legs, wrapped them around with cloth, so they wouldn't hurt.

Wier Negovanna — We believe in the power of these as medicine. Making a tea or eating the leaves is good for sore throat. We used them on an incurable cancer patient, covered him with them, and he recovered. When you go to Kotzebue you should pick up these herbs, they're all over the place. They grow around the houses. I pick them when I go there. At Kotzebue they gave me a bag full of maniruq, when I'm carving and the walrus is too white I boil this dye in a coffee can and dip the ivory in quickly and put it on top of the stove to dry it picks up the appearance of walrus which is brown. It is powerful and can also dye caribou skins. When whites started buying the carving white or anyway I stopped using the dye. These medicines we got from the Kotzebue area are good, you can rub them on yourself or chew them.

? — I picked these around here. Before the white man came the people used them as food. They are called qunulliq. They are very good. You can place them in seal oil, you can boil them and even make them into koolaid by adding sugar to it. People no longer pay attention to them they were one of our main sources of food then. They are abundant at Hollywood down the coast. Along the coast here they do not survive very long but they do grow. They are quite large.

Phoebe Kippi — I'm from Atqasuk. Some of us women up there like to use sagiageriorraq (sp?). It grows in abundance up there. One lady eats them. You get them close by. We use them as medicinal herbs. I've used them, especially for sore throat. I boil them and then use them 2 teaspoons a day. I also eat the leaves and there is no pain afterwards. In the Barrow area people used to use Beluga oil for colds. They also use black soap in Atqasuk. The doctors know about this, my nephew had an infection on his face. They let it boil, and made a black soap out of it and put a little sugar in it to make it smooth. These are the soaps we used a long time ago. They are square. I still have them. I use them as ointments. I put this on my nephew's face and overnight it popped and they cleaned it out. They still use beluga oil and walrus oil. My grandmother used that as ointment and you can drink it. Walrus oil, you let it turn black and swallow it. There's also uqsruqtuk that's part seal oil and part kerosene and they used that as a medicine for wounds. I've heard about that one with cancer. They use that sagiageriorraq (sp?) for cancer. Also we use the qunulliq, make it into juice.

Eunice Leavitt: My daughter Marie Suvulu, the doctors told me she wouldn't live long. I didn't have any hope, then I heard of some medicine and I made it, part coal oil and seal oil. I put it like an ointment all over her body and left it over night and every other day I changed it. We also prayed. We took care of her when she was growing up. We massaged her abdomen. These medicinal herbs are very good. Walrus oil is also very good. Drink one teaspoon (a day?).

Wier Negovanna: Eating part of the caribou stomach is very good. They eat lichens and they're very good to eat. When I was a reindeer herder and I couldn't swallow I looked for these kinds of things (lichens).

Herman Rexford: They were talking about boils on the skin. Jack Smith used to live at Beechey Point. He treated a boil on my back. He used bacon skin and put it on my boil and it really hurt but finally it came out. Bacon fat is good for the boil. Also fine sand can be heated on top of the stove and used as a heating pad. For constipation you can use bearded seal intestine.

Amos Morry: A long time ago they covered a boil with willow leaves. This makes it pop and it seeps out. If a person has an eye infection they use clam shell, sharp, and they cut the little red lines from their eyes. I heard this from my father. They also use berries for eyes. You put berry juice on an infected eye and cover it with cloth, I have seen this. An old person who can't be treated any more should be put in the sun and the heat helps. I have tried some of these and they do work.

Nannie Kagak: Beluga and coal oil can be put on a wound and covered with cloth and it will heal very fast. You make it half and half. I still use it on my nephews. It's good for earaches. I also remember using the skin of the bacon on wounds. Cover it for a couple of days and the wound surfaces. My mother used to talk about niġukkaq, the stomach contents of the caribou. You also use that, put it on the wound and cover it for several days.

End of Tape

Elder's Conference
8/13/81

Tape 25, 26, 27, 28, 29

Not an official translation

Henry Nashanik discusses a trip he made to the holy land (Near East).

Henry - Nashanik

....the tomb, it is called the tomb of Jesus. During that day, the third day, they told us we would go on a trip. I saw it first on a Tuesday. It is unbelieveable, I could not believe the appearance of the tomb, it is about this wide and has candles around. The tomb is under a big rock. The next day, a Thursday, they told us we would go to another tomb. I did not know what tomb it was. There are scheduled openings and guards for each tomb. They took us there at the scheduled opening. There are many words that I can use to describe this. When we arrived at the tomb I saw the name on the door "Jesus' Tomb". That was the name of the tomb and I could understand that from English. We waited ten minutes and finally the guardian opened it. There was a high wall with a door in it. We went through the door in one wall and we could see the sky again. There was no tomb. They took us a little further and there were wooden chairs, 3 rows of long wood benches. The door, entrance is about so high and so wide. There is no covering for the entrance. No wood around the entrance area. A little way, beside the entrance I saw the large stone, the boulder, like in the movies we've seen of Jesus' burial. After we told him we were from Alaska he began to talk to us in very good English. Our informant spoke very good English so our guide did not come with us. He told us about the things we have heard before. About the people who came to the tomb early in the morning and recounted everything for our understanding and then took us another direction, avoiding the tomb. I really wanted to see the inside of the tomb. That was my one wish but I followed him through the door. He took us around the area and then began to descend toward the tomb with us. The area we went in was about the size of this room. There were about 20 of us. We all entered the tomb. There was plenty of room for all of us. There was a fence you couldn't climb over. You could see the burial place, 2 beds, 2 raised burial blocks with distance between them where other people could have been buried. The guide informed us that they had not found the real burial place. In the Beatitudes in the Bible it tells of the time Jesus preached a sermon and when Jesus led the multitudes. There was a curio shop there and everywhere there were pictures like this one. There is a basket containing 5 pieces of bread and 2 fish. This is what Jesus fed to the 5000 people during that time when he preached the sermon. All the souveniers had this picture on them. In Galillee, on the hills there was open space. Along the Sea of Galillee. There is also a church up there and a store nearby. I bought curios for all of my children but I missed one because I forgot how many children I had. Sometimes my mind was not all together with me while I was travelling. So many things happening. And this is what I wanted to relate to you of my travels to Jerusalem. And now we'll have some time for prayer.

Leona Okakok

We will be discussing Eskimo songs and dances. We will talk about who the composer was and if it is a motion dance who the choreographer was. And we will do string games.

Henry Nashanik: They want to know about songs but I never learned any. I opened the proceedings for you but I do not have a song. If you would like to hear a song that Napayluktuk(sp?) taught me I will sing it. When Napayluktuk(sp?) placed himself beside the lake he began to compete with himself although he didn't have a partner. He placed a piece of stone on his back and flew off with it across the lake and began to sing. I will sing his song.

Sings song

He almost fell after singing his song but he regained his balance again and came on shore. When he came on shore he said "I think I'll put on a heavier stone." I believe he did this with a song. If I sang it once I will sing it again. People who are doing motion dances usually repeat the song. They do this repetition because they want people to learn them. He took off with a heavier stone and began to sing again.

Sings song

He barely reached the shore again. On the third try he took a heavier rock and each time he did this he sang the same song. During the last try he put on a rock that was too heavy and did not reach his destination. Napayluktuk wanted to avoid the water but he had no one there to help him. While he was in the water he turned around and there were boats and kayaks coming toward him. He thought they might help him. But when he cleared the water from his eyes he saw that they were the tips of his feathers that he thought were boats and kayaks. The water had distorted his vision.

Gene Numnik: This was what I learned as a young boy up there it was written down before my time. It was when I could walk and was conscious. I had a grandmother near...(inaudible)....This song is called mitqutailaq, the Arctic tern (Sterna paradisaea). We see these tern along the Arctic shore. They come during the (fall?) and dive into the ocean. I will sing it.

Sings song

It is not very long. There was some item this person wanted to have. As the song is being sung by the Arctic tern he sees the things he wants and sings the song to take possession.

Sings song

He begins to reach for it but it was gone. This was taught to me as a young boy.

?: When they used to go sheep hunting up there. Regarding the high mountains that loom above them. It is very steep. When they looked up they saw a person up on the mountain and he made up his mind to go up there and see who it was. There was a big man up there, probably a giant. He was sitting lookingout over the ocean with his hand over his brow, watching the boats. He also had a bow and arrow. There was a big man. He did not have his parka. From behind him -he shot him from behind and killed him. That person killed a big person, probably a giant. After he did this he composed a song. Many people sing this song. There are 2 gargis in Pt.

Hope (names them) Either one can open the meeting house and they would bring food. They take a stick that has a very fine point and put them with meat in the cellar and then take it out and thaw it. And along with the muktuk and blubber they slice it in big enough portions and numbers of slices corresponding to the numbers of rowers he had in his boat. The captain would take the slices up to the meeting house. After they eat, the uumaaqs, a relation between two men where they have the same name as their wives (dictionary: woman's female cousin; woman's female friend of same age). When a person lifts his leg it is called qimmiuraq (dictionary: stem of willow with fuzzy end; dog trained to help in reindeer herding). There is a song concerning this. They sing these songs in the meeting places, they sing the songs their grandfathers composed. Then they would give these to their uumaaq, this relationship between two men the name of the second one who holds the name of the first ones wife's name. I will sing a song that is sung at this time.

Sings 2 songs

This is the song that umiqtuq, miqtuq's father composed. This is what they danced to in the meeting house. A long time ago a man....inaudible... made this song before the passing of the reindeer herders. After they reached Point Hope and in the fall they went down to Noatak herding reindeer. This man accompanied us herding. Every night we held meetings. I was the secretary for the game warden and used to sit with the older people. They said they wanted to learn how to make snow houses and then a man by the name of Illiaq sat down in the middle of them. The Noatak people always pray. They cannot dance. They cannot smoke. They can't do anything. He said he would make a snow house facing the wind and put an entrance by the side, and also a house vent. When he finished it he composed a song that goes with this activity. I learned both songs.

Sings 2 songs

And the people from Noatak clapped and were very happy to hear these songs. These are the 2 songs I acquired from this man and I thought they were Eskimo songs but they are white man's songs. Concerning the last question of yesterday about the people who will be coming around the bend. This is what the people of long ago expected. This Eskimo belief coincides with what is in the Bible. He is expected to come around the bend when he comes. During the final days three winds will become apparent and the sun and the moon will fall down and the people who have drowned in the ocean will come together with the living. And the lord will come forth, following the prophecies that the Eskimo believe.

? I lived during the time when the big flu came in 1917. I was a little boy. Our grandparents had just died. We didn't have our parents so we went to Fairbanks where we had an older sister. A lot of people, children, in Wales died. We were very poor at that time, my younger sibling and I. I worked in other peoples houses. The older people used to say and the people from the Point came in their boats and they would hold a big meeting after they did a lot of trading and bartering. This was before the time ofthe reindeer herders. They used to bring caribou and wolverine skins from Nuvuaq and the Point. There used to be many people and they held large Eskimo dances. Towards the end some of them, I used to study the ones they performed when I was a young boy. They used to have messangers running from village to village and I have watched this. Also they used to let us hold Eskimo dances. From that I've learned several

dances. Yesterday there wasn't time for me to talk about houses but in Kiŋuk they didn't have sod houses because there was no sod but only clay. Their entryway was larger and under it, the entry, there would be a place to store food. There I saw houses that had kataks which was a hole dug so the entry was lower than the actual house. Concerning the Eskimo dances. Life was hard during the time of the flu. In Kiŋuk people used to prepare for the winter. They would gather sod.

Gene Numnik

We have heard a song concerning one duck. My father, Numnik, used to compose songs. I followed him to the dances and watched the older people dance. This was at a place called igluparuk where Charly Brower lived and they had wooden houses interspersed with the sod houses. They would sing songs and perform motion dances. It was at a time when Ahkiviaq the white man was there. They used one side of the school building. This occurred during the Christmas season. People used to compose songs and dances for the white men when the white men first came (He's rambling on)

Sings a song

I think I sang the wrong one.

Wier Negovanna

During a trip to Fairbanks Brian McLain asked me to compose a welcome song for when we came to Barrow. I composed this.

Sings song

There was a big ship that was the same on both ends and it did not have a rudder so when we wanted to turn we swung to one side or the other and when we wanted to go straight we sat straight up. When we tried to stop going in to one river we swung from one side to the other but we went in anyway.

Sings song

I remember seeing a dance where one dancer goes under the leg of the other. Here is the song.

Sings song

In Fairbanks the preacher was reading and the lay preacher acted out the story. They asked me to sing using the saw. They said I could compose a song using the Bible verses. I was hesitant. When I went back to Wainwright I told the elders and the deacons about it. Samuel Simmonds (Wainwright native preacher) said it was good to do this because songs are to give pleasure to people. You remember Simon Peter. After he went to heaven he said he was going to catch fish and the other disciples said they would go with him but they did not catch any. Their master appeared and said to cast on the right side and they caught many fish. I do not call Simon Peter by his right name but I call him the great fisherman.

Sing song

This was composed using the Bible verses. This was when the master asked them if they had caught any fish and they said no and he said cast on the right side. I made a second verse for the song.

Sing song

When we went to the fair at Pt. Hope we sang other people's songs. They hadn't told us we couldn't sing other people's songs and we did. When we got home to Wainwright we found that we had done wrong. I composed three songs - here they are.

Sings song

This is the song Oscar asked me to compose. And now this is the song I composed to go to the Eskimo olympics.

Sings song

I have written the words down to these songs on this peice of paper, in my own writing system.

Samuel Kunaknana

I have some songs which I own and they go with motion dances. I have some ancient songs that they sang at that time over towards Canada. When the people from Barrow came to Niglik the young men prepared for the dance. I will sing a short one that one of the young men composed.

Sings song

There was a man during the winter who would try to get many skins. When he got the number of skins that he wanted he would say "I got one, two, three, four, five." He would compose a song using his numbering system. Any type of skin wolverine, wolf, when he got five he would sing this song, using the song to count his skins. There is another song I would like to sing. In the summer they used to go down river in skin boats after the caribou. Sometimes the boat had a mast which we would use if there was wind but we also had a rope attached to the boat so we could tow it. While they were doing this a man composed a song. I will sing it.

Sing song

This happened when he broke the pole he was using to push the boat. He made the song concerning this incident. Another group of songs, I have others. Concerning the story of the uivaqsaat, the people who will be coming around the bend, I have heard it. And about the dead people who would come to life. One of the men who lived up toward Canada had a very bad disposition, he was always hateful towards others. During the course of his life he began to think of murdering people. He had heard of the people who will be coming around the bend, the uivaqsaat, and this was during the winter when it had become dark. He went out to the gargi and waited by the entrance. He heard some people singing outside. He listened and could tell they were happy and cheerful. He could not see them although he tried. At that moment his hatefulness went away, taken away by that singing and he went away without killing anyone. These were the uivaqsaat that they were talking about yesterday.

Roxy - Ekowana

I learned a song from my mother which I used to hear her singing when I first became aware. I did not know my father very well but he was from Wainwright. My mother used to sing songs that were not of this area but were from the southern area. The people of long ago used these songs for entertainment and pleasure and they made the songs very humorous and entertaining. After hearing a song that had been sent to them from another village they would compose another song as an answer. We do not use songs to this purpose now-a-days but that was the custom long ago. When my mother told of a man who got a lot of meat. He used to compose songs and send them back and forth. One day he was waiting for some visitors he expected but they hadn't arrived and he was getting impatient and tired of waiting for them. In the meantime he composed a song. I will sing it.

Sings song

The people from the south or western area are probably laughing. They recognize this song. Here is another one that was also composed by nikuptuaq(sp?). I will sing this one. When this family travelled together they would help each other using their charms, their amulets. At one time when the area to the southwest of them contained heavy clouds and was dark he composed this song.

Sings song

This was one of the songs that he sent to the other village. He composed it when he saw the dark clouds on the horizon in the direction that his friends were supposed to come from. This was composed in jest but also keeping in mind the amulets that were being used against him by the others. This is a song that was acquired from my mother-in-law. I learned it from her and I will sing it now. This is Aguwaq's song. We used to listen to the people from Barrow and Pt. Barrow when they came together. They would leave their boats here when the area around the point would freeze up. Before they reached Point Barrow they stayed in the Bay areas. They made these sun glasses with little slits. This one person had a pair of these and as he walked along the bay one day it was very windy and they had stopped there. They had a lot of meat but no more white man's food nor tobacco. When he realized he had dropped one "lense" of these sun glasses and when he realized it he composed a song about it.

Sings song

That is all.

26

Tape ~~27~~

Bertha Leavitt

This is a song composed by Atunuktuq(sp?). He has always been a dancer. He danced for us when we were young children. He sometimes used to use a frying pan for a drum.

Sings 3 songs

Roxy - Ekowana

I will correct this song she just sang by Alaluq. This happened at a time they were reindeer herders, at butchering time. There were 3 herds. They got 3 men from each herding group. They sent them off to kill the reindeer. While they were waiting the composed this song.

That is the way I heard that song. My stepfather who was from Kivalina used to sing songs from that area. He had a boyhood friend and they were very close (cousins) and when they went away for the summer they longed to see each other. This was a song one of them composed when they met once after a long absence.

Sings song

The next summer the other cousin composed a song, here it is.

Sings song

Those 2 cousins composed songs for each other. Whenever they met they would wrestle without speaking, after a long absence, until they were tired.

Mattie Bodfish — This song was composed by a herder in the winter. He composed it for a friend.

Sings song

Roxy Ekowana — Kaleak composed a lot of songs. One winter there was a man called Ninalukutalik(sp?). He was in the process of getting married but had not yet established a relationship and they didn't really have any dogs and he had spent the winter there at Qignik's(sp?) camp. He was with this young lady, they don't know whether they slept together or not. They may have slept together but they hadn't gone through the marriage ritual. This is the song he composed that winter.

Sings song

Jona Leavitt — There was a man called Itkillik, he often laughed about it. The women weren't very fond of this man. As days went by he decided to hide himself. He was seeking a wife but this is the song he composed himself. This is the time he hid himself and composed this song. I learned it from my adada(sp?)

Sings song

This is a song someone sang when machinery first was becoming established (up here).

Sings song

Waldo Bodfish — My adada, Qagumuk, I will sing a song composed by him. As a boy they lived around there where we herded caribou. This was a song by his father. He often sang it and that's how I learned it.

Sings song

This song I think was composed by Aluvaruk(sp?) or maybe Uyuqtuk.

Sings song

Here is a song my father sang when I was a little boy. Maniksuk composed a lot of songs. This one he composed when he went hunting.

Sings song

? I remember the stories my father told me about the times when they had dances. This was a song at a ceremonial dance.

Sings song (repeats)

Henry Naskanik I will talk a little more about the songs that Kaliuyuk composed.

Sings song

Rhoda Nageak This is a song they composed up inland with Paningona.

Sings song

Wier Negovanna I will sing this new song that was just composed for you.

Sings song

? This is a song I heard at a ceremonial dance at Oliktuk.

Sings song

? This is not a borowed song, this is one I composed myself, my husband Sikvayugak & I were going on a dog sled on an ice ridge.

Sings song

Wier Negovanna I used to remember the songs that went with the string games but I have forgotten a lot of them. Here is one about a grissly bear who wanted to piggy-back a victim. The victim said no way, but the grissly took off piggy-backing him.

Sings song along with string design

I would like to juggle like the young ladies used to do. It goes with a song. I will never finish the song because I'm such a poor juggler.

Sings and juggles

Ahtuangaruak- I've dropped it so there ends the song. They used to gather the herds together down there and wait for the Boxer returning from Barrow. We gathered at that place to kill reindeer. There were a lot of herders. They found a lot of animals, fat. Then this person composed this song.

Sings song

Henry Nashanik I cannot juggle but I remember the songs the young girls used to sing.

Sings song

? When someone composes a song everybody knows about it. When young men, reindeer herders, break out singing I can recognize their voices. This song has an English title.

Sings song

There follows a string game accompanied by a song (not translated).

Henry Nashanik - They sang a lot of songs at the Elder's conference in Kotzebue and lot of people were opposed to it. They were asking them to do shamen's songs and rituals which other people opposed. In my opinion they should not be performed because our faith has been replaced by Christianity.

? She's going to make the devil. He wants to be tied up. They used all the rope to tie him up tighter. They ran out of rope and he got free.

Waldo Bodfish sings a song about drinking liquid, part in Iñupiaq and part in English. He then relates that in the days before there were trading posts along the coast the people only got white man's food when the ships came in the spring. They would run out in the fall when the ships had left and then sometimes drank lots of liquids when they were hungry.

Rhoda Nageak sings some songs composed by her father one of which expresses his happiness up inland with Tom Gordon when he let them go after completing their work. Another song is his happiness about the nice weather in February.

Paul Tazrok composed a song out by the water one day. He heard a loon and said "I wonder if that loon is giving me a song." And then he composed it.

Samuel Kunaknana sings several songs. One was composed by his father when he was dying. Another one, a chant, was a gift to him from his friend in Barrow. The final song was his grandfather's.

End of Tape

Tape ~~28~~ 27 covers a great deal of information on songs and string games but much of it is not translated. A lot of the songs are by and about reindeer herders. One is about the time of trapping and something about being jailed if a herder trapped. One man liked to sleep most of the time and the song concerns his sleeping and not wanting to go to jail so he threw his traps away. For many of the songs the composer is known. In some cases the elders corrected each other on the exactness of the song. A translated song has these words.

I am scared of being here
Are you my friend my father
This is my father's belongings

This song concerns a man who used to give people a hard time. He had travelled by plane. This song is sung by Jonah Leavitt. Some others had explained it to him.

Another song is sung by Elijah Kakinyaaq. He composed it:

Not translated well but he says he wants to go crawling to look for something. Something about coco cola. (He has a small store in his house where one of his most popular items is selling coke to the kids. It goes on saying

I am crazy
I'll just stay here
I'm not going to cause no harm
I will just send money

A known person made this song because he was crazy. Because he found caribou over on the meat cache and forgot about it. Someone saw some crows snatching the meat off there.

A song sung by Bertha Leavitt concerns getting a whale.

End of Tape

28

Tape ~~29~~ has a discussion about next year's conference. One of the ideas is to have native foods prepared by natives rather than restaurant foods. There is much interest in native foods. They generally consider restaurant food to be over cooked. There are some requests for particular foods in the menu. It is suggested that some of the elders who are good cooks do the cooking.

There is a suggestion to bring in some native foods from the other villages. Certain villages are good for different foods.

Rhoda Nageak states she is interested in having some people over for lunch for seal meat. (Rhoda was several years champion seal skinner in Barrow).

Some suggestions for next year's topics: Roxy Ekowana is interested in further documenting traditional land use sites with site visits and recording its particular use. He would like some identifying marks on the site to point it out for future generations. He is interested in documenting what animals were hunted and where. He points out that Kuugerak(sp?) and Flaxman Is. were good for whales. He would like to have next year's conference contain a site identification session. He would like to talk about caribou and how oil companies are damaging it without notifying the people.

A woman (Martha) encourages talking to young people about the things and Iñupiaq language used in the past. She likes show and tell sessions; actually skin scraping, dying things etc. not just talk about it.

She suggests more interaction with grandchildren in the home showing them traditional ways.

A man thanks the hunters who got whales. He is concerned with the blasting at the gravel pit. He wants it stopped during whaling season

His friend got the first whale and he is very thankful. In the old days he says when they spotted a whale they would wave an oar and that would be a signal to others not to hunt seals.

He speaks of a man who killed his relatives. He would cut his hair short as an indication of his crime. During Nalukatuk the bereaved family of the dead person would beat themselves in a certain way. Then they would forget their mourning. He talks of the one committing the crime kicking a ball, dropping his knife and embracing someone 3 times to make friends (not clear just what he is talking about though it relates to earlier question on happiness and mental health). (This was Daniel Ahtuangaruak.)

Levi Greist also would like traditional land use sites marked. He talks of several sites mostly to the east. His ancestors were from the Kupauruk area and lived around there (Colville River to Sagavanirktok River).

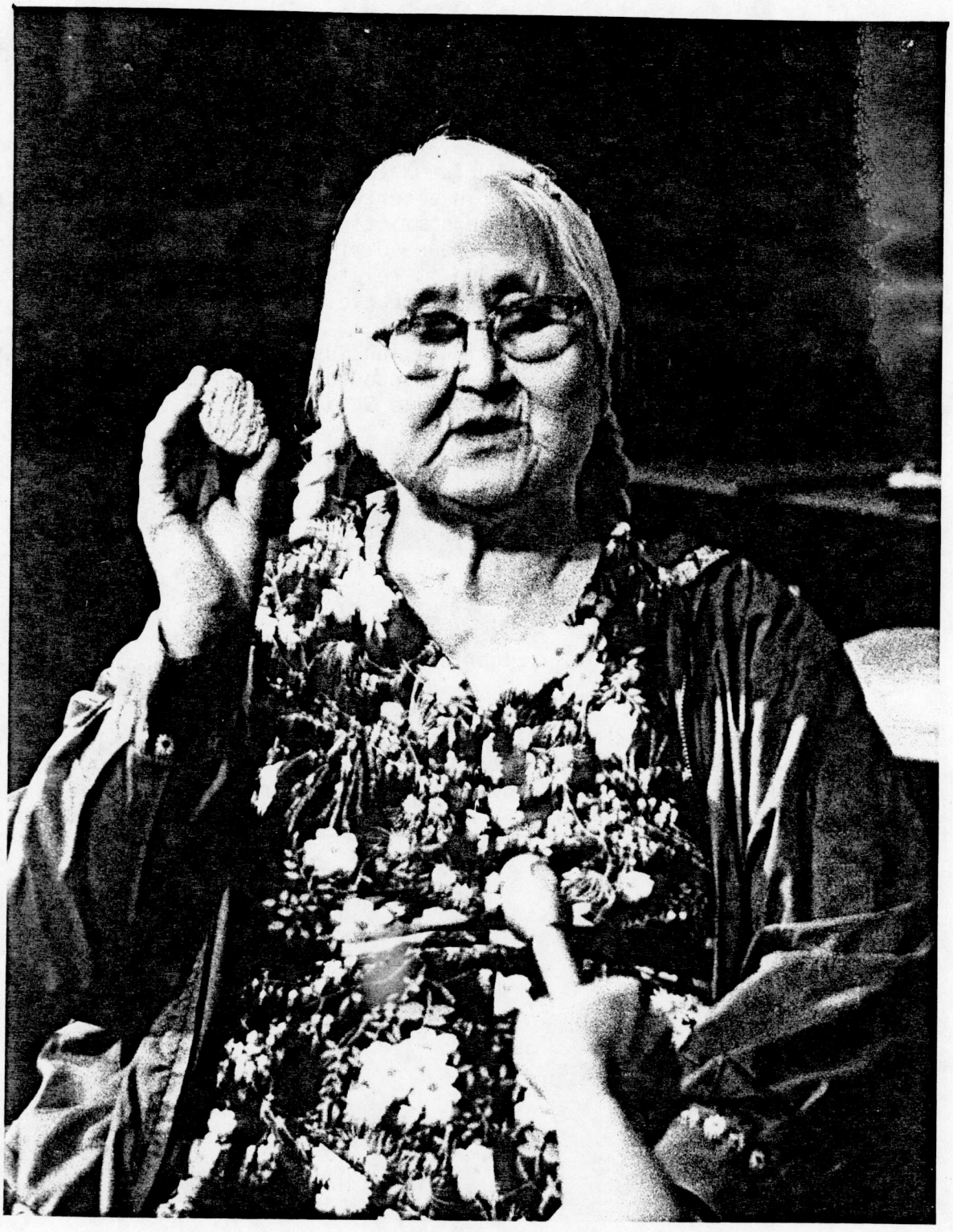
Many elders come forward and express thanks to those who organized this conference.

End of Tape

Elder's Conference 8/14/81
Tape ~~30~~ 29

This tape is about the last 20 minutes of the conference. Several elders thank the organizers of the conference for their guidance in the various topics. There is some spiritual thanks also. The organizer, Leona Okakok, ends up the session, thanking the elders, and laying out some Liebes Co. photos for those to see who might want copies.

End of tape



David Libbey, August, 1981

Mattie Bodfish at the Elders' Conference describes a small rock she uses for scraping skins.

M- Mattie Bodfish
D- David Libbey - ethnohistorian
R- Randy Peterson - curator of artifacts
W- Waldo Bodfish

Waldo and Mattie Bodfish 8/14/81
Artifacts & Plants Tape #30

R- Waldo, we find these marks on all kinds of things. Maybe you know what kind of tool was used to make them. In Ford's book and Murdock's you see pictures of artifacts with marks on them too.

D- This is BAR-2-1-10.

W- They use those marks for decoration on the equipment they have. They do that if they want to make it a little more fancy.

R- What kind of tool was used to make that mark? It's got that ring with the dot in the center.

W- Probably copper or something. Or they would make marks with a nail. When I first came to know those older people they used a nail for a drill. They probably got them from the ships. They flattened the point and put it in a stick. Sometimes they made it sharp on both sides and used it for marking. This was probably made when white man's stuff came up here. I've seen them file a nail in the center and on both tips to make it sharp. They used it for marking.

D- Do you know what this is for? (the artifact)

W- I don't know. It's probably broken.

R- I think originally, this has come loose here, for it to be closed. Could this be a small ulu handle?

W- It might be a small one made out of clay the ones they used to have for knives years ago. They made those clay ones real thin. They worked it with sand, rubbed it with fine sand, make it thin.

R- BAR-2-8-9379

W- This was used for putting the rope on snow shoes (webbing needle).

R- So they weaved it through using that?

W- Yes. They had all kinds of these, any size. This one the tip was real thin. When they're making an ice scoop they use those things. They use the line for the snow shoe frame. They use that scoop out on the ice, with a long handle.

R- BAR-2-8A-3056

W- This one was broken off. It's about the size of a darting bird's head. For spearing.....it had a handle before.

R- We just found this today at the Polar Bear theater test pit, just under the sod.

W- Spear head. Its got a place to tie it to the end....It was sharpened before it got a hole.

R- Yes. Its got a hole on each side and then drilled through the top. And they all connect.

W- I can't figure out what that was unless it was used as a hook of some kind for tom cod.

R- Some of those holes drilled on the side look like they've been inlaid with a piece of wood or bone.

W- Pretty well made. I can't figure out what it was used for. Used for something.

R- This one came from near the same place in the Polar Bear theater test pit.

W- It's an ulu handle.

R- Look at the decoration on there.

W- Yes, a whale.

R- What's that small one on the other side?

D- A whale fluke, not a full one, part of the tail. This guy must have been a regular whaler, the one who owned this ulu handle.

R- This is BAR-2-8-3329.

W- That's part of the seal leg on the end. Big seal. I wonder what they used that for. They put a lot of holes in there.

R- Part of it's broken away.

W- It used to be about this long. Must be young ugruk...(inaudible)...I can't figure out what they used that for, with all those holes.

R- Maybe just trying out his drill.

W- Maybe, trying it out to see if it really works.

R- BAR-2-8B-4052

W- That's a wolf scarer, they make a noise, whirrr, whirrr.

D- Oh, a bull roarer.

W- I don't know what they call it in English. Wolf scarer.

R- We've also found some pieces sort of like this one only they're made out of bone or ivory.

W- They made them. In later years.

R- This was about 3" across and had a hole in the middle. Same thing?

W- Yes, they make more noise when you put a hole in them.

R- BAR-2-8B-5609

W- That's a spear head I guess. They put a wooden handle here. It's got a hole in there.

R- So those two prongs coming off there would go into a shaft?

W- Yes.

R- BAR-2-SC-60

W- A sled runner, broken off here.

R- Did it just happen to break or did they make something....?

W- No, it broke through, cracked I guess. Those whale rib runners run easy on the tundra.

D- I've noticed some of the old boats lying ruined on the beach and tundra have bone along the keel.

W- Yes, they used that years ago on the keel of the whale boat. Those jaw bones. They didn't used to throw away those jaw bones. When they killed a whale they always brought it (jaw bone) in. And they used that hardest part for sled runners. They split it with a saw. Split it sideways - make a groove on both sides. After you split it you chip off the soft spots and use that hardest part, split the width of the sled, just right.

D- BAR-2-37-1136

W- I don't know what they used that for. Used for something...it's got so many holes. Patch work for a shovel or something. When it breaks they put (piece) down with a wooden nail to hold it. I don't know, I might be wrong.

R- BAR-2-809380. We found 4 or 5 of those so far, made out of bone or antler or ivory. They're all almost exactly the same in the way its cut.

W- I can't figure it out unless they stick this one on the side, put an ulu on a spear handle. (Demonstrates throwing). You can throw a spear a long ways when you have a finger grip.

R- So you put the base of the spear right up against that and then this would be attached to the spear handle?

W- Yes. I used to make them from walrus tooth. But a different kind. I just made a little hole on the side of my spear and stick it in.

R- That one sure had us baffled. Dale said to be sure to bring it over to Waldo. I couldn't find it. I searched for that for an hour this morning.

BAR-2-SC-21.

W- That's part of, I don't know unless it was one of the old-time planes. Wood plane. Years ago they put that on top of the blade and push it in. There's a stick goes across there where it's cut out.

D- Would the blade been of stone or steel?

W- The planes were about this long and you put the blade in here. They were white man made I think. They had a similar one before. When the white man first came they had a plane like that and the blade, they wedged it down with wood.

D- A small hand plane?

W- Yes, must be one of those though I'm not sure.

D- BAR-2-37-1137

W- A patch for snowshoe or something.

R- A patch?

W- Yes, a broken one. They lashed it up when they put this thing right against the broken piece.

R- How did they drill those holes so small?

W- Use nails. Some of the old timers used bones but they get dull easy. Since they started bringing nails up here they use them for drills, all sizes, some real small.

R- BAR-2-SC-33

W- This we used for shaving. It's broken.

R- What kind of a blade did you use?

W- Rock or clay or soap stone, flint.

D- So that's something like a spoke shave?

W- Yes, they had a handle about this long (1 ft).

R- What do you suppose these grooves are for.

W- They must have used that for when they tie it with rope it won't slip off. They have all kinds of funny shaped handles. Sometimes when they made things they didn't have any material, they would use anything.

R- BAR-2-8-5972

W- That's a bone. When they're lashing they stick that in to make the end go through, just squeeze it under the rope lashing. Same like the white man has. It's to pull the end of the rope lashing back under (the lashing).

R- BAR-2-37-1184

W- Poke handle. Seal skin poke.

R- Was that on the end of a cord or...?

W- Yes, sometimes they used that for a rope too on the end of a spear line, when hunting walrus or ugruk. So it won't slip from their hands. It must be one of them.

R- BAR-2-8-603

W- Same thing. They used that for the poke. They put that right on the neck when they're going to lash it. Wrap it around with skin and then with rope.

R- BAR-2-8-3644. It's got a split in one end there. I don't know if that's intentional or not.

W- It had a blade in here. Used it for marking. Tie it around here. A little sharp piece that's the handle.

D- Do you think they might have used that little spoke shave to make that round like that?

W- Yes. They whittle wood with any implement. Even used flint chips. When you go up river on the Utokok there's a lot of chips on the high bluff on both sides of the river. I guess when they were watching for game they chipped off the flint.

R- We found a lot of jade. Do you know where that comes from?

W- Yes. Big jade on Kuk River. Nobody ever find it. I tried 3 times but never found it. It's on the side of a hill on the south side of Kigilu(sp?) River. Every time the old people go up there many years ago before the white man came they pick up chips of jade from there. Then they covered it with sod after they got what they want. They kept it secret. When I was working for Helga Larson I was digging one of the five houses by myself and I found jade about this size, big one, and it had a groove all around the side, cut with sand. When they are sharpening knives and ulus or whatever they want to make I think they kept it a long time to make that piece.

D- So that was a sharpening stone?

W- I don't know if they have it at the university. Larson was telling me they were going to put it in the University of Alaska. I don't know whether they did or not.

D- So it was about 1.5 ft. long. And about 4 in. wide and same thickness.

W- I don't know where they got it from but it was in that house that I dug.

R- BAR-2-8B-5582

W- Hook, I think.

R- Is there a hole in each end of that one?

W- Yes. That would be good right now for grayling. Just put a hook and line on it.

R- BAR-2-8-3689

W- Hooks - somebody cut it off right here. They use a hook like that in ugruk hunting.

R- How did they use that?

W- It's got a hole right here. Those hooks are bent back this way. Something heavy bent them the way they are now. You can see where they bent here. Somebody cut it off. When you shoot a bearded seal, or seal, you drag this along the bottom.

R- BAR-2-18A-363

W- I don't know. It was used for something. Bone I guess. It's lain on the ground and it stained it black.

R- Could that be a plug?

W- Yes, could be. Must be a plug for something.

R- Could it be for a labret, just not ground down?

W- Too big. I've never seen a labret that big.

R- BAR-2-18A-369

W- That's a little handle for chipping something. It's got a hole on each end to tie it to some hard stuff, bone or whatever they have.

R- So this is the handle part and something else would be the pick?

W- Yes. One side is chipped off.

R- BAR-2-8-2362

W- That's the end of the darting point. It's got a rope on here. Tie it up. Must be about this long, broken off.

D- Mattie Bodfish has arrived so now we'll discuss plants and dyes. The other day in the Elder's Conference you were talking about some interesting things, plants, and other things used for dyes and medicines. I see you brought over....

M- That's a dye.

D- What's the name of that?

M- Ivisaaq. Dye for skin and wood. Men use it on the sled and umiak. Just like painting.

D- Rub it on?

M- Wet, little bit wet. I brought this one up from Pt. Hope. Some of it is dry.

D- Do the people collect that around Pt. Hope?

M- Pt. Hope? Kuukpik maybe (Colville River) get Pt. Hopers. All

kind of dye they always pick up from Kuukpik. That's what they always say - Pt. Hope.

D- And it's popular to use today?

M- Yes, you can use it on a ruff too, to color the skin. And for the boots. I got this from my girlfriend in Pt. Hope, my buddy. She gave me that. Those leaves that I was talking about as medicine I got from Kotzebue. They sent me that. I have it in my home.

D- Yes, I remember. What was the name of that plant?

M- Sagiaruaq (sp?)

D- You said what it was used for.

M- For medicine. I've got a back bone right here that hurt. I put that plant on my back and lie down on it for about one hour.

D- Every day?

M- No. When my back hurts I lay down on it.

D- Did you have some other plants that day?

M- No. You didn't see any others. That other woman had some from Atqasuk, Phoebe Kippi.

D- Waldo you had some plant specimens that day.

W- Yes, those nigger heads, those soft ones. They use that for a wick for the Eskimo lamp. That's called maniq. The other one was one that grows between the nigger heads in certain places, about this round. I picked a small piece and brought it to show at the Elder's conference, called ugruyak. It's used for diaper. Women even used it way back.

D- It looked like a kind of moss.

W- It grows in certain places between the tundra. You can tell it easy. They dried them up, hung them on the rack, then put them away for the winter use. They would collect a whole stack of them in the summer in the days when I used to watch people when I was a kid.

D- You have another thing here. I think you said it was a scraper. Is that a certain kind of rock?

M- Yes, very light. I got it from Pt. Hope too.

W- When they scrape a skin they scrape the first layer and then use this on the second layer. So it would be pliable.

M- Scrape it, tanning it so it gets soft.

W- They use flint too, to scrape it and make it pliable.

D- Does this kind have a name?

M- I don't know. We call them ikuun (dict.=wood plane; skin scraper) scraper.

D- Can you find this kind of rock in certain places?

W- Sometimes you find them on a mountain or a cliff.

M- On the ocean too sometimes.

W- It's between the rocks, when a cliff breaks down you find them. Sometimes you find them right in the river.

D- Randy, do you have some more artifacts?

R- BAR-2-8-6502

D- This came out of the Utqiaġvik Site.

W- This one is broken. They left it like this.

M- Bone.

W- Whale rib, pick for digging masu. That's recently made I guess, about 15 or 20 years ago. It's been sawed off here. They took the hardest part off from there. I guess they just left this like that. Didn't use it for anything.

R- When we first found this we thought it might be a harpoon for whales, not finished.

W- That would be just right for the back end of a harpoon but it never made it.

R- But you think it may have been a pick?

W- Could be a pick - it's too short though, unless you use it for...(inaudible)...

R- BAR-2-8B-5608

W- That's copper, looks like it.

R- Don't cut too deep Waldo.

W- Yes, that's copper. They put a wooden handle here and use it for chipping flint. They put bone or ivory on it sometimes. That's a hole for when they put a handle. They put a peg right here for when they wrap it up so it won't come out. It's made of bone and used for chipping flint. When they are going to make something out of flint, a big round, they look for the eye on that rock. If you don't hit that right spot on the eye it never splits good. You have to find the eye first on the rock. That's what the eskimos always say. When you hit right on the spot it splits it smooth. They know how to chip it after that, if they split it good.

R- How do you recognize the eye?

W- I don't know. The old time eskimos know that. Turn the rock all around to find the place to split it. Then they hit it with the hammer and it splits. That's how they work on flint.

R- Here's alittle wood piece BAR-2-8-6898.

W- Used for something but I can't make it out.

R- We found several pieces just like it.

W- It's got a hole. Maybe somebody wanted to make a drill. I don't know something started but never finihsed.

R- BAR-2-24-183

W- Must be broken off. Fish needle. It had about a 6 ft. long rope, a line, and a toggle on the end. They put it through the gills of the fish after they get them out of the net and tow them on a kayak when they go fishing.

D- So the fish are towed in the water behind the kayak.

M- Too fat!

W- Just about right for a big fish. Got a hole on the end. They had all kinds....(inaudible)...put them together when they are going to tow the fish. When they are fishing away from the village. That must be one of them.

R- This has no number on it, but it's a bone piece just a little over 4 in. long. It's been cut flat here and then it has a groove on each end. It was a surface find. Wait, there is a number, SC-7.

W- Made for something but I can't make it out. Sharpened on the other side.

M- I've never seen that myself.

W- Maybe the tip of a toy shovel. They always groove on the side when they want to put bone on the top of the shovel. It's too small though unless it's for a toy.

R- BAR-2-8-602

W- Scraper I think or adze. Scraper to get hair off maybe. No, it should be part of a shovel but it's got a groove on here.

R- That's what we were curious about too. It looks like a snow shovel blade that broke and then they put something on it. Made something different out of it.

W- It looks like a shovel blade. It's heavy must be ivory.

R- We found a lot of what looks like toys at this site.

W- In the early days people used to make a lot of toys for their children.

R- We've got some little harpoon heads, arrows. You saw that little bow in the display.

W- Yes, for children.

R- Did they ever make little things like that that weren't toys?

W- They made toys of everything for kids, even out of seal flipper and ugruk flipper, front and tail end. They made games out of flipper bones. Cooked them nice and clean and used them for games.

R- We were wondering if all these little things we found are toys.

W- Some people make little things as part of their equipment, charm, put a rope on it, or the end of a pipe or end of a knife. All kinds of charms for their knife and every thing.

R- So we can't be absolutely sure it's a toy. It might be a charm.

W- Yes.

D- DEcoration on some of their things?

W- Yes, each individual, to suit their taste.

D- Mattie, were there some other plants you know about besides the one you brought?

M- Those green leaves, the juice is good for sick people. Just like orange juice. Cook it first, the juice and its good for sick people to drink, qunulliq (Oxyria digyna)sweet leaves.

W- They boil it in water and mix it with flour and it's really good, like fruit.

D- We were wondering if it would be possible to get some plants.

W-M- Yes, we can pick some around Wainwright and send them to you, give us your address.

D- Good. Maybe each plant in a separate package with its Iñupiaq name on it and what it's used for. Then we can send it out and put the information in this report.

End of tape



David Libbey, August, 1981

Waldo Bodfish looks at artifacts in the project lab with Randy Peterson, curator, while Herman Rexford (left) observes.

INTERVIEW WITH JOE SIKVAYUGAK

Tape #31

August 25, 1981

BG = Beverly Patkotak Grinage
Interviewer and Translator

JS = Joe Sikvayugak
Informant

JS: My father tried to raise me in Utqiaġvik, that's why I understand other people's stories. Since I was raised in Barrow, when I began to understand people, Barrow has really changed. Barrow doesn't look at all like it used to. Back then Barrow was clean. It was really nice. But now that I can look back many years, now that I'm old, Barrow looks different. I have seen those old people.

BG: Did you grow up in Barrow?

JS: Yes. I grew up in Barrow.

BG: You grew up in Utqiaġvik and not in Nuvuk, is that Correct?

JS: Yes, just in Barrow.

I didn't have a father. I just had a mother. My mother was just like my father too. My mother married a man from Barrow. His name was Kuutchik. My stepfather from Barrow would tell stories. He told stories of things that he saw.

BG: Would you spend the winter in Barrow?

JS: Yes. I stayed here even in the summer. Sometimes I went to Wainwright to stay with my uncle and other relatives. But Barrow was my land from the very beginning.

BG: Did people gather here in Barrow from other villages?

JS: Visitors came to Barrow from all over. They came by dog sleds in the winter. People from Nuvuk and people from Barrow travelled to Pt. Hope in the winter. People define piruġaaq as the people who go to Pt. Hope, these people that go to visit their relatives in the winter. People from Barrow and Nuvuk went to Pt. Hope by dog sled in the winter. I haven't seen them doing this, but my stepfather, Kuutchik, told stories of people who travelled. My stepfather, Kuutchik, his mother, grandmother, and Akłaana travelled to Pt. Hope in the winter by dog teams.

BG: did they hunt as they were travelling to Pt. Hope?

JS: Yes, looking for people also. They visited relatives. Kuutchik always had many relatives. Kuutchik had many relatives in Pt. Hope. Many of his relatives are gone (deceased), but I saw some of them

BG: Did they go there just to visit?

JS: Yes. They really didn't do much, but they just went to visit. They had to obey the law, so they had to go over there (law: unwritten laws of the Iñupiat). They didn't have jobs in those days. Kuutchik said he went to Pt. Hope when the sun comes out; when the day gets longer. Kuutchik was a part of the community, a sibling (sibling acquired through parent's swapping relationship) in Pt. Hope. I saw some of his relatives that were acquired through parents' swapping relationship. I was there many years

JS: Cont'd.: ago. I delivered mail for the government for three years. I saw Kuutchik's siblings, that were acquired through parents' swapping relationship, that were old such as Qalayauq. I delivered mail to Pt. Hope, so I saw his relatives.

BG: After visiting, did these people return to Barrow?

JS: Yes. After staying in Pt. Hope they returned home. Probably when they get homesick. Because they were no jobs for people, people went to Pt. Hope to visit from Barrow. They'd go to see their relatives.

BG: Did they bring their relatives along with them?

JS: Yes. My stepfather told stories of people who were washed up by the ocean. They found these people as they were travelling. These people that were washed up landed just this side of Pt. Hope. They also found people washed up in Barrow. And these people started living there.

BG: Can you tell me about the people who lived in Piġniq and Nuvuk?

JS: Yes. I visited Nuvuk when there were many people living at Nuvuk. I went visiting to Nuvuk when I was a young boy with my grandmother. Kuutchik's mother, my grandmother, Alaalik. I took my grandmother to Nuvuk so she could try to borrow whale meat or seal meat from Nuvuk. Her relatives gave her whale meat and seal meat. Meat for her food. She had many relatives in Nuvuk. In those days there were about 3-400 people in Nuvuk. People talk about Nuvuk as a good place to live. They said it has many animals and seal hunting wasn't difficult. Since Nuvuk is such a good place, people lived off of seal meat in the winter. Some people ate polar bears. Now there are no people left in Nuvuk. It has gotten a lot smaller because of so much erosion along the cliffs. I saw the people and their many houses in Nuvuk that are no longer there. When I went back there, the houses were gone. The houses I had seen were gone in Nuvuk. Those houses had fallen into the ocean. I recognized the houses I had been in. Such as Kunullauraq's house. I knew those houses when I was a boy. Those people in Nuvuk had good lives in the winter, because they had seal meat for food.

Some people came from Pt. Hope to live in Nuvuk. These people made children, they found mates from Nuvuk. I saw these Pt. Hopers that did that, such as the Kinnaviaq's. I knew Kinnaviaq, he was from Pt. Hope. The Kaviulluk's, Kanaktuġvik's, Anarraat's, I saw these people from Pt. Hope. These people liked to dance, they were happy. The people in Nuvuk weren't hungry. But Kuutchik told stories of people that were starving in Nuvuk. People who were hungry, starving and dying. I guess a long time ago, people became thin from hunger in Nuvuk. People also became thin from hunger in Barrow. I, myself, have not seen this, but I learned this from Kuutchik's stories.

I am going to tell you a story that I had heard. People at that time were starving and dying. And at that time a person by the name of Kapuukkaluk lived there. He set out to hunt for whales, I guess in the Springtime. These people set out to hunt whales while the people were starving. And Kapuukkaluk caught a whale. So the people who had gotten weak were saved by the whale that Kapukkaluk caught. After they ate the whale meat they were revived to life. Kapuukkaluk is not a legend, he was a real man. The people in Nuvuk became better when they started eating. Those were the first people. After those people are gone, they were replaced by other people. And today the young people I had seen, they are gone, gone from Nuvuk. Now there are no people left in Nuvuk. There are just the remains of their houses.

JS: I will praise Nuvuk, because I saw Nuvuk when I was a young boy. These are stories that I heard from my stepfather, Kuutchik.

Now, I will talk about Barrow. When Kuutchik was growing up, people were starving in Barrow. His father, mother, and others began searching for frozen food from ice cellars. Some people died in the ice cellars. When I was growing up people dug in ice cellars searching for oily sod, (puya), because in those days people burned oily sod (puya) in their stoves to heat their houses. People find dead people in ice cellars while they are looking for this oily sod. People search for this oily stuff just like looking for wood. People say that there is a dead person in an ice cellar near Ahsogeak's house. People that died while searching for food in ice cellars during starvation times. When many people were getting thin from hunger in Barrow, Kuutchik and his mother split up. My grandmother went inland with some people. She left Kuutchik along the coast. People that were still able to travel went inland to get fish, probably in the Spring. My grandmothe and Kuutchik went up too along with their relatives to the river. The people started living off of fish caught in fish nets. The people that had gone inland became more alive again. And the people in Barrow became more alive by eating food from the ocean, like seals. These people that lived near the ocean became alive again, that time when people were starving.

This story is true. People that dig in old ice cellars over there looking for food find dead people. People died in ice cellars while searching for frozen food, they couldn't get back out because they became too weak.

People got better in Barrow after the Springtime. When people get thin from hunger, when the weather gets bad the little lakes that have ducks, get covered with snow. When people become thin the lakes get covered with snow and the birds start flapping their wings. These are stories that Kuutchik told. I heard these from Kuutchik, my stepfather.

BG: Did you see the people that lived in Piġniq?

JS: No, but people tell stories of Piġniq. People tell stories about an old woman and her grandchild that lived in Piġniq. I saw those old houses, the houses that the old woman and her grandchild lived in. This house had many levels, one on top of the other. People built houses, one on top of the other, like the old woman and her grandchild's house. Their house is made with whalebones, because the old woman was a shaman. People lived in Piġniq, people that were generations of a family from the old woman and her grandchild. People lived in Piġniq, they lived there by hunting ducks in the summer. I have seen all the old houses that the people lived in, but the old woman and her grandchild's is very large. The old woman and her grandchild didn't have difficulty getting whale meat, because they were shamans. Those houses have a lot of whale bones in them. I saw their old house, it's very large. This old woman and her grandchild's house is larger than any house in Piġniq. This house was a two-story house. These two people never lacked whale meat, since the old woman was a shaman. In those days, shamans didn't have difficulty in getting anything. Nothing was hard when they decided to do something.

The people who were in search of artifacts really liked this old woman and her grandchild's old house. They dug for artifacts until they reached the floor of their house.

My stepfather, Kuutchik, told stories about Piġniq. He said people used to live there. He (Kuutchik) said he didn't understand why people left

JS: Cont'd.: Piġniq. But he heard of the old woman and her grandchild that lived in Piġniq. They lived off of whale meat.

People lived in Piġniq, hunting seals, and ducks. Although they didn't have shotguns, they had bola's for hunting ducks. They made bola's with bones. They used bola's in Nuvuk also for hunting ducks.

Piġniq had people there at one time, I see their old houses. We didn't see the people that had lived there. The old woman and her grandchild's house was number one. The archaeologists dug it all out.

BG: Do you know the names of the archaeologists that dug that old house?

JS: No. I knew the white person that dug there, but I forgot his name. My cousin, Okpeaha, also dug in Piġniq at the old woman and her grandchild's house. I have not seen these things, but I heard them from Kuutchik.

I will priase Nuvuk as being the number one place for hunting. Although the people before me experienced starvation, the people I see hunted there. But the people I saw were never hungry. They hunted polar bears and seals; by using nets, these people weren't hungry, the last people there. Nuvuk was the best place for hunting.

BG: Was it even better than Barrow?

JS: Barrow was like that too when the ocean was good, they spend the winter eating seals. People spent the night on the ice hunting seals with nets. Some people would get 20 seals this way. People of Nuvuk also used nets. They make a breathing hole in the ice for the seal and they put a net.

I used to hunt seals with nets when I was younger. My wife (Siakuk) knows that, we used to hunt seals with nets. We'd get a seal everyday. I am only talking of the things I heard from Kuutchik. I never forget them, I never forget when a person tells me a story. My stepfather, Kuutchik, was a shaman. I found out, so did my mother, that Kuutchik was a shaman. I have not seen shamans performing magic in Barrow. But I have seen people that change while dancing, people that are brought up by spirits (Qila: conjuring spirit). People that are under a shaman's power cannot stop dancing. I know them; Apayauq, Qalġina, and Atuqtuaq, these people that are changed by spirits while dancing. They call it (qilanikkaq) when they change while dancing, even though they are not performing magic. They were many people who were shamans in Barrow. The shamanistic practices are wiped out now. The missionaries have wiped them out. People sing songs that make people change.

BG: How do they change?

JS: Their actions or movements change when they dance and they can't stop dancing. When people see that they are conjured by spirits, the dancing is suddenly stopped. It is stopped because they don't want them to perform magic, they don't want them to be taken by real shaman spirits. I heard these stories from my stepfather. He told stories everynight.

Piġniq used to have many people. The old woman and her grandchild also lived in Piġniq . They had whale meat for food, because the old woman was a shaman. They call the old woman's grandson, Iliappaaluk, because he was poor. He grew up with his grandma, that's why they call them Aanalugiik (grandma or old woman and grandchild). I am telling the stories that Kuutchik told me.

JS: There was a man at Nuvuk, his name was Tuuksraq. This man would take off to the ocean (Taġiuq). People said that there are also people over there, down there in the ocean (not underwater). It is a true story. Airplanes have looked for this land, Tuuksraq's land. It is said that Tuuksraq always went to those people that lived near the ocean, Tuuksraq, the man from Nuvuk.

One time before he set off for that place, he had his one pair of maklak's patched on the soles, so that they wouldn't wear out while he was travelling. He'd pass 3 open leads (open leads between land ice and pack ice) when he went down there. He crossed 3 of these leads. Then he would settle down with these people.

BG: Were these people Iñupiat?

JS: Yes, Iñupiat. They speak just like us. Kuutchik says that this is true, that there is such a land down there. When Tuuksraq went down there he had those people prick or cut a slit in his shoulder, in a spot that he couldn't reach himself. He had this done so that when he lands in Nuvuk the people couldn't say that he was lying about where he had been.

When he landed in Nuvuk Tuuksraq would show his cut on his shoulder as proof of his visiting a land in the ocean. Because of the cut, Kuutchik said it was a true story. So there were people outside of Nuvuk that lived on land, a place that Tuuksraq always visited.

BG: Did those people of the sea ever visit Nuvuk?

JS: I guess so. People in Nuvuk and Barrow believed that there were people out there because Tuuksraq had proof of it on his shoulder. Airplanes have searched for this place, but they haven't found it. They think that that land had sunk into the ocean. They have looked for that land just recently. You can reach that place by going oceanward from Nuvuk.

BG: Why didn't those people visit Nuvuk?

JS: It is said that those people never travelled anywhere. Only Tuuksraq was a visitor to that place.

BG: Why didn't people travel to that place with Tuuksraq?

JS: I think he'd try to make people follow him out there, but there was no one that would go from here. These are stories told by my stepfather. These stories are true.

BG: What is the name of the place that Tuuksraq visited?

JS: I don't know the name.

This land, Barrow, has changed much since I have seen it. In those days it was a happy place. It is very different now.

I will tell another story. Tuukkaq, from Nuvuk, an old man that I saw. He would make a map on the floor before people set out to go whale hunting, and he would talk to the people. He made a map on the land, on the floor, with sticks because he had gotten so many whales. He'd talk to the people. An old man, Tuukkapiluk. I have seen him, it was Panningun's stepfather, the person who adopted him or her (Panningun). (My sister Panningun). She is not my real sister, but I call her sister from her mother, Pauqqaasin. Their children are

JS: in Wainwright (Panninguna).

Tavra, I have nothing else to say.

R = Roxy Ekowana
D = David Libbey

Tape #32

Roll#1 1,2,3

D- This first one is called "Ft. Point Barrow, built around 1881." I showed that to Ross (Ahngasuk) and he said it looked like the weather station but then he said he wasn't sure if that was the same building.

R- If this was taken at that time then I haven't seen this one myself. If it was built the way it was described then it was probably disassembled before my time. I have never seen this one. The stories I have heard- it may have existed. This one here looks like a boat rack with a boat on top of it. This is common. But this building I haven't seen.

Roll#1 4,5,6

D- They call this a fort. I don't think there was ever a fort here.

R- Well, it could be the right name but I don't know.

D- This next one says "Building erected by Brower as a shelter for ship wrecked sailors, Pt. Barrow, Alaska."

R- Does it give the year?

D- No.

R- That might be like the one that when I was a boy the elders the same age as my parents say that there was a building erected before that time. That I cannot tell for sure. The story is, it looks like this end of Browerville above the sand bar, they claim the crew from ship wrecks at the time needed shelter. This may have been abandoned by former people. They were sheltered, the sailors, as a group. This does not look like the old building that Brower had as a store. Its different type of a structure.

Roll#3 16

D- Here's a series of USGS photos. This one is #15 and says "Barrow shoreline, August 24, 1924." I thought that might be the beach down in front here.

R- Yes, that looks like it used to be when the ice was jammed in. Especially the year the freighter for the Liebes Company was wrecked. The "Arctic". It looks like right in front here. It doesn't look like Browerville. The sand bar is wider. These look like the whale boats just beached from hunting. You see that canvass along side of that? That looks like the sail used as a shelter for some goods.

Roll#3 17

D- This one #17, also says "Barrow, 1924".

R- The one who took the picture might have got this one in front of this one.

D- OK, I see what you mean.

Roll#3 18

R- You see how the sand bar is kind of slanting down. It looks wider. It was wider at the time. This one is the old store that Brower had. Not his, but when he was working for Liebes Co, run by him. And these are the warehouses, this one here, that we know so well. These two warehouses, one of them is the store house for the coal supply, which was stored away after the unloading of the boat, like the "Arctic" in 1924. The other one was for storing coal oil, kerosene, and also gasoline. The

other ones here on the right are for the dry goods and food like flour and sugar. I think one other store house is hidden back of this one here. In back of the main building. And another one over in here too, off to the right, which was used as living quarters at the time for employees.

D- Where was this located?

R- This one was located right where Brower's Cafe is now. This one was later on dismantled to make it smaller and now it is the smaller store, out of this building. Probably back in the 1930s. They erected the same building at the same spot, tear it down then rebuilt it. You can see the building which Brower used as a cafe now.

D- What direction are we looking at it?

R- From the northwest, we're standing on the beach looking inland at it.

D- Is this just a walkway, these boards?

R- Yes, a boardwalk to wheel the heavy stuff into the warehouses during unloading. For wheel barrows, a walk for people carrying heavy loads on their backs like coal and two cases of kerosene. Making it easier for the people carrying the load.

D- There's 2 people on the roof. I wonder what they are doing?

R- They're looking over the horizon. At the time they didn't have any lookouts. They climbed up on top of the roof to see if its opening, the ice, on the water, or to look for boats coming in from the eastward.

D- OK, #18, same thing "Barrow 1924".

Roll#3 19 R- Yes, these are the ones which I just said were not visible in the other picture, off to the right. This one here is living quarters for some employees (white building on the left) and this one here is the ice cellar (little one in middle) for the employees and this was his wife's living quarters. Brower's home for his wife and family. This smaller one (way in back on the right) is part of the warehouse we saw in the other picture.

D- Is this house of Brower's the same one that is still standing over there?

R- Same one though they have moved it.

D- Some one pointed it out to me as Brower's old house.

R- This is where he raised his family.

Roll#3 20 D- #19 also the same, "Barrow 1924" but it's not very clear.

R- It's not clear. It might be the same spot, I don't know. What about these buildings over here. It looks like this one from the front here. No I can't make it out.

Roll#4 1 D- #20, same thing, "Barrow 1924"

R- This one is on this side.

D- Yes, that's where the hospital is now.

R- Yes, this is the old hospital before it burned. The first Presbyterian hospital. This was the manse that housed the minister at the time.

D- Oh, that was before this one (now)? That one burned down?

R- Yes, it burned down, I think back in 1925 or so. Way over there there's a little spot; there's some Eskimo igloos over there.

D- Oh, I see, right in the center.

R- I'm not quite sure about the white one there but over above and over in the corner are some Eskimo houses.

D- Oh, on the edge of the lagoon at the right.

R- This could have been the house that Benjamin Numusuk's father. And this other one over here at the corner (on the right) could have been another Eskimo house built out of lumber, that has since been moved, was occupied before by Alasuruk(sp?). That wood frame building was later moved to another location. There could be another one not visible here (off to the right). Is this a roof or what?

D- I can't tell, it's not very clear.

R- This one here is probably the ice house right in between (small white oblong between the manse and the new hospital). This used to have a sod covering, the ice house. The green manse (now) is built right over where this stood one time. These were owned by the Presbyterian mission at the time. You see that narrow sand bar right in the middle? When there is a low tide there is a creek over in here. Some would walk right across through that if the creek is not deep. That's the walkway there to the school and this one goes to the church.

D- OK, the walkway angling off from the manse to the lower right hand corner went to the school and the one that cuts off from it and going parallel with the bottom of the picture went to the old church.

R- Right.

Roll#4
2

D- #23, "Barrow 1924".

R- No doubt about that. This is a tent, (upper right center) this end of that sand bar. These building are not quite clear enough to make out what they are. But those to the right, those two are tents. What do you make out of this one here?

D- It looks like a little house of some kind with a white entryway and it has a roof that blends in with the tundra and there's a little window there.

R- I can't make it out for sure. Right on the right side of that black house, what is that?

D- I can't tell.

R- Is it a boardwalkway?

D- Maybe, very straight though.

R- And that white there?

D- Maybe a box.

R- That may be the old building that belonged to the mission. That's on this side of the lagoon. On the other side of the lagoon beyond Browerville; this doesn't look the way I see it at the time. Are the boats upright?

D- I can't see them, it's not clear enough.

R- This small building here could be the old house. Do you see the entry extending? Which way?

D- Looks like to the right.

R- This could be the entry and this could be the warehouse belonging to this house. Long John Angutigerauk(sp?) could have had this house here (on the left with the entryway). His adopted son lived here, he's a little older than myself. And they could have had this warehouse on the left (you can see half of it). This one here I don't know, real old house used as a storehouse for the mission maybe.

Roll #4
3

D- #24, "Barrow 1924". It's almost the same.

R- Yes, so you can see the church and the walks and houses back over here. You see this old building here (the dark gray building just to the right of the manse). It looks like this one has been moved over here somewhere (over across the street from the church).

D- Is it still out there?

R- Yes, I think so. It has been moved from here. It's a green building now. The old warehouse for the mission. I understand it was given to Cora Tigaluuk. She lives at the 29 unit. She was hollering for the house at the time and the assessor may have sold it to her for 1 dollar. They didn't have too much use for it so they almost gave it to her. I have seen it in various locations. Harry and Minnie Norton lived right in front of it there. I can locate it. Some of these houses back here (one is the wood frame house pointed out before). Right on the edge of the lagoon is a house that belonged to Bob Akpik (Nannie Woods father). Here is the house that belonged to the castaways, after Bob Akpik bought it form Liebes Co., especially from Brower. He disassembled it out by NARL and moved it over here by the lagoon and rebuilt it.

D- That's the one you said is still standing.

R- Yes, but in a new location. All these houses have been moved to new locations. There was a wireless operator who lived in my house before I bought it from Brower. When they built a new house they needed land and he wanted this part here for the wireless operation and he kind of forced these Eskimos to move out, where the hospital is now. He said he would move them free and give each house $50. You can see that (Akpik's) right by Joe Sikvayugauk's house.

D- His wife was named Salome?

R- Yes.

D- So that's Nannie Woods and Walter Akpik, Sr.'s father.

R- Yes, Nellie Sikvayugauk's father. And she inherited that house and it's still outside of their house. I can point it out to you. And there's the old church after it was remodeled.

D- Did it ever burn?

R- No, it was just remodeled and they put an addition to it (on right side) and they put this tower on (central tower). The old one is the shorter one.

D- I guess they took that older one off.

R- Yes, they took both towers off in order to build this new church. They took it out because it was dangerous and now it has the new one.

D- Is this roof here part of the old school (roof in foreground from which photo was shot)?

R- Yes, that's it, that's where I went to school. When I was 6 years old I first went to school in this one. That one burned down in 1928.

D- Do you know what year the first manse burned down?

R- I don't know when it was built. I think it was when Dr. Marsh was missionary. It burned in 1925.

Roll#4 4 D- #29. "Herd of reindeer near Barrow in a corral of large blocks of ice set on end." I think it's about the same time because it's the same man who took the picture.

R- Who took the picture?

D- Phillip Smith, USGS.

R- I was not here then. I was out east 3 years, 1923-1926. I went out in 1927 again and came back again in 1928. So these pictures were taken when I was out with my brother and Taakpaaq out east. No doubt about this if it was taken near Barrow it was taken at the far end of that fresh water lake. Where they built the ice corral and counted the reindeer.

D- Did this herd have a number?

R- Well, there were several herds #1, 2, 3, 4 was taken from these herds bought by Brower in the name of his son from people who needed white man's food. He named the ones he bought to his children and some other natives he wanted to take care of this herd. Then there was another herd. Bill Egauwa took his reindeer and his sister's and took them to the Colville. That's #5. #6 came along that was Taakpaaqs herd along with his son-in-law and some others. They took them even further along Beechey Point and up to Sagavaanirtok. That's the time I was out there. So these herds had different numbers and different owners, all Eskimos.

D- About what time would they be doing this counting?

R- October, when the ice is just the right thickness to cut for a corral. About the first of October.

D- Did they mark them?

R- Just count them. Before they learned how to let them run out the chute they had to lasoo them inside and drag them out. Boy we had fun doing that.

D- Then later they built the chute and let them come out one at a time?

R- Yes, it's easier and quicker.

D- #31, a house in Barrow. It's also by Smith so it's probably about the same time.

R- Is this a window here or an entry?

D- Looks like a window.

Roll#4 5

R- This is probably Browerville. I don't remember any like that on this side and I knew a couple of these over there. This could have been Kingaqtuk's(sp?) or Saviqs (sp?) at Browerville. They had a small window made out of intestine on the wall. For sure that house is just a little bit the other side of the Brower property. Some others used to these places like Greta Akpik or Hestor Neakok or some of these ladies who lived in Browerville at the time could identify these. You know Vincent Nageak. His adopted father had a house like these.

Roll#4 6

D- #32 "Near view of the entrance to the reindeer corral at Barrow formed by large blocks of ice."

R- At the time they put aside the ones belonging to different herds in what they called a "prison" for the animals. The others they let go. The ones they want to transfer to their rightful owners, their rightful herds, they just put in that smaller one. That might be the entry for that. Later after the others are released they let these out and drive them to the rightful herd. I don't remember having a chute by the time I was down here.

(not copied)

D- #33 is the same as that Browerville House but in the wintertime.

R- It's under snow now. This part was not here on the other one because it was built by snow blocks. You see these snow blocks around the house? When winter comes they build snow blocks around in order to keep the wind out. In some houses they had a qanitchat and they would lengthen that and make it higher along with the drifting snow. The way you see it the entryway is down below somewhere and they have to raise the addition to the entryway.

Roll#4 7

D- #34 "Mining and sacking coal on the Kuuk River in Sept. 1930.

R- Must be in Wainwright. We don't have any coal nearby except at the mine at Meade River where the bluff is higher than this (picture).

D- That coal would be to use in Wainwright?

R- Yes, especially for the school. And they make a little money that way.

Roll#4 8

D- This one says "Cutting up whale near Barrow" #43 in 1910.

R- 1910, I was 3 years old. That's in spring. Must be a big one because they are cutting it right in the water. See the ice? That was taken in spring. I was just about 3 years old.

Roll#4 9

D- #61. Picture of Barrow from the air in 1949. Not very clear.

R- Must have been early in the fall. Not clear enough. Barrow has changed a lot. This looks like the hospital here that still exists. Looks like the lagoon here. Yes, that's the hospital. Over here is the manse and the one with all the windows is the old school buildings. This one here is the ACS, Alaska Communications System, that white one right in front. And this is the garage that is still standing, the metal one. Right in between the new hospital and the old hospital. Ithink it is almost connected to the walkway. Over here is the old church, that white one.

D- OK, I see the tower.

R- There's some snow in between that makes it difficult to identify.

Roll#4 11,12

D- There are three here of this grave #67, 68, 69. "Raised grave on the arctic coast in Sept. 15, 1901".

R- The only graves I have seen and heard of on the arctic coast are at Pt. Hope. The only one I know of near here is at Meade River near Atqasuk, right where the Isuktuk(sp?) goes into the Meade River. Probably it has collapsed. What are the stands made out of, wood?

D- Looks like driftwood.

R- At Pt. Hope they have them made out of whale bone. That could be where that was located.

Roll#4 13

D- #72, Barrow on Oct. 7, 1947. I guess this was taken out on the water or across the lagoon.

R- Out on the water I believe. I can't identify these houses. Too far away.

Roll#4 14

D- #73, same thing Barrow Oct. 7, 1947.

R- Somebody living in a tent early in the fall. What part of the village could that be?

D- I don't know. Looks like a bluff right there.

R- Maybe looking towards southwest. Maybe right on the other side where Levi Greists' house is. This may be part of Ukkuksiq I don't know, I'm just guessing. Or this side of it. I don't recall seeing this. Or, this could be over where the youth center starts. That's more likely, right on the beach.

D- Oh yes, right where it starts to rise and where those old ruins are.

R- Yes.

Roll#4 15 D- #78, "Family on the March from Corwin Bluff to Kupauruk River", Collier.

R- No date. The others at Sagavaanirktok are called Franklin Bluffs.

D- Looks like they have pack dogs.

R- Doesn't tell the year. That's how the hunters travelled. In the 1800s or earlier the people lived out there for quite a number of years according to my mother. Right after the first measles they had around 1900, 1901. Some went out there to spend a few years where the hunting is good. Later on they moved back again to Barrow. That's how they travelled, following the game up inland. Get some skins for clothing, caribou.

D- Would they have gone out there because of the measles epidemic?

R- No. They didn't know about that. The epidemic broke out while they were congregating at Niglik and Oliktuk. They missed my family. They didn't go to that gathering because they didn't know the shallow waters, the channels and they couldn't get in. They passed and went on to Kupauruk and Canning River. That's how they missed the epidemic.

Roll#4 18 D- Here's one from C.L. Andrews collection. #14. No dates.

R- I've heard about him coming up when the first herd of reindeer came up or a little after. After that while we were up east in '23 or '24 I think, he and his wife were down at Wainwright for a year or two. That might be the time he took these pictures.

R- Does it say where?

D- Just says Barrow. I wondered if that was out there at the old site.

R- Might be it. There's a boat out there. Is that ice out there.

D- Not clear enough. There's another boat over here.

R- That's water I think. Doesn't look too much like the houses. He may have just wanted to take a picture of the old ruins. There's nothing outside of it. No smoke stacks, no vents or skylights, nothing. That could be on the other side(Ukkuksiq) where the old ruins are.

Roll#4 19 D- Now, #20, an old sod house. I guess it's a ruin. It doesn't even say where it is so I don't know if it's Barrow. It could be anywhere.

R- Could be Wainwright.

Roll#4
20

D- #23, is just a picture of that man. Doesn't say anything.

R- I've seen his picture. Somebody pointed out to me, that's so-and-so. He's an old man from Wainwright. Sakoluk (sp?) from Wainwright. I've heard about him. When I was about 12 or 13 yrs. old he lived, with his wife. I've seen her. He is an Uncle to my brother-in-law, Amos Ikusik (sp?). This picture is from Wainwright.

D- The date is on the calendar - May 29. But I can't read the year. It's not clear enough.

R- Not too many years ago his adopted son died. He was just about my age. So these pictures might be from C.L. Andrews.

D- Yes, it's from his collection.

R- Probably '23 or '24.

D- That's all the pictures I have.

R- Too bad you missed some of the old men we had like Ahvakana. He might have identified some of these buildings. He was a small boy at the time. This building may have been described by old Brower himself in his book, Fifty Years Below Zero.

End of Interview

Barrow Ethnohistory Interview
with
Phoebe Kippi
August 17, 1981
(Interview not taped)

Beverly Patkotak Grinage: Interviewer and translator.
David Libbey: Ethnohistorian.

Interview with Phobe Kippi on plant names, plant descriptions, and the use of plants. The plants that Phoebe was familiar with are found mainly in the Atqasuk area. She also mentioned some home remedies made from store bought items and animal oils. I questioned her about certain flowers that are found in Barrow and Atqasuk. She was familiar with them but she did not know the Iñupiaq or English names for them. Among some of these flowers are the yellow flowers (buttercups), and the small white, fragrant flowers that grow low on the tundra.

* 1. Akutuqpalik: Willow leaves. Edible. Many people prefer to soak them in seal oil.

* 2. Qaqaurat: They have a pink to reddish colored stem. Phoebe says that they are very pretty. They eat the part that is under the ground surface. They clean the plant before they eat it.

* 3. Pigniq: This plant is similar in appearance to masu. (Masu: Eskimo potato). The people get them from the lemmings' storage. Phoebe said they only take a few of these from the lemmings' storage. Edible.

* 4. Itqilit: A lilac colored flower. Non-edible.

* 5. Misu: Stem of the willow plant. They take the brown skin off before eating the plant. They have a sweet and sour taste. They sometimes cook them or soak them in seal oil. They are most tender in August.

6. Eskimo Tea: Green leaves which are found by lakes. They steam a lot of these leaves to make tea. (Might be: Tilaaqqiurat. Dict: Tilaaqaq - Hudson Bay Tea).

7. Masu: An edible root. People prefer to soak them in oil before consuming. (Dict: Eskimo potato).

* 8. Salgiġruat: This plant was mentioned at the Elders' Conference. It has a long stem with white flowers on top. Phoebe said that this plant is not found in Barrow or Wainwright. She said Pt. Hope has some also. They use this plant as medicine.

* 9. Piḷġaurat: "Eskimo incense." People burn them in their houses to ward off mosquitos. Has a fragrant smell. Also called Piḷġaqusaat.

10. Quaġat: These are eaten raw or in seal oil. This plant was also mentioned at the Elders' Conference. (Dict; Wild spinach).

@11. Uqpik: Willow plant. They used to roll the willows into a coil and put in a can to make traps for animals. (Dict: Willow).

12. Store-bought Tea: The leaves are used on burns.

@13. Iqaqqusiuġutit: Make a mixture of seal oil and salt water. Boil them together and then use for medicine. Rub it on an aching spot.

@14. Quiḷalukkat: Beluga whale blubber. Put in a glass jar and let it age. It's good for curing colds.

@15. Aivium uqsrua: Walrus blubber. People drink this oil. It cures stomach aches.

16. Brown soap: You make a mixture of brown soap, soda, and hot water. Rub it on sores or splinters. Non-edible.

17. Immuk: Canned milk. They boil it, then take the top layer of milk. They feed it to children to stop diahrrea.

18. Gravy: Make a mixture of flour and caribou broth gravy. Feed a child this gravy to cure diahrrea.

19. Milk mixture: Boil white rice. Take out the liquid left from the rice and mix it with milk. It is a good substitute for milk. This is given to children.

* Term not found in the Iñupiaq Dictionary.

@ Term found in the dictionary but remedial use not given.